

Nordstjernen.

Utkommer den 1 och 15 i hvarje månad.

N:o 9. 1 Maj 1854.

Tal af Moses Thatch



Kim Östman

The Introduction of Mormonism to Finnish Society, 1840–1900

Märkvärdiga Syner.

Joseph Smith

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De Sista Dagars Heliges Åsigter om Äktenskapet

Præsident i ett församling af
President William Budgo

Märkvärdiga Syner.

Joseph Smith

EN RÖST FRAN LANDET ZION,

Vittnesbörd af de lofvande och de döda.

Samlat
af
ERASTUS SNOW.

KÖPENHAMN.
Utgivare af S. C. Flygare
Tryckt hos P. V. Rosinus.

Anastasia Elvira
Karnyoffskaj
Libbo Märlobesky
Den 5 Februari 1884
Till minne af L. F. Snällberg

Cateches för B

framhållande de
wigtigaste lärdomarna
i Jesu Christi kyrka af de systerhögskolorna
af
Sister John Joseph.

KÖPENHAMN.

Utgivare af Hjalmar af G. H. Korff
Tryckt hos S. H. Rosinus
1874

Nordstjernen.

Utkommer den 1 och 15 i hvarje månad.



Kim Östman

Born 1978 in Pietarsaari
M.Sc. (Tech.), 2005

Photo: Matti Kajaste

Photographs on the front cover (from left to right): Anders Johansson and Lovisa Eriksson Strömberg (courtesy of Vera Nyman), Maria and Anders Henriksson and Carl Åhl (courtesy of Patsy Hendrickson).

Cover: Tove Ahlbäck

Åbo Akademi University Press
Biskopsgatan 13, FI-20500 ÅBO, Finland
Tel. int. +358-20-786-1468
E-mail: forlaget@abo.fi
<http://www.abo.fi/stiftelsen/forlag/>

Distribution: Oy Tibo-Trading Ab
P.O.Box 33, FI-21601 PARGAS, Finland
Tel. int. +358-2-454 9200
Fax int. +358-2-454 9220
E-mail: tibo@tibo.net
<http://www.tibo.net>

THE INTRODUCTION OF MORMONISM TO
FINNISH SOCIETY, 1840–1900

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Kim Östman

ÅBO 2010

ÅBO AKADEMIS FÖRLAG - ÅBO AKADEMI UNIVERSITY PRESS

CIP Cataloguing in Publication

Östman, Kim.

The introduction of Mormonism to Finnish society, 1840–1900 / Kim Östman. – Åbo :

Åbo Akademi University Press, 2010.

Diss.: Åbo Akademi University.

ISBN 978-951-765-552-1

ISBN 978-951-765-552-1
ISBN 978-951-765-553-8 (digital)
Painosalama Oy
Åbo 2010

“Two Swedish Elders have been sent to Findland to open the Gospel door for that nation. I have had very encouraging news from them, they have had a chance to hold meetings, and the power of God has been greatly manifested in their behalf. The Finns are an honest, hospitable and pleasing people, so I hope our Elders will be able to do much good amongst them.” – Nils C. Flygare, Mormon mission president (*The Latter-day Saints’ Millennial Star*, 13 December 1875).

“Who would have thought that this injurious sect, of whom somebody has said that it is a distorted and horrid caricature of all that is holy, would find its way even to our sequestered country? We have heard it spoken of Baptists, Methodists, Hihhulites, and other such, but at least from the Mormons, or the ‘Latter-day Saints’ as they call themselves, one has still hoped to be spared.” – Johannes Bäck, Lutheran parish minister (*Wasabladet*, 6 December 1876).

Abstract

This study examines the place of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (commonly known as the Mormon church) in the Russian Grand Duchy of Finland between the years 1840 and 1900. Attention is put on both the internal workings of the movement and the reactions of society. Theoretical insight is gained through the concepts of social construction and religious economies.

Mormon image formation in Finland began by 1840 through newspaper reports on activities abroad and through essays on the faith's history and doctrine. Mormons are mentioned almost 3,500 times in Finnish newspapers between 1840 and 1900, and at least twelve unique book titles sold in the country were explicitly devoted to discussing Mormonism. Most of the publicity was derived from foreign sources. Discourse analysis of this textual corpus shows a hegemonic discourse that combined themes such as fraud, deception, and theocracy in explaining the Mormon movement. Accompanied by plural marriage, these themes contributed to the construction of a strongly negative image of Mormonism already before the first missionaries arrived in 1875. In a society with a stringently regulated religious economy, this image contributed to a high level of resistance by civil authorities and Lutheran clergy.

Twenty-five Mormon missionaries worked in Finland between 1875 and 1900, with a concentrated effort taking place between 1875 and 1889. At least 78 persons converted, mostly in the coastal areas among the Swedish-speaking minority population. Nine percent emigrated to Utah, 36% were excommunicated, others fell into oblivion, while still others clung to their new faith. The work was led from Sweden, with no stable church organization emerging among the isolated pockets of converts. Mormonism's presence was thus characterized by private or small-group religiosity rather than a vibrant movement. The lack of religious community, conversation, and secondary socialization eventually caused the nineteenth-century manifestation of Finnish Mormonism to die out. Only one group of converts was perpetuated past World War II, after which large-scale proselytizing began.

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Acknowledgments

The Mormon faith tradition has, in various ways, been part of my life since earliest childhood. Growing up going to church and later functioning two years as a missionary in Great Britain have shaped my identity and personality significantly. And although I presently find myself distanced from organized religion, I have retained many dear friends in the church, along with an abiding interest in its study through the methods of scholarship.

It is that interest which has spurred me to research and write this dissertation during evenings and vacations while employed full-time in scientific work of another type completely. It is a course of action that I cannot recommend to anyone but the most ardent diehards, a fact that I was forcefully reminded of as I had finished the first full draft. Nevertheless, I am most happy to finally present the results herein as a contribution to the study of religion in Finland in general and of the Mormon tradition in particular.

Work towards this dissertation began (unknowingly) in 2004 through collecting historical materials, whereas the actual idea of a dissertation on the topic came later, by the summer of 2007. The most focused effort took place in the winter and spring of 2009. The work has included research in the United States, and I would like to thank Åbo Akademi University, the Research Institute of Åbo Akademi Foundation, and the Neal A. Maxwell Institute of Religious Scholarship at Brigham Young University for their financial support of such trips.

I would also like to thank the helpful staff at the Church History Library and Archives and the Family History Library of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, both in Salt Lake City, Utah, USA, and at the L. Tom Perry Special Collections of the Harold B. Lee Library at Brigham Young University in Provo, Utah. I would also like to thank Zachary R. Jones of Juneau, Alaska, for sharing with me some of the materials from his thesis project on early Mormonism in Finland. Similarly, I thank Ardis E. Parshall and Prof. Fred E. Woods for sharing with me relevant transcriptions, and Jan Anderson, Patsy Hendrickson, Mike Hutson, Marjorie Peterson Morin, Henrik Nyberg, Bo Qvarnström, Ann-Christin Qvarnström-Obrey, and Stephen Whitesides for information on their ancestors. The staff at the National Archives in Helsinki and at the Provincial Archives in Hämeenlinna, Turku, and Vaasa, like the employees at the Lutheran

parish offices of Helsinki, Pedersöre, Pietarsaari, Pohja, and Sipoo, have been most kind.

My warm thanks go to my supervisors, Professors Nils G. Holm and Peter Nynäs. Prof. Holm recognized that even a person with a background in technology may do useful work in the field of comparative religion and took me under his wing. After Prof. Holm's retirement, Prof. Nynäs has guided the dissertation project to its completion, providing helpful feedback and valuable advice along the way. I am profoundly grateful to both for their friendliness and expertise. Dr. André Swanström provided good feedback as a seminar opponent, as did other research seminar participants. Dr. Kyllikki Tien-suu and Prof. Douglas J. Davies gave of their time as pre-examiners of the dissertation, and I am most grateful for their knowledgeable advice. Prof. Davies, Europe's premier scholar of Mormonism, also kindly agreed to function as the official opponent.

I am indebted to many friends for their time and help with the manuscript. Especially I would like to mention my British colleague and good friend, Dr. David M. Morris, with whom I have shared the joys and pains of a dissertation project. The sharing of thoughts and the camaraderie have been an enormously positive influence. I would also like to thank my supervisor and colleagues at Tampere University of Technology for challenges in researching and teaching in the field of electronics, something that has been a good balance to this project. My colleagues at the Finnish Higher Education Evaluation Council deserve thanks for welcoming me into a good work atmosphere. The folks at OH4A have provided hospitality, friendship, and welcome activities through amateur radio contests. Climbing antenna towers and transmitting Morse code with amplifier fans humming, at times in the middle of the night, gets one's mind off all research.

Finally, I would like to thank my family for their unwavering support. My sister Anne-Maria, brother-in-law Esa, and nephews Joni, Sebastian, Joonas, and Niklas have welcomed me to their cosy place of refuge near the Arctic Circle time after time, letting me unwind and enjoy their spirited family life. My parents Bertel and Ruusa have always encouraged me to go as far as I can with my studies and life, and I am ever grateful for their loving support that has taken so many forms. It is to them that I dedicate this work.

Helsinki

December 7, 2010

Introduction

The religious landscape of Finland became pluralized in the nineteenth century to an unprecedented extent. The Evangelical Lutheran Church had earlier held a virtual monopoly, but the Russian conquest of Finland in 1808–1809 meant that the Orthodox Church received theoretically equal status as a state church although it was numerically far inferior in Finland with regard to membership. The landscape was further diversified through the arrival of Anglo-American new religious movements such as the Baptists and Methodists. A number of revival movements continued their spread, with many staying inside the Lutheran church.¹ The encounter with such new phenomena created a situation that the establishment had to assess. Finnish society and the Lutheran church, one of the most significant societal actors, sought for proper ways to respond.

Mormonism was one of the Anglo-American religious movements that arrived. It had been born in the American state of New York through the visions of the founder Joseph Smith in the 1820s. Proclaiming itself first as the restoration of an ancient Christianity that had fallen into apostasy, Mormonism combined elements of Old and New Testament teaching. Its mainstream, officially called The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints since 1838, eventually built its own theocratic kingdom in the territory of Utah in the American West. Church membership reached approximately 300,000 by the year 1900, with headquarters in Utah and European strongholds in Great Britain and Scandinavia.

The Mormon faith has engendered controversy and publicity ever since its emergence and later formal organization in 1830. The prophet Joseph Smith, his successors, and their followers were variously labeled by some as religious tyrants, frauds, and dupes, with admiration of their endurance, zeal, and work ethic expressed in the next breath. Others embraced Mormonism and its tenets, finding in them a religion that transformed their lives for the better. Similar sentiments were echoed around the world as word spread and the new movement undertook worldwide expansion.

Mormon missionaries first arrived in Finland in 1875. Their work entailed problems due to legislation that made proselytizing illegal.

¹ Eino Murtorinne, *Suomen kirkon historia 3: Autonomian kausi 1809–1899* (Porvoo: WSOY, 1992), pp. 15–19, 99–191, and 307–311.

Little to no legal rights were given to minority movements before 1889, nor did Mormonism benefit from the changes made that year. Compared to the other Nordic countries,² the situation for the Mormons was especially difficult in Finland. Nevertheless, some headway was made. Spreading the new faith “through the back door”³ were a number of missionaries who made converts and organized small groups of believers.

Mission leadership in Sweden and Denmark eventually ceased sending missionaries to Finland. Many of the converts apostatized, some had emigrated to Utah, others simply died of old age, and a handful were able to perpetuate the faith until larger-scale post-war proselytizing work began in 1946.⁴ Proselytizing was complicated further by the difficulties of the church in its homeland, especially in Utah territory. These centered on society’s response to Mormon theocracy and plural marriage, more specifically polygyny. Knowledge of these difficulties spread into Europe and affected attitudes. Accordingly, a recurring theme of this dissertation is the juxtaposition between how Mormons saw their work and how elements of Finnish society saw it.

The purpose of this dissertation is to describe and analyze what took place as Russian-ruled Finnish society and Mormonism encountered each other between the years 1840 and 1900. I have chosen 1840 as the starting point of my study because it marks the first mention of Mormonism in Finnish newspapers. The study ends at 1900, the year after which no significant activity took place before World War II. The three research questions are:

1. What did Mormon activity in Finland entail during this time?
2. How did various societal actors react to Mormon activity?

² Some see Finland as being one of the Nordic countries but not as a part of Scandinavia. I see Finland as being a part of both and thus use the terms “Nordic” and “Scandinavian” interchangeably in this dissertation.

³ This is in contrast to the church’s modern stated policy in which “we always go in the front door with full knowledge of government officials and with their encouragement and blessing.” See Dell Van Orden, “Pres. Hinckley Ordained Prophet,” *Church News*, vol. 65, no. 11 (18 March 1995), p. 10.

⁴ On the beginnings of the post-war effort, see Anna-Liisa Rinne, *Kristuksen kirkko Suomessa: Kertomus Myöhempien Aikojen Pyhien Jeesuksen Kristuksen Kirkon juurtumisesta tähän maahan* (Turku: n.p., 1986), pp. 21–32.

3. How can these actions be understood in light of sociological theory?

This dissertation probes the subject not only as a matter of internal Mormon history. Rather the study is situated within a wider framework, examining the interface between Mormonism and Finnish society and also detailing the activities of societal actors with regards to the new religious movement. This means that while the perspective of Mormon activity itself mostly drives the discussion, the reactions to it are also of significance. The introduction of Mormonism is thus analyzed both from the transmitting and receiving sides. In other words, this dissertation is an empirical study of the entrance and reception process as it relates to the nineteenth-century society of Finland.

As will be made clear by the following discussion of literature, material, and methods, this study integrates a vast array of Mormon and non-Mormon sources into a new synthesis. It increases the understanding of historical attitudes in the Finnish religious landscape and society towards religious minorities. It also contributes to fleshing out the history of religion in Finland, a history that tends overwhelmingly to focus on Lutheranism and leave minorities in a less understood position.

Historiography

The subject matter of Mormonism's introduction to Finnish society in the nineteenth century can be placed in two main frameworks when reviewing prior studies. First, a framework where the main object of study is the religious movement itself, along with its internal and external development and societal context. These studies can be further divided into confessional studies that aim to promote faith and into scholarly studies that are carried out from dispassionate perspectives. The second main framework is that of religion in Finnish society. There the main object of study is the Finnish religious landscape, with Mormonism being one of many religious movements. The focus is not so much on Mormonism's particulars as it is on the history and development of that landscape more generally.

Focusing now on the first main framework, there are a number of confessionally inspired studies on Mormonism in nineteenth-century Finland. The earliest original study is the unpublished "Manuscript

History” compiled by the Mormon church’s assistant church historian Andrew Jenson, probably in the early twentieth century.⁵ Containing no analysis, it is a chronological listing of matters related to the church’s early efforts in Finland, based mainly on the membership record and church periodicals of the time. Jenson’s compilation includes mentions of missionary arrivals and departures, the membership number at given times, missionary writings concerning their own efforts, and organizational changes related to the church in Finland.⁶ Subsequent studies, including this one, have benefited from the structural skeleton of events that Jenson assembled. Jenson’s *History of the Scandinavian Mission* from 1927 contains some data on Finland, but focuses mostly on Denmark, Norway, and Sweden.⁷

Vera Nyman, late descendant of nineteenth-century Finnish Latter-day Saints, produced an unpublished compilation of historical facts related to the church’s early activities in the west coast area of Pietarsaari and Larsmo. It contains little analysis, but brings together important data that gives an understanding of church activity in that area, the only one where such activity continued unbroken into the post-war era.⁸ Anna-Liisa Rinne, a medical doctor, published her book *Kristuksen kirkko Suomessa* [The Church of Christ in Finland] in 1986, marking the first major published confessional contribution. It presents a general history of Mormonism in Finland and covers the nineteenth century in about twenty pages. Rinne discusses the activities of early missionaries and examines the formation of some of the early convert groups. The coverage is based mostly on Jenson’s “Manuscript History” and Rinne’s own archival research in some Finnish sources.⁹ Her framework of events provides a good ground for further research despite occasional mistakes over details. The book still stands as the pre-eminent general study of Finnish Mormon history.

More generally, Mormon efforts in nineteenth-century Finland have been discussed in general confessional works, although usually

⁵ Davis Bitton and Leonard J. Arrington, *Mormons and their Historians* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1988), pp. 41–55.

⁶ Andrew Jenson, “Manuscript History of the Finland Mission,” CHLA.

⁷ Andrew Jenson, *History of the Scandinavian Mission* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1927). For references to Finland, see for example pages 160, 214, 221, 227–228, 231, and 357.

⁸ Vera Nyman, “Historiska händelser i Larsmo och Jakobstad,” CHLA.

⁹ Rinne, *Kristuksen kirkko Suomessa*, pp. 1–15 and 138–141.

very briefly.¹⁰ My research shows that some of these works contain errors. One source, for example, mistakenly claims that after 1880, “Scandinavian Mission leaders were able to do no more in Finland throughout the rest of the century except on rare visits to nurture existing members,” implicitly even placing the 1886 jailing of a Swedish Mormon in Finland (see Chapter 6) to a time period between 1876 and 1880.¹¹ The church’s international *Church Almanac* in 2006 claimed that the “first known Finnish native to join the Church” did so in 1860, although the church itself had published contrary information earlier that brought the year to 1853. The *Almanac* also says that 25 persons had been baptized in Finland by 1886, which is not accurate.¹²

Even the church’s Finnish outlets have at times displayed a general lack of knowledge concerning its local history. In 1961, for example, the church magazine *Valkeus* claimed that *Church News*, a publication of the church in the United States, had made a mistake when it said that the first Finnish Mormon branch was established in Nikolainkaupunki (modern-day Vaasa), confusing it with Pietarsaari (which lies about 100 kilometers further northeast). “Because the first Finnish converts, who joined the church in 1876 ... were from Pietarsaari or its environs ... it is apparent that our country’s first Mormon branch was formed in Pietarsaari.”¹³ As will be shown in Chapter 4, the premise and the conclusion are both mistaken. In 2009, the church’s website claimed that “On March 5, 1876, the first two members to join the church in Finland, Johanna Berg and Johanna Sundström, were baptized in Vaasa.”¹⁴ As shown in Chapter 4, the date and the second person are inaccurate. That such errors appear suggests a disconnect between modern and early Mormonism in Finland.

¹⁰ For example, Donald Q. Cannon and Richard O. Cowan, *Unto Every Nation: Gospel Light Reaches Every Land* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2003), p. 65, deals with the topic in two paragraphs only.

¹¹ Bruce A. Van Orden, *Building Zion: The Latter-day Saints in Europe* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1996), p. 112.

¹² *Deseret Morning News 2006 Church Almanac* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 2005), p. 348. Compare with Archibald F. Bennett, “The Romance of Discovery,” *The Improvement Era*, vol. 52, no. 7 (July 1949), pp. 462–463.

¹³ “85-vuotias Mormoniseurakunta,” *Valkeus*, vol. 13, no. 12 (December 1961), p. 403. Furthermore, one of the converts named was not baptized in the nineteenth century.

¹⁴ “Kirkon historia Suomessa,” <http://www.mormonit.fi/index.php?id=178> (accessed February 18, 2009).

The scholarly study of Mormon history has tended to focus extensively on the church's foundational years and later developments in nineteenth-century Utah, being mostly an America-centric endeavour. Very little attention has been devoted to the faith's study in non-American contexts, and thus the outlier country of Finland has experienced the full impact of the lacunae. Nevertheless, a number of prior studies have dealt with the issue, although history has generally speaking been secondary in scholarship related to Mormonism in Finland.¹⁵

The first work of scholarship to deal with early Mormon history in Finland was the 1968 doctoral dissertation of A. Dean Wengreen that examined the church's history in Sweden up to 1905. Since Finland was considered part of the Stockholm conference (the local organizational entity) for most of that time, Wengreen briefly discussed missionary efforts in Finland. The church's internal sources are used to describe the work of some of the missionaries who visited the country. Wengreen found that the work was not extensive, and that there was only a handful of Mormons in Finland during the study period.¹⁶

Kaija H. Penley also devoted space to the topic in her 1994 master's thesis on Mormon proselytizing in Finland. Her study focused on post-war times, with the early efforts discussed as background and context. Using mainly Jenson's "Manuscript History" as the source, Penley concluded that in addition to legal difficulties, troubles related to language, culture, and climate made Finland a difficult mission field for the Mormons.¹⁷

The third, most recent, and most comprehensive scholarly study is that of Zachary R. Jones. His 2008 master's thesis, *Conflict amid Conver-*

¹⁵ For a fuller review of such scholarship in general, see my "Mormonism in tutkimus Suomessa: Kirjallisuutta, tutkimusideoita ja lähteitä," *Uskonnontutkija – Religionsforskare*, vol. 1 (2006), no. 2 at <http://www.uskonnontutkija.fi> (accessed February 26, 2009) and the updated version "The Scholarly Study of Mormonism in Finland: An Overview of Literature, Research, and Sources," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*, vol. 41, no. 2 (Summer 2008), pp. 32–56.

¹⁶ A. Dean Wengreen, *A History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Sweden, 1850–1905*, (Doctoral dissertation, Brigham Young University, USA, 1968), p. 128; more generally, see pp. 127–136. William Mulder's important study *Homeward to Zion: The Mormon Migration from Scandinavia* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000 [1957]) does not discuss Finland to any significant extent.

¹⁷ Kaija H. Penley, *Leadership of Mormon Missionary Efforts in Finland and its Influence on Conversion Rates in the Finnish Mission, 1947–1969* (Master's thesis, Utah State University, USA, 1994), p. 25.

sion: *Mormon Proselytizing in Russian Finland, 1860–1914*, creates a valuable synthesis and seeks to place Mormonism into the religious and societal context of the time. Published later as an article, one of its specific merits is its manner of connecting Mormonism in the Russian Grand Duchy of Finland to the Russian context.¹⁸ However, at times the connection becomes too strong and undocumented, and the study suffers from a number of mistakes in details, context, and the use of primary sources. Nevertheless, Jones called important attention to many previously neglected Mormon sources that have subsequently been incorporated also in this study. His study was completed while the present study was in progress. The principal difference between Jones's study and the present study is that I seek to offer an in-depth understanding of Mormonism's entry to Finland as it relates to both generalities and details, whereas Jones's study was of necessity more in the nature of an overview. Comments on Jones's findings are interspersed throughout this study.

I now move to a review of studies that come under the second main framework, that of studies concerning religion in Finnish society. Works on religion tend not to discuss early Mormonism in Finland at all, focusing instead mostly on Lutheranism and its revival movements. For example, the important works *Suomen kirkon historia* and *Suomen kirkkohistoria* do not mention the Mormons when discussing the arrival of Anglo-American religious movements.¹⁹ R.A. Mäntylä discusses Mormonism briefly when overviewing reactions to sectarianism in the 1850s, noting that the movement received attention for example in the form of newspaper writings due to its peculiarity.²⁰ When it comes to American influences more generally, Keijo Virtanen deals with Mormonism to a small extent in his charting of such influences in Europe and Finland before World War I. He mainly points

¹⁸ Zachary R. Jones, *Conflict amid Conversion: Mormon Proselytizing in Russian Finland, 1860–1914* (Master's thesis, College of William & Mary, USA, 2008). The thesis was published in edited form as Zachary R. Jones, "Conversion amid Conflict: Mormon Proselytizing in Russian Finland, 1861–1914," *Journal of Mormon History*, vol. 35, no. 3 (Summer 2009), pp. 1–41.

¹⁹ Murtorinne, *Suomen kirkon historia* 3, pp. 307–311 and 347–351. Simo Heininen and Markku Heikkilä, *Suomen kirkkohistoria* (Helsinki: Edita, 1996), pp. 204–207.

²⁰ R.A. Mäntylä, *Eriuskolaiskysymys Suomessa 1809–1889: 1, 1809–1871* (Turku: Turun yliopisto, 1954), p. 158.

out a few instances where Mormonism was discussed in Finnish media and bases most of the other details on Wengreen's study.²¹

The arrival of Mormonism is also mentioned in specialized studies. Lindgren, for example, discussed reactions to the first Mormon missionaries in his 1935 pastoral thesis on the activities of a particular Finnish Lutheran clergyman. Lindgren found that the clergyman opposed Mormonism rather hotly.²² Local histories in some cases mention the Mormons among new religious movements. For example, a history of Vaasa speaks of difficulties that Mormon missionaries encountered outside the town in 1881. In the authors' opinion, the Mormons sought to avoid contact with civil authorities and the clergy, occasionally leading to "ridiculous situations," with one newspaper account quoted as an example.²³ The history of Pietarsaari also discusses the Mormons, noting that a clergyman sought to have a missionary expelled in 1881.²⁴ No local studies deal with the Mormons to a great extent.

In conclusion, studies on Mormonism in nineteenth-century Finland have been undertaken from both confessional and scholarly perspectives, charting the work of Mormon missionaries and discussing reactions to it. At the same time, one may note the absence of studies that focus on the grassroots experiences of the converts. An extensive study that integrates non-Mormon and Mormon sources to form a detailed understanding of both sides of the equation is also lacking. This study seeks to fill the gap by combining the insights of prior studies with a theoretically informed examination of known and previously unutilized sources. Due to reasons explained later, I am not able to examine the grassroots perspective in much detail.

²¹ Keijo Virtanen, *Atlantin yhteys: Tutkimus amerikkalaisesta kulttuurista, sen suhteesta ja välittymisestä Eurooppaan vuosina 1776–1917* (Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura, 1988), p. 224 and 484.

²² Ruben Lindgren, *Johannes Bäck, hans liv och gärning till verksamhetsperiod i Nykarleby* (Pastoral thesis, Borgå, Finland, 1935), pp. 138–144. See also Lauri Koskenniemi, *Taisteleva julistaja: Johannes Bäck, 1850–1901* (Pieksämäki: SLEY-kirjat, 1998), pp. 34–35.

²³ Jorma Kallenautio, Holger Wester, Pekka Hirvonen, Katarina Andersson, and Eija Piispala, *Vasa Historia IV: 1852–1917* (Vasa: Vasa stad, 2006), p. 549.

²⁴ Alma Söderhjelm, *Jakobstads historia*, vol. 3 (Helsingfors: Akademiska bokhandeln, 1914), p. 248.

Outline

This introduction is followed by two sections that discuss the theoretical framework and the source material and analysis methods that are employed in this study. The first two chapters then lay the foundation and context of the entire study.

In Chapter 1, I discuss the birth and development of Mormonism as a new religious movement in the United States. While early Mormonism resembled Protestant Christianity to a great extent, doctrinal and organizational innovation founded on the central tenet of divine revelation steered the movement on a course that produced clashes with the rest of society. The first chapter also discusses the main issues at stake in these clashes, as an understanding of them is important for properly assessing the reactions to Mormonism and Mormon missionaries in Finnish society. In addition, I explore Mormon views of traditional Christianity and the extent of Mormon proselytizing in Europe and Scandinavia, thus placing the introduction of Mormonism to Finnish society in its larger context from the Mormon point of view.

Chapter 2 introduces the Finnish point of view, discussing mainly the religious makeup of nineteenth-century Finland. This context is essential in order to evaluate the Mormon-related events and to understand the institutional component of religion-related social construction in nineteenth-century Finland. The key actor was the state-sponsored Evangelical Lutheran Church that operated in all parts of the country and formed the norm against which other kinds of religiosity were evaluated. The Lutheran church was not a monolith, however: I discuss one special feature of Finnish Lutheranism, namely the proliferation of revival movements that remained within the church. Many of these were born in the eighteenth century and continued to gain traction during the nineteenth. The Finnish religious field became further diversified by the entry of Anglo-American new religious movements such as Baptism and Methodism. They will be examined together with society's reactions towards them, since they form the closest point of comparison to Mormonism timewise as foreign religious movements.

The research part of the dissertation commences in Chapter 3. Focus is put on how Mormonism was covered in print in Finland and thus, theoretically speaking, on the performative role of language or discourse in constructing the Mormon image. By 1875 when missionaries first arrived, information on the Mormons was already available in a variety of books, newspapers, and periodicals, and the coverage

increased further after that. This was an important mode of introducing Mormonism to the Finnish population. The socially constructed Mormon image and the hegemonization of certain discourses, both of them furthered by discussion of Mormonism in print, contributed to people's reactions when missionaries arrived in the country and visited their particular home regions. The chapter examines the extent of the publicity and some of the prevalent themes. Compared to prior research, such an examination provides a new understanding of the frequency and content of the publicity.

Mormon proselytizing and its results in Finland are covered in Chapter 4. The first part of the chapter is organized chronologically, detailing the work of the missionaries in the country and examining related developments in policy and focus. In the second part of the chapter, I discuss the practicalities of such proselytizing work, giving attention also to the results as far as the number of converts and branches around the country goes. Such conversions were the reaction to Mormonism's introduction that the missionaries and the leadership desired.

Reactions to Mormonism at large were more varied. In Chapter 5, I discuss the Mormon interface to Finnish society through a number of societal actors, namely civil authorities, Lutheran clergy, newspapers, and laypersons. All but the fourth actor are important parts of the institutional component of reality-making. This interface was often problematic; all of these actors reacted in ways that were consistent with their own roles and views. To civil authorities, Mormonism as a religious philosophy may not have been so bad, but seeking to convert people to it was against the laws of the land and thus such activities had to be curtailed. To Lutheran clergy, Mormonism represented a spiritual evil that had to be fought. The chapter utilizes a number of case studies to probe the topic deeper, especially as it relates to government reactions and Lutheran clergy.

Chapter 6 is a larger case study. In this chapter I illustrate themes and processes discussed in chapters 3–5 by examining in a detailed manner developments in the municipality of Pohja, located in southwestern Finland. The faith spread there through the work of a Swedish gardener and visiting Mormon missionaries. Eventually, the matter ended up in court, with proceedings covered widely by newspapers in southern Finland. The chapter demonstrates the often central role of social networks in the spread of a new religious movement such as Mormonism, and suggests reasons for why Mormon activity

eventually died out in the area. The case of Pohja also provides some insight into the role of conversation or secondary socialization in keeping the Mormon group together.

Chapter 7 examines the role of emigration in the Finnish response to Mormonism. Moving to Utah, or in Mormon parlance “gathering to Zion,” was an immensely important feature of nineteenth-century Mormonism. It is estimated that over 85,000 Latter-day Saints, mainly from the British Isles and Scandinavia, emigrated to Utah due to their newfound faith between 1840 and 1890. In this chapter I show that Mormonism in nineteenth-century Finland was in this respect an anomaly, as very few converts emigrated, even proportionally speaking. The phenomenon is contextualized further by comparing and contrasting it to general emigration from Finland to the United States at the time.

The dissertation is concluded and its contributions summarized in Chapter 8, followed by a Swedish-language summary and five appendices. The first three of these represent original research. First, Appendix A contains personal data on the Mormon missionaries who worked in Finland during the time period covered by this study. Second, Appendix B provides personal data on the converts to Mormonism in Finland, while Appendix C shows that a number of Finnish natives also converted to Mormonism abroad. Appendix D contains maps and notes on nomenclature. Finally, Appendix E provides the original text of quotations (in Finnish, Swedish, or Danish) that I have translated into English.

Theoretical Framework

Mormonism's coming to Finland did not entail the entry of a religious movement into a geographical area that was characterized by a vacuum. I have chosen to include the word "society" in the title of this study to emphasize that fact. Mormonism encountered a complex society with its culture, norms, and views, not the least connected to religion in general and to Lutheranism in particular. While the main thrust of the present study is historical, it thus also draws from concepts in the fields of sociology and the sociology of religion. These concepts are employed to better understand what took place in this encounter.

The overarching theory utilized is that of social construction. That an individual's reality is socially constructed is a view that wields considerable influence in the social sciences. It means that the way in which a person understands the world around him or her is not based only on intrinsic and objective realities, "the world as it is." Rather, such an understanding is based also on the value judgments, opinions, and explanatory frameworks that are encountered and internalized over a lifetime. A person's reality thus continually evolves in a reciprocal process, both accepting views from others and suggesting views to or imposing them on others.²⁵ These views may concern any field of human and non-human activity, including religion. According to Gergen, three of the major contributors to reality making are language, daily conversation, and institutions.²⁶

Discourses frame and portray the topic under discussion in a particular light and produce a given view concerning that topic. Burr defines a discourse as "a set of meanings, metaphors, representations, images, stories, statements and so on that in some way together produce a particular version of events."²⁷ To a significant extent, reality is produced discursively. These discursive products, especially when mediated by powerful societal actors and institutions, become accepted as the truth or reality under which action proceeds. In other words, the performative or constitutive role of language in speech and

²⁵ Vivien Burr, *An Introduction to Social Constructionism* (London: Routledge, 1995), pp. 40–41.

²⁶ Kenneth J. Gergen, *An Invitation to Social Construction*, 2nd ed. (London: Sage Publications, 2009), p. 32.

²⁷ Burr, *An Introduction to Social Constructionism*, p. 48 and 55.

writing (i.e., discourse) is of great importance in constructing reality and “alternative worlds” of understanding.²⁸

That an individual’s reality is *socially* constructed emphasizes the factor of human interaction and conversation. The phases of construction have been divided into two parts of unequal importance. A basic understanding of society’s functioning is formed during childhood through a process called primary socialization. This socialization is strong and has a fundamental effect on how the rest of the person’s life develops. Berger and Luckmann explain that this is in contrast to the less important but still significant secondary socialization, which “inducts an already socialized individual into new sectors of the objective world of his society.”²⁹ An example of this is when a person internalizes the views of a particular religious movement, including its understanding of other such movements. Secondary socialization can take place multiple times during a person’s life, even into realities that are very much the opposite of each other. Again, an example of this is conversion from one religious movement to another.

Ways of looking at religions are a prime example of the process of social construction at play. About two millennia ago, very few took seriously the claim of the new obscure Christian movements that they would have considerable influence on the future of the world. In comparison with more traditional philosophies, much of society’s opinion-forming elite saw Christian doctrines as superstitious, even irreligious.³⁰ However, only a few centuries later, Christianity was accepted as a national religion of the Roman Empire (although not necessarily because of its core doctrine), only to increase its influence on world history up to the present. The key point is that Christianity’s intrinsic core did not significantly change between the time of its widespread mocking and its later widespread acceptance. It was and is still a religious philosophy based on a belief in the mortal life, death, and supernatural resurrection of a divine person. What changed were people’s views of the religion. What was laughed at in

²⁸ Gergen, *An Invitation to Social Construction*, p. 5. Burr, *An Introduction to Social Constructionism*, p. 7.

²⁹ Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality. A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge* (Harmondsworth: Pelican Books, 1987 [1966]), p. 150.

³⁰ Robert Louis Wilken, *The Christians as the Romans Saw Them*, 2nd ed. (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2003).

one social reality became the de-facto accepted and inevitable institutional truth in a later and different reality of the majority.

In other words, constructed realities play a very important part in how minority social movements come to be viewed, and in whether they eventually become stigmatized or accepted. Because the movements are seldom encountered personally due to their small size, information on them is mediated chiefly through social networks or media. People come to understand the movement not so often through their personal experiences with the movement or its adherents, but rather through what they read about it or from what they hear from their peers or from the intelligentsia, as was often the case for many persons in the nineteenth century. When they finally encounter the movement, their socially constructed understanding of it influences and to an extent preconditions their reactions. So it was also with the people of Finland when Mormonism first arrived. Generally speaking, social construction may thus be applied at either the level of individual persons (the micro level) or on the level of societies (the macro level). In this dissertation both perspectives are brought to bear, for example by examining the social networks of converts on the one hand, and investigating the Mormon image in society at large on the other.

I also utilize four other important concepts that can be considered as coming under the general framework of social construction. These concepts are useful because of the analytical insight that they provide for dealing with constructed worldviews and the manners in which such worldviews are created and sustained. They break the framework down into several significant components, i.e., into processes and events that are of prime relevance in the social and political contexts in which new religious movements operate and for the types of understandings that will be constructed about these movements.³¹ The concepts are:

1. Otherness and boundary maintenance
2. Sociocultural tension
3. Anticultism and countercultism
4. Social networks

³¹ For a more extensive discussion, see James A. Beckford, *Social Theory and Religion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

Ottherness and boundary maintenance

Humans have a tendency to divide the world into “us” and “them.” “We” need to create and maintain boundaries that separate “us” in the ingroup from “them” in the outgroup. These boundaries are formed upon and after encounter, and they are maintained, negotiated, and changed as time passes and situations evolve. They are born through the ways in which groups do and view things differently from each other. Boundaries are drawn between different groups and phenomena for example through manners of clothing, appearance, physical separation, behavior, and terminology. Moreover, the use of different languages is one clear example of something that creates a boundary. Boundaries are also connected to stereotyping: differences among one’s ingroup are easily noticed, but “the others” are usually described and labeled in simple terms that hide the inner pluralism of that group. Stereotypes are an essential tool that helps to categorize and make sense of a complex world.³²

Boundaries are drawn from both sides. In religious contexts, a group cannot feel special or chosen unless separated in various behavioral, psychological, and theologically-based means from groups that are viewed as not being special.³³ While the towering Mormon boundary maintenance mechanism of the nineteenth-century period under discussion was the practice of plural marriage, it was far from being the only one.³⁴ Well-defined and articulated concepts of the outside are also a mechanism that is essential to the success of utopian movements such as early Mormonism.³⁵ On the other hand, established actors in a religious field must also draw boundaries through which their own identity and the difference between the acceptable and the unacceptable is articulated. Furthermore, the actors defend their established role through the formation and maintenance of such boundaries.

³² Rupert Brown, *Group Processes*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000), pp. 290–291.

³³ Jan Shipps, *Mormonism: The Story of a New Religious Tradition* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1985), p. 116.

³⁴ For a discussion of some other prominent boundary-creating mechanisms with relevance to this period of Mormon history, see Robert R. King and Kay Atkinson King, “The Effect of Mormon Organizational Boundaries on Group Cohesion,” *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*, vol. 17, no. 1 (Spring 1984), pp. 61–75.

³⁵ Rosabeth Moss Kanter, *Commitment and Community: Communes and Utopias in Sociological Perspective* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972), p. 84.

The role of boundaries in how social movements come to be viewed by mainstream society is of great importance to this dissertation. They play a central role in how movements are legitimized or marginalized, socially accepted or stigmatized, and whether they become associated with images of familiarity or otherness. Boundaries drawn by actors wielding significant societal power are crucial. This is because of the meaning they acquire in the lives of individuals. In nineteenth-century Finland, the Lutheran church was such an established actor and its views on matters of religion were often considered normative, in other words as defining the boundary between the accepted ingroup and the unaccepted outgroup formed by the "others."³⁶ When boundaries were drawn in speech, action, and print, these boundaries and the social reality constructed using them became a generally accepted norm and a tool of control.³⁷ The perceived boundaries thus play an important role in how individuals react to new movements. Importantly, they also affect the identity of the movements themselves. As explained by Eshleman and Cashion, "Any threat or attack, whether imaginary or real, from the out-group tends to increase the cohesion and solidarity of the in-group."³⁸ In a reciprocal process, boundaries become both the cause and result of tensions felt between "us" and "them."

Sociocultural tension

One significant development in scholarship on religion in the early twentieth century was the emergence of typologies that could be used for categorizing religious movements. The most famous typology is the one introduced by Troeltsch and later developed by Weber. Inspired by the European situation, it divides religious movements into churches and sects. According to this paradigm, people are born into the former and convert to join the latter type of movement. The former is open to all, whereas the latter places criteria on membership and emphasizes the individual's role in reaching salvation. Churches

³⁶ Martti Junnonaho, "On Religious Otherness in Finnish Discourse," in Jeffrey Kaplan, ed., *Beyond the Mainstream: The Emergence of Religious Pluralism in Finland, Estonia, and Russia* (Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 2000), pp. 191–192.

³⁷ Berger and Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality*, pp. 126–127.

³⁸ J. Ross Eshleman and Barbara G. Cashion, *Sociology: An Introduction* (Boston: Little & Brown, 1983), pp. 285–286.

have a positive outlook on society, but sects tend to view society negatively.³⁹

Various other types of typologies have been suggested. However, all of them have been criticized because of their “one-category-fits-all” nature and the need to continuously update them when faced with new types of movements. Meaningful analysis was problematic. Such problems were mitigated to some extent when Johnson introduced the concept of sociocultural tension. This denotes the degree of friction that exists between a social (in this case religious) movement and society at large. Such tension can be measured through three variables: distinctiveness, antagonism, and separation. In such a framework, sects and cults are defined as novel movements that are in high tension with their surroundings, while churches are in lower tension. The extent of such tension varies throughout time for each movement, due to both internal and external developments.⁴⁰

Most of the nineteenth-century existence of Mormonism is characterized by high tension, especially when it comes to the United States. Mormonism’s fundamental premise of modern revelation to prophets with theoretically unlimited authority differed from mainstream faiths, the movement experienced severe antagonism due to its practices and popular perceptions, and it was separated from the rest of society especially when its headquarters moved to Utah. As will be shown, Mormonism was a high-tension faith also in Finland. The converts were not physically separated from their societal peers, but their faith’s doctrinal tenets deviated radically from Lutheranism. Furthermore, spreading Mormonism was illegal and punishable by law. Such sociocultural tension was an important cause *and* result of the Mormon image and reactions to the faith in Finland. Both sides of the encounter have a role in how much tension will result.

Anticultism and Countercultism

Social movements attract not only followers but also critics. Some societal actors have opinions that run counter to the views that the movement seeks to forward and to the methods by which it seeks to

³⁹ Max Weber [H.H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills, eds.], *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology* (Abingdon: Routledge, 1991), pp. 302–322.

⁴⁰ Rodney Stark and William Sims Bainbridge, *The Future of Religion: Secularization, Revival, and Cult Formation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), pp. 19–24.

do so. The severity of such opposition varies. Some critics may seek to influence the movement so that it will change its views or ways, whereas others may seek to restrict its activities in a certain geographical area. Others still may seek to influence legislation so that the movement becomes outlawed, and the most radical critics will seek the destruction of the entire movement and its philosophy.

New religious movements often meet with such opposition. In modern scholarly terminology this phenomenon is called anticultism or countercultism. The suffix “cult” refers to the novel nature of the movement to be opposed and is not meant as a pejorative term when used by scholars, whereas the prefix “anti” or “counter” refers to the mode of opposition: anticultism is grounded in secular reasons, whereas countercultism refers to opposition that is based on religiously influenced argumentation and claims.⁴¹ For example, nineteenth-century anticultists may have accused Mormonism of deceiving its converts by promising them more than they actually got when they arrived in Utah, or they may have opposed Mormonism because they saw it as leading to social unrest. On the other hand, countercultists may have seen Mormonism as being inspired by the devil. Lutheran clergy, for example, may have opined that the Mormons represented a doctrinal perversion of Christianity.

Anticult and countercult actors may at times work together, calling upon each other to advance their own agenda. Clergy, for example, may not be content with the effects of opposition through religious argumentation but may call on secular authorities to take action against illegal religious activities. This can at times be done more in an effort to advance their countercultist agenda than to help maintain the law. Anticult and countercult actors may both also use the experiences of former members of the religious movements in framing their own approaches. However, one crucial distinction is the ultimate goal of the two approaches. Anticultism aims to destroy the movement and to free society and the movement’s adherents from its negative influence. Countercultism goes further, in that it also hopes to recruit the former adherents of the destroyed movement to its own religious worldview.⁴² The goal of Lutheran clergy in Finland was thus not only

⁴¹ Douglas E. Cowan, *Bearing False Witness? An Introduction to the Christian Countercult* (Westport: Praeger, 2003), pp. 15–16.

⁴² Cowan, *Bearing False Witness?*, p. 24.

to rid their area of Mormonism's influence, but also to receive the "misguided" converts back into the Lutheran fold.

Social networks

Many have grappled with how to best spread their views and opinions. Ignited with the fire of a new ideology, whether it be political, social, or religious, individuals seek for the most effective ways to spread the message. Some of the traditional ways have been public meetings, pamphlets and other printed materials, speaking with people, and going house to house.

Studies of religious conversion point to the conclusion that one of the most effective ways for new religious movements to spread is through pre-existing social networks.⁴³ These networks denote the clusters of individuals that are formed as persons know each other because of being of the same family, because of their friendship, employment relationship, mutual hobby, etc. Of course, individuals frequently convert to religious movements through methods where the proselyter does not know his or her audience from the past. However, when a social bond already exists, the need to build an initial relationship of trust is circumvented. It is easier for the new message to be embraced when an acquaintance is already convinced of it. Indeed, as some scholars have defined it, conversion is "coming to accept the opinion of one's friends."⁴⁴ The more difficult part is gaining access to the social network by making the first convert. And obviously, not everyone in the network will convert.

For the purposes of this study, Stark's observations concerning the methods of Mormon growth are valuable. While some of his predictions concerning the growth of the movement appear to have been too optimistic or simplistic,⁴⁵ he has shown how both early Mormon history and the current proselytizing methods of the Latter-day Saints emphasize "the building of the kingdom" through family and friends. He has shown that not only Mormonism, but rather Christianity at large, Islam, and Judaism have all begun spreading through the im-

⁴³ Rodney Stark and Roger Finke, *Acts of Faith: Explaining the Human Side of Religion* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), pp. 116–118.

⁴⁴ Stark and Bainbridge, *The Future of Religion*, p. 309.

⁴⁵ Gerald R. McDermott, "Testing Stark's Thesis: Is Mormonism the First New World Religion since Islam?," in John W. Welch, ed., *The Worlds of Joseph Smith* (Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 2006), pp. 271–292.

mediate social networks of their founders.⁴⁶ Acceptance of the new revelation by close friends and family has provided the initial plausibility structure needed for the new flicker of faith to grow into a fire. Each person, through the persons in his or her primary network, has connections to multiple other social networks, thus enabling the message to spread from one cluster to another.

Religious economies

In addition to social construction and the four related concepts discussed above, I will use the concept of a “religious economy.” This theoretical concept is closely tied to the more traditional terms “religious field” and “religious landscape.” It denotes the entirety of an area’s religious system together with its organized and unorganized actors. As defined by Stark and Finke, a religious economy is a societal subsystem that

... consists of all of the religious activity going on in any society: a “market” of current and potential adherents, a set of one or more organizations seeking to attract or maintain adherents, and the religious culture offered by the organizations.⁴⁷

The concept goes further than the traditional terms by suggesting that the religious field operates, at least to some extent, on similar principles as a financial market. Appropriating insights from the field of economics, the concept is a center-piece of what some claim is the “new paradigm” of the sociology of religion.⁴⁸

Just like companies in a market economy, religious movements compete for new adherents from the same pool of people. Each of the movements has its own particular worldview that it sees as normative and based on which it seeks to attract adherents. In some cases, the state may intervene and change the situation by regulating this religious market. One movement may become favored by the state, causing the market to become a monopoly. This was the situation in much

⁴⁶ Rodney Stark, “Mormon Networks of Faith,” in Rodney Stark [Reid L. Neilson, ed.], *The Rise of Mormonism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), pp. 45–53 and 73–82.

⁴⁷ Stark and Finke, *Acts of Faith*, p. 193.

⁴⁸ Stephen R. Warner, “Work in Progress toward a New Paradigm for the Study of Religion in the United States,” *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 98, no. 5 (1993), pp. 1044–1093.

of nineteenth-century Europe, where state churches (Lutheran, Catholic, etc.) were the norm. The monopoly situation was enforced by legislation, so that other religious movements in the economy were not able to function on equal grounds compared to the state church. Because regulation strengthened the state church's position, the church naturally tended to favor such measures and oppose diversification or any other tendencies towards an unregulated market. State-sponsored regulation had significant consequences for new movements that depended on proselytizing for their survival and perpetuation, causing them at worst to operate "underground."⁴⁹ Mormonism was also affected, as such regulation influenced government reactions towards the movement and people's opinions of it.

Closely tied to the concept of religious economies is that of rational choice, the idea that people act based on rational assessments, also in matters of religion.⁵⁰ Assuming that a person has a socially constructed view of the world and an interest towards religion, that person will decide to join or not to join a movement based on what he or she subjectively perceives as the costs and benefits of doing so. While the concept of rational choice may be useful, I do not employ it because of the lack of primary sources authored by Mormon converts in Finland and the resulting impossibility to argue for rational behavior on an individual level.

Criticism against the paradigm of religious economies has been based for example on the fact that it tends to come out of an American perspective and reality of an unregulated religious economy. In the critics' views, some propositions arising out of the model do not fit Europe particularly well due to the continent's historical attachment to state-sponsored national churches. The paradigm has also been criticized due to its claims about the absence of secularization. Such a view has been criticized as too simplistic and reductionist, even unfounded.⁵¹ Despite these criticisms, it is my view that the core idea of a regulated or unregulated economy with its competing actors and resulting dynamics corresponds well to reality also in the nineteenth century; I do not employ the features that concern secularization.

⁴⁹ Stark and Finke, *Acts of Faith*, p. 199.

⁵⁰ Stark and Finke, *Acts of Faith*, p. 113.

⁵¹ See especially Steve Bruce, *Choice and Religion: A Critique of Rational Choice Theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).

Summary of the theoretical framework

This dissertation concerns the analysis of how a new foreign social movement entered an established society and the ways in which that society reacted. Due to the culture and views prevalent in society, certain boundaries were drawn upon encounter and decisions were made concerning the acceptability of the new movement. "How should the establishment react?" and "Can this new philosophy be embraced by society?" are examples of the kinds of questions asked in this situation. The answers contribute to the boundaries and degree of otherness and tension, or familiarity and acceptance, that the new movement comes to be associated with.

Such otherness and tension is not the consequence of every individual personally encountering the movement and making his or her personal boundaries and decisions. Rather, because individual realities are socially constructed, attitudes formed by powerful societal actors are mediated through social networks and sources such as print media, often becoming the accepted norm against which the movement should be judged when encountered. In the case of a religious movement, negative attitudes are mediated through anticult and countercult forms of argumentation. The former seeks to discredit the movement by appealing to secular reasons, for example by making claims about fraud or deception. The latter seeks to discredit the movement through religious argumentation, portraying it for example as being harmful to the soul. The effects of such arguments are further strengthened in regulated religious economies.

Although these processes are powerful, it would still be misleading to characterize society as a monolith. This is why the movement will be met in different ways by different individuals, and thus it is important to analyze the movement's interface to a variety of societal actors. Some, after assessing the costs and benefits associated with joining the movement, will accept its philosophical premises and join it, others will react with interest or indifference, while yet others will display hostility towards it. The social networks of those accepting its premises are highly important, because they provide a key path through which the movement can expand.

These concepts have guided my examination of the source materials, and I probe examples of their manifestations. It should also be pointed out that many of these concepts (for example those relating to the importance of social networks in conversion and those distinguishing between anticultism and countercultism) have been devel-

oped in modern times, based on empirical studies also conducted in modern times. However, they are based on principles that find resonance also historically.

Material and Method

This study is grounded in a wide array of contemporary primary sources, written in Finnish, Swedish, English, and Danish. The most important source of documents is the Church History Library and Archives of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (abbreviated as **CHLA** in the footnotes of this work), located in Salt Lake City, Utah, in the United States of America. Due to the church's centralized organization, nineteenth-century material related to Finland has been deposited there, not in Finland. The most important document is the church's Finnish membership record ledger of the time, including notes kept by the missionaries. Three other very important sources are diaries kept by missionaries Carl Sundström and Axel Tullgren in Swedish and by S. Norman Lee in English while in Finland.

I have also utilized the archive's holdings of correspondence by leaders of the Scandinavian mission and minutes of early meetings for example in Stockholm, the Mormon ecclesiastical region to which Finland belonged for most of the time period of this study. Furthermore, the archive has full runs of the church periodical *Skandinaviens Stjerne* (1851–1956) [The Star of Scandinavia]⁵² and the Swedish *Nordstjernen*, later *Nordstjärnan* (1877–1998) [The North Star]. Especially *Nordstjernen* was important for the early Mormons in Finland and contains letters written by the missionaries while there.⁵³

The archive also contains the literature published by the church in Scandinavia during that time. Indicative of Mormon activity in nineteenth-century Finland is that a modern researcher can find hardly any early Mormon publications in Finnish libraries; instead one has to examine them abroad. Such literature is important in that it gives insights concerning the image that the Mormons wanted to construct of themselves through their proselytizing efforts. Although not strictly speaking a primary source from the perspective of the present study, the archive also houses a number of "Manuscript Histories." The one

⁵² The Danish name of the periodical is usually translated into English incorrectly as "Scandinavian Star," but the possessive form mandates the translation "Scandinavia's Star" or "Star of Scandinavia."

⁵³ Zachary R. Jones, "Conversion amid Conflict: Mormon Proselytizing in Russian Finland, 1861–1914," *Journal of Mormon History*, vol. 35, no. 3 (Summer 2009), p. 6, speaks generally concerning the existence of "hundreds of letters" that "document LDS proselytizing in Finland," but I have found the total corpus of letters by leaders, missionaries, and others to be substantially smaller.

related to Finland, mentioned above and compiled by Andrew Jenson, has been utilized. I have spent a total of four weeks at the Salt Lake City archive in the summers of 2006, 2008, and 2010, but the staff also made some of the most important sources digitally or otherwise available for me to examine in Finland.

The Family History Library (**FHL**) of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Salt Lake City has also been of help for my study. The main sources that I have used at this repository are microfilmed copies of the church's early membership records in Sweden (for charting the background of most of the missionaries to Finland) and Utah (for charting the fates of the Mormon emigrants from Finland to Utah) and a variety of documents concerning emigration. I have also benefited from materials housed at the L. Tom Perry Special Collections of the Harold B. Lee Library (**HBL**) at Brigham Young University in Provo, Utah. Of most use were early copies of Swedish Mormon hymn books and manuscripts related to S. Norman Lee.

Primary sources housed in Finnish archives are of immense importance, as this study analyzes Mormonism's introduction to Finnish society both from the Mormon *and* the Finnish society's point of view. This is so even regardless of the small scale of Mormon activity. The extensive Finnish archives have not been scoured thoroughly for Mormon references, but rather my searches in them have been based on clues received mainly from material produced by contemporary Mormon missionaries.

The National Archives (**KA**) in Helsinki house a variety of sub-archives that have been of great help. The archive of Porvoo Diocesan Chapter was used to chart how Mormonism was received by clergy in its area, and the archive of Uusimaa Provincial Government gave information for example on the governmental response to Mormonism in that area. The National Archives also house the archive of the Senate Justice Department which contains one of the key sources used in Chapter 6, namely the papers related to a court trial held in the 1880s. Furthermore, the National Archives have microfiche or microfilm copies of Lutheran parish records from the entire country. These functioned as one type of census in the nineteenth century and have been used to confirm data from Mormon membership records and in establishing the importance of social networks in Mormonism's spread in Finland (see Appendices B and C). Lutheran church records also shed further light on Mormon attitudes towards Lutheranism by detailing

to what extent the Mormons partook of compulsory communion and had their children christened after their own conversions.⁵⁴

The Provincial Archives of Turku (**TMA**) house the archive of Turku Diocesan Chapter among others. This archive has been of particular help in Chapter 6, as it contains correspondence between Lutheran clergy and the Diocesan Chapter concerning the locale of interest. The archive of Turku Court of Appeal and the archive of Turku and Pori Provincial Government have also been used for inspecting court and prison records along with passport records (for the study of emigration). At the Provincial Archives of Vaasa (**VMA**) I have benefited from the archive of Vaasa Parish when analyzing the reaction of local Lutheran clergy to Mormon proselytizing in the area. Furthermore, the archives of Vaasa City Court and Vaasa Provincial Government have provided information concerning the response to Mormon missionaries and converts in that area. Lutheran parish archives in Helsinki (**CRHP**), Pedersöre (**APP**), Pietarsaari (**CRPP**), Pohja (**APSP**), and Sipoo (**ASSP**) have also been utilized, as have online collections such as the Utah Death Certificate Index, 1904–1959 (**UDC**) and the United States Census, both of the latter for the study of Mormon emigrants from Finland.

A significant source is provided by the National Library of Finland through its Historical Newspaper Library. This collection contains a digitized version of practically every Finnish newspaper issue published between 1771 and 1900, with later years being added continually. The material has been processed by Optical Character Recognition (OCR) technology and is thus searchable by keyword. In contrast to the other primary sources housed in Finnish archives, I have searched this corpus comprehensively for relevant data. Such an undertaking would have been impossible for one study before the advent of digital technology. The limited accuracy of OCR technology leads to minor complications, further discussed in Chapter 3. The National Library also houses copies of many of the contemporary books and periodicals discussed in that chapter.

With the exception of one 1886 letter, I have not been able to locate personal material such as diaries or correspondence produced by Finnish Mormon converts during the period of the study. The church's

⁵⁴ Immo Nokkala, *Ehtoollispakkokysymys Suomessa 1818–1910* (Helsinki: Suomen Kirkkohistoriallinen Seura, 1986).

archive in Salt Lake City does not contain such diaries, contrary to the case for converts of many other countries, probably due to the small scale of Mormon activity in Finland and the even smaller scale of Mormon emigration from Finland to Utah. The church's Finnish archive in Hämeenlinna does not contain materials pertaining to the time period discussed in this study.

For this reason I have sought to raise the attention of descendants (generally unknown to modern Finnish Mormons) of the Finnish Mormon converts and emigrants to Utah through a number of newspaper articles, focusing on the areas with most nineteenth-century Mormon activity. This has been done to call out for their help in case they would be in possession of primary sources with which they could have contributed to the study.⁵⁵ Unfortunately little such information has emerged, and thus this study is lacking in the perspective of the converts themselves. I have also tried to track down and contact the descendants of some of the missionaries to Finland, an endeavor that has provided me with some additional information.

Methods

Four methods have been employed to answer the research questions listed above. The use of four methods may seem excessive, but in my opinion the less-known topic and the limited amount of source material make a broad approach useful for reaching answers and conclusions of general meaning and import.

First, the entire dissertation is informed by a critical reading of primary sources. While history is commonly thought of simply as "what happened" or "the past," historians recognize that such a definition is too naïve and optimistic. Instead, history can be thought of as a partial reconstruction of the past within the possibilities provided and the limitations imposed by the primary sources handed down from the past; history is even at its best only as good as the sources

⁵⁵ Marianne Holman, "Retracing steps of Finland pioneers," *Church News*, vol. 78, no. 20 (17 May 2008), pp. 4–5, Henrik Westermark, "Första mormonerna döptes i Borgby," *Borgåbladet*, 3 March 2009, p. 8, and Beatrice Londén, "Mormonepok i Pojo tas upp i avhandling," *Västra Nyland*, 7 March 2009, p. 7. The editor's title in *Borgåbladet* is in error, as the first Mormons were baptized in the Vaasa area. The Mormon descendants of early converts in Larsmo are not aware of such written nineteenth-century documents in their families.

allow. This leads me to theoretical comments on how the primary sources should be approached.

The credibility and usability of sources may be examined from both the external and internal points of view. The external examination considers the birth, author, and provenance of the source document, i.e., whether the document is authentic as an artifact. The primary sources used in this dissertation are mostly housed in the archives of the institutions that have produced them, and I have not found any discrepancies that would point to non-authenticity. The internal examination of sources bears the brunt of my considerations. The three main lines of enquiry regard the bias of the source, the chronological and physical proximity of the author to the events described, and whether the source is dependent on some other source for the information it provides.⁵⁶

For example, the authors of the primary source materials all had their own motivations and their own socially constructed realities from within which they filtered what was to be written down and from what perspective.⁵⁷ Mormon missionaries were influenced by the official optimism and expectations of the church organization and thus their reports may overstate their successes or people's interest towards their message and downplay difficulties and setbacks. On the other hand, many non-Mormons had negative preconceptions and thoughts of the Mormons, causing them to emphasize what they saw as being wrong with the movement and neglect discussing positive aspects. Such matters must be considered when using the sources to construct an understanding of the past.

Similarly, one cannot give equal weight to the letters or diaries of Mormon missionaries who worked in Finland on the one hand, and statements or writings of Mormon church leaders abroad who had received information concerning the work in a foreign country from the missionary or upwards through the "chain of command" on the other. If these are in conflict on a particular matter, one should generally trust the first-hand reports of the missionaries who were both

⁵⁶ Stellan Dahlgren and Anders Florén, *Fråga det förflutna: En introduktion till modern historieforskning* (Lund: Studentlitteratur, 1996), pp. 184–192. John Tosh with Seán Lang, *The Pursuit of History: Aims, Methods and New Directions in the Study of Modern History*, 4th ed. (Harlow: Pearson Education, 2006), pp. 93–100.

⁵⁷ Martha Howell and Walter Prevenier, *From Reliable Sources: An Introduction to Historical Methods* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2001), pp. 18–19.

chronologically and geographically closer to the events. This particular example also highlights the dependence of one source on another. The contents of the leaders' statements are an interpretation of the original source authored by (for example) the missionary; because of this dependence, one should generally use the original source if it exists. However, if two independent sources provide the same information it can usually be regarded as reliable. In my study I have sought to recognize such limitations when applicable. The result is a striving for a detailed and balanced understanding of what happened and why.

Second, I utilize elementary quantitative analysis in assessing how much Finnish society was exposed to Mormonism in newspapers.⁵⁸ This consists of counting newspaper articles related to or mentioning Mormonism and subsequently creating indices that reflect the movement's prevalence as an item of news. Third, results of that enquiry are expanded by subjecting the main elements of the publicity to discourse analysis, a method related to analyzing the performative or constitutive aspects of language.⁵⁹ Specifically, this shows how the Mormon image was being constructed among the Finnish population through printed sources. It also helps to understand the repertoires that became commonplace when discussing the Mormons. These two methods are employed mainly in Chapter 3.

Finally, I utilize case studies. This method seeks to create understanding of a general phenomenon by examining in depth its individual manifestations.⁶⁰ One reason for using this method is the dearth of primary source material that would show how Mormonism operated in Finland at the grassroots level. Individual cases exist where material is more plentiful, and this fact is used to advantage especially in Chapters 5, 6, and 7. Case studies do not automatically lend themselves to generalizations, but they are very useful in illuminating aspects of the introduction of Mormonism to Finland.

⁵⁸ For more on quantitative analysis, see for example David Kaplan, ed., *The Sage Handbook of Quantitative Methodology for the Social Sciences* (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 2004).

⁵⁹ Stephanie Taylor, "Locating and Conducting Discourse Analytic Research," in Margaret Wetherell, Stephanie Taylor, and Simeon J. Yates, *Discourse as Data: A Guide for Analysis* (London: Sage Publications, 2001), p. 6.

⁶⁰ Robert K. Yin, *Case Study Research: Design and Methods* (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 2003).

Some further words of critical reflexivity regarding my theoretical and methodological perspective are in order. While informed by useful sources and methods, I recognize that even this study recounts, analyzes, and explains only part of the past as it happened. Indeed, the writing of history itself, relying to some extent on the empirical and positivist research tradition, can be seen as antithetical to the social constructionist tradition. How can one produce a source-critically informed “detailed and balanced understanding of what happened and why,” as I outlined my purpose above, if no one single past or one single truthful version of it exists?⁶¹

The key lies in realizing that from the social constructionist point of view, I am not producing “the truth” about the past. The present study will have some degree of authority and acceptance as “the truth” due to having been produced according to the dictums and conventions of modern scholarly research and writing. But in the final analysis, I am producing one particular narrative and discourse about the past, a discourse that emphasizes certain things and leaves out others, a discourse that is influenced by my own experience in early twenty-first century Finnish society together with its values, common sense, and cultural norms. This discourse is then given power, given the “stamp of ‘truth,’” added to our body of “knowledge,” and “made to stick” by society and its individuals due to their respect for the disciplinary regime of academia.⁶² This is not to discount the study itself. Rather it is to resolve the surface contradiction in the axioms of the two schools of thought whose theories and methods I utilize together.

Throughout the dissertation I use images to illustrate the matters under discussion. Some of these images are taken from nineteenth-century publications that were available in Finland, and as such they provide an additional dimension of understanding regarding how Mormonism was introduced. It is possible to analyze the content and import of religion-related images as they relate to social construction

⁶¹ Gergen, *An Invitation to Social Construction*, p. 63. For further discussion of this dilemma from the perspective of history writing, see Alun Munslow, *Deconstructing History* (London: Routledge, 1997).

⁶² Burr, *An Introduction to Social Constructionism*, p. 48, 63–64, and 90. Gergen, *An Invitation to Social Construction*, pp. 47–48.

and other essential concepts, but such an approach is not employed in this dissertation.⁶³

⁶³ For more on such an approach, see David Morgan, *The Lure of Images: A History of Religion and Visual Media in America* (London: Routledge, 2007).

1. The Origin and Development of Mormonism

“This glorious time has now come, when the predictions of the old prophets are to be fulfilled. The Kingdom of God has been established on the earth, and the eternal gospel, with all its officers, gifts, powers, and blessings has been restored through immediate revelation ... Happy are those who will listen to the warning voice of truth ... and even if the world would hate them for it, they will nevertheless rejoice for having followed the example of the Savior...” (*Inbjudning till Guds rike*, 1884)

“A deceiver, Josef Smith from North America, said (in 1830) that he had found in the ground the book of the prophet *Mormon*, which contained new revelations given by God. In America ... he succeeded in getting quite a group of devotees ... Nowadays the whole sect seems to be falling apart and disappearing.” (*Kirkkohistoria kouluja varten*, 1900)

Mormonism can be called the ugly duckling among nineteenth-century new religious movements.⁶⁴ Its doctrinal innovations and religious practice tended to elicit feelings of abhorrence and accusations of blasphemy among the more traditional Christians of the time. Symptomatic of such deep-seated reservations was the decision not to allow the Mormons to present themselves as one among other religions at the Parliament of Religions of the 1893 Chicago World’s Fair.⁶⁵ As formulated by Moore, Mormon difference was “a deliberate invention [by Mormons and non-Mormons] elaborated over time. It was both the cause and result of a conflict in which all the parties discovered reasons to stress not what Mormons had in common with other Americans, which was a great deal, but what they did not have in

⁶⁴ William Mulder, *Homeward to Zion: The Mormon Migration from Scandinavia* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000 [1957]), p. 102.

⁶⁵ Kondon Rich Smith, “Appropriating the Secular: Mormonism and the World’s Columbian Exposition of 1893,” *Journal of Mormon History*, vol. 34, no. 4 (Fall 2008), pp. 153–180.

common.”⁶⁶ Other scholars have similarly recognized the movement’s idiosyncratic nature. Ahlstrom noted Mormonism’s multivalent faces: “The exact significance of this great story persistently escapes definition ... One cannot even be sure if the object of our consideration is a sect, a mystery cult, a new religion, a church, a people, a nation, or an American subculture; indeed, at different times and places it is all of these.”⁶⁷

In this chapter I lay a context for the rest of the study by overviewing Mormon history and doctrine, the church’s views on the rest of the Christian world, and its nineteenth-century missionary work. Such a context illuminates the nature and methods of the early manifestation of Mormonism that was introduced to Finland. More particularly, this context situates the movement along the axis of sociocultural tension, an essential component in assessing the costs and benefits of individuals converting to it. As discussed in the section on theory, tension can be measured in the movement’s distinctiveness, antagonism, and separation as compared to the general environment. Mormonism is discussed here not from the Finnish point of view, but rather as a religious movement more generally.

1.1. History and Doctrine

Mormonism originated with Joseph Smith Jr., born on December 23, 1805, in the state of Vermont in the United States. When Smith was 11 years of age, his family headed by his father Joseph Smith Sr. and his mother Lucy Mack Smith uprooted, moving south to the rural area of Manchester and Palmyra in upstate New York. The Smith family was religiously involved to some extent. His mother, for example, joined the Presbyterian church, while his grandfather held to a kind of Universalist faith.⁶⁸

Around the age of 14, Smith became concerned about his standing before God. One of the probable reasons for the emergence of worry was the effect of what is known as the Second Great Awakening, a

⁶⁶ R. Laurence Moore, *Religious Outsiders and the Making of Americans* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), pp. 31–32.

⁶⁷ Sydney E. Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972), p. 508.

⁶⁸ Richard Lyman Bushman, *Joseph Smith: Rough Stone Rolling* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2005), pp. 8–37.

wave of religious revivals that was felt especially in the eastern United States during that time. The revivals, figuratively speaking, scorched the area that earned the name “the burned-over district.”⁶⁹ Manchester and Palmyra were no exception in this regard, and thus the various Christian churches in the area preached repentance and the need for religious awakening. Smith became convinced that he was a sinner and began a search for the true faith in order to receive forgiveness from God.

Mormonism’s founding theophany was a direct consequence of Joseph Smith’s quest for forgiveness and knowledge concerning God. According to Smith, he went into the woods to pray in early 1820, with the prayer resulting in a divine visitation. A number of accounts concerning this vision are in existence, with a side-by-side comparison showing different emphases and some internal contradictions. The canonized account of the vision informs that Smith was visited by God the Father and Jesus Christ, who told him to join none of the existing churches.⁷⁰ An important and probably most immediate consequence was that Joseph Smith became convinced that his sins had been forgiven. In this sense Smith’s vision was not out of the ordinary, as it was to a degree common for individuals at the time to claim to have received such divine visions of forgiveness.⁷¹ The most important consequence of the “First Vision” was not a matter of Smith’s personal salvation. Rather, it was of grander significance, having to do with the salvation of entire mankind: Smith later claimed that he was told during his vision to join none of the existing churches, as God had a great work for him to do. The pure Christian faith had been lost from the world, and it would be Smith’s role to act as modern-day prophet and restorer of the ancient Christian church and its truths.

Interestingly it was not the First Vision that was to serve as early Mormonism’s most potent evidence of divine approbation of and communication to its prophet. In 1823, Joseph Smith again became

⁶⁹ Whitney R. Cross, *The Burned-over District: The Social and Intellectual History of Enthusiastic Religion in Western New York, 1800–1850* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1950). There has been some controversy regarding the timing and existence of the revivals that would have affected Joseph Smith; see the references in for example Arrington and Bitton, *The Mormon Experience*, p. 7.

⁷⁰ Joseph Smith – History 1:14–20. This book is part of *The Pearl of Great Price*, canonized into Mormon scripture in 1880.

⁷¹ Bushman, *Joseph Smith*, pp. 39–41.

concerned about his standing before God. While it is not known what exactly prompted these feelings in him, he explained that he “was left to all kinds of temptations; and, mingling with all kinds of society, I frequently fell into many foolish errors, and displayed the weakness of youth, and the foibles of human nature.”⁷² Praying in his bed late one night, Joseph Smith claimed he was visited by an angel that called himself Moroni. Smith was told that he was to bring forth the scriptural record of a people that had inhabited ancient America. Similar to the *Bible*, it contained the religious and historical writings of prophets that had been handed down through the generations. In contrast to the *Bible*, the manuscript had been buried in the ground by the final prophet around 421 A.D., to be brought forth in modern times.

Smith was guided to the manuscript by Moroni, getting the metal plates on which it was written into his possession in September 1827.⁷³ Smith claimed to translate the ancient language into modern English through divine inspiration. Contemporary evidence indicates that the process was bipartite, with Smith dictating words in English and a scribe writing them down. Most of the text was produced by Smith using a seer stone, which he shielded from external light by putting it into a hat. It was claimed that the translation of the ancient text appeared on the stone, with Smith dictating it to the scribe. The completed translation was delivered to a printer in 1829, with publication taking place on March 26, 1830. Thus the *Book of Mormon* was born.⁷⁴ Above the First Vision which was not spoken of much in the church’s early years, this was the tangible result that was seen as evidence of divine communication to Smith.⁷⁵

Religions often have their “founding miracles.” These are the events and myths that give religions their reason for existence and their most immediate connection to the divine. For Christianity as a whole, for example, the resurrection of Jesus Christ has a central theological role for the divinity of its origins. For Islam, Muhammad’s early visions were the events that formed the movement’s basis and

⁷² Joseph Smith – History 1:28.

⁷³ Terry L. Givens, *By the Hand of Mormon: The American Scripture that Launched a New World Religion* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 11–22.

⁷⁴ Givens, *By the Hand of Mormon*, pp. 26–42 and 55–61.

⁷⁵ James B. Allen, “The Significance of Joseph Smith’s ‘First Vision’ in Mormon Thought,” *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*, vol. 1, no. 3 (Autumn 1966), pp. 29–45.

claim to supernatural revelation. For Mormonism, this founding miracle was the coming forth of the *Book of Mormon*. As argued by Givens, it was in fact not the book's theological content that was central. The text was rarely used by the early Mormons when seeking to establish doctrinal points. Rather, the significance of the *Book of Mormon* was in what it represented. Heralded as a new scriptural revelation from God, it was seen as a sign that the heavens were open again after a long period of silence. The early Mormons saw this as one of the distinct boundary markers between themselves and traditional Christians.⁷⁶

There are later indications that Smith may have been ridiculed already for his 1820 vision, but events surrounding the production and publication of the *Book of Mormon* provide the first glimpses into a juxtaposition of the Mormon faithful on the one hand and skeptics on the other. The book was not merely a theological boundary marker; to the skeptics it was prima-facie evidence of the fraudulence of Smith's religious activities. The treasure-digger-turned-prophet had gone too far.⁷⁷

The publication of the *Book of Mormon* also led to the organization of Smith's new religious movement. The "Church of Christ" was organized on April 6, 1830, in the state of New York.⁷⁸ Much of the early growth of Mormonism took place through existing social networks. Members of the immediate Smith family, for example, spread their belief that their family member Joseph had received divine revelations and was now a prophet of God.⁷⁹ From the very early days Mormonism also took on the character of a proselytizing faith. Missionaries were sent to close-by areas and also further afield to the inner areas of the United States.⁸⁰

In 1831, Joseph Smith moved west with his New York followers to the state of Ohio. One of the reasons for this was a large group of residents of Kirtland, Ohio, that had been converted due to Mormon proselytizing in the area. Another reason was the opposition Joseph

⁷⁶ Givens, *By the Hand of Mormon*, pp. 84–88.

⁷⁷ Bushman, *Joseph Smith*, pp. 40–41 and 88–91.

⁷⁸ In 1834, the name was changed to "The Church of the Latter Day Saints" and in 1838 to the current form "The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints."

⁷⁹ Rodney Stark [Reid L. Neilson, ed.], *The Rise of Mormonism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), pp. 57–58.

⁸⁰ Bushman, *Joseph Smith*, pp. 122–123.

Smith experienced in the state of New York.⁸¹ In a sense, this first move from New York to Ohio becomes archetypal for the nineteenth-century Mormon experience. Both the general church organization (less often) and individual missionaries (more often) had to physically uproot themselves time after time because of societal opposition and look for a better future in a new geographical location.

The Mormon faith began to acquire its distinctness in Kirtland, the de facto center of Mormonism for a number of years. To begin with, Mormonism was much like the rest of Christianity as far as its theology and practice goes. The church taught, and still does, that Jesus Christ was mankind's Savior and that only he could atone for an individual's sins. The text of the *Book of Mormon* is distinctly Christian in content, with few doctrinal matters to set it apart from nineteenth-century Protestant interpretations of the *Bible*. As mentioned earlier, it was primarily the book's story of origin and its status as a symbol of modern revelation that was its most significant attribute.

When assessing the development of Mormonism at this time, it is essential not to see Joseph Smith merely as the founder and leader of a church. Important in this regard becomes the way he assumed his role as a prophet, a spokesman for God. This role of prophet did not imply merely a privileged connection to God, but rather it signified that Smith became a leader of a people like Old Testament prophets were. He was a modern Moses, charged to lead God's people and communicate God's will in modern days.⁸² This forms the basis for understanding Smith's theological innovations that led Mormonism on a path separate from that of traditional Christianity.

For example, Smith created his own revision of the Biblical text beginning in 1831, purporting to restore lost fragments of text and altering passages that he thought had been corrupted. The undertaking was justified by his right to divine inspiration as a prophet.⁸³ Some of the text eventually became part of *The Pearl of Great Price*, canonized

⁸¹ Bushman, *Joseph Smith*, pp. 122–126.

⁸² Bushman, *Joseph Smith*, pp. 277–278.

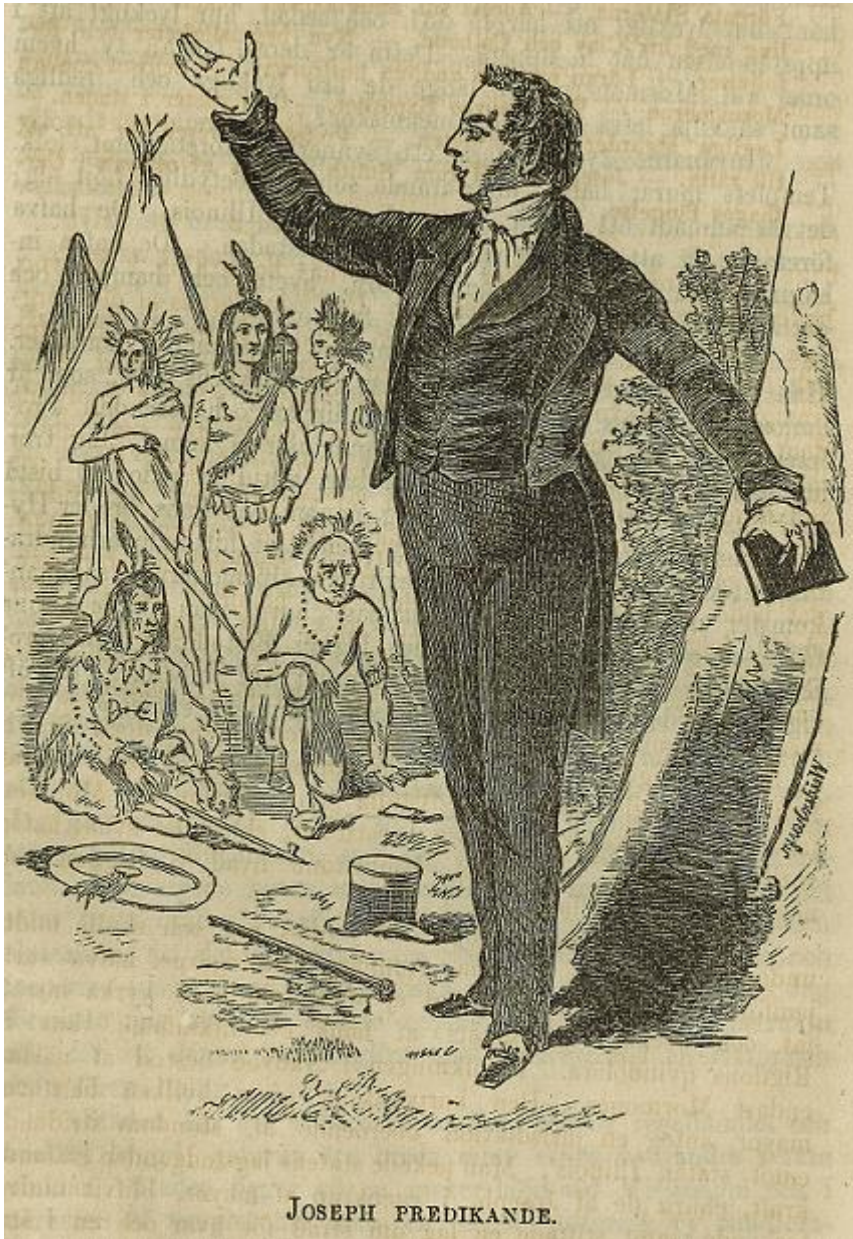
⁸³ Philip L. Barlow, *Mormons and the Bible: The Place of the Latter-day Saints in American Religion* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), pp. 46–61. Heikki Räisänen, "Joseph Smith as a Creative Interpreter of the Bible," *International Journal of Mormon Studies*, vol. 2 (Spring 2009), pp. 1–22.

into Mormon scripture in 1880.⁸⁴ Another development during this time was the Word of Wisdom announced in 1833. According to this revelation, individuals should abstain from alcohol, hot drinks (later interpreted as coffee and tea), and tobacco. The Word of Wisdom was not always regarded as essential by the early Mormons, and it is common to find references to for example coffee drinking in contemporary sources.⁸⁵ Later during the nineteenth century and especially in the twentieth century it began to acquire the role of a central boundary maintenance device, not only theologically but primarily in everyday living.

Theological revelations were compiled and published in 1833 as the *Book of Commandments*. Two years later a revised edition was published as *The Book of Doctrine and Covenants*, modern Mormonism's fourth book of holy scripture, in addition to the previously mentioned *Bible*, the *Book of Mormon*, and the *Pearl of Great Price*. Its distinctiveness lies in its content: whereas the *Bible* and the *Book of Mormon* concern God's revelations and dealings with ancient peoples, the *Doctrine and Covenants* underscored Mormonism's belief in new revelation. It was seen as a book that contained God's dealings with modern mankind, communicating God's will in new circumstances. It thus stands apart from other Mormon scripture of the time and emphasizes the faith's focus on present, living prophets. This feature would cause further rifts between Mormons and others due to its real and perceived manifestations.

⁸⁴ The book of scripture also contains what Joseph Smith maintained were translations of ancient Abrahamic papyrus texts.

⁸⁵ Carl A. Sundström, one of the two first Mormon missionaries to Finland, provides an example of this. While onboard a steamship during his second mission to Scandinavia in February 1894, "I made coffee on board and it tasted good to us all. We were frozen, and I then remembered my dear wife and children as I had coffee from my home in America." See Carl A. Sundström diary, 17 February 1894, CHLA. On the development of the Word of Wisdom more generally, see Paul H. Peterson, *An Historical Analysis of the Word of Wisdom* (Master's thesis, Brigham Young University, USA, 1972).



*Figure 1.1. Joseph Smith as depicted in Charles Mackay's *Mormonerne* (1853). Indians, the "Lamanites," were seen by the early Mormons as being part of Israel, God's covenant people.*

In addition to doctrinal development during the Kirtland period (1831–1838), Mormonism developed organizationally. The most important events in that regard were the formation of the First Presidency (the highest governing and legislating body of the church) in

1834 and the calling of Twelve Apostles in 1835. The First Presidency was composed of Joseph Smith as the president and of his councillors. The Twelve Apostles, like the New Testament Apostles, were to have the main responsibility for taking Mormonism, “the restored gospel,” to the world. That these high-ranking officers were charged with such a task further highlights the expansionist thrust that Mormonism was marked by since its birth.

Central to the hierarchical leadership structure was the concept of priesthood, the authority to act in God’s name. It was seen as having been restored after ancient Christianity’s apostasy, as residing only in Mormonism, and as being necessary for ceremonies such as baptism to have any efficacy in the hereafter. Contrary to Catholicism with its ordained clergy and some strains of Protestantism with their priesthood of all believers, the Mormon priesthood was egalitarian in that it was given freely to all worthy male members of the church, but it had to be done through ordination by those in authority. It was divided into the Melchizedek or higher priesthood and the lower, Aaronic priesthood.⁸⁶

Organizing formally was central in keeping together a growing church body. Although Joseph Smith was still unquestionably the prophet with final authority, a measure of decision-making power was delegated to lower levels. In a sense this served to speed up the Weberian process of routinizing Joseph Smith’s charisma into the church organization after his death.⁸⁷ The early leaders learned of Smith’s ways of thinking and thus became prepared to carry Mormonism forward at a later time, not as persons with Joseph Smith’s status but rather as the engines of a church organization that carried his legacy forward. Indeed, even the senior apostle and later church president Brigham Young sometimes felt he was not the equal of Joseph Smith.⁸⁸ These organizational developments also brought into relief another of Mormonism’s important features: a lay leadership

⁸⁶ Gregory A. Prince, *Power From On High: The Development of Mormon Priesthood* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1995).

⁸⁷ For more on this concept, see Max Weber [trans. A.R. Henderson and Talcott Parsons], *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization* (London: William Hodge & Co., 1947), pp. 334–354.

⁸⁸ Josh Probert, “‘A Good Hand to Keep the Dogs and Wolves out of the Flock:’ Nineteenth-Century Mormon Thought on Brigham Young as Prophet,” unpublished manuscript presented at the “Contours of Mormon Thought, 1845–1890” symposium at Brigham Young University, USA, on 27 July 2006.

with no required theological training. Another example of the belief in modern revelation, this step showed Mormonism's disregard for traditional Christianity's conventions. Men were not to be trained for office through seminaries, but rather chiefly through their own experiences and faith in God. In this, Mormonism resembled many other religious movements in nineteenth-century America, although going further than most through its complete rejection of a trained ministry.⁸⁹

The concept of temples also developed during the Kirtland period. They were to be buildings of special significance, such as the Old Testament tabernacle and Solomon's temple, places where God could reveal himself to his people. They were also to be places where religious ceremonies could be performed. The Kirtland temple was built at great sacrifice and completed in 1836. The dedication ceremonies provided some of the early Mormons with what they saw as Pentecostal confirmations of the divinity of their faith.⁹⁰

Societal opposition to the Mormons was rekindled in Kirtland. In addition to opposition from the outside, Mormonism was also plagued by internal difficulties. As in other religious movements, such internal difficulties and disagreements caused people to lose their faith. These were persons who became disillusioned with Mormon leadership and doctrine, preferring to disassociate themselves from the movement. As in modern days and with religious movements in general, a consistent theme associated with the apostasy phenomenon in early Mormonism was the publication of "atrocious stories." In these narratives, the former Mormons portrayed their time in the Mormon movement, analyzed their unfulfilled expectations and explained their reasons for disassociation. These reasons commonly had to do with feelings that the church leadership was duplicitous and held too much influence over the membership in both religious and earthly matters.⁹¹

In keeping with the archetypal migration concept, Joseph Smith, and with him Mormon headquarters, eventually uprooted due to these difficulties. In 1838 Smith fled southwest to the state of Missouri,

⁸⁹ Nathan O. Hatch, *The Democratization of American Christianity* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1989), pp. 133–134.

⁹⁰ Bushman, *Joseph Smith*, pp. 315–321.

⁹¹ Examples of early dissenters are given in the early chapters of Roger D. Launius and Linda Thatcher, eds., *Differing Visions: Dissenters in Mormon History* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1994).

the home of some Mormons already from the early 1830s. The reason for this was that a part of Missouri had been designated by Joseph Smith's revelation as modern-day Zion, the promised land. Thus a number of Mormons had moved to the state and settled their families there. Smith himself, however, had only occasionally visited the Missouri Zion before 1838.⁹²

The Missouri period (1838–1839) was an even more problematic time for the Mormons. In contrast to Kirtland, most of the difficulties came from the relations with outsiders, in particular the earlier Missourian settlers. They reacted against the Mormons who claimed Missouri as their promised land, feeling entitled to the area that they had already settled. The Mormons also had a tendency to act as a block in political matters, and the settlers feared that directives by the faith's leadership, coupled with an ever increasing number of adherents, would result in the Mormons running all local political affairs according to their wishes. It did not help that their prophet was seen as being hopelessly dishonest and power-hungry, wielding unquestioned control over his flock, a theme discussed further in Chapter 3.

The problems developed into violence on an election day when two Mormons were prevented by non-Mormon Missourians from voting. The Mormons retaliated, and the situation finally escalated so that Governor Lilburn W. Boggs issued an extermination order, calling for Mormons to either be killed or driven out of the state. In a sense, he was responding to Mormon leader Sidney Rigdon, who earlier had declared that it would be "a war of extermination" between the Mormons and others, as the Mormons were no longer going to put up with their rights being violated. Joseph Smith was put into jail in Liberty, Missouri, where he spent about five months in late 1838 and early 1839. The Mormons again uprooted and fled Missouri northeast to the state of Illinois.⁹³ In 1839 the Mormons bought land from the area of Commerce on the banks of the Mississippi river. The name of the town was changed to Nauvoo, and as a result of missionary work in Great Britain and the doctrine of "gathering to Zion," converts from Europe began to arrive in 1840.

The Nauvoo period became Joseph Smith's golden era as a prophet. In addition to witnessing considerable success in expanding

⁹² Bushman, *Joseph Smith*, pp. 336–341.

⁹³ Stephen C. LeSueur, *The 1838 Mormon War in Missouri* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1990).

the church's membership, Smith functioned as the mayor of Nauvoo and the commander of the military group known as the Nauvoo Legion.⁹⁴ It was also in Nauvoo that Mormonism acquired many of its distinct doctrinal innovations. These include the doctrine of salvation for the dead through vicarious baptism performed by faithful church members in temples. A related innovation was that of esoteric temple ceremonies such as the endowment, regarded as necessary for the highest salvation. The endowment ceremony consisted of a ritual enactment of the creation and God's dealings with man through prophetic messengers throughout time, with the participants making promises of faithfulness to God and the Mormon movement.⁹⁵ As argued by Davies, the endowment became the supreme expression of Mormon views regarding the divinity of individuals and their capacity to conquer death, in part through ritually gained power.⁹⁶

Perhaps the most explosive religious innovation that came to fruition in Nauvoo was that of polygamy, more particularly polygyny, the marriage of one man to multiple women.⁹⁷ There is some evidence of plural marriage already from the Kirtland period, but it was in Nauvoo that it began to be practiced on a larger scale by the leadership, in secret. The doctrine was regarded as part of the restoration of all God-given practices throughout history in the end times. As such it held great importance for the Mormons and certainly set them even further apart from the societal mainstream. After becoming public later, it tended to be seen as the defining characteristic of Mormons by outsiders.⁹⁸

⁹⁴ Arrington and Bitton, *The Mormon Experience*, pp. 65–77.

⁹⁵ Douglas J. Davies, *An Introduction to Mormonism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 195–224. David J. Buerger, *The Mysteries of Godliness: A History of Mormon Temple Worship* (San Francisco: Smith Research Associates, 1994). Kim Östman, "Nykyajan kristillistä esoteriaa: Katsaus mormonismiin temppeletraditioon," *Teologinen Aikakauskirja*, vol. 111, no. 5 (2006), pp. 430–440.

⁹⁶ Davies, *An Introduction to Mormonism*, p. 211. Douglas J. Davies, *The Mormon Culture of Salvation: Force, Grace and Glory* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), p. 84.

⁹⁷ While historical Mormon plural marriage has overwhelmingly consisted of polygyny, it should be noted that some of Joseph Smith's marriages were polyandrous, meaning that the woman in question was already married to another man at the same time. See Todd Compton, *In Sacred Loneliness: The Plural Wives of Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1997).

⁹⁸ Richard S. Van Wagoner, *Mormon Polygamy: A History*, 2nd ed. (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1989).

Smith's status as a prophet was strong, and this divided opinions strongly. On the one hand, many revered their prophet deeply and rejoiced in his spiritual attributes and sermons. On the other hand, some Mormons and particularly the non-Mormons who lived in the vicinity tended to see the Latter-day Saints as a threatening group, especially because of their leader. Many, including some formerly close associates, felt that Joseph Smith's actions were too authoritarian and extensive: they were no longer the actions of a mere religious leader, but those of a man who held too many strings in his hands. The beginning of the end was the prospectus of the newspaper *Nauvoo Expositor*, where Smith's secret life of polygamy and other actions were criticized. The town council with which Smith consulted ordered the press to be destroyed, which the critics saw as the final evidence of his excessive theocratic power. A warrant was given to arrest Joseph Smith and his brother Hyrum, and they were murdered in Carthage, Illinois, while waiting for a trial on June 27, 1844.⁹⁹

Joseph Smith's death thrust his church into a difficult situation, as many stepped forward saying that they were the right person to lead the Mormons. Those emerging victorious from this succession crisis were Brigham Young and most of the other apostles, who said that Smith had given them the authority to continue his legacy and work. This is the group that still today bears the name "The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints" and whose introduction to Finland this study is concerned with. Numerous other groups were also born after Smith's death, of which the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (now the "Community of Christ") became the most notable. The followers of that movement believed that the prophetic authority moved not to the apostles but rather to Joseph Smith's descendants. They also distanced themselves from some of the doctrinal innovations of the Nauvoo period, such as the temple ceremonies and polygamy. Eventually led by Smith's son Joseph Smith III, they were sometimes called "Josephites" in distinction to the "Brighamites" led by Brigham Young.¹⁰⁰

Joseph Smith's death calmed the situation in Nauvoo for a while. But when dissatisfaction among the surrounding non-Mormon population continued to grow it became clear that the Mormons had to

⁹⁹ Bushman, *Joseph Smith*, pp. 537–550.

¹⁰⁰ D. Michael Quinn, "The Mormon Succession Crisis of 1844," *Brigham Young University Studies*, vol. 16, no. 2 (Winter 1976), pp. 187–234.

leave. Although cognizant of this fact, the Mormons continued completing their Nauvoo temple and participated en masse in the new endowment ceremony there at the end of 1845 and the beginning of 1846. Soon after they began a long overland westward exodus. Advance groups arrived outside the United States in the Rocky Mountains in the summer of 1847, settling in a large valley next to the Great Salt Lake. In addition to Salt Lake City, the Mormons began to build colonies and new towns, thus contributing in a decisive manner to the settling of what became known as the territory and later state of Utah.¹⁰¹

Mormon numbers in Utah were increased through converts made for example in Great Britain and Scandinavia. As explained in more detail in Section 1.3 and Chapter 7, these converts wanted to be united with the main body of the church due to the doctrine of gathering to Zion. The goal of this gathering was to build the Kingdom of God on earth, a kind of theocracy where the church's prophet-president functioned as God's mouthpiece in all things. In Utah the Mormons felt that they were finally safe and could live their religion to the fullest. The doctrine of plural marriage that was secret at first was made public in 1852, causing an outrage in the United States and abroad. An American correspondent to the *London Times*, for example, wrote in 1853 that "the whole system of Mormonism is utterly repugnant to all our moral, religious, and political ideas, and incompatible with the scope of all our institutions."¹⁰² In 1856, the Republican Party characterized plural marriage in its platform as one of the "twin relics of barbarism" along with slavery.¹⁰³

¹⁰¹ Arrington and Bitton, *The Mormon Experience*, pp. 83–105.

¹⁰² "The Political Aspects of Mormonism," *London Times*, 16 September 1853, p. 10.

¹⁰³ Sarah Barringer Gordon, *The Mormon Question: Polygamy and Constitutional Conflict in Nineteenth-Century America* (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 2002), p. 55. Interestingly, not all saw the Mormon practice of plural marriage as evidence of sexual licentiousness. When Mormon apostle Albert Carrington was excommunicated, the *New York Times* claimed that Mormonism is the religion that is strictest with sexuality and marital vows, not the other way around. "The Mormons look with abhorrence on sexual offenses." See "A Mormon Excommunicated," *New York Times*, 22 November 1885, p. 6.

Brigham Young
Mormonien ylimmäinen pappi.



Figure 1.2. Brigham Young as depicted by Suomen kuvalehti in 1877.

In order to understand Mormonism's distinctive nature during this time, it is essential to keep in mind that it was not merely a religion with tenets concerning proper morals and things of the hereafter. Givens has noted that in regards to theology, Mormonism tended to collapse the distance between the sacred and the mundane. Beginning already while Smith lived, even every-day tasks became imbued with

religious meaning on the one hand, while divine mysteries were made easily explainable on the other.¹⁰⁴ The lack of a boundary between the sacred and the secular functioned also as far as secular government goes, leading to a theocratic leadership model where the church leadership had authority also in secular matters. The United States sent its governmental and judicial officials to lead Utah territory, but Mormons sometimes viewed them and their motives with suspicion and listened more to their religious leaders instead. As Brigham Young said in 1855:

Though I may not be Governor here, my power will not be diminished. No man they can send here will have much influence with this community, unless he be the man of their choice. Let them send whom they will, and it does not diminish my influence one particle.¹⁰⁵

The church's theocratic ambitions were in open defiance of the American ideal of separating church and state, and along with polygamy, led to serious difficulties. Responding to dismal and exaggerated reports by federal officials who had been appointed to Utah, the country's president James Buchanan sent federal army troops to the territory in 1857. These were to install a new governor and to quell what was seen as rebellion against federal power. The events of 1857–1858 have become known as the Utah war, although no acts of outright war actually took place. To the Mormons such an effort by the United States seemed offensive. The Mormons were, in their own opinion, within their constitutional rights and supported the constitution and its ideals, although they thought that the administration of the time had strayed from it.¹⁰⁶

During the early Utah period the Mormons were quite isolated from the rest of the United States. Converts had to make an arduous overland journey in wagons or even pushing handcarts containing their belongings. The situation in this regard was changed significantly with the completion of the transcontinental railroad in 1869.

¹⁰⁴ Terryl L. Givens, *People of Paradox: A History of Mormon Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 37–52.

¹⁰⁵ Brigham Young (17 June 1855) in George D. Watt, ed., *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (Liverpool: Latter-day Saints' Book Depot, 1854–1886), vol. 2, p. 322.

¹⁰⁶ Norman F. Furniss, *The Mormon Conflict, 1850–1859* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1960).

Perhaps most importantly, the railroad collapsed the physical boundary between the Mormons and the rest of America. The non-Mormon population of Utah began to increase, and the Mormons increasingly came in contact with persons not of their faith.¹⁰⁷ Such contact did not generally remove the Mormons' faith in their distinctive doctrines, however. It has been estimated that 20–25% of the adult Mormons at this time were members of polygamous households, with the number varying further depending on exact locale.¹⁰⁸ They continued to pay strict attention to their leaders in both spiritual and secular matters.

To solve this bipartite "Mormon problem," as it came to be called, and specifically to eradicate polygamy, American politicians began to enact stricter laws. The most important of these were the Morrill Act of 1862, the Poland Act of 1874, the Edmunds Act of 1882 and the Edmunds-Tucker Act of 1887, all named after the politicians who were their originators. The Morrill Act explicitly criminalized plural marriage in United States territories, annulled the church's status as incorporated by the Utah legislature, and limited the amount of real estate that a religious organization (namely the Mormon church) could own. The Poland Act limited the Mormons' judicial independence and served to lessen the practical immunity enjoyed by leaders such as Brigham Young. These two Acts, while significant, did not lead to the desired results. Senator George Edmunds later proposed to penalize "unlawful cohabitation," to remove officials of law who believed in polygamy, and to disenfranchise those living in polygamy, taking away from them the right to vote and to hold office. Finally, the Edmunds-Tucker Act of 1887 targeted to a great extent not individual polygamists but rather the church institution itself, disbanding the Perpetual Emigrating Fund it had operated for enabling the emigration of its converts and taking away the power and wealth of the church at large, suggesting that such funds be used for the building of schools that would educate the population of Utah territory and in consequence root out polygamy for good.¹⁰⁹

As a result of the tightened polygamy legislation, many Mormon leaders had to go "underground" or to prison, and for example John Taylor, the church's third president, died while in hiding from law

¹⁰⁷ Arrington and Bitton, *The Mormon Experience*, pp. 174–176.

¹⁰⁸ Danel Bachman and Ronald K. Esplin, "Plural Marriage," in Daniel H. Ludlow, ed., *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, 5 vols. (New York: Macmillan, 1992), vol. 3, p. 1095.

¹⁰⁹ Gordon, *The Mormon Question*, p. 81, 111–112, 152–153 and 204–209.

enforcement officials. The situation forced the church's leadership to rethink the church's nature and its relationship to society. The dream of a literal kingdom of God seemed impossible to realize under earthly rule. As a result, the church's fourth president, Wilford Woodruff, announced in the autumn of 1890 that a divine revelation had been received to cease the practice of polygamy immediately. This "Woodruff Manifesto" was an event that was to radically change the nature of Mormonism at the end of the present study period. For some years after 1890, a decreased number of plural marriages were conducted in secret by many in the church's highest leadership, apparently in the hope that the manifesto would satisfy the public. In 1904 the church's president Joseph F. Smith issued a "second manifesto" that resulted in the eventual complete cessation of the practice by the mainstream Utah Mormons. Some were not content with these changes to what they considered to be an irrevocable doctrine and practice. The individuals that continued the practice of polygamy have later been termed "fundamentalist Mormons." The church began to excommunicate them in the early twentieth century as it continued to travel towards mainstream religiosity and to transform itself from kingdom to denomination.¹¹⁰

As implied by this discussion, Mormonism was coupled with significant sociocultural tension, making it potentially costly to associate with the movement. Nevertheless, for many persons the perceived benefits outweighed the perceived costs. Polygamy was probably the most distinctive Mormon doctrine, but the religion's appeal would have chiefly rested on other things. Central was its claim to prophetic powers that could reveal the will of God to a confused Christian world, not merely through a book, but rather also through a living person in the present. Essential in connecting with the divine was also the Mormon self-identification as Israel, God's modern people of covenant.¹¹¹ It was the church's duty to gather scattered Israel (identified as the converts) from around the world, which in practice meant proselytizing. Only by embracing Mormonism and following its tenets could the peoples of the world achieve what their mortal lives

¹¹⁰ B. Carmon Hardy, *Solemn Covenant: The Mormon Polygamous Passage* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1992). Arrington and Bitton, *The Mormon Experience*, pp. 243–261.

¹¹¹ Armand L. Mauss, *All Abraham's Children: Changing Mormon Conceptions of Race and Lineage* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2003), pp. 17–40.

were meant for, according to the Mormons: before this life it was decided in the heavens to send God's pre-mortal spirit children to a mortal and physical life of testing, to see if they would be faithful to God's commandments. Those who were successful would receive God's ultimate reward for his children, meaning salvation in Jesus Christ and becoming like their Father in the life after.¹¹²

Furthermore, Mormonism's concept of divine authority was to a degree democratic. This gave the religion further appeal in the minds of those who felt strongly about matters of faith but who were not ordained clergy. Priesthood powers were governed by God through church leaders also in Mormonism, but a portion of the priesthood could be given to every male church member. In practice, this meant giving members the Melchizedek (higher) priesthood or Aaronic (lower) priesthood and ordaining them to an office in those priesthoods (for example an elder in the former and a priest, teacher, or deacon in the latter). This enabled these males to perform religious ceremonies and duties such as blessing the sick and administering the sacrament (Mormon parlance for communion).¹¹³ In other words, Mormonism was not merely a way of adhering to a set of religious doctrines. Rather it became a way of participating in God's work of bringing salvation to the world by reminding people of their true identity in the divine scheme, a panoramic view that stretched from eternities past through mortality to a future eternity.

1.2. Early Views on Christianity

"We call ourselves Christians, that is, we Methodists, Baptists, Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Episcopalians and 'Mormons,' we all call ourselves Christians," Mormon apostle John Taylor mused in 1873. "Well, perhaps we are, and then perhaps we are not; it is a matter that would bear investigation, I think," he continued.¹¹⁴ Whether the Latter-day Saints or others are labeled by outsider scholars as Christians or not brings no inherent analytical value to the study of

¹¹² A useful and systematic exposition of basic Mormon doctrines at this time is given in John Jaques, *Cateches för Barn: Framställande de viktigaste lärdomarne i Jesu Christi Kyrka af de Yttersta Dagars Helige* (Köpenhamn: C.G. Larsen, 1873).

¹¹³ William G. Hartley, "The Priesthood Reorganization of 1877: Brigham Young's Last Achievement," *Brigham Young University Studies*, vol. 20, no. 1 (Fall 1979), pp. 3–36.

¹¹⁴ John Taylor (16 November 1873), *Journal of Discourses*, vol. 16, p. 305.

these movements.¹¹⁵ How the movements categorize themselves and others is a different matter. The products emerging from answers to Mormon questions of religious categorization are insights into early Mormon identity-building and the types of boundaries that the Mormons saw it necessary to erect and maintain towards other religious groups. Well-defined and articulated concepts of the outside, in our present examination the traditional Christian world, are also a mechanism that is essential to the success of utopian movements such as early Mormonism.¹¹⁶ The boundaries and concepts that the Mormons espoused are essential for an understanding of their missionary work in nineteenth-century Finland and elsewhere. Due to a lack of Finnish material, these matters are here discussed through a brief examination of contemporary statements of American Mormon leaders.¹¹⁷

Between the years 1850 and 1900, the membership of the church grew from about 50,000 to 300,000. The influx of new converts unsocialized in Mormon ways made the issue of drawing clear boundaries to other religions even more important.¹¹⁸ In retrospect, most of this early Utah period of Mormonism represented a highly intense re-trenchment from the rest of American society, a society made up mostly of people professing Christianity at least to some degree. The gathering to an utopian Zion in the making was a time to strengthen ingroup identity and an opportunity to bring the Mormon ideal of life, with all its idiosyncrasies, to full fruition. It was a time to assert the uniqueness of the Mormon movement with respect to the rest of the religious world. In American society, then, Mormon relations to Christians become one of the main windows through which to study their boundaries to the outworld.

¹¹⁵ Nonetheless, valuable thoughts have been presented on this issue by many scholars. See for example Jan Shipps, *Sojourner in the Promised Land: Forty Years Among the Mormons* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2000), pp. 335–357.

¹¹⁶ Rosabeth Moss Kanter, *Commitment and Community: Communes and Utopias in Sociological Perspective* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972), p. 84.

¹¹⁷ The discussion here is adapted from my extended treatment of this theme; see “Kristillisen identiteetin ongelma varhaisen mormonismiin aatemaailmassa,” *Teologinen Aikakauskirja*, vol. 112 (2007), no. 2, pp. 123–134.

¹¹⁸ Robert R. King and Kay Atkinson King, “The Effect of Mormon Organizational Boundaries on Group Cohesion,” *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*, vol. 17, no. 1 (Spring 1984), p. 73.

Traditional Christians did not fare well in the struggle for true Christianity in the mind of the early Mormons. The Mormon solution to the problem was sometimes in fact to simply discard standard religious terminology: the Christians were not actually Christians. Instead they were, as were all non-believers in Christ, gentiles, sometimes even "heathen."¹¹⁹ Similarly to all other people, they would have the chance of hearing "the Gospel" either in this life or the next.¹²⁰ Early Mormon discourse concerning "Christians" can to some extent be seen as a good example of identity-building and boundary maintenance through stereotyping "the other." This technique of blurring differences in groups is employed when seeking to make sense of social situations.¹²¹ Although the category "Christian" masks behind it a diversity of religious opinions, denominations, and attitudes, Mormon leaders often spoke of them as one monolithic whole.

This sense of stereotyping is especially strong in the labeling of those felt to be persecuting the Mormons. Brigham Young brought out the contrast between Mormons and others by using the same religious category in two different ways: "We, as Christians, believe in God, in Christ and in his atonement, in repentance and obedience, and in receiving the Spirit; but what are the facts in the case? We are persecuted, our names are cast out as evil, we have the world arrayed against us. And who are at the head of this? The Christians."¹²² At times, this state of practical non-brotherhood with other Christians does not seem to have been at all lamentable to the Mormons. To John Taylor, the behavior of other Christians in Missouri was egregious enough to strip them of their name: "Everybody that had a team turned it in to help his brethren away from whom? From their Christian persecutors, that is, so-called Christians. I wish we had another name for them." The person reporting about this sermon noted that Taylor's statement was followed by laughter, offering a window into

¹¹⁹ See for example Joseph F. Smith (19 August 1883), *Journal of Discourses*, vol. 24, p. 250.

¹²⁰ Charles W. Penrose (15 May 1892) in Brian H. Stuy, ed., *Collected Discourses*, 5 vols. (Woodland Hills: B.H.S. Publishing, 1987–1992), vol. 3, p. 52.

¹²¹ Rupert Brown, *Group Processes*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000), p. 290–291.

¹²² Brigham Young (26 May 1872), *Journal of Discourses*, vol. 15, p. 41. See also Orson F. Whitney (24 July 1886), *Collected Discourses*, vol. 1, p. 21.

some more distancing Mormon feelings towards traditional Christians.¹²³

In stark contrast to these sometimes scathing condemnations, one also finds that the early Latter-day Saints could entertain a more ecumenical spirit towards traditional Christianity, their Christian “brethren” or “friends.” This may have been because of their own heritage and because of the desire to recognize and not to cut ties to the good that they saw in non-Mormons at the individual level. For example, apostle Orson Pratt thought that “there have been a great many meek persons among all Christian denominations, we do not dispute this; good, honest, upright persons, meek, humble, prayerful souls,”¹²⁴ and Brigham Young felt that “the majority of them worship according to the best knowledge they have.”¹²⁵ Missionary societies were thought to have done a lot of good, and God would reward them for it.¹²⁶ There were “honest, pious, and well meaning Christians ... in every sect under heaven.”¹²⁷ Many in the Christian fold were said to desire truth, and “most of them desire most fervently that the professors of this Christianity should live according to pure and holy principles.”¹²⁸ And though they had their faults, it was much better to have them at least believe in Jesus Christ than not.¹²⁹

Some traditional Christians were also seen as fulfilling the moral requirements of Christianness although they were not Latter-day Saints. The morals that some Mormons had been taught in their non-Mormon youth as traditional Christians were seen as positive, uplifting, and desirable traits. In one of his more ecumenical moments, Brigham Young even felt that some traditional Christians were superior to the Mormons on account of their great morals that were derived from a lesser knowledge of the divine. And “if any of our Christian brethren want to go into our Sabbath schools to teach our chil-

¹²³ John Taylor (19 October 1884), *Journal of Discourses*, vol. 25, p. 346.

¹²⁴ Orson Pratt (18 July 1875), *Journal of Discourses*, vol. 18, p. 165.

¹²⁵ Brigham Young (2 September 1860), *Journal of Discourses*, vol. 8, p. 160.

¹²⁶ Brigham Young (27 August 1871), *Journal of Discourses*, vol. 14, p. 222. Apostle Abraham H. Cannon (1859–1896) acknowledged on 1 July 1894 the “self-sacrificing and noble men” who preached “what they term Christianity ... among the uncivilized races of the world.” See *Collected Discourses*, vol. 4, p. 117.

¹²⁷ Parley P. Pratt, “Proclamation!,” *The Latter-day Saints’ Millennial Star*, vol. 14, no. 30 (18 September 1852), p. 467.

¹²⁸ Brigham Young (11 August 1872), *Journal of Discourses*, vol. 15, p. 121.

¹²⁹ Francis M. Lyman (5 October 1895), *Collected Discourses*, vol. 4, p. 365.

dren, let them do so. They will not teach them anything immoral ... in their Sunday schools they teach as good morals as you and I can teach."¹³⁰ It was also acceptable to pray with Christians according to their varied customs, in apostle Heber C. Kimball's words to "do as the Romans do when you are among them."¹³¹ A Methodist, Presbyterian, Quaker, Baptist, or Roman Catholic who lived according to the best he knew and had no opportunity to receive more knowledge of the divine, Brigham Young opined, "will have as great a heaven as he ever anticipated in the flesh, and far greater."¹³² In Young's mind there would be plenty of room for sectarian Christians to worship in their own way during the future millennial period of Christ's reign.¹³³

But when it came to it, the early Mormons were not reticent to condemn what they saw as one of traditional Christianity's worst flaws, namely its dismal theological and philosophical state. The problem was that "they wandered in darkness; they hardly knew which way to turn."¹³⁴ Whereas Mormons said they *knew* certain things, traditional Christians were described as not *believing* the same things.¹³⁵ In 1858, John Taylor spared no words in describing the Christian world: "We talk about Christianity, but it is a perfect pack of nonsense ... the Devil could not invent a better engine to spread his work than the Christianity of the nineteenth century."¹³⁶ The next year, Orson Pratt referred to Christendom as "that great and abominable church or system called 'the mother of harlots.'"¹³⁷ This system was seen as not possessing the keys to divine power and knowledge. In contrast to Mormonism, the religion was seen as empty and devoid of heavenly manifestations and guidance. Christians knew about God's existence and how to be emotional about religion, but they knew nothing about

¹³⁰ Brigham Young (3 June 1871), *Journal of Discourses*, vol. 14, p. 196. Young said that the Latter-day Saints were even using books by other Christians in their Sunday schools. Other schooling could be a different matter, however: on 8 May 1887 John Nicholson publicly warned the Latter-day Saints not to send their children to Christian schools. See *Collected Discourses*, vol. 1, p. 37.

¹³¹ Heber C. Kimball (17 September 1854), *Journal of Discourses*, vol. 2, p. 224.

¹³² Brigham Young (15 August 1852), *Journal of Discourses*, vol. 6, p. 292.

¹³³ Brigham Young (8 July 1855), *Journal of Discourses*, vol. 2, pp. 316–317.

¹³⁴ Orson Pratt (18 July 1875), *Journal of Discourses*, vol. 18, p. 165.

¹³⁵ John Jaques in *The Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star*, vol. 14, no. 28 (4 September 1852), pp. 444–445.

¹³⁶ John Taylor (17 January 1858), *Journal of Discourses*, vol. 6, p. 167.

¹³⁷ Orson Pratt (10 July 1859), *Journal of Discourses*, vol. 7, p. 184. See 1 Nephi 14:17 and Revelation 17:5.

God and how to get to him; to them, the Mormons thought, he was unknowable and mysterious, whereas to the Mormons, God was something intelligible and his plan for mankind clear as day.¹³⁸

Such strong claims and the implied confidence may be seen as one of the religious rewards of Mormonism to those who were inclined to believe its tenets. Furthermore, its claim to unadulterated truth as newly revealed to a prophet called of God would have resonated with individuals who felt that traditional churches had gone astray. Like many stricter religions, it offered a community of committed believers, not believers in name only.¹³⁹ The church's Catholic-like teachings concerning divine priesthood authority would have been an asset in reaching those who were not happy with the more liberal Protestant view of authority, not to speak of its promises concerning an utopian Zion in Utah, a type of pre-payment of otherworldly rewards. Access to special divine bliss would similarly have seemed attractive. Mormonism offered a clear trajectory of life in the hereafter, culminating in theosis or godhood for the most righteous.

On the other hand, there were also costs involved with accepting Mormonism. There were clear boundaries between Mormons and "the Christians," imposed by both parties. Joining the Mormons was thus by some seen as a rejection of one's cultural heritage, the faith of one's fathers. There was also tension with surrounding society more generally, giving rise to negative portrayals of Mormons. Mormonism was a sect in the sociological sense, being in tension with its sociocultural environment. As such it required extensive commitment from a true believer,¹⁴⁰ even to the extent of moving away from one's homeland. It would not have been easy to explain one's decision to join Mormonism to friends and relatives when the movement was seen as deviant.

¹³⁸ Brigham Young felt that while most traditional Christians were faithful in the practical parts of their religion, they were "entire strangers" to salvific doctrines. See his 29 August 1852 speech in *Journal of Discourses*, vol. 6, p. 278. On the other hand, it was said that even if Joseph Smith did not receive new divine revelation, "the great many truths collected here" and "a magnificent organization" still put the Mormons "ahead of all the 'Christian' denominations." See Charles W. Penrose (16 January 1898), *Collected Discourses*, vol. 5, p. 367.

¹³⁹ Rodney Stark and Roger Finke, *Acts of Faith: Explaining the Human Side of Religion* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), pp. 146–149.

¹⁴⁰ Stark and Finke, *Acts of Faith*, p. 144.

In summary, it can be said that early Mormon thought related to traditional Christianity was often condemnatory, stereotyping, and distancing. In the extreme sense, Christianity was simply one of the perverted institutions of the wicked world, which true Christians should have nothing to do with. The Mormon-run *Deseret News* even printed a Chicago woman's (assumedly non-Mormon) depiction of "the sickening details of our boasted Christianity..."¹⁴¹ Aside from the occasionally aloud-spoken realization that the world's Christians included thousands of honest, sincere, and good people, their religion was seen by the Mormons as false, astray-leading, and perhaps even unnecessary.

In light of the strong general isolation of nineteenth-century Latter-day Saints, the question may arise as to why this boundary towards and often passionate rhetoric against Christians also became so strong. One answer may lie in the fact that the primary impulse for isolation arose from religious motives. The Mormons thought they had to remain strongly distinct from the stereotyped system that had hypocritically hurt and persecuted them instead of embracing Joseph Smith's new revelations. It is unlikely that individual traditional Christians would have been condemned as strongly in face-to-face dealings. Stereotypical and faceless groups, on the other hand, are easy targets for channeled passion. At the same time it is important to remember that the early Mormons are not unique in their passionate rhetoric. Many Protestants uttered similar sentiments condemning the religious tradition they descended from, i.e., Catholicism.

Although it is difficult to assess exactly how important a role boundaries towards traditional Christianity played in Mormon thought, they seem to have been negotiated fairly successfully. While various kinds of borrowing from traditional Christianity for example in terms of music and architecture certainly took place, the Latter-day Saints did not lose the sense of their distinctness in the Christian world. The fundamental division between the Saints and the gentiles, the real Christians and the so-called Christians and others, was clear. Both saw each other as objects for proselytizing. Similarly, traditional

¹⁴¹ D.B., "A Woman's Views of Society Eastward," *Deseret News*, 2 February 1876, p. 3. Mentioning the Chicago Parliament of the World's Religions on 24 September 1893, George Q. Cannon related how the perceived "fruits of Christianity" prevented the Japanese from accepting it as their religious worldview; see *Collected Discourses*, vol. 3, p. 351.

Christians tended to view the Mormons with suspicion due to their innovations in doctrine and practice. This enduring tension seems to be encapsulated near-perfectly in the 1854 letter of a Latter-day Saint missionary in the Sandwich Islands:

Our books came duty free, but I am told by the collector of customs that it is a doubt whether our press will also pass free, as he does not recognize us as a "Christian community." I spent not less than an hour in showing him and others who were present, that we were the only "Christian community;" and you may believe that they heard some things they will never forget...¹⁴²

Similar boundary maintenance between Mormonism and Christianity by non-Mormons was seen in Finland, as discussed in chapters 3 and 5.

1.3. Missionary Work

Proselytizing was an integral part of the Mormon movement from its beginnings. Missionaries were sent to preach the Mormon message to outsiders in order to spread knowledge of Mormonism and to gain converts to the movement. The earliest missionary efforts in the 1830s concerned selected areas in the United States and later in Canada. The missionaries' main message was that God was again speaking to mankind through a living prophet, the *Book of Mormon* serving as central proof of that.

For the future survival of the church the most crucial step was taken in 1837. In that year Joseph Smith called a number of his followers to introduce Mormonism to Great Britain. It can be argued that especially the earliest proselytizing work in Great Britain mitigated the effects of the movement's internal difficulties in the United States. Converts from Europe began to stream to Mormon headquarters from 1840 onwards. In practice this provided an infusion of fresh lifeblood to a movement that was struggling with its own problems. The converts were not yet socialized into the movement, but they were enthusiastic new members that had not been weighed down or disillusioned by internal strife unlike many old-timers.

¹⁴² Benjamin Johnson to George Q. Cannon, 15 October 1854. Extracts reprinted in "Sandwich Islands," *Deseret News*, 4 January 1855, p. 2.

The foundation of the Mormon emigration experience lies in the church's doctrine of Israel, God's people of covenant. Due to unrighteousness and apostasy in Biblical times, representatives of this people were believed to have been scattered around the earth. The organizing of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in 1830 was seen as the heralding in of the last days, a final time period or dispensation during which God would begin to set things right again. The mission of the church was to gather the scattered people of Israel, and in practice the church's converts and membership came to be seen as that people. Whereas this gathering is nowadays seen by the Mormons exclusively as a spiritual matter when individuals convert to the church, the gathering included a physical component for most of Mormonism's nineteenth-century existence.¹⁴³

The basic functioning of the process was simple: The church sent missionaries from the United States to foreign nations, where the aim was to aid people to conversion and membership in the church. When sufficiently socialized, it was hoped that they would gather to Zion, first in Nauvoo, Illinois, later in Utah. Emigration and settlement in Zion were seen as the pinnacle of the conversion experience and as a gateway into more committed Sainthood. In this, Mormons appear to have recognized the later theoretical insight of Berger and Luckmann concerning the relative insignificance of mere conversion.¹⁴⁴ It was made clear that every true Saint should wish to emigrate to Zion. Soon after baptism, the person would be "influenced by the inner wish to gather home to Zion," and to pursue this course with all legal means should be "one of his life's most important objects and tasks, until it is achieved."¹⁴⁵

Once in Zion, the emigrants were to become part of the local community and congregation, participants in the building of a temporal and spiritual Zion society through their own daily work and religious convictions. In later years, arrival in Utah also meant that the emigrants were to be rebaptized and reconfirmed, as if to wash the filth of Babylon off for good. As with the converts' original baptisms, the

¹⁴³ Armand L. Mauss, *All Abraham's Children: Changing Mormon Conceptions of Race and Lineage* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2003), pp. 17–40.

¹⁴⁴ Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge* (Harmondsworth: Pelican Books, 1987 [1966]), p. 177.

¹⁴⁵ "Öfverensstämmelse i Guds verks angelägenheter," *Nordstjernen*, vol. 5, no. 10 (15 May 1881), p. 152.

purpose of rebaptism was to cleanse the person from his or her sins. Mormon apostle Orson Pratt explained in 1875 that “every member of the Church from distant parts” was to be rebaptized “on arriving here ... all are rebaptized and set out anew by renewing their covenants.”¹⁴⁶

The work branched out from Great Britain to other parts of Europe. The first missionaries to Scandinavia were called in late 1849 at the church’s general conference in Salt Lake City. Four missionaries, led by apostle Erastus Snow, arrived in Denmark in the summer of 1850, commencing their proselytizing and translating literature first into Danish. This also marked the organization of the church’s Scandinavian mission. The first baptisms were performed in Sweden that summer by one of the missionaries, a Swede who had emigrated to America and converted to Mormonism there.¹⁴⁷ Although the work was fraught with difficulty due to opposition by civil authorities and Lutheran clergy, the missionaries were quite successful numerically speaking. The busiest year was 1862, with 1,977 converts made in the mission. By the end of 1875 when missionaries had entered Finland, 28,277 baptisms had been performed. Church membership in the mission was at 4,468 persons organized into 47 congregations.¹⁴⁸ The difference between the number of baptisms and the membership comes mainly from emigration to Utah and the numerous excommunications that hampered the vitality of the movement.

How was the missionary work organized? In contrast to many Protestant Anglo-American new religious movements, Mormonism was already in the nineteenth century characterized by a strictly hierarchical structure and distribution of power. This was intimated already above when discussing the theocratic nature of the movement’s existence in Utah and the idea of priesthood. Those placed higher in the hierarchy had authority over those who were placed lower, and most church operations functioned through a chain of command

¹⁴⁶ Brigham Young, 23 October 1853, *Journal of Discourses*, vol. 2, pp. 8–9, Orson Pratt, 18 July 1875, *Journal of Discourses*, vol. 18, p. 160, and Jonathan Stapley and Kristine Wright, “‘They Shall Be Made Whole’: A History of Baptism for Health,” *Journal of Mormon History*, vol. 34, no. 4 (Fall 2008), p. 96.

¹⁴⁷ A. Dean Wengreen, *A History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Sweden, 1850–1905*, (Doctoral dissertation, Brigham Young University, USA, 1968), pp. 36–46.

¹⁴⁸ Andrew Jenson, *History of the Scandinavian Mission* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1927), p. 533.

rather than grassroots initiative. Those that were lower in the hierarchy had less autonomy and reported on their assignments to those above.

At the head of the church was the First Presidency, composed of the church president and usually two counselors. This administrative body had the highest authority in all matters of the church's faith and practice. The church president, also termed the "prophet, seer, and revelator," was considered to be God's mouthpiece on earth. The First Presidency called individual Utah members to work as missionaries.¹⁴⁹ The Quorum (or Council) of the Twelve Apostles, the second-highest administrative body, conferred together with the First Presidency concerning all aspects of the church's operations. Each member of this council was also termed a "prophet, seer, and revelator," though lower in authority than those in the First Presidency. Other bodies such as the Seventy were further down in the all-male leadership hierarchy.

In Europe the church operated under the European mission, headquartered for most of the nineteenth century in Liverpool, England. The mission was usually presided over by one of the twelve apostles who came to live in Europe for the duration of his assignment (often two-three years) and who reported either directly to the First Presidency or to his fellow apostles. The European mission was further divided into smaller missions, of which the Scandinavian mission was the one responsible for missionary work done in Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, Sweden, and northern Germany. It was usually presided over by a Scandinavian who had converted in his homeland, emigrated to Utah, and had then been called to travel back to Scandinavia to take charge of the mission, again usually for a period of two-three years. In contrast to those presiding over the European mission, the Scandinavian mission president thus tended to have more intimate knowledge concerning the language and customs of the area he presided over.

Coming down further in the hierarchy, the Scandinavian mission was geographically divided into a number of conferences. Central for the topic of this study is the church's Stockholm conference that was

¹⁴⁹ Such "missionaries from Zion," as they were often called in foreign lands, can be contrasted to another group of missionaries, the "local missionaries" or "home missionaries." The latter were called not by the First Presidency but rather by their own local leaders to work in their native lands while they still lived there.

organized in December 1854, covering at the time of its organization most of Sweden and later also Finland.¹⁵⁰ Conferences such as the one in Stockholm were usually presided over by natives who had converted, then emigrated to Utah, and later returned back as missionaries called by the highest church authorities in Utah. The assignment to preside over a conference often came after working as a regular missionary for a while. Among the handful of conferences in the Scandinavian mission, the Stockholm conference soon became noted for its successes in proselytizing, especially from the mid-1870s onward. By 1885 it was the largest of all the conferences, dwarfing for example those of Copenhagen (Denmark) and Kristiania (Norway). This situation continued for the remainder of the century.¹⁵¹ The members of the conference met with their leaders (often also with the Scandinavian mission president visiting) at regular intervals. It was often at such conferences¹⁵² that missionaries were assigned to work in certain geographical areas. Some of the non-emigrated natives could be called as “local missionaries.”

The ecclesiastical entity that was most important for the local converts and membership was the branch. Each conference consisted of a number of such branches, usually presided over by a missionary (either from Utah or a locally called native). In the church’s records, the entire country of Finland became regarded as one branch of the Stockholm conference when the missionary work started in late 1875. By this time, that conference consisted of ten branches with a total membership of 699 persons.¹⁵³ The hierarchical structure described above is visualized in Figure 1.3.

¹⁵⁰ Wengreen, *A History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Sweden, 1850–1905*, pp. 80–81.

¹⁵¹ Wengreen, *A History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Sweden, 1850–1905*, pp. 97–103.

¹⁵² It should be noted that the word “conference” was used to designate both a geographical subdivision of a mission and a large gathering of members for a specific occasion (the usual meaning in modern usage). “A conference of the Stockholm conference” was thus normal usage. In modern Mormon parlance, this geographical subdivision would be called a district.

¹⁵³ Stockholm Conference Historical Record, 1867–1883, p. 203, CHLA. The area covered by one branch could be further divided into geographical “districts,” but these are not of importance for the current considerations.



Figure 1.3. *The Finland branch in the church's hierarchical structure.*

1.4. Discussion and Summary

Mormonism was born in the early nineteenth century in upstate New York, in an area referred to as the burned-over district. This nickname was the result of the religious fervor and revivalism that affected that area of country during what has later been termed the Second Great Awakening. Joseph Smith, the first prophet and president of the Mormon church, claimed to have received a series of visions that led to the restoration of ancient Christianity. Such a restoration was necessary, because Smith saw Christianity as having apostatized from the true faith and as having lost divine approval. The church, first known as the Church of Christ and later as The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, was organized in 1830 and proclaimed itself as the only divinely authorized church on earth. Its truth claims rested on accounts of visitations of supernatural beings

who had restored the anciently lost divine truths and authority to act in God's name.

Early Mormonism resembled Protestant Christianity to an extent, but over time the movement acquired and amplified traits and doctrines that set it apart from other Christian religions. These include the *Book of Mormon*, a book of scripture held to be divinely revealed, the doctrine of a physical area of Zion and the gathering of God's people there, belief in Old Testament style prophetic leadership in modern times, and plural marriage. Missionaries were sent abroad, also to Europe and Scandinavia, to proclaim the new message and to encourage people to emigrate to the Mormon Zion in America. Mormonism thus developed in untraditional ways that made it easy for people to view it as something different, as something "other." Internal and external difficulties played a significant part in early Mormon history and necessitated headquarters migrations from New York first to Ohio, then to Missouri and Illinois, and finally to Utah. There a kingdom-building theocratic period ensued after 1847 with the Mormons feeling freer to live their religious ideals to the fullest and giving little thought to what the rest of American society thought.

Over time, difficulties between the Mormons and the United States reached new heights. These took not so much the form of bloodshed or physical persecution, but rather intense political attention and legislative pressure on the Mormons to conform to the norms and ideals of American society. At issue was especially the matter of plural marriage, arguably as the most visible manifestation of the power struggle between church and state and of the Mormon proclivity of putting the law of God above the law of the land when necessary. American society's determination to put an end to plural marriage, one of the "twin relics of barbarism," resulted in profound changes when the Mormon mainstream gradually began to abandon the principle in 1890.

The claims of Mormonism were strong and articulated already early on. Mormonism was either true or it was a deception; in this juxtaposition there was no middle ground. Thus the Mormons themselves acknowledged and, due to the uncompromising nature of the claim, in essence mandated the argument that was used against them: the reaction of many outsiders was to label the movement a calculated fraud, a theme discussed in Chapter 3. Very often the claims used in

such rhetoric centered on the church's foundational theophanies and elements, not necessarily on particular doctrines.¹⁵⁴

The Mormons were to a great extent at home with seeing themselves as the chosen people and as a separate religious tradition. They gloried in their chosenness and minced no words when distancing themselves from traditional Christians who were seen as falsely claiming divine approval for a faith that was in apostasy. The Mormons did not see themselves as simply another variety of this Christianity: they were the true representatives of God on earth. By simultaneously defining themselves as Christian in one sense and as not part of Christendom in another, nineteenth-century Mormons accomplished two things at once. They maintained a boundary between themselves and what they saw as apostate Christendom while they strengthened their own sense of identity as the sole possessors and modern representatives of real, ancient Christianity. As such they had the responsibility to disseminate their message to the world. The message entailed religious rewards to the converts, such as a promised Zion in this life and a clear trajectory in the hereafter. Still, costs such as sociocultural tension and strong commitment were attached to acceptance of the message.

Missionary work spread first in the United States and entered Europe through Great Britain in 1837. Most important from Finland's point of view is the Scandinavian mission that was organized in 1850. Proselytizing work began first in Sweden and Denmark by missionaries who came from Utah. Many of the converts emigrated to Utah, with some called back to their native lands to proselytize. Such emigration, the gathering to Zion, was in fact the end goal of conversion, and thus Mormon missionary activity in the nineteenth century did not have the formation of stable local congregations with long-standing members as a primary goal.

¹⁵⁴ See for example Orson Pratt, *Divine Authenticity of the Book of Mormon* (Liverpool: R. James, 1850–1851), no. 1, p. 1.

2. Religion in Nineteenth-Century Finland

“The bonds of tradition and the domination of the clergy bind the people here more than in any other place that I have visited before, and thus there is much for us to do here.” – Fredrik R. Sandberg, Mormon missionary (*Nordstjernen*, 15 August 1886).

The religious makeup and landscape of each country differed from those of others already in the nineteenth century. Speaking in terms of the religious economy model, some countries were marked by a higher level of deregulation of their religious economy and a higher number of religious movements with freer mutual competition for converts and status than were others. Notably, this is the case for example with the United States, the homeland of Mormonism. Religious economies in many other countries were tightly regulated through legislation, leading to the virtual monopoly status of one religious movement, usually called a state or national church. This was the case with many European nations, including the Russian Grand Duchy of Finland. This contextual chapter provides a general understanding of the most important religious movements in nineteenth-century Finland and the legislation that regulated the religious economy. The religious dynamics at play affected Mormonism just as they did other movements.

Generally speaking, the nineteenth century saw an unprecedented pluralization of the Finnish religious landscape. Revival movements from a Lutheran base entailed a protest against the secularization that was affecting cities and the intelligentsia. The importance of family and work was emphasized, and some amusements could be viewed negatively. A new group identity in these movements was sometimes achieved for example through distinctive dress. Furthermore, Anglo-American religious ideologies such as the Baptists and Methodists also arrived in Finland during this time. This was one of the major reasons that forced the enactment of further legislation in the spirit of religious freedom. Grassroots organizations in relation to education, labor, and temperance also had their impact on changes in the reli-

gious economy and its power distribution.¹⁵⁵ Just as in non-religious contexts, such pluralization gave rise to processes of boundary formation, negotiation, and maintenance. Established organizations and Finnish individuals had to decide how they would react to the new actors in the religious field. Were these new forms of religiosity acceptable, or were they to be resisted? Were they familiar enough to be embraced within or next to the existing mainstream tradition, or were they sufficiently different to become regarded as a sociocultural “other,” with all the accompanying attitudes?

Theoretically speaking, such pluralization and the related assessments are tied to the existence of an “axis of tension” with the sociocultural environment that religious movements are placed along. Such an axis is considerably impacted by the extent to which the state controls the religious economy. If a certain religious movement is privileged above others, as was the case in Finland, this endows that movement’s officers and pronouncements with special societal power.¹⁵⁶ The movement assumes control over the disciplinary regime of religion, and to a significant extent, it controls the religion-related discourse in society and what becomes seen by the population as normative religiosity. It is in that movement’s interest to embrace novelties that uphold its construction of reality and to resist those that challenge that reality.¹⁵⁷

2.1. The State Churches and the Internal Revivalists

After the Reformation, Lutheranism had a very important role in Finnish society, because it created order and bound the establishment together. Uniformity in religion was seen as a positive matter. This time period (1593–1721) of Finnish Lutheranism is usually called the

¹⁵⁵ Kimmo Kääriäinen, Kati Niemelä, and Kimmo Ketola, *Religion in Finland: Decline, Change and Transformation of Finnish Religiosity* (Tampere: Church Research Institute, 2005), pp. 49–54. On the revival movements in general, see also David Kirby, *A Concise History of Finland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 99–100.

¹⁵⁶ Rodney Stark and Roger Finke, *Acts of Faith: Explaining the Human Side of Religion* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), p. 143 and 199.

¹⁵⁷ Martti Junnonaho, “On Religious Otherness in Finnish Discourse,” in Jeffrey Kaplan, ed., *Beyond the Mainstream: The Emergence of Religious Pluralism in Finland, Estonia, and Russia* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2000), p. 196. Vivien Burr, *An Introduction to Social Constructionism* (London and New York: Routledge, 1995), p. 55.

“Period of Orthodoxy” and is characterized by the nation practically functioning as a Lutheran theocracy, governed by the King of Sweden in a “union of altar and throne.”¹⁵⁸ Towards the end of this period, Lutheranism in Finland came in touch with Pietism, a revival that sought to create groups of active Christians within the larger church. This led to private meetings in homes and a practical democratization of scriptural interpretation, phenomena that were feared to create dangerous divisions in the church.

The beginning of the nineteenth century was significant for Finland’s future. Napoleonic France and Czarist Russia were planning to isolate Great Britain, hoping that the King of Sweden would join them in the effort. The King refused, however, and thus Russian forces attacked Sweden through Finland in 1808, seeking to persuade the King to change his mind. Russia took Finland, with the rule of church and nation being transferred from the Lutheran King of Sweden to the Orthodox Czar of Russia.

At the Diet of Porvoo in 1809, it was declared that Czar Alexander I would keep in force the laws from the period of Swedish rule and that the Lutheran church would retain its status as state church. This was a political move, because the Czar recognized that the church had great power in holding the Finnish people together. Indeed, this time period of Finnish history is part of what has been called one of “uniform culture,” made possible to an important degree by the Lutheran state church. However, with Finland now becoming a Grand Duchy of a generally Orthodox empire, the Orthodox church came to have equal status.

From the early nineteenth century onward, Finland thus had two state churches that were privileged by law. The Lutherans comprised the overwhelming majority, with the Orthodox minority being located mostly in the south-eastern parts of the country.¹⁵⁹ At the end of 1875, for example, 98% of the Finns belonged to the Lutheran church, with most of the rest being Orthodox. The proportion had not changed by the beginning of 1889. By that time there were 504 Lutheran parishes

¹⁵⁸ Kääriäinen, Niemelä, and Ketola, *Religion in Finland*, p. 40.

¹⁵⁹ Eino Murtorinne, *Suomen kirkon historia 3: Autonomian kausi 1809–1899* (Porvoo: WSOY, 1992), p. 14. Simo Heininen and Markku Heikkilä, *Suomen kirkkohistoria* (Helsinki: Edita, 1996), pp. 160–163. On the Orthodox church in Finland, see Isä Ambrosius and Markku Haapio, *Ortodoksinen kirkko Suomessa* (Heinävesi: Valamon luostari, 1982).

in the entire country, compared to 24 Orthodox parishes. Most of the 24 parishes were located in the eastern province of Viipuri.¹⁶⁰ At no point did the Orthodox church gain a significant position in nineteenth-century Finland.

During much of the nineteenth century, the Lutheran church and its activities were central to the population. Things such as the Lutheran catechism, the ecclesiastical calendar, the town or village church building, and the local parsonage were meaningful features of everyday life. During a few specific Sundays of the year, the churches tended to be full of worshipers. Annual attendance at communion or the Lord's supper was mandatory by law if not always in practice. Furthermore, a person could not become a full member of society without having been christened, and completion of Lutheran confirmation class was mandatory in order to gain access to communion and to be married. The church also had an important role in educating and leading the population in general. In fact, some priests estimated that the average clergyman could spend as little as one sixth of his time on his religious duties, with the rest of his time being spent on his secular responsibilities.¹⁶¹

The Lutheran church's influence began to wane during the latter part of the century. As specific examples, the secular municipality and the spiritual parish were separated from each other as administrative entities in 1865, and a law was proclaimed in 1866 concerning the founding of elementary schools, thus removing from the church the formal obligation to educate the people of the nation. In 1869 a new Lutheran church law was ratified, marking increased autonomy for the church from the power of the secular government. These are clear strands in the process of modernization, in which the functions of societal actors become differentiated. The church began to be increasingly seen as an institution of religion, distinct from other functions of society that should be handled on secular grounds.¹⁶² During the same time, the church's influence began to decrease in the lives of many of its members, with the difference between active and nominal members becoming more pronounced. This change first took place in the

¹⁶⁰ *Suomenmaan tilastollinen vuosikirja*, vol. 2 (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 1880), p. 2. *Suomenmaan tilastollinen vuosikirja*, vol. 11 (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 1890), p. 3 and 13.

¹⁶¹ Heininen and Heikkilä, *Suomen kirkkohistoria*, pp. 168–170 and 188.

¹⁶² Murtorinne, *Suomen kirkon historia* 3, pp. 206–220.

towns in the 1860s and 1870s, after which it began to be seen also in the countryside. Still, in the beginning of the twentieth century, 70–80% of the parishioners who had completed Lutheran confirmation class attended communion annually.¹⁶³

It was during this time of its decreasing societal significance that the Lutheran church began to see its domestic revivalists not as external separatists but as internal allies in the fight against secularization. Folk revivals had been appearing for a long time, especially from the mid-1700s onward. But even if many of its own clergy had been active in such revivals for years, the church had tended to see the revivalists as threats to its internal coherence and monopoly status; by now the situation had changed, partly due to necessity, partly due to a shift in attitudes. Whereas the Lutheran understanding of reality had previously viewed many revivals as manifestations of heresy, its own conceptual machinery was now in a process where certain revivalists were successfully incorporated as legitimate expressions of Lutheran religiosity.¹⁶⁴ By the end of the nineteenth century, four revival movements had attained a significant status and following. These were the Awakened, Evangelicalism, Laestadianism (“Hihhulites”),¹⁶⁵ and Supplicationism.¹⁶⁶ In contrast to many revival movements in neighboring Sweden, these remained inside the Lutheran church.

Common to these four main revival movements was a feeling that the institutional Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland in general did not take Christianity seriously enough. The statements of their leaders are sometimes characterized by explicit hostility towards the Lutheran church and its clergy, and thus it is natural that the clergy came to see these revivalists as detrimental to their own status and the well-being of the church. Some were taken to court for their activities and sentenced. Priests who participated in the revivals were usually treated more harshly than laypersons and could be removed from

¹⁶³ Murtorinne, *Suomen kirkon historia* 3, pp. 384–385. Heininen and Heikkilä, *Suomen kirkkohistoria*, p. 209 and 217.

¹⁶⁴ Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge* (Harmondsworth: Pelican Books, 1987 [1966]), pp. 126–127 and 132–133.

¹⁶⁵ This is my own translation of the Finnish term “hihhuililaiset,” a popular contemporary nickname that approximated some of the sounds produced by the adherents.

¹⁶⁶ Murtorinne, *Suomen kirkon historia* 3, pp. 110–188. Kääriäinen, Niemelä, and Ketola, *Religion in Finland*, pp. 50–52.

office for a given period of time.¹⁶⁷ The regulation of the religious economy at this time thus concerned not only external movements seeking to enter Finland but also internal movements that were seen as creating discord. Nevertheless, as mentioned above, with time these attitudes changed, and the emphatic religiosity of the intra-church revivalists was seen as an asset to the mission of the church at large.

Finnish Lutheranism of the nineteenth century was thus characterized not only by considerable societal power, but also by a broad spectrum of religious thought, embodied at once both in the institutional teaching of the church and in the more fervent spirituality of its revivalist clergy and lay members. The Lutheran church has historically been so integrated into the workings of Finnish society that it still holds a central place in the culture today. It has been said that while secularized modern Finns do not generally believe in the church's religious message, they "believe in belonging" to it.¹⁶⁸ That the situation is such in the early twenty-first century further emphasizes the church's centrality during the nineteenth century under study.

2.2. Old and New Foreign Religious Movements

Although the religious landscape of nineteenth-century Finland was dominated by the Lutheran church and its revivalists, a number of other religious movements were also present in the country, some through single scattered members and others through organized activity. The Orthodox church and its special status has been discussed above. Other historic religions such as Roman Catholicism, Islam, and Judaism were also present. Moreover, Finland began to be influenced by newer Anglo-American religious movements such as Baptism, Methodism, the Free Church movement, Adventism, and the Salvation Army. The presence of these will be discussed here briefly.

Roman Catholicism was Finland's national religion from its Christian beginnings in the mid-twelfth century up to the Protestant Reformation that transferred the Finns from Catholicism to Lutheranism in the sixteenth century. This shift eventually brought with it a very negative attitude towards Catholicism. The Catholic church returned

¹⁶⁷ Heininen and Heikkilä, *Suomen kirkkohistoria*, pp. 176–178.

¹⁶⁸ Grace Davie, *Religion in Modern Europe: A Memory Mutates* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 3.

to Finland at the end of the eighteenth century mostly in the form of foreigners who subscribed to the faith. As summarized by Ketola, their number remained very marginal especially among commoners, although influence was felt also there through military clerics. The faith had a church building in Viipuri from 1799 and in Helsinki from 1860. Statistics indicate that there were 755 Roman Catholics in Finland at the end of 1900.¹⁶⁹

The world religions Islam and Judaism were also present in Finland during the nineteenth century. Muslims took mostly the form of soldiers of the Russian army and, particularly during the second half of the century, Tatar merchants who had moved to the country from mid-Russia. Some Tatar Muslims moved from St. Petersburg. Similarly to Islam, the Jewish presence consisted in large part of serving and later released soldiers of the Russian army. They were given the right to live in Helsinki, Turku, and Viipuri. Their civil rights situation was difficult, however. In 1889, the Senate named certain Jews who were allowed to stay, but no new Jews could be let into the country. According to Ketola, approximately one fourth of one thousand Jews in Finland either moved away or were deported.¹⁷⁰

The nineteenth-century presence of the historic religions in Finland was thus characterized by small membership numbers and difficulties with existing legislation. These religions did not target considerable expansion, and their activities seem to have focused on the ingroup. In this they stood in stark contrast to the Anglo-American movements whose proselytizing zeal echoed the religious conditions in which they were born. The first one of these to arrive on the Finnish scene was Baptism, introduced to the Åland Islands in 1854 through the Swede Karl J.M. Möllersvärd, representative of the Evangelical Alliance. The activity continued to grow through other contacts with Sweden.¹⁷¹ The movement was born in Great Britain already in the

¹⁶⁹ Kimmo Ketola, *Uskonnot Suomessa 2008* (Tampere: Kirkon tutkimuskeskus, 2008), p. 43. *Suomen tilastollinen vuosikirja 1903* (Helsinki: Tilastollinen päätoimisto, 1903), p. 9. Kalevi Vuorela, *Finlandia Catholica: Katolinen kirkko Suomessa 1700-luvulta 1980-luvulle* (Helsinki: Studium Catholicum, 1989).

¹⁷⁰ Ketola, *Uskonnot Suomessa 2008*, p. 183 and 171–172. R.A. Mäntylä, “Eriuskolaiskysymys Suomessa 1870- ja 1880-luvuilla: Eräitä taustatekijöitä,” *Turun Historiallinen Arkisto XIX* (1967), p. 208 and 220–225. On Judaism in Finland, see Taimi Torvinen, *Kadimah: Suomen juutalaisten historia* (Helsinki: Otava, 1989).

¹⁷¹ Nils Näsman, *Baptismen i svenska Österbotten 1868–1905* (Helsingfors: Finska Kyrkohistoriska Samfundet, 1962), pp. 25–29.

early seventeenth century and emphasized the individual's role in coming to a faith in Christ and later showing it through baptism by immersion. The congregation was to be one of believers, not one where nominal members were mixed with the true believers.¹⁷²

Aside from being the first to arrive in Finland, the Baptists were also the most successful among the new movements in attracting converts. They formed congregations for example in the Ostrobothnian area and in some larger towns in southern Finland. The movement became registered officially in 1891 through the provisions of the Dissenter Act. By the end of 1900 their membership number had risen to 2,851, with congregations operating in both Finnish and Swedish. Baptist activity was also noticed by Lutheran clergy and government authorities, especially before the Dissenter Act. According to Lohikko, tens of Baptists were called to hearings in front of Lutheran church councils and Diocesan Chapters. Baptist leader Erik Åmossa was sentenced to 24 days of bread and water in prison in the 1880s for his activities, rumors were spread concerning the licentiousness of the leaders, and others were the objects of physical harm.¹⁷³

The early story of the Baptists in Finland was thus one of simultaneous success and societal resistance. Their situation was complicated further for example by the Lutheran church's exclusive right to perform marriages; these could be performed only for those who had been christened and had participated in Lutheran communion. Because the Baptists did not want to participate in these activities, an increasing number of them ended up in a situation in which they had no legal possibility to be married.¹⁷⁴ This, among other complications that those not christened and confirmed into the state church met with, was a reason that made the enactment of extended religious freedom legislation necessary at the end of the nineteenth century. In many ways, then, Baptism was the most significant Anglo-American new religious movement to enter Finland.

Another significant arrival was that of Methodism. The first influences came in the decade of the 1860s, but a more concerted effort to proselytize in Finland began in the 1880s through Swedish preachers or missionaries. The first unofficial congregation was formed in Vaasa

¹⁷² Anneli Lohikko, *Baptistit Suomessa 1856–2006* (Tampere: Kharis, 2006), p. 11.

¹⁷³ Lohikko, *Baptistit Suomessa 1856–2006*, pp. 22–25. *Suomen tilastollinen vuosikirja* 1903, p. 9.

¹⁷⁴ Näsman, *Baptismen i svenska Österbotten 1868–1905*, pp. 343–344.

in 1881. The movement is based on the teachings of Englishman John Wesley, and it was the American form of Methodism that eventually reached Finland.¹⁷⁵ Its religious confession did not differ from that of Lutheranism to the extent that Baptism did, for example when it came to the ceremony of baptism. Nevertheless, the movement sought to instill in people a religious change and a coming-to-faith just as the Baptist movement did. Methodism was not as successful in its work as Baptism was, however. According to Finland's official statistics, there were 319 Methodists in the country by the end of 1900, whereas the church's internal data indicated 665 members and 268 members in probation by 1900.¹⁷⁶

The Methodist church's activity tended to focus on cities, with congregations being formed (in addition to Vaasa mentioned above) in for example Helsinki, Pori, Tammisaari, Turku, and Viipuri. A rural congregation was formed in the municipality of Pohja in 1895 after work had started in the 1880s.¹⁷⁷ This was an area where significant Mormon activity also took place, although against great resistance (see Chapter 6). Similarly to that of the Baptists, the work of the Methodists was illegal before the Dissenter Act. This sometimes caused the Lutheran clergy to desire to curtail Methodist activity. In April 1881, for example, the Lutheran church council in Vaasa decided to forbid Swedish preacher Karl Lindborg from proselytizing further. But as a display of the sometimes ambivalent feelings towards representatives of these new movements, one more liberal member of the council voiced his opposition to the decision and wrote a long rebuttal.¹⁷⁸ Similar to the Baptists, the Methodists became organized as a denomination in 1891, when the Dissenter Act had given them the opportunity to do so.

The Free Church movement, Adventism, and the Salvation Army also entered Finland during the time period of study. According to Murtorinne, the Free Churchers did not seek to create their own de-

¹⁷⁵ Eino Murtorinne, *Suomen kirkon historia 3: Autonomian kausi 1809–1899* (Porvoo: WSOY, 1992), p. 309. Leif-Göte Björklund, *Rikssvenska metodistpredikanter betydelse för metodistkyrkans framväxt och utveckling i Finland 1880–1923* (Åbo: Åbo Akademi University Press, 2005), pp. 29–34.

¹⁷⁶ *Suomen tilastollinen vuosikirja 1903*, p. 9 and Björklund, *Rikssvenska metodistpredikanter betydelse*, p. 244.

¹⁷⁷ Björklund, *Rikssvenska metodistpredikanter betydelse*, p. 330 and 220.

¹⁷⁸ Church council minutes, 1868–1890, 25 April 1881, Archive of Vaasa Parish, VMA. See also the accompanying disagreement letter.

nomination. They emphasized the need for personal conversion, and the ideal religious community was based on the New Testament and operated independently under the principle of the priesthood of all believers. The first influences came to Finland already in the 1860s, but it only became a real movement in the early 1880s. In contrast to Baptism and Methodism, Sweden's role in the spread of the movement was overshadowed by England, and the movement did not become formally organized immediately after the Dissenter Act either. Small congregations were formed and revivals took place around the country.¹⁷⁹

Adventism was born during the first half of the nineteenth century. Known also as Millerism due to its founder William Miller, the movement had theological feuds with early Mormonism in the United States.¹⁸⁰ Seventh-day Adventism, the form of Adventism that later came to Finland, resulted from a split of the original movement and was organized in the 1860s by James and Ellen G. White. While accepting many Protestant doctrines such as a triune God and salvation by faith, the movement gives special emphasis to the end times and the second coming of Jesus Christ. Similar to Baptism and Methodism, the movement came to Finland through Sweden, but relatively late in the 1890s, with the first congregation being formed in Helsinki in 1894.¹⁸¹ Because Adventism arrived in Finland when the Dissenter Act was in force, opposition came mostly from other churches. The most significant event was an 1895 statement by the Lutheran church that saw the spread of Adventism in Finland as detrimental to church and state. Interestingly, the church's statement was reprinted by a major newspaper that defended the Adventists' right to work in Finland.¹⁸²

The Salvation Army officially began its activity in Finland in 1889. This had been preceded by its first Finnish leader's Helsinki revival meetings in 1880. The movement had been born in the 1860s through Methodist preacher William Booth and his wife Catherine. Proselytiz-

¹⁷⁹ Murtorinne, *Suomen kirkon historia* 3, p. 309–310. Ketola, *Uskonnot Suomessa* 2008, pp. 110–111. Mikko Juva, *Valtiokirkosta kansankirkoksi* (Helsinki: Suomen Kirkkohistoriallinen Seura, 1960), pp. 178–182.

¹⁸⁰ Grant Underwood, *The Millenarian World of Early Mormonism* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1993), pp. 112–126.

¹⁸¹ Ketola, *Uskonnot Suomessa* 2008, pp. 115–116 and 119.

¹⁸² T.N. Ketola, *Hengellisiä liikkeitä: Historiallinen tutkielma Suomen adventtiliikkeestä* (Turku: privately published, 1952), pp. 88–89.

ing work was initially directed towards the lower classes of society, and when converted, it was hoped these would join existing Christian congregations. This did not happen, however, and thus the movement continued to expand. Army-like discipline was needed, because many of the converts came from walks of life where such had not been required. In Finland the Salvation Army met with considerable resistance even though the Dissenter Act was decreed by the Czar only three days after the movement held its first meeting in November 1889. Nieminen recounts that the Senate did not approve the official formation of the Army in 1890, with increased harassment as a result. In Uusikaupunki in 1896, for example, meetinghouse windows were broken in mid-winter and benches thrown into the sea; a merchant would not even sell meat to the Army's officers. The police did not always intervene either. Some did not appreciate the Army's embrace of female priesthood and, according to Ketola, others were not used to religious meetings being so glad and loud. In Pedersöre, the Lutheran church council acted in 1891 to encourage individuals throughout the villages not to provide a room for the Army's preaching. Members were at times forbidden from wearing their uniforms and from holding meetings in various localities.¹⁸³

The Anglo-American movements were not large in terms of membership. Nevertheless, Murtorinne argues, they seriously challenged the Lutheran church at the time.¹⁸⁴ Their emphasis of an individual's personal faith corresponded to the democratic and liberal spirit that was gaining traction in society at large. They were also very active in missionary work, organizing Sunday schools and caring for the needy, something that stood in stark contrast to the Lutheran church's efforts in these directions. It was not uncommon for some of these movements to meet with societal resistance, and as shown especially in the case of the Baptists and the Salvation Army, such resistance could be quite heavy. Nevertheless, they managed to continue their work.

Essentially, these new movements challenged the Lutheran church in a competition for adherents. Characteristically for sectarian movements, they were energetic, and as predicted by the religious economy

¹⁸³ Ketola, *Uskonnot Suomessa 2008*, p. 99 and 102–103. Hilka Nieminen, *Pelastussotaa Suomessa 1889–1989* (Porvoo: WSOY, 1989), pp. 54–65 and 86. Church council minutes, 1870–1963, 5 April 1891 (pp. 43–44), APP.

¹⁸⁴ Murtorinne, *Suomen kirkon historia 3*, pp. 310–311.

model,¹⁸⁵ such activity was in part responsible for the Lutheran church's reinvigoration at the end of the nineteenth century. Its de facto monopoly status had caused some clergy to slacken in their work. This view was acknowledged by some Lutheran clergy of the time. "The dissenters have given a reason also to the shepherds of the church to rise from sleepiness and slackness and to work more zealously for the cause of the Lord," wrote Gustaf Ahlman, attributing the arrival of the new movements to the divine plan: "The dissenters have thus been for the church a healthy twig in God's hand."¹⁸⁶

The Lutheran church saw the revivalists (with the partial exception of the Laestadians)¹⁸⁷ discussed above as allies in the competition against the Anglo-American movements that were attracting members of the state church. In the opinion of Heininen and Heikkilä, the lack of religious freedom explains the low success rate of the Anglo-American movements only in part, however. Their successes were further tempered by the Lutheran church's status as an educator of the people, the revivals that remained inside the church, and by new intra-church organizations whose goals were to an extent similar to those of the foreign movements.¹⁸⁸

In sum, the religious landscape of nineteenth-century Finland was diverse and characterized by the entry or emergence of a number of non-traditional movements. This is essential to keep in mind as one explores the introduction of Mormonism further. For example, it is not correct to dichotomize the situation into one where a monolithic Finnish society encountered the Mormons. Rather that society was complex, in a process of religious change that could be seen as threatening, and it was made up of believers and non-believers of many kinds.

2.3. Religion-Related Legislation

Matters related to religion were regulated by law. Generally speaking, these laws specified the acceptable types of religious activity, for example as it concerns the religious movements that were allowed to operate in the country and the freedom of individuals to associate

¹⁸⁵ Stark and Finke, *Acts of Faith*, pp. 201–202.

¹⁸⁶ Gustaf Ahlman, *Suomen kirkko ja eri-uskolaiset* (Tampere: Tampereen Kirjapaino-Osakeyhtiö, 1897), p. 61.

¹⁸⁷ See for example Ahlman, *Suomen kirkko ja eri-uskolaiset*, pp. 33–37.

¹⁸⁸ Heininen and Heikkilä, *Suomen kirkkohistoria*, p. 205.

with such movements. This means that the Finnish religious economy was regulated to various degrees throughout the years, and the developments charted in the previous subsections were significantly influenced by this legislation. The overview provided here is essential as explanatory context for the rest of the study.

The Diet of Uppsala in 1593 defined Sweden (of which Finland was part at the time) as a Lutheran nation. Those who spoke badly of Lutheranism or sought to advance another religion were to be punished accordingly. This view was further solidified during the ensuing "Period of Orthodoxy." In 1617, it was decreed at the Diet of Örebro that anyone adhering to religions other than Lutheranism would risk deportation from the Kingdom of Sweden. The Carolinian Protestant church law of 1686 included among other things punishments for the teaching of heresies, and priests were to give "a vow of obedience to ecclesiastical superiors and the government of the realm." As formulated by Heininen and Heikkilä, "Religion was not a private matter, and there was no place for dissenting opinions: it was believed that one person's wickedness draws the wrath of God upon the entire community."¹⁸⁹ Strict legislation continued to be enacted. For example, the Conventicle Act of 1726 forbade private religious gatherings as a response to the growing Pietist movement.¹⁹⁰ Furthermore, the 1734 general law of the Kingdom of Sweden referred to Lutheranism as "the pure evangelical doctrine" and forbade any other proselytizing, punishing disaffiliation from the church with deportation.¹⁹¹

Although these laws functioned to regulate the religious economy in the favor of Lutheranism, it was recognized that there were individuals present in the kingdom who did not subscribe to Lutheran doctrines. For example, there could be foreign merchants who professed a different faith, one that they had usually picked up in their place of origin. Such cases were provided for by granting limited religious freedom to profess non-Lutheran religion privately, but proselytizing was strictly forbidden.

¹⁸⁹ Kääriäinen, Niemelä and Ketola, *Religion in Finland*, p. 40. Heininen and Heikkilä, *Suomen kirkkohistoria*, p. 114.

¹⁹⁰ Martti Ruuth, "Konventikkeliplakaatista ja sen käytäntöön sovelluttamisesta Suomessa," in *Kirkkohistoriallisen Seuran Vuosikirja XV–XVIII, 1925–1928* (Helsinki: Suomen Kirkkohistoriallinen Seura, 1936), pp. 145–163.

¹⁹¹ *Sveriges rikets lag gillad och antagen på riksdagen år 1734* (Helsingfors: Otava, 1894), p. 159.

A significant further step in granting religious freedom was taken through the Royal Decree issued on January 24, 1781. It granted “a free and unforced practice of religion, a complete freedom of conscience” in the entire Kingdom of Sweden.¹⁹² This gave rights for example to foreign members of the Roman Catholic or Orthodox churches who lived in the kingdom. Still, these foreigners could observe their faith only insofar as doing so did not damage Lutheranism.¹⁹³ For example, seeking to convert any Lutheran away from his or her faith would have been a criminal offence.

When Finland came under Russian rule through the war of 1808–1809, many laws from the preceding period of Swedish rule stayed in force. This included the 1686 Church law, the 1726 Conventicle Act, the 1734 general law of Sweden, and Royal Decrees such as the one given in 1781. However, because Russia was an Orthodox nation, legal provisions were made to put the Orthodox church on an equal footing with the Lutheran church. The population of Finland had to belong to either one of these churches, although it was in practice not easy to move membership from one to the other. Legislation related to the Lutheran church could to a large extent be handled in Finland, but the Orthodox church’s affairs were handled through Imperial Decrees and were thus practically beyond reach for Finnish lawmakers.¹⁹⁴

A new Lutheran church law was accepted in 1869, applying only to members of the Lutheran church and separating church legislation from secular legislation to an important extent. Its principal architect, clergyman Frans L. Schauman, hoped that the law would realize the provisions of a Christian nation to freely choose one’s religion. It annulled the Conventicle Act from 1726, although that law had been mostly meaningless in practice since the 1840s. This meant that laymen received a right to speak in private religious gatherings not sponsored by the church, although the church council could warn and discipline persons who deviated from “the evangelical doctrine” or held gatherings while regular church meetings lasted.¹⁹⁵

¹⁹² *Utdrag Utur alla ifrån år 1780 utkomne Publique Handlingar, Placater, Förordningar, Resolutioner Och Publicationer*, vol. 12 (Stockholm: n.p., 1799–1802), p. 140.

¹⁹³ R.A. Mäntylä, *Eriuskolaiskysymys Suomessa 1809–1889: I, 1809–1871* (Turku: Turun yliopisto, 1954), p. 33.

¹⁹⁴ Heininen and Heikkilä, *Suomen kirkkohistoria*, pp. 190–191.

¹⁹⁵ Murtorinne, *Suomen kirkon historia 3*, pp. 215–220. Martti Ruuth, “Konventikkeliplakaatista ja sen käytäntöön sovelluttamisesta Suomessa,” pp. 162–163.

Furthermore, if a person wanted to leave the Lutheran church and did not change his or her mind even after the parish sought to make the person “perceive their error ... let the parish not stop him from it.”¹⁹⁶ Despite such an assurance the law did not really solve the problem in practice because other pertinent secular legislation was still in force. It was still forbidden for other religious movements to proselytize, and the Russian Czar did not give members of the Orthodox church in Finland the right to become Lutherans if they so desired. The attitude of the Czar in the latter matter was a central reason for early propositions for a Dissenter Act being turned down.¹⁹⁷

One of these propositions was made during the second half of the 1870s. Many of Schauman’s colleagues did not think that increased freedom for non-Lutheran movements was a good thing. It does not seem that they were most worried about the small and energetic Anglo-American movements such as Baptism and Methodism, however. As argued by Mäntylä, the Roman Catholic and Orthodox churches were seen as the biggest threats. In discussions of the planned legislation at the Lutheran General Synod of 1876, fears based on developments abroad were expressed that Lutherans would convert in droves to these two confessions. With regards to the Orthodox church, for example, a task group opined that it could be calculated “when [the Lutheran church] would perhaps cease to exist” as a result.¹⁹⁸ Moreover, one member of the clergy expressed fears that the Catholic church would begin buying up large pieces of land and to exert a strong influence also in that manner. Such opinions show that the clergy feared the loss of their status, or as expressed by Mäntylä, “a distrust in our Lutheran church’s ability to withstand potential competition with these churches.”¹⁹⁹

The Mormons were also aware of this Dissenter Act proposal, at least through one of the missionaries who had worked in Finland between 1876 and 1878. As expressed by the Salt Lake City Mormon newspaper *Deseret News* after the missionary’s return,

¹⁹⁶ *Suomen Suuriruhtinamaan Asetus-Kokous wuodelta 1869* (Helsinki: Keisarillisen Senaatin kirjapaino, 1870), no. 30, p. 3.

¹⁹⁷ Murtorinne, *Suomen kirkon historia* 3, p. 307. Heininen and Heikkilä, *Suomen kirkkohistoria*, pp. 184–185.

¹⁹⁸ As quoted in Mäntylä, “Eriuskolaiskysymys Suomessa 1870- ja 1880-luvuilla,” p. 214.

¹⁹⁹ Mäntylä, “Eriuskolaiskysymys Suomessa 1870- ja 1880-luvuilla,” p. 220.

... the people of that country petitioned the Czar of Russia for a guarantee of religious liberty for all sects excepting the 'Mormons,' on the plea that the latter practised polygamy.²⁰⁰

The text of the proposal discussed by the Diet of 1877–1878 does not mention the Mormons, but they were mentioned in passing in both positive and negative tone in discussions of the proposal by the estates.²⁰¹ Regardless of the extensive work related to the proposal, the Czar refused to accept it mainly because it included the Orthodox church among those defined as dissenters. As will be remembered, the Czar had already privileged the Orthodox and reserved the right to give decrees concerning them.²⁰²

In the 1880s, two competing Dissenter Act drafts were made, one by a committee appointed by the Senate and wider in scope, another by Yrjö S. Yrjö-Koskinen (head of the Senate's commission for church affairs) and limited to Protestant dissenters only. As was the case in the 1870s, problems centered on the Orthodox church and its Finnish members. If the Dissenter Act were to also cover these individuals, their rights would have actually been decreased from those already granted to them by the Czar. On the other hand, if it were not to cover those persons, Finnish legislators would have implicitly approved of the Czar's prior removal of legislative power from the Finns.

Furthermore, the Czar did not allow the Orthodox to become Lutherans, whereas the latter had approved the reverse. This violated the religious freedom of Lutherans converting to the Orthodox

²⁰⁰ "Returned Missionary," *Deseret News*, 16 October 1878, p. 581. Regarding hopes for religious freedom legislation in Finland at this time, see Ola N. Liljenquist to Albert Carrington, 17 October 1876, reprinted in "Foreign Correspondence," *The Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star*, vol. 38, no. 46 (13 November 1876), p. 731, and an indirect mention in Axel Tullgren to Ola N. Liljenquist, 19 December 1876, reprinted in "Korrespondance," *Skandinaviens Stjerne*, vol. 26, no. 8 (15 January 1877), p. 123.

²⁰¹ See for example p. 11 of "Lakivaliokunnan mietintö N:o 14" in *Asiakirjat valtiopäiviltä Helsingissä vuosina 1877–1878* (Helsinki: J. Simelius'en perillisten kirjapaino, 1878), vol. 3 and *Suomen talonpoikaissäädyn pöytäkirjat valtiopäivillä v. 1877–1878* (Helsinki: Helsingin Sentraalikirjapaino, 1901), vol. 3, pp. 1730–1731. Zachary R. Jones, "Conversion amid Conflict: Mormon Proselytizing in Russian Finland, 1861–1914," *Journal of Mormon History*, vol. 35, no. 3 (Summer 2009), p. 25, mistakenly claims that "government authorities officially outlawed Mormonism" as a result.

²⁰² Mikko Reijonen, *Uskonnonvapauskysymys Suomessa* ([Tampere:] Kirkon tutkimuslaitos, 1977), p. 25.

church, something which was seen as unacceptable.²⁰³ A satisfactory solution to this and smaller problems was not found. Nevertheless, it was imperative that a Dissenter Act be enacted especially due to the spread of Baptism. Baptists refused to be baptized and confirmed in the Lutheran church, and thus they could not attend communion, which in turn was a prerequisite for marriage.

The limited version of the Dissenter Act was eventually accepted by the Diet of 1888 and approved by the Czar in November 1889.²⁰⁴ According to the first paragraph, "Protestant denominations, which stand on the ground of the Bible and the Apostolic confession of faith but do not belong to the Evangelical Lutheran church, will henceforth have the right to publicly practice their religion as dissenter congregations" under certain conditions.²⁰⁵ The Baptists and Methodists took advantage by organizing in 1891.

Finland was not completely exceptional as a Mormon mission field in the legislative sense. In Sweden, for example, Mormonism operated without the protection of the law until the twentieth century. In Norway Mormon services were only legalized in 1882. However, as pointed out by Mulder specifically regarding Norway, "the law was one thing, popular feeling another; and the popular mind, like the official, was divided."²⁰⁶ In Sweden, laws governing religious worship were not strictly enforced during the 1870s and after, although Lutheran clergy and parish councils could warn missionaries and some could be fined and arrested.²⁰⁷ In contrast, the liberal 1849 constitution of Denmark and its subordinate Iceland provided wide possibilities for new religious movements such as Mormonism. Liberal attitudes did not set in immediately, however, and especially in Iceland the Mormons were opposed rather strongly. Denmark was from the be-

²⁰³ Mäntylä, "Eriuskolaiskysymys Suomessa 1870- ja 1880-luvuilla," p. 210.

²⁰⁴ Mäntylä, "Eriuskolaiskysymys Suomessa 1870- ja 1880-luvuilla," pp. 225–226. Reijonen, *Uskonnonvapauskysymys Suomessa*, pp. 26–27.

²⁰⁵ *Suomen Suuriruhtinanmaan Asetus-Kokous wuodelta 1889* (Helsinki: Keisarillisen Senaatin kirjapaino, 1890), no. 33, p. 1.

²⁰⁶ A. Dean Wengreen, *A History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Sweden, 1850–1905* (Doctoral dissertation, Brigham Young University, USA, 1968), p. 194. William Mulder, *Homeward to Zion: The Mormon Migration from Scandinavia* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000 [1957]), p. 45.

²⁰⁷ Wengreen, *A History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Sweden, 1850–1905*, pp. 206–209.

ginning “officially hospitable,” which may be significant for Mormonism’s success there.²⁰⁸

No other Finnish legislative developments of significance in the present context took place under the rest of the study period. The Mormons would have to wait until the twentieth century for the legal protection to proselytize and to formally organize their movement. The Religious Freedom Act enacted in 1922 was one that guaranteed religious freedom on a much larger scale than the previous laws, and enabled the Mormon church’s post-war efforts in the country.²⁰⁹

2.4. Discussion and Summary

The introduction of a new religious movement to a given host society can be understood only by accounting for the larger context of the society’s religious landscape. This wider view gives an understanding of the parameters within which such movements may legally function, and it also gives an idea of the response that the movements may experience from a variety of societal actors. A tightly regulated religious economy tends to make the favored church less energetic and produce sectarian revivals that seek to answer the religious needs of the population. Similarly, it provides a fertile substrate for foreign religious movements, although their activities may be curtailed.

In the case of Mormonism’s introduction to Finland in the nineteenth century, the new movement encountered a strongly Lutheran society in which the Lutheran church’s privileged status had been prescribed by law since the end of the sixteenth century. Finland thus had a governmentally regulated religious economy, where one (two, if one allows for the minor Orthodox church) religious movement held a monopoly in its ability to function and attract adherents freely. Most individuals became part of the Lutheran church already at birth, as is common for state churches. Ecclesiastical and governmental hostility was displayed in varying degrees towards both the church’s internal revivalists and external or foreign new religious movements.

By the late 1800s it was recognized that the domestic revival movements could aid the Lutheran church in its mission. In this inter-

²⁰⁸ Mulder, *Homeward to Zion*, pp. 40–43. Fred E. Woods, *Fire on Ice: The Story of Icelandic Latter-day Saints at Home and Abroad* (Provo: Religious Studies Center at Brigham Young University, 2005), pp. 4–5, 15, and 76–79.

²⁰⁹ Reijonen, *Uskonnonvapauskysymys Suomessa*, pp. 32–66.

esting dynamic, differences were put aside to enable co-operation. But it was especially the influx of new foreign movements that necessitated a deregulation of the religious economy. The most significant step was the Dissenter Act of 1889, which provided Protestant movements such as the Baptists and Methodists legal protection and the right to become formally organized as denominations in Finland. Many other movements, including Mormonism, did not benefit from the Act directly, although the indirect effects of liberalized attitudes should not go unmentioned. One may thus conclude that Mormonism's introduction to Finland occurred in very different circumstances than did its birth in the United States. In contrast to a free and pluralist religious economy, the movement was confronted by an economy that was regulated by law and that privileged certain movements over others in a highly significant manner.

Importantly, such privileged status also meant that certain movements became legitimized in the popular construction of reality. By the nineteenth century, Lutheranism had been the dominant mode of Finnish religion for centuries. Although challenged by revivalists, freethinkers and other movements, one might say that the Lutheran church's position had for many persons a self-evident and ontological nature. Its constructed nature was no longer apparent to individuals who were born into families that had been Lutheran for generations.²¹⁰ Berger and Luckmann argued that "the parentally transmitted world is not fully transparent," but rather "it confronts [the children] as a given" and "is experienced as an objective reality."²¹¹

Naturally it must be noted that individuals regarded the Lutheran tradition with varying degrees of seriousness. Some were true believers, whereas others joined another movement or "did their own thing" to the extent that they were comfortable with. The nation's religious landscape was in a process of transformation and tension. Nevertheless, as a precursor to matters discussed in the next chapter, it is essential that Finland's social atmosphere was permeated with the towering presence of Lutheranism and its institutions. This implies that most individuals had been brought up with and had already, without the secular printed word, internalized certain understandings about acceptable versus deviant religiosity.

²¹⁰ Douglas E. Cowan, *Bearing False Witness? An Introduction to the Christian Countercult* (Westport: Praeger, 2003), p. 45.

²¹¹ Berger and Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality*, p. 77.

New religious movements such as Mormonism thus had to face not only civil authorities and a privileged state church with societal power on the macro level, but also the socially constructed reality of the individual on the micro level. In that reality, Mormonism was a deviant movement associated with sociocultural tension and strange doctrines. Compared to Lutheranism, conversion to Mormonism and other new movements could therefore be associated with high social costs due to mere association, not to speak of the costs potentially related to living the religion.

3. Constructing the Mormon Image in Print

“In just a few years the Saints will have become normal monogamists, and there will be no other memory of Mormonism than Artemus Ward’s words: ‘The Mormon’s religion is singular and his wives are plural.’” (*Helsingfors Dagblad*, 5 July 1871)

“After having been crammed with the most unbelievable fables about the Mormons in the east, one waits for something extraordinary to appear as soon as one sets foot in their city. ... We have found that our [British] compatriots in Utah are as capable and honorable and ... as content with their new home country as are our other compatriots in the United States.” (*Finland*, 29 January 1889)

“... this hydra among modern forms of religion, which seems so revolting and has power to entice both simple and highly educated people into its charmed circle.” (*Finland*, 16 September 1889)²¹²

Nineteenth-century Finns encountered Mormonism through the printed word after 1840. Newspapers, books, and periodicals contained information on Mormon doctrine, history, and activities in both the United States and in Europe, even in the other Nordic countries. With time, reports also began to trickle in concerning Mormon proselytizing in Finland. This printed material is of great importance, because it formed the window through which a large number of Finnish individuals came to know the Mormons. The texts they read and discussed with their friends and acquaintances contained certain discourses and formed the corpus through which their image of Mormonism was constructed. If an individual eventually met the Mormons personally, this socially constructed understanding of the movement preconditioned his or her reactions.

Until now, very little has been known about the public image of Mormonism perpetuated in Finland in the nineteenth century. On the one hand, the neglect of this topic stems from the lack of interested

²¹² An earlier version of this chapter is parts 1 and 2 of “Constructing the Mormon Image in Print in Finland: 1840–1901,” *Journal of Mormon History*, forthcoming.

scholars proficient in Finnish and Swedish, the main languages of Finland. On the other hand, the primary sources in this case are very plentiful. Recent advances in digital technology have made it possible for this chapter to be written, based on a comprehensive search of all Finnish newspapers up to the year 1900. Leads in these newspapers have produced further Mormon-related finds in books and periodicals of the time. The years of particular focus in this chapter are 1840–1900; no publicity has been found from before 1840.

The first part of this chapter provides a quantitative analysis of Finnish print publicity that discusses or mentions Mormonism. Attention is given to the chronological and language distribution of the material and the frequency of the publicity. In this connection it must be noted that the analysis is comprehensive only insofar as it concerns newspaper publicity between 1840–1900; unfortunately it has not been possible to undertake a comprehensive search in nineteenth-century books and periodicals within the scope of the current study. Nevertheless, finds from these are no less important, and are thus included in order to give a further understanding of the scope of Mormon-related material.

The second part of this chapter employs discourse analysis to explore some of the major ways in which the Mormons were treated in these nineteenth-century texts. The treatments that emerge can be roughly divided into an otherness-promoting hegemonic discourse and into a counter-discourse that offers nuance and calls into question some aspects of the Mormon image of otherness. By an otherness-promoting discourse I refer to a mode or manner of speaking that constructs an image of something as foreign, as not belonging to one's own group, "not us," as "the other." By a counter-discourse or otherness-diminishing discourse I refer to a mode or manner of speaking that eliminates mental images of "the other" and constructs an image of familiarity, normalcy, something related to and more or less part of "us."²¹³

Before proceeding, it is necessary to say a few words from a theoretical point of view. The role of the printed word in the nineteenth century was important, especially when it came to reporting on and providing information about new phenomena. Such information often

²¹³ As noted before, my analysis does not extend to images, but rather they are used at times as illustrative material to provide a feel for the publicity.

functioned as people's first and only contact to these new phenomena. Those who read these works could mediate the information further to those who were illiterate or who were otherwise in their sphere of influence. The printed word was thus significant for example in the social construction of a new religious movement's public image. Whether the new movement came to be seen as familiar or as something "other" was naturally of great importance for the prospects of the movement itself.

Who came in contact with the Mormon image as constructed in the printed word? The level of literacy began increasing rapidly after the general school system was established at the end of the 1860s. Until then, reading was often the purview mostly of the upper classes. By 1880, however, about 98% of Finland's population aged over 10 knew how to read, although only about 15% knew how to write.²¹⁴ The issue was thus no longer literacy per se but rather the accessibility of the printed word and the interest of the population, matters that are commented on further in Section 3.1.

For the Mormons, treatment in print often served to other the movement. The printed word itself, however, cannot be thought of as the primary source for discrimination or images of otherness. Instead it tends to reflect attitudes already present in the mainstream of society. The real origin of conceptions of otherness must be sought in other social and societal processes.²¹⁵ Nevertheless, there is a symbiotic relationship between these conceptions and the printed word, a relationship where one feeds the other. The printed word affects individual attitudes and may thus for example promote an image of new movements as groups that are foreign to the culture. Indeed, the media, in this case the newspapers, have a primary position as actors that articulate the host culture's relationship to "the other."²¹⁶ In the nineteenth century, this resulted in interpreting and evaluating Mormon-

²¹⁴ Päiviö Tommila and Raimo Salokangas, *Sanomia kaikille: Suomen lehdistön historia* (Helsinki: Edita, 1998), p. 78.

²¹⁵ Sari Pietikäinen and Heikki Luostarinen, "Vähemmistöt suomalaisessa julkisuudessa," in Taina Dahlgren et al., eds., *Vähemmistöt ja niiden syrjintä Suomessa* (Helsinki: Yliopistopaino, 1996), p. 172.

²¹⁶ Martti Junnonaho, "On Religious Otherness in Finnish Discourse," in Jeffrey Kaplan, ed., *Beyond the Mainstream: The Emergence of Religious Pluralism in Finland, Estonia, and Russia* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2000), p. 196.

ism and its arrival in Finland from the worldview and societal situation of that time.

The striving for balanced reporting and writing often results in discourses and repertoires that follow the perspectives of the mainstream population. This can occur for example due to the private feelings and thoughts of the authors. Gergen argues that "one's values inevitably lead one to select certain ways of putting things and not others."²¹⁷ The analyst may then explore such accounts and find out who gains from them on the one hand, and who is being silenced or exploited by them on the other. Writings also construct an image that creates differences between society's majority and minority, between "us" and "them."²¹⁸ Discourses involving minorities thus include, in this case, themes that show Mormon features that are seen to deviate from average Finnish culture. Even certain ways of expression can subtly promote a foreign image of various groups. Smaller churches may sometimes for example be called religious "communities" or "societies," while the Evangelical Lutheran church is often merely called "the church." In this kind of discourse, the Lutheran church becomes familiar and safe, whereas there is something out of the ordinary in other churches and movements. Choices of topics and words by authors affect the images of familiarity or foreignness attached to churches and religions. At the same time it must be remembered that the point of analyzing discourses is not to criticize individual authors; they function within the larger discourses of society and may thus maintain images of otherness without noticing it themselves.²¹⁹

The image that the printed word constructed of new social movements was easily neutralized in the majority's mind. After all, "it was in the paper" or "it was in the book" and must thus be reliable. The discourses most prevalent in these sources easily transferred to readers and their listeners certain attitudes and views, "the way things were." It is in fact essential that the printed word does not reflect the world in a neutral manner. Rather it participates in building that

²¹⁷ Kenneth J. Gergen, *An Invitation to Social Construction*, 2nd ed. (London: Sage Publications, 2009), p. 15.

²¹⁸ Sari Pietikäinen and Heikki Luostarinen, "Vähemmistöt suomalaisessa julkisuudessa," p. 175 and 184.

²¹⁹ Stephen Harold Riggins, "The Rhetoric of Othering," in Riggins, ed., *The Language and Politics of Exclusion: Others in Discourse* (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 1997), p. 25.

world and contributes to the internalization of certain values in its readership. In Gergen's words, "what seems to be an objective report is a cloak that masks the implicit values," and one may not recognize those values because of personally sharing them.²²⁰ This, of course, is the process of social construction in operation.²²¹ Using the terminology of discourse analysis, this means that some of the authors' interpretations were hegemonized, i.e., a certain way of speaking about the movement became the seemingly inevitable norm based on which most discussion of the movement tended to proceed. Authors thus occupied a responsible position, as the information and interpretations they mediated strongly impacted the construction of the new movement's public image.²²²

The situation is problematized further in the case of churches and religious movements. While authors are often expected to provide a neutral and objective look, these movements often seek to mediate a positive and growth-enabling image of themselves. In these cases the authors have to tread carefully in order to avoid stereotypical views and in order to give correct information based on credible sources. Then again, newspaper editors or book authors should not function as the critiqueless propagators of the movements' interests, or those of their antagonists. Achieving balance can be difficult. Indeed, writings on a religious movement can be so predominantly negative that a negative public image may become part of its identity.²²³ Certainly this was the case for nineteenth-century Mormonism at large, as the movement began to interpret much of the publicity on it through a framework of religious persecution.

3.1. Extent and Types of Publicity

Mormon-related publicity is here analyzed through its frequency, language, and chronological distribution, but also through the source of the material, the authors, and general themes. The sources are divided into newspapers, books, and periodicals that were published or

²²⁰ Gergen, *An Invitation to Social Construction*, p. 14.

²²¹ The main exception to this situation were those, who had special knowledge of the movement in question for example through acquaintances belonging to it.

²²² Pietikäinen and Luostarinen, "Vähemmistöt suomalaisessa julkisuudessa," p. 178.

²²³ As one example, see Markku Ihonen, "Mediakummajainen? Herätysliikkeen julkisuusongelmien äärellä," *Tiedotustutkimus*, vol. 23, no. 4 (2000), pp. 68–78, for the later case of Laestadians in Finland.

available in Finland, each of these treated under its respective heading. The main corpus of study has been the newspapers due to the relative completeness of the corpus as compared to books and periodicals.

Newspapers

The first Finnish newspaper was published in 1771. In comparison with neighboring Sweden and many other European countries, this form of spreading information was thus born quite late. By 1830, eight newspapers were being published in the entire country, mostly one or two times per week. The infancy and growth period of the newspaper industry continued throughout the century, with newspapers being born and others being closed. By 1900, the number of newspapers in publication had risen to 84. By today's standards a newspaper issue was quite small, often four or six pages.

With regards to content, many of the newspapers used "scissor journalism," meaning that they copied material published in books or other Finnish or foreign newspapers.²²⁴ Over the years, however, they began to increasingly have and utilize correspondents, and thus the versatility and originality of their reporting increased. Censorship due to Russian rule was a matter that many Finnish newspapers fought with, but matters related to religion were usually not deemed as problematic.²²⁵ One can thus find plenty of material on the Mormons.

Due to the lack of newspaper subscriber data from the latter half of the nineteenth century it is difficult to make generalizations regarding the social structure of the readership. In the early years the papers mostly reached the intelligentsia, but beginning in the 1860s, they were increasingly read by farmers that owned houses and later even by commoners. To some extent one could read newspapers in town or village reading halls or libraries, and sometimes a number of persons made a joint order for a number of different newspapers. Most newspaper readers lived in the southern parts of Finland; in the 1860s only

²²⁴ Päiviö Tommila, Lars Landgren, and Pirkko Leino-Kaukiainen, *Sanomalehdistön vaiheet vuoteen 1905*, pp. 196–207 (Kuopio: Kustannuskiila, 1988). This is volume 1 in the encyclopedic Päiviö Tommila, ed., *Suomen lehdistön historia*, an historical study of Finland's newspapers.

²²⁵ Tommila, Landgren, and Leino-Kaukiainen, *Sanomalehdistön vaiheet vuoteen 1905*. See also Päiviö Tommila, Aimo Reitala, and Veikko Kallio, eds., *Suomen kulttuurihistoria*, vol. 2 (Porvoo: WSOY, 1983 [1980]), pp. 280–287.

three newspapers were published north of an imaginary line drawn between the cities Pori and Viipuri. In 1885 that number had risen to 22, indicating the wider influence of newspaper publicity also in the northern region of the country.²²⁶ The extension of a person's world-view was used as an argument to bolster subscription numbers. Already in 1851, *Borgå Tidning* argued that "one cannot be 'educated' without knowing what the newspapers contain." An 1882 writer in *Aura* called for educative "light to the people" in the spirit of the Fenoman movement, feeling that it was necessary "to hear how people live and manage elsewhere in the world."²²⁷

Although newspapers thus became increasingly available to the lower strata of society, it is probable that the upper layers were most affected by the printed word's description of the Mormons. This affected their assessment of the movement and their propensity to join it. Information and discourses concerning the Mormons most probably filtered down from them to other parts of the population, but this is difficult to measure in a strict manner. In any case, commoners (especially in the countryside) are more likely to have known less or very little at all about the Mormons.

I have used the Historical Newspaper Library of the National Library of Finland to explore the coverage of Mormonism in Finnish newspapers.²²⁸ The source material covers all Finnish newspapers from 1771 up to 1900. Computerized searches were run using chiefly the keywords "Mormon*" and "Mormoon*," which cover both Swedish and Finnish (the main languages of the newspapers) variant spellings of the word Mormon and its multiple derivatives.

Due to the Library's use of Optical Character Recognition (OCR) technology, the mere searches are not entirely reliable. On the one hand, a Mormon-related item may be missing from the results because the keyword has not been correctly identified by the computerized recognition algorithm. In other words, my method of data gathering involves a non-zero loss of accuracy (then again, strictly human analysis would probably hit similar if not higher error rates for a corpus of this magnitude). Unfortunately it is not possible to know the

²²⁶ Tommila, Landgren, and Leino-Kaukiainen, *Sanomalehdistön vaiheet vuoteen 1905*, p. 238 and 287–288.

²²⁷ "Tidnings-revy," *Borgå Tidning*, 8 January 1851, p. 2 and "Sauwo," *Aura*, 14 November 1882, p. 4.

²²⁸ See <http://digi.kansalliskirjasto.fi> (accessed December 12, 2009).

number of such missed items, although based on the general functioning of the OCR technology one can surmise their number is quite small and does not affect the general picture. On the other hand, the results may include items that the OCR process has erroneously identified as containing the keyword. These can be removed from the results by manual inspection of the content.

The next step was to analyze the search results individually, keeping those items that discuss or mention Mormons and deleting those that do not. The result is a corpus of primary source material that has been utilized throughout this dissertation, a total of 3,460 items. The frequency of such Mormon-related items between 1840 and 1900 is given in Table 3.1 and visualized in Figure 3.1. No effort has been made to separate original contributions from specimens of scissor journalism, denoting republications in other newspapers that utilized these original contributions word for word or with little change. All kinds of written material is included, for example news of Mormon activities, essays on Mormon doctrine and history, and advertisements by merchants who were selling Mormon-related books. Otherwise unrelated items that mention the Mormons only in passing are also included.

An analysis of the frequency provides a clear conclusion: The number of Mormon-related items was comparatively low until it rose significantly at the end of the 1870s and continued to rise after that time up to 1890. This rise may be caused by a number of reasons: 1) the number of newspapers published in Finland rose significantly with time (from 9 in 1840 to 60 in 1890), 2) news from abroad became more commonplace and more easily available for publication in newspapers, and 3) Finnish interest in Mormonism increased because of the missionary work being done in the country by the Mormons. The specific reasons are of secondary importance but they may still be probed further (see below). Of primary importance here is the general rising trend: it suggests that an ever-wider portion of the population became familiar with Mormonism through the printed word as the years up to 1890 passed. A marked drop in the number of items occurs in 1891, after which the frequency drops to pre-1880 levels. This is most likely because newspapers saw troubles related to Mormon polygamy as having been settled by the 1890 manifesto, and interest in the Mormons decreased accordingly.

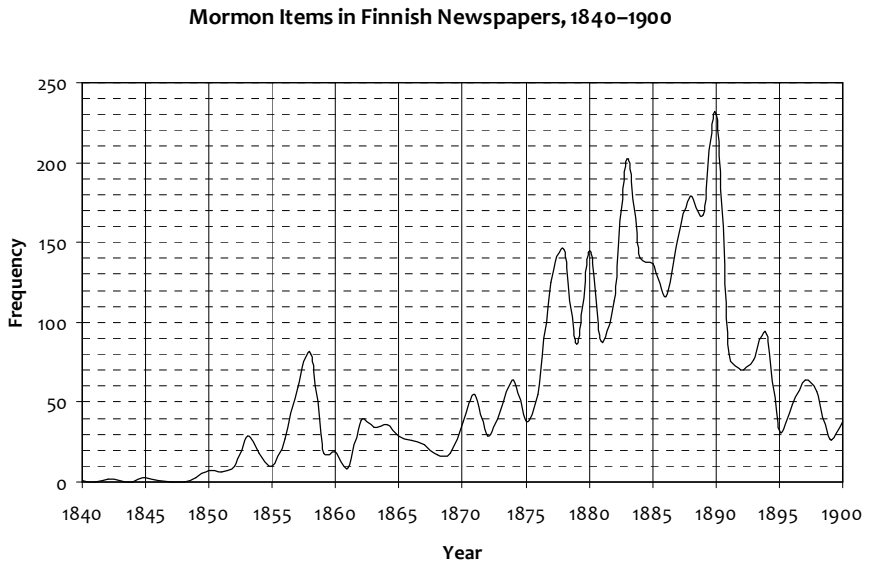


Figure 3.1. Mormon items in Finnish newspapers, 1840–1900.

Table 3.1. Frequency of Mormon items in Finnish newspapers, 1840–1900.

Year	Frequency	Year	Frequency	Year	Frequency
1840	1	1860	19	1880	145
1841	0	1861	9	1881	88
1842	2	1862	39	1882	113
1843	1	1863	34	1883	202
1844	0	1864	36	1884	140
1845	3	1865	29	1885	137
1846	1	1866	26	1886	116
1847	0	1867	23	1887	151
1848	0	1868	17	1888	179
1849	3	1869	18	1889	167
1850	7	1870	38	1890	230
1851	6	1871	55	1891	80
1852	10	1872	29	1892	70
1853	29	1873	45	1893	76
1854	18	1874	64	1894	93
1855	10	1875	38	1895	32
1856	27	1876	55	1896	49
1857	59	1877	125	1897	64
1858	80	1878	146	1898	57
1859	18	1879	86	1899	27
				1900	38

A significant peak is caused in 1857 and 1858 primarily by two reasons. First, the publication and subsequent wide advertising of the controversial book *Quinnan hos mormonerna* [Female Life among the Mormons], dealt with in more detail in the subsection that discusses books. Second, these were the years during which the Mormons and the United States experienced the Utah war, described in Chapter 1. The heightened tension and the unfolding of events caused newspapers to follow the issue with interest and to report on it frequently. Further clear peaks occur in 1878 due to missionary activity in Sipoo, Turku, and Vaasa, in 1880 partly due to reports of missionary activity and the church's membership number in Finland, and in 1883 due to Mormon activity in Pohja (see Chapter 6). Towards the end of the 1880s, much publicity was born through the legal developments related to Mormon polygamy in the United States.

The number of newspapers in existence increased with time, and thus the number of mentions of Mormonism naturally increases with the years. To compare the annual frequency of the publicity further in a fair manner, one needs to factor this into the calculation. Moreover, the number of newspaper issues published per newspaper also increased with the years. It is thus indicative to examine frequency as the occurrence of Mormon-related items within one newspaper issue. To accommodate these viewpoints, two normalized prevalence indices are created.

The first prevalence index normalizes the annual frequency of items based on the number of newspapers in existence in a given year. In other words, it indicates how many items in an average newspaper would mention the Mormons during a given year. However, when assessing Mormonism's prevalence as a topic in the media, the number of newspaper issues published may be seen as more important than the number of newspapers in existence at a given time. For example, if one paper publishes seven issues per week and mentions the Mormons in each one, the Mormons are in this sense more prevalent as a topic than in the case where four newspapers that publish only one issue per week all mention the Mormons once. The second prevalence index thus normalizes the annual frequency of items based on the number of newspaper issues in a given year.²²⁹ Based on the an-

²²⁹ Data on the number of newspapers in existence and newspaper issues published has been extracted from Tommila, Landgren, and Leino-Kaukiainen, *Sanomalehdistön vaiheet vuoteen 1905*, p. 215, 281–282, and 444–445. The authors

nual frequency given in Table 3.1, the indices are expressed formally as follows:

$$\text{Items per newspaper} = \frac{\text{Annual frequency}}{\text{Number of newspapers in existence}}$$

$$\text{Items per issue} = \frac{\text{Annual frequency}}{\text{Number of issues published}}$$

The indices have been calculated and are shown in Figure 3.2.

Some observations can be made, assuming that items per newspaper issue is considered an accurate expresser of interest in the Mormons as a topic: First, the peak in the late 1850s is still present, and is perhaps even more pronounced. The publication of *Qvinnan bland mormonerna* and the Utah war thus genuinely did cause a surge of publicity for Mormonism in the Finnish newspapers of the time also relatively speaking. Second, interest in the Mormons seems to fluctuate but at the same time follow a slowly rising trend up to the mid-1880s, if one looks at items per existing newspaper.

Third, while the number of items per existing newspaper increased, coverage of Mormonism was fairly constant when looking at items per issue after the 1870s and up to 1890. The divergence of the curves during that time is caused by the number of published newspaper issues increasing more rapidly than the number of existing newspapers during a given year. That is, the Mormons were dealt with more often by an average newspaper because it published more issues during a given year. In all, the Mormons would be mentioned 0.02 times in an average newspaper issue after the early 1870s and up to 1890. This translates to one mention in every fiftieth newspaper issue published. Looked at differently, an average newspaper would contain a Mormon-related item three times during one year.

provide the number of newspaper issues per week, and I have multiplied this number with 52 to obtain the number of newspaper issues per year. This data is used in all subsequent analyses.

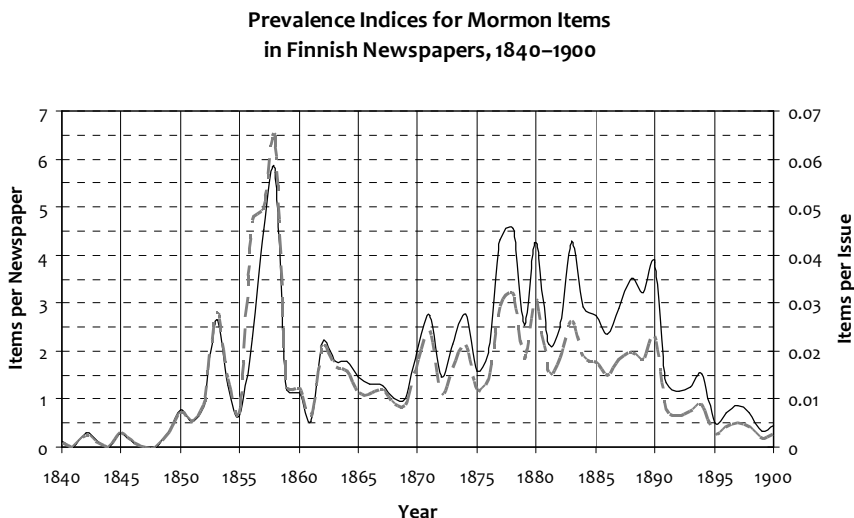


Figure 3.2. *The prevalence of Mormonism as a topic in Finnish newspapers, 1840–1900. Solid = Items per existing newspaper, Dashed = Items per published newspaper issue.*

One important caveat must be offered in this context: my analysis does not take into account the type of item that mentioned Mormonism. Thus single mentions of the Mormons in otherwise unrelated articles are weighted equally with extensive articles that deal specifically with Mormonism. Analysis that takes into account this variable (the number of column millimeters) would produce even more indicative results and should be undertaken in the future. However, such analysis has not been included in this study because it is of secondary importance for the present purposes. Of primary importance is the simple mention of Mormonism, in whatever context that may be. Longer articles naturally have a greater impact, but all mentions in whatever context contributed to the image and mental associations that Finnish individuals made.

An analysis of the language distribution of the publicity per decade was also done. Here the newspapers were divided into two groups, those published in Finnish and those published in Swedish. The number of items for all newspapers in a group were summed together for

each decade between 1840–1900²³⁰ and a percentage of the total publicity was calculated for each group. The results are given in Figure 3.3.

The results show that newspaper writings on Mormonism were predominantly published in the Swedish language, implying that information on the Mormons was conveyed mostly to speakers of Swedish (this includes a minority of native-speakers and a small number of intelligentsia who knew Swedish beside their native Finnish).²³¹ The difference in distribution became smaller over the years, however. Newspapers published in Finnish stood for only 5.6% of the reporting in the first decade, but the proportion rose to 33.1% by the final decade under examination. Throughout the time period, there were in general more Finnish-language newspapers in existence, but they tended to publish fewer issues than the Swedish-language outlets. During 1881–1890, for example, the proportion of issues published was 54.3% vs. 45.7% in favor of the Swedish language. Still, the newspapers published in Swedish stood for 66.9% of the Mormon items during that decade, meaning that the Swedish-language newspapers were more inclined to give space to Mormon-related matters in a given issue than their Finnish-language counterparts. The same conclusion holds true for all decades under study with a varying margin. In 1891–1900, Finnish-language newspapers had surpassed their Swedish-language counterparts in the number of issues published (58.4% vs. 41.6%), but most of the Mormon publicity (58.2%) was still in Swedish.

There are significant differences between newspapers with regard to how often they discussed Mormonism or mentioned it. Some newspapers never mentioned the movement, whereas others were clearly more inclined to do so. The five newspapers with most items were *Åbo Underrättelser* (356 items between the years 1852 and 1900), *Helsingfors Dagblad* (282, 1862–1889), *Hufvudstadsbladet* (259, 1864–1900), *Finlands Allmänna Tidning* (170, 1840–1900) and *Nya Pressen* (162, 1883–1900). All of them were published in Swedish. The Finnish-

²³⁰ Except for the first year span 1840–1850, each span is ten years. Only one article was published in 1840, and thus the results from the first year span are not skewed in any meaningful manner.

²³¹ Native-speakers comprised 14.3% of the total population in 1880. See Fjalar Finnäs, *Finlandssvenskarna 2002: En statistisk rapport* (Helsingfors: Folktinget, 2004), pp. 7–8. No official language distribution statistics exist from before 1880.

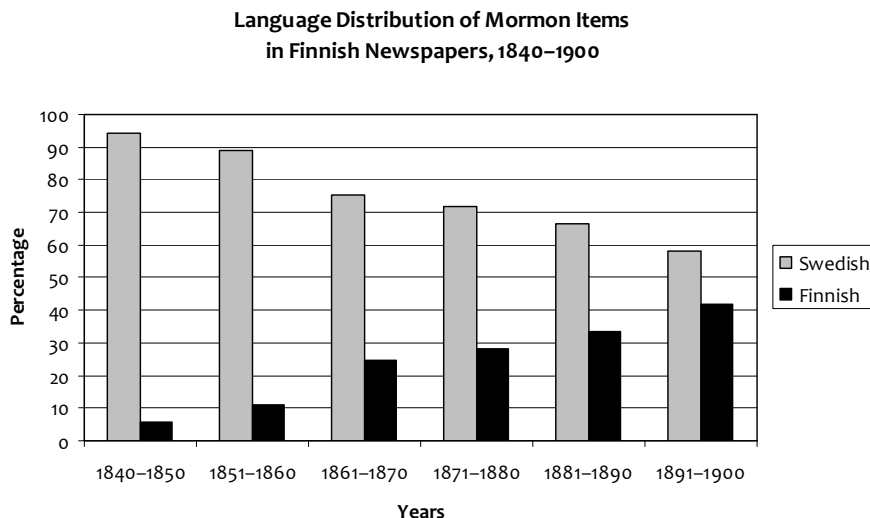


Figure 3.3. The Swedish vs. Finnish language distribution of Mormon items per decade, 1840–1900.

language newspaper with most Mormon items was *Uusi Suometar* (133, 1870–1900). The subscriber numbers of these newspapers are shown in Table 3.2. If a subscriber number is not available, the year corresponding to the given number is indicated in brackets.²³²

One may note that all six were large newspapers with comparatively wide subscriber bases and wide reporting on foreign events. Up to the 1840s, the Helsinki-published *Finlands Allmänna Tidning* was the leading provider of news from abroad as the government's paper; it is thus quite natural that it was the first to bring news concerning Mormons in Europe, as will be seen below.

²³² The subscriber numbers and subsequent general characterizations of these large newspapers have been obtained from Ulla Ekman-Salokangas, Eeva-Liisa Aalto, and Raimo Salokangas, *Hakuteos Aamulehti – Kotka Nyheter: Sanoma- ja paikallislehdistö 1771–1985* (Kuopio: Kustannuskiila, 1988), pp. 78–79, 121–122, and 144–147; Ulla Ekman-Salokangas, Eeva-Liisa Aalto, and Raimo Salokangas, *Hakuteos Kotokulma – Savon Lehti: Sanoma ja paikallislehdistö 1771–1985* (Kuopio: Kustannuskiila, 1988), pp. 168–169; and Ulla Ekman-Salokangas, Eeva-Liisa Aalto, and Raimo Salokangas, *Hakuteos Savonlinna – Övermarks Tidning: Sanoma- ja paikallislehdistö 1771–1985* (Kuopio: Kustannuskiila, 1988), pp. 202–203 and 310–313. These are volumes 5–7, respectively, of Päiviö Tommila, ed., *Suomen lehdistön historia*.

Table 3.2. Subscriber numbers for newspapers with most Mormon items.

Newspaper / Year	1850	1860	1870	1880	1890	1900
<i>Finlands Allmänna Tidning</i>	1,800 [1855]	1,800 [1855]	1,000 [1866]	850 [1878]	600 [1885]	not available
<i>Helsingfors Dagblad</i>	-	1,106 [1862]	2,900	4,303	2,010 [1889]	not publ.
<i>Hufvudstadsbladet</i>	-	-	2,100	3,300	8,500	17,500
<i>Nya Pressen</i>	-	-	-	1,542 [1883]	5,643	10,163
<i>Uusi Suometar</i>	-	-	700	4,606 [1881]	6,100	11,300
<i>Åbo Underrättelser</i>	788	1,344	1,289	1,331	1,821	2,100

Helsingfors Dagblad was published in Helsinki and was the paper of the liberal movement. For some time during the 1870s, it was the leading newspaper of the country with two thirds of its subscribers residing outside the capital city. *Hufvudstadsbladet*, on the other hand, was politically neutral. It was mostly a local Helsinki paper until the mid-1880s, when it began competing for subscribers on a national scale. Its editor from 1864 to 1885 was August Schauman, younger brother of nationally known clergyman and theologian Frans L. Schauman, which may have increased the paper's interest in Mormon matters further.²³³

Nya Pressen and *Uusi Suometar* represented the competing factions in the language debate that affected Finland during the second half of the nineteenth century, the former being the spokesman of the Svecomans and the latter the flagship of the Fennomans. *Nya Pressen* was liberal when it came to matters of culture and religion, whereas *Uusi Suometar* was more conservative in that it defended the Lutheran church against the rising currents that demanded religious freedom. The only one of the listed large newspapers to originate outside the capital city was the Turku-published *Åbo Underrättelser*, a newspaper with decidedly liberal leanings all the way to the 1870s. It was one of the leading reporters of news from abroad and was subscribed to mostly on the southwest coast.

²³³ Bo Lönnqvist, "Schauman, August," in Matti Klinge, ed., *Suomen kansallisbiografia*, vol. 8 (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2006), pp. 734–735.

In this connection it should also be noted that the “impact factor” of a Mormon item depended very much on the venue in which it was published. In general, publication in a respected newspaper with a wide subscriber base would have more impact than publication in a small newspaper, although meaningful measurements are difficult to make. Nevertheless, it is important that the large newspapers were the ones displaying most interest towards the Mormons. On the one hand, this was probably a consequence of their generally wider reporting on non-domestic news items and other matters of curiosity. On the other hand, such reporting in respected sources made the Mormons a potential topic of general interest to and discussion among the newspaper-reading part of the population. The information could also propagate further to their friends and acquaintances and become part of their socially constructed reality.

Where did the newspapers get their material on Mormonism? As hinted above, the papers of this time were prone to scissor journalism, meaning that they copied their material from elsewhere, sometimes without attribution. An analysis of the corpus shows that material was often taken from other newspapers in Finland. This was especially the case after 1875 when reports concerning Mormon proselytizing in Finland began to circulate. One newspaper (often in the region of activity) found out about the activity, printed the information, and many other newspapers followed suit by copying. Reports on missionary work in Finland were sometimes also provided by laypersons who wrote letters to the newspapers, but these letters seem to have been copied only rarely.

Foreign newspapers were also used as sources. These were commonly newspapers in the other Nordic countries. The material taken from these newspapers varied widely, containing for example reports on missionary activities in those countries and general writings on the Mormons.²³⁴ Newspapers published in the United States by emigrants from the Nordic countries could also be used as sources, as could sections of books that discussed Mormonism.²³⁵ This is the case for ex-

²³⁴ The writings of the Swedish journalist Jonas Stadling from *Göteborgs Handels- och Sjöfartstidning* were published for example in “Litet om mormonismen,” *Åbo Underrättelser*, 30 November 1881, p. 3 and in “Mormonismen,” *Helsingfors*, 2 December 1881, pp. 3–4.

²³⁵ See for example “Från mormonlandet,” *Wasabladet*, 1 September 1877, p. 2 from *Gamla och Nya Hemlandet*, “Ett sjutusenstämmigt ja,” *Nya Pressen*, 9 June 1884, p.

ample with the first longer article on the Mormons that was published in Finland by *Borgå Tidning* in 1845.²³⁶

Books

An important means of print publication is the book-length treatment of an issue. Compared to that of newspapers and periodicals, the circulation of a book may not be as wide, but the book has a longer-lasting impact. When it comes to Mormonism, some books sold in Finland dealt with it exclusively whereas others treated it among other topics. A list of those that dealt exclusively with Mormonism is given in Table 3.3. The list has been composed by examining contemporary newspaper advertisements by Finnish booksellers. It is possible that other similar publications were also sold, but I have found no notices concerning them. It is not known whether the importers of the books had any special motivations, but rather the books may simply have been seen as interesting pieces of literature with relevance to modern issues.

The list contains thirteen items of which twelve are unique; the final item is the Swedish translation of Andreas Mortensen's original Norwegian book *Fra mit Besøg blandt Mormonerne*, published the same year. The list is weighted towards the early years of proselytizing in Scandinavia, with all but four of the items being published before 1865. No clear explanation for this phenomenon is evident, although it may be that interest in the Mormons ran highest during those years when they were still a novelty in Scandinavia at large, and thus authors, translators, and booksellers responded in corresponding fashion.

3 from a Swedish-American newspaper, and "Mormonerne," *Finland*, 30 November 1887, p. 3 again from *Gamla och Nya Hemlandet*. See also "Mormonein walat," *Wiipurin Sanomat*, 30 July 1887, p. 3 from the Finnish-American *Uusi Kotimaa*, 7 July 1887, p. 1.

²³⁶ "Mormonerne, en beväpnad religionssekt i de Förenta Staterna," *Borgå Tidning*, 20 August 1845, pp. 1–4, and 23 August 1845, pp. 2–3. For the source, see Wilhelm Grisson, *Beiträge zur Charakteristik der Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika* (Hamburg: Perthes-Besser & Mauke, 1844).

Table 3.3. Books sold in Finland that focus exclusively on Mormonism.²³⁷

Year	Author	Title	Flake	Sale Example
1851	Ludwig D. Hass	<i>Mormonernes Lærdomme, Oprindelse og Fremgang</i>	3,880	Åbo Underrättelser, 19.12.1856, p. 5
1853	Charles Mackay	<i>Mormonerne, eller de yttersta dagarnes helige</i>	5,192	Helsingfors Tidningar, 31.8.1853, p. 5
1856	Religious Tract Society, London	<i>Är mormonsläran sann, eller ej?</i>	6,856a	Helsingfors Tidningar, 16.8.1856, p. 4
1857	Maria N. Ward	<i>Qvinnan bland mormonerna</i>	9,591	Finlands Allmänna Tidning, 31.7.1857, p. 4
1857	Austin and Maria N. Ward	<i>Mannen bland mormonerna</i>	9,560	Annons-Blad, 27.2.1858, p. 4
1858	Carl M.J. Petrelli	<i>Josef Smith och mormonismen</i>	6,338	Åbo Underrättelser, 16.7.1858, p. 6
1858	Karl J.M. Möllersvärd	<i>Mormonismen wederlagd af den heliga skrift</i>	5,561	Ilmoitus-Lehti, 11.2.1860, p. 4
1862	Carl E. Malmström	<i>Hemligheten är upptäckt!</i>	n/a	Helsingfors Dagblad, 12.9.1862, p. 4
1864	Balduin Möllhausen	<i>Das Mormonenmädchen</i>	5,441	Helsingfors Dagblad, 21.7.1864, p. 4
1883	Gustaf Unonius	<i>Mormonismen</i>	9,257d	Nya Pressen, 3.10.1883, p. 4
1883	Jennie Froiseth	<i>Mormonismens qvinnor</i>	3,475a	Tammerfors Aftonblad, 10.12.1886, p. 4
1887	Andreas Mortensen	<i>Fra mit Besøg blandt Mormonerne</i>	5,591	Finland, 12.11.1887, p. 3
1887	Andreas Mortensen	<i>Mormonernas hemligheter</i>	5,592	Wiborgsbladet, 19.11.1887, p. 4

Where did these books come from? None of them are written in the Finnish language, nor were any of them published in Finland. In other words, all of them were imports from abroad, with no original contributions by interested Finnish persons, whether Finnish- or Swedish-speaking. Considering the minor impact that Mormon proselytizing

²³⁷ The column “Flake” refers to the numbering used in Chad J. Flake and Larry W. Draper, eds., *A Mormon Bibliography 1830–1930*, 2nd ed. (Provo: Religious Studies Center at Brigham Young University, 2004). The table also includes items that may be more correctly classed as booklets, tracts, or pamphlets (for example *Är mormonsläran sann, eller ej?* at 40 pages), but they are subsumed under the term books in the following discussion.

had in the country (see Chapter 4), this may be seen as a natural consequence. The language composition of the items is the following: ten were in the Swedish language, and one each was written in Danish (Hass), German (Möllhausen), and Norwegian (Mortensen). Looking at the original language of composition, however, only four of the ten Swedish books were originally written in Swedish (Petrelli, Möllersvärd, Malmström, and Unonius). The other six were translations from English or Norwegian (Mortensen).

Why were the books written and by whom? The books can be divided into a number of categories based on their content and their authors. Some books were written by Lutheran clergy or other religious personalities (Mortensen, Möllersvärd, Petrelli, Religious Tract Society, and Unonius). These authors employ a countercult perspective when they write about the Mormons, seeking to explain Mormonism as a devilish deception²³⁸ and thus warning the population against listening to the Mormon missionaries. In the words of Gustaf Unonius, "May what has here been said be a warning to others not to believe the lie and not to let themselves be led astray by vain words."²³⁹ The writer for the Religious Tract Society expressed the questions to be answered in the 40-page booklet through an explicitly religious framework: "Now the questions before us are these—Was Joseph Smith a true prophet or a wicked and immoral impostor? Is the Book of Mormon a second Bible, or is it a cunningly devised fable." The conclusions to be proven immediately followed the questions.²⁴⁰ The ultimate aim of these religious publications was to maintain the socially constructed reality of the countercult actors by annihilating the reality offered by their competitors, the Mormons.²⁴¹

²³⁸ See for example Carl M.J. Petrelli, *Josef Smith och Mormonismen* (Linköping: Ridderstad, 1858), p. 94, where Lutheran clergyman Petrelli explains that "it was another hand that led the enterprise; it was the father of lies that had his finger in the game."

²³⁹ Gustaf Unonius, *Mormonismen: Dess upprinnelse, utveckling och bekännelse* (Stockholm: Z. Hæggströms förlagsexpedition, 1883), p. 74.

²⁴⁰ *Är mormonsläran sann, eller ej?* (Malmö: F.A. Hartman, 1858), p. 5; this version at my disposal is a later edition of the original 1856 translation by C.E. Venström. The English text provided here is taken from the original *Is Mormonism True or Not?* (London: Religious Tract Society, 1856), p. 3.

²⁴¹ Douglas E. Cowan, *Bearing False Witness? An Introduction to the Christian Countercult* (Westport: Praeger, 2003), p. 29 and 43.

When translated into English, the full title of Carl E. Malmström's 1862 book is *The Secret is Discovered! or a True Account of What Mormonism is in Doctrine and Living*. The Swede Malmström had been a Mormon for 5.5 years, had then disassociated, and was only 22 years old when he published his 116-page book in Örebro, Sweden.²⁴² It is thus a particular example in the genre of works written by ex-members. Feeling that he had been deceived, Malmström wanted to let others know what he thought Mormonism was *really* about. Malmström's book also belongs to a type of exposé genre, which is further exemplified by the pseudonymously written *Qvinnan bland mormonerna* and *Mannen bland mormonerna* [Male Life Among the Mormons] along with *Mormonismens qvinnor* [The Women of Mormonism], authored by anti-polygamy activist Jennie Froiseth and subtitled *eller månggiftets historia, berättad af offren sjelfva* [or the History of Plural Marriage, As Told by the Victims Themselves].

Two quotations convey much of the general tone of these works of exposé that built their treatment around the Mormon practice of plural marriage. "The married life of course has its sorrows and inconveniences, but nothing that resembles the immoral and criminal in the more than shameful system of polygamy," writes the author of *Mannen bland mormonerna*, with Froiseth concurring in stronger words: "The lives of some of these women have been more sorrowful and devastating than those in any theatrical tragedy."²⁴³ As will be seen in Section 3.3, plural marriage was one of the hot topics that were discussed in relation to the Mormons for years and with passion.

In contrast to these polemical treatments stands *Mormonerne eller de yttersta dagarnes helige* [Mormons or the Latter-day Saints], an anonymously compiled work by the Scottish newspaperman Charles Mackay. He used a number of texts by Mormons and non-Mormons to give a balanced view of the new religious movement, and does not seem to have had a particular bias. In the words of the Swedish translator, the book was to "put forth for the reader important ... information and testimonies of the Mormons' doctrine, customs, and statutes"

²⁴² Hjalmar Linnström, *Svenskt boklexikon: Åren 1830–1865*, vol. 2 (Uppsala: Bokgillet förlag, 1884), p. 12.

²⁴³ Austin and Maria N. Ward, *Mannen bland mormonerna* (Stockholm: Schück & Josephson, 1857), p. 25 and Jennie Anderson Froiseth, *Mormonismens qvinnor* (Stockholm: Litteraturföreningens förlag, 1883), p. 5.

from multiple perspectives.²⁴⁴ Interestingly, this comparatively dispassionate book was among the first to be published in the Swedish language, to then be followed mostly by more biased treatments of the issue. Möllhausen's 1864 *Das Mormonenmädchen* [The Mormon Girl] is the only German book on the Mormons that was sold in Finland, being a novel based on the events of the Utah war in the late 1850s. The book was translated into Swedish and published serially in Swedish newspapers, but I have not found indications that the Swedish translation (*Mormondufvan*) was sold in Finland.²⁴⁵

In addition to these books whose exclusive focus was on the Mormons, numerous other books that were available in Finland also dealt with Mormonism during the time period covered in this study. A list of such books is given in Table 3.4. The list has been compiled mostly by following the leads provided by contemporary newspapers and by consulting bibliographies. The availability of the listed non-Finnish works in Finland has been ascertained chiefly by their appearance in newspaper advertisements of the time. The list is not to be regarded as comprehensive, but rather as a sample that is useful when charting coverage of Mormons in books that were available in Finland.

These books can also be divided into different categories. One such is comprised of books that deal with religion, Christianity, and their history in general. Many of these tended to place Mormonism outside Christianity or to lament its success. For example Johan Sahlman, basing his text on that of Nissen and Kurtz, wrote how "it really is a miserable sign of the times that those kinds of traitors have drawn very many souls to their side in Europe and America."²⁴⁶

²⁴⁴ [Charles Mackay,] *Mormonerne eller de yttersta dagarnes helige* (Stockholm: L.J. Hjerntas förlag, 1853), unpaginated translator's preface. On the book's authorship, see Leonard J. Arrington, "Charles Mackay and His 'True and Impartial History' of the Mormons," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, vol. 36, no. 1 (Winter 1968), pp. 24–40.

²⁴⁵ On the serial publication of Möllhausen's work in Sweden, see the advertisement of *Nya Dagligt Allehanda* in *Finlands Allmänna Tidning*, 16 December 1864, p. 4.

²⁴⁶ Johan Sahlman, *Kirkkohistoria koulua ja kotoa varten* (Helsinki: G.W. Edlund, 1876), p. 156.

Table 3.4. Books sold in Finland that discuss Mormonism among other topics.²⁴⁷

Year	Author	Title	Pages	Flake
1853–1854	Fredrika Bremer	<i>Hemmen i den nya världen</i> , vols. 2 and 3	2:83–84, 371, 454, 3:511	804a
1858	Balduin Möllhausen	<i>Tagebuch einer Reise vom Mississippi nach den Küsten der Südsee</i>	434–440	5,444
1862	W.F.A. Zimmermann [Carl G.W. Vollmer]	<i>Kalifornien och guldfibern</i>	148–202	9,491
1862	Gustaf Unonius	<i>Minnen från en sjuttonårig vistelse i Nordvestra Amerika, sednare delen</i>	222–232	9,257c
1863	August W. Grube	<i>Skildringar ur folkens sedliga och religiösa lif</i>	38–48	3,734
1867	Balduin Möllhausen	<i>Resor i Norra Amerikas klippberg till Nya Mexikos högslätt</i> , vol. 1	305–309	5,443a
1868	William H. Dixon	<i>Vår tids Amerika</i> , vol. 1	105–216	2,847
1874	Karl R. Hagenbach	<i>Den kristna kyrkans historia</i> , vol. 7	550–558	n/a
1874	Vilhelm C.S. Topsöe	<i>Från Amerika</i>	318–352	8,976
1876	Johan Sahlman	<i>Kirkkohistoria koulua ja kotoa varten</i>	155–156	n/a
1876	Jules Verne	<i>Resan kring jorden på åttio dagar</i>	159–166	9,465
1877	Friedrich von Hellwald	<i>Jorden och dess folk</i> , vol. 1	190–196	3,946c
1881	Ernst von Hesse-Wartegg	<i>Nord-Amerika i våra dagar</i> , vol. 2	71–84	3,969c
1882	Walter G. Marshall	<i>Genom Amerika</i>	111–167	5,286b
1883	Jonas Stadling	<i>Genom den stora vestern</i>	224–262	8,351
1884	Karl Erwest / D. Klami	<i>Kirkkohistorian selityksiä</i>	219–220	n/a
1885	Friedrich Hammerich	<i>Kristillisen kirkon historia. Uuden ajan kirkko</i>	538	n/a
1889	Alexandra Gripenberg	<i>Ett halfår i Nya Verlden</i>	233–253	3,733a

²⁴⁷ The column “Flake” refers to the numbering used in Chad J. Flake and Larry W. Draper, eds., *A Mormon Bibliography 1830–1930*, 2nd ed. (Provo: Religious Studies Center at Brigham Young University, 2004).

Table 3.4. (cont.)

Year	Author	Title	Pages	Flake
1883–1890	Agathon Meurman	<i>Sanakirja yleiseen siwistykseen kuuluwia tietoja warten</i>	572	n/a
1890	Paul Waldenström	<i>Genom Norra Amerikas Förenta stater</i>	494–522	9,515
1891	Aleksandra Gripenberg	<i>Uudesta maailmasta: Hajanaisia matkakuvia Amerikasta</i>	211–229	3,733a
1892	Adolf Mützelburg	<i>Maailman herra</i>	72–88, 416–449, 727–734	n/a
1892–1893	Tyko Hagman	<i>Amerika, sen löytö, valloitus ja kehitys</i>	146	n/a
1893	Konni Zilliacus	<i>Amerikas Förenta Stater</i>	437–446	n/a
1893	Konni Zilliacus	<i>Käsikirja Pohjois-Amerikasta</i>	123–125	n/a
1894	John G. Matteson	<i>Jesu profetior</i>	140–154	5,307a
1894	John G. Matteson	<i>Jesuksen profetiit</i>	127–138	5,307a
1898	Henrik Cavling	<i>Amerika</i>	461–483	1,241a
1900	Konrad A. Waaranen	<i>Kirkkohistoria kouluja varten</i>	215	n/a

Some of the Finnish works in this genre recognized that the Mormons had also had some local influence. In 1884, one book of church history explained: “Also in Finland, in the area of Vaasa and Kokkola have the Mormonites long sought to work, but have not been able to get many to their side.”²⁴⁸

Another noteworthy category of books is those dealing with the United States. This category consists of both travel accounts and factual books concerning the people and geography of the nation. The Mormons, at the time practically dominating the territory (and after 1896 the state) of Utah, were a common topic to cover in such publications, often in great detail. Some of these works were translated into Swedish (such as the famous books of William Hepworth Dixon and Walter Gore Marshall), whereas others were original Swedish publications (for example those of Jonas Stadling and Paul Peter Waldenström). One of the most interesting works from the Finnish point of

²⁴⁸ Karl Erwast / D. Klami, *Kirkkohistorian selityksiä* (Hämeenlinna: Hämeen Sanomain Osake-Yhtiön kirjapaino, 1884), p. 220.

view in this category is the Finnish women's activist Alexandra Gripenberg's 1889 Swedish-language *Ett halfår i Nya Verlden* [A Half-Year in the New World], published two years later as a Finnish translation. Her journey to the United States was occasioned by a large women's conference, and on her trip she took the time to visit Utah together with her traveling companion. In the book, Gripenberg devotes an entire chapter to her experiences with the Mormons in Utah.²⁴⁹

As curiosities one may note for example Jules Verne's classic novel *Resan kring jorden på åttio dagar* [Journey around the World in Eighty Days], where the reader becomes acquainted with the rather zealous Mormon preacher William Hitch through the experience of Phileas Fogg's trusty servant Passepartout. Another novel discussing the Mormons is Mützelburg's *Maaailman herra* [Lord of the World], introducing the Mormons in the context of the adventures of Count Monte Cristo. The translated works of Adventist John G. Matteson are an interesting example of the religious writing of the time in general and the polemics between small denominations in particular. In his book *Jesu profetior* [The Prophecies of Jesus], he devotes one chapter to disproving Mormonism and Spiritualism, designating the former as the fulfilment of Christ's prophecy in Matthew 24:26. "Wherefore if they shall say unto you, Behold he is in the desert; go not forth," the evangelist writes, and in Matteson's opinion this is "without a doubt Mormonism ... Jesus warned against the Mormons. They would convince people to go out into the desert, that is to say, out to their false Zion in Utah."²⁵⁰

In sum, it can be stated that no books explicitly on Mormonism were published in Finland or in the Finnish language during the period under study. This is in contrast to for example neighboring Sweden, where clergymen and other individuals devoted time to disseminating their thoughts on the new movement to their countrymen.

²⁴⁹ Tyyni Tuulio, *Aleksandra Gripenberg: Kirjailija, taistelija, ihminen* (Porvoo: WSOY, 1959), pp. 105–129. Gripenberg's book is the prime Finnish example of nineteenth-century European travel writings that discuss the Mormons. For further examples and discussion of this genre, see Michael W. Homer, ed., *On the Way to Somewhere Else: European Sojourners in the Mormon West, 1834–1930* (Spokane: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 2006).

²⁵⁰ John G. Matteson, *Jesu profetior* (Stockholm: Skandinaviska förlagsexpeditionen, 1894), p. 141.

Mormonism's influence in Finland was probably so small that wider treatments were not seen as warranted. Nevertheless, the new movement was discussed in a variety of factual books and novels, some written by foreigners and translated into Swedish or Finnish, others written by Finnish individuals in Swedish or Finnish.

Periodicals

In addition to newspapers and books, the Mormons were also discussed in periodicals. As with the books discussed above, a comprehensive search was not undertaken. Rather, I have used hints found in the comprehensively searched newspaper corpus and, as in the case of the books, offer Table 3.5 as a sample of the publicity in this variant of the printed word. As was the case with the books, some of the periodicals were published in Sweden in Swedish but were available in Finland, whereas others were published in Finland in either Finnish or Swedish.

The listed periodicals range from general-interest periodicals such as *Maiden ja merien takaa* and its successor *Suomen kuvalehti* to religious periodicals like *Rauhan Sanan-saattaja* and *Sändebudet*, the latter a Swedish-language publication by the Evangelical revival movement. *Koti ja yhteiskunta* was a feminist publication, whereas *Matti Meikäläinen* focused on satire and *Lördagsqvällen* on informing both young and old family members concerning items of general interest and leisure. Publications such as *Litteraturblad* and *Finsk Tidskrift* were dedicated to increasing the awareness of Finns regarding literature and matters of cultural significance. The periodicals *Svenska Familj-Journalen* and *Ny Illustrerad Tidning* were published in Sweden, but were popular also among Swedish-speaking Finns.²⁵¹ As such, these articles reached a diverse audience. The earliest periodicals were directed towards the upper layers of society, but along with increasing literacy and interest particularly after the 1860s, also the commoners began reading periodicals through both libraries and private subscriptions.²⁵²

²⁵¹ Ari Uino, Raili Malmberg, Pirkko Leino-Kaukiainen, and Veikko Kallio, *Aikakauslehdistön historia: Yleisaikakauslehdet* (Kuopio: Kustannuskiila, 1991), p. 32. This is volume 8 in *Suomen lehdistön historia*.

²⁵² Päiviö Tommila, Ari Uino, Pirkko Leino-Kaukiainen, and Veikko Kallio, *Aikakauslehdistön historia: Aikakauslehdistön kehityslinjat* (Kuopio: Kustannuskiila, 1992), pp. 48–49. This is volume 10 in *Suomen lehdistön historia*.

Table 3.5. Discussion of Mormonism in periodicals that were available in Finland.

Year	No.	Periodical	Pages	Title
1853	5	<i>Litteraturblad för allmän medborgerlig bildning</i>	132–137	2. Mormonerne eller de yttersta dagarnes helige.
1855	1	<i>Rauhan Sanan-saattaja</i>	12–16	Erinäisistä lahkokunnista kristikunnassa
1864	16, 17, 19	<i>Maiden ja merien takaa</i>	124–128, 135–136, 145–148	Mormonien karkoitus Missurista [sic]
1866	9	<i>Maiden ja merien takaa</i>	67–70	Mormonilaiset ja Brigham Young
1870	7	<i>Förr och Nu</i>	155	Några civilisationens segrar: 2. Stillahafs-jernbanan
1871	6	<i>Svenska Familj-Journalen</i>	165–166	Från de heligas stad
1872	4	<i>Förr och Nu</i>	246–249	Från andra sidan oceanen
1873	1	<i>Land och folk</i>	83–90	Mormonismen i fara
1873	49	<i>Samtiden</i>	775–782	En lustresa kring jorden
1877	10	<i>Kyläkirjasto</i>	308–315	Mormonilaiset ja heidän profeetansa [sic]
1877	116	<i>Suomen kuvalehti</i>	233–235	Brigham Young: Mormonien ylimmäinen pappi
1877	118	<i>Suomen kuvalehti</i>	290–291	Mormonilaisten pääkaupunki
1877	21	<i>Sändebudet: Evangelisk tidning för folket</i>	165–166	Korrespondens till Sändebudet
1883	0	<i>Lekmannen</i>	4	Kommentarer
1883	2	<i>Finsk Tidskrift</i>	377–378	Gustaf Unonius: Mormonismen
1886	1	<i>Kyläkirjasto</i>	3–17	Mormonit
1888	5, 6	<i>Nordisk tidskrift för vetenskap, konst och industri</i>	351–370, 405–424	Ett besök hos mormonerna
1888	15, 16	<i>Ny Illustrerad Tidning</i>	120, 127–128	Hos mormoner
1889	6	<i>Koti ja yhteiskunta</i>	85–90	Mormoonien luona
1892	23	<i>Matti Meikäläinen</i>	3	Mormooniseurakunta
1894	12	<i>Lördagsqvällen</i>	92	Mormonerna

Some of the articles mention the Mormons only in passing, but many discuss them as the principal subject matter. Two articles were book reviews published in Finland. The first one of these, published

as early as 1853 in the Swedish-language *Litteraturblad*, discussed Charles Mackay's then-recently published *Mormonerne, eller de yttersta dagarnes helige*. The periodical had been established in 1847 by Johan V. Snellman, a champion of Finnish nationalism and education who sought to improve Finnish culture's involvement with literature and erudition.²⁵³ The reviewer Sven G. Elmgren, amanuensis at the University of Helsinki and editor of *Litteraturblad* between 1850 and 1855, viewed the book quite favorably, explaining that the author had sought to be as unbiased as possible and thinking that the texts chosen for inclusion in the book were "unprejudiced, tolerant, and impartial."²⁵⁴ The Mormons were praised for their hard work and Brigham Young for his reactions to the gold rush in California, but when it came to deeper things, Mormonism was still regarded a fraud: "Smith's doctrine probably fared better because he was no dreamer but a level-headed deceiver with enough practical sense to avoid excesses in life and to be tolerant with morals."²⁵⁵ This review is important in that it represents one of the first (if not *the* first) texts penned by a Finnish person concerning the Mormons, although the periodical was only distributed in about 300 copies in that year.

The second book review was written by E. von Hertzen, assessing the contribution of Gustaf Unonius with his 1883 book *Mormonismen, dess upprinnelse, utveckling och bekännelse* [Mormonism, its Origin, Development, and Confession]. The reviewer felt that Unonius was successful in his laudable aim to warn the population against the Mormons, but thought that more tangible evidence could have been presented for some of the claims. This would have prevented the potential impression among readers "of too strong a coloring by the author."²⁵⁶ Interestingly, the reviewer made no comment concerning Mormonism's appearances in Finland, saying only that the book is interesting even for one who has not been the object of Mormon proselytizing. The review was published in *Finsk Tidskrift*, a periodical

²⁵³ Uino, Malmberg, Leino-Kaukiainen, and Kallio, *Aikakauslehdistön historia: Yleisaikakauslehdet*, pp. 367–375.

²⁵⁴ "2. Mormonerne eller de yttersta dagarnes helige," *Litteraturblad för allmän medborgerlig bildning*, vol. 7, no. 5 (May 1853), pp. 132–133.

²⁵⁵ "2. Mormonerne eller de yttersta dagarnes helige," *Litteraturblad för allmän medborgerlig bildning*, p. 134.

²⁵⁶ "Gustaf Unonius: Mormonismen," *Finsk Tidskrift*, vol. 15 (1883), p. 378.

that was connected to the Swedish-speaking intelligentsia and sought to provide general knowledge and discussion of timely matters.²⁵⁷

The Finnish-language article "Mormoonien luona" [Among the Mormons] was written by Alexandra Gripenberg, published in *Koti ja yhteiskunta* which she edited, and later published in her book that described her journey in the United States, discussed above. The article was deemed so interesting that some newspapers took note of it and republished parts.²⁵⁸ Among other things, Gripenberg explained how it felt to swim in the Great Salt Lake, her experience in a religious meeting in the Mormon tabernacle, and her thoughts on the Mormon practice of plural marriage.²⁵⁹ The latter theme is natural, as Gripenberg was a proponent of women's rights, and the periodical she edited was a publication of the Women's Association of Finland.²⁶⁰

At least one article was intended as a specimen of humor. Published in 1892 in the satirical Finnish-language *Matti Meikäläinen* [John Doe], it depicts the conversation of two drunken men in Helsinki who wondered about the recent rumor concerning a Mormon congregation being formed in the city. The place for a tabernacle had been decided on, and even the Mormon prophet himself was to come, and would "work with an awl and pitch thread to fasten a necessary number of Eve's daughters to himself." The other man exclaimed: "Dip such a prophet in the Katajanokka canal!"²⁶¹ Such joking fit naturally into the periodical's field of interest, as it made fun of everything from church and priests to feminists and the temperance movement, at times also running into trouble with governmental authorities due to the political implications of some of its writings. Nonetheless, later scholars have seen it as very influential on young and old alike.²⁶² Thus it is significant that plural marriage was still connected to Mormonism in

²⁵⁷ Uino, Malmberg, Leino-Kaukiainen, and Kallio, *Aikakauslehdistön historia: Yleisaikakauslehdet*, pp. 401–404.

²⁵⁸ See for example "Hos mormonerne," *Finland*, 16 September 1889, pp. 3–4 and "Mormoonien luona," *Lappeenrannan Uutiset*, 20 September 1889, p. 4, 24 September 1889, p. 1, and 27 September 1889, p. 1.

²⁵⁹ Alexandra Gripenberg, *Ett halfår i Nya Verlden: Strödda resebilder från Förenta Staterna* (Helsingfors: G.W. Edlund, 1889), pp. 233–250.

²⁶⁰ Uino, Malmberg, Leino-Kaukiainen, and Kallio, *Aikakauslehdistön historia: Yleisaikakauslehdet*, p. 193.

²⁶¹ "Mormooniseurakunta," *Matti Meikäläinen*, vol. 9, no. 23 (11 November 1892), p. 3.

²⁶² Uino, Malmberg, Leino-Kaukiainen, and Kallio, *Aikakauslehdistön historia: Yleisaikakauslehdet*, pp. 306–308.

the popular mind in 1892, although its cessation had been announced in 1890.

The Finnish-speaking population was introduced to Mormonism through a number of fairly extensive articles. *Kyläkirjasto*, for example, published two treatments of the Mormons, one in 1877 and the other in 1886. Similarly to *Litteraturblad* and *Finsk Tidskrift*, this periodical was dedicated to increasing the population's awareness of the world around them, but in a decidedly more down-to-earth way. In its prime in the 1870s, *Kyläkirjasto* was circulated in about 1,500 copies around the country.²⁶³ The 1877 article was titled "Mormonilaiset ja heidän profeetansa [sic]" [The Mormonites and their Prophet], detailing the origin of the Latter-day Saints with "Jooseppi Smith" and also the present state of the church in Utah. The source of the text is not disclosed (except for a quotation from previously mentioned British writer W.H. Dixon), but as it includes a large picture of the recently deceased Brigham Young, it is likely that it had been taken from a non-Finnish source. The writer characterized the Mormons' isolation in Utah as the condition for their success, and now that the transcontinental railroad had reached that territory, "it may be fun to make acquaintance with this discouraged sect" whose "building was about to collapse."²⁶⁴

In similarity to many other sources, the 1886 article "Mormonit" [The Mormons] painted Mormonism as error all the way from its beginning. Comparing "Joseppi Smith" to Thomas Müntzer and other personalities in the time of Martin Luther, the text said Smith was "captured by a heady religious frenzy, and he thought he received guidance on the way of blessedness through visions and spiritual revelations."²⁶⁵ Included were accusations concerning prophetic despotism and deception practiced by Mormon missionaries on gullible commoners who were enticed to emigrate to Utah.

Furthermore, *Suomen kuvalehti*, a notable general periodical in the Finnish language and the successor of *Maiden ja merien takaa*, also discussed the Mormons in two of its 1877 issues, one printed soon after the death of Brigham Young and the other two months later. Both articles included a picture, the former depicting Young on the front

²⁶³ Tommila, Uino, Leino-Kaukiainen, and Kallio, *Aikakauslehdistön historia: Aikakauslehdistön kehityslinjat*, pp. 68–69.

²⁶⁴ "Mormonilaiset ja heidän profeetansa," *Kyläkirjasto*, vol. 5, no. 10 (1877), p. 308.

²⁶⁵ "Mormonit," *Kyläkirjasto*, vol. 14, no. 1 (1886), p. 4.

page. Resonating with the descriptions provided by *Kyläkirjasto*, this periodical assessed the rise of Mormonism as rather unbelievable, calling it a religion “so crass, that you would not have thought it possible in times other than those that were mankind’s darkest, most barbaric.”²⁶⁶ However, the periodical also provided an example of the kind of praise that runs counter to much of the publicity and that will be dealt with more extensively in Section 3.3: “Diligence, tireless diligence is one of the good sides that one has to wonder about in Mormons.” This characteristic had permitted the “Mormonites” to prosper in their “capital city,” referring to Salt Lake City in Utah.²⁶⁷

3.2. Chronological Overview

In this section I examine Mormon-related publicity chronologically, overviewing its most important aspects and features as the years passed. The first mention of Mormonism that I have found in the corpus is from 1840, ten years after the formal founding of the movement. At that time the newspaper *Finlands Allmänna Tidning* reported that “a new dreaming religious sect” had appeared in a certain area of Great Britain. The notice also briefly described some of the new church’s doctrines:

Their teachings are based, in addition to the Bible, also on the Mormon book. Its contents are inscribed on copper plates, and it is said to have been found in the inner parts of America ... They themselves have been sent into the world to prepare the way for the Son of Man.²⁶⁸

Finlands Allmänna Tidning was the government’s official newspaper and the largest in the nation until the 1840s. Although it had only

²⁶⁶ “Brigham Young: Mormonien ylimmäinen pappi,” *Suomen kuvalehti*, no. 116 (15 October 1877), p. 233.

²⁶⁷ “Mormonilaisten pääkaupunki,” *Suomen kuvalehti*, no. 118 (15 December 1877), p. 290.

²⁶⁸ “Tidningar från utrikes orter, England,” *Finlands Allmänna Tidning*, 23 November 1840, p. 2. The article seems to have been published earlier at least in the British newspaper *Leeds Times*, and the Mormons in England commented on this particular portrayal of their nascent movement; see “‘A New Sect’,” *The Latter-day Saints’ Millennial Star*, vol. 1, no. 8 (December 1840), pp. 205–206.

about 1,000 subscribers, it was an important venue for this first short notice of Mormonism's existence to be published in.²⁶⁹

The first more extensive article was published in *Borgå Tidning* in 1845, when it devoted just over four pages to the Mormons, more than half the total space available in two consecutive issues. This two-part article may be thought of as the genesis of anti-Mormon writing in Finland. It is, perhaps, significant that this article would appear in *Borgå Tidning* instead of some other newspaper. Founded in 1838, its central audience was the clergy of the Lutheran church's Porvoo diocese,²⁷⁰ and thus it covered more religious items than most other Finnish papers of the day. It had only a little less than 500 subscribers. When considering the type of the audience, however, the impact of this negative article was most likely quite significant, because it was read by important opinion-makers of the day within the field of religion. Considering the venue it is not completely surprising that the coverage of Mormonism was negative.²⁷¹

The presentation was titled (as translated) "The Mormons, an armed religious sect in the United States" and had been picked up from a German book.²⁷² The article sought to discredit Mormonism on both theological and historical grounds. The narrative began with a description of a recent religious scam enacted in the state of New York, and the writer then noted that a larger and more important scam, namely Mormonism, had entered the stage. It was this subtext of a fraud that legitimized speaking of the Mormons in a negative tone.

Finnish publicity for the Mormons in the 1840s consisted of a handful of newspaper mentions or articles. In contrast, the 1850s brought

²⁶⁹ Ulla Ekman-Salokangas, Eeva-Liisa Aalto, and Raimo Salokangas, *Hakuteos Aamulehti – Kotka Nyheter* (Kuopio: Kustannuskiila, 1988), pp. 78–79. This is volume 5 in *Suomen lehdistön historia*.

²⁷⁰ Ekman-Salokangas, Aalto, and Salokangas, *Hakuteos Aamulehti – Kotka Nyheter*, pp. 45–46.

²⁷¹ However, although *Borgå Tidning* every now and again contained reports on foreign religious movements, it does not seem that the reports were automatically negative. See for example a report on British Puseyism in "Ytterligare om Puseyismen," *Borgå Tidning*, 25 February 1843, pp. 2–3.

²⁷² "Mormonerna, en beväpnad religionssekt i de Förenta Staterna," *Borgå Tidning*, 20 August 1845, pp. 1–4 and 23 August 1845, pp. 2–3. For the source, see Wilhelm Grisson, *Beiträge zur Charakteristik der Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika* (Hamburg: Perthes-Besser & Mauke, 1844).

with it a considerable increase in newspaper treatments. Such treatments consisted of both shorter notices and longer articles. It is interesting to note, for example, that news of the first Mormon missionary efforts in Sweden (in the summer of 1850) reached Finland very quickly: "An adherent of the Mormonites' sect called Forsgren, who has lived in America for 18 years, has sought to make proselytes in Gefle and has been given a talking-to," announced *Åbo Tidningar* the same August.²⁷³ News also came on matters such as the acceptance of Utah as a territory of the United States of America, the emigration of Mormons from Scandinavia to Utah, and the numerical proselytizing success of the Mormons in Scandinavia.²⁷⁴ In addition, Mormonism was mentioned in many advertisements by booksellers.²⁷⁵

As noted above, the Utah war of 1857–1858 was a matter of special interest to the newspapers, contributing to a significant peak in the prevalence of the Mormons as a topic (see Figure 3.1 and Figure 3.2). The news often consisted of short notices that explained the most recent developments as events continued to unfold.²⁷⁶ Longer articles on the topic also appeared. One of these, taken in June 1857 from an American newspaper (published at the end of April) through a German publication, explained the backdrop of the war as the theocratic ambitions of Utah Mormonism coming into conflict with the principles of the Union and predicted a bloody civil war as a consequence.²⁷⁷ It is not surprising that such a situation attracted the interest of newspapers all the way in Finland. Apart from exemplifying a certain theme, the article also shows one of the general features of Finnish

²⁷³ "Utrikes. Sverige och Norrige," *Åbo Tidningar*, 20 August 1850, p. 1. See A. Dean Wengreen, *A History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Sweden, 1850–1905* (Doctoral dissertation, Brigham Young University, USA, 1968), pp. 43–46.

²⁷⁴ "Utrikes. Amerika," *Finlands Allmänna Tidning*, 12 October 1850, p. 2. "Utrikes. Köpenhamn," *Åbo Underrättelser*, 7 January 1853, p. 1. "Utrikes. Danmark," *Wiborgs Tidning*, 8 July 1854, p. 2.

²⁷⁵ See for example "Bokhandels-annoncer," *Borgå Tidning*, 17 September 1853, p. 4 and "Till salu. Hos Wasenius & Komp.," *Helsingfors Tidningar*, 16 August 1856, p. 4.

²⁷⁶ See for example "Utrikes. Amerika," *Wiborg*, 26 June 1857, p. 1, "Utrikes. Amerika," *Finlands Allmänna Tidning*, 22 August 1857, p. 3, "Utrikes. Storbrittannien," *Finlands Allmänna Tidning*, 14 December 1857, p. 2, "Utrikes. Amerika," *Åbo Underrättelser*, 6 April 1858, p. 2, "Amerika," *Finlands Allmänna Tidning*, 15 June 1858, p. 2, and "Amerika," *Åbo Underrättelser*, 7 September 1858, p. 1.

²⁷⁷ "Förbundsregeringen och Mormonerna i Utah," *Wiborg*, 16 June 1857, p. 3.

newspaper publicity on the Mormons during this time through its provenance: It came from foreign newspapers, and the time between the original publication and the republication in Finland was comparatively long. Furthermore, especially during these early years it could also take days for the newspaper to reach the subscriber.²⁷⁸ Thus when the news came they were news to the Finnish readers of the time, although “olds” by modern standards.

Longer general articles on the Mormons also appeared during this decade. *Borgå Tidning* published a treatment taken from a Swedish newspaper in 1853, conveying the same attitude as the previous exposé published in 1845. Significantly, Finnish-language newspapers also became interested in publishing something about the Mormons. The first known such longer treatment in Finnish, “Mormonilaiset,” [The Mormonites] was published in 1854 by *Suometar* in two parts, including a front-page image of the Mormon temple in Nauvoo, Illinois (see Figure 3.4), that in actuality had been destroyed by that time. The article dealt with the foundational events of Mormonism, bringing the discussion up to the present through the Mormons’ move westward to Utah. Another such general article in Finnish was published by *Sanomia Turusta* in 1856. These articles set the tone for many overviews that would be published subsequently:

There have in Christendom always been separatist sects that have strayed in their faith and that have deviated from the pure doctrine of the Gospel; but such a pitiable separatist group that has gone so astray from the true path has probably not been born on the side of the Gospel before, as the Mormonite congregation, born in north America, has done in its entire doctrine and confession.²⁷⁹

²⁷⁸ Päiviö Tommila and Raimo Salokangas, *Sanomia kaikille: Suomen lehdistön historia* (Helsinki: Edita, 1998), p. 35.

²⁷⁹ “Mormonilaiset,” *Suometar*, 10 November 1854, p. 1. See the second part on 17 November 1854, pp. 2–3. “Mormonit,” *Sanomia Turusta*, 23 June 1856, pp. 1–3. Another longer treatment appeared in a Finnish-language periodical during this time; see “Erinäisistä lahkokunnista kristikunnassa,” *Rauhan Sanan-saattaja*, vol. 1, no. 1 (31 January 1855), pp. 12–16.

dagarnes helige attracted enough attention so as to be reviewed in *Litteraturblad*, quite favorably at that. One of the Swedish contributions was the 1858 countercult booklet of Karl J.M. Möllersvärd, a member of the Swedish Evangelical Alliance whose work on the Åland Islands in 1854 resulted in the introduction of the Baptist movement to Finland, as mentioned in Chapter 2.²⁸⁰ It was another book that became the most notorious, however. This book was *Quinnan bland mormonerna*, a pseudonymous account of a Mormon woman's life in and subsequent escape from theocratic and polygamous Utah. The book was sold in thousands of copies in numerous languages and countries. It is not known how many copies it sold in Finland, but it was being sold from its Swedish publication in 1857 at least until 1873. One of the Finnish booksellers boosted an advertisement by saying that 20,000 copies had been sold in England in two weeks.²⁸¹ Another similar volume, *Mannen bland mormonerna*, does not appear to have been equally popular.

Despite the enthusiasm, the reception of the book was mixed. A British writer in the *London Times*, for example, felt that the book was unreliable and apocryphal.²⁸² In the *New York Times*, a reviewer thought the book should not be given much weight due to its anonymous nature and the grave accusations. Indeed, "it strikes us being the worst fiction of the season."²⁸³ On the other hand, *Borgå Tidning* reported that the Swedish clergyman Dr. Wieselgren warmly recommended the book to all "friends of true Christianity and the Christian order of society" who had been affected by Mormon proselytizing in their vicinity. Wieselgren felt the book was a useful tool for Swedish laymen and officials in preventing Mormonism's spread from the country's west coast into the rest of the country.²⁸⁴ Presumably the

²⁸⁰ Anneli Lohikko, *Baptistit Suomessa 1856–2006* (Tampere: Kharis, 2006), pp. 16–17. Kimmo Ketola, *Uskonnot Suomessa 2008* (Tampere: Kirkon tutkimuskeskus, 2008), p. 107. The person sent to quell the Baptist revival on the Åland Islands was Wilhelm Fredrikson, a Lutheran clergyman who later also came into contact with Mormonism (see Section 5.2). R.A. Mäntylä, *Eriuskolaiskysymys Suomessa 1809–1889, osa 1: 1809–1871* (Turku: Turun yliopisto, 1954), p. 119.

²⁸¹ See advertisements in "Uti J.C. Frenckell & Sons bokhandel," *Finlands Allmänna Tidning*, 31 July 1857, p. 4 and "På G.L. Söderströms förlag," *Borgåbladet*, 31 May 1873, p. 6.

²⁸² "Female Life Among the Mormons," *London Times*, 4 September 1855, p. 5.

²⁸³ "Notices of New Books," *New York Times*, 14 July 1855, p. 3.

²⁸⁴ "Utrikes," *Borgå Tidning*, 29 August 1857, p. 4.

editor of *Borgå Tidning* felt the same was true when applied to Finland, as implied by the choice to publish this particular opinion.

Books that dealt with the Mormons continued to be published in the 1860s. The Utah war of the late 1850s was used as a backdrop in Balduin Möllhausen's fictional German book *Das Mormonenmädchen*, whereas the Swedish ex-Mormon Carl E. Malmström used his own experiences as the backdrop of his book that dealt with his former faith. Both of these were sold in Finland, but no information on their sales figures is available. However, one may surmise that Malmström's Swedish-language book would have been more accessible to the population. Importantly, this decade also saw the publication of a number of influential books on America that included the Mormons as a substantial part of their treatment. German Carl Vollmer's pseudonymously (W.F.A. Zimmermann) published *Kalifornien och guldfiebern* [California and the Gold Fever] was advertised widely in Finnish newspapers, for example.²⁸⁵ Set in the context of the gold rush, Indians, etc., the book weaves in Mormon history and doctrine together with a visit to Salt Lake City and experiences there. The British writer William Hepworth Dixon's *Vår tids Amerika* [New America] was also sold in Finland during this time, devoting more than one hundred pages to the Mormons. Dixon describes Utah, Salt Lake City, the Mormon temple under construction there, and his experiences for example with Mormon theater and with Mormon leaders. Echoing many others of his time, Dixon felt repulsed by the theocratic features imbued into Mormonism's worldview: "What have these Saints achieved? In the midst of a free people, they have founded a despotic power. In a land which repudiates state religions, they have placed their church above human laws."²⁸⁶

As with the 1850s, newspaper publicity in the 1860s consisted in part of reporting on Mormon-related news from Scandinavia and from further abroad. These reports also began to give a more nuanced

²⁸⁵ The book was published serially from 1862 forward, completed in 1864. For some advertisements, see "Anmälan," *Borgåbladet*, 19 June 1862, p. 4, "Till salu - Ut i Sederholm & Komp. bokhandel," *Helsingfors Dagblad*, 15 August 1862, p. 3, "Kalifornien och Guldfiebern," *Åbo Underrättelser*, 5 March 1863, p. 2, and "Till salu. Ut i G.L. Söderströms Bokhandel," *Borgåbladet*, 16 January 1864, p. 4.

²⁸⁶ William H. Dixon, *Vår tids Amerika*, vol. 1 (Stockholm: Sigfrid Florin, 1868), p. 147. Quotation taken from the English version *New America*, vol. 1 (Leipzig: Bernhard Tauchnitz, 1867), p. 201.

picture of things. For example, word came concerning internal schisms, particularly about the formation of the Reorganized church headed by Joseph Smith's son and about the "Morrissite" movement. Such schisms were seen as a serious threat to Mormonism's existence.²⁸⁷ Another development that received much attention was the completion of the American transcontinental railroad that went through Utah territory. As a result, "the locomotive's whistle squeals next to [the Mormons'] houses and the world's sinful children are flooding into the midst of these saints."²⁸⁸ Similarly to the internal schisms, the newspapers pondered the implications of this final breach of the physical boundary that had separated the rest of the United States from the Mormons.²⁸⁹ In contrast, it was also recognized that the Mormons were actually participating in the celebration of the completion of this railroad with a large choir, implying that they in fact embraced the new development rather than fought it.²⁹⁰ Nuances in the publicity could thus lead to contradictions, where the themes incorporated into the hegemonic discourse were not in consonance with some of the other reports.

Interestingly, the different approaches towards religious freedom adopted by Finnish newspapers led to small skirmishes, for example in Turku. The large newspaper *Åbo Underrättelser* was liberal, whereas the small newspaper *Tähti* was a Christian publication.²⁹¹ Feeling that the former was becoming too liberal in matters of religion, the latter accused it of probably being "a very diligent and fiery help priest" to the "Mormonites," if they also now happened to come to Finland.²⁹² An examination of the former's writings concerning Mormons does not reveal any particular positive bias, but with its liberality in general, the Mormon example was a natural manifestation of the ideo-

²⁸⁷ See for example "Schism mellan mormonerne," *Helsingfors Dagblad*, 7 September 1863, p. 3, "Från utlandet," *Helsingfors Dagblad*, 24 August 1867, p. 2, "Enligt underrättelser," *Hufvudstadsbladet*, 15 October 1867, p. 1 and "Utrikes," *Åbo Underrättelser*, 23 September 1869, p. 3.

²⁸⁸ "Maaailman pisin rautatie," *Hämäläinen*, 29 July 1869, p. 4.

²⁸⁹ See for example "Amerika," *Finlands Allmänna Tidning*, 14 June 1869, p. 2.

²⁹⁰ "En storartad konsert," *Åbo Underrättelser*, 10 August 1869, p. 3.

²⁹¹ Eino Jutikkala, *Turun kaupungin historia 1856–1917*, vol. 2 (Turku: Turun sanoma-lehti ja kirjapaino osakeyhtiö [sic], 1957), pp. 820–821.

²⁹² "Lahkolaisuutta meillä," *Tähti*, 19 August 1864, p. 2. See the continuation in "Sedan de ...," *Åbo Underrättelser*, 23 August 1864, p. 2 and "Wastausta," *Tähti*, 2 September 1864, p. 2.

logical schism between these newspapers. *Tähti* with its countercult perspective, on the other hand, seems to have had a very critical attitude towards the Mormons whenever it mentioned them, regarding them a “devilish sect.”²⁹³

Newspapers and periodicals also published longer articles or stories concerning the Mormons, often taken from foreign books. As one example, *Folkvännen* published a two-part text taken from August Grube’s *Skildringar ur folkens sedliga och religiösa lif* in 1864.²⁹⁴ Similarly, the periodical *Maiden ja merien takaa* published a three-part story in 1866 on the expulsion of the Mormons from Missouri. The text was translated from a German work.²⁹⁵

In the 1870s, plural marriage began to assume a stronger role in Mormon-related publicity, particularly when it concerned news on the church in the United States. That decade also marked the emergence of the most important related legal developments, and thus it is natural that these (and the Mormon reaction to them) were reported on with interest. When one particular bill was passed by the United States Congress in 1870, it was reported that this institution had “decided to force the Mormonites to give up plural wifery. Mormons on their side are preparing to make resistance and it is said that especially their wives are urging them to it.”²⁹⁶ News soon began to trickle in concerning arrests and trials of polygamists, the prosecution of Brigham Young himself, petitions for accepting Utah as a state, the passing of the polygamy-related Poland Act (“a meaningful step towards Mormonism’s complete extinction”), the original conviction of “guinea pig” George Reynolds, the death of Brigham Young (under “Political news”), the United States Supreme Court’s 1879 decision on the constitutionality of the ban against plural marriage, and the subsequent action of Secretary of State William Evarts to prohibit the immigration of Mormons to the United States as potential lawbreakers.²⁹⁷

²⁹³ “Suuren Kuninkaan asia,” *Tähti*, 10 April 1863, p. 4. See also for example the issues of 13 February 1863, p. 2, 27 March 1863, p. 4, 5 June 1863, p. 3, 28 August 1863, p. 4, 29 July 1864, p. 3, and 13 January 1865, p. 4.

²⁹⁴ “Mormonerna,” *Folkvännen*, 1 and 8 June 1864, p. 1–2.

²⁹⁵ Friedrich Gerstäcker, *Mississippi-Bilder: Licht- und Schattenseiten transatlantischen Lebens*, 3 vols. (Dresden und Leipzig: Arnoldische Buchhandlung, 1847–1848).

²⁹⁶ “Ulkomailta,” *Suomalainen Wirallinen Lehti*, 7 May 1870, p. 2.

²⁹⁷ “Telegrafnotiser,” *Helsingfors Dagblad*, 26 November 1871, p. 2. “Mormonernes chef, Brigham Young,” *Helsingfors Dagblad*, 13 January 1872, p. 1. “Förenta Staterna,” *Morgonbladet*, 25 April 1872, p. 3. “Mormonismen” and “Från utlandet,” *Åbo Un-*

In other words, the main Mormon developments as they concerned societal relations were quite well tracked during the 1870s.

A new feature of publicity in the second half of that decade is the emergence of newspaper reports concerning Mormon activity in Finland. The frequency of their publication varied, but when one newspaper received word concerning such activity, it was common for many others to copy the information and republish it. Usually this was done with attribution of the original source, but not always. The mechanism through which the newspapers found out about such activity is generally not known. However, it is probable that laypersons in the area gave the editors tips concerning such activity. In some cases the newspapers published the letters of laypersons that discussed Mormon activity. In the late 1870s, such letters were received for example from the Ostrobothnian area in the west and from Sipoo in the south.²⁹⁸ While generally matter-of-factly, the writers' choices of words usually indicated their distaste of the new movement. These grassroots reports concerning Mormon activity are valuable, although source-critical considerations mandate that one approach them with caution.

The discussion of Mormonism in periodicals and books does not show any particularly striking features in the 1870s. As noted previously, however, this decade saw the publication of three notable articles on the Mormons in two Finnish-language periodicals, *Kyläkirjasto* and *Suomen kuvalehti*. Both published their article(s) in 1877 and commented on the death of Brigham Young, showing that the editors were well aware of recent developments. When it comes to books, the Mormons were described for example in a Finnish-language book on church history edited by Johan Sahlman, based on a foreign work. *Kirkkohistoria koulua ja kotoa varten* [Church History for School and Home] devoted one page to explaining the main features of Mormonism's history and doctrine as the author saw them, taking note for

derrättelser, 2 July 1874, p. 2, "Mormonerna i Amerika," *Helsingfors Dagblad*, 26 January 1876, p. 3. "Politiska nyheter," *Hufvudstadsbladet*, 2 September 1877, p. 1. "Mormonerna," *Åbo Underrättelser*, 13 February 1879, p. 3. "Mormonutvandringen till Amerika," *Åbo Underrättelser*, 18 August 1879, p. 2.

²⁹⁸ See for example "Korrespondens från Österbotten," *Hufvudstadsbladet*, 28 December 1876, p. 2, "Korrespondens," *Åbo Underrättelser*, 5 July 1877, pp. 1–2, "Från Sibbo," *Folkvännen*, 27 March 1878, p. 2, and "Kirje Helsingistä," *Ilmarinen*, 30 March 1878, p. 3.

example of the doctrinal feature of continuing revelation to the Mormon prophet. Thus, "it is difficult to say with exactness what their doctrine is like, for the prophetic voice may tomorrow declare something completely different from what it teaches today," was the author's interpretation of this important tenet of Mormonism.²⁹⁹

The 1880s saw the publication of a number of important books. Such were for example the countercult books by the Swede Gustaf Unonius and the Norwegian Andreas Mortensen. Both of these books were dedicated exclusively to the Mormon issue. More generally themed books on America also appeared. Walter Gore Marshall's *Genom Amerika* [Through America], for example, devotes about 50 pages to describing the author's experiences with the Mormons in Utah. An indigenous publication of this variety is the feminist Alexandra Gripenberg's above-mentioned *Ett halfår i Nya Verlden*, where she details her own experience in visiting Utah in one chapter. Importantly, newspapers picked up the experiences of Swedish journalist Jonas Stadling from his visit to Utah. They were first introduced to the Finns as republications from Swedish newspapers; however, Stadling later published the book *Genom den stora vestern* [Through the Vast West] in which his experiences were included. This book was available to Finns through bookstores. One of the common themes of these three books was the Mormon practice of plural marriage, a topic that raised widespread interest.

Indeed, plural marriage was one of the major topics of Finnish Mormon-related newspaper publicity in the 1880s. Just as in the 1870s, newspapers continued to report on the legislative developments related to this practice. Of particular importance were the acceptance of the Edmunds Act in early 1882 and the acceptance of the Edmunds-Tucker Act in the beginning of 1887. Especially the latter was seen as being of momentous import. Using the words of a New York writer, *Nya Pressen* characterized the law as "the deadliest blow ... that the Mormon church in Utah has ever received," further calling it a "crushing blow."³⁰⁰ The constitutionality of the law was under question, however, and thus its import with relation to the Mormons was not certain, the paper reported.

²⁹⁹ Sahlman, *Kirkkohistoria koulua ja kotoa varten*, p. 156.

³⁰⁰ "Nordamerikanska kongressen och mormonerna," *Morgonbladet*, 2 March 1882, p. 2 and "Förenta staternas kongress," *Nya Pressen*, 25 January 1887, p. 3.

Newspapers continued to publish information on Mormon missionary work in Finland throughout the 1880s. They also reported on the number of Mormons in the country, based on information received from the Swedish Mormon periodical *Nordstjernen*. The reactions to missionary work in Finland are discussed more extensively in Section 5.3. Of special interest in the publicity of the 1880s is the discussion of Mormonism in the southern-Finland municipality of Pohja, covered in Chapter 6. In addition to news of Mormon activity in the United States and Finland, the newspapers reported on Mormon events in Scandinavia and elsewhere in Europe. For example, *Nya Pressen* published a description of a Mormon meeting in Berlin, Germany, whereas *Åbo Tidning* described a similar meeting in Malmö, Sweden, and later an anti-Mormon meeting in Norway.³⁰¹ These reports were written through the eyes of non-Mormons; the writer quoted in *Nya Pressen* observed the Mormon singing of hymns, reading of letters home from emigrants to Utah, partaking of the sacrament and preachings on Mormon doctrine, thinking these Berlin Mormons were rather excited about emigrating to Utah. But it was not only non-Mormons who visited Mormon meetings; at times the reverse occurred, and at those occasions the message was not pleasing to the Mormons. *Nya Pressen's* concluding comments concerning an anti-Mormon meeting in Norway conveyed to Finnish readers the strong feelings that exposés of Mormonism could generate on both sides:

The audience was so shocked by this portrayal that it forgot to offer applause. A few Mormons who were present seasoned the presentation with their vivid assurances that it was all lies.³⁰²

Moving to the decade of the 1890s, probably the most significant Mormon-related development was the official announcement declaring that the Mormons would abandon plural marriage. Newspapers treated the polygamy issue from the beginning of the year 1890, explaining for example how the Mormons had their civil rights revoked and how a loss in Salt Lake City's elections would complicate the po-

³⁰¹ "Ett besök i Berlins mormonförsamling," *Nya Pressen*, 20 April 1883, pp. 3–4, "Mormonerne i Malmö," *Åbo Tidning*, 28 July 1883, p. 2, and "Häriifrån och derifrån," *Åbo Tidning*, 10 March 1885, pp. 3–4.

³⁰² "Häriifrån och derifrån," *Åbo Tidning*, 10 March 1885, p. 3.

lygamy issue further.³⁰³ When the church finally announced that it would cease the practice of polygamy, the reaction in the Finnish newspapers was quick, and when assessing republications and further analysis of the matter, enormous in proportion. As far as is known, the first to report on the church's manifesto of September 24, 1890, were the newspapers *Finland*, *Nya Pressen*, and *Päivälehti* on September 29.³⁰⁴ Discussions concerning the implications of this development continued for the balance of the year, with some newspapers now billing Mormonism as "a dying religion" after having relinquished this central tenet and announcing that some of the Mormons were moving from Utah to Mexico due to difficulties.³⁰⁵

Newspaper reporting on the Mormons decreased significantly after 1890, and most of it concerned events abroad. Finnish readers received news for example concerning the completion of the Salt Lake City temple in 1893 and the acceptance of Utah as a state in 1896.³⁰⁶ It is also interesting to note that the polygamous image of the Mormons did not disappear, but rather continued throughout the decade. For example, a joke mentioned how "the Mormon who has only one wife is comparatively speaking a bachelor in Utah," and another item noted that some Mormons were moving to Chihuahua, Mexico, "where they have the right to live their religion according to statutes and customs."³⁰⁷ On the other hand, it was also reported that the president of the United States had declared the Mormons to be law-abiding citizens, in stark contrast to much of the earlier publicity.³⁰⁸

³⁰³ "Mormonerna i Saltsjöstaden," *Hufvudstadsbladet*, 3 January 1890, p. 3 and "Pieniä tietoja," *Uusi Suometar*, 19 February 1890, p. 2.

³⁰⁴ "Mormonernas," *Finland*, p. 2, "Mormonerna och månggiftet," *Nya Pressen*, part B, p. 2, and "Mormoonit," *Päivälehti*, p. 4, all on 29 September 1890.

³⁰⁵ See for example "En döende religion. Mormonismens undergång," *Finland*, 15 October 1890, p. 2 and "Mormonit," *Uusi Suometar*, 28 December 1890, p. 2.

³⁰⁶ "I Saltsjöstaten," *Aftonbladet*, 18 April 1893, p. 3 and "Yhdyswaltain lipussa," *Hämläinen*, 18 January 1896, p. 2.

³⁰⁷ "Jämförelsevis ungar," *Helsingfors Aftonblad*, 30 September 1893, p. 4 and "Ett nytt mormonland," *Helsingfors Aftonblad*, 30 April 1894, p. 3.

³⁰⁸ "Mormonerna i Förenta staterna," *Fredrikshamns Tidning*, 10 October 1894, p. 4.

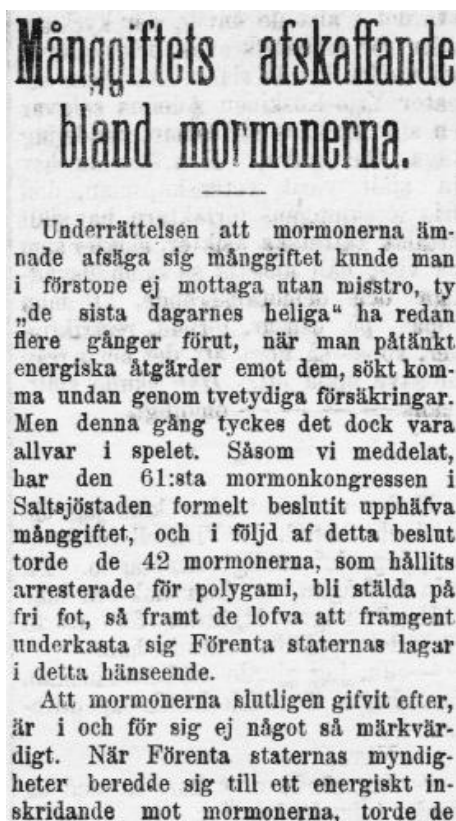


Figure 3.5. Plural marriage and its eventual cessation was a popular topic.

This piece of news appeared in *Nya Pressen* on 10 November 1890.

Courtesy of the Historical Newspaper Library,
National Library of Finland.

The only Finnish Mormon-related event that the newspapers of the 1890s reported on was the 1891 visit of a Finnish native who had converted to Mormonism in Finland and later emigrated to Utah.³⁰⁹ Surprisingly, the report lacked the generally derogatory tone of much reporting on the Mormons.

The 1890s also saw the publication of a number of Finnish-language books that dealt with the United States. One of these was the Finnish translation of Alexandra Gripenberg's book, now titled *Uudesta maailmasta* [From the New World], again containing her chapter on Utah. Furthermore, Tyko Hagman published a history of America in 1892–1893, where he included pictures of the Mormon tabernacle and

³⁰⁹ "Finsk mormon på besök i hemlandet," *Hufvudstadsbladet*, 11 September 1891, p. 2.

the planned temple in Salt Lake City. Calling Mormonism “this strange denomination,” Hagman explained its emergence and subsequent move to the Utah area. He also recognized that it was the theocratic inclinations of Mormonism, coupled with polygamy, that had prevented the acceptance of Utah as a state of the United States of America.³¹⁰ Interestingly, Hagman does not mention the Mormon intention to cease the practice of polygamy that was announced in 1890.

Similar reasons for Utah’s non-acceptance as a state were offered by Finnish native Konni Zilliacus, whose Swedish-language book on North America, *Amerikas Förenta Stater* [The United States of America] was also translated into Finnish as *Käsikirja Pohjois-Amerikasta* [Handbook on North America]. As with other American states and territories, Zilliacus rehearsed the special features of Utah, and thus Mormonism naturally figured quite prominently in his two-page coverage. While not appreciating the Mormons and their attitude towards outsiders, Zilliacus thought the Mormons had done an admirable job with their surroundings: “the regions that they inhabit look like gardens; they are so very well cultivated and carefully cared for and the earth produces such rich growing crops.”³¹¹

In sum, the chronological overview presented here shows that Mormon-related events and developments were reported on throughout the time period under study. These events concerned the emergence of the movement in England (the first article in 1840) and later the advances of Mormonism in the Nordic countries. News related to Mormon headquarters in the United States were not forgotten either, especially during the Utah war of 1857–1858 and later in the 1870s and 1880s during the battle over polygamy. Indeed, one can say that readers were kept up to date surprisingly well (if not always accurately) concerning Mormonism’s troubled existence in the United States. This is especially so when considering that the news came from the other side of the world; on the other hand, it also shows the high degree of interest attached to “the Mormon question” even in a far-away land of non-English-speakers.

Furthermore, the overview indicates that newspapers and periodicals published longer treatments of the Mormons throughout this era,

³¹⁰ Tyko Hagman, *Amerika, sen löytö, valloitus ja kehitys* (Porvoo: Werner Söderström, 1892–1893), p. 146.

³¹¹ Konni Zilliacus, *Käsikirja Pohjois-Amerikasta* (Porvoo: Werner Söderström, 1893), p. 124.

with the first such article published in 1845. Their coverage also included fictional stories, often taken from foreign sources. After the late 1870s, newspapers also began to report on the activities of Mormon missionaries in Finland, both through unattributed reports and through letters that were written by people who lived in the localities affected by such activity. Similarly, books that treated the Mormons were available in Finland throughout these decades, beginning in the 1850s. Those dedicated exclusively to Mormonism were published mostly in the 1850s and the 1880s, whereas the more general books were published throughout the time period under study.

3.3. Prevalent Discursive Elements

In this section I use discourse analysis to probe the constitutive functions of the language used when discussing the Mormons. The interest is thus not only in the descriptive content of the texts, but particularly in using them as data and as a resource to search for patterns that show what the texts do, i.e., in what ways they constructed the Mormon image. Discourses are thus approached within the larger context of a society and their function in the process of social construction.

Although quotations are here presented as English translations, I have analyzed the texts in the original languages Finnish and Swedish, both of which I am conversant in to the extent that I can understand even the most subtle nuances.³¹² The process of analysis consisted of examining the textual corpus in order to find the most common themes and points of view. A number of themes emerge, some of them portraying the Mormons in a negative light while others describe them in more positive terms. These themes and their manifestations were then broken down and analyzed further in order to understand their essence and to probe what such discursive techniques accomplished.

The negative portrayals form a hegemonic discourse, referring to the most common and seemingly inevitable way of discussing Mormonism. Elements included for example discussion of fraud and deception, theocracy, polygamy, and Mormonism's destruction. Mor-

³¹² Stephanie Taylor, "Locating and Conducting Discourse Analytic Research," in Margaret Wetherell, Stephanie Taylor, and Simeon J. Yates, *Discourse as Data: A Guide for Analysis* (London: Sage Publications, 2001), p. 7, 15, and 18.

mon activities in Europe and Scandinavia were also often discussed in this manner. All of these will be discussed in this section. However, language can be seen as a site of controversy and of contest over the power to define categories and structure realities, to reinforce or question difference and otherness.³¹³ Thus, the existence of a counter-discourse can also be documented, a mode of discussing Mormonism that deviated from the negativity, at times even calling this negativity's legitimacy into question. This constituted a type of "whistle blowing," a call to reconsider the generally accepted image of the Mormons, whether through appeals to positive personal experiences with them, or more generally through praise of various facets of the faith. Similarly to elements of the hegemonic discourse, I will discuss these elements of counter-discourse in this section.

Noteworthy in connection with this analysis is that the accuracy of the publicity is not of particular importance. The modern reader of nineteenth-century writings on the Mormons will readily acknowledge that some of the cynicism and even hysteria was unfounded in light of later research. Some reports may be exaggerated, whereas others brought to light touchy topics that the Mormons did not particularly want to be known. But from the point of view of discourse analysis and the social construction of reality that utilized these discourses, it was the existence of the discourses itself that was important. The images they conveyed in Finland became part of the accepted truth, although reality "as it really was" would have mandated a more nuanced image and understanding.

Naturally, the corpus contains several other themes in addition to those mentioned above. The most significant of these are the reactions to Mormonism's arrival in Finland and the proselytizing done in the country. Furthermore, the practice of Mormon emigration elicited strong reactions, especially as people would see friends or loved ones convert and leave their native lands believing, as those staying behind saw it, in a religion that had defrauded them. Due to the direct connection of these themes to other broader topics dealt with in this study, the former is discussed in Section 5.3, the latter in Section 7.4.

³¹³ Stephanie Taylor, "Locating and Conducting Discourse Analytic Research," p. 9 and 13.

Fraud and deception

Constructing Mormonism's image to consist of fraud and deception seems to have been one of the most common frameworks through which this new religious movement was portrayed. Such motives are universally seen as morally wrong, and thus most probably were chief legitimators of the negative hegemonic discourse. The motive of deception was attributed to Joseph Smith and his early associates in church leadership as well as to subsequent leadership. Importantly, it was also attributed to Mormon missionaries, who were seen as preaching "milk before meat," in other words withholding more controversial doctrines (such as plural marriage, the temple ceremonies, etc.) from their potential converts in favor of explaining the Mormon message in generally Christian terms and language. Portraying Mormonism as a scam or fraud perpetrated by its leaders under the cloak of religion may have served as a way to avoid having to explain and ponder the religious import of the movement and the fact that some people felt drawn to it on religious grounds; the matter was instead brought down to a more mundane and black-and-white level.

The theme of fraud and deception emerges immediately in the earliest treatments, for example in the 1845 two-part article published by *Borgå Tidning*. The narrative began with a description of a recent religious scam enacted in the state of New York, as such unrelated to Mormonism. Certain ministers had been preaching sermons of both encouraging and "hellfire-and-damnation" content, and, in order to remove all doubt in the minds of their listeners, the ministers had promised that angels would appear to the believers:

And – oh wonder! – barely had these prophetic words sunk down into them, when two citizens of another world, clothed in white, hovered with their shiny wings on the other side of the river ... A rumor of this miracle spread like lightning, and on the next day thousands of new listeners and spectators streamed to the venue. Neither of the high beings declined to appear to the multitude of people that day either. But who could describe the disappointment of the believers, when the angels on the third day came out of the forest again, but escorted by some other "emissaries," tough policemen ... They were imprisoned for their deceit...³¹⁴

³¹⁴ "Mormonererna, en beväpnad religionssekt i de Förenta Staterna," *Borgå Tidning*, 20 August 1845, p. 2.

Having thus set the stage and biased the minds of the readers, the writer noted that a larger and more important scam had now entered the stage, explaining that “a certain *Josef Smith*” had appeared in the state of Ohio some years previously. The article went on to describe a few pieces of Latter-day Saint history and doctrines (even baptisms for the dead, a recent doctrinal innovation at the time), concluding in the next issue by calling all of Mormonism “a work of the most shameless deception.”³¹⁵ *Borgå Tidning* continued with this theme in another longer treatment in 1853, employing the framework of fraud and deception very explicitly: “All of Mormonism is from its beginning nothing but a fraud, a deeply calculated plan that an American impostor called Joseph Smith invented in order to get power, money, and followers, a plan which has succeeded through bold execution and eager completion.”³¹⁶ The founder of Mormonism belonged in the later opinion of *Kokkolan Lehti* to the group of “traitors and villains, spiritual conjurers.”³¹⁷

The alleged fraud and deception consisted of several elements. For example the Book of Mormon was explained not as a divine document, but as a mundane literary composition masquerading as holy scripture. One of the most common explanations in this regard was the “Spaulding theory,” which made its way also to Finland. “It was made of golden tablets full of drawings that looked like ancient Egyptian letters. Thus say the Mormons,” one writer explained and continued, “but the real origin of the book is probably the following: In the year 1809 lived a man Salomon [sic] Spaulding, who had been a priest. He ... wrote a historical novel on the origin of the Jews and called this book ‘Manuscript Found.’ In 1812 he gave it to a printer ... who just before his death had loaned it to Signey [sic] Rigdon ... In that manner the book probably came into Smith’s hands.”³¹⁸ Smith is then to have used this text to produce the Book of Mormon, but “this liar” was later found out.³¹⁹ Such malicious motives were sometimes simply

³¹⁵ “Mormonerna,” *Borgå Tidning*, 23 August 1845, p. 3. Emphasis in original on 20 August.

³¹⁶ “Om mormonismen,” *Borgå Tidning*, 30 April 1853, p. 2. Another early example of a religiously inspired newspaper calling Smith a fraud is “Suuren Kuninkaan asia,” *Tähti*, 10 April 1863, p. 4, mistakenly referring to him as “Johan Smith.”

³¹⁷ “Spiritualistit,” *Kokkolan Lehti*, 19 September 1887, p. 3.

³¹⁸ “Mormonilaista,” *Sanan-Lennätin*, August 6, 1858, pp. 3–4.

³¹⁹ Sahlman, *Kirkkohistoria koulua ja kotoa varten*, p. 156.

asserted without accompanying proof. Thus a Finnish 1900 school book on Christian church history simply began its brief treatment of the Mormons by referring to the “deceiver Joseph Smith.”³²⁰

From these beginnings, the fraud is to have continued in a variety of ways and on a variety of levels. For example, the hegemonic discourse tended to portray the Mormon missionaries as willing accomplices to the fraud. In contrast to the Mormon leadership, these were the individuals who came into first-hand contact with potential converts in foreign lands.

An examination of texts that deal with the missionaries shows the common use of what can be called a “deceiver-victim” framework. In this framework, the missionary was a deceiver who did not tell the full truth about his church, who sought the most suitable converts (victims), and to whom these victims then succumbed. The missionaries may for example have been accused of performing planned fake miracles that were aimed at convincing their targets of Mormonism’s truth, or of withholding controversial doctrines of the faith from their potential converts.³²¹ Put differently, critics maintained that it was not beneath the Mormons to lie or to withhold parts of the truth, if the church’s aims would thus be furthered. Indeed, it was thought that deception was a necessary element of Mormonism’s success. It was alleged that no rational person would convert “if there were sincerity, and if the doctrine were openly presented to them.”³²² The converts could be lied to if they encountered unsettling rumors about Mormonism, for example concerning plural marriage or the teaching concerning Adam being God the Father. “‘Is it true?’ is the concerned question from the deceived. The brother from Zion [the missionary] or the more established Mormon shall answer: ‘No, it is a lie; you should not worry about it; it is apostates and ‘gentiles’ who claim that.’”³²³ Lying for the church was not a sin, “to the contrary it is something commendable,” argued these critics.³²⁴

³²⁰ Konrad A. Waaranen, *Kirkkohistoria kouluja varten* (Sortavala: Karjalan kirjakauppa- ja kustannusliike, 1900), p. 215.

³²¹ “Kuolleista herätetty Mormonilainen,” *Suomen Julkisia Sanomia*, 23 June 1859, p. 4 and “Mormonilaisia ihmeentekijöitä [sic],” *Keski-Suomi*, 1 April 1876, p. 3.

³²² Andreas Mortensen, *Mormonernas hemligheter: Werklighetsbilder från Utah efter egen iakttagelse* (Stockholm: C.A.V. Lundholms förlag, 1887), p. 211.

³²³ Mortensen, *Mormonernas hemligheter*, p. 208.

³²⁴ “Mormonein walat,” *Wiipurin Sanomat*, 30 July 1887, p. 3. Taken by the newspaper from “Mormonein walat” in the Finnish-American *Uusi Kotimaa*, 7 July 1887, p. 1.

As a result of the non-disclosure of the full truth, one Norwegian writer thought that “Mormonism in Utah and Mormonism in Norway are two completely different things.” He was appalled at what he saw in Utah as the crass behavior of Mormon leaders, contempt towards the Bible, and other such things.³²⁵ In other words, the Mormons tended to give a very different picture of Mormonism in the mission field than what was perceived as the actual reality in the heartland of Utah. In the mission field, proponents of Mormonism “depict life in Zion with the most wonderful colors,”³²⁶ and this was naturally very enticing to poor Europeans. However, eventually they would find that Mormonism in its full manifestation was different from what they had been led to believe:

Then they discover how the word of God which is given to them in their old and dear Bible must give space to the fables in the Book of Mormon, and how our Savior’s holy gospel ... now is put in the background to give space to a new gospel by Joseph Smith as the true foundation.³²⁷

Distrust came to the surface also in the ways in which the Mormons dealt with American society. For example, when the Mormons made overtures of peace in connection with the Utah war, it was reported that federal troops still continued their march towards Salt Lake City: “It seems that [the Mormons] are not quite trusted,” explained *Finlands Allmänna Tidning*.³²⁸ Similarly, distrust was manifested in reactions to the 1890 announcement concerning the cessation of plural marriage. The suspicion was that the Mormons merely gave the announcement to calm the public, as “a political trick,”³²⁹ but did not actually plan to stop the controversial practice. Attitudes were here clearly affected by past experiences and perceptions. As articulated in the newspaper *Kaiku*, “It was doubted whether it will actually be realized now either, because many times before they have promised to give up their ugly habit when harassed, but they have still kept many wives.”³³⁰

³²⁵ “Bref från en norsk mormon,” *Helsingfors Dagblad*, 4 May 1867, p. 2.

³²⁶ Mortensen, *Mormonernas hemligheter*, p. 137.

³²⁷ Unonius, *Mormonismen*, p. 66.

³²⁸ “Amerika,” *Finlands Allmänna Tidning*, 21 June 1858, p. 3.

³²⁹ “Mena mormonerna ärligt?,” *Finland*, 6 November 1890, p. 2.

³³⁰ “Mormoonein moniawioisuuden lakkauttaminen,” *Kaiku*, 16 October 1890, p. 3.

Countercult writers tended to associate the fraud and deception not merely with the leadership's desire for earthly wealth and power, but rather with a connection to dark otherworldly powers. The Norwegian Lutheran priest Andreas Mortensen, for example, explained to his readers how he spoke with a Mormon elder one Sunday afternoon during his visit to Salt Lake City:

There was a peculiar power in his words, and he knew how to present everything in such an entrapping manner that it felt to me like a horrid snake would slither itself around my feet and around my body. "Ah," I thought, "now I understand, what satanic power lies at the bottom of Mormonism!"³³¹

In another connection, he similarly attributed Mormonism's success to satanic power: "the prince of darkness himself stands behind and leads the movement. We see a sea of deception, of squalor, of misery."³³² The Christian newspaper *Tähti* in Turku referred to "this devilish sect" that "traitor Johan [sic] Smith" had founded.³³³

Not only Joseph Smith and Mormon missionaries received their shares of criticism under the theme of fraud and deception. Smith's follower Brigham Young, for example, was by one writer characterized as "one of the greatest deceivers who has lived in the world,"³³⁴ whereas another likened him to a viper that "drew thousands of victims into his power and they could not escape from the deadly bite."³³⁵ Furthermore, the church was seen as swindling its adherents through its patriarchs, men who pronounced personal blessings that often included prophecies concerning future events involving the recipient of the blessing. In contrast to the Biblical patriarchs, however, "the Mormon church's patriarchs speak stupidities based on the fancies of their own darkened hearts," was one writer's opinion. To introduce the element of swindlery, it was reported that such a blessing cost two or three dollars, and one "poor creature" had even paid ten

³³¹ Mortensen, *Mormonernas hemligheter*, p. 211.

³³² Mortensen, *Mormonernas hemligheter*, p. 177.

³³³ "Suuren Kuninkaan asia," *Tähti*, 10 April 1863, p. 4.

³³⁴ "Mormoneista," *Aamulehti*, 19 November 1890, p. 3.

³³⁵ Mortensen, *Mormonernas hemligheter*, p. 180.

bushels of wheat to have it translated into what was presumably his or her native language.³³⁶

The hegemonic discourse painted fraud and deception as the *modus operandi* of the Mormon movement, both in the mission field and in its heartland of Utah. Mormonism was born through fraud, and it was perpetrated successfully only because of the continued nature of that fraud by willing accomplices. This appeal to malicious motives can be seen as a powerful legitimator of the hegemonic discourse, for how could any decent person do anything but object to and resist such a religion?

Theocracy

The element of fraud and deception is integrally tied to another theme, and can be seen as having made possible the perceived tight grasp of the Mormon leadership over their followers. This related theme concerns the theocratic features of Mormonism, a theme that ties to the general-interest concept of power over individuals. The alleged scheming of Brigham Young and other early leaders was seen as having created in the territory of Utah a gloomy society of fanatics that would do anything their power-hungry leaders asked of them. The centralization of earthly and religious power was seen as detrimental. The newspaper *Finland* used strong words in putting forward one view on the matter: "Banks, factories, land, entire cities belonged to the church or rather to its leading man. Never has cecaro-papism, this terrible tyranny that enslaves both soul and body, reigned more unrestricted."³³⁷ In essence, Utah had a state church unlike any other state or territory in the United States. More than having a state church, however, Utah was a *de facto* church state, ruled over by religious leaders rather than a secular government. Indeed, it was "a full-fledged theocracy [where] unlimited priestcraft prevails," wrote one Finn in 1853.³³⁸

Theocracy in and of itself may be a well-functioning system of governance, if leaders are just and citizens share the same faith. However, the theocratic situation in Utah was seen as especially detrimental

³³⁶ "Mormonkyrkans patriarker och patriarkaliska wälsignelser," *Åbo Underrättelser*, 27 June 1889, p. 2.

³³⁷ "En döende religion. Mormonismens undergång," *Finland*, 15 October 1890, p. 2.

³³⁸ "2. Mormonerne eller de yttersta dagarnes helige," *Litteraturblad för allmän medborgerlig bildning*, p. 132.

because of the alleged corruptness of the leadership, for example Brigham Young, who was the Mormon leader from 1847 to 1877. As noted above, the elements of fraud and deception were strongly attached to the Mormon leadership in the hegemonic discourse. Tied together with theocracy, the situation became doubly worse. It was not enough that the leadership exerted their power in spiritual matters, but they could also practice their fraud and deception in secular matters, thus wielding absolute power over their followers.

In this vein *Finlands Allmänna Tidning* wrote in 1858, referring to church members, that Brigham Young had 35,000 slaves.³³⁹ Young himself was characterized for example as a “prophet, priest, and king” who ruled as “an absolute despot,” paying his people low wages that “assured for him a notable increase of his riches.”³⁴⁰ During the Utah war, it was reported that American officers “confirm all stories about Brigham Young’s tyrannical behavior towards his blinded adherents.”³⁴¹ A later writer of the post-Young period still referred to the state of things in Utah as “hierarchical despotism” which demanded unconditional obedience to itself as “an unavoidable condition” for spiritual salvation.³⁴²

With church leaders in charge of everything, theocracy removed the distance between the sacred and the secular. Theocracy in Utah was thus an additional strand in the distaste felt towards Mormonism due to its general collapsing of “the sacred distance,” the difference between the divine and the mundane.³⁴³ Indeed, some were perplexed and repulsed by Mormon leaders who did not fulfil the expected role of religious leaders. In the Mormon theocratic community, a religious leader could preach concerning “the best way to lay canals and aqueducts,” or concerning the “necessity or benefit of ‘the Saints’ of undertaking all kinds of industrial enterprises.”³⁴⁴ These leaders had the right to tell their followers where to purchase everyday goods. Fur-

³³⁹ “Amerika,” *Finlands Allmänna Tidning*, 14 September 1858, p. 2.

³⁴⁰ “Mormonernas profet, prest och konung Brigham Young,” *Morgonbladet*, 18 April 1873, p. 2.

³⁴¹ “Amerika,” *Åbo Underrättelser*, 7 September 1858, p. 1.

³⁴² Unonius, *Mormonismen*, p. 44.

³⁴³ Terry L. Givens, *People of Paradox: A History of Mormon Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 37–52.

³⁴⁴ Unonius, *Mormonismen*, p. 58.

thermore, the followers could acquiesce to a forced removal from their homes when asked to colonize a new area so as to expand Zion.³⁴⁵

Some Mormons could be expected to give the church their all. When news came of such a “United Order” experiment in the southern-Utah town of St. George, *Helsingfors Dagblad* reported (note the use of quotation marks around the word church):

Members of this communistic society obligate themselves to hand over their possessions to the “church” and to align themselves to the prophet’s wishes in all their doings, and become such tools in his hand that have absolutely no will of their own.³⁴⁶

These economic elements of the theocratic system are certain to have raised concern and mental connections to the theme of fraud and deception discussed above. Church taxes were a familiar thing to many, but the Mormons were not content with their equivalent, tithing. *Kyläkirjasto*, for example, commented that there “is no land on earth where superiors know to skin their underlings to the extent they do in the Mormons’ church state.”³⁴⁷ That a religious leader would make these kinds of requests of his adherents must have been a very remote thing to the Finnish reader, but in the Mormon theocracy this was business as usual. It was religion taken to a new level.

Interestingly, some authors seem to have regarded the lay Mormons as willing subjects of this despotic system of theocracy. New Mormons were conducted through a ceremony where they promised to never “speak evil the Lord’s anointed [the leaders], to think with their thoughts, obey their every request, even if criminal,”³⁴⁸ etc. Another thought that some of these “poor slaves” of Young were a moving sight, “in their ... subservience and gratitude towards the one who had given them a tool and a piece of bread in exchange for their freedom, we would nearly like to say, for the human in them.”³⁴⁹

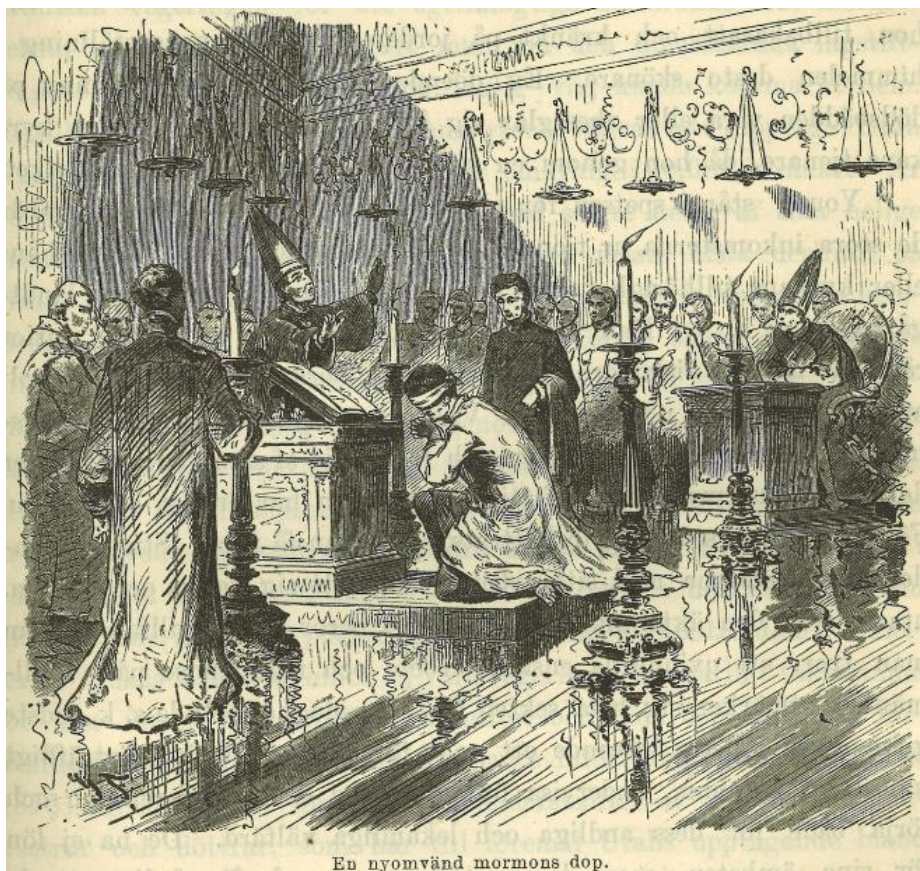
³⁴⁵ Curt Wallis, “Ett besök hos mormonerna,” *Nordisk tidskrift*, vol. 1 (1888), p. 407.

³⁴⁶ “Brigham Young,” *Helsingfors Dagblad*, 24 April 1874, p. 3.

³⁴⁷ “Mormonit,” *Kyläkirjasto*, vol. 14 (1886), no. 1, p. 14.

³⁴⁸ “Från de heligas stad,” *Svenska Familj-Journalen*, vol. 10 (1871), no. 6, p. 166. Quoted also in “Ännu något om Mormonismen,” *Wasabladet*, 16 December 1876, p. 2.

³⁴⁹ “Litteratur,” *Samtiden*, vol. 3, no. 49 (6 December 1873), p. 781.



En nyomvänd mormons dop.

Figure 3.6. A fictitious portrayal of a Mormon baptismal ceremony in the first volume of Von Hellwald's *Jorden och dess folk* (1877) plays on mental images of theocracy and its blind followers.

A partial reason for such willing participation was found in the ignorance and low level of education of these Mormons. "Free education like in the rest of America is unknown in Utah," allegedly because the church could in this way better rule over its people.³⁵⁰ If the "darkness of ignorance" were to be dispelled, the Mormons would become law-abiding citizens of the United States just like others. On this point, the Mormons were compared to the black population of the southern states. The United States had a similar task of transforming

³⁵⁰ Mortensen, *Mormonernas hemligheter*, p. 197.

both of these elements of society into groups that could further the nation's civilization.³⁵¹

But Mormon leaders did not only rely on the willing participation of church members. Their theocratic power had to be ensured through other means, argued the critics. Although Utah was incorporated as a territory of the United States and thus had its federal officers, the theocratic nature of Mormonism meant that it also had its own "police force," more commonly referred to as the Danites. These vigilantes were, with the blessing and at times direct request of church leaders, to make sure that difficult individuals were taken care of and that apostates were dealt with. In practice this could mean the murder of the individuals in question, and several such are alleged to have taken place in Utah society before 1869 on the behest of church leaders. That year marked the coming of the railroad and thus complications in upholding the theocratic features of Utah government.

Stories were told, for example, of persons who became unhappy with Mormonism and their lives in Utah. When undertaking the difficult journey ("fleeing") back towards the eastern United States, most such persons were

... reached by the pursuers sent by the Mormon leadership, who had been given orders to spill the atoning blood without mercy when they caught "the treasonous," for a sweet scent for fanaticism and its great ones.³⁵²

The Danites could also take care of wayward church members who had committed serious sins by enacting their "blood atonement," a concept entailing that the individual had to personally (as opposed to Jesus Christ) atone for his or her sins due to their seriousness. The Swedish professor Curt Wallis explained how individuals were sentenced by the Mormon high council, and thereafter wandered unknowing of their fates. Finally, the masked Danites came, cut the person's throat, pushed the body into a grave, and filled it with dirt. Because of the theocratic atmosphere of fear, none dared even speak of the event having taken place.³⁵³ The most serious event made possible

³⁵¹ Curt Wallis, "Ett besök hos mormonerna," *Nordisk tidskrift*, vol. 1 (1888), p. 419.

³⁵² Unonius, *Mormonismen*, p. 47.

³⁵³ Wallis, "Ett besök hos mormonerna," p. 368. On the Danites, see also for example "Mormonismen i fara," *Land och folk*, vol. 1 (1873), no. 1, pp. 83–84 and "Mor-

by the theocratic atmosphere, one that actually did happen for certain, is the September 1857 massacre at Mountain Meadows in southern Utah, where local Mormons took part in the murder of a train of emigrants.³⁵⁴

An interesting imagery in this connection is the depiction of Utah as a state of or even nation of Mormons. Such an image emerges soon after Utah had been accepted as a territory in 1850, when for example *Ilmarinen* discussed what would come of freed black slaves in the United States, wondering “if they will form their own state like the Mormons’ [state].”³⁵⁵ The Utah war of 1857–1858 probably solidified such an image with its reports of Mormon rebellion against the established United States and separated the Mormons from the general American population, giving them a distinct identity as a people. *Suomen Julkisia Sanomia*, for example, reported in 1858 that Utah had declared itself independent and that its leader Brigham Young announced that “the citizens of this area are not obliged to obey other laws than those enacted by themselves.”³⁵⁶ Later on, one can find mentions of “the Mormon state” and of people leaving for “the land of the Mormons.”³⁵⁷

In essence, then, the theocratic element imbued into the hegemonic discourse an image of a theocratic Mormon state or nation, which was ruled over by religious tyrants and inhabited by willing, uneducated slaves. They could be asked to devote the energies and their money to the church, as mandated by the leaders. Considering such a popular

monit,” *Kyläkirjasto*, vol. 14 (1886), no. 1, p. 12. On blood atonement, see for example Mortensen, *Mormonernas hemligheter*, pp. 96–100.

³⁵⁴ News of the massacre came to the Finns at the end of 1857; see “Utrikes. Amerika,” *Finlands Allmänna Tidning*, 18 December 1857, pp. 2–3. As in the United States, news on Mormon complicity began to emerge later; see “Amerika,” *Finlands Allmänna Tidning*, 16 October 1872, p. 2, “Mormonskt,” *Hufvudstadsbladet*, 1 November 1872, pp. 2–3, “Mormonerna och Brigham Jounge [sic],” *Wiborgs Tidning*, 9 February 1875, pp. 2–3, and “Amerikansk mordhistoria från Mormonernas land,” *Morgonbladet*, 17 August 1875, p. 2. For modern research on the massacre, see for example Juanita Brooks, *The Mountain Meadows Massacre* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991 [1950]) and Ronald W. Walker, Richard E. Turley, Jr., and Glen M. Leonard, *Massacre at Mountain Meadows* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008).

³⁵⁵ “Export af Neger från Amerika,” *Ilmarinen*, 30 November 1850, p. 1.

³⁵⁶ “Ulkomaalta. Amerikasta,” *Suomen Julkisia Sanomia*, 7 January 1858, p. 2.

³⁵⁷ “Skandinavisk tidning i mormonstaten,” *Åbo Underrättelser*, 2 December 1874, p. 2. “Emigranter,” *Östra Finland*, 15 September 1882, supplement, p. 1.

image and the risk of individuals ending up in such a place, it is no wonder that warnings not to listen to Mormon missionaries were spread around Europe. But neither were the neighbors of Utah happy, despite the positive glimpses that such a “nation” offered. Curt Wallis summarized:

Mormon society comprises one of the most disciplined theocracies that have ever existed. It is a theocracy that has mixed into its doctrine, very successfully, social and economic elements ... [and has rid itself of] the civilized societies’ curses, prostitution, drunkenness, proletarianism. But all of this has been won by introducing a power that has made Mormon society into a state within a state, and it is evident that Americans can be satisfied with such a state of things as little now as they were when the Mormons settled in Ohio, Missouri, and Illinois.³⁵⁸

Plural marriage

Another matter that the Mormons’ neighbor Americans were not satisfied with was plural marriage or polygamy, more particularly polygyny, the marriage of one man to multiple women. At least in the eyes of outsiders, this was the defining feature of nineteenth-century Mormonism. The doctrine and practice was usually strongly condemned by outsiders and was a major theme in general treatments of or newspaper reports on the Mormons. It became integrated into the hegemonic discourse as the prime example of the moral depravity inherent in the new movement’s practices and worldview.

Plural marriage was seen as debasing of women, with men building harems and engaging in sexual licentiousness under the guise of religion. In 1883, for example, *Folkvännen* reprinted from a Swedish newspaper a letter where Mormon polygamy was touched upon, writing of “limitless misery” and that “the status of women among the Mormons is horrendous ... the woman is considered a kind of household goods, and the man can treat her as he likes.” The number of children multiplied as a result of the practice, and “the man has no place for these children, and instead they lie in haystacks and barns, where together they lead an abominable life of immorality.”³⁵⁹ It was even alleged that Mormon missionaries were sent “to Europe to entice

³⁵⁸ Wallis, “Ett besök hos mormonerna,” p. 415.

³⁵⁹ “En ‘warning’,” *Folkvännen*, 18 April 1883, p. 3.

inexperienced women into their nets," that they took photographs of these, and the polygamous Mormon men in Utah then looked at the photos and chose which European women they would like to add to their existing harem.³⁶⁰

The language used in this connection was often strong, and the recounting of atrocity stories appealed to the incompatibility of Mormonism and common decency. The books *Qvinnan bland mormonerna*, *Mannen bland mormonerna*, and *Mormonismens qvinnor* as a whole are good examples in this regard. The authors of *Mannen bland mormonerna* quote a number of young men in the conclusion of the book, describing what they see as the debasing effect of plural marriage on women in Utah, with one youth attributing the continuance of the practice to the "carnal and selfish wishes" of the priesthood, upheld and supported by them.³⁶¹ Lutheran clergyman Andreas Mortensen from Norway summed up the consequences after his own visit to Utah:

Who can speak of the bitterness of misery that such unhappy souls feel? The floods of tears, the mute sorrow! The long, sleepless nights! ... Unhappy women! ... Oh how many have not, in their overwhelming sorrow, hoped for death and waited for the moment when the cold grave could conceal them from the views of the living. And all this sorrow comes from an alleged "revelation from Jesus Christ" that commands obedience to plural marriage and threatens those who do not want to live in it with damnation and judgment.³⁶²

Plural marriage was in the public mind so strongly connected to Mormonism that the Mormons could be used as a point of comparison when reporting on other uncommon romantic or marital arrangements. In 1874, for example, it was reported that a German man had been sentenced to prison after gaining lovers through newspaper advertisements and then defrauding them of money. The article was titled "A Mormon."³⁶³ In late 1880 it was reported that the "Mormons [had been] surpassed," when the leader of a religious movement in the western United States was going to wed his daughter with his son

³⁶⁰ "Huru mormonerne få sina hustrur," *Nya Pressen*, 28 March 1884, p. 3.

³⁶¹ Ward and Ward, *Mannen bland mormonerna*, p. 305.

³⁶² Mortensen, *Mormonernas hemligheter*, p. 130.

³⁶³ "En mormon," *Morgonbladet*, 17 February 1874, p. 3.

so that their offspring would be purebred.³⁶⁴ And two years later, an individual from northern-Finland Kittilä mentioned a recent report about eighteen Mormons in Finland. He or she thought that one Mormon must have also lived around Kittilä, namely a person who got in trouble with the law and ran away with a young girl.³⁶⁵

The Mormons also became connected with Islam, specifically with the practice of plural marriage in Turkey. The Mormon man could be called a "sultan,"³⁶⁶ and the situation in Utah could be described as being "in Turkey without the laws of Turkey."³⁶⁷ In discussions of how to take care of old unmarried women, one suggestion was polygamy, with the Mormons and the Turks as "examples to follow."³⁶⁸ And when the legal situation became very difficult for the Mormons in Utah in the late 1880s, it was speculated that they might be moving to Turkey to live "under the mild scepter of the *sultan*," with those who were "congenial souls."³⁶⁹ Indeed, plural marriage was so pervasive in the Mormon image that one can find them used as an analogy in contexts completely unrelated to religion. In 1886, for example, an individual wrote *Folkvännen* about the situation of birds abroad and in Finland. A particular male bird was shot, and the "female will have to mourn as a widow unless she meets a youngster who subscribes to Mormonism."³⁷⁰ Similarly, another author in 1889 wrote about "Polygamy and monogamy among plants," calling a certain class of plants "the Mormons of the plant world."³⁷¹

Legal developments against plural marriage and reactions of the Mormons in the United States were also described to the Finns. The newspapers usually sided against polygamy. In 1862 it was reported that newspapers were "advising President Lincoln to still look through his fingers concerning the Mormons, because they, if one doesn't look only at the issue of polygamy, are good adherents of the

³⁶⁴ "Mormonerna öfwerträffade," *Åbo Underrättelser*, 28 November 1880, p. 3. For another report in this vein, see "Mormonerna öfvertrumfade!," *Kotka*, 31 November 1893, p. 3.

³⁶⁵ "Korrespondens från Lappmarken," *Hufvudstadsbladet*, 30 December 1882, pp. 2–3.

³⁶⁶ "Ahdin lukioille! Ahti," *Ahti*, 16 April 1881, p. 1.

³⁶⁷ "Utrikes. Amerika," *Åbo Tidningar*, 31 May 1859, p. 2.

³⁶⁸ "Om gamla ogifta fruntimmer," *Hufvudstadsbladet*, 4 January 1868, p. 1.

³⁶⁹ "Notiser från utlandet. Mormonerne," *Finland*, 30 November 1887, p. 3. Emphasis in original.

³⁷⁰ "Bref från landsorten," *Folkvännen*, 4 May 1886, p. 2.

³⁷¹ "Mång- och engifte bland växterna," *Wasa Tidning*, 3 February 1889, p. 2.

Union,"³⁷² but the tone was different for example in other reports in 1874, when the Poland Act had been accepted. Senator Poland himself was reported as seeing the women in Utah as oppressed and "labeled Mormonism as a mortal enemy to cultivation." The acceptance of the Act was seen as "a meaningful step towards the complete extinction of Mormonism."³⁷³ The Edmunds Act of 1882 was welcomed as a way to "remove this abominable offence that has for too long disgraced the United States."³⁷⁴ In June 1885 it was reported that Mormons in Salt Lake City wanted the president of the United States to organize a committee to investigate the polygamy situation in Utah. It was proposed that the Edmunds Act be suspended for the duration of the investigation. The newspaper commented: "The President of the United States has little possibility of being able to, much less of wanting to, suspend a law accepted by congress, especially in a matter such as this."³⁷⁵ In October it was reported that most Mormons were promising to comply with the law and become monogamous, after which they "normally quickly left Utah to escape revenge by their former coreligionists."³⁷⁶

Although reports on legal developments came, writers tended to portray it as very difficult for the Mormons to actually give up their practice. Promises to abstain were reported as having been broken. In Manitoba, Canada, the Mormons had promised the government they would not bring with them their practice from Utah. But, "the Mormons cannot dispense with plural marriage, because it is a part of their confession," and thus every nation welcoming such a Mormon diaspora "must prepare to receive with them the curse of plural marriage into its boundaries."³⁷⁷ *Hufvudstadsbladet* implied in January 1890 that such a promise in St. Mary, Canada, indeed seemed dubious. A "strangely high number of 'aunts,' 'sisters,' and 'cousins'" had arrived from Utah.³⁷⁸

³⁷² "Amerika," *Finlands Allmänna Tidning*, 18 October 1862, p. 3.

³⁷³ "Förenta staternas representanthus," *Hufvudstadsbladet*, 3 July 1874, p. 2 and "Mormonismen" and "Från utlandet," *Åbo Underrättelser*, 2 July 1874, p. 2.

³⁷⁴ "Ulkomaalta," *Aura*, 24 March 1882, p. 4.

³⁷⁵ "Strödda underrättelser. Mormonerna," *Finland*, 6 June 1885, p. 2.

³⁷⁶ "Mormonerna," *Finland*, 24 October 1885, p. 2.

³⁷⁷ "Mormoner från Utah," *Finland*, 21 January 1889, p. 2.

³⁷⁸ "Mormonerna utvandra," *Hufvudstadsbladet*, 18 January 1890, p. 3.

In any case, the announcement of the cessation of plural marriage came towards the end of 1890 and was reported on widely in Finnish newspapers. The notices and articles tended to welcome the announcement and could see it as surprising, although they also expressed some doubt as to whether the cessation would actually materialize.³⁷⁹ Such doubts can be seen as the natural result of the above-mentioned elements of the hegemonic discourse that painted the Mormon movement as one involving fraud and deception. Reports such as those from Canada given above also contributed to the doubt. In this vein it is interesting to note that writings on the Mormons after late 1890 continued to deal with polygamy and to regard the Mormons as polygamists throughout the decade of the 1890s.³⁸⁰ At least one Finnish-language book on Christian church history published in 1900 similarly made no mention of the change.³⁸¹

Mormon polygamy was also sometimes portrayed in a humorous vein. The jokes usually capitalized on the unusual family and marital situations that could arise from the fact that the Mormon man had not one wife but many. One particular joke introduces a rich businessman with four lovely daughters and an American businessman whom the former had met with multiple times and who had been warmly recommended. One beautiful day the visit was out of the ordinary:

– Sir, he then says directly, I love your daughters and ask for their hands.

– What! All four? the perplexed father exclaims. Do you happen to be crazy, my dear sir?

³⁷⁹ See for example "Mormonit," *Uusi Suometar*, 30 September 1890, p. 3 and "Mormonien alistuminen," *Uusi Suometar*, 15 October 1890, p. 2.

³⁸⁰ See for example "Mormooniseurakunta," *Matti Meikäläinen*, vol. 9, no. 23 (11 November 1892), p. 3, "Ditt och datt," *Helsingfors Aftonblad*, 29 July 1893, p. 4, and "En mormon såsom deputerad," *Aftonposten*, 12 December 1899, p. 4. Polygamy is also implied in "Ett nytt mormonland," *Helsingfors Aftonblad*, 30 April 1893, p. 3 and implied in passing in "Wierailla mailla," *Hämäläinen*, 29 December 1897, p. 3. Aleksandra Gripenberg's *Uudesta maailmasta* was published in 1891 (after the original Swedish-language version of 1889), but no mention is made of the new developments.

³⁸¹ Waaranen, *Kirkkohistoria kouluja varten*, p. 215.

– Crazy? No, not at all. I am a Mormon!³⁸²

Another joke reverses the situation, taking place “among the Mormons” where the suitor asked for a man’s youngest daughter’s hand. The man expresses wonder at the request, commenting that “you have now eaten dinner in our house for three weeks and always eaten for two.”³⁸³ Thus, the father offered at least two of his daughters to the suitor. A third joke sought the answer to the question “How is One to Work Against Mormonism?” The answer: “The best way would be to send some fashionable milliners and tailors for ladies to ‘Salt Lake City.’ The number and sums of the invoices would soon convince every Mormon that one wife is good enough.”³⁸⁴

The American humorist Artemus Ward’s (the penname of Charles Farrar Brown) brief story “A Mormon Romance” was published in Finland by *Fredrikshamns Tidning* in 1895, thirty years after the original publication. The main character Reginald Gloverson has twenty wives but then dies, with the wives quarrelling over who gets to put flowers on his grave before they are all remarried to another Mormon polygamist.³⁸⁵ As discussed by Givens, Ward is not really able to pinpoint any moral in his own story, finding it confusing instead. Givens’ observations on the matter are useful for all humorous writings on polygamy discussed here. The representation of the Mormon world as one where regular expectations related to courtship, marriage, and widowhood do not apply functions to “other” the Mormons, reinforcing a view of them as different and even strange.³⁸⁶ Far from being mere jokes, then, these humorous elements together with the rest of the polygamy theme functioned as elements of the hegemonic discourse that confirmed that the Mormons were not part of “us.” They did not belong in Finland.

Mormonism’s destruction

With fraud, deception, theocracy, and plural marriage all figuring in the public image of Mormonism, it is not surprising that some

³⁸² “Också en förklaring,” *Nya Pressen*, 9 June 1887, p. 3.

³⁸³ “Hos mormonerna,” *Helsingfors Dagblad*, 16 August 1885, p. 4.

³⁸⁴ “Huru skall man kunna motarbeta mormonismen?,” *Finland*, 27 July 1888, p. 4.

³⁸⁵ “Reginald Gloverson,” *Fredrikshamns Tidning*, 31 August 1895, pp. 2–4.

³⁸⁶ Terry L. Givens, *Viper on the Hearth: Mormons, Myths, and the Construction of Heresy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), pp. 3–4.

hoped to see the features destroyed in one way or another. However, it seems that these features were seen as so integral that it was Mormonism itself which would be destroyed, not merely its polygamous or theocratic element, for example. Embodied in the hegemonic discourse is thus an element that predicts the destruction of the movement. Specifically, a recurring theme is that some particular change in the status quo will trigger this destruction: for example the coming of the railroad to Utah in 1869, Brigham Young's death in 1877, the battle over plural marriage in the 1870s and 1880s, or the announced cessation of plural marriage in 1890. The Mormon system would not be able to withstand such changes, causing the movement to be "singing the last verse."³⁸⁷ All such predictions usually focused on events in the United States in general and Utah in particular, not on events for example in the mission fields of Europe.

As noted above, it seems that contemporaries regarded the doctrines and practices of the Mormons as so incompatible with the rest of society that the movement could only be upheld by the isolation and theocratic government of its Utah headquarters. Although there had been contact between the mainstream American population and the Utah Mormons before 1869, the completion of the transcontinental railroad in that year broke the final physical boundary of the Utah Kingdom. The periodical *Förr och Nu* saw this as a "victory of civilization," because the railroad would either compel the Mormons to give up the "unchristian" part of their doctrines or to leave Utah.³⁸⁸ Furthermore, the influx of thousands of settlers from the American East coupled with internal Mormon schisms would lead to a situation where the Mormon people as such would cease to exist.³⁸⁹ When non-Mormons eventually won the local elections in Salt Lake City, worldwide Mormon headquarters, a September 1889 report saw the church's days as being numbered.³⁹⁰

The battle over polygamy seems to have produced most of the speculation about a future demise of Mormonism. In fact, the battle was sometimes not described as being against polygamy but rather

³⁸⁷ For the quoted phrase, see for example "Mormonismen i Förenta staterna," *Helsingfors Dagblad*, 23 January 1886, p. 2.

³⁸⁸ "Några civilisationens segrar: 2. Stillahafs-jernbanan," *Förr och Nu*, vol. 1 (1870), no. 7, p. 155.

³⁸⁹ "Mormonsamfundet," *Helsingfors Dagblad*, 5 August 1867, pp. 2–3.

³⁹⁰ "Mormonismen på retur," *Hufvudstadsbladet*, 4 September 1889, p. 3.

against Mormonism itself. When the Poland Act had been ratified in 1874, it was seen as a “meaningful step towards the complete annihilation of Mormonism.”³⁹¹ Similarly, *Lappeenrannan Uutiset* wrote in March 1887 about the United States’ intention to “destroy the Mormon state,” expressing the collective gratitude of the world for “destroying Mormonism, which was a stain of shame for humanity.”³⁹² The Edmunds-Tucker Act of 1887 appears to have been considered the death blow. In *Tampereen Sanomat*, it was described as the “final and hopefully effective step to end Mormonism,” and nobody would mourn the destruction of the church through that law.³⁹³ When the announcement about ending plural marriage finally came in 1890, some papers predicted a gloomy future for the faith. The newspaper *Finland* framed the situation in the following way:

Perhaps even this [ending of plural marriage] is only pretense. But that doesn’t mean much. When a so-called religious movement is forced, either sincerely or not, to relinquish its defined dogmas, it has signed its own death warrant. The nineteenth century that has seen Mormonism being born will probably also see its death.”³⁹⁴

Already the next day, *Finland* reported that less and less was being heard of the church.³⁹⁵ *Lappeenrannan Uutiset* continued on the theme, opining that similar religions would be born also in the future, “but as they serve immoral powers, they will soon again die away.”³⁹⁶

Time after time, however, writers seem to have been surprised that Mormonism survived the changes and re-emerged as a topic of discussion. In November 1878, for example, *Dagens Nyheter* reported how the death of Brigham Young one year earlier “seemed to have ended their story, both as a political denomination and as a religious sect.” Now, however, a Mormon meeting had been held in Salt Lake City where numerous missionaries to various parts of the world (even Finland is mentioned) had been called. The survival of the movement was not attributed to the Mormons’ ability to find new cohesive forces after their leaders’ death, to the adherents’ proper religious faith, or to

³⁹¹ “Förenta Staterna,” *Morgonbladet*, 4 July 1874, p. 3.

³⁹² “Mormooniwaltion häwitys,” *Lappeenrannan Uutiset*, 22 March 1887, pp. 1–2.

³⁹³ “Ulkomaalta. ‘Wiimeisten päiwäin pyhät.’” *Tampereen Sanomat*, 20 June 1890, p. 4.

³⁹⁴ “En döende religion. Mormonismens undergång,” *Finland*, 15 October 1890, p. 2.

³⁹⁵ “Amerika,” *Finland*, 16 October 1890, p. 2.

³⁹⁶ “Kuolewa uskonto,” *Lappeenrannan Uutiset*, 25 November 1890, p. 4.

the movement's own ability to adapt. Rather, the new development showed that "the Mormons' fanaticism, their most significant strength, is still alive."³⁹⁷ Similarly, *Östra Finland* wrote in 1883 about how Mormonism, "which had already been thought to have met its destruction," was expanding in areas close to Utah.³⁹⁸ The hegemonic discourse, while predicting Mormonism's demise, seems to have underestimated the capacity of religious movements to adapt to new conditions and circumstances.

Mormonism is Approaching

Mormon proselytizing work in European countries was a matter of considerable interest in Finland. Newspapers reported on such developments throughout the time period covered by this study, including in their coverage both numerical data and more substantial stories concerning events that had taken place. Such reports of what was happening in other religious economies had direct relevance for Finnish individuals. After all, if such things were happening elsewhere, the same things could soon be happening in Finland. In other words, the Finns could relate to these stories, although proselytizing by the Mormons specifically might not yet have taken place in the country or in the Finns' own vicinity. As a consequence, the tone in which these reports were given and the substance in them contributed strongly to Mormon image formation and preconditioned Finnish persons to think of the Mormons in certain ways.

In the chronological overview it was already noted that Mormon missionary work in Great Britain was reported on in a Finnish newspaper by November 1840. Closer to Finland, missionary work had begun in Denmark in 1850 and spread from there to Sweden and Norway in 1850 and 1851, respectively. In August 1850, it was reported that the originally-Swedish Elder John Forsgren, "an adherent of the Mormonites' sect," had been questioned concerning his proselytizing efforts in Sweden.³⁹⁹ Another paper reported on an 1852 conference of Lutheran clergy in Sweden, quoting one of the ministers: "If religious freedom is demanded here, then doors have to be opened to Wishnu and Brahma, to Muhammed and all of China's idols, to Mormonites and what others there are. Christ and Belial cannot thrive

³⁹⁷ "Mormonerna," *Dagens Nyheter*, 26 November 1878, p. 2.

³⁹⁸ "Mormonismen," *Östra Finland*, 24 January 1883, p. 2.

³⁹⁹ "Sverige och Norrige," *Åbo Tidningar*, 20 August 1850, p. 1.

together."⁴⁰⁰ The Mormons in Norway were reported to be making "a lot of noise and commotion."⁴⁰¹ The existence of the church periodical *Skandinaviens Stjerne* that "these fanatics have founded in Denmark" in 1851 was also noted two years later.⁴⁰²

News of the missionary effort bearing fruit were not welcomed. The invasion metaphors found in some modern countercult writings were to some extent appearing already at this early time.⁴⁰³ One example is found in an 1853 Swedish report that was reprinted in *Borgå Tidning*, read largely by clergy:

Already there are about 70 converts who have let themselves be defrauded, and the sect is also spreading in the countryside and the villages around here. We really have to be ashamed on account of our countrymen, that they have let themselves be defrauded by such unskilled and ungifted persons as the above mentioned tailor shop workers, who can barely write legibly and who don't understand more about religious matters than a hired common man ... Therefore, Citizens and Christians, let us rise up as one man and confront with the power of law and the weapons of reason the enemy that has invaded our country's borders...⁴⁰⁴

Reports of missionary efforts and church activity continued to be given throughout the following decades, both from the Nordic countries and from elsewhere in Europe.⁴⁰⁵ The missionaries' difficulties with local legislation or authorities and comments on the number of Mormon emigrants to Utah or the number of Mormon church members in various countries were among the topics covered. In June 1883, for example, *Östra Finland* reported how Mormonism was "still" making numerous converts in Europe. Particularly it was noted that 671

⁴⁰⁰ "Prestsällskapet i Upsala den 11 och 12 Augusti," *Borgå Tidning*, 22 September 1852, p. 3.

⁴⁰¹ "Swerige," *Åbo Tidningar*, 10 September 1852, p. 2.

⁴⁰² "Amerika," *Finlands Allmänna Tidning*, 31 August 1853, p. 2.

⁴⁰³ Cowan, *Bearing False Witness?*, pp. 53–54.

⁴⁰⁴ "Om mormonismen," *Borgå Tidning*, 14 May 1853, pp. 2–3.

⁴⁰⁵ See for example "Mormonrörelsen i Sverige," *Helsingfors Dagblad*, 30 April 1864, p. 2, "Otrons följder," (from a conference in London) *Åbo Underrättelser*, 24 October 1870, p. 3, "Mormonspektakel i Malmö," *Wiborgs Tidning*, 24 December 1870, p. 3, "Ett besök i Berlins mormonförsamling," *Nya Pressen*, 20 April 1883, pp. 3–4, "En egendomlig handel," *Nya Pressen*, 8 July 1884, p. 4, and "Sju mormonkonferenser," *Aftonbladet*, 8 June 1893, p. 4.

converts had embarked on the journey to Utah, with 500 of them from Sweden and Norway and 171 from Great Britain.⁴⁰⁶ Later the same year, *Wasabladet* noted that the Mormons were sending a number of missionaries from Utah to Scandinavia and Great Britain, “to trick simple or lecherous poor souls to the promised land on the shore of the Great Salt Lake,” thus employing the deceiver-victim framework discussed above.⁴⁰⁷

Another writer explained that the Mormons in Stockholm continued to work “in the lowest layer of society. An activity like the field vole’s.” He scorned the Mormon movement’s empowerment of unschooled individuals through leadership tasks, invoking phrases such as “a sickly and repulsive fanaticism” in his treatment. The Mormons were sure of the eventual victory of their faith over its foes. “Were they really convinced of their cause, these men with expressions of slaves and with rough callous hands?,” the writer wondered.⁴⁰⁸ Indeed, some observers were rather perplexed at Mormonism’s success in their own neighborhoods. In contrast to the characterization in *Wasabladet* and to that of the Mormons in Stockholm, one writer described many of the 180–200 attendees at an 1870 conference in Malmö, Sweden, as “intelligent, decent, and respectable persons.” He could not find a way to explain how they “swallowed” the “madness” spoken by their leader.⁴⁰⁹

While some of the reports were neutral, many thus contributed to a view of the Mormons as a problematic movement. This, of course, was in line with and served as an additional strand of the hegemonic discourse that framed Mormonism as a negative phenomenon. It had been born as a fraud that was still perpetuated by its missionaries who continued to reap victims in European nations. Reports of problems elsewhere could easily be translated into a fear of similar things taking place if Mormon missionaries were to proselytize and the church were to gain a foothold in Finland.

Whistle blowing

Examinations of Mormon-related publicity in the nineteenth century tend to focus on the hegemonic discourse that presents the Mor-

⁴⁰⁶ “Mormonismen,” *Östra Finland*, 28 June 1883, p. 2.

⁴⁰⁷ “Objudna gäster,” *Wasabladet*, 31 October 1883, p. 2.

⁴⁰⁸ “Bref från Stockholm,” *Åbo Underrättelser*, 12 October 1882, p. 2.

⁴⁰⁹ “Mormonspektakel i Malmö,” *Wiborgs Tidning*, 24 December 1870, p. 3

mons in a negative light. Some of the elements employed in this discourse are exemplified above. However, an analysis of the textual corpus also reveals the presence of a counter-discourse that attributes more positive features to Mormonism. While it seems that publicity was overwhelmingly dominated by the negative hegemonic discourse, one must not forget those instances that do not fit the picture and which contribute to a more rounded picture. This and the following subsection discuss two of the elements employed in this counter-discourse. The first of these I have chosen to call the "whistle blower" motif. It may be surmised that writers employing this perspective were to an extent champions of religious freedom, openness, and liberalism.

Much of the whistle blowing centered around reactions to the Mormon practice of plural marriage. While most regarded this practice as reprehensible and against the morals of the day, some felt that the Mormons were being unjustly treated. One writer quoted in *Finlands Allmänna Tidning* already in 1862 thought that the United States was much less tolerant than European countries, saying that "whatever the faith of this sect may be, it possesses full rights for the free exercise of its religion; but people are hunting them like wild animals from state to state and still in recent times a war of extinction was begun against them."⁴¹⁰ Echoing this early writer, another commented on the speech of American President Garfield in 1881, countering that his aim to exterminate Mormonism while advocating religious freedom was paradoxical and in fact a crime against such freedom.⁴¹¹

Yet another report concerned an article in *Princeton Review*, where New Englanders were scolded for hypocrisy in their objections to Mormon polygamy. Whereas the Mormons had many wives at one time and took care of them, the New Englanders married many women in succession, divorcing at will and leaving the old ones to their own fates.⁴¹² Others were similarly taken to task for a seeming double standard in how they regarded plural marriage among the Mormons (negatively) on the one hand and among the fabled and

⁴¹⁰ "Skildringar ur det sociala lifvet i Förenta Staterna. 7. Religionsfrihet," *Finlands Allmänna Tidning*, 20 August 1862, p. 3.

⁴¹¹ "Presidenten Garfields budskap," *Åbo Underrättelser*, 23 March 1881, p. 3.

⁴¹² "Äktenskapet i Amerika," *Hufvudstadsbladet*, 6 May 1883, supplement, p. 1.

exotic Turks (positively) on the other.⁴¹³ In a lighter form of whistle blowing, some were against the actual practice of plural marriage, but not against teaching it as an idea. In the same vein but in contrast to the accusations of fraud and deception discussed above, some actually thought the Mormons were more honest than many other religionists because “they are open in their presentations about what they think and teach.”⁴¹⁴

In addition to plural marriage, the conditions in theocratic Utah were another prevalent topic that garnered heavy criticism, as seen above. Again, some writers served as whistle blowers, seeking to temper the hegemonic discourse, to see beyond the stereotypes, and to provide alternate views or interpretations. One example of this is the Swedish woman Fredrika Bremer, whose three-volume work on life in America was sold in Finland in the early 1850s. Based on the information she had gathered about the Mormons during her stay in the United States, Bremer commented that “I believe that the accusations, which have been made of them, are to a great extent false.” Among other things, a non-Mormon who had lived in Utah had assured Bremer that Mormon customs were pure and that women among them were beyond reproach, although the hierarchical nature of the leadership might eventually prove to be fatal and cause difficulties. Bremer apparently wrote this before hearing of the announcement of plural marriage in 1852, and consequently commented in a note that the announcement “heralds the disintegration of the sect.” She did not take back her defense, however.⁴¹⁵

Similar sentiments were provided by a British man whose travel account was reprinted in the newspaper *Finland* in 1889. “After having been crammed with the most unbelievable fables about the Mormons in the east, one waits for something extraordinary to appear as soon as one sets foot in their city,” he thought. Instead of strange things, the traveler found a city just like other American cities, and as far as he could see, “our [British] compatriots in Utah are as capable and honorable and ... as content with their new home country as are

⁴¹³ “‘Den sjuke mannen’,” *Östra Finland*, 30 September 1885, p. 1.

⁴¹⁴ “Swar till wännerna af kristlig enhet och samwetsfrihet,” *Wasabladet*, 3 March 1880, p. 1 and “Okklarheten i begreppen om religionsfrihet,” *Helsingfors Dagblad*, 17 May 1865, p. 1.

⁴¹⁵ Fredrika Bremer, *Hemmen i den nya världen*, vol. 3 (Stockholm: Norstedt, 1854), p. 511.

our other compatriots in the United States."⁴¹⁶ The Swede Curt Wallis also felt that there was a different side to Mormonism than the one voiced most frequently:

One may say about these revelations what one will – and the worst has been said about them, namely that *they* would have been *conscious* hoaxes – but none who has studied the Mormons' history can deny that the faith with which these revelations were embraced by the Mormons has brought about as great and wondrous effects as any other faith in our day.⁴¹⁷

Praise

In lieu with the whistle blowing is another theme that runs very much counter to the hegemonic discourse, already intimated by the words of Curt Wallis. While the Mormons could be billed as “the most ignorant and fanatical sect that has ever existed,”⁴¹⁸ some saw brighter sides. Writers that employed this viewpoint sought to see beyond the stereotypes, to provide balance, and to give the Mormons credit where it was felt that credit was due. It is also noteworthy that words of praise were often couched between assurances that the writer disagreed with some Mormon practices. Thus it seems that proponents of this counter-discourse did not want to risk being thought of as mere apologists who lacked skills to think critically. By accepting some facets of the hegemonic discourse and thus not accepting Mormonism wholesale, they did not lose their credibility.

While no strict measurements have been made, it is clear that this element of praise together with the whistle blowing is in a distinct minority when assessing the prevalence of the hegemonic discourse vs. the counter-discourse or, differently put, negative vs. positive writing. Nevertheless, this theme and counter-discourse exists, and thus it is important to discuss it. Doing so provides a better understanding of the things that some individuals saw as praiseworthy and positive attributes in the Mormons and their achievements.

The overarching thing for which the Mormons were praised had to do with their physical achievements and, paradoxically in view of the things discussed above, their willingness to follow their faith. *Finlands*

⁴¹⁶ “Bland mormonerne,” *Finland*, 29 January 1889, p. 4.

⁴¹⁷ Curt Wallis, “Ett besök hos mormonerna,” *Nordisk tidskrift*, vol. 1 (1888), no. 6, p. 406. Emphasis in original.

⁴¹⁸ “Utrikes. Amerika,” *Finlands Allmänna Tidning*, 18 September 1850, p. 2.

Allmänna Tidning, for example, indicated already in 1851 that “the Mormons, although fanatics, are a people who deserve attention for their irrepressible energy, their sense for industry and their perseverance.”⁴¹⁹ Later the same newspaper opined that apart from the ignorance and fanaticism of the Mormons, “there is really nothing to complain about in their conduct.” Instead, they were praised for their agricultural zeal and success and the practical wisdom that enabled temporal well-being among them in the desert-like territory of Utah that they had settled from scratch.⁴²⁰

Salt Lake City could be described as a beautiful city with “wide streets and beautiful stone houses,” and the Mormons “are to have cultivated their soil” well.⁴²¹ Even Finnish feminist Alexandra Gripenberg, who otherwise had few good things to say about the Mormons, thought the city was an interesting sight to behold. The Salt Lake Valley had been changed into a fruitful garden patch by the Mormons’ activity. “There you see running water in plenty, grazing cows stand in sowed grass up to their knees, and the branches of fruit trees hang from the weight of their harvest.”⁴²² Other writers thought that the Mormons were “eminent pioneers for modern culture” as shown by their colonies in Utah, and they had reached surprising results by doing work in practice and not merely valuing it in theory as many Europeans did. Thus, even if Mormonism itself were to disappear, it would leave a valuable memorial and “has done at least something for civilization.”⁴²³

Individual Mormon leaders or lay Mormons could also be acknowledged for the ways in which they lived their religion. George Q. Cannon, one of the church’s First Presidency in 1888, was praised for

⁴¹⁹ “Utrikes. Amerika,” *Finlands Allmänna Tidning*, 19 July 1851, p. 2.

⁴²⁰ “Bidrag till Mormonernes historie. II.,” *Finlands Allmänna Tidning*, 14 November 1851, p. 3. In a similar juxtaposition, “the Mormons’ Bible is, regardless of its grammatical errors and theological absurdity, a book of aesthetic value.” See “Bidrag till Mormonernes historie. I.,” *Finlands Allmänna Tidning*, 13 November 1851, p. 3.

⁴²¹ “Mormonismen,” *Helsingfors Dagblad*, 5 April 1864, p. 2.

⁴²² Aleksandra Gripenberg, *Uudesta maailmasta* (Helsinki: G.W. Edlund, 1891), p. 211.

⁴²³ “Mormonerne såsom civilisationens pionierer,” *Östra Finland*, 26 January 1880, p. 3, “Twedrägt i Mormon-staten,” *Hufvudstadsbladet*, 28 August 1867, p. 2 and “Om mormonismens förfall,” *Helsingfors Dagblad*, 25 August 1874, p. 2. Irrigation as done by the Mormons was also noted as an example to follow; see “Om öfvervattning,” *Östra Finland*, 9 August 1889, p. 2.

his superior oratory skills in a review of American churches and preachers. While his tendency to mix the divine with the mundane in his speeches was acknowledged ("in Europe they would hardly be termed sermons"), he was thought to stand "far above" a number of other sectarian preachers.⁴²⁴ Another example comes from the journalist Jonas Stadling, who, like Gripenberg, had very little good to say about the Mormons. In his opinion, most Mormons who believed sincerely in their religion lived a peaceful life, and Mormonism was to be commended for its teachings about industriousness and orderliness being religious duties. While repulsed by some Mormon leaders, Stadling was grateful to a number of lay Mormons whom he had met in a small Utah town. Being served as much fruit and food as he could eat, "I would be very ungrateful and unfair if I said anything but good things about the hospitable, peaceful, and happy Mormons in charming little Tooele."⁴²⁵ It was the system and its leaders, not its sincere followers, that were to be resisted.

Finally, in striking contrast to the bulk of writings on the polygamy theme, the majority opinion could in rare instances side with individual Mormons in their plight during the legal battle over the practice. One example comes from 1883, when third wife Belle Harris refused to answer a question in court about whether she was married to the man thought to be her husband, and as a result she was put in jail. Labeling Harris a "Mormon heroine," it was written that "the stalwart woman lets the shame of being regarded as unmarried rest upon herself rather than bring about her husband's conviction through her testimony."⁴²⁶ Compared to the accusations of immorality and depravity generally attached to the Mormon practice of plural marriage, such laudatory remarks stand out even more.

3.4. Discussion and Summary

The treatment of the Mormons in the printed word is important because of its implications for the construction of the Mormon image among the Finnish population. According to Gergen, three major contributors to reality-making are language, daily conversation, and insti-

⁴²⁴ "Amerikanska kyrkor och predikanter," *Finland*, 22 July 1888, p. 3.

⁴²⁵ Jonas Stadling, *Genom den stora vestern* (Stockholm: J. Stadling, 1883), p. 251 and 254.

⁴²⁶ "En mormonhjeltninna," *Åbo Underrättelser*, 24 August 1883, p. 3.

tutions.⁴²⁷ The printed word, especially newspapers, may be seen as an important representative of the first and third contributors, and it served as fodder for the second.

The examination of newspapers, books, and periodicals undertaken in this chapter shows that the Mormons were a topic of discussion in print from the year 1840 onward. The comprehensive examination of Finnish newspapers between 1840–1900 showed that the Mormons were discussed or at least mentioned in nearly 3,500 newspaper articles or advertisements during that time. A number of books were sold in Finland, some of them exclusively dedicated to Mormonism, while others dealt with Mormonism as part of a larger theme. None of the books that discussed only Mormonism were published in Finland, probably a consequence of the limited proselytizing activity that took place. All aspects of Mormonism were discussed in print, including topics such as its doctrine, history, proselytizing successes, and life in Utah.

An examination of the textual corpus shows that the publicity can be seen as employing two predominant discourses. One of these was hegemonic by nature, becoming the prevalent framework through which the movement was discussed. Central to this discourse was the assumption that Mormonism was not pure religion but rather it was deception and immorality (especially as embodied by plural marriage) masquerading as religion. This view legitimized the hegemonic discourse and gave it the power to survive. After all, would it not be dishonest and immoral *not* to fight such a movement? This discourse represented the Mormons as an “other” that was to be shunned, as something that did not belong to Finland. The metaphors used when discussing Mormonism not only guided the reality-making process, but also tied it to certain emotions. Speaking of hydras, wolves in sheep’s clothing, and slithery snakes thus has clear implications.

In this manner, discussion of the Mormons had the hallmarks of a good narrative: it contained a valued end point, events relevant to that end point, ordered the events properly, and linked them together causally. Gergen argues that “the ‘truth and nothing but the truth’ is not what is wanted, but a proper story.”⁴²⁸ As shown above, certainly the Mormons could be portrayed so as to fulfil these requirements,

⁴²⁷ Kenneth J. Gergen, *An Invitation to Social Construction*, 2nd ed. (London: Sage Publications, 2009), p. 32.

⁴²⁸ Gergen, *An Invitation to Social Construction*, pp. 37–39.

and thus they were given an identity that othered them. The act of identifying, according to Burr, is not merely about categorizing objective reality. Rather, "the identity you confer has more to do with your purposes than the 'nature' of the thing itself."⁴²⁹ In such activities, balanced accounts may be the casualty. The image built by and themes contained in this hegemonic discourse are largely consistent with the nineteenth-century Mormon image constructed in the United States.⁴³⁰

All did not appreciate this manner of vilifying Mormonism, however, and this gave rise to a type of counter-discourse. This highlights the role of language as a site of conflict and disagreement.⁴³¹ Those employing this discourse acted as a type of whistle blower, calling into question some of the prevalent attitudes towards the Mormons. While they often disagreed with aspects of Mormonism, these writers thought the Mormons had done good work in settling Utah and building their own society. This discourse took issue with the sweeping labeling of Mormons as "the other," reminding individuals that the Mormons had done much that was good and admirable despite of their novel beliefs. While no quantitative analysis was undertaken on this point, elements of this counter-discourse seem to have been voiced quite seldom when compared to elements of the hegemonic discourse.

Mormonism was in some ways strongly at odds with generally accepted cultural, religious, and moral views, and this is reflected by the printed word. When placing the examined publicity in context one does well to keep in mind that the reports on the Mormons contain numerous inaccuracies and cannot be relied upon to give the entire picture, especially in the case of reports conveyed from the United States. For the purposes of this study this does not matter, however. What was printed and read in Finland was believed to be the truth, and thus people's attitudes and opinions surrounding the Mormons, one particular "other," were formed and shaped accordingly. Thus, when Mormon missionaries eventually came to Finland to proselytize in 1875, they did not enter a society that knew nothing of them. To the contrary, they entered a society in which they and their motives tended to be seen as highly controversial. This and the continued pub-

⁴²⁹ Vivien Burr, *An Introduction to Social Constructionism* (London and New York: Routledge, 1995), p. 30.

⁴³⁰ Givens, *Viper on the Hearth*.

⁴³¹ Burr, *An Introduction to Social Constructionism*, p. 41.

licity affected their prospects for success and their encounters with a number of societal actors.

4. Proselytizing and its Results

“Gave my report was released from Stockholm Norrland branch and sent to Finland to open the door of the Gospel there and received as assistant my brother in the flesh J.I. Sundström.” – Carl A. Sundström, Mormon missionary (Diary, 2 October 1875).

“It is a very important mission and should have one of our best Elders there, but it should be a very careful one so to not raise the authorities against him.” – Nils C. Flygare, Mormon mission president (Letter to John Larson, 14 July 1879).

“We have many Swedish speaking people in Finland, among whom some missionary work could be done if we had elders to send there. We used to have a few Saints there who have apparently been forgotten.” – Peter Matson, Mormon mission president (*Improvement Era*, October 1907).

The Mormon faith has been characterized by a powerful missionary thrust since its beginnings. As with most Christian faiths, the believers had a duty to take the message of salvation to those that still did not know about it. In the case of the Mormons, this entailed all those not of the Mormon faith, and thus the field of work was enormous. The movement began to expand, first in North America in the 1830s, then entering Great Britain in 1837. As a natural development, missionaries traveled to the Nordic countries in 1850 and eventually to Finland beginning in 1875. By that time the printed word had been forming an image of the movement for many years.

The effort of expansion was not without its problems. The world's religious economies differed vastly and were regulated to differing degrees. Thus the missionaries, and by extension the church, encountered new challenges every time they began to proselytize in a new country. The Russian Grand Duchy of Finland was in this sense no different. As discussed in Chapter 2, Lutheranism still wielded considerable power in society, and civil authorities enforced laws that regulated religious activity. The missionaries were faced with a difficult undertaking and were at personal risk when going about their

work. This chapter details and analyzes the proselytizing effort and its results.

Finland's religious economy and its significance for Mormonism's introduction has been assessed in Chapter 2, whereas Chapter 3 detailed the Mormon image as it was constructed in the printed word. It is impossible to make detailed micro level pronouncements concerning the kind of place the Mormons held in individuals' constructed realities, but the implications of the two preceding chapters are clear. By entering Finland, Mormonism was at risk to be seen as a highly deviant religious movement, indeed to some extent not as a religion at all but rather as swindlery. Berger and Luckmann term such an encounter a "confrontation of alternative symbolic universes," where two or more conflicting understandings of reality begin to compete with each other.⁴³² In essence, Mormonism challenged the supremacy of Lutheranism.

Why and how do individuals convert to a new religious worldview? A number of explanatory sequential models have been proposed and tested empirically, but none so far can lay claim to universal cross-cultural applicability. Some models emphasize the individual's active role as a religious seeker, whereas others lay weight on the processes of socialization in becoming a committed member of the new group.⁴³³ In this study I employ a model that emphasizes the role of social networks.

Put simply, a person may come in contact with a new religious movement through other individuals in his or her social network, who either themselves are members or have been in contact with members of the movement. The prospective convert weighs the pros and cons of becoming affiliated with the new movement. To what extent can he or she conserve the cultural and religious capital that has been accumulated throughout life, for example?⁴³⁴ Some will choose to join the movement, or in the formulation of Stark and Finke,

⁴³² Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge* (Harmondsworth: Pelican Books, 1987 [1966]), pp. 126–127.

⁴³³ The most common scholarly approaches to conversion are overviewed and critiqued for example in Henri Gooren, "Reassessing Conventional Approaches to Conversion: Toward a New Synthesis," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, vol. 46, no. 3 (September 2007), pp. 337–353.

⁴³⁴ Rodney Stark and Roger Finke, *Acts of Faith: Explaining the Human Side of Religion* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), pp. 118–124.

align their religious behavior with that of their friends and family.⁴³⁵ Conversion is not always the result of strictly such a process, but the contours indicated by the model are useful and, as will be seen, resonate with the findings of my research.

A necessary prefatory note concerns source criticism. This chapter mainly builds on sources authored by Mormon missionaries and statements made by their leaders, and thus one must be especially sensitive to internal bias. For example, if a missionary reports that many people were very interested in his message, and that he managed to confuse those who opposed him, this may well have been so. On the other hand, such accounts may be exaggerated due to the official optimism inherent in the missionary endeavour of an expansive and hierarchical organization. This is especially so when the hegemonic discourse of the organization entailed a strong belief in the success of God's work against all foes, and when the missionaries knew that their writings might be published for other church members to read.⁴³⁶ And even if difficulties were encountered and reported, their significance may have been downplayed. Due to the scarcity of sources it is difficult to find multiple independent accounts concerning most events, and thus one must approach the subjective assessments in these sources carefully.

4.1. Preparatory Developments

Finland was part of the Russian empire from 1809 to 1917. The earliest Mormon developments that can be tied to Finland thus relate to Russia. After the first overseas mission to Great Britain had commenced in 1837, church president Joseph Smith began to contemplate the sending of missionaries also to other overseas localities. In 1843, he called two missionaries to go to Russia, but apparently nothing came of this.⁴³⁷ Meanwhile, steps towards Finland were taken as missionaries were called to the Scandinavian nations in 1849, with the Scandinavian mission established in the summer of 1850 in Denmark and the first missionary to Sweden entering that country that same

⁴³⁵ Stark and Finke, *Acts of Faith*, p. 117.

⁴³⁶ "Nordstjernan," *Nordstjernan*, vol. 3, no. 1 (1 January 1879), pp. 11–12.

⁴³⁷ Reed M. Holmes, *Dreamers of Zion, Joseph Smith and George J. Adams: Conviction, Leadership, and Israel's Renewal* (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2003), pp. 78–80.

summer. The proselytizing work in Denmark, Norway, and Sweden (and to a degree even in Iceland in these early years) was numerically successful, with nearly 10,000 converts having been made at the dawn of 1860.⁴³⁸

It was during that year that the first concrete considerations specifically related to Finland appear to have emerged in the Scandinavian mission. The Swedish native Gustaf Wallgren, 26, was baptized by Norrköping conference president Ola Stohl on October 30, 1860.⁴³⁹ Wallgren was about to enter Russian employ in Finland, and it was thus decided to ordain him to the higher priesthood office of elder. This authorized him to preach the Mormon message and to baptize interested persons if he met such. He left Sweden for Finland on November 8 and became employed at the southern agricultural school of Mustiala, performing tasks such as ploughing and setting up tiled stoves.⁴⁴⁰

To what extent Wallgren sought to spread his new faith in Finland is unclear. However, he appears to have made a good impression on the farm inspector Jakob Stenvik at Mustiala, who wrote Stohl in early 1861 expressing his excitement concerning what Wallgren had told him about Mormonism. Wallgren himself continued corresponding with Stohl for at least two years, receiving copies of the church periodical *Skandinaviens Stjerne* and at least once also sending a tithing check in the mail. In December 1861, the Scandinavian mission president John Van Cott wrote of Wallgren to his ecclesiastical superior George Q. Cannon, calling Wallgren a “business agent” and explaining that he “has not failed to make mention of the Gospel” during his time in Finland. However, the situation does not seem to have been too encouraging in Van Cott’s opinion. He explained to Cannon that “the people there are so imbued with false traditions which they have inherited from their fathers, that they are not inclined to receive the truth.”⁴⁴¹ By early 1862 Wallgren had moved to Koivikko agricultural

⁴³⁸ Andrew Jenson, *History of the Scandinavian Mission* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1927), p. 533.

⁴³⁹ RM, Norrköping branch, 1856–1896, p. 4, FHL.

⁴⁴⁰ Andrew Jenson, “Manuscript History of the Finland Mission,” p. 2, CHLA. Cash Book 1861, p. 2 and 32, Archive of Mustiala Agricultural School, KA.

⁴⁴¹ John Van Cott to George Q. Cannon, 28 December 1861, reprinted in “Correspondence,” *The Latter-day Saints’ Millennial Star*, vol. 24, no. 3 (18 January 1862), p. 45.

school in Muhos, northern Finland, by order of the Imperial Senate.⁴⁴² There is currently no trace of him or his stance towards Mormonism after the beginning of 1863, nor is there knowledge of him baptizing any of the persons he met.

Brigham Young Jr., European mission president and son of the Mormon prophet, visited Finland in July 1866 together with his brother John and the Scandinavian mission president Carl Widerborg. While they were en route to Russia proper their steamship *Aura* stopped at the Finnish ports of Turku, Helsinki, and Viipuri. The trio disembarked at least at Turku and Viipuri. Writing of Turku, Young commented that “there is nothing worthy of note in this city,” and he would only remember it for hurting himself on a block of granite while walking on a main street. Still, Young recognized the special regard in which Russia held its north-western Grand Duchy. “Although Russia holds Finland, yet the latter power was permitted to retain the constitution given it by Sweden which makes the Finlanders almost independent.” However, neither Young nor Widerborg seem to have thought that it would pay off to send missionaries into the country at the time.⁴⁴³

In addition to these events, it is important to note that persons of Finnish birth converted to Mormonism outside Finland during these early years. For example, Johan Savilaakso was baptized at sea while journeying to America in 1853, “a very promising young man (a Finlander)” was baptized in Boston in the summer of 1857, and Joseph Lindvall, later to work as a missionary in Finland, was baptized in either 1858 or 1860, presumably in the United States.⁴⁴⁴ More significantly, Finnish natives were also joining the Mormon faith in Sweden, for example in the capital city Stockholm and further north in Sundsvall, as discussed below and in Appendix C.⁴⁴⁵

⁴⁴² Ola N. Stohl diary, 18 February 1862, CHLA. Confirming Stohl’s “Uleåborgs Lantbruks Skola [sic]” as Koivikko in Muhos is Wallgren’s name and signature as a witness in Account Documents, 1858–1864, certificate 49/16 dated 13 March 1862, Archive of Koivikko Agricultural School, KA.

⁴⁴³ Brigham Young Jr. to Brigham Young, 18 July 1866, p. 8, Brigham Young Incoming Correspondence, CHLA. See also John W. Young to Brigham Young, 19 July 1866, in the same collection.

⁴⁴⁴ For further details on these and other Finnish natives baptized outside the country, see Appendix C.

⁴⁴⁵ The visit of one of these converts to her home in Mustasaari is mentioned in “Wasa-bref,” *Hufvudstadsbladet*, 26 July 1872, p. 3.

Erastus Snow, the Mormon apostle who had opened the Scandinavian mission in 1850, reported that some persons from Finland were in attendance at a conference that he visited in Stockholm in the spring of 1873. According to him, they “were interested in having the fullness of the Gospel brought to their relatives and friends in that country.”⁴⁴⁶ No immediate developments resulted from this encounter. As will be seen later, however, the Finnish Mormons in Sundsvall were instrumental in helping the first missionaries to make contacts in Finland related to lodging, and more importantly, related to preaching their message. Thus the missionaries did not have to enter a completely unknown territory, but were rather introduced to the existing social network of these converts.

4.2. Proselytizing after 1875

Despite the enthusiasm of the persons from Finland in 1873, it took two more years until the Mormon leadership in Scandinavia decided that the time was right to begin a serious missionary effort in Finland. This section details the work of the missionaries chronologically. Organizationally, Finland belonged to the area covered and administered by the Stockholm conference. The missionaries usually worked under the supervision of the conference president.

⁴⁴⁶ Jenson, “Manuscript History of the Finland Mission,” p. 2, CHLA. See also Snow’s letters to George A. Smith, 22 May 1873, reprinted in “Correspondence,” *The Latter-day Saints’ Millennial Star*, vol. 35, no. 22 (3 June 1873), pp. 347–348, and to Albert Carrington, 5 June 187[3], reprinted in “Correspondence,” *The Latter-day Saints’ Millennial Star*, vol. 35, no. 24 (17 June 1873), pp. 377–378. Zachary R. Jones, “Conversion amid Conflict: Mormon Proselytizing in Russian Finland, 1861–1914,” *Journal of Mormon History*, vol. 35, no. 3 (Summer 2009), p. 21, says that “during the next few years [after 1866], a number of Swedish Mormons moved to Finland for employment, prompting the Scandinavian Mission to begin missionary work,” citing two 1873 letters (which do not speak of such moves) by Erastus Snow as evidence. Jones uses this as a novel explanatory framework for why missionary work was commenced. However, I am not aware of other Swedes than the above-mentioned Wallgren (who moved in 1860) nor does Jones provide specific evidence. In fact, he contradicts the above-cited claim by saying on p. 8 that “[a]vailable sources ... show that no Mormons lived in Russia prior to 1874,” with Finland explicitly seen as a part of Russia.

1875–1880

The first serious step towards introducing Mormonism to Finland by way of proselytizing was taken on October 2, 1875, at the semi-annual Mormon conference in Stockholm. At this conference, Scandinavian mission president Nils C. Flygare called the Swedish brothers Carl (age 29) and Johan Sundström (age 23) to “open the door of the Gospel there [in Finland].”⁴⁴⁷ It is noteworthy that these missionaries lived in Sweden at the time of their call, instead of being called to work in Finland when living in Utah. They were thus “local missionaries,” a term denoting individuals who had converted to Mormonism and then been called by the local leadership to proselytize (usually in their native land) before they undertook emigration to Utah. Such persons were often regarded as less experienced than “missionaries from Zion,” denoting individuals who had emigrated to church headquarters in Utah and who had then been called by the church’s highest leadership to proselytize in a designated mission (again, usually in their native land).

The older of the Sundström brothers had embraced Mormonism in the autumn of 1871 in Stockholm. His diary describes a turbulent childhood involving his mother’s death and separation from his father due to illness. Excommunicated at his own request and later rebaptized into the church on August 9, 1872, Carl Sundström had then been ordained an elder and become a missionary on October 13, 1873. His first area of work was Örebro in Sweden, from where he was called to preside over the Norrland branch on April 25, 1874. This branch included most of northern Sweden, with some of the main towns of activity being Sundsvall and Hudiksvall.

Carl Sundström’s conversion to Mormonism had not happened without trouble, as he maintained that his family and friends had deserted him due to his new religious views. Communication with his father and siblings continued at least in some form, however, and on June 5, 1875, he baptized his younger brother Johan, who seems to have come to Sundsvall to be with Carl a few months prior. When the Sundström brothers were called to proselytize in Finland, then, it seems natural that Carl was called to lead the operation, with Johan assisting. After the conference in Stockholm, the brothers traveled

⁴⁴⁷ Carl A. Sundström diary, 2 October 1875, CHLA. See also Stockholm Conference Historical Record, 1867–1883, p. 200, CHLA.

back to Sundsvall, from where they crossed the sea to Nikolainkaupunki, modern-day Vaasa. According to Carl's diary, they arrived on October 26, 1875.

Why did the missionaries not travel to the large southern-Finland cities of Turku or Helsinki, for example, to begin their work there? From a purely numerical viewpoint, those large cities would seem to have provided more ample opportunities for preaching Mormonism than the much smaller provincial town of Vaasa and its environs. The key to understanding the Sundströms' choice may lie in the use of social networks to spread the faith. Stark has shown how both early Mormon history and the modern proselytizing methods of the Latter-day Saints emphasize the "building of the kingdom" through family and friends. Not only Mormonism, but rather Christianity at large, Islam, and Judaism have all begun spreading through the immediate networks of their founders.⁴⁴⁸

In the case of Mormonism's introduction to Finland, the key network was formed by Finns who had converted to Mormonism in Sundsvall after emigrating to Sweden and by some of their family and relatives who were still living in Vaasa and its vicinity: Anders and Maria Henriksson from Vaasa had moved to Sundsvall in 1868 and were baptized as Mormons on December 27, 1869. Maria's brother-in-law Johan Berg emigrated to Sundsvall in October 1869, with his wife, Maria's sister Sophia following in June 1871. Sophia was baptized a Mormon in January 1875, with Johan following in September.⁴⁴⁹ As the president of the Norrland branch, Carl Sundström most likely knew them all, and he confirmed Johan Berg a member of the church one month before leaving for Finland.⁴⁵⁰

Carl Sundström indicates that he and his brother were greeted by Johan and Sophia Berg (who were visiting their parents) when they arrived in Vaasa on October 26, 1875. The utilization of the Bergs' social network was immediate. The Sundströms received lodging in Klemetsö, Vaasa, at the home of Carl and Lovisa Åhl, parents of Maria Henriksson and Sophia Berg. Three days later the missionaries ac-

⁴⁴⁸ Rodney Stark, *The Rise of Mormonism* [Reid L. Neilson, ed.] (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), pp. 57–79.

⁴⁴⁹ Mary H. Rasmussen and Patsy Hendrickson, "A Life Sketch of Andrew Hendrickson and Maria Carl Fredrickson Gadda," (2007) unpublished manuscript in my possession.

⁴⁵⁰ RM, Sundsvall branch, 1857–1890, p. 26, FHL.

accompanied Johan Berg to the village of Toby in Mustasaari, outside Vaasa, to visit his widowed mother Anna and his siblings. The following day the first preaching meeting was held at Anna Berg's home, with another meeting in Toby the day after. Further contacts along social network lines came for example through Johan Sten, Anna Berg's brother-in-law, at whose home the missionaries held several meetings throughout the following months.⁴⁵¹

The Sundström brothers also used other means to find persons interested in their message. They sometimes spoke to strangers in their lodgings at Klemetsö or in the homes of the strangers. Carl Sundström also writes of making an extended trip to the Ostrobothnian towns of Vörå, Pietarsaari, Kronoby,⁴⁵² Kokkola, and Pedersöre during June 1876 (spanning over 100 kilometers in the north-south direction), naming people he spoke with or visited. The general reception seems to have been favorable, even among the strangers, although it may be that Sundström had some social network connection with some of the persons he names as having visited. At the end of July, Sundström also visited Malax, south of Vaasa. The Sundström brothers returned to Sweden in the end of summer 1876, reporting on their proselytizing work at the semi-annual conference in Stockholm in October.⁴⁵³

The two missionaries and their leaders seem to have been encouraged by the early experiences in Finland. The mission president Nils Flygare, for example, writing from Copenhagen to the European mission president Albert Carrington in Liverpool, England, considered the missionaries' reports after a few weeks' work very encouraging. In his opinion, "the power of God has been greatly manifested in their behalf," and he considered the Finns an honest people among whom it was hoped the missionaries would find success.⁴⁵⁴ On March 29,

⁴⁵¹ On meetings in Johan Sten's home, see Carl A. Sundström's diary entries in 1876 on 3 January, 16 January, 26 March, 23 April, 25 May, 11 June, and 1 July.

⁴⁵² Here Sundström specifically mentions the farm "Näset," the home area of the expatriate Finnish Mormon Anders Henriksson, thus showing that he may have tried to utilize social networks also in that case.

⁴⁵³ Stockholm Conference Historical Record, 1867–1883, p. 223, CHLA. Ola N. Liljenquist to Brigham Young, 17 November 1876, Brigham Young Incoming Correspondence, CHLA.

⁴⁵⁴ Nils C. Flygare to Albert Carrington, 20 November 1875, reprinted in "Correspondence," *The Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star*, vol. 37, no. 50 (13 December 1875), p. 798. Carrington later wrote to Brigham Young, informing him that the missionaries in Finland were not preaching publicly but instead "fireside preaching,

1876, Stockholm conference president John Andersson wrote that the missionaries had people's strict attention and were hoping that many would accept the novel message of Mormonism.⁴⁵⁵

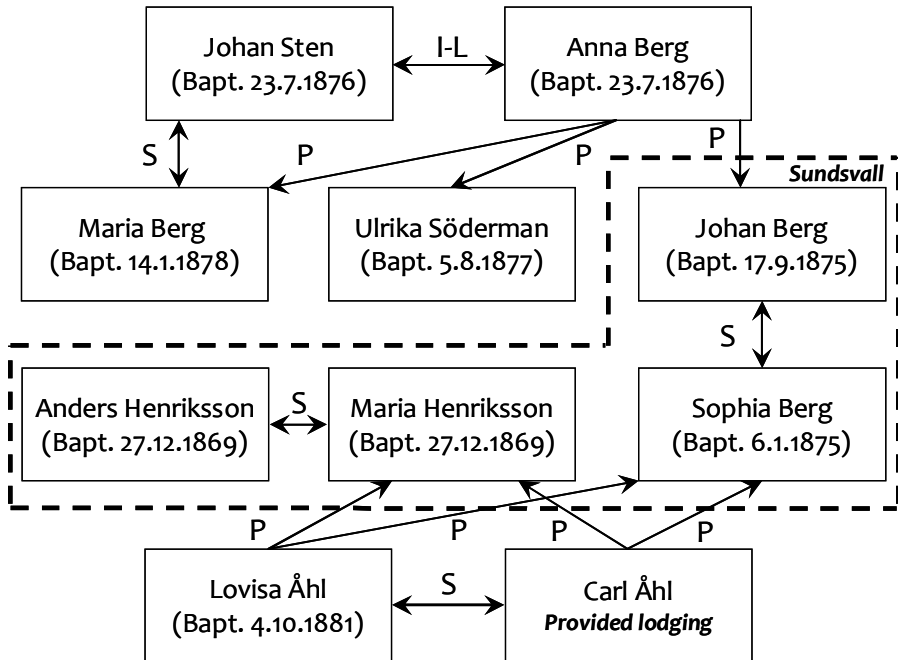
There has been some confusion in later writings concerning the result of the Sundström brothers' proselytizing, but the most reliable evidence indicates that four persons converted to Mormonism during their stay in Finland.⁴⁵⁶ The first to be baptized were Johanna Charlotta Berg (age 23) in Vaasa on May 6, 1876, and Carolina Smedman (age 28) in Mustasaari on May 28. These baptisms were followed by those of Johan Sten (age 54) and Anna Berg (age 58) on July 23 in Mustasaari.⁴⁵⁷ The utilization of pre-existing social networks thus resulted in conversions, namely at least those of Sten and Anna Berg. It is possible that Johanna Berg and Carolina Smedman were also either related or in other ways socially connected to Sten and Anna Berg (her maiden name was Smedman). The social network that has been described here (with three later baptisms also added) is illustrated in Figure 4.1.

and some are believing." At the same time, he lamented the lack of religious freedom, saying that "the people are in great bondage." See Albert Carrington to Brigham Young, 23 March 1876, Brigham Young Incoming Correspondence, CHLA, reprinted in "Correspondence," *Deseret News*, 19 April 1876, p. 178.

⁴⁵⁵ John Andersson to *Deseret News*, 29 March 1876, reprinted in "Correspondence," *The Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star*, vol. 38, no. 21 (22 May 1876), p. 331.

⁴⁵⁶ For the best contemporary evidence, see Carl A. Sundström diary, CHLA, and Stockholm Conference Historical Record, 1867–1883, p. 223, CHLA. The confusion for writers who have opted for five (or even six; see Rinne, *Kristuksen kirkko Suomessa*, p. 2) baptisms instead of four stems from the inclusion of "Johanna Charlotta Sundström" (marked as born on 23 September 1852 in Vaasa) in the membership record. This is the same person as Johanna Charlotta Berg; see the references provided in Appendix B. Further confusion is added by Scandinavian mission president Nils Flygare claiming that missionaries went to Pietarsaari in 1875, resulting in a branch of 12 church members there; see Flygare to Joseph F. Smith, 21 March 1878, paraphrased in "Spread of the Gospel," *Deseret News*, 24 April 1878, p. 181.

⁴⁵⁷ Detailed data on these and all other individuals known to have been baptized in Finland is provided in Appendix B.



Legend: P = Parent → Child, S = Spouse, I-L = In-Laws.

Figure 4.1. The social network in Mustasaari and Vaasa that the first missionaries accessed.

Some time after the Sundström brothers left for Sweden, their converts wrote the new Scandinavian mission president Ola Liljenquist, requesting that he send missionaries. This time the leadership thought that a missionary from Utah, “set apart under the hands of the apostles,” should be sent. Part of the reason seems to be that the Sundström brothers had become discouraged in their work, perhaps due to the opposition they faced (see Chapter 5).

Accordingly, Axel Tullgren, a 49-year-old native of Sweden, was chosen to lead the work, accompanied by Carl Sundström.⁴⁵⁸ Tullgren was an early convert to Mormonism, having been baptized in Copenhagen on October 12, 1850, only months after the first Mormon missionaries came to Scandinavia. A married man, he had emigrated to

⁴⁵⁸ Ola N. Liljenquist to Albert Carrington, 17 October 1876, reprinted in “Foreign Correspondence,” *The Latter-day Saints’ Millennial Star*, vol. 38, no. 46 (13 November 1876), p. 731. Ola N. Liljenquist to Brigham Young, 17 November 1876, Brigham Young Incoming Correspondence, CHLA.

Utah with his wife in 1855. He was a carpenter by trade and arrived on his mission to Scandinavia in June 1876. Finland was his first more permanent assignment after having worked as a traveling elder.⁴⁵⁹ Due to the difficult nature of the Finnish mission field, the Mormon leaders probably wanted to leverage Tullgren's experience of life and church. The instruction to use a missionary from Utah seems to have come from the European mission's headquarters in England, where Albert Carrington had instructed Ola Liljenquist to send "a Utah and a native Elder" to Finland.⁴⁶⁰ Both Tullgren and Sundström were of course native Swedes, but Carrington's instruction and semantic distinction show that a "local missionary" and a "missionary from Zion" were viewed differently.

Mormon leaders in Europe at this time seemed hopeful that proselytizing in Finland would be successful. Albert Carrington wrote that "in Finland the opening ... is widening" and hoped that Tullgren and Sundström would be successful "in establishing the work of God in that land." An additional reason for optimism by the Mormon leaders was proposed legislation for religious freedom in Russia (most likely the Dissenter Act proposal discussed at the Diet of 1877–1878, as noted in Section 2.3). Ola Liljenquist believed that the law would be passed, and thus "quite a field will be open in these old Swedish provinces in the Baltic." He also referred to the Åland Islands between Sweden and Finland, indicating that "our Elders may have a chance to visit there by and by."⁴⁶¹

Axel Tullgren received a passport to Finland in Stockholm, which he "had to pay well for."⁴⁶² Tullgren and Sundström then apparently

⁴⁵⁹ Susan Easton Black, Shauna C. Anderson, and Ruth Ellen Maness, *Legacy of Sacrifice: Missionaries to Scandinavia, 1872–1894* (Provo: Religious Studies Center at Brigham Young University, 2007), p. 427. Stockholm Conference Historical Record, 1867–1883, p. 224, CHLA.

⁴⁶⁰ Albert Carrington to Brigham Young, 2 November 1876, Brigham Young Incoming Correspondence, CHLA.

⁴⁶¹ Albert Carrington to Brigham Young, 2 November 1876. Ola N. Liljenquist to Albert Carrington, 2 November 1876, reprinted in "Foreign Correspondence," *The Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star*, vol. 38, no. 50 (11 December 1876), p. 797. Ola N. Liljenquist to Brigham Young, 17 November 1876. Ola N. Liljenquist to Albert Carrington, 17 October 1876, reprinted in "Foreign Correspondence," *The Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star*, vol. 38, no. 46 (13 November 1876), p. 731; the editor of the *The Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star*, possibly as instructed by Carrington, encouraged Liljenquist to "watch carefully for the first opportunity."

⁴⁶² Ola N. Liljenquist to Brigham Young, 17 November 1876.

chose Vaasa as the site for continuing the work, with Tullgren making the voyage to Finland on the steamer *Gustaf Wasa* on November 2, 1876.⁴⁶³ Traveling further north to Pietarsaari, Tullgren ordained Johan Backlund (a Finn baptized in Sweden) an elder in the Mormon priesthood in early December 1876. During this same trip, Tullgren reports having met with Baptists and other religious believers. Thus it seems that in addition to utilizing social networks and discussing matters with strangers, the early proselytizing in Finland also targeted persons who had non-conformist religious views.⁴⁶⁴

The organizationally most significant event was the founding of the Nikolainkaupunki (Vaasa) branch on November 13, 1876. At least Tullgren and Johanna Berg, one of the four converts, were present. Carl Sundström was called to be the president of the branch. Soon after, an editorial in the first issue of the Swedish-language church periodical *Nordstjernen* expressed joy due to successes in Scandinavia, “and it especially delights us to hear that the Lord’s servants can have permission to bear testimony of his works even in Finland.”⁴⁶⁵ Conference president Erik Branting wrote in a letter that he had received good news from the missionaries: “The people are honest, and many receive the brethren with kindness.”⁴⁶⁶

The organizing of a branch signaled the hope for a more solid presence of Mormonism in Finland. While there were only a handful of Mormons in the country, creating a branch carried symbolic importance beyond the small numbers. Being the first step in the formal

⁴⁶³ Axel Tullgren diary, 2 November 1876 (p. 30), CHLA.

⁴⁶⁴ Axel Tullgren to Ola N. Liljenquist, 19 December 1876, reprinted in “Korrespondance,” *Skandinaviens Stjerne*, vol. 26, no. 8 (15 January 1877), pp. 122–123.

⁴⁶⁵ “Den Skandinaviska Missionen,” *Nordstjernen*, vol. 1, no. 1 (3 January 1877), p. 10. The date of organization of the branch in Vaasa is not completely clear. The minutes of the meeting suggest December 13, 1876 (see meeting minutes of that date in Finland Branch Record 1876–1897, p. 3, CHLA), whereas Axel Tullgren’s diary suggests November 13, 1876 (see Axel Tullgren diary, 13 November 1876 [p. 31], CHLA). Because the minutes may have been written retrospectively but Tullgren’s diary appears to have been written in a more stepwise fashion as things happened, the date in Tullgren’s diary seems more contemporary and trustworthy. Furthermore, Tullgren indicates (diary, 13 December 1876 [pp. 36–37]) that he was somewhere between Pietarsaari and Uusikaarlepyy on 13 December 1876, not in Vaasa.

⁴⁶⁶ Erik Branting to P.A. Anderson, 21 December 1876, excerpt reprinted in “Abstract of Correspondence,” *The Latter-day Saints’ Millennial Star*, vol. 39, no. 2 (8 January 1877), p. 26.

church structure, having a branch meant that the missionaries intended for the work to continue and for the church organization to grow. It also meant that the Finnish Mormons were no longer completely stranded, but rather they had some degree of the official church structure and procedures to rely on. But although it was called a branch, it did not have the same significance as the more established branches in Sweden. Mission records constantly refer to Finland as having only one branch (“the Finland branch”), even if more entities referred to as branches were created later. There were thus two senses in which the word branch was used; one to denote more stable and large congregations such as those in Sweden, another to denote smaller groups of Mormons living in each other’s vicinity.

Beginning in 1877, another development took place that connected the Finnish Mormons with the church organization further. This was the launch of the biweekly church periodical *Nordstjernen*, published in the Swedish language and printed in Copenhagen. The earlier Nordic church periodical *Skandinaviens Stjerne* had been published since 1851, but it was in Danish and thus not necessarily accessible to all Swedish-speakers, although the two languages share significant similarities. Mission president Ola Liljenquist hoped that the Swedish periodical “would be a blessing to the Finnish Mormons,”⁴⁶⁷ who were part of the Swedish-speaking minority population in Finland. Although likely, it is not known for certain whether the early converts in Vaasa subscribed to either of these church periodicals.

Tullgren and Sundström were quite active in their missionary work. In a letter discussed at the semi-annual conference in Stockholm on May 19, 1877, Tullgren indicated that the missionaries had held around 80 meetings, with a total of 150–200 “attentive listeners” present. This translates to about 2 persons in an average meeting, implying that they were more personal discussions than large meetings. The missionaries felt that the Finns were “very desirous after the truth, but priests and the other authorities [were] hard through compulsive religion.” Church president Brigham Young took an interest in the report, characteristically hoping that the missionaries “will not slacken in their faith, nor abate their zeal in endeavoring to spread the truth in that country.”⁴⁶⁸

⁴⁶⁷ Ola N. Liljenquist to Orson Pratt, 6 March 1877, Journal History, CHLA.

⁴⁶⁸ Stockholm Conference Historical Record, 1867–1883, p. 239, CHLA. Ola N. Liljenquist to Brigham Young, 29 May 1877, Brigham Young Incoming Correspondence.

Ola Liljenquist, who most likely had paraphrased the above-mentioned letter of Tullgren when writing to Brigham Young, felt that Tullgren and Sundström had encountered difficulties in their work because they were not native Finns. According to Liljenquist, Tullgren thought that “as soon as they get some native Elders to carry on the work they are all right.” However, in an earlier letter Tullgren had cautioned against sending out Finnish natives as missionaries because of the odds of their having to go to war in the Russian army. The exception would be if the person had lived abroad for many years, as Tullgren probably thought such a person would have been forgotten by the authorities in Finland by then.⁴⁶⁹ The mission, looking for the best ways to proselytize, thus found itself in a perceived bind: on the one hand native Finns might not have so many difficulties in spreading the Mormon message due to their nationality and knowledge of the culture, but on the other hand they could not be relied upon to serve as missionaries, as they could be called into the armed forces at any time. Calling natives as “local missionaries” was standard procedure in the Scandinavian mission, but it seems that doing so was not deemed feasible in Finland. Such local missionaries could have multiplied the missionary force and effected a significant broadening of the church’s influence in Finland. That this did not happen marks a clear difference to the major nations of the Scandinavian mission.

Despite their difficulties as non-natives, Tullgren’s and Sundström’s preaching work between November 1876 and April 1877 resulted in a number of conversions to the faith. A branch was created in Svenskby, Tenhola, on May 1, 1877, with three church members present. The minutes of the creation of this branch provide a glimpse

dence, CHLA, paraphrased in “Interesting from Scandinavia,” *Deseret News*, 27 June 1877, p. 329. See also Brigham Young to Ola N. Liljenquist, 27 July 1877, Brigham Young Letterpress Copybooks, 1844–1879, vol. 15, CHLA.

⁴⁶⁹ Ola N. Liljenquist to Brigham Young, 29 May 1877, Brigham Young Incoming Correspondence, CHLA, paraphrased in “Interesting from Scandinavia,” *Deseret News*, 27 June 1877, p. 329. Axel Tullgren to Ola N. Liljenquist, 19 December 1876, reprinted in “Korrespondance,” *Skandinaviens Stjerne*, vol. 26, no. 8 (15 January 1877), pp. 122–123. According to Liljenquist, Tullgren wrote that nine persons had been baptized in Finland by May 5, 1877. The membership record indicates only eight baptisms by that time. However, the statistical reports of the Stockholm conference also indicate that nine persons had been baptized by May 20, 1877; see Stockholm Conference Historical Record, 1867–1883, p. 221 and 235, CHLA. The ninth baptism is included in the total when discussed later.

into what was expected of the converts: Axel Tullgren exhorted them not to partake of Lutheran communion any longer.⁴⁷⁰ Activity was also extended to Pietarsaari, with a branch organized on June 3, bringing the number of Mormon branches in Finland up to three. Ulrika Söderman, oldest daughter of Anna Berg, was baptized in August, showing that the missionaries kept in contact with the area of their first converts and that the key social network depicted in Figure 4.1 produced further converts.⁴⁷¹

In October 1877, Tullgren and Sundström returned to Sweden for the semiannual conference in Stockholm. Although not specifying the exact time span, Tullgren reported that the missionaries had now held 40 meetings with a total of 150–200 listeners.⁴⁷² This shows that they continued to be quite active in their proselytizing, although the number of listeners was comparatively low, four to five per meeting. Either at this conference or shortly afterward, Carl Sundström was reasigned, bringing to an end his two-year period of missionary work in Finland.⁴⁷³

Axel Tullgren was now paired with Olof Forssell, a 33-year-old married native of Sweden who had emigrated to Utah in 1866 and arrived back as a missionary in late November 1877.⁴⁷⁴ This meant that there were two “elders from Zion” working in Finland. Axel Tullgren wrote to his ecclesiastical superior, saying that the proselytizing work in Finland was enjoying some success, and that he and Forssell had met people who were pleased to see the missionaries and discuss the Mormon message with them.⁴⁷⁵

Probably the most significant proselytizing success of the entire study period, in terms of numbers, occurred in early March 1878 in

⁴⁷⁰ Meeting minutes, 1 May 1877, Finland Branch Record, 1876–1897, p. 3, CHLA.

⁴⁷¹ Further conversions in the social network took place when Maria Berg, Ulrika’s sister, was baptized on January 14, 1878. Lovisa Åhl, host to the first missionaries in Vaasa, converted to Mormonism in Sweden after her husband’s passing; see Appendix C (Lovisa Gädde).

⁴⁷² Stockholm Conference Historical Record, 1867–1883, p. 248, CHLA.

⁴⁷³ Sundström came on another mission to Scandinavia and the Stockholm conference in the early 1890s. Interestingly, he was not assigned to work in Finland at all during his second mission.

⁴⁷⁴ Black et al., *Legacy of Sacrifice*, pp. 115–116.

⁴⁷⁵ August W. Carlson to Henry W. Naisbitt, 8 January 1878, reprinted in “Foreign Correspondence,” *The Latter-day Saints’ Millennial Star*, vol. 40, no. 3 (21 January 1878), pp. 46–47.

the area of Sipoo, east of Helsinki. Axel Tullgren had visited close-by Porvoo earlier in the company of Carl Sundström, probably spurred to the area east of Helsinki by knowledge that his brother Robert lived in Kotka. On March 11 and 12, they baptized eleven persons in Sipoo.⁴⁷⁶ At this point a significant change in Tullgren's thinking had taken place. While earlier recognizing the value in sending out local missionaries in Finland but being reticent to do so because of the precarious circumstances, he writes in a letter from Helsinki on March 13, 1878, that he was planning on sending out two of the baptized Finns as missionaries. One of them knew the Finnish language. It is most probable that Tullgren is referring to Gustaf Johansson and Karl Henrik Lindström, two Sipoo converts whom he had ordained to the priesthood offices of elder and teacher, respectively. It was planned to use the Finnish-speaking convert as a missionary among the Finnish-speaking population and to translate Lorenzo Snow's tract *Den enda vägen till salighet* [The Only Way to Salvation] into Finnish. There is no trace of either plan materializing, however.⁴⁷⁷

The bright prospects for future proselytizing were dashed for a while as Tullgren and Forssell were compelled by the authorities to leave Finland by mid-April 1878.⁴⁷⁸ The Mormon-published *Deseret News* in Utah thought that the reason lay with the intolerance of Russian government officials.⁴⁷⁹ Mission president Nils Flygare provides a further clue when he writes that the missionaries' success made them too zealous in their work. This probably contributed to their difficulties with the authorities. Tullgren may have felt that the fault, at least partly, lay with Forssell, because Flygare opined that Tullgren had been too harsh in his words against Forssell, who was an inexperienced missionary and for whom Finland was a difficult mission

⁴⁷⁶ Tullgren indicates in a letter that ten persons were baptized. However, the membership record implies the baptism of eleven persons, which is the number used here. See the letter of Axel Tullgren, 13 March 1878, reprinted in "Utdrag af Korrespondenser," *Nordstjernen*, vol. 2, no. 7 (1 April 1878), p. 110.

⁴⁷⁷ Letter of Axel Tullgren, 13 March 1878, reprinted in "Utdrag af Korrespondenser," *Nordstjernen*, vol. 2, no. 7 (1 April 1878), p. 110. Nils C. Flygare to Joseph F. Smith, 21 March 1878, paraphrased in "Spread of the Gospel," *Deseret News*, 24 April 1878, p. 181.

⁴⁷⁸ Letter of Nils C. Flygare, on or just after 23 April 1878, reprinted in "Abstract of Correspondence," *The Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star*, vol. 40, no. 17 (29 April 1878), p. 268.

⁴⁷⁹ "Intolerant," *Deseret News*, 29 May 1878, p. 265.

field.⁴⁸⁰ As a whole, it seems that Mormon missionaries and officials were content with the progress experienced in Finland by this time. Over twenty converts had been baptized by the spring of 1878, and the missionaries considered the Finns friendly and honest, although somewhat backward in their traditions. Clergy, on the other hand, were said to “raise a great howl” at the presence of the missionaries.⁴⁸¹

Truls Hallgren was called to proselytize in Scandinavia in April 1878. The 43-year-old arrived in Copenhagen on June 1, 1878, and was an experienced missionary thanks to his work in Sweden in the 1850s. Axel Tullgren was in Stockholm due to conference meetings in the beginning of June. The two missionaries were to meet in Stockholm and continue the journey to Finland.⁴⁸² Contemporary documents indicate that Hallgren visited at least the Pietarsaari and Vaasa areas.⁴⁸³ After a while, however, he contracted a strong case of pneumonia and was back in Sweden by early August. Mission president Nils Flygare thought that if things did not improve, Hallgren would have to be sent home to Utah as he would not be able to handle the harsh winter conditions in Finland or Sweden. Tullgren would travel back to Utah with the emigrant company in September, and Hallgren was eventually released from his mission.⁴⁸⁴

By August 1878, after a three-year period of more or less continuous proselytizing, Finland was thus left without missionaries. The five

⁴⁸⁰ Nils C. Flygare to Joseph F. Smith, 17 June 1878, Nils C. Flygare Letterbook, 1878–1879, CHLA, also paraphrased in “The Scandinavian Mission,” *Deseret News*, 17 July 1878, p. 369.

⁴⁸¹ “Returned Home,” *Deseret News*, 5 June 1878, p. 273.

⁴⁸² Nils C. Flygare to Joseph F. Smith, 17 June 1878, Nils C. Flygare Letterbook, 1878–1879, CHLA, also paraphrased in “The Scandinavian Mission,” *Deseret News*, 17 July 1878, p. 369.

⁴⁸³ Finland Branch Record 1876–1897, p. 6, CHLA. “En mormon,” *Wasabladet*, 13 July 1878, p. 2.

⁴⁸⁴ Letter of Nils C. Flygare, 10 August 1878, reprinted in “Foreign Correspondence,” *The Latter-day Saints’ Millennial Star*, vol. 40, no. 35 (2 September 1878), p. 556, also paraphrased in “News from Scandinavia,” *Deseret News*, 25 September 1878, p. 537. “Aflösning,” *Nordstjernen*, vol. 2, no. 17 (1 September 1878), p. 265 and “Aflösning,” *Skandinaviens Stjerne*, vol. 27, no. 24 (1 September 1878), p. 377. Hallgren’s problems were compounded after his release by the news that his daughter had died in Utah; see “Död,” *Nordstjernen*, vol. 2, no. 18 (15 September 1878), p. 288. Zachary R. Jones, “Conversion amid Conflict: Mormon Proselytizing in Russian Finland, 1861–1914,” *Journal of Mormon History*, vol. 35, no. 3 (Summer 2009), p. 27, asserts that Hallgren was incapacitated due to the difficult proselytizing environment, but provides no evidence.

missionaries who had worked in the country had established a church of around two dozen members who were left without a spiritual leader. Writing to the new European mission president William Budge in early March 1879, the Scandinavian mission president Nils Flygare (returning for another term) hoped that a missionary would be sent to Finland. One had been called the previous autumn, but for some reason he had not come. Flygare wrote Budge again in June, saying that he needed a Finn or a Swede to work as a proselytizing missionary in Finland. Flygare outlined that “he should be a man with some exper[ie]nce in mission life and be fitted out with an American pas[s]port.”⁴⁸⁵

Help in the form of missionaries was not forthcoming from church headquarters in Utah at the time, however. During the summer of 1879 Flygare was counseled in a letter by John Taylor, president of the church’s Quorum of the Twelve Apostles and as such the de facto church president after Brigham Young’s death in 1877, to find a native Swede to work in Finland, “because non[e] can be found at home su[i]table for that country.”⁴⁸⁶ Flygare specified that Taylor suggested to find “a native Elder from the north of Sweden” and enquired whether Stockholm conference president John Larson had someone to recommend. Flygare described Finland as “a very important” mission, requiring the service of “one of our best Elders.”⁴⁸⁷ The importance attached to Finland by Flygare makes the one-year pause in missionary work all the more puzzling; while there may have been a shortage of missionaries to call, one surmises that a missionary could have been reassigned from another place if desired.

Writing to John Larson again, Flygare thought that it would be best to send Per Pettersson, a 26-year-old local missionary, to Finland. Reporting on the decision to his superior William Budge in Great Britain, Flygare said he knew Pettersson to some extent and thought he would be prudent in his work in Finland. Flygare asked Larson to release Pettersson from his current mission assignment and to send him to Finland, “with money to take him there and a little pocket money.”

⁴⁸⁵ Nils C. Flygare to William Budge, 3 March 1879 and 4 June 1879, Nils Flygare Letterbook, 1878–1879, CHLA. Underlining in original.

⁴⁸⁶ Nils C. Flygare to William Budge, 14 July 1879. Nils Flygare Letterbook, 1878–1879, CHLA.

⁴⁸⁷ Nils C. Flygare to John Larson, 14 July 1879, Nils Flygare Letterbook, 1878–1879, CHLA.

Larson was also requested to give Pettersson the necessary information on the church's status in Finland, presumably to help him know where proselytizing had been carried out, who the Finnish converts were, and where they lived. Additionally, Flygare instructed that he considered it "proper that the Scandinavian mission should bear the expences of the Finland mission," promising to cover the expenses incurred in fitting Pettersson out for his new mission field.⁴⁸⁸

Pettersson arrived in Vaasa on September 3, 1879. It is not known whether he visited the group of converts living in Mustasaari, but he writes of making a journey to Pietarsaari, where one of the converts had seen him in a dream prior to his arrival, thus recognizing him when he came.⁴⁸⁹ During this stay around Pietarsaari, Pettersson proselytized together with Johan Pasander, one of the converts. This is significant, as it shows that the local membership could also become involved in spreading the Mormon message to some extent (although not apparently as full-fledged local missionaries).⁴⁹⁰

Pettersson's first stay in Finland was quite short, as he left to visit the semi-annual conference in Stockholm in early October. Later in the same month, Pettersson entered Finland through Helsinki. During this second stay, Pettersson journeyed extensively throughout the coastal area, his trip (apparently on foot) spanning from Sipoo in the southeast to Tornio in the northwest. Conversions resulted only in Sipoo and Pietarsaari. Probably to his dismay, Pettersson found that most of those baptized in Sipoo in 1878 had lost their faith.⁴⁹¹

⁴⁸⁸ Nils C. Flygare to John Larson, 5 August 1879, Nils Flygare Letterbook, 1878–1879, CHLA. Nils C. Flygare to William Budge, 8 August 1879, Nils Flygare Letterbook, 1878–1879, CHLA; for the latter see also "Abstract of Correspondence," *The Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star*, vol. 41, no. 34 (25 August 1879), p. 537.

⁴⁸⁹ Pettersson's own explanation indicates that one of the earlier converts had seen him in a vision, see "Missionen i Finland," *Morgenstjernen*, vol. 3, no. 19 (1 October 1884), p. 327. In a second-hand report, the mistaken impression is given that persons had seen Pettersson in a vision and were converted later upon meeting him; see Niels Wilhelmsen to Franklin D. Richards, 3 December 1879, paraphrased in "The Scandinavian Mission," *Deseret News*, 7 January 1880, p. 777.

⁴⁹⁰ "Missionen i Finland," *Morgenstjernen*, vol. 3, no. 19 (1 October 1884), pp. 327–328. Finland Branch Record, 1876–1897, p. 8, CHLA.

⁴⁹¹ "Missionen i Finland," p. 328. Pettersson indicates that thirteen baptisms took place in Sipoo in the spring of 1878, but the membership record and statistics of the Stockholm conference indicate eleven; see Stockholm Conference Historical Record, 1867–1883, p. 257, CHLA.



Figure 4.2. Per Pettersson (anglicized in Utah as Peter Peterson) worked as a missionary in Finland during 1879 and 1880. Here he is pictured in 1894.

Courtesy of Marjorie Peterson Morin.

Like the missionaries to Finland previous to him, Pettersson was not able to proselytize freely and ran into difficulties with the authorities. Although ordinary people were reported as being friendly towards him, mission president Niels Wilhelmsen thought in March 1880 that Pettersson would be compelled to return to Sweden due to pressure from the civil authorities. The Sipoo sheriff Gustaf Lundberg sought Pettersson several times in November 1879 but was not successful. The sheriff spoke with other persons and learned several details concerning the Mormons in the area, however, and reported his findings to the governor.⁴⁹² On May 8, 1880, Lundberg finally met Pettersson, who had been to Tornio in northern Finland and was on his way back to Sweden. Before doing so he had wanted to stop by Sipoo to see church members and later visit Porvoo. Since Pettersson had his

⁴⁹² Niels Wilhelmsen to William Budge, 20 March 1880, reprinted in "Correspondence," *The Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star*, vol. 42, no. 13 (29 March 1880), p. 204. Gustaf Lundberg to Georg von Alftan, 17 November 1879, Archive of the Administrative Department of Uusimaa Provincial Government, KA. Jones, "Conversion amid Conflict," p. 28, says that Pettersson was "arrested, imprisoned, and then deported to Sweden" in 1880, using Wilhelmsen's March letter as the evidence. The letter does not say that Pettersson was deported.

visa, the sheriff did not think he could do anything but warn Pettersson against proselytizing and ask him to leave for Sweden within two days. Pettersson's visit was also noted in one of the Helsinki newspapers.⁴⁹³

While the earlier mission president Nils Flygare thought of Finland as an important mission field, opinions were not apparently uniform throughout the leadership. Perhaps affected by the difficulties faced by Per Pettersson, new Stockholm conference president Lars Olson, for example, wrote to William Budge in Liverpool that "Finland is noticeable only for its troublesome officials and the deplorable state of the population."⁴⁹⁴ Despite his closest ecclesiastical leader's negative opinion on Finland, Pettersson's assignment was extended at the semi-annual conference in Stockholm in May 1880. In fact, whereas Pettersson had worked in Finland alone during his first two stays, it was decided during the conference to increase the missionary force by sending Lars Karlsson, another young native Swedish missionary, to assist him. Karlsson, age 27, was a convert to Mormonism of less than one year. The pairing of Pettersson with Karlsson thus resembles the sending to Finland of the first two missionaries, the Sundström brothers, in that both were recently converted local missionaries, not missionaries from Utah.

Pettersson and Karlsson arrived in Vaasa on June 23. They continued their journey by land north to Larsmo, immediately north of Pietarsaari. In a sense, this choice turned out to be one of the most significant made by Mormon missionaries to Finland in view of the movement's future. While in Larsmo, Pettersson's and Karlsson's work resulted in the conversion of two married couples, the elderly Matts and Greta Andersson and the younger Anders Johansson and Lovisa Eriksson. Through the posterity of the latter couple, Mormon presence in Finland was perpetuated in an unbroken line into post-war times when a more permanent church structure was estab-

⁴⁹³ Gustaf Lundberg to Georg von Alfthan, 8 May 1880, Incoming Documents, Second Branch, Archive of the Administrative Department of Uusimaa Provincial Government, KA. "Mormonerne i Sibbo," *Helsingfors Dagblad*, 12 May 1880, p. 3.

⁴⁹⁴ Lars M. Olson to William Budge, 3 April 1880, reprinted in "Correspondence," *The Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star*, vol. 42, no. 15 (12 April 1880), pp. 238–239.

lished.⁴⁹⁵ Matts Andersson and Anders Johansson were both ordained to the priesthood offices of teacher.⁴⁹⁶

Pettersson and Karlsson left Finland for Sweden in the end of September and were reassigned to the Sundsvall branch in October.⁴⁹⁷ The missionary chosen at the conference to replace them and to preside over the Finland branch was David Ekenberg. Ekenberg, only 20 years old, was at this point the youngest Mormon missionary to have been sent to proselytize in Finland. Like his immediate predecessors, Ekenberg was a relatively inexperienced missionary. It is thus all the more interesting that the mission officials decided to send him to Finland alone to proselytize and to preside over the church organization and the Mormon converts. He arrived in the country on October 31, 1880.⁴⁹⁸

David Ekenberg worked at least in the northern areas of Pietarsaari and Larsmo, and further south in Pohja and Turku. In Pietarsaari he held a meeting on November 21, 1880, where the church organization was strengthened by ordaining the earlier mentioned Larsmo converts Matts Andersson and Anders Johansson to the priesthood office of elder, in a sense making them equals with Ekenberg himself and authorizing them to conduct church business locally. The meeting minutes show both of the new elders “bearing their testimonies,” in other words expressing their faith in Mormon teachings to their fellow believers.⁴⁹⁹ In Pohja, Ekenberg met Johan and Anna Blom (see Chapter 6), Swedish Mormon converts who had recently moved to the area due to Johan’s work. At the semi-annual conference in Stockholm in May 1881, Ekenberg was reassigned to lead the work in the Sundsvall branch.⁵⁰⁰

⁴⁹⁵ “Missionen i Finland,” p. 328. Anna-Liisa Rinne, *Kristuksen kirkko Suomessa: Kertomus Myöhempien Aikojen Pyhien Jeesuksen Kristuksen Kirkon juurtumisesta tähän maahan* (Turku: n.p., 1986), pp. 4–9. Anders and Lovisa later used the surname Strömberg.

⁴⁹⁶ Meeting minutes, 1 August 1880, Finland Branch Record, 1876–1897, p. 7, CHLA.

⁴⁹⁷ “Missionen i Finland,” p. 328. RM, Sundsvall branch, 1857–1890, p. 42, FHL.

⁴⁹⁸ Finland Branch Record, 1876–1897, p. 10, CHLA.

⁴⁹⁹ Meeting minutes, 21 November 1880 and 1 May 1881, Finland Branch Record, 1876–1897, n.p., CHLA.

⁵⁰⁰ “Konferensmötet i Stockholm,” *Nordstjernan*, vol. 5, no. 12 (15 June 1881), p. 185.

1881–1890

Soon after, Mormon leaders assigned Joseph Lindvall to preside over the Finland branch. Whereas all the earlier missionaries had been Swedish natives, either still living there or having emigrated to Utah and then returned as missionaries, Lindvall was a native of Finland who had emigrated to North America in the 1850s. He had arrived in Copenhagen as a missionary to the Scandinavian mission on May 16, 1881, and had there been assigned to work in the Stockholm conference.⁵⁰¹ It is conceivable that the leadership decided to send him to Finland due to his knowledge of his native land's people and customs. Lindvall became the first Mormon missionary to Finland who knew at least some Finnish, the language of the majority population.⁵⁰²

Lindvall arrived in his native country alone around midsummer on June 24, 1881. A newspaper report indicates that he was proselytizing on the Åland Islands between Sweden and Finland in September 1881, making him the earliest known Mormon missionary to have worked there.⁵⁰³ On October 8, Lindvall was present at the semi-annual conference in Stockholm. There Anders Norell, a young man of age 23, was called from the Sundsvall branch to assist Lindvall in Finland.⁵⁰⁴ The combined work of Lindvall and/or Norell spanned at least the coastal areas from Sipoo to Pietarsaari. In June 1882, for example, Lindvall was present in Pohja where the Swedish gardener Johan Blom baptized two older women, and later in the month, Lindvall baptized one person in Sipoo. Norell may have seen Finland as an interesting missionary assignment, but to Lindvall the work may have felt more personal due to it being done in his native country. This also gave him the opportunity to utilize the social networks he had formed during his pre-emigration years. In this vein, he baptized two of his younger brothers and a sister-in-law in September 1882, before his return to Sweden. At the semi-annual conference in Stockholm in

⁵⁰¹ "Missionärers ankomst" and "Aflösning och kallelse," *Nordstjernan*, vol. 5, no. 11 (1 June 1881), pp. 172–173. Black et al., *Legacy of Sacrifice*, p. 252.

⁵⁰² His knowledge of Finnish is confirmed in Testimony of Alexander Hartzell, 31 October 1883, Record of the Johan Blom Case, Archive of the Senate Judicial Department, KA.

⁵⁰³ "Korrespondens," *Åbo Underrättelser*, 26 September 1881, p. 2.

⁵⁰⁴ Finland Branch Record, 1876–1897, p. 17, CHLA. "Konferensmötet i Stockholm," *Nordstjernan*, vol. 5, no. 21 (1 November 1881), p. 330. Stockholm Conference Historical Record, 1867–1883, p. 324, CHLA.

early October, Joseph Lindvall was reassigned to work as a missionary in Örebro, Sweden.⁵⁰⁵

No president of the Finland branch is marked in the statistical report of the conference for November 1882.⁵⁰⁶ As the mission leaders had not earlier declined from sending missionaries to winter in Finland if someone was available, it seems that they felt that missionaries were more urgently needed elsewhere. Scandinavian mission president Christian D. Fjeldsted wrote his superior in December, suggesting persons who might be called as missionaries to Finland: "Alexander Mead of St. George and John Saline formerly from Fairview now in Arizona are Finlanders, but how far they would be suited for missionaries I do not know."⁵⁰⁷ Neither of the two came, and thus Finland appears to have been without a missionary for the winter. Nevertheless, it is significant that the leadership knew of Finnish natives who lived in Utah; such knowledge was often the impetus for calling individuals to the other Nordic lands, but in Finland's case it appears not to have borne much fruit.

In June 1883, the native Swede Lars Swalberg had arrived from Utah and was sent to Finland as his first assignment. Swalberg, age 38 and married, left for Finland alone and arrived to begin his proselytizing work in July.⁵⁰⁸ Swalberg's work seems to have centered on southern Finland, as the baptisms that he recorded took place in Helsinki and Pohja. He also corresponded with his ecclesiastical leader, and the Stockholm conference president Carl A. Ek wrote on January 22, 1884, that "Swalberg [sic] in Finland is well and full of faith and hope. He has been much sought after by sheriffs and crown bailiffs, but he is still free."⁵⁰⁹

⁵⁰⁵ Stockholm Conference Historical Record, 1867–1883, p. 338, CHLA. Joseph Lindvall returned to the United States in 1883; see "Aflösning och kallelse," *Nordstjernan*, vol. 7, no. 6 (15 March 1883), p. 90.

⁵⁰⁶ Stockholm Conference Historical Record, 1867–1883, p. 340, CHLA.

⁵⁰⁷ Christian D. Fjeldsted to Joseph F. Smith, 14 December 1882, Scandinavian Mission Letterpress Copybooks, vol. 5, CHLA. Alexander Mead was the anglicized name of Alexander Tengström, John Saline that of Johan Savilaakso; see Appendix C.

⁵⁰⁸ "Kallelse och aflösning," *Nordstjernan*, vol. 7, no. 12 (15 June 1883), p. 187.

⁵⁰⁹ Carl A. Ek to Christian D. Fjeldsted, 22 January 1884, reprinted in "Korrespondens," *Nordstjernan*, vol. 8, no. 3 (1 February 1884), p. 39 and in "Korrespondance," *Skandinaviens Stjerne*, vol. 33, no. 9 (1 February 1884), p. 139.

Protokoll öfver Mullmanns namn		i Finlands Gren. Stockholms Conf. 1887.	
Finl. Namn	Döpt När och Dag mån år	Finl. Namn öfverföret af Finl. män	öfverföret af Finl. män
A. Hedberg (Stapanus)	21 Dec 1887	Stapanus	Stockholm 2 Mars 1888
X. Kallarins	23 Maj 1886	Kallarins	Stockholm 2 Mars 1888
A. Backman (Emmy)	23 Maj 1886	Emmy	Stockholm 2 Mars 1888
A. Erickson, Kristina	4 juni 1887	Kristina	Stockholm 2 Mars 1888
A. Alfred- Mallon, Aggripeta	16 Aug 1887	Aggripeta	Stockholm 2 Mars 1888
A. Johanson (Hedvig)	25 April 1887	Hedvig	Stockholm 2 Mars 1888
A. Eljestrom, Lilly (Sylvia)	13 juni 1887	Sylvia	Stockholm 2 Mars 1888
A. Ericsson, Karl (Viktor)	25 Novem 1887	Viktor	Stockholm 2 Mars 1888
A. Lindqvist, Karl (Olof)	16 Mars 1888	Olof	Stockholm 2 Mars 1888

Figure 4.3. The missionaries kept a record of the Finland branch's membership. This tidy part is most likely written in the hand of Alexander Hedberg. Courtesy of the Church History Library and Archives of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

Swalberg was eventually succeeded by Alexander Hedberg. Born in Foss in southwest Sweden, the 24-year-old Hedberg had converted to Mormonism in March 1882 and was at the time referred to as the mission's "champion tractseller."⁵¹⁰ This is interesting, as Hedberg was not a "missionary from Zion" but rather a local missionary. But while Utah missionaries were often seen as the leaders, local missionaries such as Hedberg were regarded as a valuable asset to the proselytizing work. Stockholm conference president Carl A. Ek, for example, reported in a January 1884 letter that "the sons of the nation evince a zeal that cannot be topped, to spread tracts and to bear testimony about the gospel to strangers,"⁵¹¹ including some of Hedberg's experiences later in the same letter. For Hedberg personally, accepting Mormonism had come at a high price, as it caused his family relationships to deteriorate markedly.⁵¹²

The circumstances surrounding Hedberg's call to Finland again shed light on how missionaries and officials of the Scandinavian mission viewed Finland as a field for proselytizing. Hedberg himself, for example, exclaimed at the conference in Stockholm that "he was willing to go wherever the Lord's servants wanted to send him, *even if it were to Finland*," thus implicitly pointing to the special regard in which Finland was held among other areas of the mission. Anthon Lund, the mission president, later described Hedberg as having been "sent to the hardest place in the mission." Lund instructed Hedberg to simply "go over there and stay as long as he could do something, and when it got too hot over there to come back to Sweden."⁵¹³

Hedberg entered Finland through Turku on October 8, 1884. He stayed in Turku for eight days and reported selling a couple of books and baptizing two individuals. He continued his work in other parts

⁵¹⁰ "Konferensmötet i Stockholm," *Nordstjernen*, vol. 8, no. 20 (15 October 1884), p. 318.

Letter of Anthon H. Lund, 12 December 1884, reprinted in "Abstract of Correspondence," *The Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star*, vol. 46, no. 51 (22 December 1884), pp. 814–815.

⁵¹¹ Carl A. Ek to Christian D. Fjeldsted, 22 January 1884, reprinted in "Korrespondens," *Nordstjernen*, vol. 8, no. 3 (1 February 1884), pp. 38–39.

⁵¹² Letter of Alexander S. Hedberg, 13 August 1884, reprinted in "Korrespondens," *Nordstjernen*, vol. 8, no. 18 (15 September 1884), p. 282.

⁵¹³ "Konferensmötet i Stockholm," *Nordstjernen*, vol. 8, no. 20 (15 October 1884), p. 316. Emphasis added. Letter of Anthon H. Lund, 12 December 1884, reprinted in "Abstract of Correspondence," *The Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star*, vol. 46, no. 51 (22 December 1884), pp. 814–815.

of southern Finland, and for example in Sipoo he reported that “I held many meetings there, and there are many believers there. The people just wished that I would come to their homes and hold meetings there, and I held meetings each or every second day – yes, one day I even held 3 meetings.” In Pohja, he “was in the neighborhood secretly for a couple of days and baptized 2 persons and there are more believers whom I will soon baptize; for they have asked for baptism.”⁵¹⁴

As detailed in Chapter 5, Hedberg’s missionary assignment to Finland was cut short due to pressure from civil authorities, with him leaving in mid-December. Mission president Lund did not seem to view the circumstances as a serious setback. In a letter written on January 1, 1885, he briefly recounts the events, saying that “Brother Hedberg escaped from Finland,” and simply comments: “In a couple of months we will try again.”⁵¹⁵ The missionary selected to “try again” was Anders Renström, a 27-year-old Swedish native who had emigrated to Utah and then returned to Scandinavia to proselytize. He arrived in Finland in March 1885 “to visit and encourage the Saints, and to see whether something could be done.” Renström was aware of the difficulties encountered by Hedberg and seems to have gone about his work quietly.⁵¹⁶

It is not known to what extent Renström proselytized. He does comment that he “spread both books and pamphlets quietly,” but no conversions leading to baptism resulted. In contrast, he seems to have visited the existing membership quite actively. His work concentrated on southern Finland, and he is not known to have visited the northwestern coastal areas of Vaasa and Pietarsaari. He returned to Sweden already in the beginning of May 1885, reporting that “at present all is peace and calm,” probably referring to the situation with civil authorities and Lutheran clergy.⁵¹⁷

At the autumn conference in Stockholm in the beginning of October 1885 it was decided that a missionary should again be sent. Erik Erikson of Salt Lake City, a Swedish native, was commissioned to

⁵¹⁴ Alexander S. Hedberg to Anthon H. Lund, 22 November 1884, reprinted in “Korrespondens,” *Nordstjernen*, vol. 8, no. 24 (15 December 1884), pp. 376–377.

⁵¹⁵ Letter of Anthon H. Lund, 1 January 1885, reprinted in “Abstract of Correspondence,” *The Latter-day Saints’ Millennial Star*, vol. 47, no. 2 (12 January 1885), p. 27 and in “From Scandinavia,” *Deseret News*, 11 February 1885, p. 63.

⁵¹⁶ Finland Branch Record 1876–1897, p. 22, CHLA.

⁵¹⁷ Finland Branch Record 1876–1897, p. 22, CHLA.

work in the country and appointed president of the Finland branch.⁵¹⁸ He had just arrived in the mission, and apparently it was expected that he would at least visit some of the membership in Finland.⁵¹⁹ Unfortunately no information has emerged concerning Erikson's activities related to Finland or about whether he actually visited the country. By the May 1886 conference in Stockholm, he had already been working in Sweden for a while.⁵²⁰

Carl Selin was called to proselytize in Finland at the end of November 1885.⁵²¹ Selin was a 25-year-old local missionary and was present in Finland by the end of the year. He traveled quite actively in the southern areas of the country, but apparently did not visit the northern regions of Vaasa and Pietarsaari. In the south, he visited members and also held a meeting in Pohja at the end of January 1886. Significantly, Selin ordained August Nordin (see below) to the office of priest and another person to the office of teacher in the Aaronic (or lower) priesthood at this meeting.⁵²² This shows a desire to make the local group of Mormons stronger and more active by enabling them to function autonomously, without missionary presence.

Selin baptized five individuals during January and February 1886. Four of these baptisms took place in the Pohja area, further widening the sphere of the local Mormon community. Despite this success, Selin does not seem to have been encouraged by the situation in the country. He left Finland by the end of April, and in May he reported his activities at the semi-annual conference in Stockholm. He had been able to sell some literature, but "the laws were so strict that the gospel could not be preached there, and therefore he could not say what success it would have in the future."⁵²³ Selin does not report any personal incidents with the authorities or with the clergy, and thus it is not known if he had experiences that confirmed his views (other than seeing Johan Blom go to prison, see Chapter 6).

⁵¹⁸ "Konferensen i Stockholm," *Nordstjernen*, vol. 9, no. 20 (15 October 1885), p. 316. Missionaries of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, vol. 3, 1885:136, CHLA.

⁵¹⁹ Nils C. Flygare to C. Kiskinen [sic], 12 November 1885, Scandinavian Mission Letterpress Copybooks, vol. 7, CHLA.

⁵²⁰ "Konferensmötet i Stockholm," *Nordstjernen*, vol. 10, no. 11 (1 June 1886), p. 173.

⁵²¹ Andrew Jenson, "Manuscript History of the Scandinavian Mission," vol. 3, CHLA.

⁵²² Meeting minutes, 24 January 1886, Finland Branch Record 1876–1897, p. 24, CHLA.

⁵²³ "Konferensmötet i Stockholm," *Nordstjernen*, vol. 10, no. 11 (1 June 1886), p. 173.

The leadership in Stockholm was not overly discouraged by Selin's grim view of the possibilities for work to be done in Finland. At the same May 1886 conference where Selin reported, they called Fredrik Sandberg to work as a traveling missionary in Finland.⁵²⁴ Sandberg was only 21 years old when arriving in Turku on June 18, 1886, and reports that "peculiar feelings penetrated me when I set foot on foreign ground for the first time in my life." By the beginning of August he felt more confident as he had learned a few things about the people and conditions of Finland.⁵²⁵

It seems that Sandberg concentrated much of his efforts on visiting the existing membership, trying to "encourage them as much as I could." In contrast to his immediate predecessors, he undertook a journey northward to meet with church members there. Writing from Turku, "I am now ready to go to Pietarsaari, 50 Swedish miles [500 kilometers] from here, where there are a few brothers and sisters who have not been visited in over two years."⁵²⁶ Before that trip, he had already traveled in southern Finland all the way to Porvoo in the east, baptizing five individuals. He had also held a handful of meetings, "well attended with attentive listeners."⁵²⁷ Sandberg returned to Sweden in September.

In contrast to Carl Selin, Fredrik Sandberg did not seem very discouraged by the conditions in Finland. He had not run into any greater difficulties, although he did report having to "hide from enemies," being watched, and encountering two hostile priest daughters and "a cheeky sheriff." But in general, "all was peace and quiet from

⁵²⁴ "Konferensmötet i Stockholm," *Nordstjernen*, vol. 10, no. 11 (1 June 1886), p. 174. Sandberg kept a missionary diary that was still extant in the 1940s (see Henry A. Matis, "In Finland... the Future Looks Bright," *Improvement Era*, vol. 51, no. 3 [March 1948], p. 145). My efforts to find and gain access to this diary have not been successful. Future researchers will be able to gain a better understanding of Sandberg's work through that source.

⁵²⁵ Fredrik R. Sandberg to Nils C. Flygare, 5 August 1886, reprinted in "Korrespondens," *Nordstjernen*, vol. 10, no. 16 (15 August 1886), p. 252, also reprinted in "Korrespondance," *Skandinaviens Stjerne*, vol. 35, no. 22 (15 August 1886), p. 347.

⁵²⁶ Finland Branch Record 1876–1897, p. 27, CHLA. Sandberg to Flygare, 5 August 1886.

⁵²⁷ Letter of Nils C. Flygare, 9 September 1886, reprinted in "Abstract of Correspondence," *The Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star*, vol. 48, no. 38 (20 September 1886), p. 603.

the authorities' side."⁵²⁸ Sandberg's general assessment of the situation contained a mixture of pessimism and missionary enthusiasm:

The bonds of tradition and the domination of the clergy bind the people here more than in any other place that I have visited before, and thus there is much for us to do here. I am happy to go as a representative of the Gospel of Jesus Christ and to show people the narrow way that leads to eternal life, and my motto is: never capitulate, but fight until victory is won.⁵²⁹

The minutes of the October 1886 conference in Stockholm provide further information on Sandberg's work and the general state of the Mormon church in Finland at this time. Carl Selin reported concerning the Finnish scene instead of Sandberg, indicating that the latter had held ten meetings, and that "the Saints in the branch try to fulfil their duties, and many among the people investigate the principles of the gospel." Ten individuals subscribed to the church periodical *Nordstjernen*, with one subscribing to *Ungdomens Raadgiver* (a Danish church periodical for the youth).⁵³⁰ The reporting of a membership of 39 indicates that far from all members subscribed to a church periodical, either because they had no means, one copy per family was felt to be enough, they did not want one, or because they were not in contact with the institutional church even if they were still counted as being part of the membership.

At the same October 1886 conference in Stockholm, August Nordin was appointed to be the new president of the Finland branch.⁵³¹ Unfortunately, very little is known concerning Nordin. As indicated above, he was ordained a priest in Pohja in January 1886. This implies that he was a relatively new convert at the time, but his baptism is not mentioned in the Finland branch membership record. It is thus not known whether he was a Finnish or Swedish native (in the latter case probably having moved to Finland to work). He appears to have worked as a missionary beginning in the autumn of 1886, and as mis-

⁵²⁸ Sandberg to Flygare, 5 August 1886. Finland Branch Record 1876–1897, p. 27, CHLA.

⁵²⁹ Sandberg to Flygare, 5 August 1886.

⁵³⁰ "Halfårliga konferensmötet i Stockholm," *Nordstjernen*, vol. 10, no. 22 (15 November 1886), p. 346.

⁵³¹ "Halfårliga konferensmötet i Stockholm," *Nordstjernen*, vol. 10, no. 22 (15 November 1886), p. 348.

sion president Nils Flygare reported in December, “something is being done in Finland.”⁵³² He reported on his work at the May 1887 conference in Stockholm and was “released with permission to emigrate to Zion.”⁵³³

Leonard Nyberg was appointed Nordin’s successor. The 27-year-old Swede traveled to Finland and arrived on June 5 (in Turku), planning “to spread the gospel there and to encourage the Saints.”⁵³⁴ Nyberg visited the membership diligently during the summer, reaching “with a few exceptions all the Swedish-speaking Saints.”⁵³⁵ He wrote to the mission president Nils Flygare from Helsinki on July 22, echoing Fredrik Sandberg when expressing how he left Sweden for the unknown neighbor country of Finland with “a pounding heart.” His experiences had soon taught him the ways of the people, however, and Nyberg thought that “one has to put oneself into their circumstances” to understand them better and to work efficiently among them. Nyberg explained that he had recently been able to “bear my testimony of the latter-day work to many sincere persons” and that he had sold a number of tracts.⁵³⁶ Nyberg did not comment on the situation with the authorities or the clergy at all. At the October 1887 conference he reported on his work and “expressed his satisfaction with working in this part of the Lord’s vineyard for the advancement of his work.”⁵³⁷ Nobody was assigned to continue the work in Finland, “because missionaries from Zion were waited for to work there.”⁵³⁸

Nevertheless, Nyberg returned to Finland in November 1887, first to Turku, then continuing his journey to Helsinki. He worked at a printer’s shop for two months, presumably for subsistence. Because of the ice on the Baltic Sea he was not able to attend the spring confer-

⁵³² Nils C. Flygare to Daniel H. Wells, 1 December 1886, reprinted in “Correspondence,” *The Latter-day Saints’ Millennial Star*, vol. 48, no. 50 (13 December 1886), p. 797.

⁵³³ “Konferensmöte, afhållet i Stockholm,” *Nordstjernen*, vol. 11, no. 11 (1 June 1887), pp. 171–172.

⁵³⁴ Finland Branch Record 1876–1897, p. 28, CHLA.

⁵³⁵ Finland Branch Record 1876–1897, p. 28, CHLA.

⁵³⁶ Leonard D. Nyberg to Nils C. Flygare, 22 July 1887, reprinted in “Utdrag af korrespondens,” *Nordstjernen*, vol. 11, no. 16 (15 August 1887), p. 254.

⁵³⁷ “Konferensmötet i Stockholm,” *Nordstjernen*, vol. 11, no. 21 (1 November 1887), p. 332.

⁵³⁸ “Konferensmötet i Stockholm,” *Nordstjernen*, vol. 11, no. 21 (1 November 1887), p. 335.

ence in Stockholm, but the conference appointed him as president of the Finland branch nonetheless. The conference president seems to have been cautiously optimistic concerning the situation in Finland, with the minutes recording that “prospects for the spread of the gospel there were pretty good.”⁵³⁹

Nyberg got into hot water when three church members from the capital city region decided to emigrate to Utah in September 1888. This caused somewhat of an outrage in the press, and the church’s presence in Finland became personified in Nyberg, whom the press (employing the deceiver-victim framework discussed in Chapter 3) indicated “did not spare beautiful notions to catch his victims.”⁵⁴⁰ The press further announced his street address in Helsinki, and as a result, he may have felt it best to leave Finland before things became too difficult. On the other hand, it may be that his departure on October 7 simply coincided with his plans to attend the conference in Stockholm a week later. He reported that “he had not met with much success, because the people in Finland are very prejudiced.”⁵⁴¹

The October 1888 conference in Stockholm appointed John Berg as the president of the Finland branch. This was the above-mentioned Johan Berg from Vaasa, who had converted to Mormonism in Sundsvall, Sweden. Berg had arrived from Utah to Scandinavia already in December 1887 when he was immediately assigned to work in Finland; Berg was probably the missionary “from Zion” that was being waited for in October 1887. Although he worked in Finland at the same time as Leonard Nyberg, Berg is discussed separately here because the two apparently never worked together.

As noted above, Johan Berg had moved from his home area in Mustasaari to Sundsvall and converted to Mormonism there in 1875. Together with his wife, he had received the brothers Carl and Johan Sundström when they arrived in Vaasa to proselytize and introduced them to some of his social network there. He emigrated to Utah in 1881 (where his given name Johan was anglicized as John, the form that will be used for the rest of this discussion), and in 1887, the call came for him to return to his native land to proselytize. This was probably in direct consequence of Scandinavian mission president

⁵³⁹ “Konferensmötet i Stockholm,” *Nordstjernen*, vol. 12, no. 10 (15 May 1888), p. 157.

⁵⁴⁰ “Mormoner i Helsingfors,” *Helsingfors Dagblad*, 21 September 1888, p. 3.

⁵⁴¹ “Konferensmötet i Stockholm,” *Nordstjernen*, vol. 12, no. 21 (1 November 1888), pp. 331–332.

Nils Flygare listing him as one of the potential missionaries to Finland only two months before he was called.⁵⁴²

John Berg arrived in Stockholm on December 13, 1887, from where he planned to first take the train to Sundsvall, and to then walk over the frozen Gulf of Bothnia to his native Vaasa region. The conference president recognized Berg's experience: "he is familiar enough with the circumstances to make his way there in that manner."⁵⁴³ Another possibility was for him to travel "partly on ice and partly in boats" in order to get to Vaasa.⁵⁴⁴ In October 1888, Berg was appointed president of the Finland branch.⁵⁴⁵ The branch record suggests that he met some of the members in southern Finland that winter and the following spring and summer (1889), collecting tithing and subscription fees for *Nordstjernan* even from a non-Mormon in Sipoo. He also made lists of the storages of Mormon literature that resided with some of the Finnish membership, for example his sister Ulrika Söderman in Vaasa and Karl Lindlöf in Pohja. His travels reached from the Porvoo/Sipoo area in the southeast to at least as far as the Vaasa area in the northwest.

In the spring of 1889 John Berg reported to conference president Karl Nordberg that the situation in Finland "is as good as can be expected based on the circumstances. The authorities are very strict and thus the work does not progress so quickly." Nevertheless, Berg was still appointed at the May 1889 conference to continue the work as branch president for the time being.⁵⁴⁶ By autumn the mood in Stockholm seems to have changed. The new conference president Ludvig Ernström reported at the end of September that "there are 36 Saints in the Finland branch. Prospects for progress are not very promising."⁵⁴⁷ Berg himself had been called to finish his mission in Sweden in August 1889, and by the beginning of September he left for his home in

⁵⁴² Nils C. Flygare to George Teasdale, 2 September 1887, Scandinavian Mission Letterpress Copybooks, vol. 8, CHLA.

⁵⁴³ Karl H. Nordberg to Nils C. Flygare, 14 December 1887, reprinted in "Utdrag af korrespondens," *Nordstjernan*, vol. 12, no. 1 (1 January 1888), p. 10.

⁵⁴⁴ Nils C. Flygare to George Teasdale, 10 December 1887, Scandinavian Mission Letterpress Copybooks, vol. 8, CHLA.

⁵⁴⁵ "Konferensmötet i Stockholm," *Nordstjernan*, vol. 12, no. 21 (1 November 1888), p. 332.

⁵⁴⁶ "Konferensmötet i Stockholm," *Nordstjernan*, vol. 13, no. 11 (1 June 1889), p. 171.

⁵⁴⁷ "Konferensmötet i Stockholm," *Nordstjernan*, vol. 13, no. 20 (15 October 1889), p. 317.

Utah.⁵⁴⁸ At the conference, nobody was appointed to take Berg's place in charge of the Finland branch.

John Berg's departure in August 1889 marks the end of a focused Mormon proselytizing effort in nineteenth-century Finland. No missionaries were assigned to the country after him for about six years. It is not certain why, but the difficult situation with civil authorities may have been one of the chief contributors to a reticence to send missionaries. If the missionaries were subjected to physical danger by being sent to Finland, the mission leadership may have decided that the risks and costs were greater than the potential benefits. And in a Scandinavian mission already short of missionaries, as commented below, Finland may have appeared too unattractive also because of the comparatively meager harvest reaped during the fourteen years of proselytizing between 1875 and 1889.

Nevertheless, it is perplexing that this abrupt stop in proselytizing after fourteen years coincided with the coming into force of the Dissenter Act in late 1889, marking a major development in Finnish religious freedom legislation. Were the Mormon leaders not aware of this development or did they not regard it as significant from their point of view? The answer is not known, but the latter view would have been accurate if entertained. The Dissenter Act gave rights to Protestant minorities only, and Mormons were not regarded as belonging to that group (indeed, in the opinion of many, not to Christianity at all). Thus the Act did not effect a *de facto* change for the Mormons, although it still symbolized a significant liberalization and entailed a further step in the deregulation of Finland's religious economy.

1891–1900

At the 1890 conferences in Stockholm, the leaders merely acknowledged the church members in Finland, otherwise commenting that "No missionary has worked in the Finland branch this [1889–1890] winter" or that "No missionary has worked there under course of the summer. The situation is the same as reported at the previous conference." No missionaries were appointed to work in the country.⁵⁴⁹ The reason may be that the leaders simply prioritized other areas of the conference for their scarce supply of missionaries, and thus, as noted

⁵⁴⁸ Stockholm Conference Missionary Record 1888–1930, n.p., CHLA.

⁵⁴⁹ "Konferensmötet i Stockholm," *Nordstjernen*, vol. 14, no. 9 (1 May 1890), p. 138 and no. 23 (1 December 1890), p. 357.

briefly in the minutes of the May 1891 conference, “there has been nobody to send there.”⁵⁵⁰ Indeed, in June 1894 mission president Peter Sundwall wrote that “We have seen over 100 Missionaries in the field, and we need 6 more for Norway and 12 more for Sweden, as they are crying for more help in those places.”⁵⁵¹ In August that year, he thought Sweden could use “20 to 30 more” missionaries.⁵⁵² Against this background of being so short of staff, Finland may have seemed an unproductive possibility coupled with great difficulty; nevertheless, Sundwall had written about the situation in Finland to Anthon Lund, by then a member of the church’s Quorum of the Twelve Apostles functioning as the European mission president. Another reason for the reticence to send missionaries at this time seems to have been Finnish legislation. Sundwall explained in October 1894 that “we have had a few members of our church in Finland,” but no missionaries had been there of late due to opposition, “and thus we do not have any knowledge about the present circumstances among the people there.”⁵⁵³

At other conferences, mentions of Finland appear only in passing if they do at all, with the essence being that no missionaries have been working in the country.⁵⁵⁴ Carl Sundström, one of the first two missionaries to Finland in 1875, arrived from Utah as a missionary to Scandinavia in 1894, but he was not assigned to work in Finland.⁵⁵⁵ Apparently some missionaries from northern Sweden visited Finland in the summer of 1894, “planning to visit brothers and sisters there, but they had to return empty-handed, when they did not find any.

⁵⁵⁰ “Konferensen i Stockholm,” *Nordstjernen*, vol. 15, no. 12 (15 June 1891), p. 187.

⁵⁵¹ Peter Sundwall to Christian D. Fjeldsted, 12 June 1894, and Peter Sundwall to Nils R. Lindahl, 15 June 1894, both in *Scandinavian Mission Letterpress Copybooks*, vol. 14, CHLA.

⁵⁵² Peter Sundwall to Anthon H. Lund, 4 August 1894, *Scandinavian Mission Letterpress Copybooks*, vol. 14, CHLA.

⁵⁵³ Peter Sundwall to Mauritz Lindlöf, 30 October 1894, *Scandinavian Mission Letterpress Copybooks*, vol. 14, CHLA.

⁵⁵⁴ “Konferensen i Stockholm,” *Nordstjernen*, vol. 15, no. 22 (15 November 1891), p. 350. “Konferensen i Stockholm,” *Nordstjernen*, vol. 16, no. 23 (1 December 1892), p. 364. “Konferensen i Stockholm,” *Nordstjernen*, vol. 18, no. 12 (15 June 1894), p. 188.

⁵⁵⁵ *Missionaries of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, vol. 4, 1894:47 [mistakenly listed as Carl A. Lundström], CHLA. In the summer of 1894, for example, he was working in Västerås, Sweden; see “Konferensen i Stockholm,” *Nordstjernen*, vol. 18, no. 12 (15 June 1894), p. 188.

They probably did not have the right address and may not have come to the right places."⁵⁵⁶ It is not known who these two missionaries were.

In 1895, Mormon leaders appear to have thought that the time was right for somebody to visit Finland again. The principal thrust was the contact that had been established with Johan Lindlöf, son and brother of Mormon converts in Pohja who lived with his family in St. Petersburg, Russia proper. Mission president Peter Sundwall had been informed through Johan Blom (then residing in Utah) of Lindlöf's interest in being baptized. Moreover, Sundwall was happy to hear through Lindlöf that some Mormons in Finland (referring probably to his family and acquaintances in Pohja) were still hanging on to their faith, writing in February 1895:

It is gladdening to hear about the situation in Finland, that there are still some there who have preserved the faith in their heart even though they have been like sheep without a shepherd for so long. It would be good if freedom there were such that one of our Elders could work in the service of the Lord, without putting himself in danger of being deported from there. I will try to get one of our Missionaries to travel there this summer, who perhaps in silence can visit the Saints who are there and do what he can to encourage them and to further the good cause...⁵⁵⁷

The missionary selected to make the trip to Russia (to meet the Lindlöf family) and Finland was August Höglund, 39-year-old president of the Göteborg conference. That a conference president was sent shows that the voyage was regarded as a special assignment, not a general missionary appointment. Höglund arrived in Helsinki on June 22, after he had spent some days baptizing and visiting the Lindlöfs in St. Petersburg.⁵⁵⁸ There Höglund sought Olof Olander, a master tailor

⁵⁵⁶ Peter Sundwall to Johan M. Lindlöf, 21 February 1895, *Scandinavian Mission Letterpress Copybooks*, vol. 14, CHLA.

⁵⁵⁷ Sundwall to Lindlöf, 21 February 1895. Sundwall also briefly discusses his correspondence in a letter dated 4 April 1895, reprinted in "In the Scandinavian Mission," *The Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star*, vol. 57, no. 16 (18 April 1895), p. 246.

⁵⁵⁸ On the events in Russia, see the letter of August J. Höglund, 9 July 1895, reprinted in "Från Ryssland och Finland," *Nordstjärnan*, vol. 19, no. 15 (1 August 1895), pp. 234–235 and in "I Rusland og Finland," *Skandinaviens Stjerne*, vol. 44, no. 21 (1 August 1895), p. 327 and 330. See also August J. Höglund to Anthon H. Lund, 18 June 1895, reprinted in "Introduction of the Gospel into Russia," *Deseret Evening*

of Swedish birth who operated a tailor shop in the city.⁵⁵⁹ Carrying with him a letter of introduction from mission president Sundwall, Höglund was received with kindness by the tailor who had been a Mormon missionary himself decades earlier. Complications had arisen, however, with Olander feeling forgotten by his leaders in the mission field, and eventually turning away from the faith.⁵⁶⁰ Nevertheless, Olander spoke with vivid remembrance of those days and entertained warm feelings towards the Mormons. Rebaptism does not seem to have been a possibility, however.

The rest of Höglund's journey was mostly spent by looking up church members. In Pohja, for example, he met several of the members, held meetings with them, and administered the sacrament. Among those he met were Johan Lindlöf's parents and sister, who seem to have been overjoyed about meeting a missionary after so many years. Höglund explained that it did not "take a long time before we were like we had known each other for many years, which is the case with all 'Mormons' where they meet," an indication of the strong ingroup feelings elicited by conversion to Mormonism.⁵⁶¹

In Pietarsaari Höglund found five church members, with whom he also held a meeting and partook of the sacrament. As in Pohja, the members were very happy with Höglund's visit, as they had not been visited for more than five years. In this connection, Höglund suggested an interesting approach that Mormon missionaries to Finland could take in the future:

There is movement among the people and the matter of temperance has begun to obtain a footing, and missionaries who have perseverance who could mingle with the people would not be unwelcome

News, 13 July 1895, p. 6 and as a different version in "The Gospel in Russia," *Deseret Semi-Weekly News*, 16 July 1895, p. 4.

⁵⁵⁹ On his work as a master tailor, see for example "Vackert föredöme af arbetsgifvare," *Tammerfors Aftonblad*, 10 July 1888, p. 3. He also wrote a number of books concerning the trade and published the shortlived tailors' periodical *Fackmannen: Illustrerad tidskrift för skräddare* in 1890.

⁵⁶⁰ "Autobiography of S. Norman Lee" (1933), p. 39, S. Norman Lee Correspondence, 1902–1963, HBLL. RM, Sundsvall branch, 1857–1890, p. 5, FHL. Stockholm Branch General Minutes, vol. 4, p. 241, CHLA.

⁵⁶¹ August J. Höglund to Johan and Alma Lindlöf, 8 July 1895, in Finland Branch Record 1876–1897, fd. 3, CHLA.

as temperance speakers, and in that way acquaintance could be made.⁵⁶²

In other words, Höglund felt that Mormon teachings concerning the Word of Wisdom (a revelation about abstaining from alcohol, coffee, tea, and tobacco) could find resonance with the general population. The Mormon message could thus find more success by appealing first to the non-religious implications of its teachings before bringing more explicitly religious teachings to bear. It does not seem that this suggested approach was incorporated, however.

In general, Höglund appears to have been content. "I am very satisfied with my visit among the Saints in Finland and believe that it has been a blessing. I have tried to do my duty, and I feel grateful to God for what I have been able to do," he summed.⁵⁶³ Apart from the baptisms performed in St. Petersburg, Höglund's journey appears to have been entirely focused on taking care of the existing membership, not on proselytizing or spreading literature. This is a marked difference to the missionary efforts that preceded him.

Höglund was encouraged by the situation in Finland. He wrote to mission president Sundwall, apparently giving quite a glowing report of his journey. Sundwall replied, writing that "I feel like you do that there should be at least one missionary in Finland. Perhaps you can help to find us one when you get home, who will be suitable for the place."⁵⁶⁴ Consequently, Sundwall also wrote to his ecclesiastical superiors. To the European mission president Lund he opined that "we must have a good missionary for Finland, where he [Höglund] thinks a good work could be done by our Elders." The recommendation was Johan Blom, living in Cottonwood, Utah.⁵⁶⁵ To Christian Fjeldsted, former president of the mission and then a church leader in Utah,

⁵⁶² Letter of August J. Höglund, 9 July 1895, p. 235 (*Nordstjärnan*) and p. 331 (*Skandinaviens Stjerne*).

⁵⁶³ Letter of August J. Höglund, 9 July 1895, pp. 235–236 (*Nordstjärnan*) and p. 331 (*Skandinaviens Stjerne*).

⁵⁶⁴ Peter Sundwall to August J. Höglund, 17 July 1895, Scandinavian Mission Letterpress Copybooks, vol. 11, CHLA. Jones, "Conversion amid Conflict," pp. 37–38, says that Höglund "ordained a few Finnish males to the priesthood" in 1895 and that he was concerned with "various strange doctrinal practices" that would have been adopted by the Pietarsaari Mormons. The referenced Swedish-language source document says nothing to support either assertion.

⁵⁶⁵ Peter Sundwall to Anthon H. Lund, 25 July 1895, Scandinavian Mission Letterpress Copybooks, vol. 11, CHLA.

Sundwall similarly wrote concerning Blom, saying that “many of the Finlanders, who liked him well, have him in kind memory. Perhaps his circumstances are shaped so that he could take a mission.”⁵⁶⁶ Apparently they were not, however, because Blom did not come, and neither was anyone else found to continue the work.

Even amid this reawakened excitement about possibilities in Finland, Sundwall reveals the remote status that Finland had in the mission’s plans. In his letter to Fjeldsted he explained the need for 10 to 15 missionaries for each of the major Nordic countries, but there was need for only one to go to Finland. Considering for example August Höglund’s positive opinion regarding Finland, it is surprising that the leadership did not seize the possibility to make a stronger entry into the country. They may have been conditioned by the earlier difficulty-laden thinking, or they may simply not have thought that success in Finland was a realistic target, considering mainly the problems with legislation and the general scarcity of missionaries.

A missionary visit took place again the following summer, when Stockholm conference president Erick Gillén, 43, and the American missionary Alonzo Irvine, 21, traveled in the country in June 1896. It is not certain whether the trip was initiated by Gillén himself or whether he was asked by mission president Peter Sundwall to undertake it, but at least the two discussed it and Sundwall thought that such a journey would be a good idea.⁵⁶⁷ The trip began with a visit to the Lindlöf family in St. Petersburg.

The 1896 journey of Gillén and Irvine resembled August Höglund’s 1895 journey to a great extent. Both involved a visit to St. Petersburg, with subsequent work in Finland, traveling from Helsinki westward to the Pohja area and then north to the Pietarsaari area. It is not known whether Gillén and Irvine made similar recommendations concerning possibilities for future missionary work as Höglund did. Be that as it may, their visit was not followed by a renewed effort to establish a more permanent presence in Finland. As the president of the Stockholm conference, Erick Gillén would have been in the position to take such a step, but it is likely that he felt constrained by the

⁵⁶⁶ Peter Sundwall to Christian D. Fjeldsted, 10 August 1895, *Scandinavian Mission Letterpress Copybooks*, vol. 11, CHLA.

⁵⁶⁷ Peter Sundwall to Erick Gillén, 29 May 1896, *Scandinavian Mission Letterpress Copybooks*, vol. 11, CHLA. See also Sundwall’s letter to Gillén on 2 June 1896 in the same source.

same considerations as his predecessors. Despite the recent visit to Finland, Andrew Jenson from Utah described the situation as quite dismal when he was in Stockholm gathering historical data for the church in September 1896: "the breth[re]n in Stockholm knew next to nothing of the Saints in Finland who so long had been left without a shepherd."⁵⁶⁸

Perhaps as a consequence of what Jenson had learned, in May 1897 the First Presidency in Utah instructed Christian Lund, president of the Scandinavian mission, "to send two missionaries to Finland to hunt up 'lost souls'."⁵⁶⁹ Those chosen were 39-year-old Carl Ahlquist, president of the Stockholm conference, and 21-year-old Norman Lee, a brand new missionary to Scandinavia from Utah. In essence, then, the journey of Ahlquist and Lee would be like the missionary journeys undertaken the previous two years. They would visit existing members and try to strengthen them in the faith, instead of seeking to proselytize extensively. The difference was that the missionaries were in Lee's words "to stay until we located them all," referring to the members spread around the country.⁵⁷⁰ Lee was exaggerating when detailing his experience in such words, because the journey was of similar duration to those in 1895 and 1896.

The missionary pair traveled to Finland by ferry via the Åland Islands, reaching Turku on May 28. Their first destination was Russia, although they stopped at a few Finnish cities on the way. They found that the membership was in disarray. In Turku, for example, the members "were all spiritually dead except one old lady named '[Maria Christina] Sjöblom' who has remained faithful."⁵⁷¹ In Helsinki after their trip to Russia, they located Karl Lindblom, but "found him indifferent to the gospel." Two days later another's "faith was about dead," whereas one lady "was also weak in the faith but I think we livened her up a little before we left, she invited us back again," writes Lee. In Sipoo they visited a couple who "hadn't seen a missionary for six or seven years." For such members who had stayed faithful, seeing

⁵⁶⁸ Jenson, "Manuscript History," p. 21, CHLA.

⁵⁶⁹ "Sketch of S. Norman Lee," S. Norman Lee Papers, 1838–1963, bx. 1, fd. 1, p. 3, HBLL.

⁵⁷⁰ "Autobiography of S. Norman Lee," p. 37, HBLL. See pp. 39–41 of that source for their experiences in Finland.

⁵⁷¹ S. Norman Lee diary, 28 May 1897, CHLA.

the missionaries was a momentous occasion. "They were overjoyed at seeing us, and cried like children when we left."⁵⁷²

Carl Ahlquist and Norman Lee also proselytized to some extent during their short stay. They reported visiting in Helsinki with a "Mrs. Envall" whom they had met on the ferry to Finland. She had been out on the street watching for the missionaries and requested baptism on June 7, although it is not known whether it was performed. They also visited Edla Josefina Liljeström repeatedly, once singing and talking with her and her Baptist friend for an entire evening. In Sipoo, they "had a large meeting" where they reported speaking to interested listeners.⁵⁷³ Generally speaking, they found "some believers who were very interested in the gospel; they bought some books and subscribed to 'Nordstjärnan'." Despite finding many of the converts weak or dead in the faith, the duo appears to have shared August Höglund's enthusiasm for future prospects in Finland and even downplayed difficulties with legislation:

Our assessment is that our missionaries will have a great work to do in Finland, and the work will be crowned with great success there. We don't believe that the authorities there will raise any large resistance. The laws are approximately the same in Finland as they are in Sweden. The Swedish language is spoken nearly everywhere in Finland.⁵⁷⁴

Ahlquist and Lee may have been overly optimistic regarding legislation in Finland; they probably did not run into any difficulties personally. The example of Charles Anderson (below) shows that the authorities had in fact not changed their attitudes markedly. But neither had the Mormon leadership; the following two years, 1898 and 1899, saw no missionary efforts directed at Finland.

Three years after the visit of Ahlquist and Lee, the leadership decided to send another missionary to Finland. This was done at the spring conference in Stockholm in April 1900, with leaders from the

⁵⁷² "Trip to St Petersburg," *Deseret Weekly*, 4 September 1897, pp. 364–365. S. Norman Lee diary, 5, 7, 8, and 9 June 1897, CHLA.

⁵⁷³ S. Norman Lee diary, 7 and 8 June 1897, CHLA.

⁵⁷⁴ Carl A. Ahlquist to Christian N. Lund, 29 June 1897, reprinted in "Korrespondens," *Nordstjärnan*, vol. 21, no. 14 (15 July 1897), p. 220 and in "Korrespondance," *Skandinaviens Stjerne*, vol. 46, no. 20 (15 July 1897), p. 316. Ahlquist had a mistaken impression concerning the prevalence of Swedish-speakers in the country.

European mission and the Scandinavian mission in attendance. Charles Anderson Jr., a 30-year-old missionary from Utah, was selected for the job. He had been called as a missionary towards the end of 1899 and was thus still relatively new in the field.⁵⁷⁵ Anderson worked in Finland for about two months during the summer of 1900, also visiting Russia proper. He recognized that the church membership in the country had not been visited for three years, and thus he spent time visiting some of them, finding those he met happy and faithful.

The strict regulations concerning new religious movements were still in place during Anderson's stay. Unlike most missionaries, Anderson reports that he "applied to the legal authorities of the province for permission to labor as a missionary, but was refused this privilege." Nevertheless, and in contrast to the visits in the 1890s, he engaged in proselytizing and not merely in visiting the existing membership. He later explained that he "held a few meetings, distributed over three hundred tracts, sold some books and met some who became earnest investigators of the Gospel truths."⁵⁷⁶ He baptized one Swedish child in Tampere, the first Mormon baptism not performed in the Swedish-speaking coastal areas. It is not clear why Anderson did not stay in Finland for a longer time, although recognition of the illegality of his activities may have contributed to the matter.

Charles Anderson's work in the summer of 1900 ends the proselytizing by Mormon missionaries done in Finland during the period covered by this study. In all, twenty-five missionaries had been assigned to work in the country. Their names, personal details, number of baptisms with which they were immediately involved, and times of assignment are provided in Table 4.1. More detailed information on these individuals is given in Appendix A.

The average age of the missionaries when arriving in Finland was 31.5, which is a significant contrast to the younger Mormon missionaries of modern times. All missionaries were male; very few Latter-day Saint missionaries in the nineteenth century were women.⁵⁷⁷ At least

⁵⁷⁵ "Konferensen i Stockholm," *Nordstjärnan*, vol. 24, no. 10 (15 May 1900), pp. 155–158. Missionaries of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, vol. 4, 1899:851, CHLA.

⁵⁷⁶ "In Sweden and Finland," *Deseret Evening News*, 12 January 1901, p. 22.

⁵⁷⁷ Calvin S. Kunz, *A History of Female Missionary Activity of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Master's thesis, Brigham Young University, USA, 1976).

nineteen were Swedish natives, three were American natives, and, significantly, two or three were Finnish natives.⁵⁷⁸ In this connection, it is instructive to note that Finnish converts are not known to have worked as local missionaries after their conversions, a marked contrast to Denmark, Norway, and Sweden. Rather, all missionaries came to Finland from abroad, emphasizing the reliance of the church in Finland on the church organization abroad. The possible exception to this is August Nordin (or the two men baptized in Sipoo in March 1878), but unfortunately no details concerning him have emerged during this study. The stays of the missionaries varied from a few weeks in the mid-1890s to the approximately two years spent in the country by Carl Sundström.

A total of 44% of the missionaries were local (had not emigrated to Utah) whereas 56% were “from Zion” (had emigrated to Utah and then returned to proselytize). Unfortunately, similar statistics do not exist for the Scandinavian mission in general. Mulder reports that local missionaries dominated the scene in Scandinavia in the 1850s, but were eventually and gradually supplanted by the Utah missionaries, of whom a total of 1,361 worked in Scandinavia during 1850–1900.⁵⁷⁹ The local missionaries to Finland were significantly younger (24.3 on average) than the missionaries from Utah (36.8). The latter number agrees quite well with studies conducted on Mormon missionary ages elsewhere. The average age of Utah missionaries in the Scandinavian mission for 1850–1899 was 38.6, and the worldwide average for 1849–1900 is reported as 35.6, based on a sample.⁵⁸⁰

No clear differences emerge between the success of the missionaries from Utah and the local missionaries if measured through the number of baptisms that they are known to have been involved with. The number cannot be regarded as exact, because the missionary may either have performed the baptism or I have assumed him to have worked together with the baptizing missionary, if the date of the bap-

⁵⁷⁸ Jones, “Conversion amid Conflict,” pp. 31–32, says that eight Finns worked as missionaries in Finland between 1881 and 1888, regarding some Swedish natives as Finns and Finnish converts as missionaries. For the names, see Zachary R. Jones, *Conflict amid Conversion: Mormon Proselytizing in Russian Finland, 1860–1914* (Master’s thesis, College of William & Mary, USA, 2008), p. 54.

⁵⁷⁹ William Mulder, *Homeward to Zion: The Mormon Migration from Scandinavia* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000 [1957]), pp. 55–56.

⁵⁸⁰ Reid L. Neilson, “Introduction: Laboring in the Old Country,” in Black et al., *Legacy of Sacrifice*, p. xiv.

tism gives rise to such an assumption. In any case, the missionary involved with most baptisms is Axel Tullgren (22), a missionary from Utah, in large part due to the small-scale mass conversion in Sipoo in March 1878. Second place is taken by Carl Sundström (14), the missionary who together with his brother Johan was the first to proselytize in Finland. Some missionaries baptized very few or no persons, either because they stayed in Finland for a very short time or because they may have focused more on their pastoral duties towards the existing membership.

Table 4.1. Mormon missionaries who worked in Finland, 1875–1900.

Name	Native of	Age at arrival	Local / Zion	Bapt.	In Finland
Carl A. Sundström	SWE	29	L	14	Oct 1875 – Oct 1877
Johan I. Sundström	SWE	23	L	4	Oct 1875 – Oct 1876
Axel Tullgren	SWE	50	Z	22	Nov 1876 – Apr 1878
Olof A.T. Forssell	SWE	33	Z	12	Nov 1877 – Apr 1878
Truls A. Hallgren	SWE	43	Z	0	Jun – Aug 1878
Per O. Pettersson	SWE	26	L	8	Sep 1879 – Sep 1880
Lars J. Karlsson	SWE	27	L	5	Jun – Sep 1880
David O.M. Ekenberg	SWE	20	L	1	Oct 1880 – May 1881
Joseph R. Lindvall	FIN	49	Z	11	Jun 1881 – Oct 1882
Anders P. Norell	SWE	22	L	4	Oct 1881 – May 1882
Lars F. Swalberg	SWE	38	Z	3	Jul 1883 – Sep 1884
Alexander S. Hedberg	SWE	24	L	8	Oct – Dec 1884
Anders P. Renström	SWE	27	Z	0	Mar – May 1885
Erik G. Erikson	SWE	35	Z	0	Oct – Nov 1885 (?)
Carl J. Selin	SWE	25	L	5	Dec 1885 – Apr 1886
Fredrik R. Sandberg	SWE	21	L	7	Jun – Sep 1886
C. August Nordin	?	?	L	2	Sep 1886 (?) – May 1887
Leonard D. Nyberg	SWE	24	L	5	Jun 1887 – Oct 1888
John Berg	FIN	47	Z	1	Dec 1887 – Aug 1889
August J. Höglund	SWE	39	Z	0	Jun 22 – Jul 11, 1895
Alonzo B. Irvine	USA	21	Z	0	Jun 1896
Erick Gillén	SWE	43	Z	0	Jun 1896
Carl A. Ahlquist	SWE	39	Z	0	May 28–29 & Jun 6–20, 1897
S. Norman Lee	USA	21	Z	0	May 28–29 & Jun 6–20, 1897
Charles L. Anderson Jr.	USA	30	Z	1	May – Jul 1900

As a whole, it may appear that the thrust to proselytize in Finland shows a half-hearted attitude by the leadership. While such a conclusion cannot be derived directly from their statements as given in the primary sources, it seems that a number of matters contributed to the situation. Twenty-five missionaries over a period of 25 years implies that Finland was not a central focus area of the Scandinavian mission in general or of the Stockholm conference in particular. The general scarcity of missionaries to send has been noted above. Generally speaking, the European and Scandinavian mission leadership tended to emphasize the importance of Finland as a mission field, but they were also not reticent to decry the low level of religious freedom and the attitudes of civil authorities and clergy. Coupled with staffing problems and dim prospects of success, this may have led to a perceived situation in which the return-on-investment of efforts in Finland was not sufficient in comparison to the risks and use of scarce resources associated with it. Although no clear explanation for ceasing to send missionaries to Finland emerges from the data, this seems the most likely conclusion.

Furthermore, there are reports of missionaries who had been called but did not come, or who were about to go to Finland but ran into difficulties with the authorities in Sweden.⁵⁸¹ Mormon leaders also seem to have been aware of Finnish natives who lived in Utah and who could potentially be called as missionaries to Finland.⁵⁸² Such missionaries were preferred, probably because they had intimate knowledge of the culture and language. Two of the proposed Finnish natives eventually embarked on such a mission, one from Idaho (Joseph Lindvall) and another from Utah (John Berg). Even Johan Blom, the Swedish layman discussed above, was proposed as a missionary to Finland later, as "he is yet remembered and well spoken of by the Finlanders."⁵⁸³ He did not come, however.

⁵⁸¹ Nils C. Flygare to William Budge, 3 March 1879, Nils C. Flygare Letterbook, 1878–1879, CHLA. Rufus Magee to T.F. Bayard, 9 October 1885, reprinted in *Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of The United States, Transmitted to Congress, with the Annual Message of the President, 1885* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1886), p. 788.

⁵⁸² See for example Nils C. Flygare to George Teasdale, 2 September 1887, Scandinavian Mission Letterpress Copybooks, vol. 8, CHLA.

⁵⁸³ Peter Sundwall to Anthon H. Lund, 25 July 1895, Scandinavian Mission Letterpress Copybooks, vol. 11, CHLA.

The discussion above also demonstrates that the missionaries' work focused strongly on areas where most of the Swedish-speaking population of Finland lived. This includes the provinces of Vaasa (40% of the country's Swedish-speakers in the year 1880), Uusimaa (35%) and Turku and Pori (13%), spanning the coastal areas from the mid-west to the south. The Åland Islands (7%) saw very little activity, and the other provinces (6%), practically all of northern and eastern Finland, went unvisited by the missionaries. Their choices for regions of proselytizing were thus in resonance with the densest clusters of Swedish-speakers. However, it should be noted that Swedish-speakers made up only 14.3% of Finland's total population of about two million in 1880.⁵⁸⁴ Although focusing on the areas with most Swedish-speakers, the missionary effort failed to reach the majority of the population and thus made nineteenth-century Mormonism in Finland a distinctly Swedish-language phenomenon in terms of both missionaries and membership.⁵⁸⁵

4.3. The Practicalities of Proselytizing

How did the missionaries to Finland go about their work? Some indications of their manners of working have been provided already in the previous section, but a more detailed analysis will be provided here. Specifically, I will discuss their methods of proselytizing, the literature they used for spreading knowledge about Mormonism, and the manners in which they lodged and earned their living.

Methods

The lack of religious freedom in Finland often caused the Mormon missionaries to go about their work comparatively silently. For example, no indications are found that they would have preached publicly in town squares.⁵⁸⁶ Doing so would certainly have attracted the atten-

⁵⁸⁴ Population statistics obtained from Fjalar Finnäs, *Finlandssvenskarna 2002: En statistisk rapport* (Helsingfors: Folktinget, 2004), pp. 7–8. The proportion of Swedish-speakers dropped to 12.9% by the year 1900. No official statistics are available from before 1880.

⁵⁸⁵ In contrast, my observation is that the native language of most modern Finnish Mormons is Finnish.

⁵⁸⁶ Jones, "Conversion amid Conflict," p. 22, says that the Sundström brothers "stood in town squares" and preached, referencing the diary of Carl Sundström as evidence, but that source does not mention the brothers preaching in such a setting.

tion of the authorities and the clergy more than the missionaries desired, although these methods might have otherwise been efficient ways of reaching out to a greater number of people.

Instead, the missionaries seem to have focused on holding smaller meetings in the homes of interested individuals, perhaps together with the friends of these individuals. Sometimes there are reports of meetings organized for a larger group of listeners in premises that were let by the owners for that use. On the other hand, the missionaries also spoke of their faith with individuals whom they met during their travels. Carl Sundström, for example, reports that he “had a good discussion on the way with a man named Anders Gustaf Jakopson [sic],” a Laestadian, while traveling from Kokkola to Pedersöre in June 1876.⁵⁸⁷ Some missionaries seem to have preferred going by their work silently for example by spreading literature. Anders Renström reported in 1885 that he had “avoided the priests and spread both books and pamphlets quietly.”⁵⁸⁸ The particular modes of action selected by the missionaries were most likely predicated by both their individual personalities and the current situation with clergy and civil authorities.

When opting for holding meetings, the missionaries had to be careful with what they did. When Carl and Johan Sundström were in the country, they seem to have understood the law so that standing up to preach was forbidden, and thus they opted for preaching while sitting instead. Stockholm conference president John Andersson explained the reasoning in a March 1876 letter:

Therefore the brethren do not stand up to preach, but sit on a chair to preach, because the laws are not exactly so strict, so that they do not stand up to preach. But they write to me and say that it does very well to sit down and bear their testimony to the truth, and sometimes they are so blest [sic] of the spirit of God that they don't remember they are sitting on the chair.⁵⁸⁹

Sometimes the missionaries were reticent to identify themselves as Mormons at these meetings, possibly fearing that doing so would get

⁵⁸⁷ Carl A. Sundström diary, 19 June 1876, CHLA.

⁵⁸⁸ Finland Branch Record 1876–1897, p. 22, CHLA.

⁵⁸⁹ John Andersson to the Editor of *Deseret News*, 29 March 1876, reprinted in “Correspondence,” *The Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star*, vol. 38, no. 21 (22 May 1876), p. 331.

them into trouble with local secular or spiritual authorities. At one meeting in the Vaasa region in the summer of 1880, Lars Karlsson apparently explained without problems that he was from Stockholm, that he was an itinerant preacher, and that his mission was to preach and spread religious literature. "In contrast, he could not be made to express to what denomination he belonged," writes the person reporting on the meeting.⁵⁹⁰ Interestingly, it does not seem that the missionaries were always averse to employing Lutheran culture in their preaching meetings. An individual present at one 1881 meeting writes how the opening hymn was sung "from our Swedish hymn book."⁵⁹¹ The missionaries may simply have thought nothing of it, or they may have thus wanted to emphasize the Christian nature of their own preaching by building upon common cultural capital.

It is difficult to make any pronouncements regarding the frequency of the missionaries' preaching meetings. In any case, some missionaries seem to have been quite eager to hold meetings. Axel Tullgren, for example, reported after his mission that he held about 250 meetings during his time in Finland. Considering that he reported being about sixteen months in the country, this averages at about one meeting every second day.⁵⁹²

The missionaries who came to Finland in the nineteenth century appear not to have identified themselves as religious workers. An examination of the passport records of Vaasa Provincial government bears this out: Carl Sundström came to Finland as a "worker," his brother Johan as a "tailorshop worker," while Axel Tullgren came simply as a North American subject. Per Pettersson registered himself as a wheelwright worker, David Ekenberg as a worker, Joseph Lindvall as a North American subject, and Anders Norell as a butcher.⁵⁹³

⁵⁹⁰ "Mormoner," *Wasabladet*, 4 August 1880, p. 1. Similarly, a newspaper reported in February 1878 that Axel Tullgren and Olof Forssell had only indicated they belonged to a Swedish denomination, calling it "Christ's true denomination," not the Mormon church. See "Mormoner," *Åbo Underrättelser*, 8 February 1878, p. 2.

⁵⁹¹ "Mormonpredikanter i Qweflax," *Wasabladet*, 9 November 1881, p. 2.

⁵⁹² "Returned missionary," *Deseret News*, 16 October 1878, p. 581.

⁵⁹³ Register of Visas Granted to Foreigners, 1873–1896, First Archive of the Administrative Department of Vaasa Provincial Government, VMA. See the dates 14 November 1875, 16 August 1876, 6 November 1876, 29 November 1879, 26 June 1880, 2 November 1880, 25 June 1881, and 2 November 1881. Interestingly, in 1888 one foreigner came into the country indicating he was a Methodist preacher (see 7 June 1888); this was closer in time to the acceptance of the Dissenter Act,

Alexander Hedberg indicated that he was a student when arriving in Helsinki some years later.⁵⁹⁴ This mode of action was most likely predicated by necessity, because the missionaries might not have been allowed into the country had they revealed their true purpose for coming.

Furthermore, it appears that the missionaries did not always work together or in pairs. This is of course clear for the cases when there was only one missionary in the country. However, the case of Leonard Nyberg and John Berg above has already alluded in this direction, with one being the president of the Finland branch and the other a traveling missionary. Axel Tullgren and Carl Sundström seem to have worked together for much of the time, but at times they were separated. For example, when Sundström was called by Tullgren as president of the Vaasa branch in late 1876, the minutes indicate that the former was not present.

The transient lifestyle of the missionaries implies that their converts were often not very well versed in the intricacies of Mormon doctrine at the time of baptism. For example in Sipoo, the dozen or so baptisms in March 1878 seem to have taken place only a few days after the converts had met the missionaries. Inducting these individuals into church membership thus appears to have been valued over a chronologically longer preparation through detailed lessons on church doctrine and procedure. When Axel Tullgren further ordained one of the converts to the higher priesthood office of elder very soon after baptism, it underscores the low priority given to the need for knowledge of doctrine and procedure among new converts. The most important thing was an inner conviction that Mormonism was the divine truth restored; details in doctrine would come with time to the new convert.

Literature

The missionaries sought to spread the Mormon faith also by disseminating written materials such as books and pamphlets or tracts. At times they may have given these to interested individuals for free,

and such an identification may also from that point of view have been more acceptable by then.

⁵⁹⁴ Register of Passports and Visas Granted to Foreigners, 1883–1886, 29 October 1884, Archive of the Administrative Department of Uusimaa Provincial Government, KA.

but often they sold them. Thus for example Per Pettersson reported that he had sold literature in the winter of 1879–1880 for the sum of 80 Swedish crowns, whereas the sum was a little over 63 crowns for him and Lars Karlsson together during the following summer. The significance of literature was acknowledged also by civil authorities; as will be seen in Chapter 5, Mormon literature was confiscated on more than one occasion.

In modern times, the *Book of Mormon* is thought of as the primary proselytizing literature of the Latter-day Saints. When the missionaries to Finland first arrived in 1875, this book did not exist in the Swedish language; the closest was the Danish translation (*Mormons bog*) published in 1851. The Swedish translation, *Mormons bok*, was published serially in 1878, after which it was used also in Finland.⁵⁹⁵ Many other types of literature were used during these early proselytizing efforts, however. A list of books and tracts that are known to have been employed or spread in Finland is provided in Table 4.2 in alphabetical order.

As indicated by the titles, the literature used in Finland was published in the Swedish or Danish languages. Originally they were written in English. Furthermore, the literature was authored mostly by Mormon leaders in English-speaking countries, not for example by enthusiastic lay Mormons in the Nordic countries (illustrating once again the hierarchical nature of the church organization). The hymnbook *Andeliga Sånger* [Spiritual Songs], compiled by the Swede Jonas Engberg, forms a partial exception to these general rules. In other words, it is noteworthy that none of the Mormon literature used in Finland was actually written or published in the country. As indicated earlier, Axel Tullgren planned in 1878 to have the tract *Den enda vägen till salighet* translated into Finnish, but nothing appears to have come of this plan. The written materials used in Finland were thus completely imported from abroad, and none of them were published in the language spoken by the majority of the population. Because they were imports from other societies, none of them responded to the specific societal situation in Finland in a localized fashion.

⁵⁹⁵ On the serial publication, see for example “Anmälan,” *Nordstjernan*, vol. 2, no. 6 (15 March 1878), pp. 90–91 and “Mormons bok,” *Nordstjernan*, vol. 2, no. 16 (15 August 1878), p. 256. For information on the Swedish translation, see “Mormons boks historia,” *Nordstjernan*, vol. 9, no. 4 (15 February 1885), pp. 59–60.

Table 4.2. Literature used by Mormon missionaries in nineteenth-century Finland.⁵⁹⁶

Author	Title	Flake
Jonas Engberg	<i>Andeliga Sånger</i>	1,857
	<i>Bibelske Henvisninger i overensstemmelse med de Sidste-Dages Helliges Lære</i>	469
John Jaques	<i>Cateches för Barn</i>	4,342
William Budge	<i>De Sista Dagars Heliges Åsigter om Äktenskap</i>	975
Lorenzo Snow	<i>Den enda vägen till salighet</i>	8,242
Erastus Snow	<i>En röst från landet Zion</i>	8,161
Erastus Snow	<i>En sannings röst till de upprigtiga af hjertat</i>	8,193a
Parley P. Pratt	<i>En varnande röst och undervisning för alla människor</i>	6,706a
Orson Pratt	<i>Evangelii sanna grundsatser</i>	6,548f
	<i>Inbjudning till Guds Rike</i>	4,232b
(Joseph Smith)	<i>Lærdommens og Pagtens Bog</i>	2,922
(Joseph Smith)	<i>Mormons bok</i>	742
Orson Pratt	<i>Märkvärdiga syner</i>	6,528
	<i>Nordstjernan</i> [Swedish-language periodical]	5,862
Joseph W. Young	<i>Om Israels insamling och Zions förlossning</i>	10,091a
Orson Pratt	<i>Sammanligning mellem Beviserne for Bibelen og Mormons Bog</i>	6,539
	<i>Skandinaviens Stjerne</i> [Danish-language periodical]	7,747
Parley P. Pratt	<i>Ægteskab og Sæder i Utah</i>	6,599b
John Taylor	<i>Är De Sista Dagars Heliges lära sanning?</i>	8,830

Some tracts were general introductions to and explications of Mormon history and doctrine. Examples of this genre are Erastus Snow's *En röst från landet Zion* [A Voice from the Land Zion], Orson Pratt's *Märkvärdiga syner* [Remarkable Visions], and the unattributed tract *Inbjudning till Guds Rike* [Invitation to the Kingdom of God]. These were designed to help the potential convert and the new member to understand what Mormonism was about. They emphasized the faith's role as the restoration of divine truth in the last days, and as the final listed example suggests, the church's role as the literal Kingdom

⁵⁹⁶ The column "Flake" refers to the numbering used in Chad J. Flake and Larry W. Draper, eds., *A Mormon Bibliography 1830–1930*, 2nd ed. (Provo: Religious Studies Center at Brigham Young University, 2004). The number given in the table refers to the first edition of the particular publication, although it was usually the later editions that were used in Finland.

of God on earth. John Jaques' *Cateches för Barn* [Catechism for Children] introduced Mormon views on a variety of subjects through the familiar question-and-answer format of religious catechisms generally.

Other tracts went beyond the surface to deal in depth with Mormonism's doctrinal novelties. A prime example of this is William Budge's *De Sista Dagars Heliges Åsigter om Äktenskap* [The Latter-day Saints' Views on Marriage]. Budge, the European mission president, gave a speech at a London church conference on November 5, 1879, where he defended the Mormon practice of plural marriage. This was naturally a hot-button topic everywhere, but while Budge engaged in apologetics, he did not apologize for the practice. Rather, he based his ardent defense on Biblical precedent and the duty to follow all of God's commandments. Thus he concluded, "for heaven's sake and for the sake of the salvation of your souls, never lift your hand or voice against those who want to live God's laws!"⁵⁹⁷

Lodging and subsistence

The missionaries were primarily engaged in fulfilling their religious tasks. However, naturally they also had to worry about where to sleep, eat, and get money for various practical matters. Arrangements for lodging varied, but it appears that the missionaries were often able to lodge with converts or other friendly individuals. The Sundström brothers and Axel Tullgren, for example, lodged in Vaasa with non-Mormons Carl and Lovisa Åhl, parents of two of the converts in Sundsvall. Tullgren further explains that he got a bed and some clothing from "two sisters" in November 1876.⁵⁹⁸ Johan Blom in Pohja provided lodging to the missionaries who visited the area for at least the early part of his presence in 1880–1886, and in late 1883 Lars Swalberg apparently stayed in Sipoo with the widow Anna Ruth whom he had converted.⁵⁹⁹ The Helsinki convert Alexander Winqvist wrote one of the missionaries in September 1886, indicating that he was willing to help the missionaries. "If God will let me become

⁵⁹⁷ William Budge, *De Sista Dagars Heliges Åsigter om Äktenskap* (Köpenhamn: N. Wilhelmson, 1880), p. 16.

⁵⁹⁸ Axel Tullgren diary, p. 31, CHLA.

⁵⁹⁹ "Bref från landsorten," *Folkvännen*, 4 December 1883, p. 2.

healthy again so that I have the strength to work then I will keep both rooms so that I will be able to receive visiting br[others]."⁶⁰⁰

At times, the missionaries resorted to more provisional means of lodging, for example when they were traveling to some particular destination. Thus Carl Sundström explains how he laid down for a while in a hay barn during his trip back from Pietarsaari to Vaasa in June 1876.⁶⁰¹ Axel Tullgren reports sleeping in a guesthouse and in the homes of numerous strangers during travels in 1877–1878.⁶⁰² Moreover, Lars Swalberg spent a night in a hotel in Helsinki in November 1883.⁶⁰³ In sum, it appears that the missionaries were not intent on some particular form of lodging, using instead the opportunities that presented themselves. The converts seem to have been keen on helping the missionaries with lodging when they happened to be visiting, and this was probably the primary means of lodging in the areas where converts lived.

All missionaries do not seem to have devoted themselves entirely to their missionary work, either due to the need for gaining a living or for other reasons. Carl Sundström, for example, reports in his diary multiple times that he worked “with the temporal” for extended periods of time. Once he specifically mentions that he did so “in order to acquire the necessities.” What this work consisted of in his case is specified only once, when he writes that he was working with “reaping hay.”⁶⁰⁴ As indicated above, Leonard Nyberg worked for two months in a printer’s shop in the winter of 1887–1888.

The missionaries did not have to proselytize without material support by the church. A perusal of the Finland branch record shows that the missionaries used the tithing funds provided by the Finnish membership to defray some of their expenses. Such expenses could include postage, buying paper or a map of Finland, paying for religious necessities such as sacrament supplies or oil to consecrate, food, lodging and travel, and sometimes also the giving of alms to the poor. The record of the Stockholm conference further indicates that the mission-

⁶⁰⁰ Alexander Winqvist to Fredrik R. Sandberg, 25 September 1886, Finland Branch Record 1876–1897, fd. 3, CHLA.

⁶⁰¹ Carl A. Sundström diary, 22 June 1876, CHLA.

⁶⁰² See for example Axel Tullgren diary, 2 and 4 February 1878, p. 98, CHLA.

⁶⁰³ “En mormonapostel,” *Folkvännen*, 21 November 1883, p. 1.

⁶⁰⁴ Carl A. Sundström diary, 8 November 1875, 5 February 1876, and 31 July 1876, CHLA.

aries to Finland could be assisted with the expenses incurred from clothing.⁶⁰⁵ The original “without purse or scrip” method of Mormon missionizing was thus not completely followed any more at this time. The missionaries were assisted through funds collected from church members, but they could also gather means for their own living through work. Nevertheless, they appear to have relied in part on the direct goodwill of strangers and church members in making it through each day.

4.4. Converts, Branches, and the Religious Life

According to available records, 78 persons were baptized as Mormons in Finland during the time period covered by this study.⁶⁰⁶ The dataset that is used here and in subsequent analysis, and which includes detailed and referenced information on the converts, is provided in Appendix B. The children (age 8 or older) of some of these converts may also have been baptized, but no information on that exists. Compared to the other Nordic countries, 78 is a miniscule number, amounting to less than 0.2% of all baptisms between 1850 and 1900.⁶⁰⁷ Denmark, the most successful of the Mormon mission fields in Scandinavia, provided 23,533 converts from the beginning of proselytizing in 1850 up to 1900. Even Norway, the least successful of the major countries, provided 5,702 converts. Of the other Nordic countries, then, proselytizing success in Finland can be properly compared only to Iceland.⁶⁰⁸ Comparison to other new Anglo-American

⁶⁰⁵ Stockholm Conference Historical Record, 1867–1883, p. 210 and 230, CHLA.

⁶⁰⁶ Jones, “Conversion amid Conflict,” says that proselytizing yielded around 200 (“an estimate,” p. 3) or “a few hundred” (p. 18) converts. The number 200 is divided into 100 baptisms during 1875–1878 and another 100 during 1878–1895 arbitrarily without supporting evidence (p. 22). The claim is essentially an argument from silence, as it is based on the assumption that other branch records apart from Finland Branch Record 1876–1897, CHLA, have existed. There is no evidence for that, however, and as discussed below, Stockholm conference continuously regarded all of Finland as one branch. Furthermore, the baptisms listed in the Finland Branch Record 1876–1897, CHLA, were performed in various parts of Finland that Jones says would have been part of the purported other branches.

⁶⁰⁷ Calculated based on data in Andrew Jenson, *History of the Scandinavian Mission* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1927), pp. 534–536.

⁶⁰⁸ Finland Branch Record 1876–1897, CHLA. For information on Iceland, see Fred E. Woods, *Fire on Ice: The Story of Icelandic Latter-day Saints at Home and Abroad* (Provo: Religious Studies Center at Brigham Young University, 2005).

religious movements active in Finland at the time shows that the Mormons did not experience great success. The Baptists, generally regarded as the most successful of these movements in Finland, had a membership of 2,851 persons by the year 1900, whereas the less successful Methodist faith had 319 members.⁶⁰⁹

The average age of all converts was 39.4 years, with the median being 37.5. Ages ranged from 18 to 64 among the women and from 9 to 78 among the men. The average age of the women was 38.0 years, whereas the average age of the men was somewhat higher at 41.7.⁶¹⁰ Of the total group, 63.6% were female and 36.4% were male. The prevalence of women is in agreement with general trends that indicate higher levels of religious activity among women.⁶¹¹ As far as I have found, no comparative Mormon data has been compiled for the other Nordic countries on this matter. Furthermore, my research indicates that at least 60% of the Finnish church members were related to another member (details in Appendix B), evidencing the importance of social networks for Mormonism in nineteenth-century Finland. Mulder argues that social ties played a central role also in the other Nordic countries, going so far as to say that Mormonism tended to be embraced in families, as opposed to individually.⁶¹² This cannot be said in the case of Finland. Naturally, family members and friends could also react negatively to a person converting, as discussed in Section 5.4.

⁶⁰⁹ *Suomen tilastollinen vuosikirja 1903* (Helsinki: Tilastollinen päätoimisto, 1903), p. 9.

⁶¹⁰ These figures are based on the ages of 76 converts as indicated in the membership record or confirmed in Lutheran parish records; see Appendix B. No age information was available for two of the converts. Zachary R. Jones, "Conversion amid Conflict: Mormon Proselytizing in Russian Finland, 1861–1914," *Journal of Mormon History*, vol. 35, no. 3 (Summer 2009), p. 34, found the average age of both genders to be 39 years, based on unconfirmed data.

⁶¹¹ See for example the plethora of references in Alan S. Miller and John P. Hoffmann, "Risk and Religion: An Explanation of Gender Differences in Religiosity," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, vol. 34, no. 1 (March 1995), p. 63.

⁶¹² Mulder, *Homeward to Zion*, pp. 107–108.

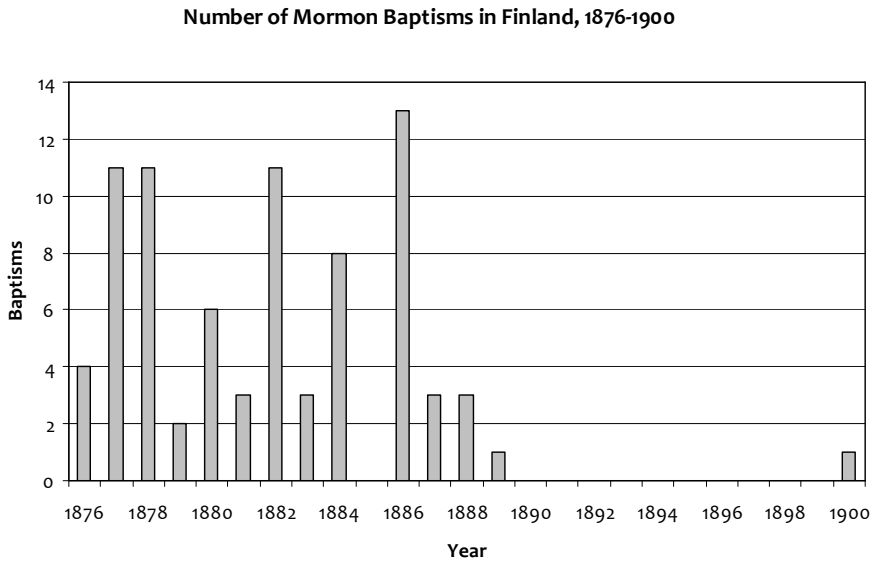


Figure 4.4. The number of Mormons baptized in Finland, 1876–1900.

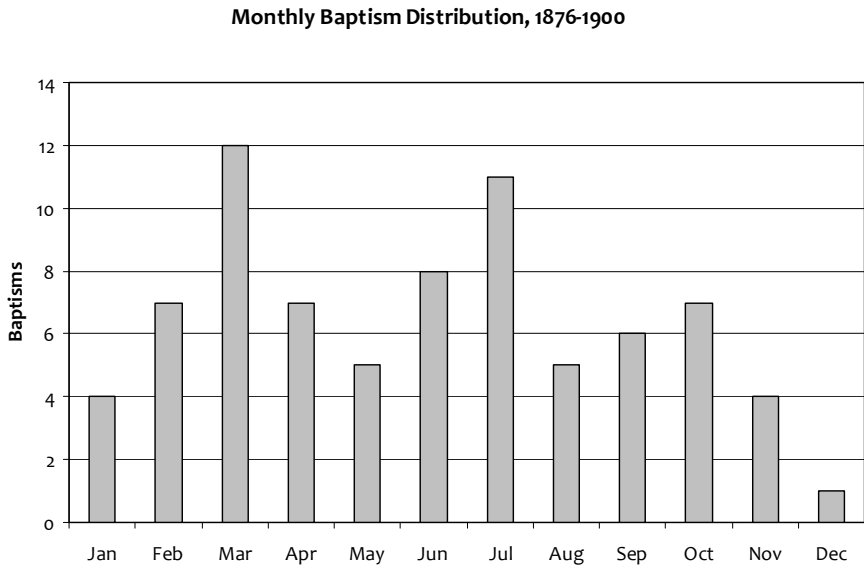


Figure 4.5. Distribution of baptisms by month.

The annual distribution of the baptisms is visualized in Figure 4.4. The graph illustrates that proselytizing success is clearly focused on the years up to 1889, with very little happening after that. The reasons

probably lie in both the absence of missionaries and the comparative passivity of the scattered and inexperienced local membership. With four exceptions, all baptisms were performed by a missionary working in the country at the time. This implies that while the local Mormons may have discussed their faith and sought to convert outsiders to it, it was the missionaries who generally took care of bringing new individuals into the Mormon fold. Naturally, the lack of priesthood-ordained males among the membership also caused things to move in that direction.

Considering the Mormon practice of baptism by immersion, it is also interesting to analyze at what times during the year the converts were baptized. Because no meeting houses existed, all baptisms had to be performed outside in lakes or for example in creeks that had been temporarily dammed. Being baptized during the cold winter months was a considerable act of courage. Nevertheless, such baptisms did take place. When faith had been kindled, the rarity and sporadic nature of the missionary visits probably contributed further to the converts' willingness to be baptized whenever the missionary happened to be in the area. The monthly distribution of baptisms is shown in Figure 4.5.⁶¹³

One should here keep in mind that the missionaries were not evenly present in Finland during every month of the year, as shown in Table 4.1, and thus the months cannot be compared to each other in a straightforward manner. Nevertheless, the baptisms are distributed quite evenly throughout the year, with the exception of the month of December. Scandinavian mission leaders and missionaries mentioned pros and cons of the seasons. On the one hand, the summer months were difficult for the missionaries because the common people were often employed from morning to evening, presumably for example in doing farm work. Proselytizing in such conditions was not always very productive nor did it produce many contacts.⁶¹⁴ On the other

⁶¹³ Of the known 78 baptisms, the 77 with known dates are included here.

⁶¹⁴ Fredrik R. Sandberg to Nils C. Flygare, 5 August 1886, reprinted in "Korrespondens," *Nordstjernen*, vol. 10, no. 16 (15 August 1886), p. 252, also reprinted in "Korrespondance," *Skandinaviens Stjerne*, vol. 35, no. 22 (15 August 1886), p. 347. Stockholm conference president Lars Olson noted in 1879 that "the success is naturally not so lively in summertime as it is in the winter"; see Lars M. Olson to Niels C. Wilhelmsen, 20 September 1879, reprinted in "Korrespondens," *Nordstjernen*, vol. 3, no. 19 (1 October 1879), p. 299.

hand, people had more free time during the winter months when farming was not possible, but it was not so easy to be baptized because of the cold weather conditions.⁶¹⁵ Then again, for some the cold was not a problem, even if it meant being baptized in outside temperatures less than -30°C .⁶¹⁶ Disregard for the cold seems to have been the case also with many Finnish converts.

The geographical distribution of the converts is shown in Table 4.3.⁶¹⁷ An examination of the data confirms that the converts to Mormonism were mostly from the Swedish-speaking areas of Finland, specifically from areas close to the southern and western sea coasts. Most converts were baptized in southern Finland, in the general areas of Porvoo, Pohja, Helsinki, and Turku, whereas a minority were baptized further north, in the general areas of Vaasa and Pietarsaari. It is interesting to note that it was the minority area of Larsmo, close to Pietarsaari, where the converts succeeded in perpetuating their faith to future generations, not one of the areas with a larger and potentially more impacting number of converts. The row "Others" includes converts baptized in Paimio, Tampere (a predominantly Finnish-speaking area), and possibly Nedervetil.

Some of the converts were later excommunicated. Reasons for this action that can be found in extant sources were adultery, personal request, unworthy living, and disbelief in Mormonism (in at least one case coupled with conversion to Laestadianism). The excommunications were usually done by the visiting missionary, either through presentation of the matter in a meeting or without a meeting. At times, a third-party church member could attest to the wayward behavior of the potential excommunicant.⁶¹⁸ Figure 4.6 shows the annual distribution.

⁶¹⁵ Peter A. Löfgren in Sundsvall noted that many were willing to be baptized "as soon as the temperature has become a bit milder" in his 23 February 1881 letter to Niels Wilhelmsen, reprinted in "Korrespondens," *Nordstjernan*, vol. 5, no. 6 (15 March 1881), p. 86. See also a similar mention in Gustaf L. Rosengren to Anthon H. Lund, 16 February 1885, reprinted in "Korrespondens," *Nordstjernan*, vol. 9, no. 5 (1 March 1885), p. 76.

⁶¹⁶ K.W. Carlson to N.C. Edlefsen, 30 January 1871, reprinted in "Correspondance," *Skandinaviens Stjerne*, vol. 20, no. 10 (15 February 1871), p. 158.

⁶¹⁷ The table is based on the data of 77 baptisms; one baptism before June 1877 occurred in an unknown location.

⁶¹⁸ See for example Meeting minutes, 6 January 1878, Finland Branch Record 1876–1897, p. 5, CHLA.

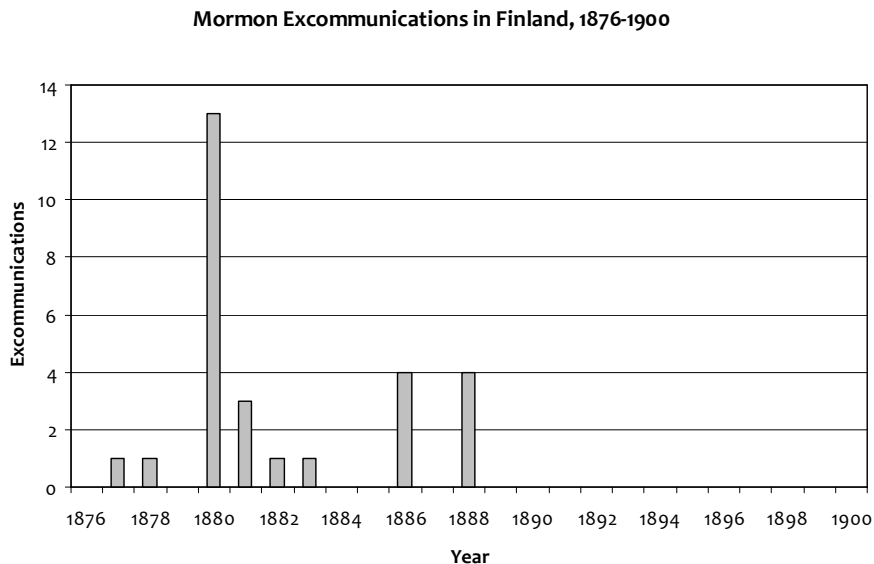


Figure 4.6. The number of Mormons excommunicated, 1876–1900.

Table 4.3. Geographical distribution of Mormon converts, 1876–1900.

Area	No. of Converts
Porvoo-Sipoo	19
Pohja-Kemiö-Tenhola-Inkoo	16
Pietarsaari-Kokkola	14
Helsinki	9
Turku	8
Mustasaari-Vaasa	6
Others	5

In all, 28 individuals or 35.9% of the membership was excommunicated at some point after baptism, with two of these returning to membership later. The excommunication peak of 1880 entailed chiefly the removal of most Sipoo converts of 1878 from membership. Furthermore, the Finland branch membership record indicates that the church lost contact with a handful of the remaining 64.1%. The figure of 35.9% is somewhat higher than the same figure for the major countries of the Scandinavian mission. Based on statistical data compiled by Andrew Jenson, the excommunication percentages of Denmark,

Norway, and Sweden up to the year 1900 were 30.4, 29.9, and 29.9, respectively.⁶¹⁹

The socioeconomic status of the converts has not been investigated in detail. In general, however, data in Lutheran parish records suggest that most converts were members of the working classes or of the farming community, either themselves owning a farm or leasing land from a farmer as a crofter.⁶²⁰ Such a membership composition had consequences for the nature of early Finnish Mormonism. For example, it seems that the small lower-class membership was not able to produce movement intellectuals who would have served as the movement's credible voices and defenders in society, tempering Mormonism's negative image and the ill will shown towards it. Societal attitudes might have had to undergo transformation had a sufficient number of upper-class individuals been converted. Although difficult to measure, it is also possible that the upper classes had a significantly reduced propensity to join the Mormons due to being better versed in and more affected by the negative discourses analyzed in Section 3.3 than were the lower classes. And even if some in the upper classes were not averse to Mormon doctrines per se, the social cost of joining or even associating with the movement may simply have been too high. For those in the lower classes, social costs were more easily offset by the promised rewards resulting from committed membership.

Social networks were essential to Mormonism's proselytizing successes in Finland. As detailed in Appendix B, at least 47 (60%) of the known converts were related to another convert. The networks were important in both determining who would be sought out by the missionaries as prospective converts (see the case of the Sundströms entering Finland as described above) and who would eventually convert by coming into contact with Mormonism through their own network (see Chapter 6 for a detailed study on the Mormon community in Pohja). While the precise details of all conversions are no longer recoverable, the general hypothesis concerning the importance of social networks to the spread of new religious movements appears to be confirmed also by the present study.

At the level of ecclesiastical organization, Finland was considered by the leadership as one branch during the time period covered by

⁶¹⁹ The figures for Denmark, Norway, and Sweden have been calculated from data provided in Jenson, *History of the Scandinavian Mission*, pp. 534–536.

⁶²⁰ Appendix B has references to Lutheran parish records for most converts.

this study. Generally, a branch would be presided over by a male holder of the Melchizedek (or higher) priesthood, an elder. In the case of Finland, these elders were not local, but rather it was usually the senior missionary to Finland who was appointed as president of the branch at the semi-annual conferences held in Stockholm. The Finland branch was one of many branches in the Stockholm conference up to 1902, after which it belonged for a period of time to the re-opened Sundsvall conference. The quarterly membership numbers of this branch from 1875 to 1889, the years of active proselytizing, are shown in Table 4.4.

One can see that the maximum number of Mormons in Finland was about 40, with the number changing because of reasons such as conversions, excommunications, deaths, emigrations, and move-ins. The membership number includes any missionaries present in Finland at the time. In practice, this means that the actual number of church members is at times one or two less than the given number. No effort is made here to see if these numbers match exactly with the convert data provided in the membership record. Doing so might provide further clues about the accuracy of the record, but on the other hand one cannot be sure that mistakes were not made by those who compiled these membership numbers at the time.

Although Finland was considered by the conference leadership as one branch and contemporary reports consistently refer to only the “Finland branch” and to presidents appointed over that branch, available source material suggests the organization of at least three Mormon “branches” in nineteenth-century Finland, as noted in Section 4.2. The organization dates of these entities are shown in Table 4.5.

While these entities were called branches by some, they were not such in the traditional Mormon sense. They should probably more aptly be termed local groups of the Finland branch, a branch that covered a vast geographical area. Be that as it may, the situation presents the scholar with somewhat of a dilemma. On the one hand, the presiding missionary Axel Tullgren in 1876–1877 organized a number of entities in Finland that he termed branches and once even

Table 4.4. The quarterly membership number of the Finland branch, 1875–1889.⁶²¹

Year	Month			
	February	May	August	November
1875	0	0	0	2
1876	2	2	6	7
1877	7	12	17	12
1878	14	23	23	21
1879	21	21	21	24
1880	24	24	31	21
1881	21	20	21	20
1882	24	25	26	30
1883	30	30	32	33
1884	24	24	24	26
1885	34	34	34	34
1886	36	40	39	39
1887	39	40	39	42
1888	42	42	42	38
1889	38	38	36	35

Table 4.5. Known organization dates of Finnish Mormon “branches.”

Branch	Organization Date
Vaasa	13 November 1876
Tenhola	1 May 1877
Pietarsaari	3 June 1877

appointed a president over one of these branches (the junior missionary Carl Sundström). On the other hand, these entities seem to never have been recognized as branches by those presiding over the conference that they would have belonged to.⁶²²

It is possible that more of these branches or groups were organized where clusters of members resided, but further speculation on that

⁶²¹ The membership number includes any missionaries present in Finland at the time. Information has been obtained from Scandinavian Mission Statistics, 1850–1930, fd. 20, CHLA, and Stockholm Conference Historical Record, 1867–1883, p. 203, 207, 209, 211, 221, 231, 233, 235, 248, 254, 255, 257, 266, and 270, CHLA.

⁶²² One exception is when Nils Flygare, president of the Scandinavian Mission, wrote to Joseph F. Smith mistakenly saying that a branch of 12 members had been organized in Pietarsaari after the missionaries had gone there in 1875. See his letter of 21 March 1878, paraphrased in “Spread of the Gospel,” *Deseret News*, 24 April 1878, p. 181.

topic risks becoming an argument from silence. For example, in addition to these localities, minutes from church meetings exist from Larsmo and Pohja. It is possible that Larsmo and Pietarsaari were in practice the same branch, because Mormons from Larsmo are shown as attending and being ordained to the priesthood (21 November 1880) at a meeting in Pietarsaari. It is not known whether a branch in Pohja was ever officially organized, but at least the number of Mormons in that area would have warranted doing so (see Chapter 6). The Pietarsaari-Larsmo group was the only one to survive.

Because of the scarcity of source material, it is not known to what extent the converts met together regularly for Sunday worship. Minutes have survived from twelve general or council meetings.⁶²³ These meetings commonly included the singing of hymns and partaking of the sacrament. Furthermore, the meetings sometimes included ordinations to the priesthood of faithful male members or the excommunication of wayward members. The conductors of and speakers at these meetings were usually the missionaries. They witnessed to their own experiences with Mormonism and exhorted the members. For example, the converts could be admonished “to be faithful to the covenant which they have made with the Lord, for they have not covenanted with any man.”⁶²⁴ Similarly, at least some were encouraged “not to go to participate in communion anymore by the Lutheran faith,” thus strengthening the boundary between Mormonism and Lutheranism in the members’ minds.⁶²⁵ It was important for the members to “live in purity so that God’s Spirit could reside in their tabernacles,” possibly an exhortation to follow the Word of Wisdom and to stay faithful in their marriages.⁶²⁶ Furthermore, the converts were admonished to “fulfil their duties,” for example as they related to the payment of tithing.⁶²⁷

At times also the members spoke at these meetings regarding their own convictions of Mormonism’s divinity. Matts Andersson and An-

⁶²³ Vaasa (13 December 1876), Svenskby in Tenhola (1 May 1877), Pietarsaari (3 June 1877, 16 January 1878, 21 November 1881, 25 December 1881, 9 April 1882, 28 May 1882), Larsmo (1 August 1880, 1 May 1881), and Pohja (24 January 1886, 12 December 1897). See Finland Branch Record 1876–1897, CHLA.

⁶²⁴ Meeting minutes, 13 December 1876 and 3 June 1877, Finland Branch Record 1876–1897, p. 3 and 4, CHLA.

⁶²⁵ Meeting minutes, 1 May 1877, Finland Branch Record 1876–1897, p. 3, CHLA.

⁶²⁶ Meeting minutes, 1 August 1880, Finland Branch Record 1876–1897, p. 7, CHLA.

⁶²⁷ Meeting minutes, 9 April 1882, Finland Branch Record 1876–1897, p. 18, CHLA.

ders Johansson in Larsmo, for example, “expressed their joy of having come to knowledge of the truth, and had a testimony that they belonged to God’s Kingdom.”⁶²⁸ This took place in August 1880, one month after they had been baptized. The expressions of faith could sometimes be very strong. The minutes of a meeting held in Pohja in January 1886 depict the feelings of enthusiastic members:

Thereafter 3 of the brethren present stepped forward and gave their testimonies concerning the divine origin of the Gospel[,] said that they wanted to both live and die for the same[,] and their testimonies were full of spirit and life ...⁶²⁹

The feelings of these men may have been exacerbated by the upcoming prison sentence of one of the local members (see Chapter 6). In addition to a general fervency of faith, it also seems evident that Mormonism planted in the converts a desire to bring their life into conformity with the faith’s teachings. The above-quoted Matts Andersson and Anders Johansson spoke in November 1880 about how “their desire was to go forward and to do better hereafter than what they have done so far.”⁶³⁰ The members seem to have valued the church’s periodicals; at one meeting in Pietarsaari, conducted entirely by the local membership, it was decided to acquire means to procure the Swedish church periodical *Nordstjernen*.⁶³¹

In general, it is not known how strongly the Finnish Latter-day Saints became socialized into the Mormon way of life, including for example adherence to the Word of Wisdom (abstaining from alcohol, coffee, tea, and tobacco, for example) and separation from the state church. Their expressions of faith, as quoted above, imply that at least some of the converts took their new religion very seriously. They were willing to sacrifice their old ways and, if needs be, even suffer for their convictions. The record of the Finland branch also indicates that many members contributed through the payment of tithes, usually collected by the visiting missionaries on their travels.

On the other hand, some converts had difficulty in putting their old habits behind them when they joined the Mormons. Norman Lee,

⁶²⁸ Meeting minutes, 1 August 1880, Finland Branch Record 1876–1897, p. 7, CHLA.

⁶²⁹ Meeting minutes, 24 January 1886, Finland Branch Record 1876–1897, p. 24, CHLA.

⁶³⁰ Meeting minutes, 21 November 1880, Finland Branch Record 1876–1897, n.p., CHLA.

⁶³¹ Meeting minutes, 28 May 1882, Finland Branch Record 1876–1897, p. 19, CHLA.

visiting Finland in 1897 with Carl Ahlquist, writes of a humorous incident involving a convert couple in Pietarsaari:

The woman kept house and worked in the garden, while the man worked in the cigar factory. We smelled coffee strong enough in the morning when they prepared their breakfast, but did not say anything about it. While we were eating our breakfast later, the old lady said, "I suppose you smelled coffee this morning? You know, the 'old man' works 12 hours a day in that factory and he insists on his coffee mornings." When he got home that night he took us for a walk to show us the lot and as soon as we were out of earshot of the house, he said, "I guess you smelled coffee this morning? You see, the 'old woman' has such a habit of using it that she can't get along without it. So, I take a cup with her to be sociable." We understood very well.⁶³²

It is also interesting to examine whether the Mormon converts attended communion in the Lutheran church after their conversions, something which was in fact mandated by law, if not enforced in practice.⁶³³ As will be shown in Chapter 5, local Lutheran clergy could go as far as denying communion from a parishioner if they found out that he or she had converted to Mormonism, or in a milder reaction mark the person as a Mormon in the parish register. Because of the loose enforcement of the law requiring attendance at communion and the prevalence of people in general not attending communion, it is difficult to make any conclusions about non-attendance resulting specifically from a person's Mormonism. However, if a Mormon convert did attend Lutheran communion, it shows a deviation from the norms taught by the missionaries.

⁶³² "Autobiography of S. Norman Lee," pp. 40–41, HBLL. Contemporary Mormon views on the harmful effects of coffee are given for example in "Kaffets skadliga verkan," *Nordstjernen*, vol. 10, no. 6 (15 March 1886), p. 89. On the other hand, the prohibition of coffee was not necessarily viewed very seriously by all Mormons yet at this time. Carl Sundström, one of the two first missionaries to Finland, explains how during his second mission in 1894 he "made coffee on board and it tasted good to us all. We were frozen, and then I remembered my dear wife and children for I had coffee from my home in America." See Carl A. Sundström diary, 17 February 1894, CHLA.

⁶³³ Immo Nokkala, *Ehtoollispakkokysymys Suomessa 1818–1910* (Helsinki: Suomen Kirkkohistoriallinen Seura, 1986).

An examination of parish registers shows that some Mormons continued to attend Lutheran communion after they had been baptized into their new faith. For example Anna Berg, one of the four earliest converts in the Vaasa area, attended communion annually after her baptism in 1876 to her death in 1880.⁶³⁴ Adolf and Eva Lindros, who most likely were specifically exhorted not to attend communion in a May 1877 meeting, did so about three months later.⁶³⁵ There are at least four basic options for why attendance at communion continued for some. First, the new converts may not have fully understood the Mormon stance concerning the need for full separation from their previous faith. Second, the new converts may have known of this stance, but were not sufficiently convinced of the necessity to draw such a line to their previous faith. Third, the new converts may have known of their church's stance, but may not have had the courage to separate themselves fully from their previous faith, perhaps partly due to social pressure. Finally, the new converts may have known of their church's stance, but not seen it necessary to separate themselves from Lutheranism in that manner.

Another interesting possibility is tied to options two and three as outlined above, namely that sporadic participation in Lutheran communion was simply the rational thing for these members to do. Joining the Mormons may already have been socially costly for them, and by participating in communion they may have showed that their conversion did not entail a rejection of everything that Finnish culture and Lutheranism encompassed. In that sense it was a way of acknowledging their religious and cultural heritage and capital. Some may of course even have been pressured by their societal peers to participate, again making it the rational thing to do. This is especially the case due to the lack of a strong Mormon church organization in Finland. Although some excommunications did occur, there was no strong and continuously active community that would have easily imposed sanctions for such "lapses." Mostly there were loose social networks of converts without strong connections to the institutional church. Neither were brief visits by missionaries sufficient forms of socialization.

⁶³⁴ CB, Mustasaari parish, 1871–1880, p. 758, KA.

⁶³⁵ CB, Tenhola parish, 1873–1882, p. 517, KA.



Figure 4.7. Anders Johansson and his wife Lovisa Eriksdotter from Larsmo were baptized in 1880. Courtesy of Vera Nyman.

The main contacts of the Finnish members to the institutional church were sporadic visits by missionaries and subscription to the Swedish church periodical *Nordstjernen*. Due to press laws, the periodical was not always allowed into the country, however, with sometimes only the wrappers reaching the addressee.⁶³⁶ The members could also write directly to church leaders with requests for material. For example, Katrina Granholm, one of the members in Pietarsaari, wrote to the Scandinavian mission president in late 1885, requesting the address of the current Stockholm conference president, a subscription to *Nordstjernen*, and parts of *Mormons bok*. Apparently Granholm began to receive *Nordstjernen* after her letter, but then wrote another letter when the periodical stopped arriving for many months in April 1886.⁶³⁷ Church leaders seem to have recognized the difficult situation

⁶³⁶ Anthon H. Lund to *The Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star*, 1 January 1885, reprinted in "Abstract of Correspondence," *The Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star*, vol. 47, no. 2 (12 January 1885), p. 27.

⁶³⁷ Nils C. Flygare to C. Kiskinen [sic], 12 November 1885, Scandinavian Mission Letterpress Copybooks, vol. 7, CHLA. Nils C. Flygare to James Yörgason and Nils C. Flygare to C. Kiiskinen, both on 30 November 1886, Scandinavian Mission

of Finnish members like Granholm. Mission president Nils Flygare wrote to her in reply:

May the Lord bless you and strengthen you in faith in his gospel and may you in your loneliness far away in the northern land enjoy a fulness of God's Holy Spirit that can strengthen you in faithfulness to the end is the prayer of your brother in the eternal covenant ... Greetings to all brothers and sisters.⁶³⁸

While the missionaries succeeded in visiting some members, keeping in contact with them all does not seem to have succeeded. Norman Lee wrote later that "from thirty to forty" of the members could not be contacted before 1896, "that is, letters mailed to them were returned."⁶³⁹ Thus some members, if they did not initiate contact themselves to let the church know about their new whereabouts, simply became lost. This is significant, because it shows a lack of group cohesion and a lack of a feeling of belonging among many of the Finnish converts. Putting aside the natural reason of deaths, some of the scattered converts either did not want to be affiliated with the Mormons any longer, or they had not internalized the high regard in which the church organization was held in the living of Mormonism.

In areas with more members (such as Pohja, discussed specifically in Chapter 6, and Pietarsaari/Larsmo), the institutional contacts were supplemented by possibilities for socializing and meeting with other members. Some were not so fortunate, however, but seem to have felt rather lonely in their new faith. Carl Ahlquist writes about how he and Norman Lee met some in 1897 who "had not seen a Mormon missionary in 8 years, and when they saw us and found out who we were, they wept in joy like children, and when we had to leave them, the sorrow was as great as the joy had been when we met."⁶⁴⁰ Ahlquist expressed his surprise at how these Mormons in such isolated circumstances had kept their faith so strong.

Letterpress Copybooks, vol. 8, CHLA. The Finland Branch Record indicates that *Nordstjernen* was at times subscribed to also by some non-Mormons in Finland.

⁶³⁸ Nils C. Flygare to C. Kiiskinen, 30 November 1886, Scandinavian Mission Letterpress Copybooks, vol. 8, CHLA.

⁶³⁹ "Autobiography of S. Norman Lee," p. 36, HBLL.

⁶⁴⁰ Carl A. Ahlquist to Christian N. Lund, 29 June 1897, p. 220 (*Nordstjärnan*) and p. 316 (*Skandinaviens Stjerne*).

But even in the Mormon-denser Pietarsaari/Larsmo area could the members feel disconnected from the larger church body. This was evident to August Höglund when he visited and held a meeting with five members in July 1895: "Many of the brothers and sisters here have been in the church for many years, and they have been very grieved about having been left alone without a missionary." Höglund could not understand why nobody had been sent to Finland after 1889.⁶⁴¹

The degree of importance that the members seem to have attached to the presence of missionaries is essential to note. In a sense, as will also be shown in Chapter 6, the Mormonism of the Finns appears to have been reactive rather than proactive. They relied strongly on the missionaries and did not actively seem to want to spread the faith themselves. Strengthening the church organization in Finland and receiving more co-religionists and a larger community in that manner appears to have been seen as the task of the missionaries sent by church leaders, not the attractive possibility of an enthusiastic local membership. Because no primary documents speaking directly to this issue have been found for this study, it is not possible to make a certain assessment.

Nevertheless, this passive and reactive stance is a significant observation that I see as one key explanation for why the Mormon movement in nineteenth-century Finland did not take off. The membership, reliant on brief missionary visits and scattered across the country, was not sufficiently socialized into Mormon doctrine and practice. This view is strengthened by the fact that Anders Johansson in Larsmo, ordained an elder in 1880, was sent a letter from Sweden in 1910 exhorting him to hold local church meetings. While he was a good speaker and was instrumental in the conversion of two of his neighbors, he interestingly did not know whether he as an elder had the authority to baptize persons.⁶⁴² Coupled with the generally negative image and the perceived large doctrinal and cultural gap between Lutheranism and Mormonism (as opposed to for example Baptism or Methodism), the passivity lead to a stagnant movement.

The contrast to for example the early Baptists in Finland is remarkable in this regard. While the first contacts also there came through

⁶⁴¹ Letter of August J. Höglund, 9 July 1895, p. 235 (*Nordstjärnan*) and p. 331 (*Skandinavians Stjerne*).

⁶⁴² Rinne, *Kristuksen Kirkko Suomessa*, p. 6.

missionaries from Sweden, the Finnish Baptists were soon building their own branches and expanding the movement through their own efforts. Here one must keep in mind a fundamental difference between the movements as an explanatory factor. Mormonism was strictly hierarchical and may thus have conditioned the members into a state where strong initiative and autonomous action at the grass-roots level was not encouraged. The Baptists in Finland, on the other hand, seem to have felt freer to act in their efforts to help the movement grow in the country during this time. For example, the Baptists began publishing the Finnish-language periodical *Totuuden Kaiku* largely through the efforts of one single convert, with this publication increasing the local membership's enthusiasm and sense of belonging to a larger movement.⁶⁴³

But neither did the Scandinavian Mormon church leaders always seem to assign greater importance to the inclusion of Finland in the Stockholm conference. When the titling of the Swedish-language church periodical *Nordstjernen* was changed in the beginning of 1891, it was billed as the "Organ for the Latter-day Saints in Sweden,"⁶⁴⁴ with the Finnish church members forgotten from the equation. Thus, while the Finnish Saints may not have felt part of the larger church, these kinds of omissions implicitly show that neither did the Scandinavian church leaders regard Finland as a truly integral part of the church or do all they could to make the Finnish members feel like they really belonged.

Nevertheless, the few Mormons who continued in the faith were regarded by the visiting missionaries as stalwarts. Although disconnected from the larger church and even the local Stockholm conference, some of them "bore powerful testimonies of the truth of the gospel." The missionaries could only hope that this would continue to be the case. Wrote Alonzo Irvine after his visit to Finland in the summer of 1896:

There are only few Saints in Russia and Finland, but they are sincere and faithful, and my continual prayer is that God would bless

⁶⁴³ Anneli Lohikko, *Baptistit Suomessa 1856–2006* (Tampere: Kharis, 2006), pp. 16–48.

⁶⁴⁴ See for example the subtitling in *Nordstjernen*, vol. 15, no. 1 (1 January 1891), p. 1. The periodical was re-subtitled "Organ for the Latter-day Saints" in January 1893, although the bound volume for the entire year still retained the designation "in Sweden."

them, so that they may remain faithful and that he would allot to them not only the necessities of life, but also grant them the reward – that eternal life – which is prepared for the faithful.⁶⁴⁵

4.5. Discussion and Summary

Proselytizing work in Finland began in 1875 and continued more or less regularly until 1889. The majority of the population spoke the Finnish language; the missionaries were sent mostly from Sweden and did not speak Finnish. Thus they could make contact primarily only with the small Swedish-speaking population of the coastal areas. Furthermore, the level of religious freedom in Finland did not include Mormon proselytizing, and thus the work was fraught with difficulty. Despite such language and legal difficulties, at least 78 converts are known to have been made in Finland between the years 1875–1900 by 25 missionaries. Two or three of the missionaries were born in Finland. Their converts belonged to the Finland branch of the Stockholm conference.

After 1889, missionary work became sporadic, and the church lost contact with many of the converts. The continuous lack of missionaries and the uncertainty of Finnish political developments among the leadership seem to have contributed to a situation where it was not deemed sufficiently important to send missionaries. Furthermore, contact with the existing membership was difficult to keep up. The passive and reactive stance of the Finnish converts also appears to have contributed to a non-growth of the church organization. By 1907 the Swedish mission president Peter Matson wrote that the Finnish Latter-day Saints “have apparently been forgotten.”⁶⁴⁶

Berger and Luckmann argue that the social construction of reality is perpetuated and sustained through social practices. They specifically attribute such to three processes: externalization, objectivation, and internalization.⁶⁴⁷ One can see this process with regards to writings on the Mormons as discussed in Chapter 3. Individuals externalized their ideas about the Mormons by creating articles, pamphlets, and books that presented those ideas. They were read by others in

⁶⁴⁵ Letter of Alonzo B. Irvine, no date, reprinted in “Korrespondens,” *Nordstjärnan*, vol. 20, no. 19 (1 October 1896), pp. 298–299.

⁶⁴⁶ Peter Matson to *Improvement Era*, 19 August 1907, reprinted in *Improvement Era*, vol. 10, no. 12 (October 1907), pp. 994–995.

⁶⁴⁷ Berger and Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality*, p. 149.

society and the image given of the Mormons became objectivated, or “developed a kind of factual existence or truth ... issuing from the nature of the world itself.” When this image already existed, future generations internalized it while building an understanding of the world through primary and secondary socialization.⁶⁴⁸ In the Finnish context, primary socialization tended also to include the internalization of a Lutheran worldview, including its understanding of proper and improper religiosity.

By beginning to proselytize in Finland, Mormon missionaries entered a contest in which they sought to change the reality of their prospective converts. Although it is not known to what extent these individuals had preconceived notions regarding the Mormons, generally speaking it was the missionaries’ task to transform the Mormon image of otherness into a desirable image of familiarity. In essence, the missionaries participated in constructing an alternative world of understanding for the converts.⁶⁴⁹ This was done through their discussions with the prospective converts and through the literature they gave these persons.

Berger and Luckmann see “conversation” as the most important method of maintaining one’s understanding of reality. Furthermore, they argue that one can maintain one’s self-identity efficiently only in an environment where that identity is confirmed.⁶⁵⁰ Similarly, Stark and Finke argue that the level of an individual’s participation in a religious movement responds to that of those around him or her, especially friends and family members and the immediate religious community in general.⁶⁵¹ In this connection it is noteworthy that Mormonism did not become a sustained movement in nineteenth-century Finland, and thus there was mostly no religious community. Except for a few local contacts, converts were largely isolated from each other and they were not bound together for example through a national periodical. In other words, there was a lack of secondary socialization. Thus, while some friends and relatives may have known

⁶⁴⁸ Vivien Burr, *An Introduction to Social Constructionism* (London and New York: Routledge, 1995), p. 10.

⁶⁴⁹ Kenneth J. Gergen, *An Invitation to Social Construction*, 2nd edition (London: Sage Publications, 2009), p. 5.

⁶⁵⁰ Berger and Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality*, p. 172, 174, and 177–178.

⁶⁵¹ Rodney Stark and Roger Finke, *Acts of Faith: Explaining the Human Side of Religion* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), p. 147.

of their Mormon conversions and thus effectively sustained the Mormon identity, the converts were lacking in their access to most of the social processes that would have strengthened their own Mormon identity. This in turn may have translated into a lack of interest to transfer the faith to future generations, finally resulting in the practical demise of the movement.

Mormonism provided significant benefits through its claims to unadulterated divine truth and salvation. It also enabled the conservation of cultural and religious capital for example by using the *Bible* as one of its sacred texts. However, the social costs that converting to Mormonism entailed due to its generally negative image should not be understated either. Being regarded by one's social network as deceived by a theocratic and deceitful organization would have been costly, especially if one were regarded as an active agent of that organization. It seems plausible to explain the low number of converts at least partly from this perspective.

In sum, the Mormons did not fare well in the contest over the supremacy of discourses and image construction. Nineteenth-century Mormonism in Finland never became a vibrant movement and its discourses did not have the power to significantly change the image that had been constructed of itself through literature and through various societal actors. In this arena of what Gergen calls "identity politics," Mormons sought to respond to the constructed identity and image through techniques such as resistance (for example by objecting to it in their preaching meetings) and identity activism (for example by distributing their own literature with discourses that defined the Mormon religion in its own terms and that could explicitly call into question outsider portrayals).⁶⁵² It is difficult to say to what extent individuals began to question the popularly circulated image of the Mormons due to these efforts. But if one views conversion to Mormonism as accepting *and* embracing the Mormon portrayal of themselves, the Mormons were not very successful in changing their image. Thus the disciplinary regime of the Lutheran church in religious matters, specifically in formulating and constructing an understanding of new religious movements, was not broken or in practice even seriously challenged by the Mormons.⁶⁵³

⁶⁵² Gergen, *An Invitation to Social Construction*, pp. 51–52.

⁶⁵³ Burr, *An Introduction to Social Constructionism*, p. 55.

5. A Turbulent Interface to Society

“Our Elders in Finland have been followed up by the Rus[s]ian authorities which have confiscated quite a few of our books and pamphlets, but the people themselves seem to be kindly disposed towards the Elders, and some have also been added to the church in that country.” – Niels Wilhelmsen, Mormon mission president (*The Latter-day Saints’ Millennial Star*, 3 January 1881).

“It is with deep worry concerning the ignorance and unbelief that still prevails among the common people in our country that I have the sad duty to notify the honorable Diocesan Chapter that Mormonism – this mixture of absurdity and perversion of all religious and moral ideas – has had certain success also in this parish.” – Wilhelm Fredrikson, Lutheran parish minister (Letter to Porvoo Diocesan Chapter, 2 April 1878).

“As far as we know this kind of proselytizing is forbidden in Finland. But making a point of that must in the eyes of ‘the educated’ probably only be considered ‘hatred of light’ or obscurantism.” (*Uusi Suometar*, 1 November 1884).⁶⁵⁴

Mormonism as a social movement did not necessitate a certain type of reaction by Finnish society. As noted by Gergen, for example, social problems “don’t exist in the world as independent facts.”⁶⁵⁵ Rather they are constructed as such by dichotomizing the world into good and bad, into opportunities and problems. Everything that is defined as a negative problem could just as well be seen as a positive opportunity in another type of reality. The particular understanding of the world that prevails in a given society and culture is a result of that society’s power relationships and accepted institutions. Burr writes that such an understanding “brings with it the potential for social

⁶⁵⁴ An earlier version of this chapter has been published as “Mormons, Civil Authorities and Lutheran Clergy in Finland, 1875–1889,” *Scandinavian Journal of History*, vol. 35, no. 3 (September 2010), pp. 268–289. Available at <http://www.informaworld.com>.

⁶⁵⁵ Kenneth J. Gergen, *An Invitation to Social Construction*, 2nd ed. (London: Sage Publications, 2009), p. 4.

practices, for acting in one way rather than another, and for marginalising alternative ways of acting."⁶⁵⁶ In other words, the prevailing construction of reality makes it seem "right" and "natural" to act in certain ways towards particular individuals and groups, to either embrace them or fight them.

The work of Mormon missionaries in Finland provoked reactions by many different societal actors. The reactions were determined by a number of factors, such as the socially constructed image of Mormons that the actor may have had, the actor's societal role, and personal interests. Furthermore, they were not reactions without consequences, but rather they affected the proselytizing work itself. One can thus speak of a two-way interface between Mormonism and the rest of society, where the actions and opinions of either party had significance for the other. In this study, this interface is of great significance due to its consequences for the potential growth, acceptance, or rejection of Mormonism in Finland. The exploration in this chapter is limited to the years when active proselytizing took place, beginning in 1875 and ending in 1889.

For purposes of analysis I divide societal actors into four groups. Each of them has a distinct place and role in society that provided diverging frames of reference and conditioned their reactions. First, I examine the response of civil authorities, who were charged with upholding laws and keeping the general peace. Second, I analyze the reactions of Lutheran priests, clergy of the dominant tradition who approached the Mormon question from a spiritually-focused countercult perspective. To them, Mormonism formed a threat by rejecting the plausibility structures that the Lutheran understanding of reality rested upon, and thus it had to be destroyed and its adherents saved into the Christian fold.⁶⁵⁷ Third, I discuss the kinds of things that newspapers, the constructors and purveyors of public opinion, wrote in reaction to the proselytizing work. Finally, I examine the reactions of laypersons.

⁶⁵⁶ Vivien Burr, *An Introduction to Social Constructionism* (London and New York: Routledge, 1995), p. 64.

⁶⁵⁷ Douglas E. Cowan, *Bearing False Witness? An Introduction to the Christian Countercult* (Westport: Praeger, 2003), p. 24.

5.1. Civil Authorities

The Mormons posed a two-fold problem for officials such as mayors, local sheriffs, and provincial governors. First, Mormon proselytizing was in itself against the laws of the land, as it encouraged people to leave the Evangelical Lutheran church. As discussed in Chapter 2, the Lutheran church and the Orthodox church were the only religious bodies with full rights to function in Finland before 1889. That year marked the coming into force of the new Dissenter Act that gave rights to the formal organizing of Christian Protestant movements such as Baptists and Methodists only, but not to Mormons. Full rights for Mormons were not provided until the Religious Freedom Act enacted in 1922, and thus officials had a legal right and obligation to resist Mormon proselytizing activity for the entire time period (1875–1889) examined in this chapter.

Second, the spreading of literature, an essential component of proselytizing, was against laws regulating press activities. Based on the Printing Ordinance of 1867, all literature had to undergo a censoring check before it was allowed to be disseminated freely.⁶⁵⁸ Because the Mormon missionaries generally brought their literature with them from Sweden and did not subject it to an examination by officials, its distribution was illegal. Of course it would have been difficult to subject it to such a censoring check, because in doing so the missionary's illegal purpose for being in Finland would have been made apparent. Furthermore, it is unlikely that the literature would have passed the censoring check, given its purpose. This second problem is thus a consequence of the first one.

The following analysis concentrates on instances where officials reacted to Mormon activity, using the above framework as the starting point. It should be kept in mind that officials pursued the matter with various degrees of zeal, and not all missionaries came in contact with officials or had literature confiscated, for example. Nevertheless, it did happen on a number of occasions, and exemplifies an official maintenance and reinforcement of the boundary between what was seen as proper or improper religious activity in Finnish society at the time. Importantly, the civil authorities were also the societal actor who

⁶⁵⁸ *Suomen Suuriruhtinmaan Asetus-Kokous wuodelta 1867* (Helsinki: Keisarillisen Senaatin kirjapaino, 1868), no. 15. See especially part 2 concerning literature that is imported from abroad.

could impose punishments for Mormon activity, not merely spread opinions or react negatively individually.

When finding out about the presence of a Mormon missionary in a given area and desiring or being compelled to react, the first official step usually seems to have been to ask the missionary to stop preaching or to leave the area. The first example of such a reaction comes from Vaasa in 1876. Reacting to a letter by the Lutheran church council, mayor Wegelius called Carl and Johan Sundström to speak with him on August 3, 1876. Carl Sundström reports that two police officers brought the call from Wegelius, who then read to the brothers the letter of the church council, spearheaded by acting parish minister Johannes Bäck. The council requested that the two brothers be deported from Finland, "since they confess and here seek to spread a doctrine not tolerated by the Finnish state any more than by any other European state."⁶⁵⁹

This example manifests an intersection between the interests of countercultism on the one hand and the governmental responsibility to regulate the Finnish religious economy on the other. When the religiously inspired argumentation of the countercult actor had not brought the desired result (as will be seen in Section 5.2), it turned to the government and used secular argumentation to reach its goal of ridding Finland of the Mormon influence. Carl Sundström opined that he and his brother were being persecuted just like "the prophets, God's son, and the Apostles," but remembered the Biblical injunction to rejoice in such opposition.⁶⁶⁰ Nevertheless, the Sundström brothers left Finland for Sweden that autumn, after having gotten discouraged "through a combination of circumstances" that were not elaborated on.⁶⁶¹ Apparently the mayor did not have them forcibly deported.

Carl Sundström returned to Finland to work with Axel Tullgren in the beginning of November that year. Two days after holding a religious meeting at the home of convert Johanna Berg, the missionaries were called in front of Carl G. Wrede, governor of Vaasa province,

⁶⁵⁹ Carl A. Sundström diary, 3 August 1876, CHLA. Johannes Bäck to Vaasa Magistrate, 31 July 1876, Incoming Letters to the Magistrate, Archive of Vaasa City Court, VMA.

⁶⁶⁰ Carl A. Sundström diary, 3 August 1876, CHLA.

⁶⁶¹ Ola N. Liljenquist to Brigham Young, 17 November 1876, Brigham Young Incoming Correspondence, CHLA.

“for having preached and held meeting.”⁶⁶² According to Tullgren, Wrede “received us very harshly and forbade us from preaching and ordered the policemen to watch us.” He also threatened the missionaries, “as we did not want to give up preaching, to send us to Siberia,” although Tullgren did not think that the governor’s authority stretched that far. The governor was probably alerted to the return of the missionaries by Johannes Bäck, because Bäck had come to interrupt the mentioned religious meeting.⁶⁶³

Furthermore, a few weeks later Wrede wrote to the Vaasa magistrate, discussing the presence of the Mormon missionaries and their practice of spreading Mormon literature. The governor asked the magistrate to confiscate all such literature, specifically mentioning that Johanna Berg had literature of this kind in her possession. The stated reason was that “the dissemination of [such] uncensored print products is against current law and regulations and can cause disorder in society.”⁶⁶⁴ Accordingly, on December 19, public prosecutor Carl Hellberg together with two policemen visited the residences of Berg and the missionaries, removing the Mormon literature they found. The confiscated lot included a total of thirteen titles, for example the *Doctrine and Covenants* in Danish, Parley P. Pratt’s *A Voice of Warning* in Swedish, Jonas Engberg’s *Andeliga Sångers*, and issues of the church periodical *Skandinaviens Stjerne*.⁶⁶⁵ Such a depletion of the missionaries’ literature repository naturally affected their ability to proselytize effectively. However, it seems that the officers were not able to take all literature into their possession, as Tullgren writes that they took “some of the books and some small pamphlets to examine our doctrine.”⁶⁶⁶ In fact, Tullgren expected that they had “taken part of our publications to examine our doctrine, after which they would

⁶⁶² Axel Tullgren diary, 28 November 1876 (p. 32), CHLA.

⁶⁶³ Axel Tullgren to Ola N. Liljenquist, 19 December 1876, reprinted in “Korrespondance,” *Skandinaviens Stjerne*, vol. 26, no. 8 (15 January 1877), p. 122.

⁶⁶⁴ Carl G. Wrede to Vaasa Magistrate, 16 December 1876, Incoming Letters to the Magistrate, Archive of Vaasa City Court, VMA.

⁶⁶⁵ Isidor Taucher to Carl G. Wrede, 28 December 1876, Incoming Letters, Administrative Department and First Branch, First Archive of the Office of Vaasa Provincial Government, VMA.

⁶⁶⁶ Axel Tullgren diary, 19 December 1876 (pp. 38–39), CHLA. Emphasis added.

bring them back.”⁶⁶⁷ The officials seem to have considered the matter to be a permanent confiscation.⁶⁶⁸

What prompted this action? The governor merely wrote that it had “come to my attention that there are persons within the area of the city and particularly in Klemetsö” who were spreading such literature. Although it is not known for certain, the most probable source of this information was again parish minister Johannes Bäck, this time through his numerous writings concerning the reappearance of the missionaries published in December 1876 issues of the local newspaper *Wasabladet*. Countercult concern therefore again lead to governmental action to uphold boundaries and the regulation of the religious economy through the enforcing of legislation.⁶⁶⁹

On December 28, 1876, Tullgren and Sundström were called by two police officers to see the mayor of Vaasa. This time the issue revolved around the missionaries’ passports or visas. Neither had come to Finland specifically as a Mormon missionary. Rather, Tullgren was registered as “North American Subject Mr. Axel Tullgren” and Sundström as “Swedish Subject worker Carl August Sundström.”⁶⁷⁰ I have found no information on the outcome of the meeting. After this, the situation in Vaasa seems to have calmed down for a time, with the missionaries working elsewhere in Finland. Johanna Berg, the convert known by the authorities, moved to Sweden in the late summer of 1877.⁶⁷¹ Around this time the missionaries also encountered officials in Pietarsaari, about 100 kilometers north of Vaasa. There “the authorities put themselves against the missionary, so that the ‘Saints’ could not even have meeting premises that were open to the public.”⁶⁷²

Axel Tullgren was still to feel the power of the civil authorities. While in Helsinki on April 4, 1878, Tullgren and his missionary companion Olof Forssell were visited by two police officers, asking them

⁶⁶⁷ Axel Tullgren to Ola N. Liljenquist, 19 December 1876, p. 123.

⁶⁶⁸ As discussed in Section 5.4, at least part of the confiscated literature apparently ended up in the possession of a layperson in the area.

⁶⁶⁹ Carl G. Wrede to Vaasa Magistrate, 16 December 1876. See Section 5.2 concerning Bäck’s writings in *Wasabladet*.

⁶⁷⁰ Register of Visas Granted to Foreigners, 1873–1896, First Archive of the Office of Vaasa Provincial Government, VMA.

⁶⁷¹ Finland Branch Record, 1876–1897, CHLA. Record of move-outs, Vaasa parish, 1862–1890, p. 83, KA.

⁶⁷² “Ur en artikel,” *Wasabladet*, 17 November 1877, p. 2. *Wasabladet*’s information came from the Swedish newspaper *Svenska Dagbladet*.

to come to the police station the following day. Tullgren recognized that selling Mormon literature was illegal, and accordingly, he wrote an application to the governor of Uusimaa province for getting permission to preach in Finland.⁶⁷³ The application was apparently denied. Tullgren and Forssell were compelled to travel back to Stockholm, with the police paying for their trip. Tullgren was not happy. On April 13, before boarding the steamer for Sweden, he was out in the morning and, in a sacred act, washed or dusted his feet against "this city for driving us out."⁶⁷⁴ As seen by the mission president Nils Flygare, the reason for the difficulties was partly in the missionaries themselves: "The mission in Finland was stop[p]ed for awhile, our brethren there met with good success and by the encouragement got a little to[o] daring, so they fell into the hands of the authorities and were banished from the land."⁶⁷⁵

Troubles experienced with civil authorities did not stop with the deportation of Axel Tullgren and Olof Forssell. Arriving in Vaasa by steamer on September 3, 1879, Per Pettersson had to have his luggage examined by customs officers just as other passengers. "I had quite carefully packed a lot of Church works in the bottom of my traveling trunk and covered them with a piece of heavy pasteboard, which looked like the bottom of the trunk itself, so that the officers only saw some of my private books," he reminisced later. While this saved the bulk of his Mormon literature, he had five copies of the *Book of Mormon* in a smaller piece of hand luggage. The officers took these away from him, "as they said, to give them a closer examination." When enquiring after the books some days later, he was told that they had been "handed to a doctor in that city named Ranke, to be examined."⁶⁷⁶

⁶⁷³ Axel Tullgren diary, 4 and 5 April 1878 (p. 103), CHLA.

⁶⁷⁴ Axel Tullgren diary, 13 April 1878 (n.p.), CHLA.

⁶⁷⁵ Nils C. Flygare to Joseph F. Smith, 17 June 1878, Nils C. Flygare Letterbook, 1878–1879, CHLA. The success most probably refers to the many baptisms in Sipoo in March 1878.

⁶⁷⁶ "Missionen i Finland," *Morgenstjernen*, vol. 3, no. 19 (1 October 1884), pp. 327–328. Stockholm conference president Lars Olson expressed regret that the copies were in fact not complete; he believed that the officials only took the literature to see what it contained. See Lars M. Olson to Niels C. Wilhelmsen, 20 September 1879, reprinted in "Korrespondens," *Nordstjernen*, vol. 3, no. 19 (1 October 1879), p. 299.

The man in question was Oskar Rancken, an influential person in the cultural life of Vaasa and the general region, having also served as the principal of Vaasa Upper Secondary School (Gymnasium) and Lyceum.⁶⁷⁷ He was liberal in his religious views, and as a member of the Lutheran church council of Vaasa he for example opposed any intervention in the work of Methodist preacher Karl Lindborg in 1881.⁶⁷⁸ Against this background it is interesting to note Rancken's negative attitude toward Mormonism. He refused to give the copies of the *Book of Mormon* back to Pettersson, but agreed to send them to Sweden to Stockholm conference president Lars M. Olson. Accordingly, Rancken sent the books, but in an arrangement where the recipient pays for the postage, in Pettersson's opinion an exorbitant sum. Pettersson wrote Olson, asking him not to pay for the postage, and thus the books were returned to Rancken who had to pay the return postage fee in addition to the original postage.⁶⁷⁹

To an extent, Rancken's views show the unequal footing on which for example Methodism and Mormonism had to go about their proselytizing work even before the Dissenter Act of 1889. The activity of both was illegal, but even as a church council member Rancken was against intervention into the Methodist preacher's activity. This example also shows that the border between civil authorities and influential laypersons could be fluid, since the officers seem to have called on Rancken's help to decide whether the literature was to be allowed into the country or not. On the other hand, the clear earlier dismissal of Mormonism by the Vaasa magistrate and the governor of Vaasa province suggest that Rancken may have been given the books for his

⁶⁷⁷ For more on Rancken, see Carsten Bregenhøj, ed., *Oskar Rancken: Pedagog och samlare, folklivsvetare och historiker* (Helsingfors: Svenska litteratursällskapet i Finland, 2001).

⁶⁷⁸ Church council minutes, 1868–1890, 25 April 1881, Archive of Vaasa Parish, VMA. See also the accompanying disagreement letter by Rancken. On Rancken more generally, see Jorma Kallenautio, Holger Wester, Pekka Hirvonen, Katarina Andersson, and Eija Piispala, *Vasa Historia IV: 1852–1917* (Vasa: Vasa stad, 2006), p. 556. On Lindborg's activities in more detail, see Leif-Göte Björklund, *Rikssvenska metodistpredikanterens betydelse för metodistkyrkans framväxt och utveckling i Finland 1880–1923* (Åbo: Åbo Akademi University Press, 2005), pp. 134–149.

⁶⁷⁹ "Missionen i Finland," *Morgenstjernen*, vol. 3, no. 19 (1 October 1884), p. 328. See Section 4.2 on Pettersson's experiences with civil authorities in Uusimaa province.

own interests, not for an actual decision to be made concerning their legitimacy.

Missionary Alexander Hedberg was affected strongly by governmental actions. He met with various difficulties already earlier while proselytizing in Sweden.⁶⁸⁰ Arriving in Finland in October 1884, his activities in Helsinki were soon mentioned widely in newspapers. *Folkvännen*, for example, explained on October 31 that Hedberg was selling inexpensive small books “that contain the Mormons’, ‘the Latter-day Saints’,’ doctrines and defenses – also for plural marriage.”⁶⁸¹ Only a few days later, newspapers noted that “Hedberg’s entire large stock of books has been confiscated by the authorities concerned and he himself is most closely watched by the police.” Furthermore, he was said to be in Sipoo at the time.⁶⁸² A recent convert woman, Lovisa Wörsten in Helsinki, tried to retrieve Hedberg’s books later in November, but was unsuccessful, as she “received an answer that they cannot be given back.” Wörsten was probably the one who had stored the literature, since Hedberg explained that “4 policemen had visited a sister and taken my books while I was gone.” Moreover, the police had reminded Wörsten that Hedberg’s activities were illegal. “The policeman had said further that if they would have caught me, I would have been taken before the court and had to pay a fine of at least 600 marks; for it was completely forbidden to sell Mormon publications, and consequently I was strictly forbidden from doing so.”⁶⁸³

It is not known who instigated the confiscation of Hedberg’s books in Helsinki. It is likely that the officials reacted to the information that was publicized in newspapers, beginning with *Folkvännen* as mentioned above. These reactions also reached out to Sipoo, where Hedberg stayed for a while. In that case, the instigator was governor

⁶⁸⁰ See excerpts in Carl A. Ek to Christian D. Fjeldsted, 22 January 1884, p. 39, and his letter of 13 August 1884, reprinted in “Korrespondens,” *Nordstjernen*, vol. 8, no. 18 (15 September 1884), pp. 282–283.

⁶⁸¹ “En mormon-lärare,” *Folkvännen*, 31 October 1884, p. 3. See republications in for example *Morgonbladet*, *Nya Pressen*, *Suomalainen Wirallinen Lehti*, and *Uusi Suometar* on 1 November and *Hufvudstadsbladet* and *Åbo Underrättelser* on 2 November.

⁶⁸² “Mormonläraren Hedbergs,” *Folkvännen*, 4 November 1884, p. 2. Again, see republications in for example *Helsingfors Dagblad*, *Hufvudstadsbladet*, *Morgonbladet*, *Suomalainen Wirallinen Lehti*, and *Uusi Suometar* on 5 November and *Östra Finland*, *Åbo Tidning*, *Sanomia Turusta*, and *Åbo Underrättelser* on 6 November.

⁶⁸³ Alexander S. Hedberg to Anthon H. Lund, 22 November 1884, reprinted in “Korrespondens,” *Nordstjernen*, vol. 8, no. 24 (15 December 1884), pp. 376–377.

Georg von Alfthan of Uusimaa province. Writing to the Sipoo sheriff Henrik Malmsten on November 3, von Alfthan requested that Malmsten find out more about Hedberg and whether he had proper documentation for his stay. The reason for von Alfthan's reaction was that "particular booklets on Mormonism's teachings have been disseminated here in the city."⁶⁸⁴

Hedberg himself reported to his ecclesiastical leader that he had been successful in Sipoo. "The people just wished that I would come to their homes and hold meetings there, and I held meetings each or every second day ... Now and again the thought occurred to me: how long would Lucifer be content with such a course of events. But I didn't have to wait very long to get better knowledge concerning that." He was visited by Malmsten on November 7 with an order that he should leave the area within three days, but "I didn't care about these orders, but rather continued to hold meetings and thereafter baptized 1." Two days later the sheriff came again, but Hedberg was holding a meeting elsewhere. Hedberg "received word that he had visited houses and asked for me and about what I had taught them – 'what the Bible teaches' was the answer."⁶⁸⁵

Malmsten reported his research results to the governor on November 10. According to his investigations, Hedberg had stayed with Anna Ruth in Sipoo, with Ruth being a Mormon who had also previously provided lodging for missionaries such as Hedberg. Furthermore, Hedberg had held "secret meetings where he has sought to spread the doctrine about the 'Latter-day Saints'" at Ruth's residence and at the residences of other converts in the area. Mormon booklets had been spread at such meetings, one example of which was sent by Malmsten to the governor. Hedberg had also spoken against the Lutheran priests in the area in "less chosen words." He had traveled

⁶⁸⁴ Georg von Alfthan to Henrik Malmsten, 3 November 1884, Letter Drafts, Second Branch, Archive of the Administrative Department of Uusimaa Provincial Government, KA. Hedberg's name was miswritten as Hedman in this letter. Hedberg's visa listed him as a Swedish subject and a student, not a Mormon missionary; see Register of Passports and Visas Granted to Foreigners, 1883–1886, 29 October 1884, Archive of the Administrative Department of Uusimaa Provincial Government, KA.

⁶⁸⁵ Alexander S. Hedberg to Anthon H. Lund, 22 November 1884.

away for a while, but Malmsten suggested that he should be arrested upon return for further action by the governor.⁶⁸⁶

Von Alfthan replied, requesting that Malmsten confiscate Hedberg's Mormon literature and bring him to Helsinki for questioning.⁶⁸⁷ As a result, Malmsten visited Anna Ruth on November 18, confiscating among other publications a number of issues of the Swedish church periodical *Nordstjernen* and a copy of John Jaques' *Cateches för barn* [Catechism for Children], given to a little girl in Sipoo by missionary Lars Swalberg, Hedberg's predecessor. Hedberg was not present, and thus he could not be arrested for questioning. The situation also involved further complications. The sheriff later explained that Ruth denied him and another official entry "while touting all kinds of sneering expressions and words of abuse." Earlier she had apparently voluntarily showed Malmsten a large number of Mormon publications.⁶⁸⁸

Denied entry, Malmsten went to get another witness and also a smith in case they would have to break in by force. When they arrived again, Ruth consented to letting them in and to take the literature that had been locked away. Apparently she was still able to put away some of the literature, including some books, at least one of which "is supposed to have been the Mormon Bible," Malmsten explained, referring to the *Book of Mormon*. There was one box that Ruth would not let the men see, however, claiming that it contained money and other valuable papers. She finally opened the box, but Malmsten did not think there was anything of value in it.⁶⁸⁹

Anna Ruth seems to have been very unhappy with her treatment by the sheriff. The following day she traveled from Mårtensby in Sipoo to nearby Helsinki to complain in person to governor von Alfthan, claiming that Malmsten had "trespassed her residence without reason" and damaged the box in which she said she kept her

⁶⁸⁶ Henrik Malmsten to Georg von Alfthan, 10 November 1884, Incoming Documents, Second Branch, Archive of the Administrative Department of Uusimaa Provincial Government, KA.

⁶⁸⁷ Georg von Alfthan to Henrik Malmsten, 13 November 1884, Letter Drafts, Second Branch, Archive of Uusimaa Provincial Government, KA.

⁶⁸⁸ Henrik Malmsten to Georg von Alfthan, 27 November 1884, Incoming Documents, Second Branch, Archive of the Administrative Department of Uusimaa Provincial Government, KA.

⁶⁸⁹ Henrik Malmsten to Georg von Alfthan, 27 November 1884.

valuable papers. Feeling wronged, Ruth demanded redress.⁶⁹⁰ Explaining his actions, Malmsten on the other hand felt that Ruth had wronged him and caused him “expenses and troubles that I have had to suffer through her harassment.” Thus it was her, not Malmsten, who should be given “a proper reprimand for her uncooperativeness.”⁶⁹¹ It is not known that the matter between Ruth and Malmsten was pursued further, but in any case it exemplifies the complications and hurt feelings that could arise in cases where lay Mormons (as opposed to missionaries) were subjected to governmental action. Alexander Hedberg himself was able to leave Finland in December 1884 without being caught by the civil authorities, to “escape,” as the mission president Lund termed it.⁶⁹²

To what extent Lutheran clergy incited civil authorities in Helsinki and Sipoo to action in Hedberg’s case is not known. On the surface, it seems that the authorities reacted to the newspaper publicity on Hedberg’s activities. This stands partly in contrast to the case of Vaasa discussed earlier, where acting parish minister Johannes Bäck first wrote to local authorities, asking for the deportation of the missionaries. Nevertheless, Lutheran clergy may also have had a part in the Hedberg case. His successor Anders Renström, who arrived in Finland in March 1885, commented that “during Elder A. S. Hedberg’s mission time the priests became hostile to the degree that they incited the Authorities against us.”⁶⁹³ It is not known whether his assessment is based on factual evidence, however.

The above examples show that governmental action regarding Mormonism concerned both lay Mormons but more especially missionaries, as they were more active in promoting the faith and the movement became personified in them. The lay Mormons were usually approached when books were to be confiscated. There is also a report of the Swedish church periodical *Nordstjernan* being stopped at

⁶⁹⁰ Georg von Alfthan to Henrik Malmsten, 19 November 1884, Letter Drafts, Second Branch, Archive of Uusimaa Provincial Government, KA.

⁶⁹¹ Henrik Malmsten to Georg von Alfthan, 27 November 1884.

⁶⁹² Anthon H. Lund to *The Latter-day Saints’ Millennial Star*, 1 January 1885, reprinted in “Abstract of Correspondence,” *The Latter-day Saints’ Millennial Star*, vol. 47, no. 2 (12 January 1885), p. 27.

⁶⁹³ Finland Branch Record 1876–1897, p. 22, CHLA.



Figure 5.1. Mormon literature confiscated from Anna Ruth in late 1884, now stored at the National Archives.

the border and only the wrappers being sent forward to the Finnish subscribers.⁶⁹⁴ In any case it seems that the lay members (with the exception of Swede Johan Blom) were not charged further by the authorities. In contrast, the missionaries could be threatened with more serious consequences, such as fines or extradition, most probably because of their active role in spreading the Mormon faith and its literature.⁶⁹⁵

Reports by mission leaders on missionary work in Finland commonly contained mentions of difficulties with the authorities. Writing about Per Pettersson, Stockholm conference president Lars Olson explained in April 1880:

⁶⁹⁴ Anthon H. Lund to *The Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star*, p. 27.

⁶⁹⁵ Zachary R. Jones, "Conversion amid Conflict: Mormon Proselytizing in Russian Finland, 1861–1914," *Journal of Mormon History*, vol. 35, no. 3 (Summer 2009), pp. 29–30, says that the "Okhrana [Russian secret police] secretly shadowed missionaries, engaged in sting arrests, deported captured missionaries, and kept tabs on local LDS congregations," but the cited source provides no evidence, nor have I found evidence to suggest Okhrana intervention with Mormons in Finland.

Finland is noticeable only for its troublesome officials and the deplorable state of the population. Our missionary writes: 'I am without a place where I can stay or rest in peace. At any time the officers may call and give me only a few hours to leave in, and I must go or suffer the consequences.' It is not uncommon for one or more of those officials to enter the house in which the elder holds a meeting. The first thing he does is to break up the meeting, next to forbid him to speak to the people about religion, then to give him, at the longest, twenty-four hours to leave in. Yet I am more than glad to think he is not discouraged – he only waits for our conference, when he can have the opportunity to meet with his brethren."⁶⁹⁶

Finland also seems to have been singled out as an especially difficult mission field in this sense, as already intimated above. Niels Wilhelmsen, Scandinavian mission president, informed his superior in December 1880 that governments "have been liberal" and allowed Mormon proselytizing, "except in Germany, the province of S[ch]leswig-Holstein, and also in Finland."⁶⁹⁷ In fact, it was not always just the government of Finland that caused trouble for Mormonism's advancement in Finland. In the autumn of 1885, a missionary from Utah requested a passport to Finland from the American Legation in Stockholm. The request was denied, "upon the ground that his only purpose in visiting Finland was to induce the people of that country to emigrate to Utah and connect themselves with the Mormon Church."⁶⁹⁸

The Mormons naturally incorporated such resistance into a religious frame of reference and used this socially constructed and upheld frame to explain the existence of the resistance. At one conference, a missionary letter from Finland was read that explained how the population was "desirous after the truth," but that the clergy and

⁶⁹⁶ D.M. Olson [should be L.M. Olson] to William Budge, reprinted in "Correspondence," *The Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star*, vol. 42, no. 15 (12 April 1880), pp. 238–239.

⁶⁹⁷ Niels Wilhelmsen to Albert Carrington, 24 December 1880, reprinted in "Correspondence," *The Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star*, vol. 43, no. 1 (3 January 1881), p. 12.

⁶⁹⁸ Rufus Magee to T.F. Bayard, 9 October 1885, reprinted in *Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of The United States, Transmitted to Congress, with the Annual Message of the President, 1885* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1886), p. 788. See also Bayard's reply to Magee of 3 November 1885 in the same volume, pp. 788–789.

other authorities were making things difficult. Mission president Ola Liljenquist then expounded on the topic, explaining that “we have not only the world, but the entire forces of Hell against us, and ... these forces work upon those who have covenanted with God.”⁶⁹⁹

The missionaries themselves also often saw the government officers as harsh when it came to how they treated Mormons. Amidst book confiscations and being sought after by police, Alexander Hedberg thought that “I will soon be compelled to leave the country, as far as I want to avoid prison and punishment; for the Finns have no mercy when they are to punish the Mormons.” Nevertheless, he seems to have been sufficiently strong in the faith that he did not excessively fear the reprisals. Echoing missionaries and martyrs of many other faiths, he wrote that “they can do with me as they please; for if that were to happen I know that I suffer for a noble cause ... Even if persecution is very severe here, I am happy to work for the Lord’s cause. I have never before felt so blessed as I have during the time that I have worked here in Finland.”⁷⁰⁰ Indeed, even if much of his family had become hostile towards him because of his Mormonism, he felt that the experience that he gained as a missionary “is worth more than gold, and cannot be obtained in any other way.”⁷⁰¹ He thought that “the heavier the persecution, the stronger God’s work proceeds,”⁷⁰² and Axel Tullgren similarly thought that governmental opposition could actually further the cause:

The most they can do is to drive us out of the country and send us away; but may persecution come first, so that our faith will be known, and this will be a great testimony to many of our friends and to the sincere in heart, but one thing is certain, that God will direct everything to the best for the furtherance of his work.⁷⁰³

In a sense, then, the persecution motif was an essential component of the Mormon missionary’s worldview. Persecution arose because of and was explained by the righteous nature of the proselytizing endeavor, but it was not something to be lamented. To the contrary, persecution would serve to vindicate the Mormons in the end and to help

⁶⁹⁹ Stockholm Conference Historical Record, 1867–1883, 19 May 1877, p. 239, CHLA.

⁷⁰⁰ Alexander S. Hedberg to Anthon H. Lund, 22 November 1884, pp. 376–377.

⁷⁰¹ Letter of Alexander S. Hedberg, 13 August 1884, pp. 282–283.

⁷⁰² Alexander S. Hedberg to Anthon H. Lund, 22 November 1884, p. 376.

⁷⁰³ Axel Tullgren to Ola N. Liljenquist, 19 December 1876, p. 123.

their message to go forward. In retrospect, this viewpoint may have helped the missionaries go forward in their very difficult task in a faithful and noble manner, but one is hard pressed to grant any legitimacy to the large-scale implications of church growth seen by the missionaries as a result of the persecution. If anything, it seems that Mormon success in nineteenth-century Finland was meager precisely because of the high level of societal resistance.

It is noteworthy that the Mormon missionaries did not usually obey the orders given to them by government officials. They seem to have disregarded prohibitions to spread Mormonism, simply viewing government action as a hindrance to the work but not thinking it morally wrong to go against the law. Such disobedience to civil law probably exacerbated the negative attitudes and actions towards Mormonism, with further disobedience leading to further action by the authorities. This dynamic can be viewed as a self-fulfilling prophecy, where the reaction predicted and lamented by the Mormon missionaries was caused by their own actions, while at the same time provided as evidence of the divine nature of their mission. The Mormons lamented that a boundary existed between them and mainstream society, but they furthered its maintenance and reinforcement through their own civil disobedience.

On the other hand, the missionaries did not openly seek confrontations, but rather such were a sporadic consequence of their preaching activities. Accordingly, some missionaries preferred to go about their work very silently. Anders Renström, for example, wrote in 1885 that he had “spread both books and pamphlets quietly,” and as a consequence, “at present everything is peaceful and calm.”⁷⁰⁴ At other times, nothing happened even if there was an encounter. Fredrik Sandberg reported in 1886 how “a cheeky sheriff” (presumably in the Turku region) had asked him some questions, “but I do not think he was much wiser when we parted than he was when we met.”⁷⁰⁵ During his time in Finland, “all was silent and quiet from the authorities’ side.”⁷⁰⁶ The personality traits and proselytizing manners of the missionaries may thus also have played an important part in how much attention from the authorities they attracted. Some missionized more

⁷⁰⁴ Finland Branch Record 1876–1897, p. 22, CHLA.

⁷⁰⁵ Fredrik R. Sandberg to Nils C. Flygare, 5 August 1886, reprinted in “Korrespondens,” *Nordstjernen*, vol. 10, no. 16 (15 August 1886), p. 252.

⁷⁰⁶ Finland Branch Record 1876–1897, p. 27, CHLA.

openly, whereas others went about their work in quiet and sought more carefully to avoid the authorities. However, the absence of more source material makes it difficult to derive conclusions on this matter.

How governmental attitudes would have developed had the Mormons been more obedient to the law and constrained their actions is also difficult to say. For example, would Mormon activity have been allowed if the earliest Mormons had sought explicit acceptance by the government for their movement? Axel Tullgren's rejected application for preaching rights in 1878 suggests a negative answer to the question, as does a similar application by Charles Anderson Jr. in 1900. Consequently, it is likely that breaking the law was the only way for the Mormons to gain a foothold in nineteenth-century Finland, although doing so was in violation of their own Articles of Faith of honoring and sustaining the law.⁷⁰⁷ In this case, the higher purpose of the end, namely that of bringing divine salvation to a nation, was seen as justifying the means. Since the early twentieth century the church has moved in a general direction of reduced tension with its host societies, and thus it now generally seeks legal recognition before beginning its operations.⁷⁰⁸

Compared to the Baptists, reactions towards Mormons appear to have been more uniformly negative. Näsman writes that civil authorities could be friendly towards Baptist preachers from Sweden because of their high social standing and because they were foreigners.⁷⁰⁹ Those sentenced most harshly were the Finns Anders Niss and Erik Åmossa, who were both considered to be radicals. Although no Mormon missionary shared the fate of Niss or Åmossa, civil authorities are not known to have been openly friendly towards the missionaries either. Similarly, Björklund argues that Methodist preachers could work relatively freely in Ostrobothnia and on the Åland Islands due

⁷⁰⁷ "We believe in being subject to kings, presidents, rulers, and magistrates, in obeying, honoring and sustaining the law." See Articles of Faith 1:12 in *The Pearl of Great Price*.

⁷⁰⁸ Dell Van Orden, "Pres. Hinckley Ordained Prophet," *Church News*, vol. 65, no. 11 (18 March 1995), p. 10.

⁷⁰⁹ Nils Näsman, *Baptismen i svenska Österbotten 1868–1905* (Helsingfors: Finska Kyrkohistoriska Samfundet, 1962), p. 141.

to the tolerance born through earlier Baptist work in those areas, and there were no significant problems in Helsinki either.⁷¹⁰

5.2. Lutheran Clergy

In this section I analyze how Lutheran clergy reacted to the spread of Mormonism in nineteenth-century Finland. They were the officers of society's dominant church, one that for all practical purposes held a monopoly position in the religious economy. As such, they controlled the disciplinary regime of religion and were acknowledged as the authorities "over matters of reality, reason and right" in that domain.⁷¹¹ The clergy's reactions towards novel movements was strongly conditioned by their religious worldview, and thus they saw the Mormons specifically as a spiritual problem. Mormonism's claims did not fit within the clergy's understanding of reality, and the movement had to be explained in terms of the clergy's conceptual universe. In Berger and Luckmann's terms, Mormons were the objects of nihilation: similarly to many other new movements, they were assigned "an inferior ontological status," their definitions of reality were incorporated into the Lutheran universe and explained based on its concepts as deviant heresy, and thus the Mormon "negation of [the Lutheran] universe is subtly changed into an affirmation of it," as if the process were a self-fulfilling prophecy.⁷¹²

The theme of the clergy of a dominant tradition resisting the influx and emergence of new movements is not new nor is it restricted to the pair of Lutheranism and Mormonism. Indeed, such dynamics exist in religious landscapes not related to Christianity at all. Nevertheless, this dynamic assumes prime significance in the development of the new religious movement's status in society. The clergy had training above the average commoner, and their opinions were important as constructors of social reality, especially because of their privileged status and power in society. The clergy's wishes and requests were tools of social control, and going against them could be considered a

⁷¹⁰ Leif-Göte Björklund, *Rikssvenska metodistpredikanterens betydelse för metodistkyrkans framväxt och utveckling i Finland 1880–1923* (Åbo: Åbo Akademi University Press, 2005), p. 198.

⁷¹¹ Gergen, *An Invitation to Social Construction*, p. 47.

⁷¹² Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge* (Harmondsworth: Pelican Books, 1987 [1966]), pp. 132–133.

serious offense in the spiritual sense and cause difficulties in one's own social network. If the clergy was against a certain new movement and proclaimed it as satanic, being interested in or joining the movement was a step of considerable significance.

It is important to keep in mind that the clergy had little strictly secular authority. If they argued against a movement from a secular viewpoint or appealed to secular officials, their opposition was still rooted in a spiritual framework of countercultism. It was not the potential illegality of a new movement but rather its spiritual content and implications that were to be resisted. Thus the most important tool of the clergy was to affect the opinions of the local population through their spiritual authority, as the law privileged them as the spiritual teachers of their parishes above all others. They were the ones charged with the spiritual well-being of their parishioners and keeping the state-sponsored Lutheran faith intact. If necessary, they could impose sanctions on their parish members who had converted to Mormonism, from verbally warning them up to denying them access to communion and influence in affairs of the parish.

Conceptually and numerically speaking, Mormonism was a minor phenomenon in the Finnish religious field that was grappling with other new foreign movements and domestic revival movements that emerged from the Lutheran tradition itself (see Chapter 2). Nevertheless, it attracted the attention of the Lutheran clergy in many locations where proselytizing took place. During the time period discussed in this chapter, the Lutheran church was divided into three dioceses, namely those of Kuopio, Porvoo, and Turku.⁷¹³ Mormon activity took place mostly among the Swedish-speaking minority population in the coastal areas from the greater Helsinki region on the south coast up to the Pietarsaari region on the west coast. The encounter of Finnish Lutheranism and Mormonism thus took place in the Porvoo and Turku dioceses that covered these coastal areas.

As detailed previously, Mormon activity began in earnest through the arrival of two Swedish missionaries in October 1875. The brothers Carl and Johan Sundström, 29 and 23 years old, respectively, left Sweden from Sundsvall and arrived by steamship in the Finnish west coast city of Nikolainkaupunki, also known as Vaasa. The city and its

⁷¹³ Eino Murtorinne, *Suomen kirkon historia 3: Autonomian kausi 1809–1899* (Porvoo: WSOY, 1992), pp. 224–225 and 318–319.

vicinity were part of the Turku diocese. During January and February 1876, the Sundströms encountered Lutheran clergy at least three times. These clergymen were parish minister Karl Wegelius, 41, and Johannes Bäck, 25, the latter being part of the revival movement Evangelicalism.

On January 11, 1876, Carl Sundström wrote that he and his brother “had a visit from the Lutheran priest Bäck who forbade us from speaking about our faith in Christ’s gospel.” On the following day, Bäck visited them again, saying that “the Book of Mormon was madness and that we were deceived, etc.” On February 5, the missionaries were called to see parish minister Wegelius, where they were forbidden from “speaking about our faith in the work of salvation.” Clearly, Wegelius was not happy with the situation, as Carl Sundström writes that “Mr. Priest was angry.”⁷¹⁴ Furthermore, Wegelius had called in the missionaries’ landlord Carl Åhl and forbidden him from renting a room to them.

During these encounters, the missionaries seem to have assented to the clergy’s wishes. Johannes Bäck explained to the Vaasa church council at the end of January that while the missionaries had explained that they came to the area to spread Mormonism, “they had not realized this intention, as they had learned that such was not allowed by the laws of the land.” Nevertheless, it was decided to investigate whether they “in reality had refrained from all attempts to convince others of their doctrines,” whereafter necessary action would be taken.⁷¹⁵ The missionaries’ response to Bäck seems disingenuous, since they reported their activities quite differently to their mission president Nils Flygare. He had “had very encouraging news from them, they have had a chance to hold meetings, and the power of God has been greatly manifested in their behalf.”⁷¹⁶ Belittling their own activities when speaking with the clergy may have been a way in which the Sundströms sought to avoid difficulties.

Throughout the spring of 1876 the Sundströms held a handful of meetings in the homes of interested persons. Meanwhile, Johannes

⁷¹⁴ Carl A. Sundström diary, 11, 12, and 16 January 1876 and 5 February 1876, CHLA.

⁷¹⁵ Church council minutes, 1868–1890, 27 January 1876, Archive of Vaasa Parish, VMA.

⁷¹⁶ Nils C. Flygare to Albert Carrington, 20 November 1875, reprinted in “Correspondence,” *The Latter-day Saints’ Millennial Star*, vol. 37, no. 50 (13 December 1875), p. 798.

Bäck had gathered information, finding that the missionaries had only kept their promise insofar that they had not proclaimed Mormonism in public, but nevertheless they had done so privately. Moreover, “lamentably,” they had succeeded in converting at least one person.⁷¹⁷ At the end of April, the church council thus decided to ask the brothers not only to cease proselytizing, but also to leave Finland once the ice on the sea melted. Otherwise, the matter would be reported to civil authorities.⁷¹⁸ Requesting that the Sundströms stop preaching Mormonism was within the bounds of the council’s authority. Asking them to leave Finland was a bold, unauthorized request that shows the self-confidence of the Lutheran church council and their escalating dislike of the Mormons. Apparently the Sundströms consented to these requests, promising “multiple times that they would leave on the first steamer opportunity in the spring.”⁷¹⁹ Again their actions differed from their words to the clergy. Johannes Bäck, now acting parish minister after the passing of Karl Wegelius,⁷²⁰ added the two brothers to the list of those disciplined in the parish, with a first warning issued on May 10, 1876, for spreading Mormonism.⁷²¹

During the spring and summer of 1876, the Sundströms baptized four persons and traveled on the Finnish west coast. When it became clear to the church council that the brothers had no intention of ceasing their work, and, according to Bäck, “their presence has begun to cause vexation in the parish,” the council decided to request from the local magistrate that the brothers be deported.⁷²² The council argued that the Sundströms “confess and here seek to spread a doctrine not tolerated by the Finnish state any more than by any other European state.” Contrary to their promises, they were still present in Finland, residing with Carl Åhl, and thus it was requested that “they be removed from the country.”⁷²³ As explained above, the brothers soon left for Sweden after having gotten “discouraged,” but they were apparently not forcibly deported.

⁷¹⁷ Nobody had actually been baptized a Mormon in Finland by this time, however.

⁷¹⁸ Church council minutes, 1868–1890, 29 April 1876, Archive of Vaasa Parish, VMA.

⁷¹⁹ “Mormonism,” *Wasabladet*, 6 December 1876, p. 1.

⁷²⁰ Printed Circular Letters of the Diocesan Chapter, 1876–1884, p. 33 and 37, Archive of Turku Diocesan Chapter, TMA.

⁷²¹ Record of Disciplined Persons, 1862–1883, p. 11, Archive of Vaasa Parish, VMA.

⁷²² Church council minutes, 1868–1890, 31 July 1876, Archive of Vaasa Parish, VMA.

⁷²³ Johannes Bäck to Vaasa Magistrate, 31 July 1876, Incoming Letters to the Magistrate, Archive of Vaasa City Court, VMA.



Figure 5.2. Clergyman Johannes Bäck was a central figure of the Evangelical revival movement and an ardent opponent of the Mormons.

Courtesy of Sastamala Museum.

Carl Sundström, the older of the two brothers, returned to Vaasa in October 1876. Axel Tullgren, a 49-year-old native Swede who had emigrated to Utah and who had then been sent back as a missionary to Scandinavia earlier the same year, also came to Finland that autumn. These missionaries continued proselytizing in Vaasa and other coastal areas. Johannes Bäck now seems to have had enough and began to interrupt their work. Lindgren tells of how Bäck heard of a Mormon meeting that was to take place on the outskirts of Vaasa and traveled there. Someone noticed his arrival and said to the others:

“Bäck is coming,” after which the room immediately began to empty. Bäck appeared and is to have yelled: “Out! No Mormon is allowed to speak in my parish.”⁷²⁴ On November 26, “one of the sisters had called some people together and we had a small meeting,” wrote Axel Tullgren. The lady was Johanna Berg, whose father Isak had become hostile to her after her conversion. The father went to Bäck and told of the meeting, whereafter Bäck came together with “a doctor,” possibly Oskar Rancken who was a member of the church council, and asked the missionaries to stop preaching and to obey the law of the land.⁷²⁵ Two days later, Tullgren and Sundström were called to see governor Wrede and to stop preaching, possibly as a result of Bäck’s contact with the governor.

In December 1876, the young Johannes Bäck went public concerning the matter and requested the local newspaper *Wasabladet* both to print his own writings on the Mormon situation and to reprint articles that had originally appeared in two Swedish periodicals. These took up space in six consecutive issues of the newspaper in December 1876.⁷²⁶ Bäck’s stated purpose was to act in his capacity as a clergyman of the parish to warn the public against the doctrines preached by the Mormon missionaries. Bäck was upset, as shown by his choice of wording:

Who would have thought that this injurious sect, of whom somebody has said that it is a distorted and horrid caricature of all that is holy, would find its way even to our sequestered country? We have heard it spoken of Baptists, Methodists, Hihhulites, and other such, but at least from the Mormons, or the ‘Latter-day Saints’ as they call themselves, one has hoped to be spared ... These both Mormon missionaries, who wisely enough have settled their arrival to the area at such a season that they wouldn’t need to be anxious about being swiftly sent packing to Sweden on a steamer, have, also they, settled down in Klemetsö [in Vaasa], which thus seems to be in danger of becoming a furnace for Mormonism ... Sent out as missionaries they have with oversight of the law begun giving official

⁷²⁴ Ruben Lindgren, *Johannes Bäck, hans liv och gärning till verksamhetsperiod i Nykarleby* (Pastoral thesis, Borgå, Finland, 1935), p. 141.

⁷²⁵ Axel Tullgren to Ola N. Liljenquist, 19 December 1876, pp. 122–123.

⁷²⁶ See the issues of 6, 9, 13, 16, 20, and 23 December 1876.

doctrinal presentations and have also allowed themselves to spread literature...⁷²⁷

Bäck's situating of the Mormons as the least welcome of all sectarian movements shows his strong personal dislike. He himself was a very active promulgator of Evangelicalism, one of the intra-church revivals of Finnish Lutheranism. His biographer concludes that "he did not budge from what he thought was right," and he could not accept the activities of sectarians. While at times critiquing their doctrines in a substantive manner, in the 1880s "it seems that Bäck would have been controlled by a strong emotional antipathy against the dissenters." He did not like their sometimes secret activities, and may have feared that they were hampering the possibilities of the Evangelical movement to spread.⁷²⁸

Mormon activity in Vaasa probably also had a longer-lasting effect on him. At a meeting of clergy in 1880, he thought that the preaching activities of laypersons should be restricted further, thus diverging from his earlier opinion. The reason? "[P]arishes are now being constantly flooded with itinerant preachers of various faiths such as Methodists, Mormons, Baptists, and others, who are not under any kind of control."⁷²⁹ In this vein, Mormonism provided him with one particular example of a sectarian movement that was being spread in what he thought was a disingenuous manner. In fact, Mormonism seems to have been the worst of them all in his opinion. After discussing Baptism and Laestadianism in another forum, he moved on to Mormonism and called it "the coarsest and most obvious among all the false doctrines with which the devil has afflicted Christ's congregation."⁷³⁰

⁷²⁷ "Mormonism," *Wasabladet*, 6 December 1876, p. 1. "Hihhulites," my translation of the Finnish word "hiihulilaiset," was a name used for adherents of Laestadianism, a revival movement that eventually remained within Lutheranism.

⁷²⁸ Lauri Koskeniemi, *Taisteleva julistaja: Johannes Bäck, 1850–1901* (Pieksämäki: Sleykirjat, 1998), p. 25 and 54–55.

⁷²⁹ *Protokoll, fördr vid Prestmötet i Åbo den 15–21 September 1880* (Åbo: Åbo Boktryckeri Aktiebolag, 1881), pp. 79–80. See also "Prestmötena," *Morgonbladet*, 20 September 1880, p. 3 and "Till Lutherska evangelii föreningens apologet R--n," *Morgonbladet*, 28 January 1881, pp. 1–2 for further discussion of the issue.

⁷³⁰ "Korrespondens till Sändebudet," *Sändebudet*, vol. 2, no. 21 (1 November 1877), p. 165.

At one point in the long 1876 *Wasabladet* treatise, Bäck summarized his objections to Mormonism in four points. They were: 1. The *Book of Mormon* was seen as being on an equal footing with the *Bible*; 2. The Mormons held that the ancient Christian church had fallen into apostasy through persecution and false doctrines; 3. The Mormons assigned a physical place to the kingdom of God and claimed it exclusively for their church; and 4. Those who were baptized Mormons were to emigrate to Utah and were also said to receive the charismatic gifts characteristic of the early Christians.⁷³¹ The Mormon spirit was “untruthful, unbiblical, immoral, and dismantles all divine and human establishments.”⁷³²

One of Bäck’s main points thus seems to have been to distinguish Mormonism as something incompatible with true Christianity, a false doctrine that required more of its adherents than the pure Christian truth. As such, he sought to reinforce the boundary between the Lutheran faith and Mormonism, painting the former as the path to divine truth and the latter as a deceptive perversion. His juxtaposition of Christianity and Mormonism was crystallized in his closing words: “... just as there is a huge difference between Christ and Joseph Smith, the Bible and the Book of Mormon, the Kingdom of God and the Mormon sect, so it is something completely different to suffer ... for Christ and His truth than for Joseph Smith, Brigham Young, etc., and their lies and lunacies.”⁷³³ Bäck’s writings in fact provide a prime example of what Cowan has found in his study of modern countercult writing. The object is continually regarded as an enemy (in more traditional terminology, one can say that it is presented as radically other), and “disease, infestation, and invasion metaphors all both articulate and aggravate the antipathy with which the enemy is regarded.”⁷³⁴ In Bäck’s conceptual universe, built on a Lutheran foundation, Smith’s and Young’s religious teachings were incorporated and annihilated as “lies and lunacies,” not respected as plausible and alternative ways of understanding the divine.⁷³⁵ Mormonism was not merely wrong but also spiritually harmful.

⁷³¹ “Mormonism,” *Wasabladet*, 9 December 1876, p. 2.

⁷³² “Ännu något om mormonismen,” *Wasabladet*, 23 December 1876, p. 3.

⁷³³ “Ännu något om mormonismen,” *Wasabladet*, 23 December 1876, p. 3.

⁷³⁴ Douglas E. Cowan, *Bearing False Witness?*, p. 53.

⁷³⁵ Berger and Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality*, pp. 132–133.

Bäck's writings surely had an effect on the local population, at least by bringing the matter of Mormonism's presence to the forefront. The missionaries themselves were aware of the publicity, and Axel Tullgren commented in a letter to his ecclesiastical leader that "the priest in this city has filled all the newspapers with all kinds of lies ... so that all hell seems to rage against us; and the priest has written so many lies that people whom we have spoken with are embarrassed for him that he would trumpet such obvious falsehoods."⁷³⁶ To what extent Tullgren's evaluation of the commoners' reactions represents objective fact is difficult to assess.

During the early proselytizing in the Vaasa region, it is thus clear that the missionaries were resisted quite actively by one of the central clergymen in that region. This clergyman sought both to warn his parishioners by making public his theological objections to Mormonism and to enlist the help of civil authorities by having the Mormon missionaries removed from the country. Johannes Bäck's actions portray a clergyman who was committed to Lutheranism and deeply worried about the appearance of a competing religious movement on his home turf.

Axel Tullgren worked together with Carl Sundström until October 1877, enlarging their sphere of activity considerably beyond the west coast region. In November 1877, Tullgren was paired with Olof Forssell, a Swedish emigrant to Utah who had been called back to the old countries as a missionary. In the beginning of March 1878, the two received lodging at the house of a reputable farmer named Lindström, and began introducing the Mormon message to this family and others in the village of Borgby in the town of Sipoo on the southern coast, close to Helsinki.

Tullgren and Forssell were numerically very successful in their work. Within a few days of their arrival, eleven persons were baptized as Mormons in a creek that had been dammed in order to bring the water level high enough for baptism by immersion. The missionaries and the new converts warmed themselves around a fire, spoke of their convictions regarding Mormonism's divinity, and partook of the sacrament (communion in Mormon parlance). Tullgren reported that he was "very satisfied and blessed in my work. I ... have good prospects for more persons wanting to come and be baptized. I have many good

⁷³⁶ Axel Tullgren to Ola N. Liljenquist, 19 December 1876, pp. 122–123.

friends, notwithstanding the priests warn the people against us, that they may not house us or listen to us."⁷³⁷

One of the priests Tullgren refers to is most probably Fredrik Wilhelm Fredrikson, the 51-year-old parish minister in Sipoo. Fredrikson had prior experience with sectarian movements, as he had been the Lutheran church's choice to deal with Baptist enthusiasm on the Åland Islands in the late 1850s and early 1860s. Later he was an active participant in official discussions concerning the planned Dissenter Act, speaking from personal experience.⁷³⁸ In the beginning of April 1878, a few weeks after the conversions of his parishioners had taken place, he wrote the Porvoo Diocesan Chapter "with deep worry concerning the ignorance and unbelief that still prevails among the common people in our country." Fredrikson reported on the particulars concerning how Mormonism, "this mixture of absurdity and perversion of all religious and moral ideas," had made inroads among the parishioners, and (again, invoking the deceiver-victim framework of the hegemonic discourse discussed in Chapter 3) how these "victims" had now denied "the truth of our church." In Fredrikson's opinion the unsettled situation in Borgby village was further compounded by lay persons who had been holding *Bible* readings there since the previous autumn. He asked the Diocesan Chapter to take "strong measures and steps ... to close the flood of indiscretion and calm the worries of conscience among the peaceable in the country."⁷³⁹

The chapter discussed Fredrikson's letter in its April 11 meeting. Before any action would be taken, it was decided to give the matter for further examination by the diocesan assessor, Dr. Anders Hornborg.⁷⁴⁰ Fredrikson reported that the converts had been dealt with through teaching and a friendly attitude by the priests, and thus most of them had in his understanding come to see their error and regretted it. Furthermore, as discussed above, the two missionaries Tullgren and Forssell were compelled to leave Finland in the middle of April.

⁷³⁷ Excerpt of letter by Axel Tullgren, 13 March 1878, reprinted in "Utdrag af Korrespondenser," *Nordstjernan*, vol. 2, no. 7 (1 April 1878), p. 110.

⁷³⁸ R.A. Mäntylä, *Eriuskolaïskysymys Suomessa 1809–1889, osa 1: 1809–1871* (Turku: Turun yliopisto, 1954), p. 119.

⁷³⁹ Wilhelm Fredrikson to Porvoo Diocesan Chapter, 2 April 1878, Incoming Documents, Archive of Porvoo Diocesan Chapter, KA.

⁷⁴⁰ Minutes of Porvoo Diocesan Chapter, 11 April 1878, pp. 357–358, Transcribed Minutes, Archive of Porvoo Diocesan Chapter, KA.

Hornborg learned of this development, and when coupled with the reported deconversions he did not see that any strong measures would have to be taken in the matter at the time. In an April 17 meeting, Hornborg praised Fredrikson's actions, commenting that they "honor not only his heart, but also his pastoral wisdom and experience," undoubtedly formed through dealing with cases such as the Baptists on the Åland Islands.⁷⁴¹

Hornborg does not seem to have been worried about future Mormon activity in the area either. In his opinion, Mormonism was intrinsically of such a nature that it would not appeal to the population. "I do not believe that we have to fear any further spread of such a mad and immoral doctrine as Mormonism, now that the mentioned false prophets have fortunately been removed."⁷⁴² Thus the Chapter, when replying to Fredrikson in Sipoo and writing Porvoo parish on Hornborg's recommendation, merely exhorted them to give special attention to those who had been baptized as Mormons and to take care of bringing them back to the Lutheran faith.⁷⁴³ Both Fredrikson and Hornborg thus expressed their opposition to Mormonism through the countercult framework, using terminology that painted the new religious movement as a spiritually decadent phenomenon that harvested casualties rather than converts.

The Sipoo events of 1878 seem to have stayed in memory for quite a while. In an 1880 meeting of clergy, then-bishop Anders Hornborg commented on it in his overview speech. Generally, he was relieved to report that there were not too many areas with sectarian activity within the diocese. Interestingly, he characterized the Mormon baptisms of 1878 as the "probably most noteworthy" examples of such activity, mentioning them before any other sect. It seemed that the problem was averted through the deportation of the missionaries, however. "When these deceivers have left, most of the misled have regretted their action, so that only two or three belonging to Sipoo parish and one belonging to Porvoo parish should remain that still

⁷⁴¹ Minutes of Porvoo Diocesan Chapter, 17 April 1878, pp. 384–386, Transcribed Minutes, Archive of Porvoo Diocesan Chapter, KA.

⁷⁴² Minutes of Porvoo Diocesan Chapter, 17 April 1878, pp. 385–386.

⁷⁴³ Porvoo Diocesan Chapter to Wilhelm Fredrikson and to the Pastorate in Porvoo, both on 17 April 1878, Letter Drafts, Archive of Porvoo Diocesan Chapter, KA.

cling to their heresy," Hornborg commented.⁷⁴⁴ Similarly, when bishop Herman Råbergh visited Sipoo parish in 1894, he gave a warning concerning itinerant preachers who were "without real calling and unanimated by the truth."⁷⁴⁵ The example chosen was the Mormons. The minutes of the visitation read: "The older members of the parish probably remember how not many years ago more than 10 persons let themselves be rebaptized into Mormonism, – a movement that represents a clear deviation from Christian morality and is anti-Christian in nature."⁷⁴⁶

Several other cases of Finnish Lutheran clergy reacting to Mormon missionary activity exist. For example, Per Pettersson held a meeting in Vörå, northeast of Vaasa, on January 25, 1880. A number of people had gathered, hymns had been sung, and a prayer said when Pettersson began to introduce his presentation. However, "one and another of those present had quietly looked towards the door," and soon the parish minister, probably Frans Durchman, entered after having received word concerning the meeting. Durchman came to Pettersson's table and asked him who he was and whom he had been sent by. Pettersson answered that he was a missionary, sent by God. The sheriff was called after it was found out that Pettersson's visa was not properly endorsed. The meeting ended, but Durchman was not done. According to the person reporting, passages from Martin Luther's works concerning "sneakers and heretical preachers" were read, and "the simple, powerful, and succinct words did not fail to make their effect on those present."⁷⁴⁷ This shows that some clergy sought to immunize their parishioners against Mormon influence in the future.

A similar event took place when missionary Lars Karlsson held a meeting in Västerhankmo, near Vaasa, later in 1880. Parish minister Edvin Karsten confronted Karlsson just as he was about to begin expounding on Mormonism to the gathered crowd. Karlsson answered the minister's questions, explaining that he was from Stockholm, Sweden, and that he had "come to Finland to spread spiritual literature and to give lectures." He would not say to which denomination he belonged, but one of those present showed a piece of literature

⁷⁴⁴ Speech of bishop Anders J. Hornborg in *Protokoll fördr vid Prestmötet i Borgå den 15–21 September 1880* (Borgå: G. L. Söderströms tryckeri, 1881), p. 11.

⁷⁴⁵ "Från allmänheten," *Borgå Nya Tidning*, 24 October 1894, p. 4.

⁷⁴⁶ Visitation minutes, 9–11 October 1894, Visitation Minutes, 1736–1961, ASSP.

⁷⁴⁷ "Korrespondens från Wörå," *Wasabladet*, 11 February 1880, p. 3.

from which it was deduced that he was a Mormon. Similarly to Durchman above, Karsten “gave a lecture to the parishioners present and solemnly warned them about such itinerant lay preachers.”⁷⁴⁸

A further example still of such an interrupted preaching meeting comes from the activity of Joseph Lindvall and Anders Norell in November 1881. Word was spread concerning a meeting they would hold in Västerhankmo. According to a correspondent, Lindvall and Norell found out that the Lutheran pastor was going to attend, and delayed the start of the meeting so that the pastor would leave the area. The parish minister turned up in any case, and the correspondent relays the following discussion between him and the two missionaries:

“Who are you?”

“We are shepherds of souls.”

“To what denomination do you belong?”

“To the denomination whose doctrine alone can save us all.”

“I am not satisfied with phrases, but ask you to openly answer my question.”

“Well, we belong to the Latter-day Saints.”

“Yes, that is what I thought. Who has sent you here?”

“Our great prophet.”

“With whose permission do you intend to preach here and spread your doctrines? In the name of the church council I forbid you from doing so.”⁷⁴⁹

⁷⁴⁸ “Mormoner,” *Wasabladet*, 4 August 1880, p. 1. Newspapers elsewhere in Finland also reported on the event. See for example *Åbo Underrättelser* and *Finlands Allmänna Tidning* on 9 August, *Helsingfors* and *Morgonbladet* on 10 August, and *Hufvudstadsbladet* on 11 August 1880.

⁷⁴⁹ “Mormonpredikanter i Qweflax,” *Wasabladet*, 9 November 1881, pp. 2–3. The event was also reported in southern-Finland newspapers; see for example *Åbo Underrättelser* on 14 November, *Morgonbladet* on 15 November, and *Hufvudstadsbladet* on 16 November 1881.

Although one cannot be certain of the exact wording, the quotation conveys the mood and attitudes extant in such a missionary-clergy encounter. The Mormons were certain of their own views, while the Lutheran minister was also certain of his rights and did not hesitate to assert his authority in the situation. After this exchange, the minister had warned those in attendance, with most persons immediately leaving, after reproaching the owner of the building for letting it be used for such a meeting. This reaction shows that the minister's views were respected, although a Mormon preaching meeting was held later in the evening where a smaller number of people were present.

Some clergymen also appealed to secular authorities to rid their parish of Mormon influence. For example in the Pietarsaari-Pedersöre area, the 58-year-old minister Victor Helander wrote to the mayor of Pietarsaari in April 1881, requesting the forced removal of the missionary who was active in the area, "spreading his doctrines that are detrimental to society." Furthermore, citizens of Pietarsaari were warned of Mormon preachers. Helander himself was a Pietist who fought sects fervently, especially the Baptists.⁷⁵⁰ Thus his Mormon-related letter is in resonance with his general countercult attitude.

Clergy reactions to Mormonism were not restricted to direct opposition to missionary work ongoing in their areas. Some clergy also sought to inform the population through public lectures. In April 1886, for example, newspapers in Turku advertised an upcoming lecture on the Mormons by Johan A. Cederberg, parish minister in nearby Uusikaupunki who had also worked as a teacher of religion in Turku. The lecture was not to take place in a church building but rather in a public meeting hall. It is not known what topics Cederberg's lecture covered, but in light of the responses to Mormonism by other clergymen discussed in this chapter, it is not inconceivable that it contained warnings of the harmful nature of the movement.⁷⁵¹

⁷⁵⁰ Victor L. Helander to J.L. Pentzin, 27 April 1881, reproduced in Vera Nyman, "Historiska händelser i Larsmo och Jakobstad," CHLA. Alma Söderhjelm, *Jakobstads historia*, vol. 3 (Helsingfors: Akademiska bokhandeln, 1914), pp. 247–248.

⁷⁵¹ "Suomalaisen kansantajuinen luennon," *Aura*, 24 April 1886, p. 2 and "Folkligt föredrag på finska språket," *Åbo Underrättelser*, 26 April 1886, p. 2. On Cederberg himself, see Ludvig Wennerström, *Tilastollinen ja biografillinen Suomen Evankelis-Lutherilaisten Seurakuntain ja Papiston Matrikkeli* (Porvoo: Werner Söderström, 1885), p. 426.

Generally it can be noted that proselytizing and resulting conversions to Mormonism were not simply dismissed by the Lutheran clergy, even if the total impact of Mormon proselytizing in terms of conversions was small. The reactions of the clergy were usually always negative in one way or another, but they varied in extent and severity. In the Vaasa case, for example, parish minister Johannes Bäck publicized his critical views very widely. Wilhelm Fredrikson in Sipoo wrote his ecclesiastical superiors and sought to counsel those in his parish who had been converted by the Mormon message. Others interrupted preaching meetings or requested removal of the missionary or missionaries.

It is also instructive to assess to what extent the Lutheran clergy sought to deal with the Mormon phenomenon through spiritual means, the countercult toolset, for example by warning their parishioners of the perceived false doctrine and heresy that had entered the parish, and to what extent they sought to do so by enlisting the help of secular authorities in having the Mormon missionaries removed from the area of their parishes or from Finland altogether, in other words, to enlist anticult actors to fulfil their own countercult agenda. In the cases discussed in this section, that of Porvoo and two in the vicinity of Vaasa were confined to intra-church discussions, whereas those of Vaasa and Pietarsaari and one in the vicinity of Vaasa entailed also an appeal to secular authorities.

The negative reactions by the Lutheran clergy can be understood in light of their worldview. The Mormons were seen as heretics and false teachers who jeopardized the spiritual well-being of the parishes and who challenged the authority of the dominant tradition. They were thus an important target of countercult action. In addition to this religiously motivated worry, some clergy may also have seen in the Mormons one more example of sectarianism that challenged their personal authority and position in society. Then again, some Finnish laypersons felt the clergy were still too disinterested in battling new religious movements such as Mormonism. In Vaasa, for example, one writer criticized the clergy especially in Swedish-speaking parishes for focusing more on the advancement of the Finnish language than on spreading a better understanding of Christianity among the common people, an understanding the lack of which some clergy had argued

caused common people to be swayed by the sects.⁷⁵² This neglect of pastoral duties was seen by the critics as creating a situation in which “it is not strange if Methodists, Mormons, and Baptists in precisely these parishes find a welcoming field for their activity.”⁷⁵³ Not all were of the same opinion, however. Only a few days later, the Finnish-language *Vaasan Sanomat* published a rebuttal opining that the original text was influenced by attacks towards Finnishness and such accusations of neglect on part of the clergy would require compelling evidence to be taken seriously.⁷⁵⁴ But neither was too close a connection to Sweden always seen as good for the Lutheran church. “From where have Baptism, Mormonism, Waldenströmianism, and the Hihhulite doctrine, etc., come? I wonder if not exactly from there.”⁷⁵⁵

On the other hand, some felt that the clergy could go too far and become irrational in their resistance. In February 1887, a number of liberal-minded Finns suggested the organization of an association for religious freedom and tolerance, when they feared that the 1886 Lutheran General Synod’s proposed modifications to the Dissenter Act proposal would prohibit the advancement of wider religious freedom. The Diocesan Chapters gave their thoughts to the Imperial Senate concerning the suggestion, and eventually the Senate prohibited the formation of the association.⁷⁵⁶ Interestingly, it was Kuopio diocese, the only diocese not affected by Mormon activity, that appealed to the Mormon example in its condemnation of the planned association. Recognizing that there had been Mormons in Finland already for a number of years, the Diocesan Chapter was concerned that the Mormons would seek to take full advantage of the association.

The Chapter thought that the implications were far greater still. “And there would be a ready warm home in Finland’s forested countryside for the entire rest of the crowd of Utah territory’s Mormons with wives and children, the happy family life of which the free

⁷⁵² This argument has direct ties to the language-political debates between Fennomans (proponents of Finnish) and Svecomans (proponents of Swedish) at the time; on Fennomania in general, see Ilkka Liikanen, *Fennomania ja kansa: Joukkojärjestäytymisen läpimurto ja Suomalaisen puolueen synty* (Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura, 1995).

⁷⁵³ “Metodismen å orten,” *Wasa Tidning*, 11 November 1881, p. 2.

⁷⁵⁴ “Wasa Tidning,” *Vaasan Sanomat*, 14 November 1881, p. 3.

⁷⁵⁵ “Protest,” *Wasabladet*, 3 December 1881, p. 3.

⁷⁵⁶ Mikko Juva, Vilho Niitemaa and Päiviö Tommila, eds., *Suomen historian dokumentteja*, vol. 2 (Helsinki: Otava, 1970), pp. 185–186.

American people is so concerned about."⁷⁵⁷ *Åbo Tidning* later referred to this as one of the "fantasies" of Kuopio Diocesan Chapter that "are so absurd, that they kill themselves through the ridicule that they provoke." A correspondent thought that Kuopio Diocesan Chapter was completely out of touch with reality by suggesting that America's Mormons would leave their warm country to come to the "frozen and starving northern Finland's skinny and frost-sensitive needled forests ... To block the way of Mormons to Kuopio is in truth just as wise as Don Quixote's fight against the windmills!"⁷⁵⁸

Active Mormon proselytizing in Finland also coincided chronologically with growing worry among the Lutheran clergy concerning layman activity and its effects on doctrinal purity and the unity of the church. Two years after the Mormon activity in Sipoo parish, for instance, Wilhelm Fredrikson commented that "the sporadic revivals that emerge through layman activity are in my opinion bought for a very high price as they pave way for religious subjectivism and separatism. At least in Sipoo parish the results of the speakers ... have been that a direction towards separatism and Baptism, I do not now want to mention anything worse, has been visible in the parish."⁷⁵⁹ Furthermore, as noted above, Johannes Bäck explicitly mentioned the Mormons as one movement that had caused him to rethink his position on such preachers and to call for stronger control. The Mormons can thus be seen as one additional strand of the phenomena that the clergy feared could cause serious damage to the church if not checked. Some of the clergy also did not like the implications that increased religious freedom would have for the activities of the Mormons. At the Lutheran General Synod of 1886, for example, one delegate opined that a Dissenter Act would not be needed. While there were a handful of Baptists and Methodists in the country, catering to their needs would be accompanied by bigger problems: "If it was desired to make the gates wide open for them, it would at the same time make space for Mormons, etc., etc."⁷⁶⁰

⁷⁵⁷ "Handlingar rörande den tilltänkta 'Föreningen för religionsfrihet och tolerans i Finland'," *Helsingfors Dagblad*, 17 January 1889, p. 1.

⁷⁵⁸ "Regeringen och religionsfrihetsföreningens stadgar" and "Från allmänheten," in *Åbo Tidning*, 1 February 1889, p. 1 and p. 3, respectively. Mikko Juva, *Valtiokirkosta kansankirkoksi* (Helsinki: Suomen Kirkkohistoriallinen Seura, 1960), p. 178.

⁷⁵⁹ *Protokoll förddt vid Prestmötet i Borgå den 15–21 September 1880*, p. 45.

⁷⁶⁰ "Kyrkomötet," *Åbo Underrättelser*, 22 September 1886, p. 1.

In this connection, it is also important to note that the actions and mindset of the Mormon missionaries contributed to the reactions towards them. For example, the missionaries encouraged their converts to partake of Lutheran communion no longer and taught that they were representatives of the only true church.⁷⁶¹ Joseph Lindvall, probably the only missionary to know some Finnish, is to have told another Finnish speaker that infant baptism was not right, and that the Lutheran “hymn book and catechism were only good for chicken food and should be burned.”⁷⁶² And as noted above, Alexander Hedberg spoke against the Lutheran priests in Sipoo with “less chosen words.” Thus their own activities could be seen as inviting hostility on the part of the clergy. Mormonism did not invite ecumenism; its tendency to bifurcate the world into saints and gentiles, into true Christians and so-called Christians, created a situation where each party in the encounter was inclined to view the other with suspicion and as a tool of the devil.⁷⁶³

When it came to individual local converts, the clergymen reacted in a variety of ways. As discussed above in the Sipoo case, for example, the clergy sought to deconvert those who had been baptized as Mormons. In doing so they displayed the classic countercult mode of action, where the end goal was to realize not merely deconversion from the cult but ultimately the migration of the former cult member to the Lutheran worldview. Such converts did not face disciplinary measures. This was not the case for all converts, however. Johanna Berg in Vaasa, for example, was disciplined in December 1876 “for subscribing to Mormonism’s doctrines.”⁷⁶⁴ She became marked in the communion book as “Rebaptized to the Mormon doctrine,” and marked as a Mormon in subsequent parish communion books even after her Mormon excommunication in 1880. Only in 1901 was this comment specifically removed by parish minister Joel Heikel.⁷⁶⁵ The disciplinary measures applied on two Mormon converts in Pohja are discussed

⁷⁶¹ Meeting minutes, 1 May 1877, Finland Branch Record 1876–1897, p. 3, CHLA.

⁷⁶² Testimony of Alexander Hartzell, 31 October 1883, Record of the Johan Blom Case, Archive of the Senate Judicial Department, KA.

⁷⁶³ Kim Östman, “Kristillisen identiteetin ongelma varhaisen mormonismien aatemaa-ilmassa,” *Teologinen Aikakauskirja*, vol. 112, no. 2 (2007), pp. 123–134.

⁷⁶⁴ Register of Disciplined Persons, 1862–1883, p. 11, Archive of Vaasa Parish, VMA.

⁷⁶⁵ CB, Vaasa parish, 1871–1880, p. 191, KA. CB, Vaasa parish, 1881–1885, p. 715, KA. CB, Vaasa parish, 1886–1895, p. 858, KA.

more closely in Chapter 6. In Porvoo, the village mason Gustaf Johansson also became marked as a Mormon in the communion book. Furthermore, the book indicates that he was a target of church discipline, because he was denied communion. His sister Hedvig was also marked as being Mormon and having emigrated to America.⁷⁶⁶ Some other Mormons elsewhere in the country were similarly marked as such in Lutheran church records.⁷⁶⁷ Not all were marked, either because the local clergy did not think it important or because the clergy simply were not aware of the Mormon conversions of some of their parishioners.

More generally speaking, Lutheran clergy tended to react negatively towards new Anglo-American religious movements, but such a reaction was not uniform. The earliest Finnish Baptists from the Åland Islands were summoned to hearings at Turku Diocesan Chapter and placed under surveillance. On the other hand, reactions were not so strong when the movement began taking shape in the Pietarsaari region, for example.⁷⁶⁸ One reason may be that Baptism as a movement became personified in Finnish laypersons, whereas Mormonism was seen as a foreign movement that was personified by foreign deceivers in the shape of missionaries.

Mormonism was also doctrinally much more different from Lutheranism than was Baptism and Methodism. Mormons saw Lutheranism as being perverted and without divine authority, whereas Baptism and Methodism accepted the Lutheran church to some extent while also seeing it as fallen and lethargic. An interesting display of ambivalent Lutheran attitudes took place in Pori in the 1880s: a Methodist preacher complained to the Diocesan Chapter about harassment spearheaded by a local Lutheran clergyman, with the Chapter replying that it did not want to become involved in doctrinal feuds. The clergyman eventually relented after the preacher threatened to involve the media.⁷⁶⁹

⁷⁶⁶ CB, Porvoo rural parish, 1869–1879 I, p. 43, KA. CB, Porvoo rural parish, 1880–1889 I, p. 48, KA. CB, Porvoo rural parish, 1890–1899 I, p. 41, KA.

⁷⁶⁷ See for example CB, Larsmo parish, 1875–1884, p. 59 (Anders Johansson), KA and CB, Pohja parish, 1877–1886, p. 315 (Wendla Lindlöf), KA.

⁷⁶⁸ Nils Näsman, *Baptismen i svenska Österbotten 1868–1905* (Helsingfors: Finska Kyrkohistoriska Samfundet, 1962).

⁷⁶⁹ Björklund, *Rikssvenska metodistpredikanterens betydelse*, pp. 180–181.

5.3. Newspapers

After the arrival of Mormon missionaries to Finland in 1875, newspapers continued to write about the Mormons and to report Mormon-related events abroad as they had done before (see Chapter 3). However, the arrival of the missionaries gave birth to a new reactionary genre of writings. This means that the notices or articles also began to deal with what the Mormons were doing in Finland and with reacting to those activities. When it comes to content, the reactions took a number of angles that will be analyzed in the following. These reactionary writings are important, because the discourses employed in them contributed to the processes of social construction that formed individual Finns' views of the Mormon missionaries working in the country and perhaps in their own vicinity.

Generally speaking, it is not known how many Finnish newspaper editors or journalists were personally in contact with Mormons either in Finland or abroad. Only one such encounter between a Mormon missionary and a Finnish editor is known. Axel Tullgren reports that he met August Schauman, editor of the Helsinki newspaper *Hufvudsbladet*, in April 1878, only days before Tullgren and his companion Olof Forssell had to leave the country. Tullgren "bore testimony to Aug Sachuman [sic] about the principles and requirements of the gospel" and sold him a copy of the *Book of Mormon* three days later.⁷⁷⁰ The newspaper did not mention the event, possibly not seeing it as being of sufficient significance even as a curiosity. No other such encounters are known, although they may of course have taken place. Newspaper writings were probably often conditioned not by personal knowledge but by the socially constructed image of the Mormon movement and by the information spread by other societal actors. Reactionary newspaper writings thus reflect the opinions of not only the editors and the journalists, but also the opinions more widely prevalent in society.

The first content type of newspaper reactions is their reporting of the success of Mormon activities in Finland. For example, the newspapers sometimes reported the membership number of the Finland branch as it had been announced in a meeting of the Stockholm conference, or they may have commented in a number of ways on the fact that Mormon converts had also been made in Finland. As an example of the former, *Helsingfors* reported on July 12, 1880, that according to

⁷⁷⁰ Axel Tullgren diary, 5 and 8 April 1878 (p. 103 and n.p.), CHLA.

the Mormon paper *Nordstjernen* there were 25 adherents of the faith in the country. On the other hand, *Helsingfors Dagblad* reported, based on the same source, that there were 24 Mormons in Finland, and *Päijänne* gave the number as 23. This small piece of news was spread widely in the country's newspapers.⁷⁷¹ In 1889, *Turun Lehti* reported that among other religions in Vaasa, "it is said that there are even a few Mormonites," although as far as is known, all Mormons in the region had passed away or been excommunicated from membership by that time.⁷⁷²

Such brief quantitative reports were usually not accompanied by value judgments or other comments, although modifiers such as "not more than" and rhetorical questions such as "Now where could they live?!" may appear.⁷⁷³ When it came to non-numerical reports about converts in Finland, comments sometimes reveal a negative attitude. *Finland*, for example, wondered in 1888 if "nothing is going to be done to prevent ignorant and simple people from falling prey" to the missionaries.⁷⁷⁴ Such comments essentially employ the anticult perspective and show the distaste with which some responded to the conversion of some Finns. On the other hand, newspapers were not always doom and gloom when reporting on Finnish Mormon converts. In 1891, a number of newspapers reported on the visit of a Mormon Finn who had emigrated to Utah in the 1880s. The writing was entirely complimentary, commenting on how the emigrant lady saw life in Utah and how she felt about living there: "Mrs. R. said she was very satisfied with circumstances in Salt Lake City ... Even other Finnish women are doing well there, she said."⁷⁷⁵

⁷⁷¹ "Antalet mormoner i Finland," *Helsingfors*, 12 July 1880, p. 2 and *Helsingfors Dagblad*, 12 July 1880, p. 2, and "Mormoneja Suomessa," *Päijänne*, 21 July 1880, p. 3. The original source was "Statistisk Rapport," *Nordstjernen*, vol. 4, no. 12 (15 June 1880), p. 192, reporting the number as 24. Examples of newspapers reprinting the information are *Koi* and *Åbo Underrättelser* on 13 July, *Ilmarinen* and *Savonlinna* on 17 July, and *Ahti* and *Uleåborgs Tidning* on 22 July. For another report like this, see "Mormonismen i Finland," *Östra Finland*, 17 October 1882, p. 1, indicating 18 members.

⁷⁷² "Paljon uskontoja Waasassa," *Turun Lehti*, 25 April 1889, p. 2.

⁷⁷³ "Diverse notiser," *Vestra Nyland*, 27 October 1882, p. 3 and "Mormonilaisia," *Pellevoo*, 26 October 1882, p. 2.

⁷⁷⁴ "Mormoner i Helsingfors," *Finland*, 20 September 1888, p. 3.

⁷⁷⁵ "Finsk mormon på besök i hemlandet," *Hufvudstadsbladet*, 11 September 1891, p. 2. The story was reprinted later the same year in at least *Aamulehti*, 13 September, p. 3, *Sanomia Turusta*, 13 September, p. 2, *Åbo Tidning*, 13 September, p. 2, *Keski-*

A second class of articles in the reactionary genre is composed of reports that missionaries are on their way to Finland to proselytize, or of more specific reports concerning missionary activities in certain localities. Reports of Mormon missionary work specifically in Finland appeared sporadically between 1875 and 1888.⁷⁷⁶ These often displayed negative attitudes. In February 1878, for example, *Åbo Underrättelser* reported the presence of two Mormon missionaries (Axel Tullgren and Olof Forssell) in the Turku area, giving as its reason “only to warn the public from credulously listening to persons whose only purpose probably is none other than getting their ‘daily bread’ in the most carefree manner.” The report also included religious overtones, when the writer commented that “one could accurately see which spirit” the missionaries were the “children of.” Furthermore, it was mentioned that the missionaries had left while “uttering insulting words of abuse and cursings”⁷⁷⁷ and had dusted their feet, an act of religious significance,⁷⁷⁸ when they had not been received well.

Similarly, a month later *Helsingfors Dagblad* reported how two missionaries in Sipoo had succeeded in “tricking eleven persons” to become Mormons. A sarcastic undertone is present when the paper indicates that the persons became not merely Mormons, but “orthodox Mormons,” and that the “cold bath” had led to a cough, a cold, and “remorse.”⁷⁷⁹ The same March 1878 events were reported by the local paper *Borgåbladet* in wording that makes evident the editor’s attitude. The Mormon missionaries were out to “deceive simple people,” and the Lutheran pastor in Sipoo had spoken with the converts, “the misguided.”⁷⁸⁰ In some of the reports, such claims of deception or at least

Suomi, 15 September, p. 3, *Kotka*, 17 September, p. 3, *Lounas*, 18 September, p. 3, *Tampereen Sanomat*, 18 September, p. 2, *Jyränkö*, 25 September, p. 3, *Mikkelin Sanomat*, 2 October, p. 3, and *Uleåborgs Tidning*, 18 December, p. 1.

⁷⁷⁶ No mentions have been found of the brief missionary visits of the 1890s and 1900.

⁷⁷⁷ “Mormoner,” *Åbo Underrättelser*, 8 February 1878, p. 2. The report was reprinted widely; see for example *Länsi-Suomi* and *Sanomia Turusta* on 9 February, *Hufvudstadsbladet* and *Uusi Suometar* on 11 February, and *Hämäläinen* and *Uleåborgs Tidning* on 14 February 1878.

⁷⁷⁸ Axel Tullgren confirms that the missionaries could sometimes dust their feet when not received well, thus symbolically declaring that they had done their part in trying to bring salvation, but had been rejected and were now leaving the object of their proselytizing to God’s judgment. See Axel Tullgren diary, 30 January 1878 (p. 97), CHLA.

⁷⁷⁹ “Mormoner i Sibbo,” *Helsingfors Dagblad*, 22 March 1878, p. 2.

⁷⁸⁰ “Mormoner i Finland,” *Borgåbladet*, 23 March 1878, p. 1.

false promises are fleshed out. *Uusi Suometar*, for example, wrote how the missionaries had made the converts believe that baptism would effect “miracles in both soul and body.” Thus an elderly and sickly lady believed she could be healed by being baptized, but to the contrary she contracted a terrible cough.⁷⁸¹

Indeed, a recurring theme in newspaper writings seems to deal with suspicions regarding the honesty of the Mormon missionaries. They were not seen as being sufficiently open about their deeper doctrines nor forthcoming in their promises and proselytizing. This suspicion seems to coincide with a similar theme that emerged for example in Norwegian reactions to Mormon missionary work. Glad has documented several instances. For example, one writer urged the clergy to action, thinking that the missionaries were “decent people but smooth talkers.” Another felt, according to Glad, that the Mormon missionaries “fooled people by distributing tracts in abundance, tracts that concealed grave and divergent doctrines and contained only pious phrases and speech.”⁷⁸² As seen in Chapter 3, plural marriage and theocracy in Utah were seen as some of Mormonism’s most deleterious features that were not explained sufficiently to converts and that could present them with sad surprises after emigration. Such selective presentation fed the deceiver-victim element of the hegemonic discourse on Mormons.

Just like *Åbo Underrättelser* mentioned above, *Borgåbladet* warned the common people about “these false prophets, who preach all kinds of doctrines that are contrary to the societal order.” To emphasize the seriousness of the matter, the editor invoked the situation in “free” North America, saying that these doctrines had led the Mormons into difficulties “even” there.⁷⁸³ When Tullgren and Forssell finally had to leave Finland in April 1878, *Dagens Nyheter* in Helsinki commented:

We cannot do anything but wish them a successful journey and utter the wish that they will never return here, for of half-mad and

⁷⁸¹ “Mormoni-apostoleita,” *Uusi Suometar*, 22 March 1878, p. 2. In contrast, missionary Per Pettersson reports meeting one Sipoo woman administered to by Tullgren and Forssell who was healed from a sickness that doctors had declared was incurable; see “Missionen i Finland,” *Morgenstjernen*, vol. 3, no. 19 (1 October 1884), p. 328.

⁷⁸² Johnnie Glad, *The Mission of Mormonism in Norway, 1851–1920: A Study and Analysis of the Reception Process* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2006), p. 236 and 244.

⁷⁸³ “Mormoner i Finland,” *Borgåbladet*, 23 March 1878, p. 1.

misleading sects and “denominations” we have more than enough of from before.⁷⁸⁴

Only a few months later, *Wasabladet* noted that “A Mormon from Sweden, Sundsvall, is again visiting our area.” The editor was apparently not happy with this development: “We want to warn the public against listening to this apostle from the ‘Latter-day Saints’.” Emphasizing the urgency of such a warning was the accompanying comment on the large number of Mormon emigrants from Sweden to Utah.⁷⁸⁵ In contrast to such reactions, newspapers sometimes reported on Mormon missionary visits without any specific warnings. When Per Pettersson visited the Sipoo area in late 1879, for example, *Helsingfors Dagblad* reported on his doings matter-of-factly. Interestingly, the newspaper mentioned certain of the converts from March 1878 by name, reporting on their current feelings regarding the faith.⁷⁸⁶

More general reports of missionaries on their way also appeared during this time. Such reactions often displayed an openly negative stance towards the Mormon missionaries. For example, in 1883 it was reported that 65 Mormon missionaries had left New York on a steamer to Europe. *Wasabladet*, one of the Finnish newspapers reporting on this, added:

We may safely presume that they will extend their activity also to our country, but although foreign preachers generally seem to find a good soil in our land, the despicable Mormonism should hopefully not win any adherents here.⁷⁸⁷

One version of this particular report (not mentioning Finland) also painted the missionaries as deceptive, calling them “eagle owls of darkness” and saying that they “carefully avoid appearing in their real shape.”⁷⁸⁸ And although not specifically mentioning their coming to Finland, *Wasabladet* titled an October 1883 report of another group

⁷⁸⁴ “Resande,” *Dagens Nyheter*, 13 April 1878, p. 1.

⁷⁸⁵ “En mormon,” *Wasabladet*, 13 July 1878, p. 2.

⁷⁸⁶ “Mormoner i landsbygden,” *Helsingfors Dagblad*, 26 November 1879, p. 2.

⁷⁸⁷ “Intressanta passagerare,” *Wasabladet*, 5 May 1883, p. 2.

⁷⁸⁸ “65 mormonapostlar,” *Folkvännen*, 10 May 1883, p. 2.

of missionaries “Uninvited guests,” in a rather clear display of attitude.⁷⁸⁹

These examples make it clear that newspapers could paint an image of the Mormon missionaries in Finland that made them appear as detrimental to the well-being of society and as cunning profiteers who were out to deceive commoners and simple people. The newspapers filtered their reporting of the matter through a deceiver-victim framework (see Chapter 3), in which the deceiver is othered and made to appear evil. The deceiver acts willfully and misleads knowingly, while the victim does not know any better and succumbs to the deceiver. There is little room for religious understanding or for allowing a more honest motive for the missionary. Rather than guiding believers onto the right path as Lutheran clergy would be described as doing, the deceiver caught “souls into his net.”⁷⁹⁰ This framework was rather common in nineteenth-century discourse on Mormons and can be found also for example in Swedish and Norwegian literature during this time.⁷⁹¹ Furthermore, the deceiver-victim framework was employed when discussing Mormon emigration (see further comments on this in Section 7.4). When three Finnish Mormons emigrated to Utah in 1888, for example, one newspaper voiced its concern: “shall nothing be done to prevent unskilled and ignorant people from becoming victims to [the Mormons]?” Leonard Nyberg, the missionary in question, “did not spare beautiful notions to catch his victims.”⁷⁹²

Direct or indirect comments on the illegality of the Mormon missionaries’ work were also published at other times. Ending its report on a missionary preaching in the Vaasa area, *Wasabladet* asked: “Should such religious presentations be allowed to be held unmolested?”⁷⁹³ When Alexander Hedberg was working in southern Finland, *Uusi Suometar* commented: “As far as we know such prosely-

⁷⁸⁹ “Objudna gäster,” *Wasabladet*, 31 October 1883, p. 2. Another newspaper labelled a similar report in 1894 as “The Wolves are Coming”; see “Ullvarne komma,” *Tammerfors*, 22 May 1894, p. 3.

⁷⁹⁰ “Eräs mormonilaisuuden saarnaaja,” *Suomalainen Wirallinen Lehti*, 1 November 1884, p. 2.

⁷⁹¹ See for example Gustaf Unonius, *Mormonismen: Dess upprinnelse, utveckling och bekännelse* (Stockholm: Z. Hæggströms förlagsexpedition, 1883), pp. 65–66 and Andreas Mortensen, *Fra mit Besøg blandt Mormonerne* (Kristiania: P.T. Mallings, 1887), p. 265, 269–270, and 281–282.

⁷⁹² “Mormoner i Helsingfors,” *Finland*, 20 September 1888, p. 3.

⁷⁹³ “En mormonmissionär,” *Wasabladet*, 10 November 1880, p. 2.

tism is forbidden in Finland." The editor recognized, however, that all did not share this view in an age of increasing liberalism, retorting that making such remarks about the Mormons "is probably considered by 'the educated' as 'hatred of light' or obscurantism."⁷⁹⁴ Newspapers at the end of the nineteenth century were often the proponents of liberalism, but when it came to the Mormons working specifically in Finland, they often reverted to conservative views. This is possibly because they regarded Mormonism not only as sectarianism but also as harmful deception in a secular sense. In the particular case of *Uusi Suometar*, one may note its general tendency to defend the Lutheran state church against new religious phenomena, not merely against Mormonism.⁷⁹⁵

Perhaps the most extensive newspaper reaction to Mormon proselytizing in Finland is one that was among the first ones to be printed. As discussed above, *Wasabladet* published Mormon-related articles in six consecutive issues at the end of 1876. Although the content was authored or copied by the clergyman Johannes Bäck, their inclusion in the newspaper also shows that the newspaper's editor assessed the matter of Mormonism as being of sufficient societal importance. This attitude is most clearly articulated in the fifth of these consecutive issues, when the editor refers to Mormonism as a "despicable sect."⁷⁹⁶

Newspapers were not always content with the manner in which Lutheran clergy were dealing with the Mormons. For example, while printing numerous articles by Bäck, the editor of *Wasabladet* thought that "in our opinion, the sect in question is most properly and successfully fought by the police."⁷⁹⁷ Moreover, when a correspondent thought that Lutherans were justified in their wish to remove Mormons from Finland, *Finska Weckobladet* responded that the church "should not forget that it is the authorities and not the church that have been given the sword in the hand to maintain order in society."⁷⁹⁸ When it came to fighting Mormonism, newspapers thus seem

⁷⁹⁴ "Eräs mormonilaisuuden saarnaaja," *Uusi Suometar*, 1 November 1884, p. 3.

⁷⁹⁵ Ulla Ekman-Salokangas, Eeva-Liisa Aalto, and Raimo Salokangas, *Hakuteos Savonlinna – Övermarks Tidning: Sanoma- ja paikallislehdistö 1771–1985* (Kuopio: Kustannuskiila, 1988), p. 202.

⁷⁹⁶ "Mormonmissionäernas," *Wasabladet*, 20 December 1876, p. 1.

⁷⁹⁷ "Mormonmissionäernas," *Wasabladet*, 20 December 1876, p. 1.

⁷⁹⁸ "Ett tillägg till skrifwelsen om kringresande predikanter i n:o 39 af Finska W:bladet," *Finska Weckobladet*, 25 October 1888, p. 4.

to have appropriated the framework of anticlericalism, in other words resorting to secular argumentation and tools in their battle. This is also consonant with their use of the deceiver-victim framework. As discussed in Section 5.2, however, some also explicitly defended the clergy, and *Wasabladet* can be seen as at least indirectly doing so by printing Bäck's articles.

The third type of reactionary article is one where the newspapers printed a longer article on or exposé of Mormonism. One example was already provided above with regards to Johannes Bäck and *Wasabladet*. These articles were often prefaced by an explicit comment on the rationale for publishing it. The Viipuri newspaper *Ilmarinen*, for example, explained in November 1878 that while Mormons had mostly stayed in Utah in the past, they had now begun appearing also in Europe and Sweden, even in Finland. Therefore "it must not be unnecessary to give some information on their doctrine and life." Explained in this manner one could expect a neutral review of a timely topic. The paper did not hide its motivation for printing the piece: the information would help people see that "all real foundation and moral bedrock was missing" when it came to the Mormons.⁷⁹⁹

Similarly, *Österbottniska Posten* printed an "account of the origin and birth of the Mormon sect" in October 1888. The paper mentioned that the Mormons had sought to make converts in Finland and had even succeeded in a few cases. The stated reason for printing the article was that "there is no better means against the deception than information concerning the origin of the same." Like *Ilmarinen*, the paper clearly took a stand against Mormonism, feeling it to be a phenomenon of sufficient importance in order to devote space for warning the population. What followed was an article concentrating mostly on the formative years of the movement, but also briefly commenting on the current difficulties in the United States due to polygamy. Included was the popular Spaulding theory for the origin of the *Book of Mormon*, essentially explaining the book as fraud.⁸⁰⁰

Another example in the article/exposé genre is the newspaper *Folkvännen*, which printed a series of articles taken from the American author Samuel Schmucker's book *History of All Religions*.⁸⁰¹ The pref-

⁷⁹⁹ "Mormonit," *Ilmarinen*, 30 November 1878, pp. 1–2.

⁸⁰⁰ "Mormonerna," *Österbottniska Posten*, 18 October 1888, p. 2.

⁸⁰¹ Samuel M. Schmucker, *History of All Religions* (New York: John B. Alden, 1881). Mormonism is discussed on pages 98–105.

ace described the Mormons as “hated all over the world” and thought that the term “Latter-day Saints” was “a ridiculous appellation, which already in itself clearly uncovers their entire insolency.” Employing the infestation metaphor of anticultism, the Mormons were said as having “sought to infiltrate themselves into our country,” with an implied juxtaposition of “our country” and the Mormons that were thus othered.

Furthermore, what follows (still before Schmucker’s text) is an articulation of the deceiver-victim framework. Mormons had already appeared in certain areas of Uusimaa province, “insidiously and wily,” with a “forced outer decency and holiness.” When interest had arisen, “they are immediately ready as birds of prey to lunge and grab their catch.” The missionaries presented the victims with the awfulness of hell, which “these poor weak ships, mostly women, cannot bear,” and soon they converted. The paper felt it was sad that people believed the Mormons instead of asking the more experienced persons in their parishes about them before converting. The wording is especially clear and strong:

When one has seen all this, one can in truth, at least while still being the watchman, not refrain from shouting to all sailors [on the sea of life] that one meets, Attention! you are on the wrong course! Beware of these compasses that are misleading and useless. – They are a vermin that cannot so easily be combed out of the fur, and as this vermin they disperse around, sneaking under the fluff. They are like the icebergs of the Atlantic that work in a destructive and freezing manner around themselves.⁸⁰²

The writings of Swedish newspaperman Jonas Stadling seem to have been popular in this reactionary genre. He visited Utah, writing of his experiences in the Swedish *Göteborgs Handels- och Sjöfartstidning* in 1881, later publishing the pamphlet *Hvad jag hörde och såg i mormonernas Zion* [What I Heard and Saw in the Mormons’ Zion].⁸⁰³ Many

⁸⁰² “Om mormonerna,” *Folkvännen*, 12 April 1883, pp. 1–2. The article is continued on 13 April, p. 1, and 14 April, pp. 1–2. Note that *Folkvännen* wrote about Mormonism in the Pohja area the previous month; see Chapter 6 and “Om mormonismen i Pojo,” *Folkvännen*, 20 March 1883, p. 2.

⁸⁰³ Jonas Stadling, *Hvad jag hörde och såg i mormonernas Zion* (Stockholm: J. Stadling, 1883). This was a variant excerpt from his larger work *Genom den stora vestern* (Stockholm: J. Stadling, 1883).

Finnish newspapers used parts of Stadling's writings in 1881, motivating their inclusion with comments concerning recent Mormon missionary work in Finland. For example, *Helsingfors* wrote in December 1881 that Mormon missionaries had worked in the Vaasa area, and, "as it seems that our country is being visited by these proselytizers, a few pieces of information concerning their doctrine from foreign papers should be in their place." This was followed by Stadling's strongly negative portrayal of life in Utah and the dismal destiny of apostates there.⁸⁰⁴

Åbo Underrättelser also printed some of Stadling's remarks because missionaries had appeared in Vaasa, and "our country may further be visited by Mormon preachers."⁸⁰⁵ *Mellersta Österbotten*, a religiously inspired newspaper, motivated the printing of Stadling's writings in its prospectus by "Mormons having sent apostles even to Finland to win adherents to their doctrine which is hostile to Christianity." Indeed, a reading of the material prompted the editor to hope that "the Lord God would protect the children of the nation and especially our Finnish emigrants in America so that they do not enter into Mormonism's perversions."⁸⁰⁶ Describing Mormon temple ceremonies based on Stadling's writings, *Keski-Suomi* thought that "a brief story on the Mormons' tricks as they take in new members into their congregation" would amuse readers since "Mormon apostles" had come even to far-away Finland to "preach their holy doctrine of polygamy." Included was a somewhat sensationalized and partly mistaken description of Mormon temple ceremonies; for example, Mormons were not stripped naked and blindfolded for swearing an oath in the temple.⁸⁰⁷

An internationally significant piece of writing in the reactionary genre was the 1888 article "The Abominations of Mormonism Revealed" by M.W. Montgomery, pastor of the American Home Missionary Society in charge of missionizing among the Scandinavians in Utah. A copy of the article was reportedly sent to all Scandinavian newspapers for publication, with a number of Lutheran clergymen in

⁸⁰⁴ "Mormonismen," *Helsingfors*, 2 December 1881, pp. 3–4.

⁸⁰⁵ "Litet om mormonismen," *Åbo Underrättelser*, 30 November 1881, p. 3.

⁸⁰⁶ "Om mormonismen," *Mellersta Österbotten*, 15 December 1881, p. 3.

⁸⁰⁷ "Wähän mormoneista," *Keski-Suomi*, 5 November 1881, pp. 2–3. For more articles with Stadling, see for example "Om mormonismen," *Wasa Framåt*, 4 and 5 November 1881, both on pp. 1–2, and "Mormonerna," *Wasa Tidning*, 25 November 1881, pp. 3–4.

Chicago endorsing it in a circular letter accompanying the article.⁸⁰⁸ In Finland, Montgomery's article was partially printed in at least four newspapers. Most of these titled the presentation using the direct translation "Mormonismens styggelser blottade," while *Wasabladet* made the primary title "Warning för emigranter" [Warning to Emigrants].⁸⁰⁹ Montgomery's article points out the large number of Scandinavians who had converted to Mormonism and deals with a number of theological and historical issues, such as the Mormon stance towards marriage, murders inspired by the doctrine of blood atonement, etc. Some of Montgomery's opening words convey the mood:

In 1887 the one writing this was sent by the "American Home Missionary Society" to the territory of Utah to investigate Mormonism's great misery or the so-called religion of the "Latter-day Saints." This moral cancer has shot its poisonous roots deep into this and adjoining territories and draws its thousands of victims to this deception annually from most parts of the world.⁸¹⁰

That some Finnish newspapers agreed to print such scathing words says something of their own attitude towards Mormonism. They did not print the entire article, saying that it would take up too much space, which appears to recognize the marginal relevance of the topic for the Finns. In any case, newspapers seem to have trusted Montgomery's exposé and considered him an expert. When *Wasabladet* noted later in 1888 that a Mormon missionary from Utah had arrived in the Vaasa area to work for a longer time, "We therefore take opportunity to refer to the articles included in issues 39 and 42 of *Wasabladet*, in which the secrets of Mormonism have been revealed by a knowledgeable person."⁸¹¹

It is not known how significant an effect Montgomery's article had in Finland. Clearly, however, Scandinavian mission leaders were wor-

⁸⁰⁸ "Mormonismens styggelser," *Wasabladet*, 16 May 1888, p. 2.

⁸⁰⁹ "Mormonismens styggelser blottade," *Folkvännen*, 9 May 1888, p. 3 and 19 June 1888, pp. 1–2, "Warning till emigranter. Mormonismens styggelser blottade," *Wasabladet*, 16 May and 26 May 1888, both on p. 3, "Ur den oss tillsända artikeln, 'Mormonismen styggelser blottade'," *Finska Weckobladet*, 24 May 1888, p. 3, and "Mormonismens styggelser blottade," *Wiborgsbladet*, 2, 3, and 5 June 1888, all on p. 3.

⁸¹⁰ "Warning till emigranter. Mormonismens styggelser blottade," *Wasabladet*, 16 May 1888, p. 3.

⁸¹¹ "En mormonpredikant," *Wasabladet*, 13 June 1888, p. 2.

ried about it in general. Writing to the European mission president George Teasdale, Scandinavian mission president Nils C. Flygare called Montgomery's writings "a long and bitter article against our people. ... A more foul and venomous article I have never read, and it could only have emanated [sic] from a black and morally corrupt [sic] heart."⁸¹² In his journal he wrote that "The Danish and Swedish papers have of late published some very mean peaces [sic] about the Mormons. Especially an article written by one Montgomery, it is full of lies and misrepresentations." Flygare wrote a rebuttal that was published in many leading newspapers, but it is not known that any Finnish papers published a critical examination of Montgomery's claims.⁸¹³ In fact, it is not known if Mormon leaders even knew that the article was published in Finland, although it is possible because two missionaries were working in the country at the time and would probably have informed their leaders about it.

The fourth and final type of response presented here was the use of the Mormons in discussion of religious freedom in Finland. These writings are not very plentiful, and in contrast to many of the responses examined in this section, exemplified a liberal outlook on matters of religious freedom. Specifically, in reaction to the statements of Lutheran dioceses of the late 1880s mentioned above, some papers implicitly defended the Mormons. It will be remembered that Kuopio diocese in particular was afraid that the organizing of a religious freedom association would open the doors for American Mormons to come to Finland in large numbers. *Åbo Tidning* declared that "Kuopio diocese's fantasies concerning ... the Mormons ... are so absurd that they kill themselves through the ridicule that they provoke," whereas *Päivän Uutiset* retorted that the statements contain "sentences that, when read, one can scarcely believe one's eyes," later specifically mentioning the Mormons among the movements causing fear to the diocese.⁸¹⁴

In general, it can be said that the matter of Mormonism and Mormonism in Finland in particular was clearly of interest to the newspa-

⁸¹² Nils C. Flygare to George Teasdale, 4 September 1888, Scandinavian Mission Letterpress Copybooks, vol. 8, CHLA.

⁸¹³ Journal of Nils C. Flygare, August 1888 (p. V17), Nils C. Flygare Papers, 1841–1902, HBL.

⁸¹⁴ "Regeringen och religionsfrihetsföreningens stadgar," *Åbo Tidning*, 1 February 1889, p. 1 and "Merkillisiä asiakirjoja," *Päivän Uutiset*, 18 January 1889, p. 2.

pers. Sometimes notices of missionaries working in certain parts of Finland were printed without much editorial comment, but at other times the newspapers were clearly critical towards such proselytizing, even rhetorically asking if the authorities were not going to do anything about it. Such a negative attitude is significant. The newspaper editors often regarded Mormonism as subversive and as a matter that law enforcement should deal with, in contrast to what they saw as less harmful sectarian movements and revivals.

5.4. Laypersons

The reactions of laypersons to the Mormon presence in Finland also took a number of angles. Before proceeding with the discussion it needs to be noted that covering laypersons as one group is not entirely accurate. This is because people are always divided along a continuum from elite to commoner, with levels of education, literacy, and erudition varying widely on this continuum. Unfortunately it is not always possible to ascertain the type of person whose reaction is manifested in some historical source, and thus an upper-level distinction of this kind is not made in this section. Nevertheless, details concerning persons or groups of persons are pointed out when known. Reactions of laypersons have been deduced mostly from their letters published in newspapers and from mentions of the matter by the Mormon missionaries.

The missionaries themselves often reported that laypersons were friendly and displayed interest towards them and their message. The Sundström brothers reported in 1876 that “a part of the people are desirous to hear their testimony” and that “people pay strict attention” when they preached.⁸¹⁵ Axel Tullgren reported in 1877 that he and Olof Forssell had “made acquaintance with some more families who were pleased to see them and converse about the gospel,” and he wrote in 1878 that he had many good friends who were being warned against housing or listening to the missionaries.⁸¹⁶

⁸¹⁵ John Andersson to *Deseret News*, 29 March 1876, reprinted in “Correspondence,” *The Latter-day Saints’ Millennial Star*, vol. 38, no. 21 (22 May 1876), p. 331.

⁸¹⁶ August W. Carlson to Henry W. Naisbitt, 8 January 1878, reprinted in “Foreign Correspondence,” *The Latter-day Saints’ Millennial Star*, vol. 40, no. 3 (21 January 1878), pp. 46–47 and Letter of Axel Tullgren, 13 March 1878, p. 110.

Furthermore, Scandinavian mission president Niels Wilhelmsen reported in 1880 that “the people are very friendly towards” missionary Per Pettersson, although he had been arrested by the police.⁸¹⁷ Similarly, Alexander Hedberg wrote in 1884 that “The people just wished that I would come to their homes and hold meetings there.”⁸¹⁸ As shown in Chapter 4, a number of commoners converted to Mormonism as a result of their encounter with the movement. To these individuals, the Mormon faith offered a new religious worldview through which they found spiritual fulfillment.

As mentioned above, clergyman Johannes Bäck in Vaasa displayed vehement opposition to the work of the Mormon missionaries in his area in 1876. All laypersons in the area apparently did not share Bäck’s opinions of the Mormons. Axel Tullgren reported that “the priest has written so many lies that people whom we have spoken with are embarrassed for him that he would trumpet such obvious falsehoods.”⁸¹⁹ On the other hand, it seems that laypersons were to an extent afraid of the clergy’s opinions. Once when the missionaries were organizing a preaching meeting on the outskirts of Vaasa, someone in the audience said that clergyman Bäck was coming, and according to the report, the room began to be emptied immediately.⁸²⁰

Similarly, a report from an 1881 meeting in Kvevlax, just outside Vaasa, shows how much the Lutheran clergy’s opinion on the Mormons could influence laypersons. A newspaper reports that “great crowds” could be seen to be gathering on account of their curiosity one Sunday evening in order to listen to the missionaries. The Lutheran minister eventually arrived and interrupted the meeting by first speaking with the missionaries and then turning to the parishioners to warn them against listening to the Mormons and their false doctrines. An interesting change in attitudes is shown. “Most persons had then immediately left, after reproaching the owner of the premises that he had made his rooms available for such a meeting.”⁸²¹ As shown by these two cases, laypersons seem to have displayed curiosity and interest towards the Mormons and their message, while at the same time recognizing that listening to these preachers was in some

⁸¹⁷ Niels Wilhelmsen to William Budge, 20 March 1880, p. 204.

⁸¹⁸ Alexander S. Hedberg to Anthon H. Lund, 22 November 1884, p. 376.

⁸¹⁹ Axel Tullgren to Ola N. Liljenquist, 19 December 1876, p. 122.

⁸²⁰ Lindgren, *Johannes Bäck, hans liv och gärning till verksamhetsperiod i Nykarleby*, p. 141.

⁸²¹ “Mormonpredikanter i Qweflax,” *Wasabladet*, 9 November 1881, p. 2.

sense “forbidden” by the social norms of the time, and that being found out could cause them difficulties with the local clergy. Naturally, knowing that the Mormons were “forbidden” may have contributed to the level of curiosity.

On the other hand, many laypersons did not react favourably towards the Mormons. Fredrik Sandberg reports in 1886 that two priest daughters attended one of his meetings and asked for his name so that they could report him to the bishop.⁸²² Sometimes these negative reactions were caused by family members having converted to the faith. In 1876, the father of Johanna Berg “had become hostile to her because she had converted,” and when she organized a meeting with the missionaries, he “immediately hurried to the priest and told him about our meeting.”⁸²³ Johannes Bäck reported that the presence of the Sundström brothers had “begun to cause vexation in the parish,”⁸²⁴ whereas Eduard Hisinger, powerful owner of a southern-Finland estate, claimed that the Mormon situation in his area “caused general vexation, concern, and discontent.”⁸²⁵

Newspapers also contain mentions of certain laypersons arguing with the Mormons at their preaching meetings. For example, in late 1876 the missionaries had held a meeting in the village of Munsala, between Vaasa and Pietarsaari. The correspondent wrote how they had prophesied concerning famine and difficulties being at the door. According to some present “they lacked all the gifts and attributes with which they could affect the people.” What was worse for the Mormons was that they happened to meet an itinerant school master who was aware of their “misstep.” Apparently the man was very debate-hungry, and thus a discussion had ensued between him and the missionaries, lasting many hours but ending up without either party convincing the other.⁸²⁶

As noted already above, Mormon activity in the Vaasa area since late 1875 seems to have been on the minds of at least some of those living there. A letter writer in January 1876 noted the presence of the two Swedish missionaries, explaining that they were both unmarried

⁸²² Fredrik R. Sandberg to Nils C. Flygare, 5 August 1886, p. 252.

⁸²³ Axel Tullgren to Ola N. Liljenquist, 19 December 1876, p. 122.

⁸²⁴ Church council minutes, 1868–1890, 31 July 1876, Archive of Vaasa Parish, VMA.

⁸²⁵ Eduard Hisinger to Georg von Alfthan, 19 August 1883, Record of the Johan Blom Case, Archive of the Senate Judicial Department, KA.

⁸²⁶ “Korrespondens från Österbotten,” *Hufvudstadsbladet*, 28 December 1876, p. 2.

and had not yet traveled to “their Zion in America.” They defended the practice of plural marriage, calling it an honor for a man to have one wife and a greater honor to have multiple wives. “It is the right, reward, and model for the righteous (see the patriarchs!).”⁸²⁷ In early 1877, it was reported that the Mormon presence and successes in the area had even been humorously mentioned in a local masquerade party by someone dressed up as a monk.⁸²⁸

The writer “Kr.” from Vaasa informed *Åbo Underrättelser* in the summer of 1877 concerning the content of a number of Mormon books, which he or she had presumably come in possession of through the December 1876 confiscation of literature discussed in Section 5.1. The lengthy description of the literature was motivated not “so that one or the other will purchase any such materials, but rather to counteract such if possible.”⁸²⁹ The same person wrote the newspaper six years later, commenting on the recent arrival of new Mormon missionaries to Scandinavia and thinking that it was only a question of time when they would come also to Finland. Furthermore, the correspondent remarked that a number of persons already had Mormon hymn books, quoting some of the book’s opening words about the strong expansion of Mormonism in the Nordic nations.⁸³⁰

The case of Sipoo in 1878, dealt with in Section 5.2, is an especially good example of the level of interest that the visit of Mormon missionaries could cause in a given area. Numerous letters to newspapers by interested observers discussed the arrival of the missionaries, describing in detail their preaching and the resulting baptisms. Shortly after the baptisms in mid-March, one correspondent characterized the Mormon issue as “the most prevalent topic of discussion here.” Thus he or she wanted to describe the events, “when in any case this visit is a rarity.” The negative attitude of the writer is evident in the choice of words. The missionaries are called “loafers,” and already the previous year one of them had begun to “twist the minds of our neighbors in Porvoo parish.”

Arriving at a respected farmer’s house and receiving permission to hold a religious meeting, the missionaries soon convinced their listeners of the necessity of baptism by full immersion. Baptisms were per-

⁸²⁷ “Från Wasa,” *Hufvudstadsbladet*, 18 January 1876, p. 2.

⁸²⁸ “Maskeraden,” *Wasabladet*, 21 February 1877, p. 2.

⁸²⁹ “Korrespondens,” *Åbo Underrättelser*, 5 July 1877, p. 1.

⁸³⁰ “Korrespondens,” *Åbo Underrättelser*, 4 November 1883, p. 2.

formed, as the prospective converts “felt a shiver along their backs, but their faith was stronger than the chills ... After the baptism they went inside with chattering teeth and lit up a large bonfire, around which they then sat and pondered their new faith.” Despite this seeming success, the correspondent ultimately paints the events as a failure. The closing words recount how the farmer had found out about the Mormon acceptance of plural marriage. The wife lost her faith and proclaimed that “their doctrine is not worth a pipe-full of snuff.”⁸³¹ Another woman reacted a bit differently when hearing about the Mormons visiting Sipoo, although it is not certain whether the report is real or fictional: “Goodness, one gets to hear all kinds of things!” Commenting on the high prices of fashionable clothing, she thought “it would be more sensible to let the wives instead have many husbands, so then they at least could clothe themselves properly.”⁸³²

Another individual, “H.,” wrote to the newspaper *Ilmarinen* concerning the Mormon events in Sipoo. Similarly to the correspondent above, this person wrote concerning the missionaries’ arrival (even giving their names) and eventual request to hold a religious meeting. The difference between “the false baptism of Luther” and “the Savior’s baptism” was impressed upon the listeners, and thus thirteen persons were baptized, in the presence of “a few rascals fooling about.” Deeper doctrines such as plural marriage were not declared openly, “only one man was prepared for it” by mentions of such a practice in the Old Testament, “but the wife is said to have shaken off thoughts of plural marriage from the man.” Again, the events were ultimately turned into a failure by this layperson observer. “Of the 13 baptized most have already given up, only two hags are said to be quite the Mormonesses.” This person evidently regarded the coming of Mormonism as a warning example of what liberal attitudes in matters of religion could lead to. Ending the letter, the correspondent

⁸³¹ “Från Sibbo,” *Folkvännen*, 27 March 1878, p. 2. For reprints of this letter, see for example “Mormonerna i Sibbo,” *Helsingfors Dagblad*, 28 March 1878, p. 2, “Mormondopen i Sibbo,” *Åbo Underrättelser*, 29 March 1878, p. 2, and “Mormoner i Sibbo,” *Björneborgs Tidning*, 30 March 1878, p. 3. Axel Tullgren also reports that the Sipoo baptisms were of great interest. In the beginning of April, he rode on a train where “everybody saw and talked about me that I was the one who was a Mormon”; see Axel Tullgren diary, 6 April 1878 (p. 104), CHLA.

⁸³² “Hwarjehanda,” *Björneborgs Tidning*, 17 April 1878, p. 4.

commented: "Here is some food for thought for those who think that religious freedom is absolutely necessary for our people."⁸³³

A later writer from Helsinki also recounted the events in Sipoo, providing them as an example of "with how beautiful a pretense many a false doctrine invades the congregation." The Mormons are said to have explicitly criticized the Lutheran clergy, attributing to them the listeners' uncertainty concerning their personal salvation and characterizing the clergy as blind shepherds of a deceived flock. This was followed by Mormon baptism and, according to the writer who had at best third-hand knowledge of the events, the introduction of the doctrine of plural marriage.⁸³⁴ While one cannot really know the exact details of what happened in Sipoo, it is clear that the discourses employed in these public recountings frame the events as unfortunate. Then again, it would be helpful to know for a certainty what commoners in the area thought; such letters to newspapers were probably written by the more educated. In any case, these were the accounts that were spread widely to those who had not encountered the Mormons and that thus contributed to forming a specific image of the movement.

Later letters from Sipoo report a diminishing interest towards Mormonism on a personal level, if not as a phenomenon. In late 1883, for example, missionary Lars Swalberg visited Sipoo and held meetings there. "At first his presentations were visited by great numbers, but when it was found out what spirit's child he was, which he even openly stated, explained the reason and goal for his being here, people withdrew." Three new baptisms were still reported, with the writer wondering why the authorities were not preventing such activity. The doctrine of plural marriage was given as an example of the kind of thing in Mormonism that "works in direct opposition to the entire Christian worldview and our societal conditions."⁸³⁵ In the spring of 1885, another writer mentions that "the foreign religious movements here seem to be in disbandment," specifically listing the Mormons as being among these movements.⁸³⁶ In 1887, following an official visit by the bishop of Porvoo diocese, the writer Skäri-Wille comments that "now that we have gotten rid of the Mormons," others

⁸³³ "Kirje Helsingistä," *Ilmarinen*, 30 March 1878, p. 3.

⁸³⁴ "Jo tuli taas uutta," *Uusi Suometar*, 10 May 1884, p. 2.

⁸³⁵ "Från Sibbo," *Folkvännen*, 7 January 1884, p. 2.

⁸³⁶ "Bref från landsorten," *Folkvännen*, 1 May 1885, p. 3.

had taken care of providing “the most zealous separatist activity” in the area.⁸³⁷

Some laypersons lamented the fact that Mormonism had gained converts in Finland, attributing the success to the ignorance of their commoner compatriots and to the inability of these to distinguish between the word of God and the word of man. One opined that Mormonism had made advances in Finland for example because listeners had “absolutely not been able to find anything contrary to the Bible among the preachers of Mormonism.”⁸³⁸ The Mormon preachers were criticized for not always explaining what denomination they belonged to, and “thus they have an unhindered opportunity to plant a number of false doctrines among the people who do not suspect anything evil.”⁸³⁹ The same person complained in another piece of writing:

There have thus been examples of Mormon preachers giving their religious presentations in our Swedish parishes, without anyone noticing in the least what spirit’s children these have been, but rather finding themselves very edified by their performance. So deplorable is the situation with perhaps the plurality of our people’s religious insight and ability to judge in spiritual matters.⁸⁴⁰

In this vein, it was argued that if the commoners only knew the *Bible*, sects such as Mormonism would have a difficult time making any converts. A writer from Kronoby, near Pietarsaari, commented in 1883 that such knowledge would cause the commoners to demand good reasons for the religious opinions presented by the sectarians. When such reasons could not be given, the proselytizers would face criticism, something that recently “is to have happened to a Mormon, who in Baptist disguise sought to slip himself into the people’s trust.” Kronoby had been “an ungrateful field for the mission zeal” of a number of new religious movements. In fact, potential criticism regarding the private study of the *Bible* leading to increased criticism of Lutheranism was countered with this resulting curtailing of sectarianism, with the Mormons as one example.⁸⁴¹ And it was not only knowledge of the *Bible* that could curtail Mormon success; one Finn writing from

⁸³⁷ “Bref från landsorten,” *Folkvännen*, 13 April 1887, p. 3.

⁸³⁸ “Den 10 nov. 1883,” *Åbo Underrättelser*, 12 August 1883, p. 2.

⁸³⁹ “Om den religiösa litteraturen,” *Åbo Underrättelser*, 5 November 1881, p. 1.

⁸⁴⁰ “Till kapitlet om religionsfriheten,” *Åbo Underrättelser*, 3 February 1881, p. 1.

⁸⁴¹ “Korrespondens till Åbo Tidning,” *Åbo Tidning*, 8 April 1883, p. 2.

America realized the more practical difficulty of the language barrier experienced by the Swedish-speaking Mormon missionaries. "My Finnish-speaking compatriots are lucky in that the Mormons do not know their language and cannot thus entice them so easily to their earthly hell!"⁸⁴²

Other reports by laypersons also indicate that Mormon missionaries sometimes had difficulties in raising interest for their message among laypersons. A writer just north of Kronoby commented in 1886 on a Mormon missionary working in their area. Writing from Kokkola, the person commented that "among other sectarian itinerant preachers, even the Mormon sect's proselytizers are traveling around Ostrobothnia." One Mormon had just visited the writer's town, but had not succeeded in making any converts, being instead met with "scorn and contempt."⁸⁴³ Later the same year, a writer to the south of Kronoby commented on a Mormon preacher traveling throughout Ostrobothnia, encouraging people to purchase religious pamphlets. However, "there did not seem to be a market for the goods in this region."⁸⁴⁴

A number of Finnish individuals went beyond expressions of general dislike and urged that more drastic measures be taken against the Mormons. One "friend of the Lutheran Church in Finland" commented in late 1888 on the missionary Leonard Nyberg, during whose presence a number of Finnish Mormons had emigrated to Utah, one of them even leaving a wife and daughter behind. The writer defended the Lutherans' wishes to have such preachers removed from the country.⁸⁴⁵ More drastically, a writer from Kronoby took issue with any mitigating statements regarding actions against Mormon preachers in Finland. In fact, they were seen as so devious that all talk of freedom of thought should be forgotten in their case. They did not tell the full truth before their "victims" arrived in Utah, and at that point return was nearly impossible. Thus, measures should be sought for "keeping them out of the country completely."⁸⁴⁶

⁸⁴² "Kirje Amerikasta," *Waasan Lehti*, 26 January 1884, p. 1.

⁸⁴³ "Bref från landsorten," *Folkvännen*, 5 February 1886, p. 2.

⁸⁴⁴ "En mormonkolportör," *Hufvudstadsbladet*, 5 October 1886, p. 2.

⁸⁴⁵ "Ett tillägg till skrifwelsen om Kringresande predikanter i n:o 39 af Finska W:bladet," *Finska Weckobladet*, 25 October 1888, p. 4.

⁸⁴⁶ "Korrespondens från Kronoby," *Åbo Tidning*, 9 December 1883, p. 3.

A number of different opinions were presented when it came to Mormons and the level of religious freedom in Finland. Some, like the writer above, were of the opinion that the Mormons should in fact be regarded as an exception. In a curious formulation, one Finnish-speaking writer did not think that anyone should be persecuted even if he had strayed “in matters of faith and conscience ... But from this one has to separate Mohammedans, Mormons, etc.”⁸⁴⁷ Another, a defender of Martin Luther’s views, noted in 1877 the work of Mormon missionaries in the Vaasa area, criticizing “demands of even greater freedoms for the enthusiasts! What will the end of all this be?”⁸⁴⁸ It was also felt wrong to curtail the activities of other lay preachers just because a Mormon “receives opportunity to speak somewhere and gets a few gullible persons to run after himself.”⁸⁴⁹ I already noted earlier in this chapter how some individuals felt that Lutheran church officials sometimes went too far in their criticisms against religious freedom.

There is very little information concerning attitudes towards those who had converted to Mormonism in Finland. At least one convert (Johanna Berg in Vaasa) experienced antagonism from her family after converting. But for example an examination of the witness testimonies from the trial of Johan Blom in 1883 (see Chapter 6 for details) does not directly reveal any antagonism, but neither does it reveal any admiration. However, when it came to radical changes in the convert’s life such as emigrating to America, there seem to have been reactions. For example, when one Finnish Mormon convert was going to emigrate to Utah, two individuals are reported to have tried to dissuade her from leaving. They did so by appealing to what were perceived as the dark sides of Mormonism, “to depict for her the perversion in the Mormons’ doctrine ... Among other things she was asked whether she did not know that the Mormons had many wives.”⁸⁵⁰ The father of a

⁸⁴⁷ “Onko mahdollista että laestadiolaiset tulevat eroamaan kirkosta?,” *Pohjalainen*, 15 April 1890, p. 3.

⁸⁴⁸ “Ännu några ord om Pikkarainens religionsmål,” *Morgonbladet*, 7 March 1877, p. 1.

⁸⁴⁹ “Onko todellaki syytä peljätä, että meillä on liian suuri uskonnon wapaus?,” *Satakunta*, 8 January 1881, p. 2.

⁸⁵⁰ “Af de för mormonismen,” *Borgäbladet*, 26 September 1888, p. 3.

young convert in Pohja is said to have expressed great sorrow in 1883, thinking that his daughter was going to emigrate to America.⁸⁵¹

As was mentioned above, some Finnish clergymen gave public lectures concerning the Mormons. One can also find newspaper notices of laypersons giving such lectures. While it is not known whether these lectures were given specifically in response to Mormonism, they certainly shaped attitudes at a time when Mormons were already present in Finland. One organizer of Mormon lectures was the graduate association "Suomalainen Nuija" that had the goal of furthering the education of the general population on a variety of topics. In 1879, Suomalainen Nuija arranged at least three Mormon-related lectures in the greater Helsinki region, apparently in the Finnish language, given by J.H. Reijonen and S.H. Miettinen. The topic was given merely as "About the Mormons," with no specific information on the more exact content or emphases of the lectures mentioned in the newspaper notices.⁸⁵² At least one lecture on the Mormons was also given in Tampere by graduate Grönlund in 1880, and another in Turku in Swedish by G. Cygnaeus in 1886.⁸⁵³

The public reactions of laypersons in Finland to Mormon activity in the country seem to have been limited to letters to newspapers and possibly lectures. They did not react by writing pamphlets or books about Mormonism, nor are they known to have organized mass-meetings in protest against the new movement. In this respect the reactions of laypersons differ to a degree from those in the other Nordic countries. For example, in Sweden the ex-Mormon Carl Malmström published an exposé of his previous faith.⁸⁵⁴ In Great Britain, numerous pamphlets against Mormonism were written by disgrun-

⁸⁵¹ "Om mormonerna i Pojo," *Morgonbladet*, 24 August 1883, p. 3. The daughter, Alexandra Lindroth, eventually emigrated in 1890; see Appendix B.

⁸⁵² See a list of all lectures during 1879 in "Suomalaisia kansantajuisia luennoita," *Uusi Suometar*, 20 October 1879, supplement, p. 2. See specific notices of the Mormon lectures for example in "Suomalaisia kansantajuisia luennoita," *Uusi Suometar*, 21 March 1879, p. 2 and "Suomalaisia kansantajuisia luennoita," *Suomalainen Wirallinen Lehti*, 22 April 1879, p. 2.

⁸⁵³ "Luennon," *Tampereen Sanomat*, 7 January 1880, p. 1 and "Folkligt föredrag på svenska språket," *Åbo Underrättelser*, 21 February 1886, p. 1.

⁸⁵⁴ Carl E. Malmström, *Hemligheten är upptäckt! Eller en sann skildring af hvad Mormonismen är i lära och leverne* (Örebro, 1862).

tled laypersons.⁸⁵⁵ Mormonism in nineteenth-century Finland was probably such a small phenomenon that it did not attract sufficient interest for these kinds of things to happen.

In sum, it is difficult to make generalizations concerning the responses of Finnish laypersons towards Mormonism when accounting for source-critical observations. Reports of the laypersons' attitudes are often filtered through the letters of Mormon missionaries, who may have perceived them as more friendly than they actually were, or through the newspaper writings of persons who themselves were hostile towards the Mormons and who thus easily exaggerated the prevalence of negative opinions. The first-person accounts of laypersons written in newspapers were most probably written by the more educated, in other words the ones who had been most influenced by negative reports concerning the Mormons in different publications and who tended to view sectarianism in general with suspicion.

Pending more reliable source material in this regard, the only things that can be said with certainty are that many Finnish laypersons attended Mormon meetings, a number of them converted to the new faith as a response, that a number opposed the movement publicly, and that most laypersons did not convert to or oppose the movement, for reasons that are largely unknown. There is no evidence suggesting that physical harm was done. This can be contrasted with hostile layperson reactions towards Methodism and the Salvation Army, for instance. As one example in the case of Methodism, a lady on her way home from a meeting was assaulted and pushed into a ditch in the 1880s.⁸⁵⁶ The Salvation Army's meetinghouse windows could be broken in mid-winter and benches thrown into the sea in the 1890s, as discussed in Chapter 2.⁸⁵⁷

5.5. Discussion and Summary

Finnish civil authorities were the most powerful societal actor to respond to the Mormons. While officials were naturally influenced by personal religious views, their actions were guided and motivated

⁸⁵⁵ Craig L. Foster, *Penny Tracts and Polemics: A Critical Analysis of Anti-Mormon Pamphleteering in Great Britain, 1837–1860* (Salt Lake City: Greg Kofford Books, 2002).

⁸⁵⁶ Björklund, *Rikssvenska metodistpredikanter betydelse*, pp. 180–181.

⁸⁵⁷ Hilikka Nieminen, *Pelastussotaa Suomessa 1889–1989* (Porvoo: WSOY, 1989), pp. 54–65 and 86.

mainly by the laws of the country. According to these laws, Mormonism was illegal, and thus its entrance was resisted in a number of ways, including the confiscation of literature and threats of arrests. The Lutheran clergy were another distinct group of actors that had an important role in the Mormon-Finnish interface. While there is some variation in how intensely clergy reacted to the Mormon situation, they clearly opposed Mormonism and saw it as a negative influence in society. Considering their socially constructed religious worldview and the controversial doctrinal and practical novelties introduced by Mormonism, this hostile reaction was probably inevitable.

Newspapers also reacted to Mormons in Finland in a variety of ways. First, there were mentions of the membership number and converts having been made. Second, they printed notices of missionaries working in certain localities or being on their way to Finland. These notices sometimes evidence an active role by the newspapers, as they warned people against listening to the missionaries or called the state to intervene. This is a somewhat surprising stance when viewed through a modern understanding of journalism's role, but it was normal at the time. Third, the newspapers sometimes reacted by printing general articles about the Mormons, sometimes as a curiosity, at other times as a warning. The Mormons could also be mentioned in discussions related to the development of the freedom of religion. Finally, the newspapers printed numerous letters by laypersons who had come in contact with the Mormons. Some laypersons reacted positively to the Mormons, but most of those writing to newspapers had negative views.

Considering the motivations and resulting reactions of the four groups of societal actors discussed in this chapter, it is not difficult to understand why it was very difficult for the Mormons to gain converts in nineteenth-century Finland. They were actively resisted by civil authorities, who had the authority to imprison or deport the missionaries from the country. On a more immediate level, the discourses employed by Lutheran clergy and newspaper writers often framed Mormon activity in a very negative light, affecting the opinions of the laypersons who were the target group of Mormon proselytizing. A deceiver-victim framework became hegemonic in both the clergy's countercult discourse and the newspapers' anticult discourse, making Mormon activity suspect at all levels.

New social or religious movements do not become social problems by their mere entry into a society or religious economy. Rather, they

become defined as such by established societal actors who seek for ways to respond to the movement and who ponder the appropriateness of inclusion on the one hand or exclusion and boundary creation on the other. Based on the research presented so far, it does not appear that there was much discussion concerning what should be done with the Mormons. In fact, with the exception of the elements of counter-discourse assessed in Section 3.3, none of the societal actors discussed in this chapter appear to have seriously asked the question "Are the Mormons *really* that bad?"

Rather, as noted by Cowan regarding the countercult (and in this case, by extension the anticult) mode of action against new religious movements in general, "*that* they are wrong is understood a priori; what remains is simply that fact's satisfactory demonstration," whether that in this case be by appealing to common decency, controversial Mormon doctrines, etc. In other words, that the Mormons were in the wrong and thus to be resisted was made to appear natural or "self-evident, axiomatic," as if that version of reality were not constructed in the first place.⁸⁵⁸ Based on this generally accepted version of reality and knowledge, the Finnish societal actors such as civil authorities were able to exercise power against the Mormon movement. They did so in a way that seemed appropriate for handling such a social problem and that re-affirmed the rightness of that version of reality.⁸⁵⁹

With the exception of laypersons, all the societal actors discussed in this chapter were larger institutions of special significance. They may be viewed as centers of power, because they wielded considerable influence in shaping individual constructions of reality. The response of civil authorities signaled what was legally acceptable and what was not, whereas the response of clergy was an authoritative reminder of the "correct" spiritual order of things. Newspapers (or mass media, if one can speak of such at the time) were the institution that was trusted as the purveyor of facts and truth. In sum, these institutions had, in Gergen's terms, "authority over matters of reality, reason and right."⁸⁶⁰

That they all reacted negatively towards the Mormons, in a practically unanimous manner, made Mormonism a movement that it was

⁸⁵⁸ Cowan, *Bearing False Witness?*, p. 207 and 45. Emphasis in original.

⁸⁵⁹ Burr, *An Introduction to Social Constructionism*, p. 70.

⁸⁶⁰ Gergen, *An Invitation to Social Construction*, p. 47.

hazardous to associate with. Conversion was fraught not only with potential for legal difficulties, but also with potential for negative repercussions in a layperson's immediate social environment of clergy, relatives, and friends. In sum, such turbulence placed Mormonism in high tension with its host society and made it a religion that it was costly to associate with. That Mormonism was constructed as a social problem also on the local Finnish level was both a cause and effect of their negative image. On the one hand, negative attitudes towards the movement further perpetuated its image as a social problem. On the other hand, the discourses prevalent already before its arrival in Finland (see Chapter 3) provided a fertile substrate for such an image and reality to be constructed.

6. Pohja as a Finnish Mormon Microcosm

“... the journey continued to Po[h]ja parish. I stayed there for four days. I met several Saints, and we held meetings and breaking of bread together and were very happy. There at a manor house called Brödtorp a gardener by the name Blom, who belonged to our church and had come there from Sweden, began to preach and baptize. ... he is now home in Zion and is a respected and faithful man.” – Mormon missionary August J. Höglund (*Nordstjärnan*, 1 August 1895).

“... we desired to avoid to the utmost anything that could even remotely be seen as religious persecution, at the time still believing that we were dealing with people with whom one could reason. Neither did we then know the qualities of teasels and leeches that these proselytizers displayed and always display.” – Baron Eduard Hisinger (*Helsingfors Dagblad*, 27 August 1883).⁸⁶¹

In the past chapters, I have discussed Mormon image formation, proselytizing in Finland, and reactions to Mormonism by a number of societal actors. It has been found that the Mormon image was being formed among the population well before Mormons ever set foot in Finland, and that once they did so, reactions were varied. Parts of the population displayed an interest in the Mormon message, some converting to the new faith as a result. Others reacted with indifference or with various degrees of hostility.

The purpose of this chapter is to bring the discussion from a general level down to a detailed examination through a case study of one particular locale, to show how these country-wide dynamics found manifestation there. This is done in order to gain a fuller understanding of what Mormon activity and Mormonism’s societal relations were like at the time. In this sense, the locale serves as a microcosm, exhibiting in a small scale general processes and attitudes that accompanied Mormon presence and/or proselytizing also in other areas of

⁸⁶¹ An earlier version of this chapter was published as Kim Östman, “Mormoniherätys Pohjan pitäjässä 1880- ja 1890-luvulla,” *Historiallinen Aikakauskirja*, vol. 107 (2009), no. 4, pp. 414–430.

the country. It illustrates the limited level of religious freedom in nineteenth-century Finland and the attendant difficulties with regards to the growth of a new religious movement. Furthermore, it gives examples of how Mormonism spread through social networks and shows how the movement eventually died out in the area.

The locale of closer analysis is the municipality of Pohja, chosen due to the manner in which it stands out among other areas of Mormon activity. Whereas most convert groups were isolated and scattered around the country as discussed in Chapter 4, the Mormon community in Pohja was relatively long-lasting and more strongly in dialogue with its social environment than what is known in the cases of the other locales. The significance of social networks also emerges as one of the reasons that makes Pohja a fruitful object of study. In view of my theoretical orientation, Pohja also enables a closer examination of the role of conversation in Mormon reality-making and the maintenance of a community of believers.⁸⁶² Most important among the utilized source material is the extensive documentation of an 1883 court trial that gives detailed information on the Mormon-related events in the area. This source is augmented with numerous others, such as contemporary newspapers, parish records, and letters. The time period of study is consigned mainly to 1880–1897.

6.1. The Microcosm in Context

Pohja is located in south-western Finland, about halfway between Helsinki and Turku, a distance of 80 kilometers to both. In 1885, the population of the municipality was 3,561, and governmentally it belonged to Uusimaa province.⁸⁶³ Significantly, the region was a stronghold of the Finnish iron industry, giving the area a specific stamp. This was especially visible in the form of several iron works (for example Antskog, Billnäs, Fagervik, Fiskars, and Skogby) that employed scores of people. The iron industry in the area had begun already in the seventeenth century, when Carl Billsten commenced operations.

⁸⁶² Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge* (Harmondsworth: Pelican Books, 1987 [1966]), pp. 177–178.

⁸⁶³ Ludvig Wennerström, *Tilastollinen ja biografillinen Suomen Evankelis-Lutherilaisten Seurakuntain ja Papiston Matrikkeli* (Porvoo: Werner Söderström, 1885), p. 119. Today, Pohja is no longer an independent municipality but rather a part of Raasepori town.

In the early eighteenth century, Billnäs, Fagervik, and Skogby works were purchased from Billsten's descendants by the Swedish captain Johan Wilhelm Hising.⁸⁶⁴

The Lutheran church naturally dominated the Pohja religious scene. The long-standing parish minister Herman F. Sohlberg passed away in June 1881,⁸⁶⁵ after which the parish was in many temporary hands for a period of four years.⁸⁶⁶ The religious makeup of the region was diversified by the intra-church revival movement of Evangelicalism. The south-western part of Finland was a main area of its influence. Fredrik G. Hedberg, founder of the movement, was at this time working as the Lutheran parish minister in Kemiö, only some tens of kilometers from Pohja.

Ekenäs Notisblad noted in 1883 that "spiritual speakers" seemed to have developed a liking for nearby Tammisaari. A number of preachers were reported as having been in the area speaking, and the town even had an itinerant Laestadian preacher living in it.⁸⁶⁷ In a March 1885 meeting of clergy from the diocesan division that Pohja belonged to, it was reported that itinerant Methodist preachers had visited the Pohja area among others during the past two winters. According to Lutheran dean Ernst Strandberg, "ecclesiastical order and law has little meaning" to these "new teachers and revival preachers" who were driven by an increased zeal. The Hihhulites, members of the Laestadian revival movement, were reported as having begun operations in nearby Tammisaari.⁸⁶⁸ Such religious diversity no doubt increased tensions and was a cause of consternation for the Lutheran clergy of the area. In addition to new religious movements, the Lutheran clergy in the Pohja area were concerned about the general morals of the people. For example, Ernst Reuter lamented the increas-

⁸⁶⁴ Helmer Tegengren, *Billnäs bruks historia* (Helsingfors: n.p., 1949), pp. 22–54 and 87.

⁸⁶⁵ Printed Circular Letters of the Diocesan Chapter, 1876–1884, p. 413, Archive of Turku Diocesan Chapter, TMA. Gunvor Nordström and W.E. Nordström, *Pohjan pitäjän historia*, vol. 3 (Pohja: Pohjan kunta, 1966), pp. 325–328.

⁸⁶⁶ Printed Circular Letters of the Diocesan Chapter, 1876–1884, p. 413, Archive of Turku Diocesan Chapter, TMA. Wennerström, *Tilastollinen ja biografillinen Suomen Evankelis-Lutherilaisten Seurakuntain ja Papiston Matrikkeli*, p. 490, 493, 503, 508, and 534.

⁸⁶⁷ "Andliga talare," *Ekenäs Notisblad*, 24 March 1883, p. 2.

⁸⁶⁸ Meeting minutes, 18 March 1885, Deanery Documents, Raasepori Western Deanery, Archive of Turku Diocesan Chapter, TMA.

ing prevalence of adulterous relations and drunkenness. Pohja had become “the general pub of the surrounding area.”⁸⁶⁹

6.2. Birth of a Mormon Microcosm

Three Mormon baptisms had taken place in neighboring Tenhola municipality in April 1877, when missionaries Axel Tullgren and Carl Sundström visited the area.⁸⁷⁰ In February 1878, Axel Tullgren traveled through Pohja, mentioning Åminnefors works.⁸⁷¹ Later in 1879, Per Pettersson reports having traveled from Helsinki to Turku via nearby Tammisaari.⁸⁷² However, no actual Mormon activity seems to have taken place before the spring of 1880. This was when the 31-year-old Swede Johan Blom with his wife Anna, 36, and three children (ages 1–5) arrived in Pohja. During his earlier life, Blom had acquired training and experience as a gardener. Furthermore, he had converted to Mormonism in Östhammar, Sweden, at the end of July 1878. His wife had been baptized two months later.⁸⁷³ Later still, Blom had the opportunity to emigrate to Utah together with his family.

According to a later reminiscence, he consulted with the Stockholm conference president Lars M. Olson (himself an emigrant to Utah who had returned as a missionary), who had ordained Blom an elder in the Mormon priesthood in July 1879.⁸⁷⁴ Considering the general Mormon push for emigration, Olson’s advice can be seen as being out of the ordinary: he suggested that Blom take his family to Finland instead of Utah, in order to help the proselytizing work. “We need you there, where the missionaries are having a hard time,” Olson is said to have counseled.⁸⁷⁵ In his reminiscence, Blom did not specify further what this help was to consist of.

⁸⁶⁹ Ernst Reuter to Ernst Strandberg, 12 October 1883, Parish Documents, Pohja, Archive of Turku Diocesan Chapter, TMA.

⁸⁷⁰ Finland Branch Record 1876–1897, CHLA.

⁸⁷¹ Axel Tullgren diary, 6 February 1878 (p. 99), CHLA.

⁸⁷² “Erindringer fra missionen i Skandinavien,” *Morgenstjernen*, vol. 3, no. 19 (1 October 1884), p. 328.

⁸⁷³ RM, Uppsala branch, 1865–1884, n.p. FHL.

⁸⁷⁴ For information on Lars M. Olson, see Susan Easton Black, Shauna C. Anderson, and Ruth Ellen Maness, *Legacy of Sacrifice: Missionaries to Scandinavia, 1872–1894* (Provo: Brigham Young University Religious Studies Center, 2007), pp. 337–338.

⁸⁷⁵ John Bloom to Church Historian’s Office, 29 April 1925, in Andrew Jenson, “Manuscript History of the Finland Mission,” CHLA.



Figure 6.1. Pohja Lutheran church and its immediate environs in 1872.

Courtesy of the National Board of Antiquities.

A trained gardener, Blom received employ with Eduard Hisinger, owner of Brödrtorp manor and estate in Pohja. This influential man had taken over Brödrtorp in 1858 and had begun to dedicate his time to agriculture. By 1862, he had produced an influential book on the use of mushrooms as food. In recognition of his further work, the University of Helsinki granted Hisinger an honorary doctorate in 1882.⁸⁷⁶ Furthermore and significantly for the present study, Eduard Hisinger was active in the community. Dedicating time to both local and national politics, he participated in national Diets in various capacities after 1863 and was the chairman of the Pohja municipal council between 1866 and 1889. Thus, as an educated man who owned sig-

⁸⁷⁶ E.H., *Kalle Skog Swamphuggare eller anvisning till de matnyttiga Swamparnes igenkännande och användande* (Åbo: Kejsarliga Finska Hushållningssällskapet, 1862). A Finnish-language edition was published the next year. Hisinger was later even mentioned in the *New York Times* as having provided fields at Brödrtorp for use in scientific experiments concerning plant growth; see "Electricity and Vegetation," *New York Times*, 26 September 1898, p. 3.

nificant areas of land and directed municipal politics, Hisinger wielded considerable authority in the area.⁸⁷⁷

The Blom family's religious views became known quickly. The information is provided in the certificate provided by a Swedish clergyman and given to Pohja parish by the Bloms soon after their arrival, by the end of May 1880.⁸⁷⁸ This led to a setting of boundaries for what was deemed proper behavior with respect to the family's religion. Parish minister Herman Sohlberg, for example, assured Blom of his freedom to exercise his religion but warned against any kind of proselytizing on pain of being called before the Lutheran church council. A similar assurance and warning was given by his employer Hisinger: "do not speak with the people, because they do not understand freedom of religion." Blom had retorted that it would be impossible for him to refrain from talking to those he was in contact with.⁸⁷⁹

The religious life of the Blom family seems to have consisted of prayers, devotional meetings, and the reading of church publications. But while members of the Blom family were the only Mormons living in Pohja, they were sometimes visited by the Mormon missionaries working in Finland. At least David Ekenberg, Joseph Lindvall, Anders Norell, and Lars Swalberg visited Pohja between early 1881 and the late summer of 1883. The missionaries participated in and spoke at the devotionals organized at or by the Bloms. They also attended to their pastoral duties as leaders of the Finland branch. This happened for example by David Ekenberg giving a blessing to the Blom's baby John Gabriel a week after his birth in February 1881.⁸⁸⁰ Sometimes the missionaries also lodged with the Blom family when they visited the area.

Soon after beginning work at Brödorp, Johan Blom at times worked together in the same room with the Finnish carpenter Karl

⁸⁷⁷ F.L. Hisinger, *Historik över friherrliga ätten Hisinger* (Helsingfors: n.p., 1925), p. 13. Gabriel Nikander, ed., *Herrgårdar i Finland*, vol. 1 (Helsingfors: Söderström & C:o, 1928), p. 54. Eino Jutikkala and Gabriel Nikander, eds., *Suomen kartanot ja suurtilat*, vol. 1 (Helsinki: n.p., 1939), p. 105.

⁸⁷⁸ Incoming Transit Certificates, 1880, APSP. CB, Pohja parish, 1877–1886, p. 82, KA.

⁸⁷⁹ Eduard Hisinger to Georg von Alfthan, 19 August 1883 and Statement of Johan Blom, 29 October 1883, Record of the Johan Blom Case, Archive of the Senate Judicial Department, KA.

⁸⁸⁰ Finland Branch Record 1876–1897, CHLA.

Lindlöf.⁸⁸¹ The subject of conversation often moved to religion, with Blom defending Mormon doctrines, for example on the point of plural marriage. Lindlöf mentioned these conversations to his mother Wendla, who had been pondering religious matters for a long time.⁸⁸² Before proceeding, it is essential to note that Blom's primary role in acquainting himself with Karl Lindlöf was thus one of a co-worker, not that of a religious preacher. Thus the creation of a social bond and the entry into Lindlöf's social network took place before religion became a more pronounced characteristic (of course Lindlöf may have heard of Blom's Mormonism a priori, but it was not the reason they became acquainted with each other). This social network proved essential to Mormonism's spread in Pohja.

Wendla Lindlöf first visited Johan Blom in the early spring of 1882 to speak with him on the subject of religion. The visits became more frequent as Lindlöf began acquiring a liking for Mormon doctrines, with Lindlöf's sister-in-law Maria God from the neighboring municipality of Kisko accompanying her on these visits. Meetings began to take place both at the Blom residence and, through Wendla's wishes, at the Lindlöf residence, with others from the vicinity often present to listen to what was being discussed. During these meetings, Blom and visiting missionaries, if available, "explained the Holy Scripture according to their doctrines."⁸⁸³ On Sunday evening June 4, 1882, Wendla Lindlöf, 57, and Maria God, 50, received baptism by Johan Blom in Lammasjärvi lake, approximately two kilometers from Bröd-torp. Blom performed the baptisms because the visiting missionary Joseph Lindvall was ill. Anna Blom helped the women change to dry clothes after baptism, and later the Bloms and the new Latter-day Saints partook of the sacrament together.⁸⁸⁴

⁸⁸¹ The name is variously spelled as Lindlöf, Lindelöf, or later Lindlöv. The form chosen for use throughout this chapter is Lindlöf, as it is the one that is used in the contemporary Lutheran parish records.

⁸⁸² Testimony of Karl Otto Lindlöf, 31 October 1883, Record of the Johan Blom Case, Archive of the Senate Judicial Department, KA.

⁸⁸³ Testimonies of Wendla and Otto Wilhelm Lindlöf, 30 October 1883, Record of the Johan Blom Case, Archive of the Senate Judicial Department, KA. On Wendla Lindlöf's and Maria God's familial relationship, see Anna-Liisa Rinne, *Kristuksen kirkko Suomessa: Kertomus Myöhempien Aikojen Pyhiin Jeesuksen Kristuksen Kirkon juurtumisesta tähän maahan* (Turku: n.p., 1986), p. 9.

⁸⁸⁴ Zachary R. Jones, "Conversion amid Conflict: Mormon Proselytizing in Russian Finland, 1861–1914," *Journal of Mormon History*, vol. 35, no. 3 (Summer 2009), p.

Another person who became interested in Mormonism through Blom's presence in Pohja was Alexandra Lindroth. Again, it is important to note the manner in which Lindroth came to know Blom, as it was not primarily as a religious preacher. Documents show that she became employed in the Blom household as a maid in November 1881 and worked there for one year. Upon arrival, she was informed by Blom that she could attend their family devotionals if she so desired.⁸⁸⁵ Over the course of listening to these devotionals, Lindroth became convinced that she should be baptized for the forgiveness of her sins when she became an adult, reportedly longing for the time this could take place. She later remembered that the devotionals, sometimes running past midnight, had also dealt with topics such as the sacrament and Christ's second coming; the *Book of Mormon* had merely been mentioned.

By summer 1883, Lindroth felt the time was right for baptism. After a devotional held by Johan Blom and visiting missionary Lars Swalberg at the Lindlöf residence on August 12, she was accordingly baptized by Swalberg in Lammasjärvi.⁸⁸⁶ The exact response of her parents and siblings is not known, but some uneasiness on the part of her father Wilhelm is indicated by a newspaper comment on the event. Alexandra, "a young misled girl," was to be taken to America the same autumn, "to her father's great sorrow."⁸⁸⁷ Alexandra Lindroth did in fact not become a constant presence in Pohja. It is here useful to note that she worked as a maid for fellow Mormon Anna Ruth in Sipoo after her baptism.⁸⁸⁸ This is significant in that it shows that the Pohja community was not completely isolated from other Mormons in Finland, and vice versa. Lindroth eventually emigrated to Utah in 1890, settling in Benjamin (see Appendix B).

35, says that Blom was immediately arrested by the Russian secret police, "Okhrana," after the baptisms. No evidence points to such an event or conclusion. To the contrary, Blom later contended that he was led to believe there was nothing seriously wrong with having performed the baptisms. See statement of Johan Blom, 29 October 1883, Record of the Johan Blom Case, Archive of the Senate Judicial Department, KA.

⁸⁸⁵ Statement of Johan Blom, 29 October 1883, Record of the Johan Blom Case, Archive of the Senate Judicial Department, KA.

⁸⁸⁶ Testimony of Alexandra Lindroth and Anna Tunander, 30 October 1883, Record of the Johan Blom Case, Archive of the Senate Judicial Department, KA.

⁸⁸⁷ "Om mormonerna i Pojo," *Morgonbladet*, 24 August 1883, p. 3.

⁸⁸⁸ Finland Branch Record 1876–1897, CHLA.

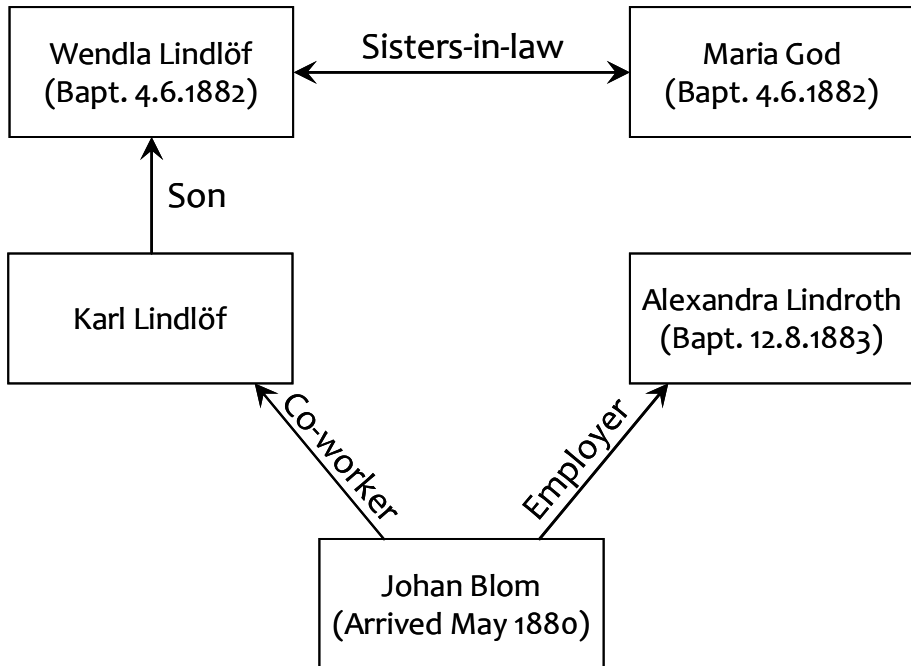


Figure 6.2. A visualization of the social network resulting in the first Pohja baptisms.

Thus, by 1883, three persons had converted to Mormonism as a consequence of Johan Blom's presence in the area since 1880. All of these converts were made through pre-existing social bonds. Wendla Lindlöf and Maria God first became acquainted with Blom through Lindlöf's son, who knew Blom first because of his work relationship, not because of Blom's religious persona. Alexandra Lindroth, on the other hand, knew Blom as her employer first and as a religious person second. In other words, none were converted after having first met a visiting Mormon missionary. The network of individuals is summarized in Figure 6.2.

Whether the low number of baptisms indicates a general lack of interest among the people or a difficulty in spreading the Mormon message is difficult to assess. Evidence indicates, however, that a much greater number than three knew of a Mormon presence at Brödtorp and showed varying degrees of interest. In addition to the devotionals at the Blom and Lindlöf residences mentioned above, for example, newspaper discussions and portrayals of Mormonism seem to have raised interest in the issue. Johan Blom explained in October 1883 how "his neighbors and other acquaintances ... many times had come to

him to express their surprise concerning how the belittling information concerning the ‘Latter-day Saints’ that every now and then and especially lately had been provided in the newspapers could be true.”⁸⁸⁹ It is likely that what they had witnessed of Blom’s way of living and heard from him first hand did not resonate with what they had read. It may also be that Blom did not discuss Mormonism’s more controversial doctrines extensively, and that the newspaper characterizations therefore came as a surprise to people.

An examination of Finnish newspapers of this time shows that the writings of Swedish journalist Jonas Stadling were especially popular and were published in several Finnish outlets. Stadling wrote concerning what he “saw and heard in the Mormons’ Zion,” contending, for example, that emigrant life among Scandinavians in Utah was miserable and a dark shadow of what Mormon missionaries portrayed it as. He also portrayed a Mormon religious meeting in Salt Lake City, Utah, in which he listened to speakers and saw “one of the saddest sights that ever reached my eye,” referring to the Mormons who had left their Scandinavian homelands and were said to be held in poverty and ignorance by their leaders. Such writings understandably created questions among the populace of Pohja.⁸⁹⁰

Mormon literature had also raised interest in Pohja. Blom had loaned for example copies of the Swedish church periodical *Nordstjernen* to interested persons. This periodical contained doctrinal treatises and news of the church from near and far. It was the main publication that tied the church in Sweden together and that informed Mormons in Finland of church developments. Additionally, books such as *Evangelijsanna grundsatser* [The True Principles of the Gospel] and *Cateches*

⁸⁸⁹ Statement of Johan Blom, 29 October 1883, Record of the Johan Blom Case, Archive of the Senate Judicial Department, KA.

⁸⁹⁰ Writings on Mormonism by Stadling were published for example in *Nya Pressen*, 9 June 1883 and *Folkvännen*, 16, 19, and 22 June 1883. Stadling’s writings were later published in book form as *Genom den stora vestern* (Stockholm: J. Stadling, 1883), with Mormon content also separately published as *Hvad jag hörde och såg i mormonernas Zion* (Stockholm: J. Stadling, 1883). Another strongly negative piece of writing published in Finland around this time was “En ‘warning’,” *Folkvännen*, 18 April 1883, p. 3, which among other things said that “the woman’s situation among the Mormons is terrible.” *Folkvännen* also published more general information on the Mormons based on Samuel M. Schmucker’s *History of All Religions* (New York: John B. Alden, 1881) as “Om mormonerna,” 12, 13, and 14 April 1883.

för Barn [Catechism for Children] are mentioned among those loaned to others.⁸⁹¹ The books explained basic doctrines of Mormonism, the former being written as a monograph and the latter dealing with its subject matter in question and answer format.

The pamphlets *En röst från landet Zion* [A Voice from the Land of Zion] and *En sannings röst till de upprigtiga af hjertat* [A Voice of Truth to the Sincere in Heart] were also in existence in the Brödtorp area.⁸⁹² These were in essence proselytizing tracts, designed to introduce people to the Mormon message. In addition, such tracts could indicate that they were designed to correct what was perceived by the Mormons as false information about themselves. *En röst från landet Zion*, for example, was written “partly to correct the many perverse descriptions and to refute the many false stories that circulate about the Latter-day Saints.”⁸⁹³ Individuals in Pohja were thus not only introduced to the Mormon message itself. Through newspapers and Mormon publications such as these, they also acquired a rudimentary understanding of Mormonism’s controversial nature.

It seems that the Mormon literature was disseminated both by Johan Blom offering it to individuals and by persons requesting reading material from him. As an example of the former, he had offered the scriptural *Mormons bok* and issues of *Nordstjernen* to officials at Brödtorp. In the spring of 1882, he had heard that someone at nearby Fagervik iron works thought Mormons did not believe in God. When Blom visited the works, he left a piece of literature there to set the record straight. Furthermore, *En sannings röst till de upprigtiga af hjertat* was one publication that Blom had offered to those visiting him in his home. And in the winter of 1882–1883, as an example of the latter mode of dissemination, Blom had loaned the above-mentioned *Evan-*

⁸⁹¹ Orson Pratt, *Evangelii sanna grundsatser* (Köpenhamn: N.C. Flygare, 1876) and John Jaques, *Cateches för Barn: Framställande de viktigaste lärdomarne i Jesu Christi Kyrka af de Yttersta Dagens Helige* (Köpenhamn: C.G. Larsen, 1873).

⁸⁹² Erastus Snow, *En röst från landet Zion: Vittnesbörd af de lefoande och de döde* (Köpenhamn: N.C. Flygare, 1878) and Erastus Snow, *En sannings röst till de upprigtiga af hjertat* (Köpenhamn: N.C. Flygare, 1879). Georg von Alfthan to Turku Imperial Court of Appeal, 11 September 1883 and testimony of Anna Tunander, 30 October 1883, Record of the Johan Blom Case, Archive of the Senate Judicial Department, KA.

⁸⁹³ Snow, *En röst från landet Zion*, p. 3.

gelii sanna grundsatser and *Cateches för Barn* to a visitor upon request. The extent and frequency of dissemination is not known.⁸⁹⁴

The local clergyman Fredrik Nauklér (Herman Sohlberg passed away in June 1881) had also shown a degree of interest in Blom's religious activities. Blom was not a member of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland, however, and thus Nauklér felt that he could not be called in front of the church council for a warning. Nevertheless, after having learned of the two baptisms in the summer of 1882, Nauklér summoned Blom and reminded him of the conditions for his religious activity outlined earlier by Sohlberg and Hisinger. Blom would not need to turn away interested listeners, but he should not actively proselytize people. Blom asked both Nauklér and Hisinger whether he would be punished in some manner because of the baptisms, but no decree was forthcoming. According to his own comments, Blom seems to have understood that his religious activity could still proceed within the parameters agreed with Sohlberg, Hisinger, and more recently with Nauklér.⁸⁹⁵ Unspecified officials of the municipality were later reported to have taken action in the Mormon matter after the 1882 baptisms and it was believed that the Mormon activity would come to a halt.⁸⁹⁶

In this connection it is significant to note that the Lutheran clergy did not seem to react very strongly to the Mormon presence in the area. Wendla Lindlöf is marked in the Lutheran parish's communion books as having been baptized a Mormon, but no such marking is provided in the case of Alexandra Lindroth.⁸⁹⁷ Furthermore, while possible, it is not known that any of the converts were called to discuss their conversions with the Lutheran clergy. This could be because of the changes in the local clergy, with Sohlberg and another priest passing away in June 1881 and no other priests, including Nauklér, staying in Pohja on a permanent basis. Only when the Lutheran dean

⁸⁹⁴ Statement of Johan Blom, 29 October 1883 and Testimony of Wilhelmina Holmström, 30 October 1883, Record of the Johan Blom Case, Archive of the Senate Judicial Department, KA.

⁸⁹⁵ Testimony of Fredrik Nauklér, 31 October 1883 and Final comments by Johan Blom, 31 October 1883, Record of the Johan Blom Case, Archive of the Senate Judicial Department, KA.

⁸⁹⁶ "Mormonerna i Pojo," *Helsingfors Dagblad*, 23 August 1883, p. 2.

⁸⁹⁷ CB, Pohja parish, 1877–1886, p. 85 and 315. NA. Maria God lived in neighboring Kisko, where her Mormon baptism was not noted in the parish register; see CB, Kisko parish, 1880–1889, p. 5, Archive of Kisko Parish, TMA.

was coming to visit in October 1883 did Ernst Reuter, the assistant vicar in Tammisaari who was in charge of pastoral care in Pohja, suggest that Wendla Lindlöf and Maria God could be called to a hearing, if the dean so desired.⁸⁹⁸ It is not known whether the dean did so, only that he briefly discussed Mormonism and polygamy during his visit, “counseling everyone to be on their guard against delusions in doctrine and that he, who stands, should watch that he does not fall.”⁸⁹⁹

6.3. The Final Straw

A mere three converts by August 1883 would seem to indicate that Mormonism was not something Pohja needed to worry much about. As indicated earlier, the region was also battling social problems such as drunkenness and marital infidelity. Over time, however, the Mormon baptisms, a troubling event involving the young girl Ida Ottman, and Eduard Hisinger’s resulting sense of betrayed trust led to further complications.

Ida Ottman, 16, became the Blom family’s maid after Alexandra Lindroth in November 1882. Similarly to Lindroth, Ottman was assured she was free to participate in the family’s prayers if she wanted to but did not need to do so. Accordingly, she sometimes participated, sometimes not. According to her own later testimony, she also borrowed a hymn book from the Bloms for a day or so.

The situation deteriorated, however, when the Bloms were not happy with her work. Furthermore, she heard things critical of Lutheran clergy in religious devotionals that she attended. For example, she recalled that Blom had said that when Lutheran priests “come before Christ’s tribunal, he will say: Go away from me, I do not know you.” The same would happen to those who did not accept Mormonism. She also liked her own Lutheran hymn book, but the Mormons are to have told her not to read such books “with which she will go to hell.” Ottman’s attitude towards Mormonism also seems to have become more negative; she did not want to listen to “syrupy priests” and she was “too wise” to be baptized by Blom. She also did not like

⁸⁹⁸ Ernst Reuter to Ernst Strandberg, 12 October 1883, Parish Documents, Pohja, Archive of Turku Diocesan Chapter, TMA.

⁸⁹⁹ Visitation minutes, 16 October 1883, Parish Documents, Pohja, Archive of Turku Diocesan Chapter, TMA.

working at the Bloms, and thus she left her employment on February 27, 1883, about four months after starting.⁹⁰⁰

The accuracy of Ottman's comments is to an extent under question due to her agitated state. Physical and mental problems, the latter possibly partly caused by worry over religious matters, made Ottman temporarily lose sanity. She was diagnosed by a medical specialist at the nearby Fiskars iron works in early March 1883, shortly after leaving the Blom family.⁹⁰¹ In general, Mormon attitudes towards the validity of other religions could be very dismissive, but it is not known with certainty to what extent such attitudes were displayed by the Pohja Mormons. From the point of view of larger developments, however, the accuracy of Ottman's comments is not essential. The important thing to note is that Mormonism here became used as the reason and scapegoat for particular difficulties, and that as such, the perception of Mormonism as a social problem was exacerbated and brought into the consciousness of an increasing number of persons.

The Mormon situation in Pohja was discussed in print shortly after Ottman's troubles escalated. In a letter dated March 15, 1883, pen-name "A.B.C." sought to inform readers concerning the "more important" events in the region. Included with a discussion of school matters and local politics was a recital about Mormon devotions and writings having been spread, with a warning by the late parish minister Herman Sohlberg as the result. The matter had recently surfaced through Ottman's case, whose condition "one has reason to believe is the result of worry concerning her employer's exhortations to accept the new doctrine." Several had accepted the Mormon doctrine and were waiting for warmer weather in order to be baptized. A Lutheran church meeting was being planned "to discuss and decide on the most suitable manner to oppose the further spread of the sect."⁹⁰²

⁹⁰⁰ Testimony of Anna Tunander, 30 October 1883, Testimony of Fredrik Nauklér and Ida Ottman, 31 October 1883, Record of the Johan Blom Case, Archive of the Senate Judicial Department, KA.

⁹⁰¹ See testimony of Ida Ottman, 30 October 1883, and Ivar Rothström to Eduard Hisinger, 2 and 4 March 1883, Record of the Johan Blom Case, Archive of the Senate Judicial Department, KA.

⁹⁰² "Korrespondens," *Ekenäs Notisblad*, 17 March 1883, p. 2. The letter's section on Mormonism was reprinted in "Från Pojo," *Helsingfors*, 19 March 1883, p. 2 and "Om mormonismen i Pojo," *Folkvännen*, 20 March 1883, p. 2. Hisinger later responded that two older women had already been baptized as Mormons and did not need to wait for spring weather, contrary to what the original correspondent

In sum, the spread of literature had caused a warning to Johan Blom by clergyman Herman Sohlberg before his passing in June 1881, whereas the two baptisms in 1882 and other activities had caused warnings by clergyman Fredrik Nauklér and Blom's employer Eduard Hisinger. On March 4, 1883, Hisinger had instructed Blom to ask people who came to visit his religious devotionals to leave, and at that time a Lutheran church gathering may have been in the plans for dealing with the matter. At the end of May 1883, Blom seems to have felt that it was time for him to leave Pohja, as he discontinued his employment contract, making him free to leave in November.⁹⁰³ After the third baptism in August 1883, however, then-Baron Hisinger seems to have had enough with giving warnings, feeling that Blom had betrayed his trust and upset the general peace through his Mormon activities.⁹⁰⁴

Accordingly, Hisinger wrote Georg von Alfthan, governor of Uusimaa province, one week after Alexandra Lindroth's baptism. Hisinger explained that Blom had baptized two older women, spread religious literature, and held religious meetings to which people had been invited or enticed. He had also influenced his employee girls so that one of them had now been baptized (showing that the Lindroth baptism was by then at least semi-public knowledge) and another one, due to religious pressure by Blom, had been admitted to Lappvik mental hospital. Warning Blom was futile, and he was

... causing general vexation, anxiety, and dissatisfaction in the community, which undoubtedly had the right to be undisturbed by him and the Mormons from America whom he had given upkeep to and who had been in Pohja the last 3 summers and worked for the same cause.

had written; see his letter dated 28 March 1883 in "Korrespondens," *Ekenäs Notisblad*, 31 March 1883, p. 3.

⁹⁰³ Statement of Johan Blom, 29 October 1883 and Statement of Eduard Hisinger, 27 July 1883, Record of the Johan Blom Case, Archive of the Senate Judicial Department, KA.

⁹⁰⁴ On the bestowal of the title of Baron, see Helmer Tegengren, *Billnäs bruks historia* (Helsingfors: n.p., 1949), p. 220.

Hisinger appealed for the governor to take strong actions for Blom's prompt deportation from Finland.⁹⁰⁵

While strongly criticizing Blom, Hisinger's dislike seems to have been limited to religion-related actions. Indeed, even after these troubles concerning religion had surfaced, Hisinger considered Blom to be "a skilled gardener, orderly, and sober" and that he had taken care of his duties "to my full satisfaction." Seven months later in February 1884, Hisinger renewed his praise of Blom, saying that he would not hesitate to continue keeping Blom as an employee if he could be certain that the earlier events would not be repeated.⁹⁰⁶ In November 1885, the local newspaper publicly acknowledged that Hisinger had felt Blom was a "competent and orderly worker."⁹⁰⁷

With regards to religion, however, Hisinger's choice of words evinces a deep sense of disappointment. In his opinion, Blom had gone about preaching Mormonism, "shamelessly betraying my trust, insincerely and completely insidiously, at first in the greatest secrecy but later with ever increasing boldness, insolence, and defiance."⁹⁰⁸ Such feelings were natural as many of the activities had taken place at Brödorp, owned and watched over by Hisinger. Additionally, Hisinger was chairman of the municipal council, and the Mormon events came under his watch also in that regard. Refraining from action could have caused dissatisfaction among some of the population.

On the same day, a letter was written to the nationally significant paper *Helsingfors Dagblad* concerning the situation, signed "---d ---r." While the letters match Eduard Hisinger's name and many of the phrases used in the letter are similar to those used by him later, it cannot be established beyond doubt that the letter writer was Hisinger himself.⁹⁰⁹ Nevertheless, the writer was intimately familiar with the situation in Pohja, describing the general situation and expressing frustration that the Mormon activity had not died out as it had been

⁹⁰⁵ Eduard Hisinger to Georg von Alfthan, 19 August 1883, Record of the Johan Blom Case, Archive of the Senate Judicial Department, KA.

⁹⁰⁶ Statements of Eduard Hisinger, 27 July 1883 and 22 February 1884, Record of the Johan Blom Case, Archive of the Senate Judicial Department, KA.

⁹⁰⁷ "Mormonmålet i Pojo," *Ekenäs Notisblad*, 20 November 1885, p. 2.

⁹⁰⁸ Final statement of Eduard Hisinger, 31 October 1883, Record of the Johan Blom Case, Archive of the Senate Judicial Department, KA.

⁹⁰⁹ It is conceivable that Hisinger first wrote the letter to legitimize his actions by purporting to show the outrage prevalent in the common opinion and then acting to correct the situation as chairman of the municipal council.

believed it would. The reason: "the Mormons are not a frank people." Instead of showing gratitude for the tolerance accorded him by resolving to curtail his own activities, Johan Blom had, to the contrary, gone about his proselytizing with even greater zeal, in secret, even causing a young girl to become mentally unstable.

Furthermore, religious meetings had been held, "always by night," and "a shrieking and unpleasant noise late at night had often disturbed the neighbors."⁹¹⁰ The visiting missionaries added to the problem. Converts had been made, each paying five marks for the baptisms. Now they would pay tithing on their earnings to "these wolves in sheep's clothing" who had deceived them. The converts were blinded and could not see that "these Mormons did not have any sympathy for them, but rather they act from pure selfishness." The writer wondered why the local clergy and the chairman of the municipal council had not taken stronger action instead of just warning Blom. After all, Blom had in the writer's opinion already clearly broken certain referenced laws. The editor of the paper added his comments, lamenting the fact that Finland had no modern legislation related to proselytizing. Nevertheless, an evaluation of the applicability of the pertinent older laws to the current situation could be done only in a court of law, the editor thought. In any case, that would be the only thing left to do, since mere warnings had not remedied the situation.⁹¹¹

Eduard Hisinger replied to the letter a few days later. Calling the complaints fully justified, Hisinger thought that Blom should have been put to court immediately by Nauklér and himself when laws were first broken. However, he had wanted to avoid anything that would look like religious persecution. Nevertheless, recent turns in events had shown that they were dealing with "teasels and leeches" instead of "people with whom you could reason." Thus Blom had been reported to the authorities; Hisinger feared only that the absence

⁹¹⁰ Alexandra Lindroth later explained that because meetings on weekdays had to begin after working hours, they could sometimes last past midnight. See Testimony of Alexandra Lindroth, 30 October 1883, Record of the Johan Blom Case, Archive of the Senate Judicial Department, KA.

⁹¹¹ "Mormonerna i Pojo," *Helsingfors Dagblad*, 23 August 1883, p. 2. The letter was reprinted as "Om mormonerna i Pojo," *Morgonbladet*, 24 August 1883, p. 3, "Mormonerna i Pojo," *Åbo Underrättelser*, 24 August 1883, p. 2, and "Mormonfrågan i Pojo," *Folkvännen*, 7 September 1883, pp. 1–2, with the editor's comments reprinted in "Mormonfrågan i Pojo," *Folkvännen*, 8 September 1883, p. 1.

of the seasoned judge could prevent a speedy handling of the matter. In any case, Hisinger felt that five or six laws had clearly been broken, which would lead to monetary fines and to extradition from the country.⁹¹²

Things were thus proceeding towards a trial. Governor von Alftan forwarded Hisinger's complaint to Turku Imperial Court of Appeal for the purpose of bringing in a legal indictment against Blom.⁹¹³ Hisinger sent the governor copies of the Mormon publications *En röst från landet Zion* and *En sannings röst till de upprigtiga af hjertat* as two specimens of literature spread in the area, which the governor again forwarded to the court.⁹¹⁴ In the beginning of September, several large newspapers in southern Finland announced that since May 1880, "J. Blom" at Brödtorp in Pohja had "proselytized, held religious meetings, spread his doctrines and Mormon writings," baptized two persons, and pressured his servants to convert to Mormonism. The matter would be settled by Turku Imperial Court of Appeal.⁹¹⁵ On September 20, the prosecutor Alfred Forsström decided to organize a hearing in the case. It was to be handled by the Pohja, Tenhola, Bromarv, and Tammisaari municipal courts in Tammisaari, with the proceedings watched over by Tammisaari mayor Karl Hammar.⁹¹⁶ The Imperial Court of Appeal would make its decision based on the minutes of this hearing. Hammar was requested to confer with His-

⁹¹² "Mormonerna i Pojo," *Helsingfors Dagblad*, 27 August 1883, p. 3. A judge replied to Hisinger a few days later, saying that the old judge would be back in any case, but that Hisinger should have observed the situation first and only then written to the public. See "Från allmänheten," *Helsingfors Dagblad*, 2 September 1883, p. 3.

⁹¹³ Georg von Alftan to Turku Imperial Court of Appeal, 29 August 1883, Record of the Johan Blom Case, Archive of the Senate Judicial Department, KA.

⁹¹⁴ Eduard Hisinger to Georg von Alftan, 2 September 1883, Incoming Documents, Second Branch, Archive of the Administrative Department of Uusimaa Provincial Government, KA. Georg von Alftan to Turku Imperial Court of Appeal, 11 September 1883, Record of the Johan Blom Case, Archive of the Senate Judicial Department, KA.

⁹¹⁵ The information was first published as "Om mormonernas uppträdande i Pojo," *Helsingfors Dagblad*, 4 September 1883, p. 3. Reprintings in other newspapers include at least *Folkvännen*, *Hufvudstadsbladet*, *Morgonbladet*, *Nya Pressen*, *Wiborgsbladet*, and *Åbo Underrättelser*, all on 5 September 1883, *Aura*, 6 September 1883, and *Tammerfors Aftonblad*, 7 September 1883.

⁹¹⁶ G.F. Rotkirch to Georg von Alftan, 20 September 1883, Incoming Documents, Second Branch, Archive of the Administrative Department of Uusimaa Provincial Government, KA.

inger or the Pohja sheriff Carl Österholm concerning persons who should be called as witnesses in the case.⁹¹⁷

6.4. The Johan Blom Court Case

Although attitudes become more liberal with time, prosecutions in cases related to religion did take place in nineteenth-century Finland. Probably the most famous of these occurred in Ostrobothnia at the end of the 1830s, when over 70 Awakened revivalists (both Lutheran priests and laymen) were charged and some of them convicted for raising funds and breaking the Conventicle Act of 1726 (later annulled by the Lutheran church law of 1869) by conducting private gatherings.⁹¹⁸ Religion cases seem not to have been very common at the Turku court, although some were investigated. In 1884, for example, a children's teacher named Karl Riikonen from Urjala was accused of spreading doctrines not consonant with those of the Lutheran church; among other things, he had declared his listeners' sins forgiven, collected money, and proclaimed that infant baptism was not a sufficient form of baptism. Whether Riikonen made converts is not clear. In 1890, the Swedish Baptist Karl Roos, resident in Föglö on the Åland Islands, was accused of proselytizing and spreading falsehoods concerning Lutheran doctrines. Similarly to Blom, the activities of Roos had resulted in people leaving the Lutheran church.⁹¹⁹

Finnish legislation at this time was in the main a handover from the time when the country was under Swedish rule. This was one way in which Russian emperor Alexander I had wanted to give the Finns a sense of continuance as Russia took over the rule in 1808–1809. This generalization holds true also when it comes to laws pertaining to religion, with one main exception being the new Lutheran church law of 1869. This law did not have relevance when it came to Blom himself, however, as he was a Swedish citizen and not a member of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland.

⁹¹⁷ Georg von Alftan to Karl Jakob Hammar, 1 October 1883, Letter Drafts, Second Branch, Archive of Uusimaa Provincial Government, KA.

⁹¹⁸ Heikki Ylikangas, *Körttiläiset tuomiolla: Massaoikeudenkäynnit heränneitä vastaan Etelä-Pohjanmaalla 1830- ja 1840-lukujen taitteessa* (Helsinki: Otava, 1979).

⁹¹⁹ Register of Religion Cases at Turku, Vaasa, and Viipuri Courts of Appeal, 1809–1918, Archive of the Procurator's Administrative Department, KA.

Three main points of law were brought to bear in the Blom case, and the outcome hinged on whether his actions could be construed as fulfilling the parameters defined by these laws. Two of these were from the Penal Code of the Swedish Law of 1734, still in force in Finland in the 1880s. The first point (section one, paragraph four) stipulated that a person who spread false (non-Lutheran) doctrines and did not refrain from doing so after being warned, was to be extradited. However, if the falsehood of the doctrine was not clear, the person should be subjected to the Lutheran church's own process for such matters. The second point (section three, paragraph six) stipulated that a person who committed a crime on the Sabbath should receive a monetary penalty for breaking the Sabbath and a separate penalty for the crime itself.⁹²⁰

The third law discussed in the case was a Royal Decree given by Swedish King Gustav III on January 24, 1781. This decree formulated a number of parameters within which non-Lutheran religions could function in the Kingdom of Sweden. Most importantly for the present case, the decree forbade non-Lutherans from letting anyone not of their faith attend their devotionals, and neither were Lutherans allowed to attend such devotionals. Also, if someone "enticed others to participate in foreign devotionals and leave the Lutheran faith," this person was to receive a monetary penalty, and if repeated, the person should be extradited.⁹²¹

The hearing took place at the Tammisaari Inn between 29 and 31 October 1883, with mayor Karl Hammar presiding over the proceedings. The hearings lasted for a total of 26 hours, with Blom himself being questioned for about 5 hours on the first day. In his testimony, he straightforwardly noted that he had baptized the two women and that he had given people Mormon literature both of his own accord and after being asked for such. However, he denied having put any pressure on his servants, but noted that one of them had nevertheless been baptized.⁹²²

⁹²⁰ *Sveriges rikets lag gillad och antagen på riksdagen år 1734* (Helsingfors: Otava, 1894), p. 159 and 161.

⁹²¹ *Utdrag Utur alla ifrån år 1780 utkomne Publique Handlingar, Placater, Förordningar, Resolutioner Och Publicationer*, vol. 12 (Stockholm: n.p., 1799–1802), pp. 138–147.

⁹²² "Religionsmål," *Nya Pressen*, 1 November 1883, p. 2 and "Religionsmålet emot trädgårdsmästaren Blom," *Nya Pressen*, 2 November 1883, p. 2.

In addition, according to Blom's later reminiscence, "the judge" (Blom is perhaps referring to Hammar) asked him to speak on the differences between Mormon and Lutheran teachings. This request made Blom happy, as he felt "an abundance of the Spirit of God for having the privilege to speak to so large an audience, a great big room filled with priests and notable people, who had all come to witness this Mormon case." Apparently Blom did not mention plural marriage, however, and thus he was asked specifically about it. Accordingly, Blom rose to a defence of the practice, succeeding to get the crowd to agree that they wanted to sit together in heaven with Old Testament patriarchs who were in actuality polygamists. "I spoke quite a while to this audience, and when I concluded, the judge arose and thanked me for himself and all those present for what I had said," Blom remembered.⁹²³ This exchange is not discussed in the court document.

A total of 31 other witnesses testified in the case, with most having been called by Eduard Hisinger. Blom had called two additional witnesses. Most of these persons lived on the Brödtorp estate, with a handful residing elsewhere in Pohja or Inkoo, a neighboring municipality. Among others, the witnesses included Wendla Lindlöf and Alexandra Lindroth, two of the converts, three of Lindlöf's family members, and Ida Ottman. These court testimonies are where one learns about many of the particulars concerning how Mormonism spread in Pohja at the time. In addition to a number of such particulars, a general analysis of the witness statements shows the following types of comments: 1) the witness had not heard Blom exhort anybody to get baptized, but knew of people who had been baptized, 2) the witness had himself or herself attended Blom's meetings because of personal interest, 3) the witness had not seen Blom offer any Mormon literature to anyone of his own accord, but that some had requested literature from him, and 4) the witness did not know whether any pressure had been applied by Blom on his maids in order to convert them to Mormonism.

None of the witnesses were clearly hostile towards Blom. The harshest words against him were uttered by his employer Eduard Hisinger. On the other hand, Hisinger noted multiple times that "this has never been nor is it now about religious persecution or anything

⁹²³ John Bloom to Church Historian's Office, 29 April 1925, CHLA.

like that.”⁹²⁴ Blom had been given religious freedom for his own part; the problem the proceedings centered on was his proselytizing, not his religious views as such. During the hearings it was further agreed between Hisinger and Blom that the latter could stay in his job until May 1, 1884, as long as he kept religion completely private among his family. By July 1884 Blom appears to no longer have been in Hisinger’s employ, as he was working on setting up gardens at nearby Åminnefors works.⁹²⁵ The family lived in Pohja until the spring of 1886.

Newspapers followed the hearings with great interest. Reports were first printed in the local paper *Ekenäs Notisblad* and reprinted or summarized from there with varying degrees of accuracy into a number of Swedish-language newspapers around the country. Finnish-language newspapers do not seem to have displayed an interest in the issue at this point. Most of the newspapers kept a matter-of-factly tone when discussing the issue, and some even printed the Mormon Articles of Faith that Blom had presented during the hearings. However, for example *Ekenäs Notisblad* noted that these Articles did not say “a word concerning plural marriage and its necessity for the salvation of all women,” implying that the Mormons might not be completely forthcoming on some issues.⁹²⁶

Furthermore, the case was recognized among the proponents of extended religious freedom. In its prospectus, *Lekmannen* opined that the case presented somewhat of a dilemma to such proponents: those in favor of Blom were easily seen as Mormons, whereas those against him lacked in consistency. And it did not seem Blom had done that much wrong:

⁹²⁴ See for example Statement of Eduard Hisinger, 29 October 1883, Record of the Johan Blom Case, Archive of the Senate Judicial Department, KA.

⁹²⁵ Johan Blom to Carl A. Ek, 18 July 1884, reprinted in “Utdrag af korrespondenser,” *Nordstjernan*, vol. 8, no. 17 (1 September 1884), pp. 266–267.

⁹²⁶ “Mormonmålet i Pojo,” *Ekenäs Notisblad*, 31 October 1883, p. 1 and “Mormonmålet i Pojo,” *Ekenäs Notisblad*, 3 November 1883, pp. 1–2. At least the following newspapers contained derivatives of these original reports: *Hufvudstadsbladet* and *Nya Pressen* on 1 November, *Folkvännen*, *Morgonbladet*, *Nya Pressen*, and *Åbo Underrättelser* on 2 November, *Morgonbladet* on 5 November, *Folkvännen*, *Hufvudstadsbladet*, and *Tammerfors Aftonblad* on 6 November, and *Norra Posten* on 15 November.

We hate as much as anyone the immoral in Mormonism, but as far as has been investigated by now, Blom has only proselytized with doctrines that are in themselves most innocuous, and there is no trace of the plural marriage dogmas. Those times are, let us hope, in the past when fines are imposed, even less extradition, to someone whose only crime is to invite to religious meetings and baptize. ... We do not need reprisals but rather a wise and modern dissenter law.⁹²⁷

Turku Imperial Court of Appeal deliberated on the case after having received the minutes of the hearings in the beginning of December 1883.⁹²⁸ In February 1884, the prosecutor Alfred Forsström presented his opinion that Blom could be indicted for baptizing the two women on the Sabbath and for spreading Mormon literature. However, the hearings had not given clear evidence that Blom had pressured his maids, and thus Forsström dropped this point from the case.⁹²⁹ Johan Blom replied by opining that nothing criminal had taken place and requesting that “the Imperial Court of Appeal would most favorably free me of all responsibility and providing of reimbursements.” In fact, Blom turned the tables by asking that the court order Eduard Hisinger to pay him 70 marks due to expenses incurred because of the hearings and the subsequent bureaucracy.⁹³⁰

The verdict was made on May 26 and released on June 30, 1884. Based on the Royal Decree from 1781 and the 1734 law concerning breaking the Sabbath, Blom was found guilty on three counts: First, for spreading Mormon literature; second, for contributing to Wendla Lindlöf’s and Maria God’s departure from the Lutheran faith; and third, for performing the baptisms of these two women during Sabbath hours. Blom was exonerated from the charge of having pressured his maids to convert to Mormonism.⁹³¹ Interestingly, he was not convicted for contributing to Alexandra Lindroth’s departure from the

⁹²⁷ “Kommentarier,” *Lekmannen*, vol. 0, no. 0 (10 November 1883), p. 4.

⁹²⁸ G.O. Segerstråle to Turku Imperial Court of Appeal, 29 November 1883, Record of the Johan Blom Case, Archive of the Senate Judicial Department, KA.

⁹²⁹ Alfred Forsström to Turku Imperial Court of Appeal, 11 February 1884, Record of the Johan Blom Case, Archive of the Senate Judicial Department, KA.

⁹³⁰ Johan Blom to Turku Imperial Court of Appeal, 3 April 1884, Record of the Johan Blom Case, Archive of the Senate Judicial Department, KA.

⁹³¹ Turku Imperial Court of Appeal verdict, 30 June 1884, Record of the Johan Blom Case, Archive of the Senate Judicial Department, KA.

Lutheran faith. It thus appears to be the performing of the baptismal act itself that was considered to be of main importance.

Blom was to pay a fine of 595 marks and 20 pennies for these three crimes, and in addition he was to pay court fees of over 400 marks, including the expenses of the witnesses.⁹³² If not able to pay his fine, Blom could spend 28 days in prison on bread and water instead. It is not known exactly why one of the three laws that framed the case was dropped. It may be that its content was to such a degree consonant with the Royal Decree of 1781 that it was unnecessary to use them both as a base for argumentation.

The verdict again raised the interest of the press, just as the original hearings had. The first to report the news was *Åbo Tidning* in the city of the court. After recounting the main features of the trial and the verdict, the paper interestingly added something that was not written in the verdict itself: "it has not been indicated or stated against Blom that he would have preached the sacramental meaning of plural marriage to his female proselytes or sought to entice them to Utah." This makes for at least three separate unprompted mentions of plural marriage in the coverage of Blom's case: First, when the proceedings were originally covered; second, the comments in *Lekmannen*; and third, the comment when the verdict was given. Such unprompted mentions provide further evidence of how central a feature of Mormonism plural marriage was in the public's mind. Other large newspapers also picked up the story of the verdict, with the notable exception of the Finnish-language newspapers.⁹³³

In general, an analysis of the newspaper coverage of the hearings produces an interesting conclusion. The reporting on the trial was generally matter-of-factly and did not contain laudatory comments concerning the court's action nor berating comments towards Mormonism more generally. This is in contrast to many other articles on Mormon topics that appeared in the Finnish press, as discussed in

⁹³² Converted to modern money, the sum of 595 marks and 20 pennies in 1884 is about 2400 euros. The conversion coefficient has been obtained from Statistics Finland, http://www.tilastokeskus.fi/til/eki/2006/eki_2006_2007-01-17_tau_001.html (accessed August 11, 2009).

⁹³³ The original report is "Ett 'religionsmål,'" *Åbo Tidning*, 5 July 1884, p. 2. Reprint versions of different lengths are provided in *Helsingfors Dagblad* and *Åbo Underrättelser* on 6 July, *Morgonbladet* and *Nya Pressen* on 7 July, *Folkvännen* and *Hufvudstadsbladet* on 8 July, *Ekenäs Notisblad* on 9 July, and *Österbottniska Posten* on 17 July.

Chapters 3 and 5. Furthermore, it is noteworthy that such a lack of criticism is displayed in articles that were generated in Finland. It may be that the implicit criticism of the verdict itself was deemed sufficient. Nevertheless, such reports show that the issue of Mormonism in Finland could also be dealt with without resorting to emotional outbursts.

6.5. Trial Aftermath

Johan Blom was naturally unhappy with the outcome of the trial. Writing to the Stockholm conference president Carl A. Ek three weeks after the verdict had been given, Blom conceded that “it seems a bit dark sometimes.” Due to his lack of means, the costs of the trial would be covered “by seizure of my little estate,” and the fines themselves he would have to settle by spending 28 days in prison on bread and water. He was not going to give up immediately, however, but was planning to appeal his case to the Senate within the 60-day appeal period. Mormon officials in Sweden, on the other hand, felt that the verdict was a disgrace. Juxtaposing Mormonism and fallen Christianity, they contended that it was an example of “how ‘Christendom’ treats a servant of God because of his obedience to the Lord’s commandments.” Moreover, they exclaimed surprise at how the serving of God by baptizing on a Sunday could be considered by “Finland’s wise judges” to be a breach of the commandments.⁹³⁴

Such verdicts were not unheard of in the Scandinavian mission or in its Stockholm conference, for that matter. In 1872, a missionary in Sweden was imposed a fine for his activities, which he settled with 14 days on bread and water. The mission president at the time remarked that “this is a severe punishment and a heavy strain on the system.” Two years later, two missionaries in Västerås were reported to the authorities by Lutheran priests and similarly fined for “holding meetings and spreading the Gospel among their fellowmen.” This fine could have been settled in prison on bread and water.⁹³⁵ Writing from

⁹³⁴ Johan Blom to Carl A. Ek, 18 July 1884, reprinted in “Utdrag af korrespondenser,” *Nordstjernan*, vol. 8, no. 17 (1 September 1884), pp. 266–267. See also the commentary before the text of the letter itself.

⁹³⁵ Knud Peterson to P.O. Thomassen, 21 May 1872, reprinted in “Korrespondance,” *Skandinaviens Stjerne*, vol. 21, no. 17 (1 June 1872), p. 269. C.G. Larsen to H.K. Olsen, 4 May 1874, reprinted in “Korrespondance,” *Skandinaviens Stjerne*, vol. 23, no. 16 (15 May 1874), p. 252.

Uppsala in 1880, Lars M. Olson similarly explained how two Mormons had endured prison in the hands of their “Christian friends” the previous year. One of these had a wife and children, whose only consolation was that “he was not suffering because of a real crime, but for being a servant of the Highest.”⁹³⁶ While these examples show that similar cases happened in Sweden, the place from where Mormon activities in Finland were led at the time, Blom’s case is unique in that it was the only time that a Mormon was prosecuted due to religious activity and found guilty by a Finnish court during the time period under study. However, it cannot be said that the outcome was a total surprise to the Mormons involved.

In submitting his appeal to the Imperial Senate at the end of August 1884, Blom argued that conversing upon religion and sharing religious writings should not be considered an offense “in our time,” especially since no persuasion with conversion in mind had taken place. Blom felt that the new Lutheran church law of 1869 took precedence over the Royal Decree of 1781 and the other two cited laws, and that the imposing of fines was certainly not in accordance with the spirit of the new law.

And even if the church law did not take precedence over the 1781 decree, Blom argued, the old decree no longer had any practical meaning due to a “general sense for justice and religion.” This was especially so since numerous non-Lutheran religions were already operating in Finland to one degree or another, “without even the warmest Lutheran becoming offended at such or coming to think of appealing to the stipulations of responsibility in the decree of 1781” against such religionists. Furthermore, the uneven application of the law was in Blom’s opinion shown by recent public anti-Lutheran lecturers not having been fined in any way. Why, then, should he be fined and punished for his private actions?⁹³⁷

The appeal was forwarded to Eduard Hisinger and the prosecutor Alfred Forsström for their comment. However, neither thought that Blom had presented anything of significance that should alter the

⁹³⁶ Lars M. Olson to Niels Wilhelmsen, 2 January 1880, reprinted in “Korrespondens,” *Nordstjernen*, vol. 4, no. 2 (15 January 1880), p. 27.

⁹³⁷ Johan Blom’s appeal, 28 August 1884, Record of the Johan Blom Case, Archive of the Senate Judicial Department, KA.

verdict of Turku Imperial Court of Appeal.⁹³⁸ The Imperial Senate gave its verdict on October 30, 1885, upholding the earlier decision. Blom was to be fined or go to prison. Just as during the October 1883 hearings and after the giving of the original verdict, the Imperial Senate's verdict generated interest in the press. An original report in *Hufvudstadsbladet* on November 18, 1885, was reprinted in numerous newspapers around the country. In contrast to the previous instances of publicity, this time Finnish-language newspapers also felt the issue was of sufficient importance for publicity to be given to it in their pages. Similarly to earlier publicity, the coverage was mostly matter-of-factly and did not contain derogatory comments concerning Mormonism. In a testament to how the case was regarded by the population, *Ekenäs Notisblad* noted that it "raised relatively much attention" in its time.⁹³⁹

The prosecution and verdict of Johan Blom did not turn thoughts away from conversion or diminish the appeal of Mormonism among some. To the contrary, Blom noted that "some of our friends are saying that the greater the persecution, the more their belief in the Gospel is confirmed."⁹⁴⁰ Resistance thus further solidified their determination. In fact, an examination reveals that the bulk of conversions in Pohja took place after Blom had been found guilty. The first three of these happened during November and early December 1884, when Pohja was visited by the Swedish missionary Alexander Hedberg. Eduard Hisinger found out that he was coming to the area, and thus "a terrible alarm" had been raised and Blom could not provide Hedberg with lodging. Hedberg felt sorry for his fellow Mormon, whom he thought was a good man who had done much good for the spread of the Mormon message. He lamented what Blom had to go through and thought he might have to leave soon himself in order to avoid trouble:

⁹³⁸ Eduard Hisinger to the Emperor, n.d., Alfred Forsström to the Emperor, n.d., Record of the Johan Blom Case, Archive of the Senate Judicial Department, KA.

⁹³⁹ See "Mormonmålet afgjort," *Hufvudstadsbladet*, 18 November 1885, p. 1, for the original report. Reprint versions appeared at least in *Folkvännen* on 18 November, *Finland*, *Helsingfors Dagblad*, *Nya Pressen*, *Uusi Suometar* and *Åbo Underrättelser* on 19 November, *Ekenäs Notisblad* and *Sanomia Turusta* on 20 November, *Aura*, *Tampere* and *Turun Lehti* on 21 November, *Kokkolan Lehti* and *Suupohjan Työmies* on 24 November, *Tapio* and *Waasan Lehti* on 25 November, and *Oulun Lehti* on 28 November.

⁹⁴⁰ Johan Blom to Carl A. Ek, 18 July 1884, reprinted in "Utdrag af korrespondenser," *Nordstjernan*, vol. 8, no. 17 (1 September 1884), p. 267.

“the Finns have no compassion when punishing the Mormons. They do not like to give life sentences, as Br[other]. Blom painfully learns.” Such an indication of a life sentence as the better of two evils gives an idea of how gravely Blom’s fines and eventual imprisonment were viewed among some Mormons. Their continued adherence to the faith in such circumstances shows great determination.

Despite the difficulties, Hedberg had seen prospective success and remained in Pohja for a time, lodging with strangers. “I stayed in the area secretly for a couple of days and baptized two persons, and many believe whom I will soon baptize; for they have requested baptism.”⁹⁴¹ One of the baptized persons was Karl Lindlöf, the man who had worked together with Johan Blom and introduced Blom to his mother Wendla. In December, Maria Lindlöf, wife of Karl and daughter of the previously baptized Maria God, was baptized.⁹⁴² Karl Grönström, Wendla Lindlöf’s son-in-law, was baptized on the same day as Karl Lindlöf. It is not known who the other persons requesting baptism were. In any case, the three baptisms are significant in that they expanded further Mormonism’s success in the social network accessed through Karl Lindlöf.

Since the Senate had been the final instance of appeal, Blom had no other recourse but to submit to the stipulations of the verdict. Due to his lack of means he chose to go to prison. Although a 28-day diet of bread and water in prison conditions was considered by the Scandinavian mission president Anthon Lund to be “almost a death penalty,”⁹⁴³ the sequence of events seems not to have abated the zeal of the local Mormons. In a meeting held at close-by Billnäs iron works on January 24, 1886, for example, “3 of the brethren present ... gave their testimonies about the divine origin of the Gospel[,] said that they wanted to both live and die for the same.”⁹⁴⁴ The meeting was held with the Swedish missionary Carl Selin in attendance, Johan Blom

⁹⁴¹ Alexander S. Hedberg to Anthon H. Lund, 22 November 1884, reprinted in “Korrespondens,” *Nordstjernan*, vol. 8, no. 24 (15 December 1884), pp. 376–377. Also published in *Skandinaviens Stjerne*, vol. 34, no. 6 (15 December 1884), pp. 90–91.

⁹⁴² Finland Branch Record 1876–1897, CHLA.

⁹⁴³ Anthon H. Lund to Carl A. Ek, 1 August 1884, Scandinavian Mission Letterpress Copybooks, vol. 6, CHLA. See also Anthon H. Lund to John Henry Smith, 12 December 1884, *ibid.* The letter to Smith was reprinted in “Abstract of Correspondence,” *The Latter-day Saints’ Millennial Star*, vol. 46, no. 51 (22 December 1884), pp. 814–815.

⁹⁴⁴ Meeting minutes, 24 January 1886, Finland Branch Record 1876–1897, p. 24, CHLA.

giving the closing prayer. Significantly, the meeting also included two ordinations to the priesthood. Karl Lindlöf was ordained a teacher and C. August Nordin a priest, presumably in an effort to bring stability and continuity to the Mormon community that was facing current and possible future troubles.⁹⁴⁵

Blom entered Helsinki crown prison one week later on January 30, accompanied on his trip by at least Selin, his former maid Alexandra Lindroth and Johan Lindlöf, one of Wendla Lindlöf's sons. Blom was released from the prison on February 27, presumably returning to Pohja immediately.⁹⁴⁶ Blom's wintery sentence of 28 days on water and bread most probably left him in less than stellar condition. Accordingly, in March the Scandinavian mission president instructed the Stockholm conference president to provide him with needed help.⁹⁴⁷

During Blom's absence, the Pohja community had experienced further conversions, as Carl Selin had baptized three persons on February 17. These were Alexandra Lindroth's mother Wilhelmina, Amanda Wikström, and Ida God, the daughter of Maria God who was one of the two first baptized women in 1882. Furthermore, Wendla Lindlöf's daughter Ida, husband of previously baptized Karl Grönström, was baptized in nearby Kemiö municipality on February 21. The new converts further expanded the converted portion of the above-noted social networks that had heard the Mormon message.

After serving his prison sentence, Johan Blom seems to have felt that the time was right to emigrate to Utah. He had been sent to Finland to help with missionary work; through his employ as a gardener at a wealthy estate he had been able to speak about Mormonism, spread some literature, and provide a base for the missionaries to stay and for Mormonism to expand. Numerically speaking the en-

⁹⁴⁵ It is currently not known where Nordin was baptized nor whether he resided in Pohja or was visiting from the vicinity.

⁹⁴⁶ Blom's later recollection of having entered the prison on February 1, 1884, is incorrect, as shown by contemporary prison documents. It will also be remembered that the original verdict had not been given at that point. John Bloom to Church Historian's Office, 29 April 1925, CHLA. Prisoner lists of Helsinki Crown Prison, 1886, Archive of the Turku Court of Appeal, TMA.

⁹⁴⁷ Nils C. Flygare to James Yorgason, 8 or 9 March 1886, Scandinavian Mission Letterpress Copybooks, vol. 8, CHLA. Church records show that Blom contributed over 60 marks in tithing during this time, but it was returned to him, possibly in an effort to support him; see Finland Branch Record 1876–1897, CHLA.

deavor had been successful, as ten persons had converted to Mormonism and accepted baptism while he had lived in the area.

The conversions had partly taken place with great personal expense to Blom himself, however, as the activities and expanding network of the Mormons seem to have been mostly personified in him. None of the other Mormons appear to have faced secular charges. Accordingly, Blom left Finland together with his wife and four children, emigrating to Utah during the summer of 1886.

While in accordance with the Mormon policy for emigration and probably a great relief and source of excitement for the Blom family, their departure left the Pohja Mormon microcosm and its handful of converts without a central pillar.

6.6. A Microcosm Without a Center

The Pohja area continued to be visited by Mormon missionaries also after the Blom family had departed. Just after their departure, the Swedish missionary Fredrik Sandberg arrived in Finland and baptized Karl Wikström in Pohja on June 28, 1886. Wikström's wife Amanda had already converted in February, being baptized on the same day as Wilhelmina Lindroth and Ida God mentioned above. The final Pohja baptism took place on May 24, 1889, when the Finnish-born missionary from Utah John Berg baptized Eva Lindlöf, daughter of Wendla Lindlöf. A summary of all documented baptisms performed in Pohja is provided in Table 6.1. The ages have been confirmed by examining Lutheran parish records, as referenced in Appendix B.

In addition to the two post-Blom baptisms, contemporary records indicate that the departure of the Bloms did not immediately signal the end of the Mormon community in Pohja either by its reduction in size or by a significant number of its members forsaking the faith. In late 1886, for example, Karl and Maria Lindlöf held on to their Mormon faith even when it got them into difficulty with the local Lutheran clergy. The reason was a child whom they refused to have christened into the Lutheran faith. Their little girl, born on December 17, 1885, had in fact already been blessed according to Mormon custom by the visiting missionary Carl Selin.

Table 6.1. Persons baptized in Pohja.

Baptism date	Person baptized	Age	Person baptizing
4.6.1882	Maria E. God	50	Johan Blom
4.6.1882	Wendla Lindlöf	57	Johan Blom
12.8.1883	Alexandra K. Lindroth	18	Lars Swalberg
14.11.1884	Karl V. Grönström	27	Alexander Hedberg
14.11.1884	Karl O. Lindlöf	29	Alexander Hedberg
5.12.1884	Maria K. Lindlöf	27	Alexander Hedberg
17.2.1886	Ida E. God	25	Carl Selin
17.2.1886	Wilhelmina Lindroth	45	Carl Selin
17.2.1886	Amanda W. Wikström	41	Carl Selin
28.6.1886	Karl F. Wikström	46	Fredrik Sandberg
24.5.1889	Eva M. Lindlöf	36	John Berg

The Lindlöfs had informed the Lutheran parish minister Alfred Sadenius concerning the birth of their baby but told him that she would not be christened. Sadenius had exhorted them privately to have the baby christened and later imparted the same message together with two members of the parish serving as witnesses. As this had not helped, Karl Lindlöf was called before the church council on November 30, 1886. The result was the same as before, however, because Lindlöf informed the council that he belonged to the Latter-day Saints and did not support infant baptism. Thus the council “saw it needful to apply on said Lindlöf regulation §101 of the church law.”⁹⁴⁸ Before proceeding, it should be noted that formal disaffiliation from Lutheranism was not possible in practice. Thus the Mormons in Pohja were still regarded by the Lutheran church as its members and potential subjects to church discipline.

Paragraph 101 of the 1869 Lutheran church law stipulates that when a member of the parish commits “public sin or evil,” he or she should be submitted to the following actions, each next step taken if the previous one has not brought the person to repentance:

1. A warning by the parish minister.

⁹⁴⁸ Alfred Sadenius to Turku Diocesan Chapter, 3 December 1886, Parish Documents, Pohja, Archive of Turku Diocesan Chapter, TMA. Church council minutes, 1870–1888, 30 November 1886, n.p., APSP.

2. A warning by the parish minister, accompanied by two or three parish members who are known to be stable Christians.
3. A warning by the church council as representing the entire congregation.
4. The church council takes away the person's right to be a godparent, to elect church council members and representatives to parish meetings, and to personally be such a member or representative. Such a decision has to be sent to the Diocesan Chapter for review.
5. The Diocesan Chapter removes for a time the person's right to participate in communion.

Moreover, paragraph 102 stipulates that parents who refuse to have their children baptized (christened) should be subjected to the steps explained in paragraph 101.⁹⁴⁹ The Karl Lindlöf case shows that the three first steps had been taken, as the couple had been warned by the parish minister privately and later together with witnesses, and Karl Lindlöf had now been called in front of the church council for reprimands.

The Diocesan Chapter replied to Sadenius, asking what actions, if any, had been taken in the case of Maria Lindlöf and whether Karl Lindlöf had sought to persuade others to convert to his faith, "and through so doing caused concern and vexation in the parish."⁹⁵⁰ At the end of January 1887, the parish minister informed the Chapter that Maria Lindlöf held to Mormonism as strongly as her husband, and thus she should be subjected to church discipline as well. She was ill, however, and thus it was not known when the next steps could be taken.⁹⁵¹ In February, the Chapter instructed Sadenius to wait with further steps in Karl Lindlöf's case until such time that his wife would be similarly warned as he had been; she should be called in front of

⁹⁴⁹ *Suomen Suuriruhtinanmaan Asetus-Kokous wuodelta 1869* (Helsinki: Keisarillisen Senaatin kirjapaino, 1870), no. 30, pp. 25–26. *Kirkkolaki ewankelis-lutherilaiselle seurakunnalle Suomen Suuriruhtinanmaassa* (Helsinki: G.W. Edlund, 1887), pp. 31–32.

⁹⁵⁰ Turku Diocesan Chapter to Alfred Sadenius, 9 December 1886, Letter Drafts, Archive of Turku Diocesan Chapter, TMA.

⁹⁵¹ Alfred Sadenius to Turku Diocesan Chapter, 24 January 1887, Parish Documents, Pohja, Archive of Turku Diocesan Chapter, TMA.

the church council when her illness had passed.⁹⁵² Maria Lindlöf was warned by the parish minister in the presence of two other parishioners at the end of May;⁹⁵³ in September the parish minister wrote to the Chapter that Maria, who subscribed to “Mormon heresies,” had undergone the two first steps of church discipline. However, she had passed away “without letting herself be convinced of her delusion” at the end of June.⁹⁵⁴ It is not known what happened further on the point of Lutheran church discipline.

At the end of 1889, Karl Lindlöf moved to Inkoo municipality, where he married his deceased wife’s sister in 1891 and had a number of additional children. That he was still an ardent Mormon in late 1890 is shown by his encounter with the parish minister at Fagervik iron works. Lindlöf requested that the minister announce his marriage in the parish and that the minister perform the wedding ceremony. The minister agonized over the situation, implying in his query to the Diocesan Chapter that a Lutheran clergyman’s conscience could be violated by having to perform a Christian marriage for a Mormon. The Chapter’s guidance was clear, however, and thus the marriage was performed.⁹⁵⁵ Karl Lindlöf passed away in the spring of 1897, with the visiting missionary noting that he was “not in full fellowship.” This indicates that he had either forsaken the faith or committed other sins that the Mormons considered serious.⁹⁵⁶

Comparing with sectarian activity more generally, the Mormon community does not seem to have been high on the list in treatments of the issue after the Mormon-related publicity of 1883 had waned. In 1885, for example, Lutheran dean Ernst Strandberg noted that Laestadians were present in the region, and that Methodists, “possibly dis-

⁹⁵² Turku Diocesan Chapter to Alfred Sadenius, 3 February 1887, Letter Drafts, Archive of Turku Diocesan Chapter, TMA.

⁹⁵³ Record of Disciplined Persons, 1815–1948, 25 May 1887 (n.p.), APSP.

⁹⁵⁴ Alfred Sadenius to Turku Diocesan Chapter, 12 September 1887, Parish Documents, Pohja, Archive of Turku Diocesan Chapter, TMA. The letter speaks of the passing of Wendla Lindlöf, but the letter’s connection of the deceased person to the baby girl makes it clear that Maria Lindlöf is the intended subject. Maria died on June 28, 1887; see CB, Pohja parish, 1887–1896, p. 421, KA.

⁹⁵⁵ Gustaf Magnus Boijer to Turku Diocesan Chapter, 18 October 1890, Parish Documents, Inkoo, Archive of Turku Diocesan Chapter, TMA. Record of marriages, Fagervik parish, 1853–1891, p. 9, KA.

⁹⁵⁶ CB, Inkoo parish, 1892–1899, p. 773, KA. Rinne, *Kristuksen kirkko Suomessa*, p. 11. Finland Branch Record 1876–1897, CHLA.

guised Baptists," had chosen Pohja and a number of surrounding parishes "as an experimental field for their activities."⁹⁵⁷ By 1891, when Strandberg made an official visit to Pohja parish, the Mormon issue seems to have been of minor significance. Speaking of sectarianism in the area only in general terms and lamenting its effects, he remarked that "sectarians of many denominations have settled not only in the city but also in the rural area within the parish." The Mormons were thus not singled out or seen as a major problem by the clergy.⁹⁵⁸

Pohja was visited in 1889 by the missionary John Berg, a Finnish native who had emigrated to Utah and now returned as a missionary. After that, however, no missionaries visited Finland before 1895, as detailed in Chapter 4. This left the small community of Mormons around Pohja without external assistance. It is not known whether they held meetings during this time. They also did not seem to be very active in spreading their faith. The Lutheran parish minister Alfred Sadenius remarked in 1887 that as far as he knew, "the Mormon sect here consists of six persons, and ... none of them have sought to persuade others to their heretical views."⁹⁵⁹

As indicated in Table 6.1, a total of 11 persons were baptized in Pohja, nearly double the six Mormons indicated by Sadenius in 1887. The death of Maria Lindlöf impacted the total, but so did the moving away of some converts. Maria God lived in Kisko already at the time of her baptism, for example, whereas Karl Grönström and his later-Mormon wife Ida Lindlöf (daughter of Wendla) moved to Kemiö in late 1885.⁹⁶⁰ Alexandra Lindroth lived a mobile life, relocating to Stockholm and later in 1890 to Utah. Thus the six Pohja Mormons in January 1887 were most probably Wendla, Karl, and Maria Lindlöf, Wilhelmina Lindroth, and Amanda and Karl Wikström. Similarly to the Vaasa branch discussed in Chapter 4, both deaths and individuals moving away thus reduced the size of the membership in Pohja. In contrast, it is not known that any excommunications would have taken place. Documents show that missionaries kept in contact with

⁹⁵⁷ Ernst Strandberg, 30 March 1885, Deanery Documents, Raasepori Western Deanery, Archive of Turku Diocesan Chapter, TMA.

⁹⁵⁸ Ernst Strandberg, 27 October 1891, Parish Documents, Pohja, Archive of Turku Diocesan Chapter, TMA.

⁹⁵⁹ Alfred Sadenius to Turku Diocesan Chapter, 24 January 1887, Parish Documents, Pohja, Archive of Turku Diocesan Chapter, TMA.

⁹⁶⁰ CB, Pohja parish, 1877–1886, p. 312, KA.

these members and that at least some of them continued in their faith, but the scattering contributed to a weakening of the Pohja Mormon community.⁹⁶¹

The number of Pohja Mormons was five at the end of 1889. Their ages ranged between 36 (Eva Lindlöf) and 66 (Wendla Lindlöf). The absence of children is noteworthy. Karl and Amanda Wikström had four living children (three of them age 8 or more) by the time of their baptisms in 1886, but it is not known that any of the children were baptized at the same time. Thus it seems that a problem of the Pohja Mormons was to transfer the faith to the next generation, even in cases where that generation was still in its childhood. An exception is the Lindlöf family, in which at least four of Wendla's children became Mormons in their adult years. However, only one of her grandchildren is known to have been baptized during the time frame of this study, but not in Pohja.⁹⁶²

The reason for this problem is not known from extant documentation. Nevertheless, the nature of Pohja Mormonism did not seem to entail a push for expansion when no missionaries were present. Thus the kind of steady and extensive framework for secondary socialization into Mormonism did not exist, contributing to the non-conversion of the children. Naturally, the parents may also not have wanted to jeopardize their children's social status and civil rights by subjecting them to illegal baptism and conversion, thus resulting in an absence of even sufficient primary socialization in the home. Nevertheless, one of Karl Lindlöf's daughters later remembered that the *Book of Mormon* was read in her home, showing that religion did play a part in the private life of the families. Because her father died when she was an infant and her mother died when she was two years old, it is likely that this home refers to that of her grandparents.⁹⁶³

⁹⁶¹ On the Grönströms in Kemiö, see Finland Branch Record 1876–1897, fd. 2, CHLA.

⁹⁶² For this grandchild (Oskar Lindlöf, baptized on 3 June 1900 in St. Petersburg, Russia), see RM, Stockholm branch, 1863–1903. FHL. Another grandchild (Karl's daughter Dagmar born in 1896 in Inkoo from his new marriage) was baptized in 1946 when large-scale missionary work began. See Rinne, *Kristuksen kirkko Suomessa*, p. 11 and RM, Finnish mission, early to 1952, p. 452. FHL.

⁹⁶³ On primary and secondary socialization, see Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge* (Harmondsworth: Pelican Books, 1987 [1966]), pp. 149–166. On the daughter Dagmar Sylvia, see Rinne, *Kristuksen kirkko Suomessa*, p. 24. See also CB, Inkoo parish, 1892–1899, p. 773, KA, and RDB, Inkoo parish, 1899–1958, p. 1, KA.

While no more conversions took place in Pohja directly, Johan Blom's contact with the Lindlöf social network produced further results elsewhere. By late 1894, Johan Lindlöf, 36 years of age and son of Otto and Wendla Lindlöf, had communicated to Blom in Utah that he would like to meet some Mormon missionaries and that he had acquired a belief in Mormonism. He resided with his wife Alma in St. Petersburg, working there as a jeweller. Information of this had reached the Scandinavian mission president Peter Sundwall, who began correspondence with Johan Lindlöf. Requesting more information about him and conditions in Russia, Sundwall hoped that they could soon "send an elder of our church, and that you could in this way have your wish of becoming a member of the church of Jesus Christ fulfilled."⁹⁶⁴

A few months later, Sundwall wrote European mission president Anthon Lund, saying that Lindlöf seemed to have "considerable knowledge of the Gospel. He says both himself and his wife is [sic] ready to embrace the Gospel."⁹⁶⁵ Most probably this knowledge had been acquired while Lindlöf had resided in Pohja. In the spring of 1895, it was decided to send someone to St. Petersburg to meet with the family. Accordingly, August Höglund traveled to St. Petersburg, where Johan Lindlöf and his wife Alma were baptized on June 11, 1895. Höglund and Sundwall were both excited at this development, as there was also hope that Lindlöf could make further advances for the Mormon message among his friends in St. Petersburg. At least one Finnish neighbor of the Lindlöfs was baptized there two years later.⁹⁶⁶

Later in June, the small group of Mormons in Pohja was visited by August Höglund on his trip back to Sweden from St. Petersburg. During a brief stay of four days, Höglund managed to meet with the local

⁹⁶⁴ Peter Sundwall to Johan M. Lindlöf, 30 October 1894, Scandinavian Mission Letterpress Copybooks, vol. 14, CHLA.

⁹⁶⁵ Peter Sundwall to Anthon H. Lund, 4 April 1895, Scandinavian Mission Letterpress Copybooks, vol. 14, CHLA.

⁹⁶⁶ Peter Sundwall to Anthon H. Lund, 17 June 1895, Scandinavian Mission Letterpress Copybooks, vol. 14, CHLA. "Autobiography of S. Norman Lee," p. 40, in S. Norman Lee Papers, 1838–1963, HBLL. For more on the Lindlöfs in St. Petersburg, see Kahlile Mehr's publications "Johan and Alma Lindlof: Early Saints in Russia," *Ensign*, vol. 11, no. 7 (July 1981), pp. 23–24, "The 1903 Dedication of Russia for Missionary Work," *Journal of Mormon History*, vol. 13 (1986–87), p. 116, and *Mormon Missionaries Enter Eastern Europe* (Provo and Salt Lake City: Brigham Young University Press and Deseret Book, 2002), pp. 22–23.

Mormons, hold a meeting with them, and participate in the sacrament. Bringing greetings from Johan Lindlöf in St. Petersburg, Höglund met the senior Lindlöfs Otto and Wendla along with their daughter Eva. Although the three had never met Höglund, he reported that they were soon conversing as old friends, "which is the case with all 'Mormons' wherever they live." There is no information about Otto ever being baptized.

Höglund also went to see Wilhelmina Lindroth, the Mormon mother of Alexandra Lindroth who had emigrated to Utah five years previously. A meeting was held in Karl and Amanda Wikström's home, with other local members also in attendance. The meeting seems to have been a spiritual highlight for the members, as Höglund reports that "we ... encouraged and edified ourselves in the best way and the brothers and sisters were very happy and satisfied."⁹⁶⁷ During his journey to Finland, Höglund also found that Johan Blom was "yet remembered and well spoken of by the Finlanders."⁹⁶⁸

It is not known whether the members met together for formal devotional services when no missionary was present, and thus the possibility to have a traveling missionary conduct a meeting for them may have been of significant importance in upholding the community. In any case, a number of Saints still professed the faith in 1895. Neither is the general atmosphere towards Mormonism in Pohja known at this time. However, Höglund's letter from Finland to the Lindlöfs in St. Petersburg provides a clue to the attitude of some locals and the apprehensions of some Mormons. When visiting Alma Lindlöf's non-Mormon mother in Pohja, Höglund said she received him well and "offered coffee and cakes. Had she known that I have misled her daughter as much as I have, nobody knows how well I would have been received." Höglund did "naturally" not explain his business in St. Petersburg, thinking that the elderly woman would find out anyway. She was not interested in Mormonism, so there was no point in talking to her about it.⁹⁶⁹ Höglund's words show that the Latter-day Saints realized that people did not necessarily take a liking

⁹⁶⁷ August J. Höglund to Johan and Alma Lindlöf, 8 July 1895, Finland Branch Record 1876–1897, fd. 3, CHLA.

⁹⁶⁸ Peter Sundwall to Anthon H. Lund, 25 July 1895, Scandinavian Mission Letterpress Copybooks, vol. 11, CHLA.

⁹⁶⁹ August J. Höglund to Johan and Alma Lindlöf, 8 July 1895, Finland Branch Record 1876–1897, fd. 3, CHLA.

for their religion and that it was therefore not always a natural or safe topic for conversation.

The following missionary visit took place a year later in June 1896, when Alonzo Irvine and Erick Gillén, presidents of the Malmö and Stockholm conferences, respectively, came to Pohja during their travels in Russia and Finland. They reported finding several faithful Mormons in Pohja, who were “exposed to many trials and were seldom visited by the missionaries.” Still, the small community was reported as being faithful and blessed, and the members showed the missionaries “love and good-heartedness” just like Mormons elsewhere did.⁹⁷⁰

The members were visited at least one more time by missionaries in June 1897. The visitors were Carl Ahlquist and Norman Lee from Sweden, the former a conference president, the latter a young and inexperienced missionary. They organized a meeting, where among other things they administered the sacrament to those present. Significantly for the development of the Mormon community in Pohja, Karl Wikström was ordained to the office of priest. This meant, for example, that he could perform baptisms. More importantly in the minds of the visiting missionaries, however, as a result of the ordination “they can now have the sacrament when they wish it.” The focus seems to have been on upholding and perpetuating the current Mormon community by enabling it to operate by itself and hold its own meetings at will. Further expansion does not seem to have been a central concern at this time, as implied also by the dearth of Mormon missionaries in Finland in general.⁹⁷¹

This detailed investigation of the Pohja community ends in June 1897 due to the lack of further documentation; it is not known how the Mormons functioned after that. At least one of them (Karl Wikström) was authorized to officiate in the ceremonies of baptism and sacrament, thus enabling the local Mormons to operate on their own without continuous supervision or missionary visitors from Stockholm. To what extent such independent operation took place is not clear, although undoubtedly the Mormons at least continued their own personal private religious life and devotions to some extent. On the other hand, parish registers show that some of them attended Lu-

⁹⁷⁰ Letter of Alonzo B. Irvine, no date, reprinted in “Korrespondens,” *Nordstjärnan*, vol. 20, no. 19 (1 October 1896), p. 298.

⁹⁷¹ Meeting minutes, 12 June 1897, Finland Branch Record 1876–1897, p. 34, CHLA.

theran communion, implying that they were not fully separated from Lutheranism.⁹⁷² Further membership and community expansion did not take place, however, and it seems likely that the Pohja community eventually died out when the last member passed away (Amanda Wikström in 1929). Johan Lindlöf with his wife Alma left St. Petersburg for Finland in 1927, but they settled in Helsinki.⁹⁷³ Thus the story of the Pohja Mormon microcosm draws to a close.

6.7. Discussion and Summary

The existence of Mormonism in Pohja began with the arrival of a Mormon family from Sweden in the spring of 1880. Johan and Anna Margareta Blom together with their family settled at the Brödtorp estate, owned by Eduard Hisinger. Arriving in an area affected by social problems and sectarianism, they received warnings about spreading the faith by the local clergy and by Johan Blom's employer Hisinger. Thus the Bloms did not very actively promote Mormonism, but neither did they refrain from spreading its tenets alone or together with visiting missionaries when opportunities presented themselves. This approach led to social and legal difficulties for the family, most likely the chief reasons for their eventual departure from Pohja in 1886. Despite these difficulties, a small community of Mormons was born. Extant documentation shows that eleven individuals were baptized as Mormons in Pohja.

Gergen sees daily conversation as one of the major processes of reality-making, whereas Berger and Luckmann label it as the most important device for such.⁹⁷⁴ In fact, the latter duo downplays the role of religious conversion per se. "The real thing is to be able to keep on taking it seriously; to retain a sense of its plausibility. *This* is where the religious community comes in."⁹⁷⁵ In contrast to most other Finnish

⁹⁷² See Wilhelmina Lindroth for the years 1902–1904 in CB, Pohja parish, 1900–1909 I, p. 216, APSP, and Eva Lindlöf for 1902–1904 and her mother Wendla Lindlöf for 1900 and 1902–1904 in CB, Pohja parish, 1900–1909 II, p. 838, APSP.

⁹⁷³ Johan M. Lindlöf [sic] to E. Blomqvist, 13 February 1940; see CB, Pohja parish, 1951–1971 VII, p. 2447, APSP.

⁹⁷⁴ Kenneth J. Gergen, *An Invitation to Social Construction*, 2nd ed. (London: Sage Publications, 2009), p. 32. Berger and Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality*, p. 172.

⁹⁷⁵ Berger and Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality*, pp. 177–178. Emphasis in original.

localities, as seen in Chapter 4, the Pohja Mormon community was relatively long-lasting. Numerous baptisms took place over a time span of seven years, even after the central figure of the community had left. Still in the mid-1890s, approximately ten years after Blom had left, missionaries assessed the converts as being steadfast, although sufficient momentum for expansion did not exist.

Furthermore, as a testament of the community's longevity one member was ordained to the priesthood fifteen years after the first baptism. This longevity was probably made possible both by the contacts between the local membership and by the sporadic visits of the missionaries that strengthened a feeling of belonging. Clearly, conversation was in ample supply at least during the time that Johan Blom with his family was in Pohja. The Blom family devotionals were also attended by others and thus contributed to the secondary socialization of these individuals through the process of conversation. This was much different than having to rely merely upon quick missionary visits, although it is not known to what extent the membership met together after the Blom family left.

In my opinion, this constant opportunity and community planted the seed of Mormonism deeper in many of the Pohja converts than was the case for converts in most other areas of Finland. Mormonism became to them significantly more than mere conversion through a visiting missionary, a flicker of faith that easily died away without a community that would have fed that flicker. It may also be the case that the public and controversial nature of the Mormon movement in Pohja further labeled the members and solidified their religious identity. However, a reactive stance, deaths, and the moving away of members to other municipalities prevented the formation of a large and cohesive branch that would have been able to function indefinitely. Thus the community of Mormons eventually died out.

This case study of the Pohja microcosm has also brought to attention other societal and individual dynamics discussed in the previous chapters of this work. First, as with new religious movements generally, pre-existing social networks were an essential route of Mormon membership expansion. While it is obvious that not all who knew Johan Blom through his work or as an employer converted to Mormonism, it was an essential step in the process. The original entries of Johan Blom into the networks of Alexandra Lindroth and especially Karl Lindlöf were of first-rate importance for the birth of a Mormon community in Pohja. As mentioned previously, the essential point is

that Blom did not become known to these individuals first as a religious preacher, but rather as an employer or as a co-worker. A visualization of how Mormonism spread through the small-scale Pohja social networks is provided in Figure 6.3. The most important relationships were those between parents and children and those between spouses. Notably, the introduction of Mormonism to Pohja also produced conversions in St. Petersburg.

Second, Mormonism tended to exist in tension with the social environment in Pohja, not so much through the indigenous converts as through the individual in whom the Mormon presence was personified. In Finland this was usually a missionary, but in Pohja it was Johan Blom, a Swedish lay Mormon working in the area as a gardener. While it is not possible to know all the particulars concerning Blom's actions or the attitudes towards Mormonism in the area, the Blom court case is further evidence to the difficulty of spreading a new religious movement in nineteenth-century Finland. Multiple court testimonies indicate that Blom seems to have gone about his work somewhat cautiously and did not proselytize openly. Nevertheless, his activities were interpreted as being contrary to contemporary law, as implied by Blom's sentencing. More generally, the case of Pohja is an illuminating example that displays the practical contradiction between the more liberal Lutheran church law of 1869 and other secular legislation on religion at the time. It was possible for a person to disaffiliate from Lutheranism in theory, but at the same time the proselytizer was exposed to legal difficulties. Interestingly enough, the converts were not in this case. The situation could be compared to that of the Baptists, of whom mostly "the radicals" were prosecuted while regular converts walked free. Furthermore, the Mormon converts were still members of the local community and may not have been "othered" to the extent that the proselytizer Blom was, being an outsider with no pre-existing ties.

Finally, left to their own devices without church missionary contact or a central figure with vast experience of Mormonism, the community was not able to expand significantly. Transferring the faith to the next generation was a central problem, and thus Mormonism eventually died out in Pohja. To some extent the microcosm can thus be seen as a failure, because there was no continuation and the members were cut off from the larger church body. On the other hand, from the larger Mormon perspective the Pohja community was also a success.

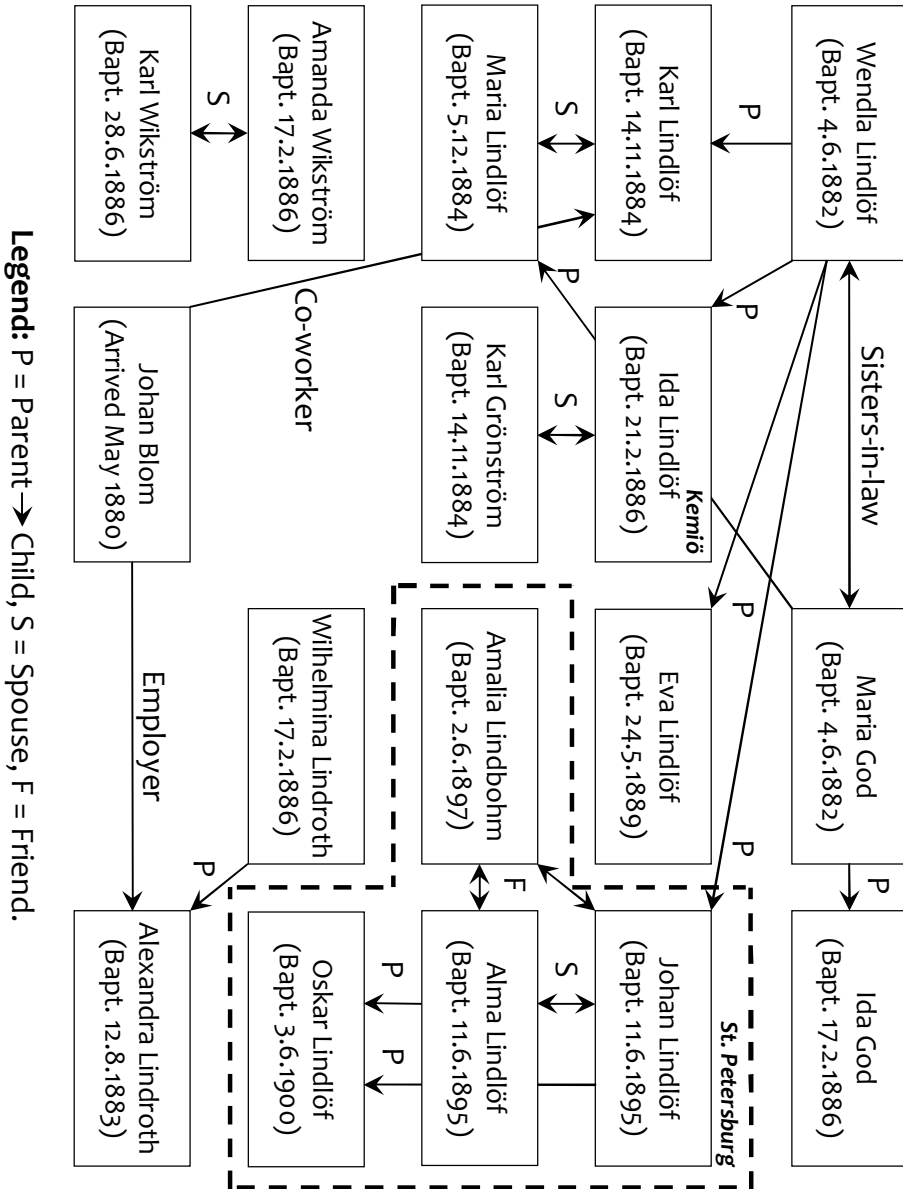


Figure 6.3. The social networks through which the Pohja Mormon community expanded.

In addition to conversions in general, Alexandra Lindroth emigrated to Utah. Johan Lindlöf and his wife Alma converted in St. Petersburg, giving the modern church claim to a historic pre-revolution

presence when it sought to improve its legal status in late twentieth-century Russia.⁹⁷⁶

⁹⁷⁶ Matthew K. Heiss, e-mail to Kim Östman, 2 November 2009. Printout in my possession.

7. From Finland to Zion: Emigration to Utah

“And from year to year we see these free men and women of almost all nations leaving their native countries, their relatives and friends, and with songs of joy embarking on their journey to the inner part of the American continent, to the Rocky Mountains in the West.” (*Nordstjernan*, 3 January 1877).

“How many noble seeds of Christianity has not the awful Mormonism suffocated, while robbing the deceived of native country, family happiness, and other precious gifts!” (*Finland*, 19 November 1886).⁹⁷⁷

“We may soon expect to see flocking to this place, people from every land and from every nation,” said an 1840 proclamation by the Mormon First Presidency in Nauvoo, Illinois. The top leadership continued by providing some examples of these people: “The polished European, the degraded Hottentot, and the shivering Laplander; persons of all languages, and of every tongue, and of every color; who shall with us worship the Lord of Hosts in His holy temple and offer up their orisons in His sanctuary.”⁹⁷⁸ These words by Joseph Smith and his associates clearly articulate that Mormonism’s future was not to be an insular matter. To the contrary, the scope of their vision was worldwide.

Furthermore, the statement is notable in that contrary to religious expansion plans more generally, the focus was not explicitly on sending out missionaries to various parts of the world and thus spreading the new movement’s influence. While such influence was a natural product of proselytizing and the resulting conversions, the focus is here instead on having the new converts physically move to the

⁹⁷⁷ Earlier versions of this chapter have been published as “Suomesta Siioniin: Mormonisiirtolaisuus Utahiin 1800-luvulla,” *Siirtolaisuus – Migration*, vol. 34, no. 4 (2007), pp. 12–19, and “From Finland to Zion: Immigration to Utah in the Nineteenth Century,” *Journal of Mormon History*, vol. 36, no. 3 (Fall 2010), pp. 166–207. The latter article includes personal details on all the emigrants.

⁹⁷⁸ Joseph Smith, *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 7 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1980 [1902–1912]), vol. 4, p. 213.

church headquarters in and around Nauvoo. The statement thus highlights one of the central features of early Mormonism, that of emigration to a designated centerplace. At the basis of this feature was religious conviction and belief in a doctrine concerning the physical gathering of God's chosen people to one central location, Zion. For emigrants acting under this conviction, moving away from home became to signify an end to personal diaspora and a reunification with one's real kinfolk. It was a moving away from exile back to an idealistic home where religious views could be realized to their fullest, and thus an example of utopian migration.

Theoretically speaking, the push for emigration highlights the important role of religious community in early Mormonism. Zion was not simply utopia, but rather it was utopia precisely because of community with one's co-religionists in a sacred society. In such a society, all the major processes of reality-making as listed in the introduction revolved around Mormonism, either implicitly or explicitly.⁹⁷⁹ The plausibility of the socially constructed Mormon worldview was continually upheld by one's surroundings. Language and discourse framed the Zion experience as living in the Kingdom of God together with true believers, whereas such an understanding was further strengthened in daily conversation with others who lived in the community. Finally, everyday life was naturally surrounded by the church and its institutions; that was the stated reason for emigrating to Zion in the first place. Mormon leaders appear at first to have rated the importance of such total community in one single place higher than the creation of similar community worldwide. In a sense, then, the success of early Mormon proselytizing was paradoxically measured not in setting up branches in far-away countries but rather in strengthening the centerplace by removing converts from those countries, their native lands.⁹⁸⁰

Mormon emigration from Europe began in 1840 from the British Isles, when converts boarded sailing ships headed for America and

⁹⁷⁹ Kenneth J. Gergen, *An Invitation to Social Construction*, 2nd ed. (London: Sage Publications, 2009), p. 32.

⁹⁸⁰ David M. Morris, "The Rhetoric of the Gathering and Zion: Consistency through Change, 1831–1920," *International Journal of Mormon Studies*, vol. 1, no. 1 (Spring 2008), p. 157.

later continued their journey to Nauvoo.⁹⁸¹ Joseph Smith's violent death in 1844 and the forced Mormon exodus from Illinois to the American West in 1846 and 1847 impeded the leadership's hopes of globalism for a while. However, increased proselytizing in European nations soon began bringing thousands of converts to the new Zion, the Rocky Mountain area of Salt Lake City, Utah, and its environs. Such emigrating converts provided an important part of the life-blood of Mormonism during the second half of the nineteenth century, decades laden with internal schism, apostasy, and external difficulties. It has been estimated that over 85,000 Latter-day Saints worldwide emigrated to America between 1840 and 1890.⁹⁸² The momentous import of this dynamic for Mormonism's future is best understood when realizing that total church membership by the year 1900 was only about 284,000.⁹⁸³

The Nordic countries were one of the most important sources of Mormon emigrants. Numerically superseded only by the British Isles, it has been estimated that nearly 23,000 Latter-day Saints left Denmark, Iceland, Norway, and Sweden between 1850 and 1905.⁹⁸⁴ Indeed, reflecting on Mormon proselytizing success in the Nordic countries, newspapers in 1879 reported that the countries were said to "enjoy the questionable honor of being the Mormon peddlers' best fishery."⁹⁸⁵ According to Mulder, 56 percent of the Nordic Mormon emigrants were Danish, with Sweden and Norway contributing 32 and 11 percent, respectively. Icelanders were "a fraction."⁹⁸⁶ Considering that

⁹⁸¹ For a general view of the maritime nature of this emigration, see Conway B. Sonne, *Saints on the Seas: A Maritime History of Mormon Migration* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1983).

⁹⁸² Sonne, *Saints on the Seas*, p. xi and 137.

⁹⁸³ Rodney Stark (Reid L. Neilson, ed.), *The Rise of Mormonism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), p. 144. One should also keep in mind that many of the America-born descendants of the earlier emigrants are included in the membership total, thus further increasing the impact of emigration.

⁹⁸⁴ William Mulder, *Homeward to Zion: The Mormon Migration from Scandinavia* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000 [1957]), p. 107.

⁹⁸⁵ "Mormonerna i Skandinawien," *Helsingfors*, 1 November 1879, p. 3.

⁹⁸⁶ Mulder, *Homeward to Zion*, p. 107. On the other hand, Leonard J. Arrington and Davis Bitton estimate that over 30,000 Mormons emigrated from Scandinavia during the nineteenth century; see their *The Mormon Experience: A History of the Latter-day Saints*, 2nd ed. (Chicago and Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992), p. 136. Mulder provides a number of over 30,000 up to the year 1905 if one also counts the children of the emigrant Mormons; see *Homeward to Zion*, p. 102. Ice-

46,497 converts were made in Scandinavia during those years and factoring in a significant disaffiliation rate, it becomes clear that emigration was an immensely important feature of Mormonism in nineteenth-century Scandinavia.

Not much has been said concerning the place of Finland in Mormon emigration from the Nordic countries. Of the studies concerning early Mormonism in Finland, only those of Rinne and Jones indicate that such emigration took place, but no closer analysis is provided.⁹⁸⁷ Mulder, producing the most significant study on Scandinavian Mormon emigration, does not mention such emigration from Finland. Whether this is because Mulder considered Finland to be outside Scandinavia or due to a lack of research is not clear. At any rate, the negligible focus on this matter implies that Finland may have been an anomaly among the Nordic nations as far as Mormon emigration goes.

Nevertheless, some nineteenth-century Latter-day Saint converts did emigrate from Finland to Utah because of their newfound faith. These emigrants are for the purposes of this chapter defined as persons who were either converted to Mormonism in Finland and then left to Utah or who as Mormons moved to Finland, lived there for a considerable time, and then emigrated to Utah. Thus they may or may not be Finnish natives. As will be shown in this chapter, the number of these emigrants is fourteen, making the group miniscule in comparison with Mormon emigration from Scandinavia in general. However, while the number is very low,⁹⁸⁸ the existence of the emigration

land also played a small role in this emigration; see Fred E. Woods, *Fire on Ice: The Story of Icelandic Latter-day Saints at Home and Abroad* (Provo: Religious Studies Center at Brigham Young University, 2005).

⁹⁸⁷ Anna-Liisa Rinne, *Kristuksen kirkko Suomessa: Kertomus Myöhempien Aikojen Pyhiin Jeesuksen Kristuksen Kirkon juurtumisesta tähän maahan* (Turku: n.p., 1986), p. 10 and Zachary R. Jones, "Conversion amid Conflict: Mormon Proselytizing in Russian Finland, 1861–1914," *Journal of Mormon History*, vol. 35, no. 3 (Summer 2009), pp. 35–36.

⁹⁸⁸ In fact, a significantly higher number of Finnish Latter-day Saints emigrated to North America after World War II, when the doctrine of the gathering was no longer actively taught and emigration to Utah often openly discouraged by Mormon leaders. See Rinne, *Kristuksen kirkko Suomessa*, pp. 171–174. The small scale of the nineteenth-century phenomenon is further implied by a 1950 report that thought that a Finnish convert who arrived to Utah after World War II was "believed to be the first;" see "Finnish Convert in Utah," *Deseret News*, 3 May 1950, Church Section, p. 5.

phenomenon confirms that the Mormon doctrine of “the gathering” was taught and to some extent practiced even in Finland.

In this chapter I analyze Mormon emigration from Finland as one particular type of response to the introduction of Mormonism to nineteenth-century Finnish society. I begin by discussing the doctrinal foundation and context of the phenomenon, addressing questions such as why Mormon emigration occurred and how it functioned in practice. Second, I chart related conditions in Finland during the second half of the nineteenth century, including the general practice of emigration to North America. This is followed by a presentation and analysis of three Mormon emigrants from Finland in case study fashion, along with their varied journeys and circumstances. Finally, I explore images of and societal attitudes towards Mormon emigration, also contrasting those attitudes with emigration from Finland in general.

7.1. Reasons and Consequences

Why did the Mormons have to gather to a centerplace? Was it not good enough to convert and then enjoy a local community of Saints in one’s native land while continuing to live among one’s friends? Church periodicals replied: “The answer to this query is unequivocally no. The purposes of the Almighty cannot be fulfilled in any other way than through a real gathering of his people.”⁹⁸⁹ Arrington and Bitton suggest a number of reasons for such a stance by the early Mormon leadership. On the one hand, there was simply strength in numbers. Individual Latter-day Saints living in their native communities could easily be the targets of persecution and difficulties. They would constantly be surrounded by a society seen as fallen and sinful. Such experiences and such an environment were dangers that could cause one to forsake the faith. In contrast, by joining together with other Saints in building a utopian Zion society they could be spared from such difficulties and be strengthened in the faith.⁹⁹⁰ Such reasons focused on the practical consequences of gathering or not gathering, although from a religious frame of reference.

On the other hand and perhaps most significantly, however, gathering was defined as the religious duty of the truly converted. In an

⁹⁸⁹ “Insamlingen,” *Nordstjernen*, vol. 9, no. 3 (1 February 1885), p. 38.

⁹⁹⁰ Arrington and Bitton, *The Mormon Experience*, p. 128.

1831 revelation to Joseph Smith, it was declared that God mandated such a practice:

Go ye out from among the nations, even from Babylon, from the midst of wickedness, which is spiritual Babylon. ... Send forth the elders of my church unto the nations which are afar off; unto the islands of the sea; send forth unto foreign lands; call upon all nations ... Go ye forth into the land of Zion ... behold and lo, the Bridegroom cometh; go ye out to meet him. ... Watch, therefore, for ye know neither the day nor the hour. Let them, therefore, who are among the Gentiles flee unto Zion.⁹⁹¹

This revelation was received before the Mormons proselytized outside North America. However, it later served as an impetus to enlarge the scope of the new movement's efforts to the British Isles in 1837 and subsequently to other parts of Europe and the world. The words of the revelation echo clear strands of millenarianism and a bifurcation of the world into Saints (the Mormons) and Gentiles (everyone else), the inhabitants of Zion and the inhabitants of Babylon. The Mormons were to go out and convert "the elect" in all nations, and these elect were to leave their homes in Babylon and gather to Zion from the scattering or diaspora. Only there could they properly prepare to meet Jesus Christ when he was to return.

On the individual level emigration was a mixed experience. Some felt that they had indeed found the promised Zion in Utah, a place where they could sit at the feet of God's prophets and live their religion to the fullest. They enjoyed their Mormon community and the opportunities it gave them. For these people, emigration became the life-changing climax of their conversion and confirmed that they were participating in millennial preparations and the building of the true Kingdom of God on earth. It was partly through these people that Mormon society in Utah was able to grow and become solidified.

Some of these Latter-day Saints returned for a period to their native lands to proselytize. There they were regarded by the native church members as "elders from Zion," more experienced in the ways of Mormonism than the locals. When returning to Utah from their missions, they often wrote back to Scandinavia depicting their journeys and explaining the warm welcome that awaited them. C.F. Ol-

⁹⁹¹ *Doctrine and Covenants* 133:8–12, 14. Order of verses changed.

sen, for example, one of the leaders of an emigrant company also involving some Finns, wrote in July 1886 from his "beloved mountain home" in Hyrum, Utah. He explained how he as a returning missionary was warmly welcomed back by "family and friends and the village's music corps, who all sought to make my return as comfortable as possible."⁹⁹²

Others became disillusioned once in Utah. Instead of praising conditions, they wrote letters back home concerning dictatorial religious leaders and deceptive promises made by the missionaries back home. Some of these individuals moved away from Utah and the Mormons to other places in the United States, others even returning back to their lands of origin. John Ahmanson, for example, was a young enthusiastic convert from Denmark who first proselytized for his new faith in Scandinavia and emigrated to Utah in 1856. As if the perilous sea journey had not been enough, Ahmanson's emigrant group had extreme difficulties as they made the long overland journey from New York to Utah. Such trials further solidified the faith of some. Ahmanson, however, eventually became repulsed by Utah Mormon leaders' attitudes and statements on polygamy and the unmarried and by what he felt was despotism calculated to bring in money to the top leadership, spearheaded by Brigham Young. Disappointed and disillusioned, Ahmanson and his wife left Utah and "ended up in Omaha, [Nebraska,] where they spent their life's evening in peace and calm."⁹⁹³

Some of the disillusioned were not able to leave Utah, however. This could be because of social pressure inside or outside the family, or because of a lack of means. Norwegian Lutheran pastor Andreas Mortensen painted a grim view based on his dealings with such people while he visited Utah: "Many wept as they reported how they had been deceived. The land 'with milk and honey' became for them a place of suffering and need. Not a few came to me and said: 'Help us to get home again! Yes, at least help us to the States!'"⁹⁹⁴ Although the

⁹⁹² C.F. Olsen to N.C. Flygare, 20 July 1886, reprinted in "Korrespondens," *Nordstjernen*, vol. 10, no. 16 (15 August 1886), pp. 250–252.

⁹⁹³ Henrik Cavling, *Amerika* (Stockholm: Wilh. Siléns förlag, 1898), pp. 461–467. Ahmanson also wrote an exposé of Mormonism titled *Vor tids Muhamed* (Omaha, 1876).

⁹⁹⁴ Andreas Mortensen, *Mormonernas hemligheter: Verklighetsbilder från Utah efter egen iakttagelse* (Stockholm: C.A.V. Lundholms förlag, 1887), p. 210.

feelings of these people are usually depicted in contemporary works critical of the Mormons and may be one-sided and exaggerated (just as some of the reports by the more faithful may be), this group of people did exist. For them, Zion became a nightmare, exceeding in perversion and depravity even what their trusted missionary mentors had termed Babylon.

Regardless of whether expectations of Zion were eventually fulfilled or not, however, they were created at home in a multitude of ways. In addition to the kinds of letters and imagery discussed above, one essential medium was Mormon literature. These texts were used both before and after conversion as tools to familiarize prospective converts and new church members with Mormon doctrines. One example of literature focusing exclusively on the topic of gathering was *Om Israels insamling och Zions förlossning* [On the Gathering of Israel and the Redemption of Zion] by Mormon leader Joseph W. Young. Used also in Finland, this treatise discussed both doctrinal matters related to gathering and the deplorable present and future state of the world. It was Young's conviction that "God has stretched his hand to gather the remnant of Israel on the American continent, and that the time has come for the establishment and redemption of Zion."⁹⁹⁵ Such juxtapositions of Zion and Babylon made it clear that Zion was the place to be.

Central religious ideas are not only expressed in formal writing, however. In addition to literature, they become pervasive in a culture through other media such as music, stories, and poetry. So it was also with emigration and the Mormon notion of Zion. As reported in a Finnish newspaper, "one of the most beautiful thoughts in Mormonism is the thought of a beautiful place on earth where 'the Saints' long to be. This longing is construed poignantly in the Mormons' songs."⁹⁹⁶ The Finnish Latter-day Saints participated in singing such hymns of Zion. On August 1, 1880, for example, the congregation in Larsmo sang about how "Now thousands so desire to go to the land of promise; God's Zion will be built there and reach from coast to coast." A few months later, the congregation in neighboring Pietarsaari sang

⁹⁹⁵ Joseph W. Young, *Om Israels insamling och Zions förlossning*, 8th ed. (Köpenhamn: N.C. Flygare, 1878), p. 16.

⁹⁹⁶ "Bilder från Amerika," *Vestra Nyland*, 5 February 1889, p. 3. For an example of emigration-related Mormon poetry, see "Betraktelser vid emigranternas afresa," *Nordstjernan*, vol. 6, no. 12 (15 June 1882), pp. 191–192.

concerning how “You have longed to see Zion’s homeland.” The glory of Zion could also be emphasized and brought into relief by employing wording that celebrated and embodied in it a release from the evils of the world. Accordingly, Mormons in Pietarsaari sang a hymn about how “Many are now released out of bondage, the battle is soon fought; Freed children of Israel journey to a gathering place in the West.”⁹⁹⁷

Supplementing such media were frequent mentions of the topic in Mormon periodicals, for the Finns most importantly *Nordstjernen*. Very often the matter was dealt with through instructions, notices of planned dates of emigration, and the accompanying pricelist for the trip.⁹⁹⁸ Sometimes emigration was discussed more formally, such as through reports of the departure of emigrant groups. In the summer of 1878, for example, *Nordstjernen* depicted the scene of emigrants departing Copenhagen who were still heard singing their hymns of joy. “It was a beautiful sight to see the proud ships gliding over the calm water in the strait, while the tones of the Saints’ happy songs of departure were still heard.” The writer encouraged those leaving behind to live their religion so that they too, sooner or later, would have the same opportunity to journey to Utah. Stirring imagery and exhortations such as these contributed to the expectations of special things awaiting in Zion.⁹⁹⁹

Similarly, the prospective emigrants were assured of God’s protection during the journey. Because of the righteous nature of their endeavor, the train of logic went, God would not let harm befall them. One example of this comes from an article published in *Nordstjernen* in late 1889, titled (as translated) “The Lord Protects his Saints.” After recounting an accident and the related rescue of Mormon emigrants in the American state of Virginia, the writer summarized:

In connection herewith we wish to encourage the Saints to prepare with a sacred motive to gather to Zion ... The Father will keep his

⁹⁹⁷ See hymns 23, 150 and 139 in Jonas Engberg, *Andeliga Sånger til bruk för Jesu Christi Kyrkas Sista Dagars Helliga*, 3rd ed. (Köpenhamn: R. Peterson, 1873). The minutes of the meetings (1 August 1880, 21 November 1880, and 28 May 1882, respectively) are recounted in Finland Branch Record 1876–1897, CHLA.

⁹⁹⁸ For examples of this, see “Emigration,” *Nordstjernen*, vol. 2, no. 5 (1 March 1878), p. 73, “Emigrationen,” *Nordstjernen*, vol. 3, no. 9 (1 May 1879), pp. 136–137, and “Emigrationen,” *Nordstjernen*, vol. 4, no. 7 (1 April 1880), pp. 104–106.

⁹⁹⁹ “Emigranternas afgang,” *Nordstjernen*, vol. 2, no. 13 (1 July 1878), pp. 201–202.

protecting hand over those who travel there to serve their Creator, and on the sea's restless waves, they can without fear trust the fragile planks of the ships that transport their valuable cargo of human lives over the depths of the sea. They can then feel safe on land and on sea, knowing that a loving Father's eye watches over them and that his angels lead them, and that he, as in this particular case, can rescue them from the jaws of death itself.¹⁰⁰⁰

The concept of Utah as a utopian Zion was especially central as a reward for being a committed Latter-day Saint. When building on New Testament ideas of abandoning one's family for the gospel's sake if needs be,¹⁰⁰¹ the promise of bliss in Zion could offset many of the costs of joining the Mormons. From the believer's point of view, strained or broken relations with family and friends due to conversion were not necessarily too high a price to pay, if one received in exchange the possibility to join other believers in a righteous society (not to speak of promised otherworldly rewards). Such views were reinforced through the social network of believers and in the forms noted above.

7.2. The Case of Finland

Large-scale general emigration from Finland to the United States began in the 1870s, which is relatively late compared to the other Scandinavian nations. Reasons for such emigration are numerous and have frequently included matters such as improved financial prospects and hopes for better employment. Religion, in contrast, has not been a very popular reason to emigrate. Nevertheless, there are instances of planned or realized religio-utopian migrations even from Finland. Examples include a planned free "New Jerusalem" society in Sierra Leone envisioned by August Nordenskiöld in the late 1700s and inspired by Swedenborgianism, a community for "the Lord's chosen ones" in Penedo, Brazil, starting in the late 1920s, and the Christian Yad Hashmona kibbutz in Israel since the 1970s.¹⁰⁰² Similarly to Mormon emigration, all of these experiments were born of a belief that

¹⁰⁰⁰ "Herren beskyddar sina helige," *Nordstjernan*, vol. 13, no. 20 (15 October 1889), pp. 312–313.

¹⁰⁰¹ See for example Matthew 10:37.

¹⁰⁰² Teuvo Peltoniemi, *Kohti parempaa maailmaa: Suomalaisten ihannesiirtokunnat 1700-luvulta nykypäivään* (Helsinki: Otava, 1985), pp. 14–21, 122–141, and 195–203.

religious ideals could be better practiced elsewhere, in a community built expressly for that purpose.

Analytically speaking, reasons for emigration can be divided into factors that push people out of their native country and factors that pull them into the new country. On the push side of late nineteenth-century Finland, the rapid numerical increase of the population made possible by industrialization, improvements in medicine, and higher levels of farming production had created a human surplus that was confronted with poor wages and a lack of work. As a small country, Finland also had little land left to offer to those wishing to become farmers themselves. Reasons such as these made attractive the option of seeking an improved life in nations with a need for workers and with available land.

On the pull side, by the late 1800s it had become relatively easy to emigrate to America due to improved methods of transportation, such as trains and steamships. The emigrant no longer had to spend months on sailing ships and in horse carriages. The prosperity promised in the United States and especially letters received from prior emigrants also created an "America fever" and powerful expectations of a better life to be had there.¹⁰⁰³ Indeed, some felt that the excitement went too far. People were warned against depictions in which they will "find a land in which milk and honey flow and where fried sparrows fly into a person's mouth if he only bothers to open it." They were reminded that also in America one would have to persevere in honest work in order to find prosperity.¹⁰⁰⁴ It has also been argued that the tone of these America letters may have most often been positive because the emigrants did not want to mention the negative aspects of their new lives and surroundings. As the nineteenth century progressed, a continuously increasing amount of information about America was available in Finland also through newspapers. This may have further lowered the obstacles for the pulling forces.¹⁰⁰⁵

It is safe to assume that the Mormons who emigrated from Finland felt similar pushes and pulls. Apart from their religion they were like

¹⁰⁰³ Reino Kero, *Suureen länteen: Siirtolaisuus Suomesta Pohjois-Amerikkaan* (Turku: Siirtolaisinstituutti, 1996), pp. 41–42 and 49.

¹⁰⁰⁴ "'Till Amerika'," *Åbo Underrättelser*, 23 November 1881, p. 2.

¹⁰⁰⁵ Keijo Virtanen, *Atlantin yhteys: Tutkimus amerikkalaisesta kulttuurista, sen suhteesta ja välittymisestä Eurooppaan vuosina 1776–1917* (Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura, 1988), p. 131 and 227–232.

other individuals, having to worry about sustenance, family relationships, and other such matters. But in their case one may add other pushing and pulling factors. Religious impulses are here of course essential. One central factor pushing some Mormons out of Finland may have been the highly regulated religious field of the 1800s. As discussed in Chapter 2, Finland was inhospitable to various foreign, non-Lutheran or non-Orthodox religious movements before the Dissenter Act of 1889 and to a diminished degree before the Religious Freedom Act of 1922. When it was difficult to openly practice one's new religion, leaving became an attractive option. This is especially so when considering the pull of the new American Zion, God's chosen place of gathering. Combined with the general hype about opportunities in the United States, it is natural that some Mormons felt disposed to emigrate.

It has also been suggested that the bipartite push/pull scheme could be supplemented by "religious vision" in the case of the Mormons. This paradigm is integrally tied to the notion that the Mormon worldview collapsed the distance between sacred and mundane; one could no longer separate the two in the Mormon mind. As Aird put it, for the Mormons "the world and the Bible were one. They were replicating the ancient stories, living in sacred time, partaking in God's restored church." Thus this religious vision became central to the decision to emigrate, and all reasons were religiously influenced.¹⁰⁰⁶ However, I would argue that reasons for emigration embraced by this religious vision paradigm may simply be broken down into reasons that fall into the traditional push and pull categories. It is thus not necessary to bring a new interpretive scheme to play in the Mormon case, as long as one recognizes the sometimes profound push-pull importance of reasons related to religious worldview and perceptions of religious truth that deviate from mainstream views.

The period of most interest in the present study is the decade of the 1880s, as that is when early Mormon emigration from Finland took place. It is estimated that a total of about 35,000 people left Finland for America during that decade. The handful of fourteen Mormons who are the focus of this chapter are thus a small droplet in the total flow.¹⁰⁰⁷ Most Finnish emigrants to the United States at this time began

¹⁰⁰⁶ Polly Aird, "Why Did the Scots Convert?," *Journal of Mormon History*, vol. 26, no. 1 (Spring 2000), p. 122.

¹⁰⁰⁷ Kero, *Suureen länteen*, pp. 54–55.

their journey by traveling by steamer from the southern-Finland town of Hanko to Stockholm, Sweden. From there the emigrants were divided into various streams, depending on which company's agent the travel tickets had been purchased from. Some continued their journey by rail or ship to Göteborg, then by ship to Hull, England, by rail to Liverpool, and over the Atlantic by steamship. Agents for German companies, on the other hand, routed the emigrants from Stockholm through Lübeck, Germany, to Bremerhaven, from where the transatlantic journey began. The most common ports of arrival in "the new world" were New York, Boston, and Quebec. The final leg of the multi-part journey to the various destinations in North America was often undertaken by train, either alone or in a group with other travelers.¹⁰⁰⁸

Emigration for the Mormons followed a similar route. Those traveling from Sweden and Denmark would usually assemble at Copenhagen, Denmark, the Scandinavian mission's headquarters city. From there they would travel together as an emigrating company by steamer to Hull (the Norwegians traveled there in their own group directly from Norway) and by rail to Liverpool, at the time the European headquarters of the Mormons and also the most important transatlantic port in general.¹⁰⁰⁹ In Liverpool, Latter-day Saints from various parts of Europe, mostly Great Britain and Scandinavia, gathered into large emigrant companies of hundreds of individuals that then boarded one of the steamers headed for New York.¹⁰¹⁰ After the transcontinental railroad reached Utah in 1869, the final arduous post-sail or post-steamer overland trek to Utah was replaced by a comparatively comfortable train ride.

Compared to the journey of regular Finnish emigrants to the United States, however, the Mormon experience was highly organized and programmed. The Latter-day Saints had personnel located in various key cities, responsible for planning every step of the emigra-

¹⁰⁰⁸ Kero, *Suureen länteen*, p. 86.

¹⁰⁰⁹ On the role of Hull, see Fred E. Woods and Nicholas J. Evans, "Latter-day Saint Scandinavian Migration through Hull, England, 1852–1894," *Brigham Young University Studies*, vol. 41, no. 4 (2002), pp. 75–102.

¹⁰¹⁰ As a point emphasizing the size of these groups, it was at one time reported that the church was even planning to erect a building in New York for receiving Mormon emigrants from Europe. See "Metropolitan Mormons," *New York Times*, 10 November 1869, p. 1.

tion and taking care of the emigrants who arrived and needed shepherding to the next waypoint. The Mormons traveled together in large companies, often led by missionaries returning back to Utah. The size of these organized emigrant companies gave the church's agents significant bargaining power when dealing with various companies and trying to find the lowest prices.¹⁰¹¹ The individual emigrants also did not have to worry about enterprising profiteers preying on gullible foreign emigrants with few language skills at places such as Liverpool, because the companies were greeted and taken care of immediately upon arrival. On board the transatlantic ships, Mormons held their religious devotionals, singing hymns and listening to preachings, thus becoming further socialized into the ways of their new faith.

Mormon emigrants from Finland thus tapped into a system that had been in place in various forms since 1840. While the journey was still perilous to an extent, it meant that they had a lot less to worry about than those of their compatriots who left privately. Once the decision to emigrate was made, they could trust a functioning organization of fellow Mormons that had developed and been adjusted over time. In addition to the bargaining power mentioned above, relationships of trust between the church's agents and some company representatives had also developed that made the arrangements less precarious. As perhaps the epitomizing example, the British Mormon leadership considered the transatlantic Guion Line agent's mere word good enough: the church's close co-operation with the company lasted for decades without a written contract.¹⁰¹² The church could also sometimes provide the emigrants with monetary aid for their journey through a church-operated revolving fund, the Perpetual Emigrating Fund. More significant for the Scandinavian Mormons, however, were private funds and donations by earlier emigrants already established in Utah.¹⁰¹³

Mormon emigration from Finland took place during a time when the United States government was taking action against the "Mormon problem." This referred to the theocratic, polygamy-espousing state-within-a-state that had developed in Utah and that was seen as being in conflict with deeply held moral and political values of the rest of

¹⁰¹¹ Richard L. Jensen, "Steaming Through: Arrangements for Mormon Emigration from Europe, 1869–1887," *Journal of Mormon History*, vol. 9 (1982), p. 5.

¹⁰¹² Jensen, "Steaming Through," pp. 6–7.

¹⁰¹³ Jensen, "Steaming Through," pp. 16–17.

America. From the viewpoint of emigration, the most notable development transpired in 1879, when the United States Secretary of State William Evarts issued a note to his consuls regarding the Mormons. In the note, he directed the consuls to ask for co-operation in their respective countries in order to stop emigrating Mormons, potential new lawbreakers, from leaving their homelands to go to Utah.

As a consequence of this note, at least one Mormon missionary was denied a passport to Finland in 1885 by the American consul in Stockholm, because the missionary's "only purpose in visiting Finland was to induce the people of that country to emigrate to Utah and connect themselves with the Mormon Church."¹⁰¹⁴ As far as non-American governments go, however, the request went mostly unheeded in many countries. Sweden disseminated information concerning the American stance towards Mormons, but did not directly interfere with their emigration.¹⁰¹⁵ Nor is it known that officials in Finland would have reacted to this development, especially as no such emigration had as of yet taken place in 1879. A group of Mormon elders, led by Nils Flygare who originally sent the missionaries to Finland in 1875, opined after their arrival in New York in September 1879 that many people abroad could not believe "that anything so absurd" as Evarts' instructions could be seriously fathered by the United States government.¹⁰¹⁶

Nordstjernan also commented on the matter that fall, labeling it "Another crusade against the Saints." Interestingly, however, what had transpired was not so much lamented as it was heralded as proof of Mormonism's power. If America was not able to stop the Mormons by itself but had to appeal for foreign help, it was "but another testimony to [the Saints] of their growing reputation."¹⁰¹⁷ Further legal

¹⁰¹⁴ Rufus Magee to Mr. Bayard, 9 October 1885, reprinted in *Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of The United States, Transmitted to Congress, with the Annual Message of the President, 1885* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1886), p. 788.

¹⁰¹⁵ Mulder, *Homeward to Zion*, pp. 290–292. On contemporary publicity in Finland regarding the Evarts note, see for example "Mormonutvandringen till Amerika," *Helsingfors*, 23 August 1879, p. 3. On Sweden's reaction, see also "Åtgärder mot mormonismen," *Åbo Underrättelser*, 17 February 1880, p. 3 and "Mot mormonismen," *Åbo Underrättelser*, 10 March 1880, p. 3.

¹⁰¹⁶ "The Mormons still coming," *New York Times*, 17 September 1879, p. 2.

¹⁰¹⁷ "Ett annat korståg mot de helige," *Nordstjernan*, vol. 3, no. 17 (1 September 1879), pp. 264–267. See also "Förenta staternas regering och 'mormonutvandringen'," *Nordstjernan*, vol. 3, no. 19 (1 October 1879), pp. 293–295 and 300–301, and "Spör-

action due to polygamy was taken against the church in the United States during the 1880s, but it did not stop the flow of immigrants from foreign nations. Thus also Mormons from Finland were able to emigrate to their Zion.

To bring the phenomenon further into context, it should be mentioned that not all Finnish natives who emigrated specifically to Utah were Mormons. The mines around Scofield and Bingham Canyon, for example, were popular places for finding work, and many Finns emigrated there mostly in the early 1900s.¹⁰¹⁸ Writing about his contemporary Finns residing in the United States, Akseli Järnefelt commented that there are also “some of our citizens in ... Park City, Provo, etc.” The “Mormon state” was thus not at all unknown to regular Finns.¹⁰¹⁹ Naturally, one of the main reasons separating the two strands of general and Mormon emigration to Utah was the religious nature of the latter.

7.3. The Emigrants

The main source for identifying the Mormon emigrants from Finland for the purposes of the present study has been the church’s membership record, kept by the missionaries who resided in Finland. I have augmented information from that record with research into other primary sources, such as local parish and passport records. Additional information has been located in contemporary newspapers. Information on the emigrants’ fates in America has been obtained through government census records and death certificates, and the Mormon church’s membership records and those that contain information on religious ceremonies, namely the “International Genealogical Index” (IGI).

Moreover, I have consulted Mormon emigration compilations such as the “Scandinavian Mission Index” (at FHL) and the *Mormon Immigration Index* CD-ROM. Despite the valuable secondary nature of these

smålet om ‘mormonernas’ invandring,” *Nordstjernan*, vol. 3, no. 21 (1 November 1879), pp. 328–331.

¹⁰¹⁸ K.-G. Olin, *Klippiga bergen* (Jakobstad: Olimex, 1998), pp. 148–174.

¹⁰¹⁹ Akseli Järnefelt, *Suomalaiset Amerikassa* (Helsinki: Otava, 1899), p. 241. See also the map elsewhere in the book (unnumbered page) indicating the location of Finns in the United States. On Finns in America more generally at this time, see A. William Høglund, *Finnish Immigrants in America, 1880–1920* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1960).

compilations, however, in Finland's case it is essential to begin research from the membership record. This is because the compilations, based on contemporary passenger and emigration records, often list the origin of the emigrants from Finland as Sweden (disguising their true nationality) or as the Stockholm conference, the upper-level organizational entity Mormons in Finland were part of at the time. Thus one will not be able to find all the emigrants by simply looking through the compilation indices with the search word "Finland." Then again, one must also keep in mind that the Finnish membership record for the late 1800s may not be complete either, thinking of completeness in terms of both listed individuals and mentions of emigration. Despite this potential shortcoming, it should be considered the most important primary source in this case.

With this commentary on sources as a background, I will now discuss the Mormon emigrants from Finland by focusing on three of them in case study fashion. This is done in order to better understand their backgrounds and to contextualize their emigration experience. The presentation is followed by a table that summarizes all emigrants and a discussion that probes the total data.

Hedvig Johansdotter

Hedvig was part of a threesome of Finnish Mormons who emigrated simultaneously in late 1888. She was born on April 25, 1839, in the southern-Finland town of Porvoo and baptized a Mormon there on October 25, 1884, by Swedish missionary Alexander Hedberg. Her older brother Gustaf Johansson had been baptized in Sipoo in 1878, and her brother Karl Johansson was baptized in 1886. Records further indicate that at the time of her emigration four years later, she was living in Karl's Porvoo cottage together with her older siblings Karl, Gustaf, and Johanna. She was then a forty-nine-year-old member of the working class, a weaver by trade.¹⁰²⁰

Hedvig obtained a passport from the Uusimaa provincial authorities on September 4, 1888, leaving for Stockholm on the steamer *Finland* two weeks later. According to a newspaper report, two persons had visited her prior to her emigration in an attempt to persuade her to abandon the Mormon faith and to forget about emigrating.

¹⁰²⁰ RBC, Porvoo rural parish, 1833–1840 I, p. 449, KA. Finland Branch Record 1876–1897, CHLA. CB, Porvoo rural parish, 1880–1889 I, p. 48, KA. "Landsorten," *Hufvudstadsbladet*, 28 September 1888, p. 2.

When confronted with polygamy and negative portrayals of Mormon doctrines, she is said to have been unfazed, instead defending her faith's practice of polygamy with the example of the Biblical patriarchs. And as the journalist put it: "... she thought she was too old to be eligible for marriage in Salt Lake City."¹⁰²¹

Another newspaper reported that she had sold her possessions to raise travel money, similarly to one of her co-travelers. The fundamental reason for Hedvig's and the two other Mormons' emigration, at least as given by the press, was Finnish society's inhospitality towards new religious ideas:

Upon being asked what made them undertake the long journey they are supposed to have openly answered that they *have* to travel, because they would be persecuted here and not allowed to live according to the prescriptions of their doctrine. They said that more of their 'religious kindred' would follow them.¹⁰²²

It is likely that Hedvig and the other two Finnish Mormons, Emelie Lindström and Alexander Winqvist, made their way together with Swedish Latter-day Saints to Liverpool through the ordinary way-points of Copenhagen and Hull. Traveling on the steamer *Wyoming*, the threesome reached New York on October 16 with the rest of their company. The journey continued on another ship to Norfolk, Virginia, from where the party took a train to Salt Lake City, arriving on October 23. Hedvig became a member of the Salt Lake thirteenth ward and was rebaptized and reconfirmed on November 1, 1888.¹⁰²³

Hedvig participated in the Latter-day Saint temple endowment ceremony on November 11, 1891, in the Logan Utah temple. This indicates that she continued to adhere to the teachings of Mormonism at least for a few years after her emigration. The newspaper *Finland* re-

¹⁰²¹ Passport Records, 1887 and 1888, Archive of the Administrative Department of Uusimaa Provincial Government, KA. "Landsorten," *Hufoudstadsbladet*, 28 September 1888, p. 2.

¹⁰²² "Mormoner i Helsingfors," *Finland*, 20 September 1888, p. 3. Emphasis in original.

¹⁰²³ Passageer-liste for udvandrerskibene fra København til Hull, 1872–1894, FHL. "A company," *The Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star*, vol. 50, no. 42 (15 October 1888), p. 667 and N.P. Lindeloff and Per Christensen to Geo. Teasdale, 16 October 1888, reprinted in "Correspondence," *The Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star*, vol. 50, no. 45 (5 November 1888), p. 715. Andrew Jenson, *History of the Scandinavian Mission* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1927), p. 306. RM, Salt Lake City 13th ward, early to 1900, pp. 109–110, FHL.

ported that she was going to be married to her co-traveler Alexander Winqvist once in Utah. It is unclear whether this happened, however.¹⁰²⁴

Maria Reutervall

When Maria was born on July 13, 1861, her family seems to have been well off. Living in the southwest coast town of Naantali, Maria's father Karl Johan was a master saddle maker, giving the family a certain amount of prestige in the community. Her father died rather soon in 1868, however. Many of her siblings moved away, one sister to Sweden in 1872 and others of the children to the neighboring city of Turku between 1872 and 1875.¹⁰²⁵

Maria moved away from home in 1877, when she became a maid at the estate of Gullranda. It is not clear how long she spent there, but on June 4, 1881, she obtained a five-year passport in Turku for travel abroad. While abroad in Stockholm, Sweden, she converted to Mormonism and was baptized on May 3, 1882, by Rasmus Berntson. Having returned from Sweden, she is listed as a tithing payer in the August to November 1884 report of the Finland branch, living in the city of Turku. On June 4, 1886, she obtained another five-year passport in Turku. This time it was done in preparation for emigration and together with her widowed mother and her younger sister, who both obtained passports for a shorter time.¹⁰²⁶

Since Maria was now leaving for Utah, it seems possible that her mother and sister wanted to accompany her on the first leg of her journey. Maria made the transatlantic voyage in the same company as the Blom family (see Chapter 6) and Anna Ruth (see below), arriving in Salt Lake City on July 10, 1886. She was rebaptized and reconfirmed there on August 5. On December 1 that year, she married the Swede Alexander Hedberg in the Logan Utah temple. As will be remembered, Hedberg had been a missionary to Finland two years prior. It is

¹⁰²⁴ IGI, sv. Hedvig Johanson. "Mormoner i Helsingfors," *Finland*, 20 September 1888, p. 3.

¹⁰²⁵ RBC, Naantali parish, 1838–1879, p. 268, KA. CB, Naantali parish, 1861–1867, p. 141, KA. CB, Naantali parish, 1868–1880, p. 31, KA.

¹⁰²⁶ CB, Naantali parish, 1868–1880, p. 345, KA. Passport Records, 1881, Archive of the Administrative Department of Turku and Pori Provincial Government, TMA. RM, Stockholm Branch, 1863–1903, p. 125, FHL. Passport Records, 1886, Archive of the Administrative Department of Turku and Pori Provincial Government, TMA.

possible that Maria and Alexander knew each other from the time that she lived in Turku and he had proselytized there. However, since Alexander was also baptized in Stockholm in 1882, it is more likely that they learned to know each other there.¹⁰²⁷

Maria and Alexander had two children and moved from Utah to Chicago, Illinois, some time between 1888 and 1891. The couple owned a house in Pullman, Chicago, and had two sons, the first born in Utah, the second in Illinois. There was no regular Mormon church activity in Chicago at the time, and thus it is unclear as to how the Hedberg couple's feelings towards Mormonism evolved at the time.¹⁰²⁸

In 1896, however, it was decided to organize a branch in Chicago. Christian D. Fjeldsted, former mission president to Scandinavia, was one of those spearheading the project. He reports visiting the Hedbergs at least three times and trying to arrange a meeting with Alexander, who had become an inventor and had applied for patents, but was not successful in having such a meeting. This implies that the Hedbergs' feelings towards Mormonism may have grown cold, although their older son was still baptized at age 8 in August 1896. The branch's first membership record indicates that the branch lost track of the family's whereabouts in 1897, and the later membership record labels Alexander an "apostate" and Maria as "lost." Thus it appears that the Hedbergs drifted away from Mormonism.¹⁰²⁹

Anna Ruth

Anna was born on June 29, 1828, in Viipuri in the far south-east of Finland. She was married to master chimney sweeper Josef Ruth. By the time of her Mormon baptism in October 1883 she had been widowed for a few months. Living in the southern-Finland town of Sipoo, a newspaper reported that she was "well off, rich." The Mormon missionary Lars Swalberg was said to have been so successful in his

¹⁰²⁷ Emigration Records, Scandinavian Mission, 1852–1920, Record G 1881–1886, p. 135, FHL. RM, Salt Lake City 13th ward, early to 1900, pp. 63–64, FHL. IGI, sv. Maria Reutervall. RM, Stockholm branch, 1863–1903, p. 124, FHL.

¹⁰²⁸ United States Census, 1900, Chicago Ward 34, District 1110.

¹⁰²⁹ Christian D. Fjeldsted Journals and Record Books, 1890–1905, CHLA. See the entries of 30 May, 4 June, 15–16 June, and 26 June 1896. RM, Chicago branch, 1896–1901, pp. 15–16, FHL. RM, Chicago branch, early to 1917, p. 30, FHL. The designation "lost" probably refers to her residential location, not to the state of her adherence to Mormonism.

“zealous conversion work” that Anna had decided to “sell her possessions and follow him.”¹⁰³⁰

It took another three years before Anna emigrated, however, but just as her conversion, her eventual departure also became fodder for public discussion. A local correspondent from Sipoo wrote to the capital city newspaper *Hufvudstadsbladet*, informing the public that “the businessman’s widow Ruth” had now left for “the promised land.” Writing somewhat sarcastically, the informant mused that she was quite a catch for the Mormons due to her wealth, and therefore “she should, at least at first, be a welcome guest in the ‘Zion’ that she has now traveled to!” It is not known whether she traveled with the Blom family and Maria Reutervall all the way from Finland in June 1886, but she most likely joined them in Sweden or certainly in England to continue the journey with the rest of the Mormon company. In the passenger records she is declared to be “a spinster,” an unmarried woman.¹⁰³¹

Anna settled in Salt Lake City close to the city center and was rebaptized and reconfirmed in March 1887. She lived at the same address as Maria Reutervall and Alexander Hedberg, which confirms that she kept in contact with at least one other Finnish Mormon convert after emigrating. On May 29, 1891, Anna was “set apart” as a missionary by Mormon apostle Abraham H. Cannon. She was to “do missionary labor while in Scandinavia and Russia on genealogical research.” Accordingly, she returned to Finland that summer.¹⁰³²

¹⁰³⁰ RBC, Viipuri Swedish parish, 1798–1840, n.p., KA. Finland Branch Record 1876–1897, CHLA. “Korrespondens,” *Hufvudstadsbladet*, 2 December 1883, p. 2, which is a letter written on 26 November 1883 in Sipoo. See also “Bref från landsorten,” *Folkvännen*, 4 December 1883, p. 2.

¹⁰³¹ “Ett och annat från Sibbo,” *Hufvudstadsbladet*, 20 June 1886, p. 2. Passageer-liste for udvandrerskibene fra København til Hull, 1872–1894, FHL. Emigration Records, Scandinavian Mission, 1852–1920, Record G 1881–1886, p. 135, FHL.

¹⁰³² RM, Salt Lake City 13th ward, early to 1900, pp. 5–6 and 63–64, FHL. *Utah Gazetteer and Directory of Salt Lake, Ogden, Provo and Logan Cities, for 1888* (Salt Lake City: Lorenzo Stenhouse, 1888), Salt Lake City section, p. 165 and 257. Missionaries of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, vol. 4, 1891:136, CHLA. Jones, “Conversion amid Conflict,” p. 34, says that Ruth returned to Finland “to provide spiritual training to LDS Finnish women,” but the cited source is silent concerning such a purpose. As far as I know, primary sources say nothing concerning LDS Relief Society operation in nineteenth-century Finland, they are not merely inconclusive on the matter, as Jones argues.

Her visit became public knowledge just as her conversion and departure had. *Hufoudstadsbladet* wrote about her in early September, just before she left the country, and the resulting story was reprinted in several newspapers. According to the story, Anna, who was described as “very energetic and lively for her age,” was satisfied with her life in Salt Lake City and was taking care of a hotel business. The other Finns there were also doing well. Her portrayal of Salt Lake City and Mormonism in general was much different from many of the stories circulating around. Instead of centering around despotism and tightly controlled theocracy like some Mormon critics, the faithful Mormon Anna opined that her beloved faith was not “narrow-minded and ‘pietistic’.” She indeed wished that she had thought of moving to Salt Lake City already twenty years earlier.¹⁰³³ After returning to Utah, Anna was again rebaptized and reconfirmed, in both 1893 and 1894. She continued living in Salt Lake City, moving inside the city at least four times, and passing away on March 7, 1916. In Utah she was variously known for example as Annie Root, Anna Ruth, and Karoline Root.¹⁰³⁴

As shown by the three biographical sketches and Table 7.1, the backgrounds and experiences of the Mormons who emigrated varied widely. In fact, the emigrant group reveals no significant internal similarities or common elements. The group consists of both men and women, young and old, single, married, and widowed individuals. Some like Alexandra Lindroth were young, whereas others like Anna Ruth were older. Some emigrants married in Utah, others did not; some stayed active in the Mormon faith, but disaffiliation was also possible, as shown by Maria Reutervall. Six (two adults and four chil-

¹⁰³³ “Finsk mormon på besök i hemlandet,” *Hufoudstadsbladet*, 11 September 1891, p. 2. The story was reprinted later the same year in at least *Aamulehti*, 13 September, p. 3, *Sanomia Turusta*, 13 September, p. 2, *Åbo Tidning*, 13 September, p. 2, *Keski-Suomi*, 15 September, p. 3, *Kotka*, 17 September, p. 3, *Lounas*, 18 September, p. 3, *Tampereen Sanomat*, 18 September, p. 2, *Jyränkö*, 25 September, p. 3, *Mikkelin Sanomat*, 2 October, p. 3, and *Ulleåborgs Tidning*, 18 December, p. 1. The article states that around ten female Finnish Mormons emigrated to Utah around 1885–1886 together with a Mormon missionary. As there is no evidence for such a high number in the membership record, it is probably the reporter’s own interjection.

¹⁰³⁴ RM, Salt Lake City 13th ward, 1890–1901, pp. 65–66, FHL. For Anna’s addresses, see *R.L. Polk & Co’s Salt Lake City Directory* (Salt Lake City: R.L. Polk & Co., Publishers), 1899:708, 1911:868, 1913:832, 1915:844, and for her death, 1916:718. “Called By Death,” *Deseret News*, 8 March 1916, p. 2.

dren) were Swedish nationals who had lived in Finland up to six years at the time of their emigration. One moved to Sweden after baptism and left to Utah from there one year later. At least one or two (Ruth and Reutervall) of the emigrants came from a comparatively affluent socio-economic background, whereas some had occupations such as being a weaver, a carpenter, or a maid.

As far as the Mormon experience of the emigrants is concerned, it may be noted that all of the Finnish natives were baptized in the 1880s. In other words, it seems that none of the persons baptized during the first years of Mormon proselytizing in Finland eventually emigrated to Utah. Moreover, similarly to the general Mormon membership in Finland they all appear to have been Swedish-speakers.

Table 7.1. Summary of nineteenth-century Mormon emigrants from Finland.

Name	Born	Baptism	Emigrated to Utah (age)	Place of Residence	Other Information
Blom, Anna Linnea	1884	n/a	1886 (1)	Pohja	Child, Swedish
Blom, Anna Margareta	1843	1878	1886 (43)	Pohja	Housewife, Swedish
Blom, David William	1876	?	1886 (10)	Pohja	Child, Swedish
Blom, Johan	1848	1878	1886 (38)	Pohja	Gardener, Swedish
Blom, Johan Emil	1875	?	1886 (11)	Pohja	Child, Swedish
Blom, John Gabriel	1881	n/a	1886 (5)	Pohja	Child, Swedish
Degerlund, Eva Wilhelmina	1855	1881	1882 (27)	Turku	Working class
Johansdotter, Hedvig	1839	1884	1888 (49)	Porvoo	Weaver
Lindroth, Alexandra	1865	1883	1890 (25)	Pohja / Turku	Maid
Lindström, Emelie	1847	1888	1888 (41)	Sipoo / Helsinki	Seamstress
Nordin, C. August	?	?	1887 (?)	?	Missionary
Reutervall, Maria Amanda	1861	1882	1886 (25)	Naantali / Helsinki	Maid
Ruth, Anna Carolina	1828	1883	1886 (58)	Sipoo	Businessman's widow
Winqvist, Alexander	1848	1886	1888 (40)	Helsinki	Carpenter

This is a clear contrast to general emigration from Finland to America, which included both Finnish- and Swedish-speakers. The time span between baptism and emigration ranges from seven months (Emelie Lindström) to seven years (Alexandra Lindroth). The reason for this difference is difficult to ascertain, but nevertheless it shows that emigration to Utah was for the emigrants not something that occurred after a given time spent as a Latter-day Saint. Rather, for some it occurred sooner with less experience of Mormon customs and doctrines, whereas for others it took longer and implied a deepened awareness of their new faith's meaning as the years before emigration passed.

Comparisons to general emigration from Finland to the United States provide some items of interest. However, it is imperative to point out that the sample of Mormon emigrants from Finland is very small. It is thus not advisable nor meaningful to assign any statistical significance to comparisons concerning, for instance, the socio-economic or age composition or geographical distribution of the Mormon emigrant group on the one hand and Finnish emigrants to the United States generally on the other. A number of reasons may lie behind the differences, but with the data currently available it is difficult to do more than note the similarities and differences.

Considering the adults, seven (70%) of the Mormon emigrants were women and three (30%) were men. If the children are included, eight were female and six were male, corresponding to 57.1% and 42.9%, respectively. This deviates from the gender distribution of general emigration to the United States from Finland. Kero reports that men constituted 73.7% and 75.6% of the emigrants during the years 1880–1884 and 1885–1889, respectively. He also indicates that between 1869 and 1914 as a whole, men made up nearly 65% of the total, somewhat more than they did in the other Nordic countries.¹⁰³⁵ On the other hand, the larger portion of women is more in line with Mormon emigration, as Mulder's study found that 53.5% of Scandinavian Mormon emigrants were female.¹⁰³⁶

The ages of the emigrants, as far as they are known and discounting children, ranged between 25 and 58. The average age of the adults (excluding Nordin) was 38.4 years, and if one includes the children,

¹⁰³⁵ Reino Kero, *Migration from Finland to North America in the Years Between the United States Civil War and the First World War* (Turku: Turun yliopisto, 1974), pp. 91–93.

¹⁰³⁶ Mulder, *Homeward to Zion*, p. 109.

the average was 28.7. According to Kero, most of the general emigrants were between 15 and 34 years of age, with the average age (including children) in 1882 being about 27.¹⁰³⁷ This would indicate that the Mormon emigrants and the general emigrants had a similar age composition. However, such a direct comparison is misleading due to the small size of the Mormon group. When looking at general emigration in 1882, children aged 0–14 made up under 10% of all emigrants. For the Mormons, however, the children make up about 30% of the entire group, thus skewing the overall age average downward. In general it thus seems that the Mormon emigrants were older than the general emigrants, although the small number of Mormons does not permit a definite conclusion.

It is also noteworthy that the geographical distribution of the Mormon emigrants is diametrically opposite to that of the general emigrants.¹⁰³⁸ All but one of the Mormon emigrants lived in southern Finland, a generally low-volume emigrant area. This is also where most Mormon converts were made and may partly explain the difference. None of the Mormon emigrants lived in the west coast area of Ostrobothnia (only one grew up there), otherwise the most high-volume area of emigration and an area where the Mormons made the converts through which the church's presence was perpetuated into post-war times.

What was the extent of Mormon emigration from Finland as contrasted against such emigration from the other Nordic countries? As noted in Chapter 4, the nineteenth century yielded a total of at least 78 converts to Mormonism in Finland. Seven emigrants (discounting the Blom family and Maria Reutervall who was baptized in Sweden) thus correspond to 9% of all converts moving to Utah. The figures for Sweden, Norway, and Denmark up to 1900 are approximately 43%, 41%, and 52%, respectively.¹⁰³⁹ The difference is rather large and raises the question of what caused it. At the same time, a caveat about the low number of Finnish Mormons is again prudent and advises against affixing too much significance to the difference.

¹⁰³⁷ Kero, *Suureen länteen*, pp. 105–106 and Kero, *Migration from Finland to North America*, pp. 113–115.

¹⁰³⁸ Kero, *Suureen länteen*, pp. 56–59.

¹⁰³⁹ Calculated based on the data in Jenson, *History of the Scandinavian Mission*, pp. 534–536.

Several dynamics were probably at play. It is likely that one major reason lies in the conditions that Mormons in Finland lived in. They were scattered around the country in very small groups, whereas Denmark, Norway, and Sweden sported functioning branches and numerous missionaries. These branches naturally served as places where the principle of gathering was preached and where desires for emigration were mutually reinforced. In Kristiania, Norway, for example, it was reported that a group of Mormons who had been members of the church for about 30 years wished to be "able to leave these troubled places and come home to Zion, to receive greater blessings there, before they ... enter death's gate." Such converts "longed for liberation."¹⁰⁴⁰ In Stockholm, Sweden, many seasoned Mormons had an inner wish "to see the day when they can say farewell to their native land and go to the land of Joseph's inheritance."¹⁰⁴¹

The scattered Mormons in Finland were mostly not able to experience such social cohesion, integration, and mutual reinforcement of excitement and longings for Zion that eventually turned into mobilization and action. Their Mormonism tended to be one of isolation and few contacts, not one of collegiality, socialization, and functioning branches. Thus the urge to emigrate may never have become prevalent among the scattered membership. One or two traveling missionaries, covering the entire vast country, were simply not able to create a sufficient vision among the members. Only a single tier of members felt sufficiently strongly about the matter that they decided to leave behind their native land and embark on the adventure.

Another major reason may be that there were no examples to follow. There were hardly any Mormons who emigrated to Utah from Finland and who then could have written letters back to his or her fellow Saints in Finland, urging them to come too. And even if some did emigrate as seen above, they did not know many of the others who were left behind in Finland. Thus, to live alone as a Mormon in Finland with a minimal social support system was hard enough, but to have to leave everything behind, again with minimal support, and

¹⁰⁴⁰ Letter of H.J. Christensen, 27 July 1885, reprinted in "Utdrag ur korrespondens," *Nordstjernen*, vol. 9, no. 16 (15 August 1885), p. 254. H.J. Christiansen to N.C. Flygare, 14 July 1886, reprinted in "Korrespondens," *Nordstjernen*, vol. 10, no. 15 (1 August 1886), p. 235.

¹⁰⁴¹ Math. Nilson to K. Peterson, 28 November 1872, reprinted in "Korrespondance," *Skandinaviens Stjerne*, vol. 22, no. 6 (15 December 1872), p. 94.

embark on an adventure due to one's new faith may have simply been too much. This is not the case for the other Nordic countries, where the Saints had an encouraging support system grounded in real-life emigration experience by their Mormon compatriots. These individuals received word from their trusted friends that everything was alright in the new world, and thus the threshold for leaving was substantially lowered.

A third reason may be a lack of means. The general socio-economic composition of the Finnish Mormon convert group is not known, and thus this possibility cannot be argued from extant data. Contemporary evidence from the other Nordic countries suggests it, however. The above-mentioned Saints in Kristiania, for example, asked their ecclesiastical leader "to notify them if there was any way opened for the poor."¹⁰⁴² Many Mormons from Stockholm wanted to emigrate before they became too old, but those who converted to Mormonism were often poor. Speaking perhaps partly of the same Mormons, the same leader had reported earlier that "prospects right now are not very promising for them."

The Perpetual Emigrating Fund was not always a realistic source of help either, especially after it was dissolved by the United States government in 1887. A missionary in Iceland reported in 1888 that almost all of the 34 Mormons in the country wanted to "travel to the place the Lord has prepared for his faithful; but as they are for the most part poor, they cannot get this wish fulfilled without help."¹⁰⁴³ Thousands belonging to the general population were emigrating from Finland at the time, but this does not mean that the Mormons would be a general cross-section of the population and that they would have similarly been excited to emigrate. A large part of the population was poor and did not see emigration as a real possibility; this may hold true also for many of the Mormons in Finland. Kero comments that in the 1870s and early 1880s, the early years of general emigration from Finland to America, it was more difficult for Finns to bear the financial burden of emigration than it was later. Thus it was mostly farmers, their chil-

¹⁰⁴² H.J. Christiansen to N.C. Flygare, 14 July 1886, p. 235.

¹⁰⁴³ Math. Nilson to C.G. Larsen, 19 September 1873, reprinted in "Korrespondance," *Skandinaviens Stjerne*, vol. 23, no. 3 (1 November 1873), pp. 42–43. Math. Nilson to K. Peterson, 28 November 1872, p. 94. Haldur Johnson to N.C. Flygare, 30 November 1887, reprinted in "Uddrag af korrespondens," *Nordstjernen*, vol. 12, no. 2 (15 January 1888), p. 28.

dren, and the most affluent crofters who could afford the journey; for the crofters' children, hired hands, etc., it was difficult to raise the means for transatlantic travel.¹⁰⁴⁴

7.4. Societal Reactions

Reactions to general emigration from Finland to the United States were at first highly negative, becoming more understanding as time went by. After initial anti-emigration propaganda by the Senate in the 1870s, for example, official reactions toward emigration became somewhat more permissive and the government a more passive bystander. During the 1880s and the 1890s there was also generally more understanding for and acknowledgement of the reasons that some left, namely increased prosperity on the other side of the Atlantic. This was especially clear among publications of the working class. Over time, attitudes also generally became more permissive.¹⁰⁴⁵

The popular opinion voiced especially by some newspapers and priests was still very often against emigration, however. For example, according to Hujanen and Koironen, the large newspaper *Uusi Suometar* was predominantly against emigration during the 1880s, with also *Wasabladet* displaying a similar, if muted, attitude.¹⁰⁴⁶ To some extent this continued into the 1890s at least in *Uusi Suometar*. Exemplifying many of the arguments presented against emigration through the years, penname "Y" wrote to the newspaper about how people

... should stay in the calling into which providence has put them, seek to improve the circumstances and work with doubled zeal to create a brighter future for the rising generations. ... The refugees [i.e., the emigrants] are thus morally in the same position as those strong men, who in a fire or shipwreck wretchedly save their own lives, leaving the elderly, women, and children to drown.¹⁰⁴⁷

In the popular opinion, emigration was thus often seen as the betrayal of the land of one's fathers, escaping the sacred obligations of

¹⁰⁴⁴ Kero, *Suureen länteen*, p. 109.

¹⁰⁴⁵ Kero, *Suureen länteen*, pp. 113–122.

¹⁰⁴⁶ Taisto Hujanen and Kimmo Koironen, *Siirtolaisuus suomalaisissa sanomalehdissä vuosina 1880–1939 ja 1945–1984* (Turku: Siirtolaisinstituutti, 1990), pp. 77–78.

¹⁰⁴⁷ "Siirtolaisuudesta vieläkin," *Uusi Suometar*, 27 June 1899, p. 2.

nation-building that one had towards future generations and one's own people. On another note, some were simply thought to have fallen victim to their delusions concerning the grandeur of American life and the general belief concerning greener grass elsewhere. Even Utah could be used as an example of such misguided actions. *Wasa Tidning* reported in September 1885 how nine non-Mormons from Ostrobothnia had auctioned their possessions to raise travel money to Utah. Their reason for leaving? "They had been enticed ... through letters with glowing imagery of 'gold and green forests'."¹⁰⁴⁸

On the other hand, Finnish newspapers could also report on compatriots traveling in, residing in, or emigrating to Utah, without any implicit criticism, thus displaying the divided attitudes towards emigration. In 1882, for example, several newspapers reported matter-of-factly that a Finnish tailor and a carpenter (assumedly non-Mormons) were emigrating after having received a letter from a friend in "the land of the Mormons" who was "doing well and things were excellent."¹⁰⁴⁹

When it came to the Mormon variant of emigration to the United States, opinions in Finland were often negative. The stated reasons were different than in the case of general emigration, however. The following analysis will be divided into two parts: First, discussions of Mormon emigration at the origin, namely the emigrants, the missionaries who enticed them to emigrate, and giving examples of situations that paint the decision to emigrate in a very negative light. Second, discussions of the fate of these emigrants when they arrive in Utah, depictions of the hardships they would face, and laments concerning the disappointments that would be caused by unfulfilled expectations.

As a further prefatory note, most of the societal reactions discussed below are simply a newspaper mirroring of what was being written in other countries and not a direct response to Mormon emigration from Finland in particular; this is a natural consequence of the very limited extent of the Mormon emigration phenomenon in Finland. While not a direct response to the Finnish situation, these public responses still contributed to how the reasons for and consequences of Mormon

¹⁰⁴⁸ "Lappfjärdsboar på långresa," *Wasa Tidning*, 4 September 1885, pp. 2–3.

¹⁰⁴⁹ "Emigranter," *Östra Finland*, supplement, 15 September 1882, p. 1. For letters concerning Finns living in or visiting Utah, see for example "Korrespondens från Österbotten," *Hufvudstadsbladet*, 15 January 1874, p. 7 and 17 September 1874, p. 7, and "Bref till Morgonbladet," *Morgonbladet*, 28 October 1874, p. 1.

emigration came to be understood by the general population. As such they also contributed to the atmosphere that emigrating Mormons in Finland lived in and are thus essential to understand. A few examples are also given of the specific response to the emigration of Mormons from Finland.

The general emigration criticism of not loving one's native land enough could also be applied to those leaving for religious reasons. In 1883, for example, the newspaper *Folkvännen* reported that a number of Finns had emigrated to the religiously more free United States due to not being happy with the Lutheran church's authority in Finland. Included in this number were some Baptists, Methodists, Laestadians, but according to the writer also Mormons. There was doubt that these "half-crazy dreamers" felt any longing for their native land, and neither does it appear that the writer hoped they would. They had turned their backs, "one may with grounds hope, for all time."¹⁰⁵⁰

Again displaying the divided attitudes, however, were other writers. One commended the Mormon emigrants for their "mildness, hospitality, love of native country, endurance, and faithfulness." Indeed, some writers felt that the individual emigrating Mormons were not to blame for their decision to leave. They were the "poor misled victims of Mormonism's curse," whose departure "one cannot regret too much." The blame was instead laid at the feet of the system of Mormonism and in particular the missionaries, the "contemptible seducer[s]" whose "slithery tongues" had "lured" the converts.¹⁰⁵¹

Such shifting of responsibility from individual to institution is shown throughout this section. Not coincidentally, it is a pattern evident also in modern activities that are geared against new religious movements. According to Cowan, a central view among anticult activists is that a religious group compromises "the cognitive ability of the potential recruit" during the conversion process. This compromise becomes more pronounced during the secondary socialization provided by the group, and thus the individual's "capacity to make ra-

¹⁰⁵⁰ "Om utvandringen och dess förnämsta orsaker," *Folkvännen*, 14 February 1883, p. 1. As was shown in Table 7.1, only one Finnish Mormon is known to have emigrated to Utah by 1883.

¹⁰⁵¹ "Mormonismen och den skandinaviska emigrationen," *Björneborgs Tidning*, 3 August 1881, p. 3, "Mormonerna," *Ulleåborgs Tidning*, 5 July 1877, p. 3, and "48 mormonismen kannattajaa," *Maamme*, 3 June 1890, p. 2.

tional, informed decisions" is no longer what it used to be.¹⁰⁵² As it is sometimes expressed in modern anticult discourse, the individuals had been brainwashed. From such a viewpoint, it becomes natural and rational to free them from the responsibility tied to their decisions. After all, if they can no longer make rational decisions, the guilt must lie with the party that took away that ability.

In many countries Mormon emigrants were seen as uneducated individuals of the lower social classes, with the missionaries taking cunning advantage of their new converts. This made the activities of the Mormon missionaries especially reprehensible in the public mind. Educated persons making their emigration decisions based on fraudulent religious premises were one thing, but deceiving the poor was another completely, and produced calls for action. When the Finnish Mormons Hedvig Johansdotter, Emelie Lindström, and Alexander Winqvist emigrated to Utah in 1888, for example, the newspaper *Finland* reacted strongly. The writer described how the resident Mormon missionary Leonard Nyberg did not spare "beautiful notions to catch his victims." Were the authorities thus not going to do anything "to prevent unskilled and ignorant people from becoming victims" to the Mormons?¹⁰⁵³ The plea was repeated in several other newspapers that reprinted parts of *Finland's* story.¹⁰⁵⁴ It is not known, however, that Finnish authorities would have ever taken steps to stop Finnish Mormons from emigrating, and thus the official governmental reaction to such emigration was in a sense non-existent.

In contrast, some thought that the Mormon missionaries checked the backgrounds of their prospective converts before engaging in proselytizing, looking mostly for those with material wealth: "that is the reason that only few with little means come to the Mormon state."¹⁰⁵⁵ And thus when Anna Ruth left for Utah, the missionary Lars

¹⁰⁵² Douglas E. Cowan, *Bearing False Witness? An Introduction to the Christian Counter-cult* (Westport: Praeger, 2003), p. 16.

¹⁰⁵³ "Mormoner i Helsingfors," *Finland*, 20 September 1888, p. 3. On the theme of seduction, see also "42 nuorta naista," *Aamulehti*, 26 November 1890, p. 3.

¹⁰⁵⁴ See for example "Mormoneja Helsingissä," *Uusi Suometar*, 21 September 1888, p. 3 and "Mormoneja Helsingissä," *Sanomia Turusta*, 24 September 1888, p. 2. In contrast, some newspapers that reprinted parts of the story dropped the plea from the text. See for example "Mormoneja Helsingissä," *Päivän Uutiset*, 21 September 1888, p. 2 and "Mormoner i Helsingfors," *Wiborgsbladet*, 22 September 1888, p. 2.

¹⁰⁵⁵ "Ett mormonsällskap," *Helsingfors*, 4 August 1882, p. 3.

Swalberg was said to have made "quite a passable catch, as the old woman owns a pretty capital," and she would be welcome in Zion because of it.¹⁰⁵⁶ The motives attributed to the missionaries were thus sometimes mutually contradictory. However, this very contradiction implies a general distrust towards the Mormon missionaries: while contradictory, the motives are at any rate negative and subversive.

As one additional strand in shifting the moral blame from the emigrant to the missionary, the proselyters could be seen as seeking their own financial betterment at the expense of their converts. This happened by them allegedly participating in pro-emigration business activities: "In addition to the spiritual sowing they work with recruiting emigrants for the benefit of the transatlantic steamship companies," informed *Folkvännen* in 1883. Presumably such recruiting would have also included remunerations to the missionaries. Later the same year, Lars Swalberg was said to function also as an emigration agent for the Guion Line.¹⁰⁵⁷

The emigration situations were occasionally portrayed in a light that aroused negative feelings. The emigrants sometimes left part of their families behind, sometimes not departing on good terms. In 1864, for instance, it was reported how a man in Jönköping, Sweden, had "mistake[n himself] in the choice of a life companion." His wife converted to Mormonism, and eventually she and their daughter secretly agreed with a missionary that they would emigrate to Utah. The man knew nothing of it until a clergyman informed him that his daughter had not turned up for a lesson and had apparently left for Utah. Distraught, the man alerted the authorities but it was already too late. Not even a telegram to the eventual departure city of Göteborg could stop the unfolding situation.¹⁰⁵⁸ When Alexander Winqvist left Finland in 1888, he left behind his wife Erika. As the newspapers reported, "the wife is to have been compelled to give her agreement to the divorce," although it is not known to what extent this is correct.¹⁰⁵⁹

¹⁰⁵⁶ "Ett och annat från Sibbo," *Hufvudstadsbladet*, 20 June 1886, p. 2.

¹⁰⁵⁷ "65 mormonapostlar," *Folkvännen*, 10 May 1883, p. 2. "En mormonapostel," *Folkvännen*, 21 November 1883, p. 1.

¹⁰⁵⁸ "Mormonrörelsen i Sverige," *Helsingfors Dagblad*, 30 April 1864, p. 2. "Ruotsista," *Suometar*, 30 April 1864, p. 1. Later it was even alleged that Mormon missionaries in Switzerland tried to send children to Utah without their parents, partly because it was cheaper to emigrate minors; see "Mormonerna i Schweiz," *Åbo Underrättelser*, 19 September 1887, p. 2 and 19 July 1890, p. 2.

¹⁰⁵⁹ "Mormoner i Helsingfors," *Finland*, 20 September 1888, p. 3.

Undoubtedly many of the stories in this genre are true at least in part, however, although they contain only one party's viewpoint. Emigration, whether by Mormons or others, was not always a happy occasion, but also involved heartbreak. In the Mormon case, however, it was the allegedly fraudulent premise of the endeavor that made it doubly as serious. This is what could make opposition to Mormonism especially deep: it was not simply about believing certain doctrines regarding the afterlife, but rather it could involve profound actions, life changes, and alterations in family relationships that the non-Mormon party viewed as being grounded in deception. Thus, in a sense, the doctrine of gathering and the resulting practice of emigration was one of the most radical tenets of Mormonism due to its upsetting the societal status quo more than religious activity on average. Consequently and in conjunction with plural marriage, emigration contributed to making Mormonism a religious movement that experienced high tension with the rest of society.

Moving now to reactions centering around Utah as the final destination of the emigrants, the reactions were again varied, while mostly negative. A central theme was one in which the idealistic and excited Mormon emigrants finally realize that their expectations will not be fulfilled, that they "will come to understand, although too late, that they have been deceived in the most disgraceful way."¹⁰⁶⁰ For those viewing events from this frame of reference, the emigrants essentially became slaves to the system that had deceived them and caused them to leave their native lands behind. Again, a central technique was to remove the emigrant from the blame equation as someone who did not know better. The expectations were caused by deceptive explanations of Utah's Zion, as Mormon missionaries "painted life at the Salt Lake with the most enticing colors."¹⁰⁶¹ In Utah, "like everywhere in America, fried sparrows fly into one's mouth."¹⁰⁶²

¹⁰⁶⁰ "Mormonismen och den skandinaviska emigrationen," *Björneborgs Tidning*, 3 August 1881, p. 3.

¹⁰⁶¹ "Hungersnöden på Island," *Östra Finland*, 11 October 1882, supplement, p. 2.

¹⁰⁶² "En mormonkonferens i Stockholm," *Wiborgsbladet*, 31 October 1882, p. 3.



Figure 7.1. In the popular imagination, Mormon missionaries seduced European women in order to add them to polygamous harems in Utah. This artist's rendering appeared in the *American Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* on December 15, 1883.

This theme was brought up even in an 1881 review of the Lutheran church's condition and relations to other religious movements in Finland. The Mormon question surfaced in a discussion of foreign preachers and dissenters in the country, and although no Mormons are known to have emigrated by then, the fearful theme is clearly present: "How little the people in general have been able to 'search the spirit' is shown by the fact that, even this year, many persons have listened to preachers of the Mormonite sect and have followed them into slavery of the 'last day saints' in the Mormon city."¹⁰⁶³ Similarly, when reports of Mormon missionary activity around Vaasa arrived in late 1881, the newspaper *Helsingfors* saw fit to mediate an opinion on the fate awaiting those falling prey to the missionaries:

Among the 4,000 to 5,000 Scandinavian Mormons who live in Salt Lake City, I met many who admitted they were disappointed in their hopes concerning "Zion," while others, especially women, with tears in their eyes spoke of their home on the other side of the ocean ... They are here involved in the worst slavery imaginable – slavery under fanaticism and unskillfulness and slavery under a gang of crooks, thieves, and murderers ... [In the temple] they are initiated into the gloominess of plural marriage and human sacrifices ("bloodatonement") [sic] and come out thus "initiated."¹⁰⁶⁴

What exactly was seen as causing this depicted white slavery and what did it consist of? At least partly, the situation appears to have revolved around the monetary loan given by the Perpetual Emigrating Fund to some emigrants and their relative poverty. In other words, the converts were first enticed to emigrate, but once arrived in the new Mormon society, they were bound down with the difficult obligation to repay their loan. The newspaper *Uusi Suometar* summarized this view in the following manner: "Those that move away usually end up in the 'Zion' on the other side of the Atlantic in the manner that they are enticed to borrow money from a help fund in Utah, where things are handled so that they scarcely ever are able to pay back their debt, but rather walk around there as slaves for their entire lives."¹⁰⁶⁵

¹⁰⁶³ "Turusta. Wuosi 1881. Kirkko," *Sanomia Turusta*, 3 January 1882, p. 1.

¹⁰⁶⁴ "Mormonismen," *Helsingfors*, 2 December 1881, pp. 3–4.

¹⁰⁶⁵ "Mormonilaisuus Skandinawiassa," *Uusi Suometar*, 26 November 1879, p. 2.

Furthermore, women and children were often singled out in these criticisms of white slavery as slaves not only of a theocratic religious system, but also of a polygamous and patriarchal society. Again, examples were used to illustrate the situation. In 1879, for instance, it was reported that a young Swiss woman had emigrated to Utah, but when she had rejected the polygamous marriage proposal of the missionary who had converted her, he became furious. Her situation was difficult and she wrote home to Switzerland, asking that others might “for God’s sake free her from her slavery.” Accordingly, the Swiss general consul in Washington was going to take action to “free [her] from the Mormons’ hands.”¹⁰⁶⁶ Some years later, it was reported how a Danish Mormon missionary had seduced 42 young women to emigrate to Utah. They, however, were apparently willingly embracing polygamy.¹⁰⁶⁷ And after referring to the abuse of Mormon women, a letter writer “seriously warns people of both sexes in the Nordic countries from letting themselves be seduced into misery by Mormon agents.”¹⁰⁶⁸

Sensationalistic reports such as these naturally resulted in a felt need to educate the population concerning the dangers of converting to Mormonism and emigrating to Utah. In that manner, the problem could be remedied already at its core, by persuading people not to leave their native land in the first place. As discussed above in the case of Hedvig Johansdotter, however, such persuasion was not always successful, not even in the case of personal discussions and visits. For some the gloomy depictions of Utah probably raised questions concerning their authenticity and suspicions of them being exaggerated. As one visitor to Utah later commented, “after having been crammed with the most unbelievable fables about the Mormons” one would expect to find extraordinary things in Utah, but all was quite normal instead.¹⁰⁶⁹ Thus the hysteria may in some cases have worked against the purposes for which it appeared.

¹⁰⁶⁶ “Från mormonernas land,” *Åbo Underrättelser*, 13 December 1879, p. 3. Occasionally, it would be reported that some Mormons were leaving Utah to return to their homelands, even in large numbers. See for example “Mormonåtervandring,” *Åbo Underrättelser*, 12 August 1873, p. 2.

¹⁰⁶⁷ “42 nuorta naista,” *Aamulehti*, 26 November 1890, p. 3.

¹⁰⁶⁸ “Till mormonlandet Utah,” *Norra Posten*, 19 July 1883, p. 4.

¹⁰⁶⁹ “Bland mormonerne,” *Finland*, 29 January 1889, p. 4.

Nevertheless, warnings were published. Sometimes newspapers specifically explained that they were publishing an exposé of Mormonism in order to prevent people from emigrating. The newspaper *Nya Pressen*, for example, prefaced an article by saying that it wanted it to “warn simple persons who are prepared to go to Utah” before it is too late.¹⁰⁷⁰ In 1888, *Wasabladet* reported that a Mormon missionary had appeared in the Vaasa area, and thus the public was referred to critical articles that the paper had published only a month previously. Being the writings of American pastor M.W. Montgomery specifically for Scandinavians, they had been published widely and, in *Wasabladet*, were titled simply “Warning to emigrants.”¹⁰⁷¹

Some organizations with connections to Scandinavia set up Lutheran missions to Utah, endeavoring to work among Mormon emigrants from those countries. The aim was not to have them return to their homelands but to deconvert them from Mormonism and reconvert them to Protestant Christianity, if possible. It is not known that any Finnish organizations would have been set up for a similar purpose, perhaps due to the small extent of Mormon emigration from Finland.

However, Finnish non-Mormon emigrants to the United States were seen as potential converts to Mormonism by society more generally. After detailing conditions in Salt Lake City through a letter, one writer hoped that “the Lord God would protect ... especially our Finnish emigrants in America so they would not be ingratiated in Mormonism’s perversions.”¹⁰⁷² These were most likely the words of Johannes Bäck, the editor of the newspaper in question and the Lutheran clergyman who had confronted Mormonism in Vaasa and surroundings five years earlier (see Chapter 5).

The reactions discussed in this section show that the general themes of deception, seduction, slavery, and profiteering were present in the Finnish discourse and image construction related to the emigration activities of the Mormons, sometimes even before emigration from Finland had actually occurred. Compared to criticisms against general emigration from Finland to Utah, it was not so often the indi-

¹⁰⁷⁰ “Bidrag till mormonismens historia,” *Nya Pressen*, 27 October 1884, p. 4.

¹⁰⁷¹ “En mormonpredikant,” *Wasabladet*, 13 June 1888, p. 2. Selections of Montgomery’s longer text were published in the newspaper as “Warning till emigranter. Mormonismens styggelser blottade,” 16 and 26 May, both on p. 3.

¹⁰⁷² “Om mormonismen,” *Mellersta Österbotten*, 15 December 1881, p. 3.

viduals who were blamed for falling prey to their hopes about a better future elsewhere. Rather the culprit was the Mormon organization that had clouded the formerly sound judgment of the new converts (“victims”) and deprived them of life’s goodness: “How many noble seeds of Christianity has not the awful Mormonism suffocated, while robbing the deceived of native country, family happiness, and other precious gifts!”¹⁰⁷³

7.5. Discussion and Summary

For the Mormons, emigration to Utah signaled an end to diaspora. It was a divinely mandated practice, calculated to transform the new convert from Babylon into a true Saint in Zion. At the point of emigration, it can be said that the converts’ religious identity took precedence over their nationality. Emigration was to them a vehicle for the gathering home of a scattered people of God, who had been brought to a remembrance of their true heritage. While it has been debated whether the Mormons can be seen as an ethnic group, it is clear that especially in Utah they became a tightly knit people with a shared sense of sacred history and destiny. They had been gathered from the wicked world and could build Zion as one people with unified goals. In numerical terms, the emigration experiment was highly successful for the church.

As a consequence of the practice to emigrate, it does not seem to have been a goal to establish strong local congregations abroad, but rather to “harvest the crop” and send it home. This is in stark contrast to religious missionizing more generally. The gathering policy was reversed in the late 1800s and the early 1900s, when the church encouraged Mormons to stay in their homelands and to build up congregations there.¹⁰⁷⁴ Indeed, the church in the nineteenth century never operated on a truly independent or established basis in countries outside the United States, including Finland. Rather, it adhered to a colonial model where operations were led by directives from the centerplace and where the colonies were not to become stronger than the centerplace or independent from it.

Considering that only fourteen individuals became Mormon emigrants from Finland, emigration is clearly a minor part of the early

¹⁰⁷³ “En tidsbetragtelse. II,” *Finland*, 19 November 1886, p. 3.

¹⁰⁷⁴ Arrington and Bitton, *The Mormon Experience*, p. 140.

Mormon experience in Finland. Nevertheless it is essential not to overlook it. It is important to hold up when seeking to contextualize Mormonism in Finland with the faith's emigration-rich history in the rest of Scandinavia. The contrast that emerges between the other Nordic countries and Finland is noteworthy. In addition, because of its widespread nature, emigration along with its reasons, practices, and consequences was a central theme in the image formation of Mormonism among the general public. Newspapers dealt with the phenomenon, often in negative terms, warning people against embarking on such a path. Mormon emigration is also one additional reason to keep in mind when charting emigration from Finland historically. Due to the common emphasis on socio-economic and other factors behind emigration, it is easy to bypass the matter of religion in a culturally rather homogenous country. The fact that some Finnish individuals have left their homeland chiefly because of their faith, to thus put an end to their personal diaspora by "going home," is something not often encountered.

From the Mormon point of view, Zion was the antithesis of the wicked world that was corrupted by worldly churches and other institutions. Such a contrasting view was planted into converts already in their homelands, and thus upon arrival in Zion they were predisposed to see it as a haven of bliss guided by righteous leaders. The Mormons had abandoned other versions of reality and saw them as conflicting against their own reified version, although for example most Finns would not have seen so much fundamentally wrong with Finnish society in the religious sense.

Indeed, from the social constructionist point of view, Zion was the Mormon version of reality. Reality-making was there guided by the tenets of Mormonism and its institutions, not those of Lutheranism or some other ideology. If the primary socialization of children in Finland entailed the internalization of a Lutheran worldview and a view of Mormonism as something negative, the situation in Zion was the opposite. There the divinely mandated view could be internalized from birth, instead of an individual having to be converted to it later in life. Children were brought up believing that Mormonism was the divinely mandated religion, with a duty to convert the misguided peoples of the world. To them the Mormon worldview came to have, citing Burr, "a kind of factual existence or truth ... issuing from the nature of the world itself rather than [being] dependent upon the con-

structive work and interactions of human beings,"¹⁰⁷⁵ just as other worldviews did in other societies.

Instead of being a human society imbued with Lutheranism as discussed in Chapter 2, Zion was thus a human society imbued with the doctrines and institutions of Mormonism. For a convert who took Mormonism seriously and had the means, emigration to Zion was thus the rational thing to do. Zion offered unparalleled religious community and closeness to divinely appointed and inspired church leaders. Furthermore, sociocultural tension due to conversion could be averted by leaving. Compared to struggling in one's homeland with little religious community, emigration to Zion was a potent religious reward to the faithful.

¹⁰⁷⁵ Vivien Burr, *An Introduction to Social Constructionism* (London: Routledge, 1995), p. 10.

8. Conclusion

The introduction defined the purpose of this study as a search for answers to three principal questions:

1. What did Mormon activity in Finland entail during this time?
2. How did various societal actors react to Mormon activity?
3. How can these actions be understood in light of sociological theory?

Based on the theoretical framework and the contextualizing Chapters 1 and 2, each of the research Chapters 3–7 have contributed with answers to these questions. As a conclusion, I now draw together the results.

First, what did Mormon activity in Finland entail during the time period of study, 1840–1900? Although there were visits to Finland by Mormons in the 1860s, no official proselytizing activity is known to have taken place before the end of 1875. From that time up to 1900, Mormonism was introduced by twenty-five missionaries who worked in Finland from a few weeks up to two years. In accordance with Mormon custom, they were not theologically trained and many of them were recent converts themselves. Most of the missionaries were Swedish natives, although at least two were Finnish natives. The missionaries worked mostly in the Swedish-speaking coastal areas, functioning as proselytizers by spreading the Mormon message through tracts and preaching while also taking care of pastoral duties by visiting the converts that had been made. The balance between these tasks varied for each missionary.

The exact number of converts is not known for certain, but 78 baptisms can be confirmed as having taken place between 1876 and 1900. Most of the baptisms took place in southern Finland in areas such as Pohja, Porvoo, and Sipoo, but the general areas of Vaasa and Pietarsaari on the west coast also played an important role. As has been shown particularly in the case of Pohja, existing social networks were important in how the movement spread and gained new members. About 60% of the members were related to at least one other Mormon. About one-third of the converts were later excommunicated from the church, for reasons such as adultery or a lack of faith in Mormonism. The members belonged to the Finland branch of the Stockholm con-

ference, meaning that all Mormon work in Finland was ecclesiastically led from Sweden. In general, the Mormon church in nineteenth-century Finland was a Swedish-language church that did not really operate as a church or movement, but rather was present through more or less isolated pockets of members scattered around the country. The missionary effort failed to reach the Finnish-speaking majority population (over 85% of all Finns in 1880).

Like other Anglo-American new religious movements that entered Finland in the nineteenth century, Mormonism was an imported faith in all major facets; the missionaries generally came from abroad, and so did the literature. In stark contrast to for example the Baptists, however, the Mormon converts appear to mostly have been content with waiting for the next missionary and for the next issue of the church periodical. Thus instead of taking a proactive initiative to contact each other in other areas of the country, to proselytize, to write on the faith, and to thus create a growing network of Mormons in Finland, the members seem to have settled into a reactive role, accepting the status quo and adhering to their faith in their private or small group circumstances. Along with the more obvious reasons of legislative complications and the strongly negative image, this appears to be a third major reason that the Mormon movement did not take root in nineteenth-century Finland. In other words, the imported faith never outgrew its imported character. Furthermore, the membership did not succeed with transferring the faith to their children or succeeding generations more generally, pointing to a lack of primary and secondary socialization. Only one group of converts had a continued presence when a concerted missionary effort began after World War II.

Mormon missionaries to Finland entered a battlefield of reality-making: members of Finnish society tended to internalize a Lutheran worldview through primary socialization in their childhood, with new movements offering an alternative understanding of reality for their prospective converts. This understanding not only had to be plausible, but rather it also had to be accompanied by a sufficient number of benefits that offset the social and cultural costs coupled with conversion. For Mormonism, the benefits included doctrinal tenets such as modern revelation and self-identification as God's people of covenant. Included were also other benefits such as potential status in the movement through priesthood duties, and the possibility or even responsibility to emigrate to Utah, a utopia depicted as providing both spiritual and temporal prosperity. Unfortunately the dearth

of documents prevents a conclusion regarding the specific impetus for conversion among Finnish Mormons. However, it appears clear that once the Mormon version of reality had been accepted by the converts, it was mostly not sufficiently perpetuated or sustained. The small scale of the movement meant a lack of religious community, conversation, and secondary socialization, practices that are essential for the internalization and retention of a new self-identity. Coupled with the lack of missionaries, sociocultural tension, and a lack of zeal among the converts themselves, most scattered pockets of members eventually died out.

Second, how did various societal actors react to Mormon activity? In answering this question, societal actors were divided into four groups, namely those of civil authorities, Lutheran clergy, newspapers, and laypersons. It was quite common for civil authorities such as governors and sheriffs to interfere with the work of the missionaries. This could happen for example by ordering the missionaries to leave a certain area, by interrupting their preaching activities, or by confiscating their store of literature. Only one court trial is known to have taken place, where a Mormon layman from Sweden was sentenced for spreading the faith in the early 1880s. Lutheran clergy similarly tended to display a hostile attitude towards the missionaries and wanted them out of their parishes. They confronted the missionaries directly and warned their parishioners against listening to what they regarded as heresies. As shown especially in the case of Vaasa, the clergy could be quite bold in presenting their opinions against Mormon proselytizing and, if necessary, enlist the help of civil authorities in reaching their aim of ridding their parishes of Mormon influence.

Newspapers displayed great interest in the work of the missionaries. Their work was reported on frequently and mostly in a negative tone, sometimes with warnings to readers against listening to the missionaries' preaching. Such reports appeared not only in newspapers close to the area where the missionaries worked, but were often spread elsewhere by other newspapers that copied and reprinted the original reports. Laypersons displayed a variety of reactions. Some found the presence of Mormons interesting although disconcerting, as shown for example by the letters written to newspapers after such Mormon visits. Others were interested to the degree that they converted. Fourteen Mormons, eight of whom were Finns, emigrated from Finland to Utah to be with the main body of Mormons there in accordance with the church's teaching to "gather to Zion."

Finally, how can these actions be understood in light of sociological theory? As exemplified by the quotations presented under the chapter headings in this study, the Mormons saw their work altogether differently than did non-Mormons. Although the Finnish religious economy was strictly regulated in that legislation forbade Mormon proselytizing along with most other religious proselytizing, the missionaries were driven by a religious worldview that defined their faith as essential to the salvation of the entire world, of Christians and non-Christians alike. For them it was imperative to spread the Mormon message everywhere, even if the end had to justify the means as was the case in Finland. Neither did the missionaries shirk from what they saw as their responsibility when confronted with difficulties, seeing in such opposition the hand of Satan fighting the work of God that they were righteously seeking to advance. Due to a lack of sources, little is known concerning the reasons why Finnish individuals converted in response to the preaching of these missionaries. It may be surmised that many simply became convinced of the authenticity of the Mormon message, feeling that they had found the religious group that they should unite with. In forming such a conviction, the prior conversions of others in their social network could be important.

The strictly regulated nature of the religious economy explains the negative societal reaction to Mormon proselytizing in Finland only in part, although it is the most important reason that legitimized the actions of civil authorities. The negative reactions may be understood further by appropriating social science theory. The socially constructed image of Mormonism was saturated with accusations of fraud and deception being practiced by Mormon leaders and missionaries to lure unsuspecting victims. Combined with reports of licentious plural marriage and theocratic ambitions in Utah, such an image was spread through books and newspapers in Finland from 1840 onward, up to 35 years before the first Mormon missionaries arrived. Newspapers contained 3,460 items on the Mormons between 1840 and 1900, but although no literature specifically on the Mormons was printed in Finland, there was ample material to draw from. Preconditioned by such an image, civil authorities and clergy could easily appropriate the frameworks of anticultism and countercultism, respectively. They saw in Mormonism a movement that was strongly detrimental to society in both secular and spiritual terms, and sought to fight it accordingly with the means they had at their disposal. Contrary to Sweden, for example, no Mormon publications are known to

have been printed in Finland, and the few publications that became available did so through only a handful of missionaries, compared to hundreds who served in Sweden over the years. From Mormonism's perspective, the printed word thus mostly functioned as a tool of othering.

Due to the limited scale of the early Mormon presence in Finland, it is difficult to probe deeper into it as a research topic. Nevertheless, a number of angles may provide useful further information. One of the principal difficulties of this study was the lack of source material such as diaries or letters authored by the converts and the missionaries. As will be remembered, only one letter of a Finnish convert has been found, a handful of letters by these missionaries were reprinted in church periodicals, and three missionary diaries have been accessible. If and when located, the descendants of these individuals may have in their possession diaries and letters that contribute significant further nuance to the efforts of the missionaries and the life of the early Latter-day Saints in Finland.

Furthermore, the interaction between nineteenth-century Mormonism and its Finnish host society is a useful tool for learning more concerning religion-related attitudes in Finland and what it was about Mormonism in particular that was found to be attractive or repugnant. This theme has been analyzed to some extent in Chapter 3; such an analysis can be extended, and a comparative analysis including other new religious movements will provide further understanding. This would be especially helpful in further placing Mormonism among the social movements that Finnish society encountered at this time. In this connection, a comprehensive search of governmental and Lutheran ecclesiastical archive material should also be undertaken to expand the understanding of the societal interface of Mormonism in Russian-ruled Finland, now based on a limited amount of material and discussed in Chapter 5. The corpus of published texts could also be widened to include small tracts that were spread by revivalists; those have not been examined for Mormon-related content within the confines of this study.

The class composition of the Finnish membership should be analyzed further to understand the internal workings of the movement and to enable further comparison to other religious movements in nineteenth-century Finland. As discussed in Chapter 4, it appears that most converts came from the farming community or from the working classes. One may also undertake further study on the Mormon

emigrants from Finland as it concerns their post-emigration life. Some information in this direction was provided in Chapter 7, but for example contacts with their descendants and resulting new source material may provide entirely new vistas of knowledge and understanding. Did these emigrants keep in contact with their non-Mormon families and relatives in Finland or with other Finns in Utah, both Mormon and non-Mormon? How about contact and co-operation with other Scandinavians? Were the emigrants from Finland happy or disappointed with their new life in the American Zion?

In sum, the present study contributes by increasing the understanding of nineteenth-century religion in Finland, a field that has tended to be lacking in a treatment of the place of smaller foreign movements in an overwhelmingly Lutheran country. While exceptional neither in the level of resistance that it met nor the number of converts it made, Mormonism made a clear impact on the nation's religious canvas both through the physical presence of its members and missionaries and especially through images constructed by the printed word. Through conversions, emigration, and reports in newspapers, Mormonism diversified Finland's religious canvas earlier and in more ways than has been revealed by prior studies. It should thus join the ranks of movements such as the Adventists, Baptists, the Free Church, Methodists, and the Salvation Army when examining Anglo-American religious influences in nineteenth-century Finland.

The study also contributes to the body of knowledge concerning Mormonism's nineteenth-century presence in the Nordic countries, a field of study that has tended to neglect Finland due to the comparatively low level of Mormon activity in the country. Among these countries, the Russian Grand Duchy of Finland stands out due to its enforced legislation and the perils with which missionary work was constantly associated. In similarity to Iceland and in contrast to Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, the number of converts was never high nor did the leadership think the country to be of sufficient significance to assign a great number of missionaries there. Some Latter-day Saint converts from Finland emigrated to Utah similarly to their Nordic co-religionists who did so en masse, but most stayed behind. Keeping in touch with the converts in a meaningful way was difficult for the more mature church organization in Sweden, and no functioning church organization materialized in Finland. By the end of the study period, the handful of Finnish converts had mostly become forgotten Saints.

Svenskspråkig sammanfattning

Denna avhandling diskuterar mormonismens ankomst till Finland som en ny religiös rörelse under åren 1840–1900 genom att analysera hur den introducerades till landet och hurdana reaktioner denna introduktion förde med sig. Tidsperioden som avhandlingen behandlar börjar med den första tidningsartikeln om mormonismen och slutar med året efter vilket ingen mormonmissionär arbetade i Finland på över ett decennium.

Avhandlingen är teoretiskt förankrad i socialkonstruktivismen och modellen av en religiös ekonomi. Enligt socialkonstruktivismen baserar sig en människas förståelse av omvärlden och verkligheten inte bara på objektiva realiteter utan också på de socialt förmedlade värden, åsikter och förklarande ramverk som människan internaliserar under sin livstid. Denna förståelse har att göra med alla livsområden. Förståelsen förmedlas vidare till exempel genom språket (diskurser) och samhällets institutioner. Det skrivna ordets performativa roll som en verklighetsskapare anses i denna avhandling vara speciellt viktig.

Den religiösa ekonomin syftar på att ett samhälles religiösa fält fungerar till en viss mån med likadana principer som en finansiell ekonomi. Detta betyder att religiösa rörelser tävlar om nya anhängare med sin produkt, d.v.s. sin doktrin om verkligheten. Staten kan ge speciell status åt en eller flera rörelser, vilket var fallet med den lutherska kyrkans praktiska monopol i 1800-talets Finland. I en sådan situation försvåras tävlingen, eftersom de nya rörelserna inte kan värva anhängare utan att löpa risk för repressalier från statsmaktens sida. En sådan situation påverkar också den socialt konstruerade verkligheten: statskyrkan anses normativ medan nya rörelser anses vara något avvikande. Det kan då visa sig dyrt att konvertera till en ny rörelse, eftersom det kan leda till minskad social status och andra praktiska problem.

Mormonismen föddes i delstaten New York i Förenta Staterna genom Joseph Smiths teofanier på 1820-talet. Smith sade sig ha mottagit gudomliga visioner och kommunikationer som ledde till återupprättelsen av den kyrka som Jesus Kristus grundade men som senare hade mist myndigheten att verka i Guds namn. Kyrkan grundades officiellt år 1830 med namnet "Kristi kyrka" och kallades senare "Jesu Kristi Kyrka av Sista Dagars Heliga". Eftersom Smith ansåg att hans rörelse var den enda gudomligt godkända kyrkan, hade den skyldigheten att missionera för alla världens folk, alltså medlemmar i andra kristna

samfund medräknat. Viktigast från Finlands synpunkt var den skandinaviska missionen som påbörjades i Danmark år 1850 för att sedan sprida sig till de andra nordiska länderna.

Smiths kyrka skiljde sig från andra kristna kyrkor bl.a. genom läran om modern profetisk uppenbarelse i stil med Moses och andra bibliska profeter, nya heliga skrifter såsom *Mormons bok* (från vilken religionens smeknamn härstammar), läran om ett fysiskt Sion som samlingsplats för Guds folk och månggifte. På grund av dessa egenskaper ansåg många traditionella kristna att mormonismen inte var kompatibel med kristendomen. Det resulterade i gränsdragningar, och mormonismen var under en stor del av 1800-talet i svårigheter med sin omedelbara omgivning och den amerikanska staten. Detta hade naturligtvis sina följder också då missioneringsverksamheten spred sig till andra länder, bl.a. genom att den sociokulturella spänningen mellan kyrkan och samhället tenderade vara stark på alla missionsfält. Därför kunde det socialt talat vara "dyrt" att konvertera till mormonismen.

Finlands religiösa ekonomi diversifierades starkt på 1800-talet. En stor del av denna process utgjordes av väckelserörelserna som blev integrerade som en del av den lutherska kulturen. Man bör dock inte glömma de angloamerikanska nya religiösa rörelserna som gjorde sitt intåg till Finland under den andra halvan av seklet. Numeriskt talat var de inte betydelsefulla, men de innebar helt nya möjligheter för finländare att få utlopp för sina andliga behov. Bl.a. adventismen, baptismen, den frikyrkliga rörelsen, frälsningsarmén och metodismen tog rot i Finland under den tiden som diskuteras i denna avhandling. Situationen var dock svår på grund av den stränga religionsrelaterade lagstiftningen. Årets 1889 dissenterlag resulterade i att t.ex. baptisterna och metodisterna fick verka fritt i landet, men mormonerna var fortfarande utan sådana möjligheter.

Mormonismens ankomst till Finland som en religiös filosofi kan anses ha börjat genom den första tidningsartikeln som nämner mormonerna, i november 1840. Ur socialkonstruktivismens synpunkt är mormonismens behandling i det skrivna ordet en viktig del av processen som formade en offentlig bild av rörelsen. Enligt min analys av Nationalbibliotekets Historiska tidningsbibliotek nämndes eller diskuterades mormonerna 3460 gånger i finländska tidningar under åren 1840–1900. Dessutom behandlades mormonismen i tidskrifter och exklusivt i åtminstone tolv böcker. En diskursanalys av dessa texter visar på existensen av två motsatta diskurser. Den hegemoniska dis-

kursen tenderade förklara mormonismen inte som en religion utan som omoralisk svindleri (speciellt genom teokrati och månggifte i Utah) som försökte värva nya anhängare genom falska löften. Denna syn legitimerade negativa reaktioner mot rörelsen. Det fanns dock också en mycket sällsyntare motdiskurs som ifrågasatte kritiska utsagor och kunde uttrycka sin erkänsla för de goda saker som mormonerna fått till stånd genom att bygga sitt samhälle i Utah. Det är svårt att säga i vilken mån Finlands gemene man visste om mormonerna, men så vitt han hörde om mormonerna var det sannolikt i en negativ kontext.

Då de första mormonmissionärerna anlände till Finland år 1875 kom de in i ett samhälle som såg dem och deras rörelse som mycket kontroversiell. Under 1875–1900 arbetade sammanlagt 25 missionärer i landet, och deras arbete resulterade i åtminstone 78 konvertiter. En del av dessa levde ut sitt liv som trofasta kyrkomedlemmar, andra blev avfällingar, och en liten del emigrerade till mormonernas Sion i Utah. De flesta missionärer var svenskar till börden och missionerade mestadels bland den svenskspråkiga befolkningen i kustregionerna. Eftersom missioneringsverksamheten var olaglig råkade de ut för problem med myndigheterna och det lutherska prästerskapet. Missionärernas litteratur kunde beslagtagas och de kunde hotas med straff, och prästerna uttryckte sin oro över den andliga skada som de ansåg att missionärerna åstadkom genom sitt predikande. Det hände sig också att prästerna kontaktade myndigheterna för att slippa mormonmissionärerna på sin ort.

Ett viktigt fallstudium i avhandlingen diskuterar mormonismens manifestation i Pojo, Västra Nyland. Jämfört med alla andra orter där mormonismen verkade var rörelsen i Pojo i ganska stark interaktion med sin omgivning. Fallstudiet visar också på vikten av sociala nätverk i hur en ny religiös rörelse sprids. Den största delen av konvertiterna i Pojo var släkt med varandra, och den svenska trädgårdsmästaren som var rörelsens centrala figur kom in i de viktiga nätverken genom sin roll som arbetskamrat eller arbetsgivare, inte som religiös predikant. Fallstudiet visar också på den sociokulturella spänningen eftersom denna centrala figur hamnade i fängelse på grund av sin aktivitet.

Sammanfattningsvis blev mormonismen i 1800-talets Finland aldrig en egentlig rörelse, utan det handlade om små konvertitgrupper runtom i landet. Ett beroende av utländska missionärer och en brist på entusiasm bland de lokala medlemmarna resulterade i att rörelsen

inte växte. Då konvertiterna var spridda runtom i landet fanns det inte heller tillräckliga möjligheter för religiös gemenskap och sekundär socialisation som skulle ha stärkt och befäst deras mormonidentitet. Således var det endast en konvertitgrupp som lyckades med att förmedla sin tro till nya generationer så att den överlevde tills det att stadigare missioneringsverksamhet påbörjades efter det andra världskriget.

Appendix A: Data on the Missionaries

During the time period covered by this study, a total of 25 Mormon missionaries are known to have been assigned to Finland. This number excludes two persons who were assigned to Finland, but who either did not come or who were not able to receive a passport. The number of 25 thus covers those who worked for a longer time, visited, or were at least assigned to Finland while already present in the Scandinavian mission. Information on the lives of these persons is summarized in the following, intended as both further background for assessing their contributions and as a basis for future research. Basic information is first provided in condensed form in Table A.1.

Table A.1. Data on missionaries who worked in Finland.

#	Name	Native of	Age at arrival	Local/ Zion	In Finland
1	Carl A. Sundström	SWE	29	L	Oct 1875 – Oct 1877
2	Johan I. Sundström	SWE	23	L	Oct 1875 – Oct 1876
3	Axel Tullgren	SWE	50	Z	Nov 1876 – Apr 1878
4	Olof A.T. Forssell	SWE	33	Z	Nov 1877 – Apr 1878
5	Truls A. Hallgren	SWE	43	Z	Jun – Aug 1878
6	Per O. Pettersson	SWE	26	L	Sep 1879 – Sep 1880
7	Lars J. Karlsson	SWE	27	L	Jun – Sep 1880
8	David O.M. Ekenberg	SWE	20	L	Oct 1880 – May 1881
9	Joseph R. Lindvall	FIN	49	Z	Jun 1881 – Oct 1882
10	Anders P. Norell	SWE	22	L	Oct 1881 – May 1882
11	Lars F. Swalberg	SWE	38	Z	Jul 1883 – Sep 1884
12	Alexander S. Hedberg	SWE	24	L	Oct – Dec 1884
13	Anders P. Renström	SWE	27	Z	Mar – May 1885
14	Erik G. Erikson	SWE	35	Z	Oct – Nov 1885(?)
15	Carl J. Selin	SWE	25	L	Dec 1885 – Apr 1886
16	Fredrik R. Sandberg	SWE	21	L	Jun – Sep 1886
17	C. August Nordin	?	?	L	Sep 1886(?) – May 1887
18	Leonard D. Nyberg	SWE	24	L	Jun 1887 – Oct 1888
19	John Berg	FIN	47	Z	Dec 1887 – Aug 1889
20	August J. Höglund	SWE	39	Z	Jun 22 – Jul 11, 1895
21	Alonzo B. Irvine	USA	21	Z	Jun 1896
22	Erick Gillén	SWE	43	Z	Jun 1896
23	Carl A. Ahlquist	SWE	39	Z	May 28–29 & Jun 6–20, 1897
24	S. Norman Lee	USA	21	Z	May 28–29 & Jun 6–20, 1897
25	Charles L. Anderson Jr.	USA	30	Z	May – Jul 1900

In the following I provide detailed information on each of the missionaries, together with source references. The information is listed in the following format:

Surname, given names**Time in Finland**

Information on birth, areas and times of proselytizing, emigration, death, etc.

Ahlquist, Carl Axel**6 – 20 Jun 1897**

Born 19.8.1857 in Haga, Sweden. Baptized 15.2.1879 in Stockholm. Ahlquist emigrated to Utah in 1882, settling in Sugar House and arriving back in Scandinavia as a missionary in late 1895. At the time of his visit to Finland together with Norman Lee, Ahlquist was president of the Stockholm conference. He returned to Utah in December 1897 and passed away 17.12.1932. Buried in the Salt Lake City Cemetery, block B, lot 15.¹⁰⁷⁶

Anderson, Charles LeRoy Jr.**May – Jul 1900**

Born 28.10.1869 in Grantsville, Utah. He was baptized when nine years old and sent as a missionary to Scandinavia in October 1899, returning in August 1902. He worked in Finland by himself. His father worked as a missionary in Sweden earlier. Died in Grantsville on 2.2.1936.¹⁰⁷⁷

Berg, John**Dec 1887 – Aug 1889**

Born 31.12.1839 in Mustasaari, Finland, christened Johan. Husband of Sophia Berg and brother-in-law of Maria Henriksson (for both, see Appendix C). Emigrated to Sweden, where he was baptized in Sundsvall on 17.9.1875, being confirmed by Carl Sundström. Just over a month later, he greeted Carl and Johan Sundström as they arrived in Vaasa as the first missionaries to Finland, and introduced them to some of his relatives. He emigrated from Sweden to Utah in 1881, settling in Santaquin. Sent on a mission to Finland in November 1887 about a year after his wife died. As far as is known, he worked in Finland by

¹⁰⁷⁶ RM, Stockholm branch, 1863–1903, p. 108, FHL. Stockholm District Missionary Record, 1888–1930, CHLA. Missionaries of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, vol. 4, 1895:362, CHLA. “Local and Other Matters,” *Deseret Weekly*, 18 December 1897, p. 15. He described his visit to Finland in his letter to Christian N. Lund, 29 June 1897, reprinted in “Korrespondens,” *Nordstjärnan*, vol. 21, no. 14 (15 July 1897), pp. 218–221, also reprinted in “Korrespondance,” *Skandnaviens Stjerne*, vol. 46, no. 20 (15 July 1897), pp. 314–316. For more details see S. Norman Lee diary, 1896–1898, CHLA.

¹⁰⁷⁷ Missionaries of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, vol. 4, 1899:851, CHLA. Susan Easton Black, Shauna C. Anderson, and Ruth Ellen Maness, *Legacy of Sacrifice: Missionaries to Scandinavia, 1872–1894* (Provo: Religious Studies Center at Brigham Young University, 2007), pp. 23–24. Death certificate of Charles LeRoy Anderson, UDC. His visit to Finland is described in “In Sweden and Finland,” *Deseret Evening News*, 12 January 1901, p. 22.

himself. He returned to Utah in September 1889 and passed away in Murray on 21.1.1916, known as John Berg.¹⁰⁷⁸

Ekenberg, David Olof Magnus Oct 1880 – May 1881

Born 7.7.1860 in Uppsala, Sweden. Baptized 8.2.1879 in Stockholm. Not long after, he worked in Uppsala as a local missionary, and was called to preside over the Finland branch in October 1880. After working in Finland by himself, he was called to work in the Sundsvall conference. Ekenberg emigrated to Utah in June 1882.¹⁰⁷⁹

Erikson, Erik Gustaf Oct – Nov 1885 (?)

Born 18.8.1850 in Edsberg, Sweden. Baptized 6.10.1872. Erikson was sent as a missionary to Scandinavia in August 1885. He was called to preside over the Finland branch immediately upon his arrival in October 1885, but it is not known if he actually visited the country; Carl Selin was in Finland by January 1886. Died in Koosharem, Utah, on 14.10.1918.¹⁰⁸⁰

Forssell, Olof Alfred Theodor Nov 1877 – Apr 1878

Born 24.9.1844 in Sala, Sweden. Baptized 10.10.1865 and emigrated to Utah in 1866, settling in Salt Lake City. He was sent as a missionary to Sweden in October 1877. Worked in Finland together with Axel Tullgren. Forssell returned to Utah in 1879 and passed away on 21.1.1904.¹⁰⁸¹

Gillén, Erick Jun 1896

Born 8.9.1852 in Hökhufvud, Sweden. Baptized 11.8.1878 in Uppsala, after which he worked as a missionary in a number of branches of the Stockholm conference. He emigrated to Utah in 1882. Having settled in South Cotton-

¹⁰⁷⁸ RBC, Mustasaari parish, 1835–1847, p. 178, KA. RM, Sundsvall branch, 1857–1890, p. 26, FHL. Stockholm District Missionary Record, 1888–1930, CHLA. Black et al., *Legacy of Sacrifice*, pp. 50–51. “John Berg Found Dead in his Home,” *Deseret Evening News*, 22 January 1916, sec. 1, p. 8. Death certificate of John Berg, UDC.

¹⁰⁷⁹ RM, Stockholm branch, 1863–1903, p. 107, FHL. RM, Uppsala branch, 1865–1884, n.p., FHL. Stockholm Conference Historical Record, 1867–1883, p. 304 and [318], CHLA. RM, Sundsvall branch, 1857–1890, p. 43, FHL.

¹⁰⁸⁰ *Missionaries of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, vol. 3, 1885:136, CHLA. Black et al., *Legacy of Sacrifice*, p. 105. These two secondary sources are in conflict as far as Erikson’s birth and baptism dates go, but as Black et al. have utilized a larger number of primary sources, I have chosen to use their information. However, Black et al. have mistakenly indicated that Erikson was assigned to the Göteborg conference. For the assignment to Finland, see “Konferensen i Stockholm,” *Nordstjernen*, vol. 9, no. 20 (15 October 1885), pp. 314–317. Death certificate of Erick Gustave Erickson, UDC.

¹⁰⁸¹ *Missionaries of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, vol. 2, 1877:118, CHLA. Black et al., *Legacy of Sacrifice*, pp. 115–116. Death certificate of Olof A.T. Forssell, UDC.

wood, he was sent as a missionary to Scandinavia in April 1894. At the time of his visit to Finland together with Alonzo Irvine, he was the president of the Stockholm conference. He returned to Utah in September 1896 and traveled again to Scandinavia for a mission in 1904–1906. Gillén passed away 4.6.1930 and is buried in the Murray City Cemetery, block 3, lot 46.¹⁰⁸²

Hallgren, Truls Asser

Jun – Aug 1878

Born 5.1.1835 in Malmö, Sweden. Baptized 26.8.1858. He worked as a local missionary, baptizing 58 persons, spending one month in prison, and being the first Mormon missionary to visit the Swedish island of Gotland, before emigrating to Utah in 1864. After settling in Ogden, Hallgren was sent to Scandinavia as a missionary in April 1878. He presided over the Finland branch and appears to have worked by himself. However, he had to return to Utah already in October 1878 due to ill health. He later came to Sweden for another mission in 1889–1891. Hallgren passed away in Utah on 4.9.1902.¹⁰⁸³

Hedberg, Alexander Stefanus

Oct – Dec 1884

Born 21.12.1859 in Foss, Sweden. Baptized 2.3.1882 in Stockholm and sent out as a local missionary in May 1882. Earned the title of the Scandinavian mission's "champion tractseller" and worked in Finland by himself. Emigrated to Utah, where he married Maria Reutervall (see Appendix C) in 1886. Moved to Chicago, Illinois, between 1888 and 1891. By 1897 the family had drifted away from Mormonism.¹⁰⁸⁴

¹⁰⁸² RM, Uppsala branch, 1865–1884, n.p., FHL. Missionaries of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, vol. 4, 1894:139, CHLA. "Called by Death," *Deseret News*, 5 June 1930, sec. 1, p. 10. Death certificate of Erick Gillen, UDC. His visit to Finland is described in his traveling companion Alonzo Irvine's undated letter, reprinted in "Korrespondens," *Nordstjärnan*, vol. 20, no. 19 (1 October 1896), pp. 297–299.

¹⁰⁸³ Missionaries of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, vol. 2, 1878:43, CHLA. RM, Västerås branch, 1862–1883, p. 3, FHL. Andrew Jenson, *History of the Scandinavian Mission* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1927), p. 276. Black et al., *Legacy of Sacrifice*, pp. 131–132.

¹⁰⁸⁴ RM, Stockholm branch, 1863–1903, p. 124, FHL. Hedberg describes his work in Finland in his letter to Anthon H. Lund, 22 November 1884, reprinted in "Korrespondens," *Nordstjärnan*, vol. 8, no. 24 (15 December 1884), pp. 376–377, also reprinted in "Korrespondance," *Skandinavians Stjerne*, vol. 34, no. 6 (15 December 1884), pp. 90–91. Jenson, *History of the Scandinavian Mission*, p. 276, and derivative works erroneously impart the "champion tractseller" title to August S. [should be L.] Hedberg, but the correct attribution is shown in a letter of Anthon H. Lund to *The Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star*, 12 December 1884, reprinted in "Abstract of Correspondence," *The Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star*, vol. 46, no. 51 (22 December 1884), p. 814. RM, Salt Lake City 13th Ward, early to 1900, pp. 63–64, FHL. IGI, sv. Maria Reutervall. United States Census, 1900, Chicago Ward 34, District 1110. Christian D. Fjeldsted Journals and Record Books, 1890–1905, CHLA. See the entries of 30 May, 4 June, 15–16 June and 26 June 1896. RM, Chi-

Höglund, August Joel**22 Jun – 11 Jul 1895**

Born 14.9.1855 in Fundbo, Sweden. Höglund was baptized 14.9.1873 in Uppsala, and he later worked as a local missionary in the Stockholm and Göteborg conferences. He emigrated to Utah in 1878 and was sent to Scandinavia as a missionary in April 1893. According to a life sketch, he was a very talented speaker. He visited Finland and Russia by himself, being president of the church's Göteborg conference at the time. He returned from his mission in September 1895 and passed away on 12.12.1926 in Bountiful, Utah.¹⁰⁸⁵

Irvine, Alonzo Blair**Jun 1896**

Born 14.2.1875 in Salt Lake City and baptized when eight years old. He was sent to Scandinavia as a missionary when living in Logan, Utah, in April 1895. Visited Finland and Russia together with Stockholm conference president Erick Gillén. Irvine returned to Utah in July 1897 and worked as an attorney in his later life. He passed away in Salt Lake City on 12.7.1940 and is buried in the Salt Lake City Cemetery, block N, lot 4.¹⁰⁸⁶

Karlsson, Lars Johan**Jun – Sep 1880**

Born 26.1.1853 in Lännäs, Sweden. Baptized 6.7.1879 in Vingåker. Worked as a local missionary at least in the Stockholm conference between 1880 and 1882, when he emigrated to Utah in June. Worked in Finland at the same time as Per Pettersson, another local missionary. He eventually settled in Logan, where he passed away 12.1.1945.¹⁰⁸⁷

cago branch, 1896–1901, pp. 15–16, FHL. RM, Chicago branch, early to 1917, p. 30, FHL.

¹⁰⁸⁵ RM, Sundsvall branch, 1857–1890, p. 30. Missionaries of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, vol. 4, 1893:105, CHLA. "Life sketch of August Joel Hoglund and Anna Mathilda Swenson," in August J. Höglund Collection, 1873–1973, CHLA. Death certificate of August Joel Hoglund, UDC. His visit to Finland is described in his letter of 9 July 1895, reprinted in "Från Ryssland och Finland," *Nordstjärnan*, vol. 19, no. 15 (1 August 1895), pp. 234–236. See also his letter to Johan and Alma Lindlöf, 8 July 1895, Finland Branch Record 1876–1897, fd. 3, CHLA.

¹⁰⁸⁶ Missionaries of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, vol. 4, 1895:135, CHLA. *History of the Bench and Bar of Utah* (Salt Lake City: Interstate Press Association Publishers, 1913), p. 154. Death certificate of Alonzo Blair Irvine, UDC. His visit to Finland is described in an undated letter reprinted in "Korrespondens," *Nordstjärnan*, vol. 20, no. 19 (1 October 1896), pp. 297–299.

¹⁰⁸⁷ RM, Vingåker branch, 1879–1894, p. 6, FHL. RM, Västerås branch, 1862–1883, p. 29, FHL. RM, Östersund branch, early to 1884, n.p., FHL. Emigration records, Scandinavian Mission, 1852–1920, Record G 1881–1886, p. 135, FHL. Death certificate of Lars Johan Carlson, UDC.

Lee, Severin Norman**6 – 20 Jun 1897**

Born 4.10.1875 in Brigham, Utah. Baptized 21.10.1883. Sent as a missionary to Scandinavia in October 1896, where he worked in the Malmö and Stockholm conferences. Visited Finland and Russia together with Stockholm conference president Carl Ahlquist.¹⁰⁸⁸

Lindvall, Joseph Reinhold**Jun 1881 – Oct 1882**

Born 14.6.1832 in Paimio, Finland. Baptized in 1858 or August 1860, presumably in the United States, Lindvall married the Dane Caroline Sorenson and eventually settled in Paris, Idaho. He was sent as a missionary to Finland in April 1881, where he later worked together with Anders Norell. Among other things, he visited his home municipality of Paimio and baptized two of his brothers and a sister-in-law. As far as is known, Lindvall is the first Mormon missionary to have visited the Åland Islands, and the only nineteenth-century missionary to Finland who knew and used the Finnish language at least to some extent. Lindvall returned to the United States in April 1883 and passed away 17.8.1887 in Idaho, known as Joseph Linvall.¹⁰⁸⁹

Nordin, C. August**Sep 1886 (?) – May 1887**

Nordin's date or place of birth is not known. However, he was ordained a priest in Pohja in January 1886, implying that he may have been a relatively new convert at the time. He was appointed president of the Finland branch by October 1886, and was released from his mission in May 1887 with permission to emigrate to Utah.¹⁰⁹⁰

Norell, Anders Petter**Oct 1881 – May 1882**

Born 26.1.1859 in Hemsö, Sweden. Baptized 25.3.1879 in Stockholm and moved to Sundsvall a few months later. Norell worked as a local missionary in Finland at the same time as Joseph Lindvall. He emigrated to Utah in August 1882.¹⁰⁹¹

¹⁰⁸⁸ Stockholm District Missionary Record, 1888–1930, CHLA. In addition to Ahlquist's letter mentioned above, Lee's trip to Finland (and Russia) is best described in S. Norman Lee diary, 1896–1898, CHLA. See also "Autobiography of S. Norman Lee," pp. 39–41, S. Norman Lee Papers, 1838–1963, HBLL.

¹⁰⁸⁹ RBC, Paimio parish, 1818–1844, p. 233, KA. Missionaries of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, vol. 3, 1881:60, CHLA. RM, Paris [Idaho] First ward, early to 1906, p. 25, FHL. Black et al., *Legacy of Sacrifice*, p. 252. "Korrespondens," *Åbo Underrättelser*, 26 September 1881, p. 2. Testimony of Alexander Hartzell, 31 October 1883, Record of the Johan Blom Case, Archive of the Senate Judicial Department, KA.

¹⁰⁹⁰ Finland Branch Record 1876–1897, CHLA. "Halfårliga konferensmötet i Stockholm," *Nordstjernen*, vol. 10, no. 22 (15 November 1886), p. 348. "Konferensmöte, afhållet i Stockholm," *Nordstjernen*, vol. 11, no. 11 (1 June 1887), p. 172.

¹⁰⁹¹ RM, Stockholm branch, 1863–1903, p. 108, FHL. RM, Östersund branch, early to 1884, n.p., FHL. Stockholm Branch Historical Record, 1867–1883, p. 324 and 333,

Nyberg, Leonard Damianus**Jun 1887 – Oct 1888**

Born 27.9.1862 in Allhelgona, Sweden. Baptized 24.8.1884 in Stockholm. During his time in Finland he proselytized alone. After his mission, he was rebaptized 8.2.1891 in Stockholm and 14.5.1893 in Norrköping, but it is not known whether he was excommunicated prior to those events. He is an exception among the missionaries in that he apparently did not emigrate to Utah at any point in his life.¹⁰⁹²

Pettersson, Per Olof**Sep 1879 – Sep 1880**

Born 20.4.1853 in Huddinge, Sweden. Baptized 27.9.1874 in Stockholm. Worked as a local missionary in the Nerike region from October 1875 to June 1876. Pettersson worked in Finland first alone, and for the final three months together with Lars Karlsson, another local missionary. Presided over the Norrland branch after working in Finland and before emigrating to Utah in June 1881. Pettersson worked as carriage maker and a wheelwright later in life, a trade that he was learning at the time he was called to Finland. He settled in Salt Lake City and passed away there on 28.2.1947, known as Peter O. Peterson. Buried in the Salt Lake City Cemetery, block N, lot 6.¹⁰⁹³

Renström, Anders Persson**Mar – May 1885**

Born 30.12.1857 in Viksta, Sweden. Baptized 14.11.1872 in Björklinge, he emigrated to Utah in June 1873 and settled in Huntsville. He was sent as a missionary to Scandinavia in October 1883. Renström worked first in the Eskilstuna branch and later in the Sundsvall region immediately before his assignment to Finland, where he worked alone. He returned from his mission in November 1885, after which he traveled to Sweden two more times as a missionary, first in 1889–1891 and later in 1923–1925. Renström passed away in Huntsville on 22.1.1933, known as Andrew Renstrom or Rehnstrom.¹⁰⁹⁴

CHLA. Emigration records, Scandinavian Mission, 1852–1920, Record G 1881–1886, p. 40, FHL.

¹⁰⁹² RM, Stockholm branch, 1863–1903, p. 141, 182, and 203, FHL. RM, Västerås branch, 1881–1886, p. 10, FHL. RM, Norrköping branch, 1858–1896, p. 20, FHL. RM, Gävle branch, 1904–1930, n.p., no. 25, FHL. Some of Nyberg's thoughts on his work in Finland are recorded in his letter to Nils C. Flygare, 22 July 1887, reprinted in "Utdrag af korrespondens," *Nordstjernan*, vol. 11, no. 16 (15 August 1887), p. 254.

¹⁰⁹³ RM, Stockholm branch, 1863–1903, p. 73, FHL. Stockholm Branch Historical Record, 1867–1883, p. 304, CHLA. Death certificate of Peter Olaf Peterson, UDC. Pettersson describes his experience in Finland in "Missionen i Finland," *Morgenstjernen*, vol. 3, no. 19 (1 October 1884), pp. 327–329.

¹⁰⁹⁴ RM, Uppsala branch, 1865–1884, n.p., FHL. Missionaries of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, vol. 3, 1883:235, CHLA. RM, Sundsvall branch, 1857–1890, p. 50 and 58, FHL. Black et al., *Legacy of Sacrifice*, pp. 382–383. Death certificate of Andrew Pehrsson Renstrom, UDC.

Sandberg, Fredrik Reinhold Jun – Sep 1886

Born 5.5.1865 in Ekeryd, Sweden. Baptized 17.4.1881 in Värmdö, after which he was sent as a local missionary to the Uppland region in September 1884. During his stay in Finland he worked alone, emigrating to Utah immediately after in October 1886. There he settled in Salt Lake City and eventually became manager of Granite Mill and Fixture Co. He visited Finland again as a missionary in 1914, and after World War II his son Donald Sandberg also worked in the country. Fredrik Sandberg passed away on 7.6.1952 in Salt Lake City. Buried in the Salt Lake City Cemetery, block O, lot 11.¹⁰⁹⁵

Selin, Carl Johan Dec 1885 – Apr 1886

Born 27.7.1860 in Ramnäs, Sweden. Baptized 4.9.1883 in Stockholm. Like Fredrik Sandberg, Selin was sent as a local missionary to the Uppland region in September 1884, working for example in Västerås. Presiding over the Finland branch, he worked alone in the country, after which he continued to proselytize in Sundsvall until May 1887. He emigrated to Utah that summer and eventually settled in the town of Benjamin. Selin worked there as a farmer and passed away on 1.6.1930. Buried in the Benjamin Community Cemetery, block B, lot 83.¹⁰⁹⁶

Sundström, Carl August Oct 1875 – Oct 1877

Born 19.7.1846 in Norrsunda, Sweden. Baptized 1.10.1871 in Stockholm, excommunicated 3.7.1872. Rebaptized 9.8.1872 in Stockholm and sent as a local missionary to the Nerike region in October 1873. Sent to preside over the Norrland branch (in Sundsvall) in April 1874, from where he was called together with his brother Johan Sundström to be one of the two first missionaries to work in Finland. After nearly a year in Finland with his brother, he worked there for another year with Axel Tullgren. He emigrated to Utah in 1880 and was sent back as a missionary to Scandinavia in January 1894. Sundström returned to Utah in December 1895, where he passed away 25.5.1909 and is buried in the Sandy City Cemetery, section A, lot 75.¹⁰⁹⁷

¹⁰⁹⁵ RM, Stockholm branch, 1863–1903, p. 121, FHL. Vera Nyman, "Historiska händelser i Larsmo och Jakobstad," p. 20, CHLA. Henry A. Matis, "In Finland... the Future Looks Bright," *Improvement Era*, vol. 51, no. 3 (March 1948), pp. 145–146. Death certificate of Fredrick Reinhold Sandberg, UDC. Regarding his first mission to Finland, see Fredrik R. Sandberg to Nils C. Flygare, 5 August 1886, reprinted in "Korrespondens," *Nordstjernen*, vol. 10, no. 16 (15 August 1886), p. 252, also reprinted in "Korrespondance," *Skandinavians Stjerne*, vol. 35, no. 22 (15 August 1886), p. 347. The *Improvement Era* article implies that a diary of Sandberg's may still be extant.

¹⁰⁹⁶ RM, Stockholm branch, 1863–1903, p. 132, FHL. RM, Västerås branch, 1881–1886, p. 9, FHL. RM, Sundsvall branch, 1857–1890, p. 60, FHL. RM, Benjamin ward, 1892–1903, p. 15, and 1919–1940, n.p., no. 493, FHL. Death certificate of Carl John Selin, UDC.

¹⁰⁹⁷ RM, Stockholm branch, 1863–1903, p. 54 and 58, FHL. Stockholm Branch General Minutes, vol. 4, p. 357–358, CHLA. RM, Sundsvall branch, 1857–1890, pp. 25–26,

Sundström, Johan Isak**Oct 1875 – Oct 1876**

Born 26.10.1851 in Norrsunda, Sweden. Worked in the tailor's trade. Baptized 5.6.1875 in Sundsvall by his brother Carl Sundström. Together they were called as the first Mormon missionaries to Finland. After his work there, he was called to work in Karlstad, Sweden. Sundström eventually married Johanna Berg (see Appendix C) whom he had baptized as the first convert in Finland. He passed away in Sundsvall on 28.12.1877.¹⁰⁹⁸

Swalberg, Lars Fredrik**Jul 1883 – Sep 1884**

Born 24.1.1845 in Tunaberg, Sweden. Baptized 22.4.1867 in Hudiksvall, after which he worked as a local missionary in the early 1870s. He emigrated to Utah in 1876 and was living in Gunnison at the time of being sent to Scandinavia to proselytize in May 1883. As far as is known, he worked alone during his stay in Finland. Swalberg returned home from his mission in July 1885 and passed away in Salt Lake City on 30.4.1895. Buried in the Salt Lake City Cemetery, block S, lot 2.¹⁰⁹⁹

Tullgren, Axel**Nov 1876 – Apr 1878**

Born 11.4.1826 in Dammelstorp, Sweden. He was baptized as one of the earliest converts in Scandinavia on 12.10.1850 in Copenhagen, Denmark. Emigrated to Utah in 1855, where he settled first in Spanish Fork and later in 1863 in Spring City. A carpenter by trade, he was sent as a missionary to Scandinavia in April 1876, and worked in Finland together first with Carl Sundström and later with Olof Forssell. As far as is known, he was the first to propose the translation of a Mormon pamphlet into the Finnish language. He returned to Utah in October 1878, having thus spent most of his mission in Finland. Tullgren passed away in Spring City on 6.2.1924.¹¹⁰⁰

FHL. Carl A. Sundström diary, CHLA. Niels P. Rasmussen to Niels Wilhelmsen, 21 July 1880, reprinted in "Korrespondens," *Nordstjernen*, vol. 4, no. 16 (15 August 1880), p. 253. Missionaries of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, vol. 4, 1894:47 [mistakenly listed as Carl A. Lundström], CHLA. Death certificate of Carl August Lundstrom [sic], UDC.

¹⁰⁹⁸ RM, Sundsvall branch, 1857–1890, p. 26 and 32, FHL. Stockholm Branch Historical Record, 1867–1883, p. 200 and 224, CHLA. CB, Vaasa parish, 1886–1895, p. 858. Record of deaths and burials, Sundsvall town parish, 1866–1880, p. 189, FHL.

¹⁰⁹⁹ RM, Sundsvall branch, 1857–1890, p. 12, FHL. RM, Uppsala branch, 1865–1884, n.p., FHL. RM, Eskilstuna branch, 1870–1888, p. 20, FHL. Missionaries of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, vol. 3, 1883:155, CHLA. Black et al., *Legacy of Sacrifice*, p. 417, places Swalberg's arrival in the mission field at the end of September 1883. As discussed in Chapter 4, he performed a baptism in Finland by mid-August that year.

¹¹⁰⁰ RM, Copenhagen branch, 1850–1854, p. 25, FHL. Missionaries of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, vol. 2, 1876:37, CHLA. Nils C. Flygare to Joseph F. Smith, 21 March 1878, reprinted in *Deseret News*, 24 April 1878, p. 181. Black et al., *Legacy of Sacrifice*, p. 427, deviates in the birth data from all the Mormon primary sources cited here, and is thus disregarded on that point. "Funeral Held

For Axel Tullgren," *Deseret News*, 13 February 1924, p. 7. Death certificate of Axel Tullgreen [sic], UDC. On Tullgren's experiences, see Axel Tullgren diary, CHLA. See also his letter to Ola N. Liljenquist, 19 December 1876, reprinted in "Korrespondance," *Skandinaviens Stjerne*, vol. 26, no. 8 (15 January 1877), pp. 122–123, and a brief note of 13 March 1878 reprinted in "Utdrag af Korrespondenser," *Nordstjernen*, vol. 2, no. 7 (1 April 1878), p. 110.

Appendix B: Data on the Converts

This appendix lists data related to Mormon converts baptized in Finland before or in 1900. Nationality does not matter, and thus the list also includes a number of Swedish natives. It does not include Mormons who (regardless of nationality) resided in Finland at the time but who were baptized elsewhere. For Finnish natives of this kind, see Appendix C. The list provided in this appendix is the dataset used in Chapter 4 for creating the statistics and generalizations concerning the converts to Mormonism in Finland. It is provided here also as an aid for future researchers.

The list of converts is based on the nineteenth-century membership record of the Finland branch, housed at the Church History Library and Archives of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Salt Lake City, Utah, USA.¹¹⁰¹ In the most complete cases, the membership record lists the name, birth date, and birth place of the convert. Furthermore, in the most complete cases it lists dates and places for the ordinances of baptism and confirmation, along with the name of the persons officiating in these ordinances. Sometimes the record also includes additional information about the person, such as a more specific place of residence or a date of excommunication or death. However, all entries in the record are not complete or accurate when it comes to birth dates and places.

I have made an effort to locate every Finnish native convert in Lutheran parish records, useful as Finnish censuses of the time, based on the information in the Mormon membership record. In all, 69 of the 78 converts baptized in Finland have been found, for example through their birth record or another parish record contemporary to their Mormon baptism. This is indicated in the below listing by a reference to the parish record(s) in question in the accompanying footnote. In such cases, the name, birth places, and dates given in the Mormon record have been corrected based on the Lutheran record if necessary; the Lutheran records were kept from birth to death by stable parishes and not by a visiting missionary acquainting himself with the convert later in life, and thus I generally consider them more reliable. Furthermore, the personal data is augmented with information on familial relationships to other converts, when known.

¹¹⁰¹ Finland Branch Record 1876–1897, CHLA. In one instance, the convert was only found in the Record of members of the Swedish mission.

It has not been possible to positively identify every convert in the Lutheran records, mostly due to incomplete or wrong information in the membership record. For example, a person may have not been found in those records based on the birth date and place information given in the Mormon record, or as a resident of the area in which he or she was baptized. If no reference to a parish record is given here, it means that the effort to locate the individual has not been successful, and thus the information from the Mormon record is simply copied here. Naturally, future research may result in also these persons being located. No information is available for one of the 78 converts who was baptized before June 1877.

The information is first provided in condensed form in Table B.1. A cross in the column "Fam." (Family) means that the person was related to at least one other convert.

Table B.1. Data on persons who converted to Mormonism in Finland.

#	Given name	Surname	Age	Sex	Baptized	Place	Fam.
1	Greta	Andersson	64	F	4.7.1880	Larsmo	x
2	Greta Lovisa	Andersson	24	F	24.4.1882	Pietarsaari	
3	Matts	Andersson	65	M	4.7.1880	Larsmo	x
4	Anna Beata	Berg	58	F	23.7.1876	Mustasaari	x
5	Johanna Charlotta	Berg	23	F	6.5.1876	Vaasa	
6	Maria	Berg	33	F	14.1.1878	Mustasaari	x
7	John	Björklund	18	M	8.2.1888	Helsinki	
8	Anna Christina	Bro	52	F	18.4.1877	Porvoo	
9	Emmy Catharina	Bäckman	18	F	14.10.1884	Turku	
10	Eva Wilhelmina	Degerlund	25	F	22.3.1881	Turku	
11	Amanda Josefina	Ekqvist	18	F	27.5.1888	Turku	
12	Kristina	Erickson	26	F	14.10.1884	Turku	
13	Nils Ragnar Rudolph	Erickson	9	M	19.6.1900	Tampere	
14	Lovisa	Eriksdotter	36	F	11.7.1880	Larsmo	x
15	Johanna Fredrika	Falk	34	F	11.3.1878	Sipoo	x
16	Gustafva Kristina	Forsblom	37	F	13.7.1886	Porvoo	
17	Eva Stina	Friberg	21	F	28.4.1877	Tenhola	
18	Ida Emelie	God	25	F	17.2.1886	Pohja	x
19	Maria Elisabeth	God	50	F	4.6.1882	Pohja	x
20	Katrina Elisabeth	Granholm	50	F	1.8.1877	Pietarsaari	
21	Ida Wilhelmina	Grönström	22	F	21.2.1886	Kemiö	x
22	Karl Viktor	Grönström	27	M	14.11.1884	Pohja	x
23	Johanna Maria	Hannula	35	F	8.2.1880	Pietarsaari	
24	Anna Sofia	Henriksson	37	F	11.3.1878	Sipoo	x
25	Karl Adolf	Henriksson	56	M	12.3.1878	Sipoo	x
26	Hedvig	Johansdotter	45	F	25.10.1884	Porvoo	x
27	Anders	Johansson	23	M	4.7.1880	Larsmo	x
28	Gustaf	Johansson	53	M	11.3.1878	Sipoo	x
29	Karl	Johansson	53	M	19.7.1886	Porvoo	x
30	Erik	Karlsson	46	M	8.7.1880	Nedervetil ?	

Table B.1. (cont.)

31	Wendla Sofia	Karlsson	51	F	23.6.1882	Sipoo	
32	Frans Oskar	Laakkonen	20	M	10.1.1882	Turku	
33	Edla Josefina	Liljeström	34	F	11.11.1884	Helsinki	
34	Johanna Fredrika	Lindberg	52	F	?3.1878	Sipoo	x
35	Sofia Amalia	Lindberg	46	F	11.3.1878	Sipoo	x
36	Karl August	Lindblom	57	M	12.1.1886	Turku	x
37	Lovisa	Lindblom	47	F	25.7.1882	Turku	x
38	Eva Mathilda	Lindlöf	36	F	24.5.1889	Pohja	x
39	Karl Otto	Lindlöf	29	M	14.11.1884	Pohja	x
40	Maria Kristina	Lindlöf	27	F	5.12.1884	Pohja	x
41	Wendla	Lindlöf	58	F	4.6.1882	Pohja	x
42	Adolf	Lindros	64	M	30.4.1877	Tenhola	x
43	Anders Reinhold	Lindros	35	M	11.3.1878	Sipoo	
44	Eva Lovisa	Lindros	61	F	30.4.1877	Tenhola	x
45	Alexandra Karolina	Lindroth	18	F	12.8.1883	Pohja	x
46	Gustaf Ferdinand	Lindroth	37	M	29.4.1887	Inkoo	
47	Wilhelmina	Lindroth	45	F	17.2.1886	Pohja	x
48	Anna Greta	Lindström	38	F	11.3.1878	Sipoo	x
49	Emelie	Lindström	40	F	15.2.1888	Helsinki	
50	Karl Anders	Lindström	19	M	12.3.1878	Sipoo	x
51	Karl Henrik	Lindström	52	M	11.3.1878	Sipoo	x
52	Otto	Lindvall	42	M	24.9.1882	Paimio	x
53	Matts	Löfberg	78	M	4.9.1881	Larsmo	
54	Alfred Agapetus	Mattson	24	M	19.10.1884	Helsinki	
55	Anna Margareta	Motela	35	F	27.5.1877	Pietarsaari	
56	Anders Gustaf	Olander	69	M	20.7.1886	Sipoo	x
57	Anna Christina	Olander	46	F	24.10.1879	Sipoo	x
58	Fredrika Wilhelmina	Pasander	45	F	2.9.1886	Kokkola	x
59	Helena Sophia	Pasander	36	F	3.6.1877	Pietarsaari	x
60	Johan Alexander	Pasander	42	M	3.6.1877	Pietarsaari	x
61	Anna Carolina	Ruth	55	F	20.10.1883	Helsinki	
62	Olga Emelia	Selenius	23	F	15.8.1887	Helsinki	

Table B.1. (cont.)

63	Maria Lovisa	Siljander	44	F	29.10.1879	Sipoo	
64	Maria Christina	Sjöblom	45	F	10.1.1882	Turku	
65	Karolina	Smedman	28	F	28.5.1876	Mustasaari	
66	Johan Eric	Sten	54	M	23.7.1876	Mustasaari	x
67	Ulrika	Söderman	35	F	5.8.1877	Mustasaari	x
68	August	Tallgren		M	12.3.1878	Sipoo	
69	Amanda Wilhelmina	Wikström	41	F	17.2.1886	Pohja	x
70	Karl Fabian	Wikström	46	M	28.6.1886	Pohja	x
71	Alexander	Winqvist	38	M	8.9.1886	Helsinki	x
72	Erika	Winqvist	48	F	23.6.1887	Helsinki	x
73	Adolf Fredrik	Wirta	44	M	24.9.1882	Paimio	x
74	Ulrika Josefina	Wirta	36	F	24.9.1882	Paimio	x
75	Alexander	Wörgren	25	M	21.11.1881	Pietarsaari	x
76	Lovisa Charlotta	Wörgren	24	F	15.4.1882	Pietarsaari	x
77	Catharina Lovisa	Wörsten	37	F	6.8.1883	Helsinki	

In the following I provide detailed information on each of the converts, together with source references. The information is listed in the following format:

Surname, given names**Date and place of baptism**

Information on birth, baptism, family relationships, excommunication, death, etc.

Andersson, Greta**4.7.1880, Larsmo**

Born 29.11.1815 in Larsmo. Baptized by Per Pettersson and confirmed by Lars Karlsson. Wife of Matts Andersson, in whose home early church meetings in Larsmo were held. Aunt of Anders Johansson. Died 9.4.1890 in Larsmo.¹¹⁰²

Andersson, Greta Lovisa**24.4.1882, Pietarsaari**

Born 11.7.1857 in Pedersöre. Baptized by Alexander Wörgren and confirmed by Johan Pasander. Excommunicated 12.9.1883.¹¹⁰³

¹¹⁰² RBC, Larsmo parish, 1786–1830, n.p., KA. CB, Larsmo parish, 1875–1884, p. 63, KA. Anna-Liisa Rinne, *Kristuksen kirkko Suomessa: Kertomus Myöhempien Aikojen Pyhien Jeesuksen Kristuksen Kirkon juurtumisesta tähän maahan* (Turku: n.p., 1986), pp. 4–5. RDB, Larsmo parish, 1862–1895, p. 49, KA.

¹¹⁰³ RBC, Pedersöre parish, 1853–1864, p. 174, KA.

Andersson, Matts**4.7.1880, Larsmo**

Born 14.7.1815 in Larsmo. Baptized and confirmed by Per Pettersson. Ordained teacher 1.8.1880 and elder 21.11.1880. Husband of Greta Andersson, in whose home early church meetings in Larsmo were held. Died 4.11.1889 in Larsmo.¹¹⁰⁴

Berg, Anna Beata**23.7.1876, Mustasaari**

Born 19.8.1817 in Mustasaari. Baptized by Carl Sundström and confirmed by Johan Sundström. Mother of John Berg (see Appendix A), Maria Berg, and Ulrika Söderman. Mother-in-law of Sophia Berg and sister-in-law of Johan Sten. Died 26.3.1880 in Mustasaari.¹¹⁰⁵

Berg, Johanna Charlotta**6.5.1876, Vaasa**

Born 27.10.1852 in Mustasaari. The first person to become a Mormon in Finland, she was baptized by Johan Sundström and confirmed by Carl Sundström. Moved to Sundsvall, Sweden, in 1877, where she was apparently married to Johan Sundström. She moved back to Finland in 1880 as Johanna Charlotta Sundström, becoming excommunicated on 17.9.1880.¹¹⁰⁶

Berg, Maria**14.1.1878, Mustasaari**

Born 28.1.1844 in Mustasaari. Baptized by Axel Tullgren and confirmed by Olof Forssell. Daughter of Anna Beata Berg, sister of John Berg and Ulrika Söderman, sister-in-law of Sophia Berg. Married to Johan Sten. Excommunicated 1.5.1881.¹¹⁰⁷

Björklund, John**8.2.1888, Helsinki**

Born 9.3.1869 in Tenhola. Baptized and confirmed by Leonard Nyberg. Ordained priest 19.2.1888. Excommunicated by his own request on 8.4.1888 and died 18.10.1892. Worked as an accountant and a clerk.¹¹⁰⁸

Bro, Anna Christina**18.4.1877, Porvoo**

Born 1825 in Porvoo. Baptized by Carl Sundström and confirmed by Axel Tullgren. Excommunicated 12.9.1880.

¹¹⁰⁴ RBC, Larsmo parish, 1786–1830, n.p., KA. CB, Larsmo parish, 1875–1884, p. 63, KA. Rinne, *Kristuksen kirkko Suomessa*, pp. 4–5. RDB, Larsmo parish, 1862–1895, p. 47, KA.

¹¹⁰⁵ RBC, Mustasaari parish, 1804–1818, n.p., KA. CB, Mustasaari parish, 1871–1880, p. 758, KA. RDB, Mustasaari parish, 1862–1898, n.p., KA.

¹¹⁰⁶ RBC, Mustasaari parish, 1848–1861, n.p., KA. CB, Vaasa parish, 1871–1880, p. 191, KA. RM, Sundsvall branch, 1857–1890, p. 32, FHL. CB, Vaasa parish, 1881–1885, p. 715, KA. CB, Vaasa parish, 1886–1895, p. 858, KA.

¹¹⁰⁷ RBC, Mustasaari parish, 1835–1847, p. 328, KA. CB, Mustasaari parish, 1871–1880, p. 744, KA.

¹¹⁰⁸ RBC, Tenhola parish, 1854–1884, p. 217, KA. CB, Helsinki undivided parish, 1880–1910 I, p. 901, Archive of Helsinki Undivided Parish, CRHP.

Bäckman, Emmy Katharina **14.10.1884, Turku**

Born 23.5.1866 in Kristiinankaupunki. Baptized and confirmed by Alexander Hedberg. After her baptism she lived at Tiilentekijäncatu 12, Turku, the address given also for Karl and Lovisa Lindblom. She moved to St. Petersburg later.¹¹⁰⁹

Degerlund, Eva Wilhelmina **22.3.1881, Turku**

Born 22.12.1855 in Bromarv. Baptized and confirmed by David Ekenberg. Moved to Sweden in 1881 and emigrated to Utah in 1882. Settled in Murray and became known as Eva Wilhelmina Berg, wife of Charles and mother of at least six Utah-born children. She passed away 19.9.1907 and is buried in the Murray City Cemetery, block 6, lot 58.¹¹¹⁰

Ekqvist, Amanda Josefina **27.5.1888, Turku**

Born 29.9.1869 in Dragsfjärd. Baptized and confirmed by Leonard Nyberg. Moved to Uskela in late 1900.¹¹¹¹

Erickson, Kristina **14.10.1884, Turku**

Born 4.6.1858 in Lysvik, Sweden. Baptized and confirmed by Alexander Hedberg. After her baptism, missionaries met with her at Tiilentekijäncatu 12, Turku, where Emmy Bäckman and Karl and Lovisa Lindblom lived.

Erickson, Nils Ragnar Rudolph **19.6.1900, Tampere**

Born 1.3.1891 in Norrköping, Sweden. Baptized and confirmed by Charles Anderson.¹¹¹²

Eriksdotter, Lovisa **11.7.1880, Larsmo**

Born 24.1.1844 in Larsmo. Baptized and confirmed by Per Pettersson. Wife of Anders Johansson. They both used the surname Strömberg later. She died 5.6.1919 and is buried in the Larsmo Cemetery with her husband.¹¹¹³

¹¹⁰⁹ RBC, Kristiinankaupunki town parish, 1831–1872, p. 237, KA.

¹¹¹⁰ RBC, Bromarv parish, 1849–1861, p. 98, KA. Passport Records, 1881, Archive of the Administrative Department of Turku and Pori Provincial Government, TMA. United States Census, 1900, Murray, Salt Lake County, Utah, District 63. Death certificate of Eva Wilhelmina Berg, UDC.

¹¹¹¹ RBC, Dragsfjärd parish, 1856–1877, n.p., KA. CB, Karuna parish, 1888–1897, p. 153, KA. CB, Turku Cathedral parish, 1881–1900 DEF, p. 181, Archive of Turku Cathedral Parish, TMA. CB, Turku Cathedral parish, 1892–1910 DEF, p. 181, Archive of Turku Cathedral Parish, TMA.

¹¹¹² RM, Swedish mission, 1857–1907, n.p., no. 1608, FHL. RM, Stockholm branch, 1863–1903, n.p., no. 2525, FHL.

¹¹¹³ RBC, Larsmo parish, 1831–1851, p. 168, KA. CB, Larsmo parish, 1875–1884, p. 59, KA. Rinne, *Kristuksen kirkko Suomessa*, p. 5.

Falk, Johanna Fredrika**11.3.1878,¹¹¹⁴ Sipoo**

Born 23.1.1844 in Sipoo. Baptized by Axel Tullgren. Sister of Anna Henriksson and sister-in-law of Karl Henriksson. Excommunicated 12.9.1880.¹¹¹⁵

Friberg, Eva Stina**28.4.1877, Tenhola**

Born 23.7.1855 in Tenhola. Baptized by Carl Sundström, confirmed by Axel Tullgren.¹¹¹⁶

Forsblom, Gustava Kristina**13.7.1886, Porvoo**

Born 20.11.1848 in Porvoo. Baptized and confirmed by Fredrik Sandberg.¹¹¹⁷

God, Ida Emelie**17.2.1886, Pohja**

Born 29.1.1861 in Kisko. Baptized and confirmed by Carl Selin. Daughter of Maria God. Died 12.9.1886.¹¹¹⁸

God, Maria Elisabeth**4.6.1882, Pohja**

Born 22.6.1831 in Tenhola. Baptized by Johan Blom (see Chapter 6) and confirmed by Joseph Lindvall. Mother of Ida God, sister-in-law of Wendla Lindlöf.

¹¹¹⁴ The March 1878 baptisms of Falk and a number of others are mistakenly listed in Finland Branch Record 1876–1897, CHLA, as occurring on 7 (for seven persons) or 8 (for three persons) March 1877, with one further baptism on an unknown date that March. As discussed in Chapter 4, these baptisms actually took place a year later in March 1878; Axel Tullgren wrote on 13 March 1878 that he had baptized several persons the two previous days, and Lutheran parish minister Wilhelm Fredrikson wrote on 2 April 1878 that several persons had been baptized Mormons on 12 March 1878. The mistake has probably occurred because the Mormon membership record is in some instances retroactively created. In this appendix, the baptisms mentioned in the record as occurring on 7 March 1877 have been assigned to 11 March 1878, while those mentioned for 8 March 1877 have been assigned to 12 March 1878. The one baptism of unknown date in March 1877 is assigned simply to March 1878, although it is probable that it occurred on 11 March 1878 since the person's sister was baptized that day. In any case, it must be understood that the exact dates of each baptism cannot be ascertained.

¹¹¹⁵ RBC, Sipoo parish, 1828–1868, p. 289, KA. CB, Sipoo parish, 1869–1878 I, p. 51, KA. CB, Sipoo parish, 1880–1889 II, p. 480, KA.

¹¹¹⁶ RBC, Tenhola parish, 1854–1884, p. 29, KA. CB, Tenhola parish, 1873–1882, p. 437, KA.

¹¹¹⁷ RBC, Porvoo parish, 1841–1850, p. 447, KA. CB, Porvoo rural parish, 1880–1889 I, p. 430, KA.

¹¹¹⁸ RBC, Kisko parish, 1853–1870 II, p. 64, KA. CB, Pohja parish, 1877–1886, p. 115, KA.

Lived in Kisko and was a tailor's widow when baptized. For further information, see Chapter 6.¹¹¹⁹

Granholt, Katrina Elisabeth **1.8.1877, Pietarsaari**

Born 11.8.1826 in Pietarsaari. Baptized and confirmed by Axel Tullgren. Widow to a maltster at the time of baptism. Died 30.1.1920.¹¹²⁰

Grönström, Ida Wilhelmina **21.2.1886, Kemiö**

Born 30.5.1863 in Pohja. Baptized and confirmed by Carl Selin. Wife of Karl Grönström, daughter of Wendla Lindlöf, sister of Eva, Johan (see Appendix C), and Karl Lindlöf, and sister-in-law of Alma (see Appendix C) and Maria Lindlöf. After the baptism in Kemiö, she lived in at least Dragsfjärd and Karuna, before moving back to Kemiö in 1888. Died 29.6.1889.¹¹²¹

Grönström, Karl Viktor **14.11.1884, Pohja**

Born 25.11.1856 in Tammisaari. Baptized and confirmed by Alexander Hedberg. Husband of Ida Grönström, son-in-law of Wendla Lindlöf, and brother-in-law of Eva, Johan (see Appendix C), and Karl Lindlöf. Lived in at least Dragsfjärd, Karuna, and Kemiö after his baptism.¹¹²²

¹¹¹⁹ RBC, Tenhola parish, 1822–1832, p. 163, KA. CB, Kisko parish, 1880–1889, p. 5, Archive of Kisko Parish, TMA. Rinne, *Kristuksen kirkko Suomessa*, p. 9. CB, Kisko parish, 1890–1899, p. 20, Archive of Kisko Parish, TMA.

¹¹²⁰ RBC, Pietarsaari parish, 1800–1846, n.p., KA. The exact form of her name is unclear: The christened given names were Cajsa Lisa. Becoming a widow to seaman Anders Granholt in 1859, she married Wilhelm Kiiski in 1864 and was by that time called Katarina Elisabeth, a developed version of "Cajsa Lisa." Missionary Per Pettersson met her in late 1879 and called her "widow Granholt" in his 1884 reminiscences, and she was called "sister Kiiskinen" by mission president Nils Flygare in 1886. CB, Pietarsaari parish, 1857–1865, p. 176, KA. Record of marriages, Pietarsaari parish, 1847–1893, p. 27, KA. "Missionen i Finland," *Morgenstjernen*, vol. 3, no. 19 (1 October 1884), p. 327. Nils C. Flygare to "Syster C. Kiiskinen," 30 November 1886, in *Scandinavian Mission Letterpress Copybooks*, vol. 8, CHLA. CB, Pietarsaari Swedish parish, 1872–1881, p. 76 and 132, Archive of Pietarsaari Swedish Parish, CRPP. CB, Pietarsaari Swedish parish, 1910–1920 I, p. 331, Archive of Pietarsaari Swedish Parish, CRPP.

¹¹²¹ RBC, Pohja parish, 1839–1865, n.p., KA. CB, Pohja parish, 1877–1886, p. 312, KA. CB, Karuna parish, 1878–1887, p. 145, KA. CB, Karuna parish, 1888–1897, p. 159, KA.

¹¹²² RBC, Tammisaari rural parish, 1835–1868, n.p., KA. CB, Pohja parish, 1877–1886, p. 312, KA. CB, Karuna parish, 1878–1887, p. 145, KA. CB, Karuna parish, 1888–1897, p. 159, KA.

Hannula, Johanna Maria**8.2.1880, Pietarsaari**

Born 8.12.1844 in Uusikaarlepyy. Baptized and confirmed by Per Pettersson. Moved to Sundsvall, Sweden, where she was excommunicated 13.4.1884.¹¹²³

Henriksson, Anna Sofia**11.3.1878, Sipoo**

Born 16.7.1840 in Sipoo. Baptized by Axel Tullgren. Wife of Karl Henriksson and sister of Johanna Falk. Excommunicated 12.9.1880 and died 1.10.1916.¹¹²⁴

Henriksson, Karl Adolf**11.3.1878, Sipoo**

Born 25.6.1821 in Sipoo. Baptized by Axel Tullgren. Husband of Anna Henriksson and brother-in-law of Johanna Falk. Excommunicated 12.9.1880 and died 20.6.1883.¹¹²⁵

Johansdotter, Hedvig**25.10.1884, Porvoo**

Born 25.4.1839 in Porvoo. Baptized and confirmed by Alexander Hedberg. Sister of Gustaf and Karl Johansson. A weaver by trade. Emigrated to Utah in 1888. Became a member of Salt Lake thirteenth ward and attended the Logan Utah temple in 1891.¹¹²⁶

Johansson, Anders**4.7.1880, Larsmo**

Born 5.11.1856 in Larsmo. Baptized and confirmed by Per Pettersson. Husband of Lovisa Eriksson, nephew of Greta Andersson. Used the surname Strömberg later. Ordained teacher 1.8.1880 and elder 21.11.1880. He died 17.3.1926 and is buried in the Larsmo Cemetery with his wife.¹¹²⁷

¹¹²³ RM, Sundsvall branch, 1857–1890, p. 47, FHL. This source says the baptism occurred 8.2.1879, but Per Pettersson was not yet in Finland at that time; thus the date chosen is that given in Finland Branch Record 1876–1897, CHLA.

¹¹²⁴ RBC, Sipoo parish, 1828–1868, p. 237, KA. CB, Sipoo parish, 1869–1878 I, p. 48, KA. CB, Sipoo parish, 1910–1919 I, p. 58, ASSP.

¹¹²⁵ RBC, Sipoo parish, 1794–1827, p. 519, KA. CB, Sipoo parish, 1869–1878 I, p. 48, KA. CB, Sipoo parish, 1880–1889 I, p. 48, KA.

¹¹²⁶ RBC, Porvoo parish, 1833–1840, p. 449, KA. CB, Porvoo rural parish, 1880–1889 I, p. 48, KA. Passport Records, 1887 and 1888, Archive of the Administrative Department of Uusimaa Provincial Government, KA. "Mormoner i Helsingfors," *Finland*, 20 September 1888, p. 3. "Landsorten," *Hufvudstadsbladet*, 28 September 1888, p. 2. RM, Salt Lake City 13th ward, early to 1900, pp. 109–110, FHL. IGI, sv. Hedvig Johanson.

¹¹²⁷ RBC, Larsmo parish, 1852–1859, p. 42, KA. CB, Larsmo parish, 1875–1884, p. 59, KA. Rinne, *Kristuksen kirkko Suomessa*, p. 5.

Johansson, Gustaf**11.3.1878, Sipoo**

Born 6.5.1824 in Porvoo. Baptized by Axel Tullgren and confirmed by Olof Forssell. Ordained elder, presumably some days after his baptism. Brother of Hedvig Johansdotter and Karl Johansson. The parish mason by trade.¹¹²⁸

Johansson, Karl**19.7.1886, Porvoo**

Born 13.9.1832 in Porvoo. Baptized and confirmed by Fredrik Sandberg. Brother of Hedvig Johansdotter and Gustaf Johansson. Axel Tullgren preached in his home already in 1877.¹¹²⁹

Karlsson, Erik**8.7.1880, Nedervetil (?)**

Born February 1834 in Nedervetil (?). Baptized and confirmed by Per Pettersson.

Karlsson, Wendla Sophia**23.6.1882, Sipoo**

Born 24.10.1830 in Kemiö. Baptized and confirmed by Joseph Lindvall.

Laakkonen, Frans Oskar**10.1.1882, Turku**

Born 16.7.1861 in Pidisjärvi (present-day Nivala). Baptized and confirmed by Anders Norell. Excommunicated, then rebaptized and reconfirmed in Helsinki on 21.7.1886 by Fredrik Sandberg. Lived at Annenkatu 3 in Helsinki. Worked as a caretaker and tailor, passing away 27.5.1903.¹¹³⁰

Liljeström, Edla Josefina**11.11.1884, Helsinki**

Born 8.6.1850 in Inkoo. Baptized and confirmed by Alexander Hedberg.¹¹³¹

Lindberg, Johanna Fredrika**March 1878, Sipoo**

Born 7.7.1825 in Sipoo. Baptized and confirmed by Axel Tullgren. Sister of Sofia Lindberg. Excommunicated 12.9.1880 and died 15.11.1888.¹¹³²

¹¹²⁸ RBC, Porvoo parish, 1817–1825, p. 475, KA. CB, Porvoo rural parish, 1869–1879 I, p. 43, KA.

¹¹²⁹ RBC, Porvoo parish, 1826–1832, p. 491, KA. Axel Tullgren diary, 16 April 1877 (p. 57), CHLA. CB, Porvoo rural parish, 1869–1879 I, p. 43, KA.

¹¹³⁰ RBC, Nivala parish, 1853–1876, p. 171, KA. CB, Nivala parish, 1866–1875, p. 275, KA. CB, Helsinki undivided parish, 1880–1910 III, p. 174, Archive of Helsinki Undivided Parish, CRHP.

¹¹³¹ RBC, Inkoo parish, 1842–1875, pp. 258–259, KA. See also S. Norman Lee diary, 1896–1898, 7–9 June 1897, CHLA.

¹¹³² RBC, Sipoo parish, 1794–1827, p. 607, KA. CB, Sipoo parish, 1869–1878 I, p. 37 and 40, KA. CB, Sipoo parish, 1869–1878 II, p. 507, KA. CB, Sipoo parish, 1880–1889 I, p. 40, KA.

Lindberg, Sofia Emelie**11.3.1878, Sipoo**

Born 16.12.1831 in Sipoo. Baptized and confirmed by Axel Tullgren. Sister of Johanna Lindberg. Excommunicated 12.9.1880 and died 12.5.1912.¹¹³³

Lindblom, Karl August**12.1.1886, Turku**

Born 4.1.1829 in Turku. Baptized and confirmed by Carl Selin. Husband of Lovisa Lindblom. Lived at Tiilentekijänkatu 12, Turku, the same address as Emmy Bäckman and where the missionaries met with Kristina Erickson. Moved to Helsinki in late 1893.¹¹³⁴

Lindblom, Lovisa**25.7.1882, Turku**

Born 18.5.1835 in Husby, Sweden. Baptized and confirmed by Joseph Lindvall. Wife of Karl Lindblom. Lived at Tiilentekijänkatu 12, Turku, the same address as Emmy Bäckman and where the missionaries met with Kristina Erickson. Died 19.2.1893 in Helsinki.¹¹³⁵

Lindlöf, Eva Mathilda**24.5.1889, Pohja**

Born 20.12.1852 in Pohja. Baptized and confirmed by Johan Berg. Incapacitated daughter of Wendla Lindlöf, sister of Johan (see Appendix C) and Karl Lindlöf and Ida Grönström, and sister-in-law of Karl Grönström, Alma Lindlöf (see Appendix C), and Maria Lindlöf. For further information, see Chapter 6. Died 11.2.1920 of the Spanish flu.¹¹³⁶

Lindlöf, Karl Otto**14.11.1884, Pohja**

Born 16.3.1855 in Pohja. Baptized and confirmed by Alexander Hedberg. Husband of Maria Lindlöf, son of Wendla Lindlöf, brother of Eva and Johan Lindlöf (see Appendix C) and Ida Grönström, son-in-law of Maria God, and brother-in-law of Ida God, Karl Grönström, and Alma Lindlöf (see Appendix C). Testified at the Johan Blom trial in 1883. Moved to Inkoo in 1889 and died there in March 1897. For further information, see Chapter 6.¹¹³⁷

¹¹³³ RBC, Sipoo parish, 1828–1868, p. 66, KA. CB, Sipoo parish, 1869–1878 I, p. 37 and 40, KA. CB, Sipoo parish, 1910–1919 I, p. 46, ASSP.

¹¹³⁴ RBC, Turku Swedish parish, 1827–1845, p. 39, KA. CB, Turku Cathedral parish, 1881–1890 L, p. 288, Archive of Turku Cathedral Parish, TMA. See also S. Norman Lee diary, 1896–1898, 5 June 1897, CHLA.

¹¹³⁵ CB, Turku Cathedral parish, 1881–1890 L, p. 288, Archive of Turku Cathedral Parish, TMA.

¹¹³⁶ RBC, Pohja parish, 1839–1865, p. 196, KA. CB, Pohja parish, 1887–1896, p. 421, KA. CB, Pohja parish, 1900–1909 II, p. 838, APSP. CB, Pohja parish, 1910–1919 I, p. 156, APSP. Record of Deaths and Burials, Pohja parish, 1900–1962, n.p., APSP. See also August J. Höglund to Johan and Alma Lindlöf, 8 July 1895, in Finland Branch Record 1876–1897, fd. 3, CHLA.

¹¹³⁷ RBC, Pohja parish, 1794–1838, p. 226, KA. CB, Pohja parish, 1877–1886, p. 315, KA. CB, Inkoo parish, 1892–1899, p. 773, KA.

Lindlöf, Maria Kristina**5.12.1884, Pohja**

Born 22.6.1857 in Kisko. Baptized and confirmed by Alexander Hedberg. Wife of Karl Lindlöf, daughter of Maria God, sister of Ida God, sister-in-law of Eva and Johan Lindlöf (see Appendix C) and Ida Grönström, and daughter-in-law of Wendla Lindlöf. For further information, see Chapter 6. Died 28.6.1887.¹¹³⁸

Lindlöf, Wendla**4.6.1882, Pohja**

Born 28.7.1823 in Karjaa. Baptized by Johan Blom (see Chapter 6) and confirmed by either Blom or Joseph Lindvall. Mother of Eva, Johan (see Appendix C), and Karl Lindlöf, sister-in-law of Maria God, and mother-in-law of Karl Grönström, Alma Lindlöf (see Appendix C), and Maria Lindlöf. Testified at the Johan Blom trial in 1883. For further information, see Chapter 6. Died 28.11.1914.¹¹³⁹

Lindros, Adolf**30.4.1877, Tenhola**

Born 13.12.1812 in Pohja. Baptized by Carl Sundström and confirmed by Axel Tullgren. Husband of Eva Lindros. Excommunicated 26.9.1880 and died 8.5.1885.¹¹⁴⁰

Lindros, Anders Reinhold**11.3.1878, Sipoo**

Born 5.9.1842 in Sipoo. Baptized by Axel Tullgren. A shoemaker by trade. Excommunicated 12.9.1880 and died 29.12.1895.¹¹⁴¹

Lindros, Eva Lovisa**30.4.1877, Tenhola**

Born 12.3.1816 in Tenhola. Baptized and confirmed by Carl Sundström. Wife of Adolf Lindros. Excommunicated 26.9.1880 and died 21.2.1881.¹¹⁴²

Lindroth, Alexandra Karolina**12.8.1883, Pohja**

Born 17.5.1865 in Pohja. Baptized and confirmed by Lars Swalberg. Daughter of Wilhelmina Lindroth and maid of Johan Blom's family (see Chapter 6). Testified at the Johan Blom trial in 1883. Moved to Sweden and later emigrated to Utah in 1890, aided financially by Hedvig Johansdotter. She married the Swede Eric Alfred Lundell and settled in Benjamin, south of Salt Lake City.

¹¹³⁸ RBC, Kisko parish, 1853–1870 II, p. 29, KA. CB, Pohja parish, 1877–1886, p. 315, KA. RDB, Pohja parish, 1849–1900, n.p., KA.

¹¹³⁹ RBC, Karjaa parish, 1757–1823, p. 315, KA. CB, Pohja parish, 1877–1886, p. 315, KA. CB, Pohja parish, 1900–1909 II, p. 838, APSP. CB, Pohja parish, 1910–1919 I, p. 156, APSP. RDB, Pohja parish, 1900–1962, n.p., APSP. See also S. Norman Lee diary, 1896–1898, 11 June 1897, CHLA, and August J. Höglund to Johan and Alma Lindlöf, 8 July 1895, in Finland Branch Record 1876–1897, fd. 3, CHLA.

¹¹⁴⁰ RBC, Pohja parish, 1794–1838, p. 164, KA. CB, Tenhola parish, 1873–1882, p. 571, KA. CB, Tenhola parish, 1883–1892, p. 522, KA.

¹¹⁴¹ RBC, Sipoo parish, 1828–1868, p. 269, KA. CB, Sipoo parish, 1869–1878 I, p. 54, KA. CB, Sipoo parish, 1890–1899 I, p. 53, KA.

¹¹⁴² CB, Tenhola parish, 1873–1882, p. 571, KA.

Alexandra passed away on 1.8.1931, at which time she was known as Alexandra Lundell, a self-employed domestic worker. She is buried with her husband in the Benjamin Community Cemetery, block B, lot 82.¹¹⁴³

Lindroth, Gustaf Ferdinand **29.4.1887, Inkoo**

Born 17.11.1849 in Helsinki. Baptized and confirmed by August Nordin. Excommunicated by his own request on 8.4.1888. A machine operator by trade.¹¹⁴⁴

Lindroth, Wilhelmina **17.2.1886, Pohja**

Born 24.6.1840 in Särkisalo. Baptized and confirmed by Carl Selin. Mother of Alexandra Lindroth. Died 3.4.1927.¹¹⁴⁵

Lindström, Anna Greta Johan Henriksdotter **11.3.1878, Sipoo**

Born 13.5.1839 in Sipoo. Baptized by Axel Tullgren. Excommunicated 12.9.1880 and died 9.3.1911. Wife of Karl Henrik Lindström and stepmother of Karl Anders Lindström.¹¹⁴⁶

Lindström, Emelie **15.2.1888, Helsinki**

Born 21.9.1847 in Sipoo. Baptized and confirmed by Leonard Nyberg. A seamstress by trade, emigrated to Utah in 1888. Married Alexander Winqvist in 1890.¹¹⁴⁷

¹¹⁴³ RBC, Pohja parish, 1839–1865, n.p., KA. CB, Pohja parish, 1877–1886, p. 85, KA. "Om mormonerna i Pojo," *Morgonbladet*, 24 August 1883, p. 3. Passport Records, 1886, Archive of the Administrative Department of Turku and Pori Provincial Government, TMA. Christian D. Fjeldsted to A.P. Anderson, 21 August 1890, Scandinavian Mission Letterpress Copybooks, vol. 9, CHLA. RM, Benjamin ward, 1892–1903, p. 29, FHL. RM, Salt Lake City 13th ward, early to 1900, pp. 109–110 and 113–114, FHL. IGI, sv. Alexandria Caroline Lindrot. RM, Benjamin Ward, 1907–1926, p. 6, FHL. Death certificate of Alexandra Carlino Lundell, UDC. "State Obituaries," *Deseret News*, 3 August 1931, section 2, p. 5.

¹¹⁴⁴ RBC, Helsinki parish, 1845–1851, n.p., KA.

¹¹⁴⁵ RBC, Särkisalo parish, 1806–1853, n.p., KA. CB, Pohja parish, 1877–1886, p. 85, KA. CB, Pohja parish, 1887–1896, p. 111, KA. CB, Pohja parish, 1900–1909 I, p. 216, APSP. CB, Pohja parish, 1910–1919 I, p. 206, APSP. CB, Pohja parish, 1921–1930 I, p. 188, APSP.

¹¹⁴⁶ RBC, Sipoo parish, 1828–1868, p. 215, KA. CB, Sipoo parish, 1869–1878 I, p. 42, KA. CB, Sipoo parish, 1910–1919 I, p. 49, ASSP.

¹¹⁴⁷ RBC, Sipoo parish, 1828–1868, p. 340, KA. CB, Helsinki undivided parish, 1880–1910 I, p. 761, Archive of Helsinki Undivided Parish, CRHP. Passport Records, 1888, Archive of the Administrative Department of Uusimaa Provincial Government, KA. *Mormon Immigration Index* CD-ROM, Departure date 6 October 1888, sv. Emelia Lindstrom. Marriage records 1887–1965, Marriage records, Salt Lake County, Book B, License 1283 (15 March 1890), FHL. RM, Salt Lake City 14th ward, 1875–1901, FHL. Marriage records, Cache County, 1888–1891, p. 387,

Lindström, Karl Anders**12.3.1878, Sipoo**

Born 11.4.1858 in Sipoo. Baptized by Axel Tullgren. Excommunicated 12.9.1880. Son of Karl Henrik Lindström and stepson of Anna Lindström.¹¹⁴⁸

Lindström, Karl Henrik**11.3.1878, Sipoo**

Born 17.1.1826 in Sipoo. Baptized by Axel Tullgren and confirmed by Olof Forssell. Ordained teacher, presumably some days after the baptism. Excommunicated 12.9.1880 and died 15.7.1896. Husband of Anna Lindström and father of Karl Anders Lindström.¹¹⁴⁹

Lindvall, Otto**24.9.1882, Paimio**

Born 24.1.1840 in Paimio. Baptized and confirmed by his brother Joseph Lindvall (see Appendix A). Brother also of Adolf Wirta and brother-in-law of Ulrika Wirta. Served as a soldier at some point in his life.¹¹⁵⁰

Löfberg, Matts**4.9.1881, Larsmo**

Born 17.12.1802 in Kronoby. Baptized by Matts Andersson and confirmed by Johan Pasander. Lived in Pietarsaari. Excommunicated 25.12.1881 and died 27.9.1889.¹¹⁵¹

Mattson, Alfred Agapetus**19.10.1884, Helsinki**

Born 16.8.1860 in Tottijärvi. Baptized and confirmed by Alexander Hedberg. A Finnish-speaker.¹¹⁵²

FHL. IGI, sv. Emelia Lindstrom. See also RM, Benjamin ward, 1892–1903, p. 38, FHL.

¹¹⁴⁸ RBC, Sipoo parish, 1828–1868, p. 486, KA. CB, Sipoo parish, 1869–1878 I, p. 42, KA.

¹¹⁴⁹ CB, Sipoo parish, 1848–1858 I, p. 32, KA. CB, Sipoo parish, 1869–1878 I, p. 42, KA. CB, Sipoo parish, 1890–1899 I, p. 42, KA.

¹¹⁵⁰ RBC, Paimio parish, 1818–1844, p. 336, KA. CB, Paimio parish, 1882–1891, p. 300, KA.

¹¹⁵¹ RBC, Kronoby parish, 1797–1842, n.p., KA. CB, Pietarsaari Swedish parish, 1872–1881, p. 74, Archive of Pietarsaari Swedish Parish, CRPP. CB, Pietarsaari Swedish parish, 1882–1891, p. 95, Archive of Pietarsaari Swedish Parish, CRPP. Finland Branch Record 1876–1897, CHLA, indicates that the baptizer was a “Lars Andersson,” but Vera Nyman (a descendant of Anders Johansson in Larsmo), claims in her “Historiska händelser” that Matts was the baptizer. Lars Andersson would in this case have been a visiting missionary, but I have not found any other mention of this name in Finland Branch Record 1876–1897, or any other source. Taking into account Nyman’s claim, the silence of the primary sources on a Lars Andersson, and the fact that the confirmer was a local Mormon, it seems likely that the baptizer in actuality was Matts Andersson and that the entry in Finland Branch Record 1876–1897 is simply a scribal mistake. Meeting minutes, 25 December 1881, Finland Branch Record 1876–1897, CHLA.

¹¹⁵² RBC, Tottijärvi parish, 1837–1891, p. 218, KA.

Motela, Anna Margareta**27.5.1877, Pietarsaari**

Born 2.1.1842 in Liminka. Baptized by Carl Sundström and confirmed by Axel Tullgren.

Olander, Anders Gustaf**20.7.1886, Sipoo**

Born 13.12.1816 in Sipoo. Baptized and confirmed by Fredrik Sandberg. Husband of Anna Olander. Died 15.4.1901.¹¹⁵³

Olander, Anna Christina**24.10.1879, Sipoo**

Born 6.11.1832 in Porvoo. Baptized and confirmed by Per Pettersson. Wife of Anders Olander. Died 12.1.1913.¹¹⁵⁴

Pasander, Fredrika Wilhelmina**2.9.1886, Kokkola**

Born 13.12.1840 in Kokkola. Baptized and confirmed by Fredrik Sandberg. Wife of Johan Pasander after Helena Pasander. Became a Baptist after Johan's death.¹¹⁵⁵

Pasander, Helena Sophia**3.6.1877, Pietarsaari**

Born 2.2.1841 in Uusikaarlepyy. Baptized and confirmed by Carl Sundström. Wife of Johan Pasander; a midwife and vaccinator after her baptism. Died 21.2.1885.¹¹⁵⁶

Pasander, Johan Alexander**3.6.1877, Pietarsaari**

Born 28.4.1835 in Kokkola. Baptized by Carl Sundström and confirmed by Axel Tullgren. Excommunicated, then rebaptized on 2.9.1886 in Kokkola by Fredrik Sandberg. Ordained priest and later elder. Husband of Helena Pasander and, after her death, husband of Fredrika Pasander. A carpenter by trade. Pasander died 8.1.1900 and is buried in Pietarsaari Old Cemetery, block 31.¹¹⁵⁷

¹¹⁵³ RBC, Sipoo parish, 1794–1827, p. 407. CB, Sipoo parish, 1880–1889 II, p. 584, KA. CB, Sipoo parish, 1900–1909 II, p. 955, ASSP. See also S. Norman Lee diary, 8–9 June 1897, CHLA.

¹¹⁵⁴ RBC, Porvoo parish, 1826–1832, p. 502, KA. CB, Sipoo parish, 1869–1878 II, p. 601, KA. CB, Sipoo parish, 1910–1919 II, p. 946, ASSP. See also S. Norman Lee diary, 1896–1898, 8–9 June 1897, CHLA.

¹¹⁵⁵ RBC, Kokkola parish, 1835–1862, p. 83, KA. CB, Pietarsaari Swedish parish, 1882–1891, p. 333, Archive of Pietarsaari Swedish Parish, CRPP. CB, Pietarsaari Swedish parish, 1902–1909 I, p. 274, Archive of Pietarsaari Swedish Parish, CRPP. See also S. Norman Lee diary, 1896–1898, 17–19 June 1897, CHLA.

¹¹⁵⁶ RBC, Uusikaarlepyy town parish, 1805–1861, p. 102, KA. CB, Pietarsaari parish, 1857–1865, p. 258, KA. CB, Pietarsaari Swedish parish, 1872–1881, p. 256 and 258, Archive of Pietarsaari Swedish Parish, CRPP. CB, Pietarsaari Swedish parish, 1882–1891, p. 333, Archive of Pietarsaari Swedish Parish, CRPP.

¹¹⁵⁷ CB, Pietarsaari parish, 1857–1865, p. 258, KA. CB, Pietarsaari Swedish parish, 1892–1901, p. 350, Archive of Pietarsaari Swedish parish, CRPP. See also S. Norman Lee diary, 1896–1898, 17–19 June 1897, CHLA.

Ruth, Anna Carolina**20.10.1883, Helsinki**

Born 29.6.1828 in Viipuri. Baptized and confirmed by Lars Swalberg. Wife of master chimney sweeper Josef Ruth, who died in Sipoo on 4.2.1883. Emigrated to Utah in 1886 and settled in Salt Lake City, where she lived for a while at the same address as Maria Reutervall (see Chapter 7 and Appendix C) and Alexander Hedberg (see Appendix A). Visited Finland in 1891 during a journey for genealogical research. She passed away in Salt Lake City on 7.3.1916 and is buried in the Salt Lake City Cemetery, block S, lot 42 (Karoline Root).¹¹⁵⁸

Selenius, Olga Emilia**15.8.1887, Helsinki**

Born 26.9.1864 in Helsinki. Baptized and confirmed by Leonard Nyberg. Died 26.10.1915.¹¹⁵⁹

Siljander, Maria Lovisa**29.10.1879, Sipoo**

Born 31.10.1834 in Liljendal. Baptized and confirmed by Per Pettersson. Died 31.10.1883.¹¹⁶⁰

Sjöblom, Maria Christina**10.1.1882, Turku**

Born 25.3.1836 in Lemu. Baptized by Anders Norell and confirmed by Joseph Lindvall. Died 7.3.1904.¹¹⁶¹

¹¹⁵⁸ RBC, Viipuri Swedish parish, 1798–1840, n.p., KA. CB, Helsinki undivided parish, 1870–1881 III, p. 375, KA. RDB, Helsinki undivided parish, 1878–1891, n.p., KA. CB, Helsinki undivided parish, 1880–1910 III, p. 375, Archive of Helsinki Undivided Parish, CRHP. “Korrespondens,” *Hufvudstadsbladet*, 2 December 1883, p. 2. “Ett och annat från Sibbo,” *Hufvudstadsbladet*, 20 June 1886, p. 2. Emigration Records, Scandinavian Mission, 1852–1920, p. 135, FHL. RM, Salt Lake City 13th Ward, early to 1900, pp. 5–6 and 63–64, FHL. *Utah Gazetteer and Directory of Salt Lake, Ogden, Provo and Logan Cities, for 1888* (Salt Lake City: Lorenzo Stenhouse, 1888), Salt Lake City section, p. 165 and 257. Missionaries of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, vol. 4, 1891:136, CHLA. “Finsk mormon på besök i hemlandet,” *Hufvudstadsbladet*, 11 September 1891, p. 2. RM, Salt Lake City 13th ward, 1890–1901, pp. 65–66, FHL. For Anna’s addresses, see *R.L. Polk & Co’s Salt Lake City Directory* (Salt Lake City: R.L. Polk & Co., Publishers), 1899:708, 1911:868, 1913:832, 1915:844, and for her death, 1916:718. “Called By Death,” *Deseret News*, 8 March 1916, p. 2. Death certificate of Karoline Root, UDC.

¹¹⁵⁹ RBC, Helsinki undivided parish, 1862–1864, n.p., KA. CB, Helsinki undivided parish, 1880–1910 I, p. 275, Archive of Helsinki Undivided Parish, CRHP. CB, Helsinki northern Swedish parish, 1906–1919 IV, p. 671, Archive of Helsinki Northern Swedish Parish, CRHP.

¹¹⁶⁰ RBC, Liljendal parish, 1819–1866, n.p., KA. CB, Sipoo parish, 1869–1878 II, p. 491, KA. RDB, Sipoo parish, 1879–1906, p. 24, KA.

¹¹⁶¹ RBC, Lemu parish, 1822–1915, p. 90, KA. CB, Turku Cathedral parish, 1885–1900 S, p. 493, Archive of Turku Cathedral Parish, TMA. CB, Turku Cathedral parish, 1895–1904 S, p. 357, Archive of Turku Cathedral Parish, TMA. See also S. Norman Lee diary, 1896–1898, 28 May and 14 June 1897, CHLA.

Smedman, Carolina**28.5.1876, Mustasaari**

Born 26.3.1848 in Mustasaari. Baptized by Johan Sundström and confirmed by Carl Sundström. Excommunicated 1.5.1881.¹¹⁶²

Sten, Johan Eric**23.7.1876, Mustasaari**

Born 19.1.1822 in Mustasaari. Baptized and confirmed by Carl Sundström. Excommunicated. Husband of Maria Berg and both brother-in-law (from first marriage, his wife died 1.6.1876) and son-in-law (from second marriage to Maria Berg) of Anna Berg. From his second marriage also a brother-in-law of John Berg (see Appendix A) and Ulrika Söderman. A trustee of Mustasaari Lutheran parish when baptized.¹¹⁶³

Söderman, Ulrika**5.8.1877, Mustasaari**

Born 22.11.1841 in Mustasaari. Baptized and confirmed by Axel Tullgren. Daughter of Anna Berg, sister of John (see Appendix A) and Maria Berg, and sister-in-law of Sophia Berg (see Appendix C) and Johan Sten.¹¹⁶⁴

Tallgren, August**12.3.1878, Sipoo**

Birth date and place unknown. Baptized by Axel Tullgren. Excommunicated 9.4.1882. A former guardsman.¹¹⁶⁵

Wikström, Amanda Wilhelmina**17.2.1886, Pohja**

Born 20.7.1844 in Karjaa. Baptized and confirmed by Carl Selin. Wife of Karl Wikström. Died 16.6.1929.¹¹⁶⁶

Wikström, Karl Fabian**28.6.1886, Pohja**

Born 9.4.1840 in Karjaa. Baptized and confirmed by Fredrik Sandberg. Husband of Amanda Wikström. Ordained priest 12.6.1897. Paralyzed. Died 10.4.1907.¹¹⁶⁷

¹¹⁶² RBC, Mustasaari parish, 1848–1861, n.p., KA. CB, Mustasaari parish, 1871–1880, p. 189, KA.

¹¹⁶³ RBC, Mustasaari parish, 1819–1825, n.p., KA. CB, Mustasaari parish, 1871–1880, p. 744, KA.

¹¹⁶⁴ RBC, Mustasaari parish, 1835–1847, p. 261, KA. CB, Mustasaari parish, 1871–1880, p. 758, KA.

¹¹⁶⁵ Wilhelm Fredrikson to Porvoo Diocesan Chapter, 2 April 1878, Incoming Documents, Archive of Porvoo Diocesan Chapter, KA.

¹¹⁶⁶ RBC, Karjaa parish, 1824–1879, p. 222, KA. CB, Pohja parish, 1877–1886, p. 84, KA. CB, Pohja parish, 1887–1896, p. 115, KA. CB, Pohja parish, 1900–1909 I, p. 245, APSP. CB, Pohja parish, 1910–1919 I, p. 206, APSP. CB, Pohja parish, 1921–1930 I, p. 188, APSP. See also S. Norman Lee diary, 1896–1898, 11–13 June 1897, CHLA.

¹¹⁶⁷ RBC, Karjaa parish, 1824–1879, p. 185, KA. CB, Pohja parish, 1877–1886, p. 84, KA. CB, Pohja parish, 1887–1896, p. 115, KA. CB, Pohja parish, 1900–1909 I, p. 245, APSP. See also S. Norman Lee diary, 1896–1898, 11–13 June 1897, CHLA.

Winqvist, Alexander Gustafsson 8.9.1886, Helsinki

Born 24.3.1848 in Uusikaarlepyy. Baptized and confirmed by August Nordin. Ordained teacher 10.4.1887 and elder 21.6.1887. Husband of Erika Winqvist and a carpenter by trade. Lived at Iso Roobertinkatu 42 in Helsinki. Emigrated to Utah in 1888 without her and eventually settled in Benjamin. When in Utah, he married Emelie Lindström in 1890 and later the Swedes Eva Carlson and Helena Sophia Johnson, although it is not known if the marriages were polygamous. Winqvist passed away 29.12.1923.¹¹⁶⁸

Winqvist, Erika 23.6.1887, Helsinki

Born 27.6.1838 in Loppi. Baptized and confirmed by Leonard Nyberg. Wife of Alexander Winqvist, remained in Finland when he emigrated to Utah in 1888. Lived at Iso Roobertinkatu 42 in Helsinki. Died 13.1.1908.¹¹⁶⁹

Wirta, Adolf Fredrik 24.9.1882, Paimio

Born 5.11.1837 in Paimio. Baptized and confirmed by his brother Joseph Lindvall. Husband of Ulrika Wirta and brother also of Otto Lindvall. Former soldier.¹¹⁷⁰

Wirta, Ulrika Josefina 24.9.1882, Paimio

Born 5.7.1846 in Piikkiö. Baptized and confirmed by her brother-in-law Joseph Lindvall. Wife of Adolf Wirta and sister-in-law of Otto Lindvall.¹¹⁷¹

Wörgren, Alexander 21.11.1881, Pietarsaari

Born 25.10.1856 in Pietarsaari. Baptized by Anders Norell and confirmed by Joseph Lindvall. Ordained teacher and later priest. Moved to Sundsvall, Swe-

¹¹⁶⁸ RBC, Uusikaarlepyy rural parish, 1836–1873, p. 285, KA. CB, Helsinki undivided parish, 1880–1910 III, p. 642, Archive of Helsinki Undivided Parish, CRHP. Alexander Winqvist to Fredrik R. Sandberg, 25 September 1886, Finland Branch Record 1876–1897, fd. 3, CHLA. “Mormoner i Helsingfors,” *Finland*, 20 September 1888, p. 3. IGI, sv. Allexander Gustafsen and sv. Alexander Gustavsen. RM, Salt Lake City 14th ward, 1875–1901, FHL. Marriage licenses, Salt Lake County, 1890–1893, license no. 3617 (6 July 1893), FHL. United States Census, 1900, Benjamin, Utah, District 155. RM, Benjamin ward, 1892–1903, p. 38, FHL. United States Census, 1910, Benjamin, Utah, District 185. Marriage records, Utah County, Marriage applications June 1909–November 1913, application no. 249, FHL. United States Census, 1920, Benjamin, Utah, District 192. RM, Benjamin ward, 1919–1940, entry 236, FHL. Death certificate of Alexander Gustafsson, UDC.

¹¹⁶⁹ RBC, Loppi parish, 1826–1849, p. 243, KA. CB, Helsinki undivided parish, 1880–1910 III, p. 642, Archive of Helsinki Undivided Parish, CRHP.

¹¹⁷⁰ RBC, Paimio parish, 1818–1844, pp. 309–310, KA. CB, Paimio parish, 1882–1891, p. 413, KA.

¹¹⁷¹ RBC, Piikkiö parish, 1827–1850, p. 320, KA. CB, Paimio parish, 1882–1891, p. 413, KA.

den, in 1883 for a time and was excommunicated there 20.1.1884. A shoemaker by trade. Husband of Lovisa Wörgren.¹¹⁷²

Wörgren, Lovisa Charlotta **15.4.1882, Pietarsaari**

Born 7.2.1858 in Kokkola. Baptized and confirmed by Anders Norell. Moved to Sundsvall, Sweden, in 1883 for a time. Wife of Alexander Wörgren. Died 14.12.1893.¹¹⁷³

Wörsten, Catharina Lovisa **6.8.1883, Helsinki**

Born 9.1.1846 in Pietarsaari. Baptized and confirmed by Lars Swalberg. Died 18.5.1917.¹¹⁷⁴

¹¹⁷² RBC, Pietarsaari parish, 1847–1870, p. 102, KA. CB, Pietarsaari Swedish parish, 1872–1881, p. 76, Archive of Pietarsaari Swedish Parish, CRPP. RM, Sundsvall branch, 1857–1890, p. 49, FHL. CB, Pietarsaari Swedish parish, 1882–1891, p. 94, Archive of Pietarsaari Swedish Parish, CRPP. CB, Pietarsaari Swedish parish, 1892–1901, p. 410, Archive of Pietarsaari Swedish Parish, CRPP.

¹¹⁷³ RBC, Kokkola parish, 1835–1862, p. 278, KA. For other references, see Alexander Wörgren.

¹¹⁷⁴ RBC, Pietarsaari parish, 1843–1861, n.p., KA. CB, Helsinki undivided parish, 1880–1910 III, p. 44, Archive of Helsinki Undivided Parish, CRHP. CB, Helsinki southern Swedish parish, 1906–1919 V, p. 474, Archive of Helsinki Southern Swedish Parish, CRHP. Mentioned in Alexander S. Hedberg to Anthon H. Lund, 22 November 1884, reprinted in “Korrespondens,” *Nordstjernen*, vol. 8, no. 24 (15 December 1884), pp. 376–377. See also S. Norman Lee diary, 1896–1898, 7 June 1897, CHLA.

Appendix C: Data on Finnish Converts Abroad

Finnish natives did not become Mormons only in Finland. As shown in Appendix A, two Finns who converted to Mormonism elsewhere later returned to their native land to proselytize. Further research reveals that numerous other Finns were baptized Mormons abroad during the time period covered by this study. They are the subject of this appendix. While these converts did not live in Finland, some of them were no doubt also influential in keeping Finland in the minds of Mormon leaders who had the power to send missionaries into the country. For example, Erastus Snow remarked in 1873 that persons from Finland were in attendance at a conference held in Stockholm, Sweden, desiring that missionaries be sent into Finland.¹¹⁷⁵

Unlike the case of Appendices A and B, a systematic search has not been undertaken to find Finns who converted abroad. Rather, the individuals listed here have mostly been found during research that focused on finding the missionaries (Appendix A) and ascertaining the fate of the emigrants (Chapter 7). They have been found through searches in membership records of some church branches in Sweden or wards in Salt Lake City, Utah, USA. In addition, some have been found through a search of literature and through hints from individuals researching their family histories. The list makes no claim of being comprehensive, but rather is intended to illustrate that Finns also joined the Mormon church abroad, and to provide a starting point for further research. A total of 39 Finns are included in this list, and future research will no doubt result in more being found. Names are here provided as they were at the time of baptism, if known.

The information is first provided in condensed form in Table C.1.

¹¹⁷⁵ Andrew Jenson, "Manuscript History of the Finland Mission," p. 2, CHLA.

Table C.1. Data on Finnish persons who converted to Mormonism abroad.

#	Given name	Surname	Age	Sex	Baptized	Place
1	Beata Lovisa	Anderson	39	F	10.3.1889	Uppsala, SWE
2	Johan Engelbert	Anderson	41	M	15.5.1881	Långtära, SWE
3	Johan	Backlund	25	M	21.2.1876	Stockholm, SWE
4	Gustava Elisabeth	Backman	37	F	8.3.1875	Sundsvall, SWE
5	Johan	Berg	35	M	17.9.1875	Sundsvall, SWE
6	Lovisa	Berg	20	F	7.5.1872	Sundsvall, SWE
7	Sophia	Berg	29	F	6.1.1875	Sundsvall, SWE
8	Ulrika	Boberg	36	F	29.11.1877	Stockholm, Sweden
9	Carolina	Brännbäck	23 30	F	24.8.1871 22.7.1878	Hudiksvall, SWE Stockholm, SWE
10	Carl Fredrik	Carlson	21	M	16.2.1876	Stockholm, SWE
11	Augusta Wilhelmina	Collin	19	F	23.4.1871	Forssa, SWE
12	Maria Evelina	Fredriksson	22	F	4.1.1883	Öknön, SWE
13	Maria Andersdotter	Glader	37	F	5.5.1892	Sundsvall, SWE
14	Lovisa	Gädda	62	F	4.10.1881	Sundsvall, SWE
15	John Adolf	Hamilton	29	M	17.2.1882	Salt Lake City, USA
16	Anders	Henriksson	28	M	27.12.1869	Sundsvall, SWE
17	Margareta	Henriksson	36	F	27.8.1882	Sundsvall, SWE
18	Maria	Henriksson	26	F	27.12.1869	Sundsvall, SWE
19	Johanna	Håkanson	35	F	9.10.1894	Stockholm, SWE
20	Anna Lovisa	Häggqvist	24	F	2.5.1871	Sundsvall, SWE
21	Anna Margareta	Jansson	38	F	2.5.1871	Hvittinge, SWE
22	Anders	Johansson	35	M	6.9.1888	Utah, USA
23	Carl	Johanson	29	M	28.12.1898	Sundsvall, SWE
24	Ulrika	Järf	24	F	24.8.1871	Sundsvall, SWE
25	Anders Gustaf	Klöfverstedt	52	M	29.6.1875	Bergsjö, SWE
26	Johan	Kumolehto	21	M	2.12.1872	Stockholm, SWE
27	Alma Dissideria	Larsson	16	F	7.3.1878	Stockholm, SWE
28	Amalia Josephina	Lindbohm	51	F	2.6.1897	St. Petersburg, RUS
29	Alma Augusta	Lindlöf	33	F	11.6.1895	St. Petersburg, RUS
30	Johan Mauritz	Lindlöf	37	M	11.6.1895	St. Petersburg, RUS

Table C.1. (cont.)

31	Oskar Edvard	Lindlöf	9	M	3.6.1900	St. Petersburg, RUS
32	Brita	Lindström	46	F	9.2.1859	Sundsvall, SWE
33	Joseph Reinhold	Lindvall	25–28	M	1858/1860	Probably USA
34	Anna Margareta	Malmström	62	F	10.5.1865	Visby, SWE
35	Alexander Magnus	Mead	19	M	17.4.1856	Place unknown
36	Maria Amanda	Reutervall	20	F	3.5.1882	Stockholm, SWE
37	Johan	Savilaakso	21	M	July 1853	On board a ship to USA
38	Fredrika	Snikar	32	F	6.1.1875	Sundsvall, SWE
39	Anna Ulrika	West	19	F	27.9.1869	Stockholm, SWE

In the following I provide detailed information on each of the converts, together with source references. The information is listed in the following format:

Surname, given names**Date and place of baptism**

Information on birth, emigration, excommunication, family relationships, etc.

Anderson, Beata Lovisa**10.3.1889, Uppsala, SWE**

Born 11.1.1850 in Vörå. Emigrated to Utah in April 1890.¹¹⁷⁶

Anderson, Johan Engelbert**15.5.1881, Långtära, SWE**

Born 25.9.1839 in Askainen. Emigrated to Utah in May 1890. A brewer and farmer by trade. He died 16.3.1916 in Midvale and is buried in Murray City Cemetery, block 7, lot 133.¹¹⁷⁷

Backlund, Johan**21.2.1876, Stockholm, SWE**

Born 6.4.1850 in Vörå. Moved to Pietarsaari, Finland, in October 1876, where he was excommunicated 6.1.1878. Worked as a painter.¹¹⁷⁸

¹¹⁷⁶ RBC, Vörå parish, 1841–1860, p. 415, KA. RM, Uppsala branch, 1884–1904, p. 49, FHL. Shauna C. Anderson, Susan Easton Black, and Ruth Ellen Maness, *Passport to Paradise: The Copenhagen "Mormon" Passenger Lists*, 2 vols. (West Jordan: Genealogical Services, 2000), vol. 2, p. 697.

¹¹⁷⁷ RBC, Askainen parish, 1826–1875, p. 89, KA. RM, Uppsala branch, 1865–1884, n.p., FHL. RM, Uppsala branch, 1884–1904, p. 13, FHL. Anderson et al., *Passport to Paradise*, vol. 2, p. 704. RM, Salt Lake City 13th ward, 1890–1901, pp. 1–2. Death certificate of John [sic] Engelbert Anderson, UDC.

Backman, Gustava Elisabeth 8.3.1875, Sundsvall, SWE

Born 10.9.1847 in Vaasa. Her surname became Carlsson at some point after her baptism. Emigrated to Utah in June 1878.¹¹⁷⁹

Berg, Johan 17.9.1875, Sundsvall, SWE

See John Berg in Appendix A.

Berg, Lovisa 7.5.1872, Sundsvall, SWE

Born 12.6.1851 in Vaasa. Excommunicated 15.9.1875.¹¹⁸⁰

Berg, Sophia 6.1.1875, Sundsvall, SWE

Born 19.5.1845 in Mustasaari. Wife of Johan Berg, daughter of Carl Åhl and Lovisa Gädda, who provided lodging to the first Mormon missionaries in Vaasa, sister of Maria Henriksson, and sister-in-law of Anders Henriksson. Emigrated to Utah in June 1882.¹¹⁸¹

Boberg, Ulrika 29.11.1877, Stockholm, SWE

Born 18.2.1841 in Vaasa. Her Swedish husband was baptized on the same day. Excommunicated 25.8.1886.¹¹⁸²

Brännbäck, Carolina 24.8.1871, Hudiksvall, SWE

Born 28.11.1847 in Mustasaari. Moved to Stockholm in 1873, where she was excommunicated 22.5.1876. Rebaptized as Karolina Lundberg on 22.7.1878 in Stockholm. Died 11.4.1892 as a member of the Uppsala branch.¹¹⁸³

Carlson, Carl Fredrik 16.2.1876, Stockholm, SWE

Born 22.3.1854 in Olsby. Excommunicated 19.6.1876.¹¹⁸⁴

¹¹⁷⁸ RBC, Vörå parish, 1841–1860, p. 425, KA. RM, Stockholm branch, 1863–1903, p. 83, FHL. Finland Branch Record 1876–1897, CHLA. CB, Pietarsaari Swedish parish, 1872–1881, p. 186–187, CRPP. CB, Pietarsaari Swedish parish, 1882–1891, p. 225, Archive of Pietarsaari Swedish Parish, CRPP.

¹¹⁷⁹ RBC, Vaasa parish, 1844–1862, p. 59, KA. RM, Sundsvall branch, 1857–1890, pp. 29–30, FHL.

¹¹⁸⁰ RM, Sundsvall branch, 1857–1890, p. 19, FHL.

¹¹⁸¹ RBC, Mustasaari parish, 1835–1847, p. 383, KA. RM, Sundsvall branch, 1857–1890, pp. 27–28, FHL.

¹¹⁸² RM, Stockholm branch, 1863–1903, p. 96, FHL. Stockholm Branch General Minutes, vol. 5, p. 268, CHLA.

¹¹⁸³ RBC, Mustasaari parish, 1835–1847, p. 478, KA. RM, Sundsvall branch, 1857–1890, p. 18, FHL. RM, Stockholm branch, 1863–1903, p. 63 and 103, FHL. Stockholm Branch General Minutes, vol. 4, p. 464, CHLA. RM, Uppsala branch, 1884–1904, p. 38, FHL.

¹¹⁸⁴ RM, Stockholm branch, 1863–1903, p. 83, FHL. Stockholm Branch General Minutes, Stockholm branch, vol. 4, p. 465, CHLA.

Collin, Augusta Wilhelmina 23.4.1871, Forssa, SWE

Born 13.3.1852 in Pori. Moved to Gävle, Sweden, in 1871 after her baptism.¹¹⁸⁵

Fredriksson, Maria Evelina 4.1.1883, Öknön, SWE

Born 18.11.1860 in Hammarland, Åland Islands. Excommunicated 7.5.1883.¹¹⁸⁶

Glader, Maria Andersdotter 5.5.1892, Sundsvall, SWE

Born 16.7.1854 in Vaasa. Excommunicated and rebaptized two times.¹¹⁸⁷

Gädda, Lovisa 4.10.1881, Sundsvall, SWE

Born 26.10.1818 in Mustasaari. Wife of Carl Åhl, who provided lodging to the first Mormon missionaries in Vaasa, mother of Sophia Berg and Maria Henriksson, and mother-in-law of Johan Berg and Anders Henriksson. Emigrated to Utah in June 1882, attended the temple endowment ceremony in the Manti Utah temple in 1888, and returned to Scandinavia after 1889.¹¹⁸⁸

Hamilton, John Adolf 17.2.1882, Salt Lake City, USA

Born 17.6.1852 in Hamina and christened Johan Adolf. Manufactured shoe blacking and later flags, tents, and awnings in Salt Lake City. Proposed as a potential missionary to Finland in 1887.¹¹⁸⁹

Henriksson, Anders 27.12.1869, Sundsvall, SWE

Born 1.7.1841 in Kronoby. Had four of his children blessed according to Mormon custom while in Sundsvall. He emigrated to America in 1877 and settled in Santaquin, Utah. Husband of Maria Henriksson, son-in-law of Carl Åhl and Lovisa Gädda, who provided lodging to the first missionaries in Vaasa, brother of Margareta Henriksson, and brother-in-law of Sophia Berg. Ameri-

¹¹⁸⁵ RBC, Pori rural parish, 1830–1855, supplement, n.p., KA. RM, Sundsvall branch, 1857–1890, p. 18, FHL.

¹¹⁸⁶ RBC, Hammarland parish, 1794–1876, n.p., KA. RM, Stockholm branch, 1863–1903, p. 128, FHL. Stockholm Branch General Minutes, vol. 5, p. 170, CHLA.

¹¹⁸⁷ RM, Sundsvall branch, 1866–1896, p. 18, FHL. The record indicates that she was excommunicated the first time on 7 May 1883, but she cannot be found in the Sundsvall branch record of members at that time.

¹¹⁸⁸ RBC, Mustasaari parish, 1804–1818, n.p., KA. RM, Sundsvall branch, 1857–1890, p. 44, FHL. Mary H. Rasmussen and Patsy Hendrickson, "A Life Sketch of Andrew Hendrickson and Maria Carl Fredrickson Gadda," (2007), unpublished manuscript in my possession.

¹¹⁸⁹ Record of children, Hamina and Vehkalahti parish, 1858–1874, p. 67 and 100, KA. RM, Salt Lake City 13th ward, early to 1900, pp. 29–30, FHL. "Home Made Blacking," *Deseret Evening News*, 31 January 1885, p. 3. *Utah Gazetteer and Directory of Salt Lake, Ogden, Provo and Logan Cities, for 1888* (Salt Lake City: Lorenzo Stenhouse, 1888), p. 156. *R.L. Polk & Co's Salt Lake City Directory* (SLC: R.L. Polk & Co., Publishers), 1890:322. Nils C. Flygare to George Teasdale, 2 September 1887, Scandinavian Mission Letterpress Copybooks, vol. 8, CHLA.

canized his name as Andrew Hendrickson. Proposed as a potential missionary to Finland in 1887. Died 12.11.1926 and is buried with his wife in the Santaquin City Cemetery in block A opposite block B, lot 50.¹¹⁹⁰

Henriksson, Margareta **27.8.1882, Sundsvall, SWE**

Born 12.12.1845 in Kronoby. Sister of Anders Henriksson and sister-in-law of Maria Henriksson. Died in June 1889.¹¹⁹¹

Henriksson, Maria **27.12.1869, Sundsvall, SWE**

Born 7.7.1843 in Mustasaari. Wife of Anders Henriksson, daughter of Carl Åhl and Lovisa Gädda, who provided lodging to the first Mormon missionaries in Vaasa, sister of Sophia Berg, and sister-in-law of Johan Berg and Margareta Henriksson. Emigrated with her husband to America and changed her surname to Hendrickson. Died 17.4.1903 and is buried with her husband in the Santaquin City Cemetery in block A opposite block B, lot 50.¹¹⁹²

Håkanson, Johanna **9.10.1894, Stockholm, SWE**

Born 30.11.1858 in Kvevlax. Emigrated to Utah in November 1895.¹¹⁹³

Häggqvist, Anna Lovisa **2.5.1871, Sundsvall, SWE**

Born 6.5.1846 in Vaasa. Excommunicated 4.4.1875.¹¹⁹⁴

Jansson, Anna Margareta **2.5.1871, Hvittinge, SWE**

Born 20.6.1832 in Jomala, Åland Islands. Moved from the Uppsala area to Stockholm in May 1877. Died in November 1880.¹¹⁹⁵

Johansson, Anders **6.9.1888, Utah, USA**

Born 4.9.1853 in Kokkola. Emigrated to Utah in 1874, where his name was anglicized as Andrew Johnson. Worked in the Bingham Canyon mines in Utah. Died 12.3.1917.¹¹⁹⁶

¹¹⁹⁰ RBC, Kronoby parish, 1797–1842, n.p., KA. RM, Sundsvall branch, 1857–1890, p. 15, 201, 202, and 204, FHL. Mary H. Rasmussen and Patsy Hendrickson, “A Life Sketch of Andrew Hendrickson and Maria Carl Fredrickson Gadda,” (2007), unpublished manuscript in my possession. *Santaquin “Through the Years” 1856–1956: Santaquin Centennial History* (Santaquin: n.p., 1956), p. 130. Nils C. Flygare to George Teasdale, 2 September 1887, Scandinavian Mission Letterpress Copybooks, vol. 8, CHLA. Death certificate of Andrew Hendrickson, UDC.

¹¹⁹¹ RM, Sundsvall branch, 1857–1890, p. 47 and 56, FHL. RM, Sundsvall branch, 1866–1896, p. 5, FHL.

¹¹⁹² RBC, Mustasaari parish, 1835–1847, p. 306, KA. See references for Anders Henriksson.

¹¹⁹³ RM, Stockholm branch, 1863–1903, p. 193, FHL.

¹¹⁹⁴ RM, Sundsvall branch, 1857–1890, p. 17, FHL.

¹¹⁹⁵ RBC, Jomala parish, 1804–1836, p. 167, KA. RM, Uppsala branch, 1865–1884, n.p., FHL. RM, Stockholm branch, 1863–1903, p. 91, FHL.

Lindlöf, Johan Mauritz **11.6.1895, St. Petersburg, RUS**

Born 25.12.1857 in Pohja. Husband of Alma Lindlöf and father of Oskar Lindlöf. Son of Otto and Wendla Lindlöf (see Appendix B and Chapter 6). Moved to Helsinki, Finland, in the late 1920s.¹²⁰⁴

Lindlöf, Oskar Edvard **3.6.1900, St. Petersburg, RUS**

Born 15.12.1890 in St. Petersburg, Russia. Son of Alma and Johan Lindlöf. Died 2.8.1913 in St. Petersburg.¹²⁰⁵

Lindström, Brita **9.2.1859, Sundsvall, SWE**

Born 9.4.1812 in Vaasa. Excommunicated in June 1859.¹²⁰⁶

Lindvall, Joseph Reinhold **1858 or Aug 1860, prob. USA**

See Appendix A.

Lundberg, Karolina **22.7.1878, Stockholm, SWE**

See Carolina Brännbäck.

Malmström, Anna Margareta **10.5.1865, Visby, SWE**

Born 4.12.1802 in Jomala, Åland Islands. Moved to Stockholm in June 1870.¹²⁰⁷

Mead, Alexander Magnus **17.4.1856, place unknown**

Born 19.4.1836 in Pori with the surname Tengström. Became a sailor. Served in the "Cotton Mission" in Utah in the early 1860s. Participated in building the Salt Lake City Mormon Tabernacle. Mentioned as a potential missionary to Finland in 1882. Died in 1915.¹²⁰⁸

Reutervall, Maria Amanda **3.5.1882, Stockholm, SWE**

Born 13.7.1861 in Naantali. Moved to Sweden temporarily in 1881. Emigrated to Utah from Finland in 1886, where she married Alexander Hedberg (see Ap-

¹²⁰³ RBC, Pohja parish, 1839–1865, n.p., KA. RM, Stockholm branch, 1863–1903, p. 195, FHL. CB, Pohja parish, 1910–1919 III, p. 1369, APSP. Johan M. Lindlöv [sic] to E. Blomqvist, 13 February 1940; see CB, Pohja parish, 1951–1971 VII, p. 2447, APSP.

¹²⁰⁴ RBC, Pohja parish, 1839–1865, p. 383, KA. RM, Stockholm branch, 1863–1903, p. 195, FHL. CB, Pohja parish, 1910–1919 III, p. 1369, APSP.

¹²⁰⁵ RM, Stockholm branch, 1863–1903, n.p., no. 2524, FHL. Johan M. Lindlöv to E. Blomqvist, 13 February 1940; see CB, Pohja parish, 1951–1971 VII, p. 2447, APSP.

¹²⁰⁶ RM, Sundsvall branch, 1857–1890, p. 3, FHL.

¹²⁰⁷ RBC, Jomala parish, 1780–1803, n.p., KA. RM, Uppsala branch, 1865–1884, n.p., FHL.

¹²⁰⁸ RBC, Pori parish, 1830–1855, p. 87, KA. Christian D. Fjeldsted to Joseph F. Smith, 14 December 1882, Scandinavian Mission Letterpress Copybooks, vol. 5, CHLA. Jan Anderson, "Alexander Magnus Tengström Mead 1836–1915," (2009), unpublished manuscript in my possession.

pendix A). Moved to Chicago, Illinois, between 1888 and 1891. By 1897 the family had drifted away from Mormonism.¹²⁰⁹

Savilaakso, Johan

July 1853, on a ship to USA

Born 24.10.1831 in Oulu, anglicized his name as John Saline. He eventually settled in Pima, Arizona, USA. Mentioned as a potential missionary to Finland in 1882.¹²¹⁰

Snikar, Fredrika

6.1.1875, Sundsvall, SWE

Born 12.7.1842 in Vaasa. At some point after her baptism her surname became Glader. Excommunicated.¹²¹¹

West, Anna Ulrika

27.9.1869, Stockholm, SWE

Born 16.10.1849 in Vaasa. Excommunicated 4.10.1871 and rebaptized 5.6.1873 in Stockholm. Moved to the Västerås area in October 1877, died there 15.5.1880.¹²¹²

Furthermore, “a very promising young man (a Finlander)” was baptized in Boston, Massachusetts, USA, in the summer of 1857.¹²¹³ Unfortunately it is not known who this person was.

¹²⁰⁹ RBC, Naantali parish, 1838–1879, p. 268, KA. Passport Records, 1881, Archive of the Administrative Department of Turku and Pori Provincial Government, TMA. RM, Stockholm branch, 1863–1903, p. 125, FHL. Passport Records, 1886, Archive of the Administrative Department of Turku and Pori Provincial Government, TMA. RM, Salt Lake City 13th ward, early to 1900, pp. 63–64, FHL. IGI, sv. Maria Reutervall, FHL. United States Census, 1900, Chicago Ward 34, District 1110. See the entries of 30 May, 4 June, 15–16 June, and 26 June 1896 in Christian D. Fjeldsted Journals and Record Books, 1890–1905, CHLA. RM, Chicago branch, 1896–1901, pp. 15–16, FHL. RM, Chicago branch, early to 1917, p. 30, FHL.

¹²¹⁰ RBC, Oulu parish, 1822–1831, n.p., KA. Archibald F. Bennett, “The Romance of Discovery,” *The Improvement Era*, vol. 52, no. 7 (July 1949), pp. 462–463. Guy Weech, *Pioneer Town: Pima Centennial History* (Pima: Eastern Arizona Museum and Historical Society, 1979), p. 71. Christian D. Fjeldsted to Joseph F. Smith, 14 December 1882, Scandinavian Mission Letterpress Copybooks, vol. 5, CHLA.

¹²¹¹ RM, Sundsvall branch, 1857–1890, pp. 27–28, FHL.

¹²¹² RM, Stockholm branch, 1863–1903, p. 43 and 63, FHL. Stockholm Branch General Minutes, vol. 4, pp. 340–341, CHLA. RM, Västerås branch, 1862–1883, p. 19/204, FHL.

¹²¹³ Daniel Mackintosh to “Brother Appleby,” 10 August 1857, reprinted in “Correspondence of Elder Mackintosh,” *The Mormon*, 15 August 1857, p. 3.

Appendix D: Nomenclature and Maps

Due to Finland being bilingual, many cities, towns, and villages were known by two names: one in the Finnish language and another in the Swedish language. Throughout this study I mostly use place names as given in a particular map published in 1898 in Finnish, the majority language of the nation.¹²¹⁴ Exceptions are related mostly to modernized spelling and to some of the smaller localities for which the map gives only a Swedish name. Places discussed in the present study that have differing names in Swedish and Finnish are given in Table D.1, with the form used in the text underlined.

This appendix also contains three maps, reproduced from the referenced source. The map in Figure D.1 depicts the entire Russian Grand Duchy of Finland as its borders were defined during the time period of this study. I have edited the map to indicate the placement of Sundsvall and Stockholm in Sweden, both key localities for Mormonism's introduction to Finland. The second and third maps are excerpts of the original map as indicated. They focus on the Ostrobothnian region on the west coast (Figure D.2) and the region between Turku and Porvoo in the south (Figure D.3), the two principal areas of Mormon activity. The names of the localities that are of most importance for the present study have been underlined in those maps to facilitate perusal.

¹²¹⁴ *Suomi 19mnellä* [sic] *vuosisadalla*, 2nd ed. (Helsinki: G.W. Edlund, 1898).

Table D.1. Names of pertinent localities whose names differ in the Finnish and Swedish languages. The form used in the dissertation is underlined.

Finnish	Swedish
Alaveteli	<u>Nedervetil</u>
<u>Askainen</u>	Villnäs
<u>Helsinki</u>	Helsingfors
<u>Inkoo</u>	Ingå
Karjaa	<u>Karis</u>
<u>Kemiö</u>	Kimito
Klemettilä	<u>Klemetsö</u>
Koivulahti	<u>Kvevlax</u>
<u>Kokkola</u>	Gamlakarleby
<u>Kristiinankaupunki</u>	Kristinestad
Kruunupyy	<u>Kronoby</u>
<u>Lemu</u>	Lemo
Luoto	<u>Larsmo</u>
Maalahti	<u>Malax</u>
<u>Mustasaari</u>	Korsholm
<u>Naantali</u>	Nådendal
<u>Nikolainkaupunki</u>	Nikolaistad
Närpiö	<u>Närpes</u>
<u>Paimio</u>	Pemar
<u>Pietarsaari</u>	Jakobstad
<u>Piikkiö</u>	Piikkis
Pohja	<u>Pojo</u>
<u>Pori</u>	Björneborg
<u>Porvoo</u>	Borgå
<u>Sipoo</u>	Sibbo
<u>Tammisaari</u>	Ekenäs
<u>Tenhola</u>	Tenala
<u>Tottijärvi</u>	Totkijärvi
Tuovila	<u>Toby</u>
<u>Turku</u>	Åbo
<u>Uusikaarlepyy</u>	Nykarleby
<u>Uusikaupunki</u>	Nystad
<u>Vaasa</u>	Vasa
<u>Viipuri</u>	Viborg
Vöyri	<u>Vörå</u>



Figure D.2. The west-coast region of Ostrobothnia.

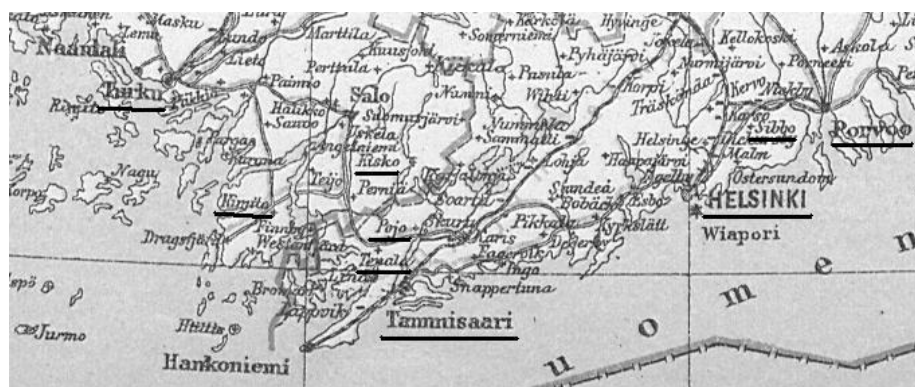


Figure D.3. The southern region between Turku and Porvoo.

The name “Waasa” in Figure D.2 is placed in the location of “old Vaasa” that burned in 1852. After that time the city was moved to its present location, marked in the map with the name Nikolainkaupunki as named in honor of Czar Nicholas I.

Appendix E: Original Quotations

Excerpts of text from primary and secondary sources are quoted throughout this study. In cases where the original language is Finnish, Swedish, or Danish, I have translated the text into English unless otherwise noted. This appendix provides the original text used in the translation, with the quotation identified by the corresponding footnote number.

Front leaf

“Hwem hade wäl trott, att denna skadliga sekt, om hwilken någon har sagt, att den är en förwriden och gräslig karrikatur af allt heligt, skulle hitta vägen äfwen till vårt undanskymda land? Wäl har man hört talas om Baptister, Methodister, Hihhulit och andra sådana, men åtminstone för Mormonerna eller ‘de sista dagarnas heliga’, såsom de sjelfwa kalla sig, har man ändå hoppats blifwa förskonad.” (Johannes Bäck)

Introduction

- 13 “Koska ensimmäiset, Kirkkoon vuonna 1876 liittyneet suomalaiset käännynnäiset ... olivat tietävästi kotoisin Pietarsaaresta tai sen ympäristöstä ... on ilmeistä, että maamme ensimmäinen mormoniseurakunta muodostettiin Pietarsaaressa...”
- 14 “Maaliskuun 5. päivänä 1876 kastettiin Vaasassa ensimmäiset kaksi Suomessa kirkkoon liittynyttä jäsentä, Johanna Berg ja Johanna Sundström.”
- 23 “... löjeväckande situationer.”

Chapter 1

“Denna härliga tid är nu upprunnen, då de gamla profeternas förutsägelser äro i färd med att fullbordas. Guds rike har blifvit upprättadt på jorden, och det ewiga evangelium, med alla dess embetsmän, gåfvor, krafter och välsignelser är genom omedelbar uppenbarelse återgifvet ... Lycklige äro derföre de, som vilja lyssna till sanningen [sic] varnande röst ... och om än verlden skulle hata dem derför, så skola de likväl glädja sig i kunskapen om att de hafva följt Frälsarens exempel...”
(*Inbjudning till Guds Rike*)

“Eräs petturi, Josef Smith Pohjois-Amerikasta, väitti (v. 1830) maasta löytäneensä profeetta *Mormonin* kirjan, jossa oli Jumalan antamia uusia ilmestyksiä. Amerikassa ... voitti hän koko joukon uskolaisia ... Nykyään näyttää koko lahkokunta hajoavan ja häviävän.” (*Kirkkohistoria koluja varten*)

- 85 “... jag kokade kaffe ombord ok de smaka oss alla vel. vi var frusna, Ok jag då i hågkom min kära Hustru Ok barn för jag hade kaffe från mitt Hem i America.”

Chapter 2

- “Traditionens band samt prestväldets despotism binder folket mera här än på något annat ställe, hvar jag förut varit, och därför finnes det mycket för oss att göra här.” (Fredrik R. Sandberg)
- 145 “... påverkas af den innerliga önsknigen att få blifva hemsamlad till Zion ... en af hans lifs vigtigaste föremål och uppgifter, intill det är uppnått.”
- 186 “Kirkon paimenillekin owat eriuskolaiset antaneet aiheita uneliaisuu-desta ja weltoudesta heräämään ja Herran asian hywäksi kiiwaammin työskentelemään. Eri-uskolaiset owat täten olleet Jumalan kädessä terweellisenä witsana kirkolle.”
- 189 “Uskonto ei ollut yksityisasia, eikä eriäville mielipiteille ollut sijaa: uskottiin, että yhden ihmisen jumalattomuus vetää Jumalan vihan koko yhteisön päälle.”
- 191 “... then [sic] rena evangeliska läran.”
- 192 “... en fri och otwungen Religions-öfning, en fullkomlig samwetsfrihet.”
- 195 “... evankelista oppia...”
- 196 “... huomaamaan erhetyksensä ... älköön seurakunta häntä siitä estäkö.”
- 198 “milloin viime mainittu uskokunta (luterilainen) ehkä lakkaa olemasta”.
- 199 “... epäluottamus luterilaisen kirkkomme kykyyn kestää mahdollista kilpailua näiden kirkkojen kanssa.”
- 205 “Protestanttisilla uskontokunnilla, jotka seisowat raamatun ja apostolisen uskontunnustuksen pohjalla, mutta eiwät kuulu ewankelis-lutherilaiseen kirkkoon, on tästälähin olewa oikeus eriuskolaisseurakuntina julkisesti harjottaa uskontoansa...”

Chapter 3

“Inom helt få år skola de heliga hafva blifvit vanliga monogamer, och det skall icke återstå af mormonismen annat minne, än Artemus Wards ord: ‘Deras religion är en, men deras qvinnor äro många.’” (*Helsingfors Dagblad*) English translation taken from the original in T.W. Robertson and E.P. Hingston, eds., *Artemus Ward's Lecture* (London: John Camden Hotten, 1869), p. 206.

“Efter att i östern ha blifvit fullproppad med de otroligaste fabler om mormonerne, väntar man att något ovanligt skall uppenbara sig, så snart man kommer i deras stad ... Vi ha funnit, att våra landsmän i Utah äro lika duglige och hederlige och ... likaså nöjde [sic] med sitt nya fädernesland, som våra andra landsman i Förenta staterna.” (*Finland*)

- “... denna hydra på de moderna religionsformernas område, hvilken tyckes så afskyvärd och likväl har tjuskraft nog att locka både enfaldigt folk och högt bildade inom sin trollkrets.” (*Finland*)
- 227 “Man kan ej vara ‘bildad,’ utan att hveta hvad tidningarne innehålla.”
“... waloa kansalle ... kuinka muualla maailmassa eletään ja toimeen tullaan.”
- 238 “... det var en annan hand, som ledde företaget: det var lögnens fader, som hade sitt finger med uti spelet.”
- 239 “Må hvad som här blifvit sagdt tjena andra till varning att icke tro lögnen och ej låta sig förföras af fåfäng ord.”
- 243 “Det äkta lifvet har visst sina sorger och olägenheter, men ingenting som liknar det omoraliska och brottsliga i polygamimens mer än skamliga system.” “Somliga af dessa qvinnors lif har varit mera sorgligt och uppskakande än det, som förekommer i något sorgespel.”
- 244 “... framlägga för läsaren viktiga ... upplysningar och vittnesbörd om Mormonernes lära, seder och författning...”
- 246 “... on totta surkea ajan merkki, että tuommoisetkin petturit ovat puolellensa vetäneet monta monituista sielua Europassa ja Amerikassa.”
- 248 “Suomessakin, Waasan ja Kokkolan tienoilla owat Mormonilaiset jo kauwan koettaneet waikuttaa, mutta eiwät ole wielä saaneet monta puolelleen.”
- 250 “... tvifvelsutan Mormonism ... Jesus varnade mot mormonerna. De skulle öfvertala folk till att gå ut i öknen, det vill säga, ut till deras falska Zion i Utah.”
- 254 “... fördomsfritt, tolerant och opartiskt...”
- 255 “... Smiths lära torde haft bättre framgång derföre att han ingen svärmare var, utan en sansad bedragare med tillräckligt praktiskt vett att undvika öfverdrifter i lifvet och vara tolerant i moralen.”
- 256 “... af en för stark färgläggning från förf:s sida...”
- 261 “... toimii naskalilla ja pikilangalla kiinnittääkseen itseensä tarpeellisen määrän Eevan tyttäriä ... Uita Katajanokan kanavassa mokomaa profeettaa!”
- 264 “... ollee ehkä huwittawa tehdä tuttuwuutta tämän lannistuwan lahkokunnan kanssa ... rakennus jo on kaatumaisillaan...”
- 265 “Huumaawa uskonnollinen wimma sai hänet pauloihinsa, ja hän luuli näyistä ja henkisistä ilmoituksista saawansa ohjauksia autuuden tiellä.”
- 266 “... niin törkeä, ettei olisi luullut sitä mahdolliseksi muulloin kuin ihmiskunnan pimeimpinä, raa’impina aikoina.”

- 267 "Ahkeruus, wäsymätön ahkeruus on niitä hywä [sic] puolia, joita Mormoneissa täytyy ihmetellä." "Mormonilaisten pääkaupunki"
- 268 "... en ny svärmisk religiös sect..." "Deras läror stödja sig, utom på bibeln, äfven på Mormon-boken, hvars innehåll är inriktadt i kopparplåtar och hvilken bok skall hafva blifvit funnen i de inre delarne af Amerika ... de sjelfve hade blifvit sände till verlden, för att bana vägen för menniskones son."
- 273 "En anhängare af mormoniternes sekt wid namn Forsgren, som wisats 18 år i Amerika, har sökt wärfwa proselyter i Gefle och blifwit ställd under tilltal."
- 279 "Kristikunnassa kyllä on kaikin ajoin löytynyt Evankeliumin puhtaasta opista luopuneita, uskossaan hairahtuneita eriseuraisia lahkoja; waan tuskin on niin surkuteltawaa, totuuden tieltä peräti eksynyttä erikois-seuraa kristillisyyden rinnalla ennen wielä syntynyt, kuin on koko oppinsa ja tunnustuksensa puolesta pohjois-Amerikassa nyky-aikoina ilmestynyt Mormonilais-seurakunta."
- 284 "... vänner af sann kristendom och kristlig samhällsordning..."
- 288 "... winkuu weturin pilli heidän huonettensa [sic] wieressä ja maailman syntiset lapset tulwaawat näiden pyhain keskelle."
- 292 "... hywinkin ahkeran ja kiiwaan apupapin." "... mormonilaisiakin..."
- 293 "... perkeleellinen lahko..."
- 296 "... päättänyt pakoittaa Mormonilaiset luopumaan moniwaimoisuudesta. Mormonit puolestansa walmistaiwat [sic] wastarintaa tekemään ja sanotaan heidän waimonsa warsinkin yllyttävän heitä siihen."
- 297 "... ett betydelsefullt steg mot mormonismens fullständiga utrotande."
- 299 "... on vaikea tarkoilleen sanoa minkälainen heidän oppinsa on, sillä profeetallinen ääni saattaa huomenna julistaa aivan toista, kuin mitä se tänäpäivänä [sic] opettaa."
- 300 "... det dödligaste hugg ... som mormonkyrkan i Utah någonsin mottagit. ... ett förkrossande slag..."
- 302 "Publiken blef så upprörd af denna skildring, att den glömde applådera. Några närvarande mormoner kryddade föredraget med sina lifliga försäkringar om, att det var lögn alltsammans."
- 307 "Jämförelsewis ungarl kallas i Utah den mormon, som har bara en hustru." "... där de äga rättighet att utöfwa sin religion enligt föreskrift och sedvänja."
- 310 "Tämän kummallisen uskokunnan..."
- 311 "... heidän asumansa seudut näyttävät puutarhoilta; niin mainion hyvästi viljeltyjä ja huolellisesti hoidettuja ne ovat ja niin rikkaita laihjoja kantaa maa."

- 314 "Och – o under! – knappt hade dessa profetiska ord undfallit dem, förr än två den andra verdens invånare, klädda i sida hvita kläder, sväfvade med glänsande vingar öfver skogen på andra sidan floden. ... Ryktet om detta under spridde sig i trakten med blixstens hastighet, och följande dagen strömmade tusentals nya åhörare och åskådare till stället. Äfven då undandrogo sig de båda höga varelserna ej att på bestämd tid framträda för den talrikt församlade mängden. Men hvem förmår beskrifva de troendes bestörtning, när på den tredje dagen, omedelbarligen efter englarnes försvinnande, dessa trädde ur skogen på nytt, men åtföljda af några andra 'sändebåd' i skepnad af handfasta polisbetjenter ... För deras bedrägeri sattes de i fängelse..."
- 315 "... en viss *Josef Smith*..." "... ett verk af det fräckaste bedrägeri."
- 316 "Hela Mormonismen är från sjelfva sin första början intet annat än ett bedrägeri, en med djup beräkning anlagd plan, som en Amerikansk bedragare vid namn Josef Smith uppfunnit för att derigenom skaffa sig magt, penningar och anhängare, en plan, som djerft verkställd och med ifver fullföljd, lyckats."
- 317 "... pettureita ja konnia, henkisiä silmäkääntäjiä."
- 318 "Se oli tehty kultatauluista, täynänsä piirustuksia, jotka oliwat mui-nois-egyptiläisten puustawien näköiset. Niin sanowat Mormonit; mutta kirjan oikea alku taitaa olla seurawainen: Wuonna 1809 eli eras mies, nimellä Salomon Spaulding, joka ennen oli ollut pappi. Hän ... kirjoitti historiallisen lempi-kertomuksen Judialaisten synnystä ja kutsui tämän kirjan 'Löydetty käsi-kirjoitukseksi'. Wuonna 1812 antoi hän erälle kirja-painajalle ... joka oli wähän ennen kuolemansa lainanut käsi-kirjoituksen Signey [sic] Rigdon'ille ... Sillä lailla lienee kirjaa tullut Smithin käsiin."
- 319 "... tämän valehtelian [sic]..."
- 322 "... om der funnes uppriktighet, och om läran framställdes öppet för dem."
- 323 "'Är det sant?' lyder den bekymrande frågan från de wilseledda. Zi-onsbrodern eller den mer befästade mormonen skall swara: 'Nej, det är lögn; du skall icke bry dig om det; det är affällingar och "hedningar", som påstå det!'"
- 324 "... pänwastoin se on jotakin ylistettävää."
- 325 "Mormonismen i Utah och mormonismen i Norge äro tvenne alldeles olika saker."
- 326 "... skildra lifwet i Zion med de skönaste färger."
- 327 "Då upptäcka de, huruledes det Guds ord, som är gifvet dem i deras gamla, kära bible, måste lemna rum för sagorna i Mormons bok, och huru vår Frälsares heliga evangelium ... nu ställes i bakgrunden för att lemna rum åt ett nytt evangelium af Joseph Smith, såsom den rätta grund som lagd är."

- 328 "Man tyckes icke riktigt lita på de förra."
- 329 "... ett politiskt knep..."
- 330 "Epäiltiin, tuleeko siitä tuumasta totta nytkään, sillä monesti ennenkin owat he luwanneet luopua rumasta tawastaan, kun heitä on hätyytetty, waan kuitenkin owat he edelleenkin monta waimoa pitäneet."
- 331 "Det låg en förunderlig magt i hans ord, och han förstod att framställa allt så snärjande, att jag kände det, som om en ohygglig orm skulle slingra sig omkring mina fötter och rundt omkring min kropp. 'Ah', tänkte jag, 'nu förstår jag, hwilken satanisk magt ligger på botten af mormonismen!'"
- 332 "... mörkrets furste star sjelf bakom och leder rörelsen. Wi se ett haf af bedrägeri, af eland, af uselhet."
- 333 "... tämä perkeleellinen laho... petturi Johan Smith."
- 334 "... suurimpia pettureita, mitä maailmassa on elänyt."
- 335 "... drog tusentals offer in i sitt wäld, och de kunde icke fly bort från det dödsbringande bettet."
- 336 "... mormonkyrkans patriarker tala dumheter efter sitt eget förmörkade hjertas ingifwelser. ... en stackare..."
- 337 "Banker, fabriker, jordegendomar, hela städer tillhörde kyrkan eller snarare dess främste man. Aldrig har cecaro-papismen, detta förfärliga tyranni, som trålbinder både själ och kropp, herskat mer oinskränkt."
- 338 "... en fulländad teokrati och oinskränkt prestvälde [sic] är rådande."
- 340 "... profet, prest [sic] och konung ... absolut despot ... försäkrade honom en anseelig förökning af hans rikedomar."
- 341 "... bekräfta kommissarierna alla berättelser om Brigham Youngs tyranniska beteende mot sina förblindade anhängare."
- 342 "... hierarkisk despotism ... oundgängligt vilkor [sic]..."
- 344 "... bästa sättet att anlägga kanaler och wattenledningar, om nödvändigheten och 'de heliges' fördel af att verkställa hvarjehanda industriella företag..."
- 346 "Medlemmarne af detta kommunistiska sällskap förpligta sig att öfverlåta sin egendom till 'kyrkan', samt att i allt sitt görande och låtande ställa sig profetens önskingar till efterrättelse och blifwa fullkomligt viljelösa verktyg i hans hand."
- 347 "... ei ole maata maan päällä, missä ylhäisemmät tietävät siihen määrään nylkeä alhaisimpia, kuin juuri mormonien kirkkowanlassa."
- 348 "... att aldrig smäda Herrans smorde, att tänka med deras tankar, åtdyda hvarje deras begäran, vore den än så brottslig..."

- 349 "... stackars slafvar ... i sin ... undergifvenhet och sin tacksamhet mot den som gifvit dem ett verktyg och en bit bröd i utbyte mot deras frihet, vi ville nästan säga, deras menniska."
- 350 "Fri undervisning såsom i det öfriga Amerika är okänd i Utah..."
- 351 "... okunnighetens mörker..."
- 352 "... upphunnos af de utaf mormonstyrelsen utsända förföljarne, som erhållit befallning att, när 'högmålsförbrytaren' ertappades, skoningslöst utgjuta försoningsblodet till en söt lukt för fanatismen och dess väldiga."
- 355 "Skola de bilda en egen stat, lik mormonernes..."
- 356 "... ettei tämän aluen [sic] asukkaat tätälähin [sic] ole welwolliset tottelemaan muita lakia kuin heidän itsensä säätämiä."
- 357 "... mormonstaten..." "... mormonernas land..."
- 358 "... mormonernas samhälle utgör en af de mest väldisciplinerade theokratier, som någonsin existerat. Det är en theokrati, som i sin lära inblandat, synnerligen lyckligt, sociala och ekonomiska element ... civiliserade samhällenas förbannelser, prostitutionen, dryckenskapen, proletariatet. Men alt detta har vunnits genom att införa ett välde, som gjort mormonsamhället till en stat i staten, och det är uppenbart, att amerikanerna lika litet nu som den tiden, då mormonerna slog sig ned i Ohio, Missouri och Illinois, kunna vara belättna med ett sådant sakernas skick."
- 359 "... det gränslösa elände ... Kwinnans ställning hos mormonerna är fruktansvärd ... sedan betraktas hon som ett slags bohagsting, och mannen kan behandla henne hur han vill ... för dessa barn har mannen ej husrum, utan få dessa ligga på hökullar och i lador, där de tillsammans föra ett wederstyggligt otuktslif."
- 360 "... till Europa att locka oerfarna kvinnor i sina nät..."
- 361 "... lastbara och sjelfviska önsknigar..."
- 362 "Hwem kan tala om den eländets bitterhet, som sådana olyckliga själar känna? Hwilka tårefloder, hwilken stum sorg! Hwilka långa, sömnlösa nätter! ... Olyckliga qvinnor! ... Ack, huru många hafwa icke i deras öfwerwäldigande sorg önskat sig döden och wäntat på den stund, då den kalla grafwen kunde dölja dem för de lefwandes blickar! Och all denna sorg kommer från en föregifwen 'uppenbarelse från Jesus Kristus', som befäller lydnad mot månggiftet och hotar dem med förbannelse och fördömmelse, hwilka ej wilja lefwa deri."
- 364 "Mormonerna öfwerträffade."
- 366 "... mormoni-sultani-rurukalle [sic]..."
- 367 "... i Turkiet utan Turkiets lagar."
- 368 "... efterföljansvärda exempel."

- 369 "... under *sultanens* milda spira ... liktänkande..."
- 370 "... honan får wäl lof att bära enkesorg, såwida hon icke råkar någon ungdom, som hyllar mormonismen."
- 371 "Mång- och engifte bland växterna ... växtvärldens mormoner..."
- 372 "... råda nu presidenten Lincoln att ännu sålänge se genom fingrarna med mormonerna, då de, om man blott icke fäster sig vid månggiftet, äro goda anhängare af unionen."
- 373 "... stämplade mormonismen som en dödsfiende till odlingen..." "... ett betydelsefullt steg mot mormonismens fullständiga utrotande."
- 374 "... poistaa tätä inhhoittava [sic] pahennusta, joka jo liian kauvan on häväissyt Yhdysvaltoja."
- 375 "Föga torde Förenta staternas president kunna, ännu mindre vilja suspendera en af kongressen antagen lag allraminst då den rör en sak som denna."
- 376 "... hvarefter de vanligen skyndsamt lemna Utah för att undgå hämd [sic] af sina förra trosförvandter."
- 377 "... mormonerne alls icke kunna afstå från månggiftet, emedan detta utgör en del af deras trosbekännelse ... måste bereda sig på att med dem mottaga inom sina gränser månggiftets förbannelse."
- 378 "... ett märkwärdigt stort antal 'tanter', 'systrar' och 'kusiner'..."
- 382 "– Min herre, säger han då utan omsvep, jag älskar edra döttrar och anhåller om deras händer. – Hvad för slag! Alla fyra? utbrister den förbluffade fadern. Skulle ni händelsevis vara förrykt [sic], min bäste herre? – Förrykt? [sic] Nej, visst inte. Jag är mormon!"
- 383 "Hos mormonerna... ni har nu i tre veckors tid ätit qväll hos oss och alltid ätit för två."
- 384 "Huru skall man kunna motarbeta mormonismen? Det bästa sättet vore att sända några fashionabla modister och damskräddare till 'salt-sjöstaden'. Mängden och beloppen af räkningarne skulle snart öfvertyga hvarje mormon om, att en hustru är gudi nog."
- 387 "... sjunger nu på sista versen..."
- 388 "... civilisationens segrar ... ochristliga..."
- 391 "... ett betydelsefullt steg mot mormonismens fullständiga utrotande."
- 392 "... häwittää mormooniwaltion ... että ne owat häwittäneet mormoonisuuden, joka oli häpeäpilkku ihmiskunnalle."
- 393 "... wiimeisen ja toiwoittawasti tehokkaan askeleen, tehdäkseen mormonismista lopun."
- 394 "Möjligen är äfven detta endast skrymteri. Men det betyder föga. Då en s.k. religiös rörelse tvingas att, vare sig uppriktigt eller ej, afstå från

sina bestämda dogmer, har den undertecknat sin egen dödsdom. Det nittonde århundradet, som sett mormonismen födas, torde äfven få se den dö'."

- 396 "... ollessaan epäsiweellisten waltain palweluksessa, ne pian taas kuolewat pois."
- 397 "... tycktes ha afslutat deras historia, såväl såsom politiskt samfund som religiös sekt ... mormonernas fanatism, deras förnämsta styrka, ännu är mycket liflig."
- 398 "... som man trott redan gå sin undergång till mötes..."
- 399 "En anhängare af mormoniternes sekt..."
- 400 "Om här fordras religionsfrihet, så måste ju dörrarna öppnas för Wishnu och Brahma, för Mohamed och alla Chinas afgudar, för Mormoniter och allt hwad de heta. Icke kunna Christus och Belial trifwas tillsammans."
- 401 "... stort wäsen och mycken oreda."
- 402 "... som desse fanatiker grundat i Danmark..."
- 404 "Redan finnas omkring 70 omvända som låtit bedraga sig, och på landet, i byarna häromkring, sprider sig sekten också. Vi måste verkligen blygas på våra landsmäns räkning, att de kunna låta bedraga sig af så okunniga och talanglösa personer som bemälde skrädderiarbetare, hvilka knappast kunna skrifwa läsligt och icke förstå mera i religions-saker än en dräng af medelsorten ... Derföre, Medborgare och Kristne, låtom oss som en man resa oss och med lagens kraft och med förståndets vapen möta den fiende som inträngt inom våra landamären..."
- 406 "... allt ännu..."
- 407 "... för att narra enfaldiga eller liderliga stackare till det förlofwade landet på Stora saltsjöns strand."
- 408 "... werkar här fortfarande i samhällets understa lager. En werksamhet, som åkersorkens ... en sjuk, fränstötande fanatism ... Woro de verkligen öfwertygade om sin sak, dessa män med uttryck af slaf och med grofwa walkiga hander?"
- 409 "... förståndiga, ordentliga och redbara personer ... sväljde ... galenskapen..."
- 410 "Hvilken denna sekts tro än må vara, så eger den fullt berättigande till fri utöfning af sin religion; men folket jagar dem lik vilda djur från stat till stat och ännu på senaste tid inleddes mot dem ett utrotningskrig."
- 414 "... säga rent ut i sina föredrag, hwad de tänka och lära."
- 415 "... jag tror de beskyllningar, som blifwit gjorda dem, vara till stor del falska ... förebådar sektens upplösning."

- 416 "Efter att i östern ha blifvit fullproppad med de otroligaste fabler om mormonerne, väntar man att något ovanligt skall uppenbara sig, så snart man kommer i deras stad ... våra landsmän i Utah äro lika duglige och hederlige och ... likaså nöjde [sic] med sitt nya fädernesland, som våra andra landsman i Förenta staterna."
- 417 "Man kan om dessa uppenbarelser säga hvad man vill – och man har sagt det värsta om dem, nämligen att *de* skulle varit *medvetna* falsarier – men ingen, som studerat mormonernas historia, skall kunna neka till, att den tro, med hvilken dessa uppenbarelser af mormonerna omfattades, åstadkommit lika stora och underbara verkningar som någon annan tro i våra dagar."
- 418 "... den mest ignoranta och fanatiska sekt som någonsin funnits."
- 419 "Ehuru fanatiker, äro Mormonerne ett folk, som förtjenar [sic] uppmärksamhet för sin okufliga energi, sitt sinne för industri och sin ihärdighet."
- 420 "... har man egentligen ingenting att klandra i deras uppförande." "... är Mormonernes bibel, oaktadt sina grammatiska fel och sitt teologiska vansinne, en bok af estetiskt värde."
- 421 "... breda gator och vackra stenbyggnader. Mormonerne skola hafva rätt väl upparbetat sin jord."
- 422 "Siellä näet yllinkyllin juoksevaa vettä, laitumella käyväät lehmät seisovat polviaan myöten kylvetyssä ruohossa ja hedelmäpuiden oksat notkuvat satonsa painosta."
- 423 "... eminenta pionierer [sic] för den moderna kulturen ..." "... hafwa gjort åtminstone något för civilisationen."
- 424 "... de i Europa näppeligen skulle få namn af predikan ... högt öfver..."
- 425 "... jag skulle vara otacksam och orättvis, om jag skulle säga annat än godt om de gästvänliga, fridsamma och lyckliga mormonerna i det lilla förtjusande Tooele."
- 426 "En mormonhjeltinna [sic] ... Den ståndaktiga qwinnan later dock hellre skammen att anses ej vara gift hwila öfwer sig än hon genom sin utsago åstadkommer sin mans fällande."

Chapter 4

- "... uppgaf min Rapport blefv löst ifrån Stockholm Norrlands gren och beskikad till Finnland för att där öppna Evangeli Dörr och Fik till medhjelpare min kötsliga broder J.I.] Sundström[.]” (Carl A. Sundström)
- 447 "... för att där öppna Evangeli Dörr..."
- 465 "... isynnerhet gläder det oss att höra, att äfven i Finnland Herrans tjänare kan få tillåtelse att bära vittnesbörd om hans gerning [sic]..."

- 468 "... uppmärksamma Åhörare, folket mycket begärliga efter sanningen, men Prester [sic] och de öfriga myndigheter hårda genom Religions-tvång."
- 509 "Svalberg [sic] befinner sig väl i Finland och han är full af tro och hopp. Han har varit mycket eftersökt af länsmän och kronofogdar men han är ännu fri."
- 511 "Landets söner visa ett nit, som ej kan öfverträffas, till att sprida skrifter och bära vittnesbörd om evangeliet för främmande."
- 513 "Han var redobogen till att gå hvar helst Herrens tjenare [sic] ville sända honom, äfven om det gälde [sic] Finland."
- 514 "Jag afhöll många församlingar derstädes, och många troende finnes. Folket önskade blott att jag skulle komma till dem och hålla församlingar hos dem, och jag höll församling hvar och hvar annan dag – ja äfven en dag höll jag 3 församlingar ... Jag vistades hemligen der i trakten ett par dagar och döpte 2 personer och flera äro troende som jag snart skall döpa; ty de hafva begärt dop."
- 516 "... för att besöka och uppmuntra de Helige, och för att se om något kunde uträttas..."
- 517 "... i tysthet spridit både böcker och skrifter ... för närvarande är allt lugnt och stilla."
- 523 "... lagarna voro så stränga, att evangeliet kunde ej predikas der, och derföre kunde han ej säga, hvad framgång det skulle hafva i framtiden."
- 525 "Besynnerliga känslor genomträngde mig, då jag för första gången i mitt lif satte fot på ett främmande land..."
- 526 "... försökte att uppmuntra dem så mycket jag kunde..." "Jag står nu redo att gå till Jakobstad, 50 mil härifrån, hvar det finnes några syskon, som ej varit besökta på öfver två år."
- 528 "... gömd för fienden... en näsvis ländsman [sic]..." "... var allt tyst och stilla å myndigheternas sida[.]"
- 529 "Traditionens band samt prestväldets despotism binder folket mera här än på något annat ställe, hvar jag förut varit, och derföre finnes det mycket för oss att göra här. Jag är glad att gå som en representant för Jesu Kristi evangelium och visa folket den trånga vägen, som leder till det eviga lifvet, och min [sic] motto är: aldrig kapitulera, men kämpa tills segern är vunnen."
- 530 "De helige i grenen försöka att uppfylla sina pligter, och många bland folket undersöka evangeliets principer."
- 533 "... lösta med tillåtelse att emigrera till Zion."
- 534 "... för att sprida evangeliet der och uppmuntra de helige."
- 535 "... med något undantag alla de svensktalande helige..."

- 536 "... med klappande hjerta [sic] ... man måste sätta sig in i deras förhållanden ... att bära mitt vittnesbörd om det yttersta dagarnes verk för många uppriktiga menniskor..."
- 537 "... uttalade sin tillfredsställelse med att arbeta i denna del af Herrens vingård för hans verks framgång."
- 538 "... emedan det väntades missionärer från Zion för att verka der."
- 539 "... utsigterna för evangeliets spridande derstädes voro temligen goda..."
- 540 "... sparer ej på vackra förespeglingar för att fånga sina offer."
- 541 "... han hade icke mött med stor framgång, emedan folket i Finland är mycket fördomsfullt..."
- 543 "... han är bekant nog med förhållandena att taga sig fram den vägen."
- 546 "... är så god som efter omständigheterna kan förväntas. Myndigheterna äro mycket stränga och arbetet går därför ej så fort framåt."
- 547 "... i Finlands gren finnes 36 helige. Utsigterna för framgång äro ej rätt lofvande."
- 549 "I Finlands gren ... har ej någon missionär arbetat denna vinter." "Ingen missionär har verkat der under sommarens lopp. Tillståndet det samma som rapporterat sista konferens."
- 550 "... emedan ej någon funnits att ditsända."
- 553 "... wi haft några få medlemmar af vårt samfund o Finnland ... och följaktligen hafva wi ej någon kunskap om förhållanden ibland folket der för närvarande."
- 556 "... i afsigt att uppsöka syskonen där, men de måste återvända med oförrättad ärende, då de ej funno några. De voro troligen i saknad af riktig address och hade måhända icke kommit till rätte platser."
- 557 "Det är glädjande att höra angående tillståndet i Finnland, att där ännu fines några som hafva bevarat tron i sina hjärtan oaktadt de så länge hafva varit såsom får utan herde. Det skulle vara godt, om friheten vore sådan därstädes att en af våra Äldster Kunde få verka i Herrens tjänst, utan att sätta sig i fara för att blifva utvisad därifrån. Jag skall försöka att få en af våra Missionärer att resa ditöfver i sommar, som måhända i stillhet kan besöka de få Helige som fines där och göra hvad han kan för att uppmuntra dem samt för att främja den goda saken..."
- 561 "Det tog ej lång tid för en [sic] vi var som om vi hade varit bekanta i många år hvilket er fallet med alla "mormoner" hvar de trifvas."
- 562 "Det är rörelse ibland folket och nykterhetssaken har begynt att få insteg, och missionärer med uthållighet, som kunde blanda sig med folket, skulle ej blifva ovälkomna såsom nykterhetstalare, och på så sätt kunde bekantskap stiftas."

- 563 "Jag är väl tillfredsställd med mitt besök ibland de helige i Finland och tror att det varit till välsignelse[.] Jag har försökt att göra min plikt, ock [sic] jag känner mig tacksam till Gud för hvad jag kunnat uträtta."
- 587 "... hade ett gott samtal på vegen [sic] med en man vid namn Anders Gustaf Jakopson [sic]..."
- 588 "... unvikit [sic] presterna och i tysthet spridit både böcker och skrifter..."
- 590 "Deremot kunde han ej förmås att yttra sig, till hwilket kyrkosamfund han hörde." "... 'Kristi rätta samfund'..."
- 591 "... ur vår svenska psalmbok."
- 593 "... arbetaren ... skrädderiarbetaren..."
- 597 "... för himmelens skull och för edra egna sjalars [sic] frälsnings skull, lyften aldrig eders hand eller röst emot dem, som vilja efterlefva Guds lagar!"
- 598 "... 2 Systra [sic]..."
- 600 "... om Gud later mig blifva frisk ännu så att jag årkar arbeta så skatt jag fort farande holla båda rumen på dett att jag må kun na emottaga Resande br."
- 604 "... i det timli[g]a ... till att få de förnädna ting ... att bärga Hö."
- 614 "Framgången är naturligtvis icke så liflig om sommartiden so mom vintern..."
- 615 "... så fort temperaturen blifvit litet mildare."
- 624 "... att vara tro fastad i dett förbund som att di har gordt med herren ty dett ar ej med någodt Menniska att di har slutat förbund[.]"
- 625 "... ej gå till att dell taga i Natvars gang mera af den Luterska trosbekannar..."
- 626 "... leva i renhet så guds Ande kunde bo i deras tabernakel..."
- 627 "... uppfyla sina Pligter..."
- 628 "... uttryckte sin gledje öfver att hafva komit til Sanningens kunskap, samt hade vittnesbörd om, att de till horde Guds rike."
- 629 "... derefter framstog 3 af de när varande bröderna och gaf sina vittnesbörd om Evangeliets Gudomliga ursprung sade sig vilja både lefva och dö för det samma och deras vittnesbörd var fulla af Anda och lif..."
- 630 "... deras vilja var att gå fram och göra betre här efter en de har gort hittills..."
- 632 "... kokade kaffe ombord ok de smaka oss alla vel. vi var frusna, Ok jag då i hågkom min kära Hustru Ok barn för jag hade kaffe från mitt Hem i America."

- 638 "Må Herren välsigna eder och styrka eder i tron på hans evangelium och må ni i eder ensamhet långt borta i Nordinland njuta en fylde af Guds Helige Ande som kan styrka eder till trofasthet till enden är bönen af eder broder i det eviga förbundet ... Helsa alla syskon."
- 641 "Flera af syskonen härstädes hafva stått i kyrkan i många år, och de hafva varit mycket bedröfvade öfver att de blifvit lemnade åt sig själva utan någon missionär."
- 644 "Organ för de sista dagarnas helige." "Organ för de sista dagars helige i Sverige."
- 645 "... buro kraftiga vittnesbörd om evangeliets sanning ... Det fins [sic] blott få helige i Ryssland och Finland, med [sic] de äro uppriktiga och trofasta, och min bön är beständigt, att Gud ville välsigna dem, så att de må förblifva trofasta, och at than vill tilldela dem icke allenast lifvets nödvändigheter, men också skänka dem den lön – det eviga lif – som är beredt för de trofasta."

Chapter 5

- "Med djupt bekymmer öfver den okunnighet och vantro, som ännu råder hos det egentliga folket i vårt land har jag den sorgliga pligten hos Högvördiga Domkapitlet ödmjukast anmäla, hurusom mormonismen – denna blandning af vanvett och förvrängning af alla religiösa och sedliga begrepp – vunnit en viss framgång äfven inom denna socken..." (Fredrik W. Fredrikson)
- "Meidän tietääksemme on moinen uskoon-käännyttäjän toimi Suomessa kielletty. Mutta siitä huomauttaminen on kai 'siwistyneiden' mielestä pelkkää 'walonwihaa' eli obskuranttisuutta." (*Uusi Suometar*)
- 659 "... enär de bekänna sig till och härstädes söka utbreda en lära, hvilken af finska staten likaså litet som af någon annan europeisk stat tolereras..."
- 660 "... Propheterna Guds Son ok Apostlarna..."
- 662 "... för att vi hafde Predikat og hålt församling..."
- 663 "Han modtog os meget barskt og forbød os at prædike samt paalagde Politibetjentene at hold Bogt om os ... dersom vi ikke vilde høre op med at prædike, at sende os til Sibirien..."
- 664 "... spridning af omförmälda icke censurerade tryckalster strida emot gällande lag och författningar och kan förorsaka oordningar i samhället..."
- 666 "... några af Böckerne samt några små Skrifter för till att undersöcka vor lärdom..."
- 667 "... taget endel af vore Srifter [sic] for deraf at undersøge vor Lære, hvorefter de ville levere os dem tilbage..."

- 669 "Till min kännedom har kommit, att inom stadens område och särdeles i Klemetsö by vistas personer..."
- 670 "Nord Amirik. undersaten [sic] Herr Axel Tullgren ... Svenske unders. arbetaren Carl August Sundström..."
- 672 "... myndigheterna derstädes lade sig imot [sic] missionären, så att de 'helige' ej ens fingo hafwa en för åhörare open samlingsal."
- 674 "denne stad i dett di hafva Drifvi os ut..."
- 676 "... jeg havde ganske forsigtigt indpakket en Del af Kirkens Bøger paa Bunden af min Rejsekuffert, og ovenpaa dem havde jeg lagt et Stykke Pap, der lignede Kassens Bund, saa at Toldbetjentene ikke saa' andet end nogle af mine private Bøger ... som de sagde, nærmere at undersøge dem ... overleverede til en Doktor der i Staden ved navn Ranke, for at skulle undersøges."
- 681 "... som innehålla mormonernes, 'de sista dagars heliges,' läror och försvar – jämwäl för m å n g g i f t e t."
- 682 "Hedbergs hela stora förråd af mormonskrifter är af wederbörande myndigheter tagit i beslag och han själf är stäld under den allra strängaste polisuppsikt."
- 683 "... fått till svar, att de ej kunna återfås ... 4 poliser hade varit till en syster och tagit mina böcker, emedan jag var borta ... Polisbetjenten hade ytterligare sagt, att om de hade fått fatt i mig, så hade jag blifvit förd inför domstolen och fått plikta minst 600 mark; ty det var alldeles förbjudet att sälja mormonskrifter, hvarföre jag blef strängeligen förbjuden."
- 684 "... särskilda skrifter om mormonismens lärosatser blifvit här i staden utspridda..."
- 685 "Folket önskade blott att jag skulle komma till dem och hålla församlingar hos dem, och jag höll församling hvar och hvar annan dag ... Ibland uppkom den tanken hos mig: huru länge lucifer [sic] ville låta sig nöja med ett sådant framgångssätt. Men jag behöfde ej vänta så länge för att få bättre kännedom om den saken... jag brydde mig ingenting om dessa order, utan fortfor att hålla församlingar och döpte derefter 1 ... erhöill sedan underrättelse om, att han hade gått i husen och frågat efter mig, samt om hvad jag hade lärt dem – 'hvad bibeln lærer om' blef svaret."
- 686 "... hemliga sammankomster dervid han försökt utbreda läran om de 'Yttersta dagarnes heliga' ... i mindre valda ordalag..."
- 688 "... under utbasunande af hvarjehanda försmädliga uttryck och oqvädningsord..."
- 689 "... skulle hafva varit den mormonska bibeln."
- 690 "... utan skäl gjort intrång i hennes bostad..."

- 691 "... utgifter och besvär jag fått vidkännas genom hennes trakasserier ... en tillbörlig näpst för sin gensträfvighet..."
- 693 "... under Äldste A. S. Hedbergs missionstid blevo presterna till den grad så fiendska, att de uppäggade Myndigheterna emot oss..."
- 699 "... begärliga efter sanningen ... vi har ej allenast verlden, men hela Helvetets här emot oss, samt ... dessa magter arbetar på dem som gjordt förbund med Gud."
- 700 "... jag snart nödgas att lemna landet, så vida jag vill undgå fängelse och straff; ty finnarna hafva ingen barmhertighet, när de skola straffa mormonerna ... så får de väl göra med mig hvad de behagar; ty jag vet, om så skall ske, att jag lider för en ädel sak ... Oaktadt förföljelsen är mycket svår här, så är jag dock glad öfver att arbeta för Herrens sak. Jag har aldrig förr känt mig så välsignad som jag har gjort under denna tid jag har arbetat i Finland."
- 701 "... är värd mera än guld, och den kunde på intet annat sätt erhållas."
- 702 "... ju större förföljelsen är, desto fastare går Guds verk framåt..."
- 703 "Alt, hvad de kunne gjore, er at uddrive os af Landet og sende os bort; men først maa Forfølgelse komme, forat vor Tro kan blive kjendt, og dette vil give et stort Widnesbyrd til mange af vore Venner og til de Oprigtige af Hjertet, men en Ting er vist, at Gud vil styre Alt til det Bedste før hans Værks Forfremmelse."
- 704 "... i tysthet spridit både böcker och skrifter. för [sic] närvarande är allt lungt [sic] och stilla."
- 705 "... en näsvis lännsman [sic] ... men jag tror icke, att han var mycket klokare, då vi skildes åt än då vi sammanträffade."
- 706 "... var allt tyst och stilla å myndigheternas sida."
- 714 "... hade ett besök af den Lutterska Presten Bäck som förbjöd oss att vi ej fick omtala vår tro på Christi Evangelium ... Mormons bok var en galenskap och att vi var bedragna osv... för bjudna att ej få omtala vår tro på Frälsningens värk ... herr Prest var arg..."
- 715 "... de ej fullföljt denna sin afsigt, då de erfarit att sådant enligt landets lagar ej vore tillåtet ... i verkligheten afhållit sig från alla försök att intala andra sina trosläror..."
- 718 "... beklagligen..."
- 719 "... flerfaldiga gånger hade afgifwit försäkringar om, att med första ångbåtslägenhet på wåren begifwa sig härifrån..."
- 722 "... deras närvaro begynt väcka förargelse i församlingen..."
- 723 "... bekänna sig till och härstädes söka utbreda en lära, hvilken af finska staten likaså litet som af någon annan europeisk stat tolereras, blefvo från landet aflägsnade."

- 724 “‘Bäcken kommer’ ... ‘Ut! Ingen mormon får tala i min församling’.”
- 725 “... hade en af Søstrene kaldet Nogle tilsammen, og vi havde en lille Forsamling ... en Doktor...”
- 727 “Hwem hade wäl trott, att denna skadliga sekt, om hwilken någon har sagt, att den är en förwriden och gräslig karrikatur af allt heligt, skulle hitta wägen äfwen till wårt undanskymda land? Wäl har man hört talas om Baptister, Methodister, Hihhulit och andra sådana, men åtminstone för Mormonerna eller ‘de sista dagarnas heliga’, såsom de sjelfwa kalla sig, har man ändå hoppats blifwa förskonad ... Utsände såsom missionärer hafwa de med förbiseende af lagar och förordningar, begynt att uppträda med offentliga läroföredrag hwarjemte de äfwen tillåtit sig en skriftspridning...”
- 728 “Oikeaksi näkemästään hän ei tinkinyt ... tuntuu siltä, että Bäckä olisi hallinnut voimakas tunteenomainen eriuskolaisiin kohdistunut vastenmielisyyys.”
- 729 “... församlingarne nu mera ständigt öfverlöpas af kringresande predikanter af olika trosbekännelser såsom metodister, mormoner, baptister och andra, de der icke stå under någon slags kontroll.”
- 730 “... den gröfsta och påtagligaste bland alla de lögnläror, med hwilka djefwulen hemsökt Kristi församling...”
- 732 “... en lögnaktig, obiblisk, omoralisk samt alla gudomliga och mänskliga stiftelser upplösande ande.”
- 733 “... likasom det är en himmelswid skilnad emellan Kristus och Joseph Smith, Bibeln och Mormons bok, Guds rike och Mormonsekten, så är det äfwen någonting helt annat att lida ... för Kristus och Hans sanning än för Joseph Smith, Brigham Young m. m. och deras lögner och galenskaper.”
- 736 “... Præsten her i Staden har fyldt alle Aviserne med alleslags Løgne ... saa at hele Helvede synes at rase imod os; og Præsten har skreven saa mange Løgne, saa at Folk, som vi har talt med, skammer sig paa hans Vegne, at han vil udbasune saadanne haandgribelige Usandheder.”
- 737 “... mycket tillfreds och välsignad i mitt arbete. Jag ... har goda utsigter för att flera vilja komma och blifwa döpte. Jag har många goda vänner, oaktat att presterna varnar folket emot oss, att de icke må härbergöra oss eller lyssna till oss.”
- 739 “Med djupt bekymmer öfver den okunnighet och vantro, som ännu råder hos det egentliga folket i wårt land ... denna blandning af vanvett och förvrängning af alla religiösa och sedliga begrepp ... offer ... förnekande vår kyrkas sanning ... kraftiga mått och steg ... stänga förvillensens flod och hos de stilla i landet förekomma samvetsbekymmer.”

- 741 "... hedrar ej mindre hans hjerta, än hans pastorella vishet och erfarenhet..."
- 742 "Föröfrigt tror jag knappast, att någon vidare spridning af en så vanvettig och osedlig lära, som mormonismen, är att befara, då de omnämnda falske profeterne numera lyckligtvis äro undanskaffade."
- 744 "Anmärkningsvärdast i detta hänseende voro väl ... Då desse förförare aflägsnats, har flertalet af de vilseleddes ångrat sig, så att endast ett par eller tre tillhörande Sibbo och en tillhörande Borgå landsförsamling numera torde återstå, hvilka ännu vidhänga sin villfarelse."
- 745 "... utan värklig kallelse och utan att vara af sanningen besjälade..."
- 746 "De äldre i församlingen minnas väl hurusom för icke många år sedan mer än 10 personer låto omdöpa sig till mormonismen, - en riktning, som innehåller ett uppenbart afsteg från kristlig sedlighet och eger en antikristlig karaktär..."
- 747 "... en och annan af de närvarande förstulet blickat åt dörren ... ett kapitel om 'smygare och winkelpredikanter', hwars enkla, kraftiga och kärnfulla ord ej förfelade sin werkan på de närvarande."
- 748 "... kommit till Finland för att utsprida andliga skrifter och hålla föredrag ... höll kyrkoherden Karsten ett föredrag för de tillstädeskomne församlingsboarne och warnade dem allwarligt för dylika kringresande kolportörer."
- 749 "'Hwad folk ären Ni?' 'Wi äro själasörjare'. 'Till hwilket samfund räknen I eder?' 'Till det samfund, hwars lära allena kan frälsa oss alla'. 'Jag är icke nöjd med fraser, utan ber Er öppet swara på min fråga'. 'Nåväl, wi höra till de yttersta dagarnes heliga'. 'Ja, jag kunde just tro det. Hwem har då sändt Eder hit'. 'Wår egen store profet'. 'Med hwems lof ämnen I predika här och utsprida Edra läror? I kyrkorådets namn förbjuder jag Er att göra det'."
- 750 "... utsprida sina samhällsvådliga läror."
- 753 "... är det icke underligt, om metodister, mormoner och baptister just inom dessa församlingar finna ett tacksamt fält för sin verksamhet."
- 755 "Hwarifrån har baptismen, mormonismen, Waldenströmianismen och hihhulit-läran m. m. kommit? Männe ej just derifrån."
- 757 "Och för hela den öfriga hopen af Utah territoriets mormoner med hustrur och barn, hvilkas lyckliga familjelif det fria amerikanska folket så illa oroar, skulle ett varmt hem stå färdigt i Finlands skogsbygder."
- 758 "... fantasier ... äro så barocka, att de genom det åtlöje, de framkalla, dräpa sig själva." "... det frusna och svältande norra Finlands magra och frostömma barrskogar ... Att spärra vägen för mormonerna till Kuopio är sannerligen lika visligt som Don Quixotes strid mot väderkvarnarne!"

- 759 "... de sporadiska väckelser, som genom lekmannaverksamheten framkallas, anser jag vara köpta för ett mycket dyrt pris då de hafva hvad de hunnit banat väg för en religiös subjektivism och separatism. Åtminstone inom Sibbo församling har följderne af de talare ... varit, att en rigtning åt separatism och baptism, jag vill nu icke nämna något sämre, gjort sig märkbar inom socknen."
- 760 "... om man för dessas skull wille slå portarne widöppna, så redde man dermed rum för mormoner etc. etc."
- 762 "... psalmboken och katekesen endast dugde till hönsmat och därför borde uppbrännas..."
- 764 "För hyllande af mormonismens läror..."
- 765 "Omdöpt till Mormonska läran..."
- 770 "... jag bar vitnesbyrd till Aug Sachuman [sic] om Evangeliets Prinsipper och dess fodring..."
- 772 "... kuuluupa olewan muutamia mormonilaisiakin."
- 773 "... icke ... flere än..." "Missähän ne asuwat?!"
- 774 "Skall intet göras för att hindra okunnige och enfaldige menniskor från att falla offer..."
- 775 "Fru R. sade sig wara mycket nöjd med förhållandena i saltsjöstaden ... Äfwen andra finska landsmaninnor derstädes, sade hon, ha det bra."
- 777 "... endast för att warna allmänheten att lättroget lyssna till personer, hwilkas afsigt troligen är ingen annan än att på möjligast bekymmerslösa sätt skaffa sig sitt 'dagliga bröd.' ... man nogsamst kunna inse hwars andas barn de äro ... utfarit i skymfliga tillmälen och förbannelser..."
- 779 "... narra elfva personer ... rättrogne mormoner ... kalla badet ... ånger."
- 780 "... bedraga enfaldigt folk ... de wilselede..."
- 781 "... ihmeitä sekä sieluun että ruumiisen [sic][.]"
- 783 "... desse falske profeter, hwilka predika allehanda mot samhällsordningen stridiga läror ... tillochmed [sic] i det fria Amerika..."
- 784 "Vi kunna icke annat än önska dem lycklig resa samt uttala den förhoppning att de aldrig skola hit återvända, ty af halfförtryckta och förvillande sekter och 'samfund' hafva vi förut mer än nog."
- 785 "En mormon från Sverige, Sundswall, gästar åter vår ort ... wilja wi warna allmänheten att icke lyssna till denna apostel från de 'sista dagarnes heliga'."
- 787 "Enligt allt antagande skola de wäl utsträcka sin verksamhet äfwen till vårt land, men ehuru fremmande trospredikanter i allmänhet hos

- oss tyckas anträffa en tacksam jordmån, torde dock den afskyvärda mormonismen här icke få hoppas vinna några anhängare.”
- 788 “... mörksens ufwar ... nogsamt akta sig för att uppträda i sin wärkliga skepnad...”
- 790 “... sieluja werkkoonsa.”
- 792 “Skall intet göras för att hindra okunnige och enfaldige menniskor från att falla offer för dem? ... sparar ej på vackra förespeglingar för att fånga sina offer.”
- 793 “Borde slika religiösa föredrag få oantastade hållas?”
- 794 “Meidän tietääksemme on moinen uskoon-käännöttäjän toimi Suomessa kielletty ... on kai ‘siwistyneiden’ mielestä pelkkää ‘walonwihaa’ eli obskuranttisuutta.”
- 796 “... denna afskyvärda sekt.”
- 797 “... wi för vår del anse att ifrågawarande sekt lämpligast och med bästa framgång bekämpas af polisen.”
- 798 “Må kyrkan icke glömma att det är ö f w e r h e t e n och icke kyrkan som fått swärdet i handen, för att upprätthålla ordningen i samhället.”
- 799 “... ei liene wallan tarpeetonta antaa heidän opistansa ja elämänsä muutamia tietoja, joista huomataan niiden puuttuwan kaikkea todellista perustusta ja siweydellistä pohjaa.”
- 800 “... en redogörelse för mormonsektens ursprung och uppkomst ... intet batter medel mot willfarelsen fines än upplysning om densamma ursprung...”
- 802 “... öfweralt i werlden afskydda mormonerna ... en löjewäckande benämning, som redan ensam för sig tydligt nog blotter hela deras oförskämndhet ... sökt innästla sig i vårt land ... bakslugt och lömskt ... en twungen yttre anständighet och helighet ... då äro de genast färdiga att som en roffogel störta sig på och gripa sitt rof ... som dessa arma swaga skutor, merändels qwinnor, icke förmå bära ... Då man sett allt detta, kan man i sanning, åtminstone så länge man ännu har wakten, icke underlåta att tillropa alla sådana seglare man möter, gif akt! du styr orätt kurs! Wakten eder för dessa misswisande odugliga compasser! – De äro en ohyra, som ej så lätt kmmas ur pelsen, och som denna gripa de omkring, sig smygande under loen. De äro som Atlantens isberg, som werka förstörande och isande rundt omkring sig.”
- 804 “Då det ser ut som om vårt land skulle blifwa hemsökt af dessa prosllytmakare, torde några upplysningar om deras lära hemtade ur utländska blad, wara på sin plats.”
- 805 “Då det sålunda är möjligt att vårt land ytterligare kommer att hemsökas af mormonpredikanter...”

- 806 "Då mormonerna äfwen till Finland hafwa utsändt apostlar för att vinna anhängare för sin kristendomsfiendtliga lära ... att Herren Gud måtte beware landets barn och särskildt våra finska emigranter i Amerika att icke innästlas i mormonismens förwillelser."
- 807 "... lyhykäinen kertomus ... heidän tempuistansa uusia jäseniä seurakunnan yhteyteen otettaessa ... mormonein apostolia ... saarnaamaan pyhää oppiansa moniwaimoisuudesta..."
- 810 "År 1887 blef den, som skrifwer detta, af 'American Home Missionary Society' sänd till territoriet Utah för att undersöka Mormonismens stora elände eller 'de sista dagarnas heliges' s. k. religion. Denna sedliga kräfte har skjutit sina giftiga rötter djupt in i detta och de angränsande territorierna och dragger årligen sina tusentals offer till detta bedrägeri från de flesta delar af werlden."
- 811 "Wi taga oss deraf anledning att hänwisa till de i n:ris 39 och 42 af Wasabladet införda artiklarna, i hwilka mormonismens hemligheter af en sakkunnig person blifwit blottade."
- 814 "... Kuopio domkapitels fantasier angående ... mormoner ... äro så barocka, att de genom det åtlöje, de framkalla, dräpa sig själfva." "... lauseita, joita lukiessa tuskin woi uskoa silmiänsä..."
- 818 "Folket önskade blott att jag skulle komma till dem och hålla församlingar hos dem..."
- 819 "...Præsten har skreven saa mange Løgne, saa at Folk, som vi har talt med, skammer sig paa hans Vegne, at han vil udbasune saadanne haandgribelige Usandheder."
- 821 "... stora människoskaror ... De flesta hade då genast aflägsnat sig, sedan de förebrått lokalens egare för det han upplåtit sina rum för en sådan sammankomst."
- 823 "... der var bleven hende fjendsk, fordi hun var gaget over til vort Samfund, ilede strax til Præsten og underrettede ham om vor Forsamling."
- 824 "... begynt väcka förargelse i församlingen..."
- 825 "... väcker allmän förargelse, oro och missnöje..."
- 826 "... de ... sakna alla de gåfwor och egenskaper, hwarmed de kunde anslå och inwerka på folket ... snedsprång..."
- 827 "Det är den r ä t t f ä r d i g e s rätt, lon och efterdöme (vide patriarkerne!)"
- 829 "... i akt och mening att en eller annan skall förskaffa sig något alster deraf, utan fastmer för att, om möjligt motwerka sådant."
- 831 "Allmännaste samtalsämnet här ... då ju i alla fall detta besök är en sällsynthet ... kringslackare ... börjat förwrida sinnena hos våra gran- nar i Borgå socken ... kände härwid en rysning längs ryggen, men tron

- war starkare än frossan ... Efter förrättad gärning gingo de döpte med hackande tänder in och tände upp en väldig brasa, kring hwilken de sedan sutto och funderade på sin nya tro ... aldrig är deras lära wärd en pipa snus!"
- 832 "Allt skall man höra! ... Förnuftigare wore då, att hustrurna i stället finge ta sig flere män, så kunde de åtminstone kläda sig ordentligt."
- 833 "... Lutheruksen wäärä kaste ... Wapahtajan kaste ... muutamia ilweilewiä pojannulikoita ... ainoasti erästä miestä walmistettiin sille ... mutta mainitusta miehestä kuuluu waimo karistaneen moniwaimoisuuden ajatukset ... Noista 13:sta kastetuista owat jo enimmäst taittuneet, ainoasti kaksi akkaa kuuluu olewan aika mormonittaria ... Tässä hiukan miettimistä niille, joista uskonnon wapaus on kansallemme wälttämättömän tarpeellinen."
- 834 "... kuinka kauniilla warjolla monikin harha-oppi tunkeutuu seurakuntaan."
- 835 "I början besöktes hans föredrag talrikt, men då man fann, hwad andas barn han war, wilket han äfwen öppet angaf, förklarade syftet och ändamålet med sin hitkomst, drog man sig undan ... arbetar i rak strid mot hela den kristna wärldsåskådningen och wart samhällsskick."
- 836 "De främmande religiösa rörelserna härstädes tyckas wara i upplösning..."
- 837 "Sedan wi numera sluppit mormonerna, har den ifrigaste wärksamheten för separatismen utöfwats ..."
- 838 "... alldeles icke kunnat finna något bibelstridande hos mormonismens förkunnare."
- 839 "... så få de tillfälle att obehindradt hos det intet ondt misstänkande folket insinuera en mängd wilseledande läror."
- 840 "Man har haft exempel på, att mormonpredikanter sålunda hållit sina andeliga föredrag i våra swenska församlingar, utan att man det ringaste märkt, hwad andans barn de warit, utan funnit sig mycket uppbygda af deras uppträdande. Så bedröfligt star det till med kanske pluralitetens af wart folks r e l i g i ö s a i n s i g t och förmåga att döma i andeliga ting."
- 841 "... skall hafva händt en mormon, den der under baptistförklädnad sökte insmyga sig i folkets förtroende ... ett otacksamt fält för deras missionsifver."
- 842 "... suomea puhuville kansalaisilleni on ainakin onneksi, ett'eiwät mormonit osaa heidän kieltä eiwätkä siis woi houkutella heitä niin helposti maalliseen helwettiinsä!"
- 843 "Bland andre sekteriska resepredikanter sträfwa äfwen mormonsekstens proselytnakare omkring i Österbotten ... hån och förakt."
- 844 "... waran tycktes icke hafwa åtgång i denna trakt."

- 845 "En vän till lutherska kyrkan i Finland."
- 846 "... offren ... deras fullständiga afhållande från landet."
- 847 "... uskon ja omantunnon asiain ... Tästä kuitenkin on eroitettawa pois muhamettilaiset, mormoonit y. m. s."
- 848 "... yrkar ... på ännu större friheter för fantasterna! Hvad skall slutet på allt detta blifva?"
- 849 "... saa tilaisuuden jossaki [sic] puhua ja jos saa muutaman tuulihatun perässänsä juoksemaan..."
- 850 "... för att föreställa henne villfarelsen i mormonernas lära ... Bland annat ställes till hennes frågan, om hon icke visste att mormonerna hafva flere hustrur."
- 852 "Mormoneista."

Chapter 6

- "... fortsattes resan till Poja [sic] socken. Jag stannade där 4 dagar. Jag träffade flera helige, och vi höllo församling och brödsbrytelse tillsammans och hade stor glädje. Där på en herregård, som kallas Bröd-torp, började en trädgårdsmästare vid namn Blom, som tillhörde vår kyrka och hade kommit dit från Sverige, att predika och döpa. ... han är nu hemma i Zion och är en aktad och trofast man." (August J. Höglund)
- "... vi ville i det längsta undvika allt som kunde få det ringaste sken af religionsförföljelse, troende då ännu att vi hade för oss folk med hvilka man kunde komma till rätta. Vi hade icke heller då kännedom om de egenskaper af karrborrar och blodigla [sic], som dessa proselytmakare ådagalagt och alltid ådagalägga." (Eduard Hisinger)
- 867 "Andliga talare..."
- 868 "Vår kyrkliga ordning och lag eger för desse af en uppstegrad känslöande drifna nye lärare och väckelsepredikanter föga betydelse."
- 869 "... den kringliggande omnejdens allmänna krog."
- 879 "... tala ej med folket, ty de förstå ej religionsrihet..."
- 883 "...förklarar den heliga Skrift enligt sina läror..."
- 887 "... en ung vilseförd flicka ... till sin faders stora sorg..."
- 889 "... hans grannar och öfriga bekanta ... flere gånger kommit till honom för att i anledning af de om 'De Sista Dagars Helige' förklenande uppgifter, som emellanåt och särskildt senaste tider varit synliga i tidningarne, uttala sin förvåning öfver huru sådant kunnat vara sant..."
- 890 "Hvad jag hörde och såg i mormonernas Zion." "... en af de sorgligaste syner, som någonsin nått mitt öga." "Kwinnans ställning hos mormonerna är fruktansvärd..."

- 893 "Dels för att berigtiga den mängd af vrånga framställningar och för att vederlägga de många falska berättelser, som gå i svang om de Sista Dagars Helige..."
- 899 "... rådde enhvar att vara på sin vakt emot villfarelser uti läran och att den, som står, må se till, att han icke faller..."
- 900 "...komma inför Kristi domstol, så skall han säga: gå bort ifrån mig, jag känner Eder icke..." "... hvad skall du läsa sådana böcker, med hvilka du far till helvetet..." "... sirapsprester ... för klok..."
- 902 "... de wigtigare tilldragelserna ... som man har skäl att tro, till följe af grubbel öfwer hennes husbondes uppmaningar att antaga den nya läran ... för att öfwerlägga och besluta om lämpligaste sättet att motarbeta sektens vidare spridning."
- 905 "... väcker allmän förargelse, oro och missnöje inom kommunen, som obestriddigen har rättmätiga anspråk på att få vara ostörd af såväl denne, som af de af honom hysta mormoner från America, hvilka dessa udnaste 3 somrar infunnit sig och arbetat i samma sak..."
- 906 "... skicklig trädgårdsmästare, ordentlig och nykter... till min fulla belåtenhet..."
- 907 "... en duglig och ordentlig arbetare."
- 908 "... skamligen svikande mitt förtroende, med falskhet och alldeles lömskt, först i största hemlighet, men sednare allt mera djerft, oförskämdt och trotsigt..."
- 911 "... alltid om natten ... det ett tjut och en obehaglig olåt långt in på natten ofta stört grannarna ... dessa ulfvar i fårakläder ... dessa mormoner icke kunna ha någon medkänsla för dem, utan handla af ren själviskhet."
- 912 "... karrborrar och blodigla [sic] ... folk med hvilka man kunde komma till rätta."
- 915 "... idkat proselytmakeri och hållit religiösa sammankomster, utbredt sina lärosatser och mormonskrifter..."
- 921 "Lockar någon andra til [sic] deltagande uti fremmande andaktsöfning och affall från den Lutherska Läran..."
- 924 "... här aldrig varit och icke ens nu är fråga om religionsförföljelse..."
- 926 "... ett ord om månggiftet och dess nödwändighet för alla qwinnors saligblifwande..."
- 927 "...Vi afsky så mycket som någon det osedliga i mormonismen, men, såvidt hittills utredt blifvit, har Blom endast drifvit proselytmakeri med i sig sjelfva högst oskadliga läror, och af månggiftsdogmerna förefinnas icke ett spår. De tider äro, låt oss hoppas, förbi då man bötfäller, ännu mindre utvisar ur landet, någon hvars enda brott består uti att

- inbjuda till religiösa sammankomster och döpa ... Icke repressalier, utan en vis och tidsenlig dissenterlag är hvad som erfordras.”
- 930 “... Kejsrerlige Hofrätten höggunstigt täckes befria mig från allt ansvar och utgifvande af ersättning...”
- 933 “... det icke blifvit angifvet eller påstådt emot Blom, att han skulle för sina qvinliga proselyter predikat månggiftets sakramentala betydelse eller sökt locka dem öfver till Utah.”
- 934 “... fastän det ibland ser litet mörkt ut ... genom utmätning af mitt lilla bo.” “... huruledes ‘kristenheten’ behandlar en Guds tjenare för hans lydighet till Herrens bud ... Finlands vise domare ...”
- 935 “Dette er en haard Straf og meget svækkende paa Systemet...” “... for at have afholdt Forsamlinger og udbrede Evangeliet blandt deres Medmennesker...”
- 936 “... våra kristna vänner ... han led icke för en verklig förbrytelse, utan för det han var den Högstes tjenare.”
- 937 “... i vår tid ... det allmänna rätts- och religionsmedvetandet ... utan att det kan falla ens den varmaste luteran [sic] in att deraf taga någon anstöt eller tänka på att gentemot dem söka åberopa ansvarsbestäm- melserna i 1781 års kungörelse...”
- 939 “... hwilket på sin tid väckte en ganska stor uppmärksamhet...”
- 940 “Somliga af våra vänner säga, att ju större förföljelserna äro, desto mera bekräftas deras tro på evangeliet.”
- 941 “... ett förfärligt alarm ... finnarna hafva ingen barmhertighet, när de skola straffa mormonerna. De dela ej gerna på lifsstraff, som br. Blom hårdt får erfaras ... Jag vistades hemligen der i trakten ett par dagar och döpte 2 personer och flera äro troende som jag snart skall döpa; ty de hafva begärt dop.”
- 944 “... 3 af de när varande [sic] bröderna ... gaf sina vittnesbörd om Evangeliets Gudomliga ursprung sade sig vilja bade lefva och dö för det samma...”
- 948 “... ansåg sig böra på oftanämnde Lindlöf tillämpa kyrkolagens före- skrift §101.”
- 949 “... julkiseen syntiin ja pahuuteen...”
- 950 “... och härigenom åstadkommit oro och förargelse i församlingen...”
- 954 “... mormonska villomeningar ... utan att ha låtit sig om sin villfarelse öfwertygas...”
- 957 “... möjligen ock förtäckt baptistisk ... till experimentalfält för sin verksamhet...”

- 958 "...sekterister af mångahanda denominationer fastsatt sig ej allenast i närmast belägna stad, utan ock på landsbygden inom församlingens område."
- 959 "Mormonsekten består här weterligen af sex personer, och har så vidt kändt är ingen af dem sökt öfwertala andra till sina villfarande meningar..."
- 964 "... sända en Äldste af vårt samfund, och på detta sätt kunde Ni få eder önskan uppfylld att blifva inlämnad som medlem i Jesu Christi Kyrka."
- 967 "... hvilket er fallet med alla 'mormoner' hvar de trifvas ... vi ... uppbygge och uppmuntra oss på det besta och syskona var mycke glada och förnöjda."
- 969 "... bjöd på kafve och doppa. Hade hon vetat att jag har förvillat hennes dotter så mycke som jag har vet ingen hur vel jag hade blivit motagen ... Naturligtvis..."
- 970 "... de äro utsatta för många pröfningar och sällan blifva besökta af missionärerna ... kärlek och godhjärtenhet..."

Chapter 7

- "Och år från år se vi desse fria män och qvinnor, nästan af alla nationer lemna deras fädernesland deras slägtingar och vänner och med glädjesånger, antråda deras resa till det inre af den amerikanska kontinenten till Klippbergen i West." (*Nordstjernen*)
- "Huru många ädla frön till kristendom har icke den gräsliga mormonismen qväft, på samma gang den plundrat de bedragna på fädernesland, familjelycka och andra dyrbara gåfvor!" (*Finland*)
- 985 "... njuta den tvilfvelaktiga [sic] äran att vara mormonkolportörernes bästa fiskeplats."
- 989 "Svaret på detta spörsmål blifver obetingadt nej. Den Allsmäktiges föremål kunna icke fullbordas på något annat sätt än genom en verklig insamling af hans folk..."
- 992 "... kära berg hem ... familj och vänner samt byns musikkår, hvilka alla sökte att göra min ankomst så behaglig som möjligt."
- 993 "... hamnade till sist i Omaha, hvarest de i frid och ro tillbragte sin lefnads afton."
- 994 "Många gräto, när de omtalade, huru de blifwit bedragna. Landet 'med mjölk och honung' blef för dem en plats för lidande och nöd. Icke så få kommo till mig och sade: 'Hjelp oss hem igen! Ja, hjelp oss åtminstone till Staterna!'"
- 995 "... Gud har uträckt sin hand för att insamla lemningen af Israel på Amerikas fastland, och att tiden är kommer till Zions grundfästade och förlossning."

- 996 "En af de wackraste tankarne i mormonismen är tanken på ett wackert ställe på jorden, dit 'de heliga' längta. Denna längtan tolkas på ett gripande sätt i mormonerräs [sic] sånger."
- 997 "Nu många tusen få begär Att gå till Löftets land ..." "Du längtat har, att Zions hemland skåda..." "Ut ur fængslet löses mången, Kampen är nu snart utstridd; Löste Israels barn uttåga Till en samlingsort i West..."
- 999 "Det var en vacker syn att se de stolta skeppen glida bort öfver det stilla vattnet i sundet, medan tonerna af de Heliges glada afskedssånger ännu hördes."
- 1000 "I förening harmed önska vi uppmana de helige, att med ett heligt mål för öga bereda sig att samlas till Zion ... Öfver dem som resa dertill för att tjena sin Skapare håller Fadren sin beskyddande hand, och de kunna utan fruktan, på hafvets upprörda böljor, anförtro sig åt fartygens bräckliga plankor, som hän öfver hafvets djup förer sin dyrbara frakt af menniskolif. De kunna känna sig trygga på land och haf, vetande, att en kärleksfull Faders öga vakar öfver dem och att hans englar ledsaga dem, samt at than, som i detta tillfälle, kan rädda dem ur sjelfva dödens gap."
- 1002 "... Herran valituille."
- 1003 "... Amerikan kuume..."
- 1004 "... finna ett land, der mjölk och honung flöda och der stekta sparfwar flyga menniskan i munnen, blott man gör sig beswäret att öppna den samma..."
- 1017 "Ett annat korståg mot de helige ... blott ett ytterligare vittnesbörd till dem om deras växande anseende."
- 1019 "... Myös ... Park Cityssä, Provossa y. m. on joitakin kansalaisiamme ... Mormoonivaltiossa..."
- 1021 "... ansåg hon sig wara för gammal för att i saltsjöstaden komma i fråga hwad äktenskap beträffar."
- 1022 "På tillfrågan hwad som förmått dem till den långa färden skola de öppet svarat att de *måste* resa, emedan de här vore förföljda och ej få lefva såsom deras lära föreskrefve. De uppgåfvo att flere af deras 'trosförvandter' ännu skulle följa efter."
- 1030 "... en wälbemedlad, rik enka ... sitt nitiska omvändelsewärf ... sälja det hon eger och följa honom."
- 1031 "... handlandeenkan Ruth till 'det förlofwade landet' ... torde i anledning däraf, åtminstone till en början, wara en wälkommen gäst i det 'Zion' dit hon nu begifwit sig!"
- 1033 "... mycket rask och liflig för sin ålder ... trångbröstad och 'pietistisk'."

- 1040 "... få lägenhet till att draga ut från dessa trånga ställen och komma hem till Zion, för der att mottaga större välsignelser, förr än de ... träda genom dödens port ..." "... längtade efter utfrielse."
- 1041 "... at se Dagen, da de kunne sige deres Fødeland farvel og drage til Josephs Arveland..."
- 1042 "... erinna dem, om någon utväg skulle öppnas för de fattige."
- 1043 "... men Udsigterne nu for Tiden ere ikke meget lovende for dem." "... resa till den plats, Herren har beredt för sina trofaste; men enär de till största delen äro fattiga, kunna de icke utan hjälp få denna sin önskan uppfylld."
- 1047 "Kaikkien muiden täytyy pysyä siinä kutsumuksessa, johon kaitselemus heidät on asettanut, koettaa parantaa olot ja kahdenkertaisella tarmolla työskennellä valoisamman tulevaisuuden luomiseksi sukupolwille nousewille. ... Pakolaiset owat siis siweellisesti samalla kannalla kuin ne woimakkaat miehet, jotka tulipalossa tahi haaksirikossa kurjasti pelastawat oman henkensä, jättäen wanhukset, naiset ja lapset hukkumaan."
- 1048 "De hade genom bref med lysande förspeglingar om 'guld och gröna skogar' blifwit lockade..."
- 1049 "... mormonernas land ... befinner sig väl och har det utmärkt bra."
- 1050 "... halfförrykte [sic] swärmare ... man må med skäl hoppas för alltid..."
- 1051 "... mildhet, gästfrihet, enkelhet i vanor, ståndaktighet i föresatser, fosterlandskärlek, tålighet och trofasthet ... Dessa stackars vilseledda offer för mormonismens förbannelse..." "... föraktlige förförare ... Man kan ej nog beklaga dessa stackars förlorade." "liukkaat kielet ... wiekotelleet..."
- 1053 "... vackra förespeglingar för att fånga sina offer ... Skall intet göras för att hindra okunnige och enfaldige menniskor från att falla offer..."
- 1055 "... deraf kommer det sig, att blott få obemedlade ankomma till mormonstaten."
- 1056 "Icke så oäfwen fångst, ty gumman eger ett nätt kapital..."
- 1057 "... dessutom syssla de förutom det andliga utsädet äfwen med emigrantwärfweri för de transatlantiska ångbåtsliniernas räkning."
- 1058 "... att misstaga sig i valet af ledsagarinna genom lifvet."
- 1059 "Nödd och tvungen skall hustrun gifvit sitt samtycke till skilsmessan."
- 1060 "De skola inse ... ehuru för sent, att de blifwit på det skamligaste sätt bedragna..."
- 1061 "... i de mest lockande färger för folket utmåla lifvet vid Saltsjön."
- 1062 "... liksom öfver allt i Amerika, stekta sparfvar flyga in i munnen..."

- 1063 "Kuinka wähän kansa yleensä on woinut 'tutkia henkeä', osoittaa se towiseikka, että tänäkin vuonna monta henkeä on kuunnellut Mormonilaislahkokunnan saarnaajoina ja seurannut heitä 'wiimisten päiwäin pyhään' orjuuteen mormonikaupungissa."
- 1064 "Bland 4- a 5,000 skandinaviske mormoner, som bo i Saltsjöstaden, träffade jag många, som erkände, att deras förhoppningar rörande 'Zion' blifwit felslagna, under det andra, isynnerhet qwinnor, med tårar i ögonen talade om sina hem på andra sida hafwet ... de äro här stadda i det wärsta slafweri, som kan tänkas – slafweri under fanatism och okunnighet och slafweri under ett band af skurkar, tjufwar och mördare ... Här inwigas de i månggiftets och menniskooffringens ('bloodatonement') [sic] ruskigheter och komma så ut 'inwigda'."
- 1065 "Ne, mitkä muuttawat pois, sijoittuwat tawallisesti Atlantin toisella puolella olewaan 'Sioniin' sillä tawalla, että heitä houkutellaan lainaamaan rahaa eräästä 'apukassasta' Utahissa, jossa sitten ymmärrettään ajaa asiat niin, että he tuskin koskaan onnistuwat maksaa welkaansa takasin, waan saawat käyskennellä siellä kuten orjat koko elinkautensa."
- 1066 "... att man matte för Guds skull befria henne från hennes slafweri ... för befriande ur mormonernas händer..."
- 1068 "... warnar han allwarligen folk af båda könen i de nordiska länderna att låta locka sig i elände af mormonagenter."
- 1069 "Efter att ... ha blifwit fullproppad med de otroligaste fabler om mormonerne ..."
- 1070 "... varna en och annan enfaldig människa, som står i beredskap att anträda resan till Utah..."
- 1072 "... att Herren Gud måtte bewara ... våra finska emigranter i Amerika att icke innästlas i mormonismens förwillelser."
- 1073 "Huru många ädla frön till kristendom har icke den gräsliga mormonismen qväft, på samma gang den plundrat de bedragna på fädernesland, familjelycka och andra dyrbara gåfvor!"

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Mormonfamilj med en man och flere hustrur i Utah.



MORMONTEN TABERNAKELI JA TEMPELLEI.



This book explores how The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (commonly known as the Mormon church) was introduced to the Russian Grand Duchy of Finland in the nineteenth century. The internal workings of the movement and the reactions of society are both part of the analysis.

The Mormons are discussed in numerous books of the time and are mentioned over 3,000 times in contemporary newspapers. Most of the publicity was derived from foreign sources and featured themes such as fraud, deception, and theocracy in explaining the movement. The resulting image, along with the lack of religious freedom, contributed to a high level of resistance by civil authorities and Lutheran clergy.

Nevertheless, twenty-five Mormon missionaries worked in Finland between 1875 and 1900 and converted at least 78 persons, mostly among the Swedish-speaking minority population. The work was led from Sweden, with no stable church organization emerging among the geographically scattered pockets of converts. Mormonism's presence was thus characterized by private or small-group religiosity.

Åbo Akademi University Press
ISBN 978-951-765-552-1



9 789517 655521