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Conflict Amid Conversion: Mormon Proselytizing in Russian Finland, 1860-1914

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**CONFLICT AMID CONVERSION:
MORMON PROSELYTIZING IN RUSSIAN FINLAND, 1860-1914**

Zachary Ray Jones

Logan, Utah

BA History, Utah State University, 2006

A Thesis presented to the Graduate Faculty
of the College of William and Mary in Candidacy for the Degree of
Master of Arts

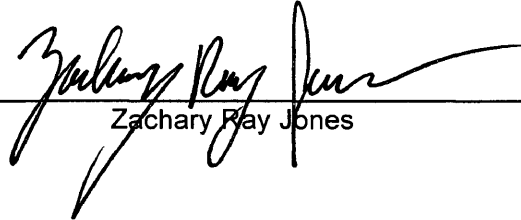
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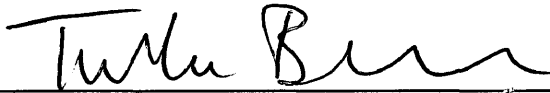
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ABSTRACT PAGE

Drawing upon sources in English, Russian, Swedish, German, and French this study challenges the accuracy of previous historiography and explores how the Tsarist Russian state responded when Mormon missionaries began illegally proselytizing in Russia's Grand Duchy of Finland (modern day Finland) between 1875 and 1888. Jones primarily examines the methods used by the Russian state to maintain religious law in Finland with a focus on the Mormon experience in Finland. Russian Orthodox clergy and Finnish Lutheran clergy both served as informants to the tsarist police, and police responded with covert surveillance, arrests, imprisonments, and deportations of LDS missionaries and converts. After the 1881 assassination of Tsar Alexander II tsarist police redoubled their efforts to purge the nation of sectarians and other undesirables, resulting in a Mormon/police conflict. Mormons converted roughly 250 people, the second highest amount of all illegal Western proselytizing groups to enter Finland during the 19th century. These converts were gleaned from the lower-class and adopted a new worldview after converting to Mormonism.

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MAP OF THE GRAND DUCHY OF FINLAND



City names are listed in Finnish

CONFLICT AMID CONVERSION:
MORMON PROSELYTIZING IN RUSSIAN FINLAND, 1860-1914

INTRODUCTION

“THE AMERICAN RELIGION” IN IMPERIAL RUSSIA

“A letter has been received from Herr D. Krasnopolsky, Odessa, South Russia, making inquire about our faith, etc. I have sent him some printed matter.”
A. Mussen Mitten, Salt Lake City, to A. H. Schutthess, Bern, 1893¹

On a cold Russian winter’s night in Moscow in 1894, a small group gathered in a stately apartment to converse around a warm fireplace. One guest, the elderly inquisitive Russian author Leo Tolstoy, approached American diplomat and medical doctor Andrew D. White and posed a question: “Dr. White, I wish you would tell me about your American religion.” White, somewhat puzzled, responded that the United States did not have a state church, as did Russia. Somewhat impatiently, Tolstoy rejoined that he knew this, “but wanted to know about the *American religion*. Catholicism originated in Rome; the Episcopal Church originated in England; the Lutheran in Germany; but the church to which I refer to originated in America, and is commonly known as the Mormon Church.”² This conversation, like a number of others that took place in Russian homes during the latter nineteenth century, typifies the ‘Mormon Question’ in Imperial Russia. A number of individuals, like Tolstoy, corresponded with Mormons about their society,

¹ Mitten A. Mussen to A. H. Schutthess, 18 March 1893, CR 100 166, Church Historian’s Office, Letterpress copybook, 1880-1900; 171, Church Archives, Historical Department of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, UT. Materials located at Church Archives shall hereafter be cited as ‘LDS Church Archives’.

² Quoted from Thomas J. Yates, “Count Tolstoi and the ‘American Religion,’” *Improvement Era* 43 (Feb. 1939): 94.

encountered missionaries in Europe, or were simply curious about this peculiar religious movement sweeping across America and Europe.³

While most Russians expressed little interest in becoming a Mormon, or were “horrified”, as Tolstoy penned his diary after first reading the *Book of Mormon* (the Mormon Church’s scriptural canon), many were interested in Mormonism as a social movement.⁴ Russian intellectuals authored columns on the unique nature of Mormon society, economy, polygamy, and numerous aspects of culture—all to theorize about the phenomenon known as Mormonism (The official name of the Mormon Church is the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints; it has been shortened to LDS Church or referred to as the Mormon Church because of the *Book of Mormon*). Thus, it was no surprise that people throughout Russia and its territories such as Tolstoy had—as he penned in his diary on 13 January 1889—“Read about the Mormons.”⁵

The Russian government and Russian Orthodox clergy also paid close attention to Mormon actions, especially after LDS missionaries smuggled themselves into Russia’s Finland province in 1875 and began preaching illegally. During the next thirteen years LDS missionaries baptized approximately 250 Finns,⁶ but by 1888 the Russian state had

³ Tolstoy corresponded with Brigham Young’s daughter, Susa Y. Gates, who sent him a copy of the *Book of Mormon*, which resides today in Tolstoy’s historic library in Russia. For further information see Leland A. Fetzer, “Tolstoy and Mormonism,” *Dialogue* 6, no. 1 (Spring 1971): 27.

⁴ Leo Tolstoy, *Tolstoy’s Diaries: Volume 1; 1847-1894*, trans. and ed. R. F. Christian (New York: Scribner Press, 1985): 236.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 237.

⁶ It is difficult to access the actual number of baptisms performed in Finland, thus 250 is an estimation. The Finland Branch Record, the only surviving record with convert baptism information, contains an incomplete list of 81 convert baptisms performed in Finland between 1876 and 1889. The list was compiled by a missionary (likely August L. Hedberg) in 1884 and does not contain a complete list of those who emigrated or abandoned Mormonism prior to 1884. This ledger also falls short of matching the numbers of baptisms mentioned by previous missionaries in their diaries and those published in the *Nordstjernan*. The record was later updated sporadically between 1886 and 1889. Thus, to document missionary work for the whole of Finland between 1876 and 1889, only a spotty record from one of the five branches that existed has survived. See Finland Branch Record Ledger, Scandinavian Mission, 1876-1897, MS LR 14149 21, LDS Church Archives.

combined clerical reconnaissance with police vigilance to halt the LDS ministry in Finland. Russian Orthodox clergy—who often teamed with Finnish Lutheran clergy— informed the tsarist police of Mormon activities so that LDS missionaries would be arrested and deported. This pattern of surveillance and deportation demonstrates how Russian religious policy functioned in Russia’s Grand Duchy of Finland. Although Orthodox clergy did not operate as an official arm of the state, they perceived LDS missionaries as a threat to the religious power balance in Finland and not simply because Mormons broke Russian religious law.⁷ From what Russians read about Mormonism the LDS faith appeared to be a threatening contagion that could infect Russian culture, religious life, economy, and political ideology. Thus, the state used all assets at its disposal to halt the LDS infiltration into Finland.

Russian law only allowed Russian Orthodox Church missionaries to preach in any of the Empire’s provinces, and those who dared to illegally preach in Russian lands could face banishment, imprisonment, or exile to Siberia.⁸ Although in the nineteenth century no Mormons experienced Siberian exile because of their faith,⁹ a number of Latter-day Saints were arrested, served jail terms, were deported, or fled to America. And although 250 converts to the LDS faith in Russia’s Finland province may seem like a small number, Mormon missionaries were actually the second most successful Western proselytizers in Finland during this period. LDS missionaries stood behind only the

⁷ For information about the role of the Orthodox Church see; Gregory L. Freeze, “Handmaiden of the State? The Church in Imperial Russia Reconsidered,” *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 36, no. 1 (Jan. 1985): 78-103.

⁸ See David S. Fogelson, “Redeeming Russia? American Missionaries and Tsarist Russia,” *Religion, State & Society: The Keston Journal* 25, no. 4 (1997): 353-368, and Peter Waldron, “Religious Toleration in Latter Imperial Russia,” in *Civil Rights in Imperial Russia*, ed. Olga Crisp and Linda Edmondson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), 103-120.

⁹ Some LDS members were imprisoned and exiled for their wealth in post-1917 Russia. See Kahlile B. Mehr, “Johan and Alma Lindolf: Early Saints in Russia,” *Ensign* (July 1981): 23-24.

Baptists who had converted roughly 400 followers by 1885 and ahead of the Methodists with 147 proselytes.¹⁰

Yet missiology studies (the study of missionary work) on Russian Finland are nearly non-existent in the English language. Only two publications specifically examine foreign missionary labors (Baptist and Methodist) in Russian Finland, but each of these works was primarily hagiographic, devoted to creating a favorable public image of its respective religious organizations.¹¹ Thus, my study is the first of its kind to appear in the English language.¹² Aspects of Mormon missionary efforts in Russia have been examined in the past, but LDS missionary efforts in Russian Finland have been entirely overlooked in the historiography. Scholars who wrote about Mormonism in Russian lands with a ‘comprehensive’ approach all mistakenly viewed Finland as a province unconnected to Russia politically (Finland was a territory governed by Russia from 1807 to 1917), greatly erring in their conclusions.

The first study to emerge of LDS efforts in Russia consisted of an essay by Kahlile B. Mehr.¹³ Mehr examined the LDS Church’s unsuccessful attempt to establish a Mission based at Saint Petersburg in 1903. He discussed the single Finnish family baptized in the Neva River by a Swedish missionary sent from the LDS Scandinavian Mission’s Stockholm Conference (a specific missionary headquarters at Stockholm,

¹⁰ Alfons Sundquist, “The Baptist Movement in Finland,” in *Baptist Work in Denmark, Finland, Norway, and Sweden* (Stockholm: Ernst Westerbergs Boktryckeri, 1947), 36, and S. T. Kimbrough, Jr., *Methodism in Russia & the Baltic States: History and Renewal* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1995), 27.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² It was covered best, but in passing, in A. Dean Wengreen, “A History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Sweden, 1850-1905,” PhD Dissertation, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, 1968. Finnish sources on Mormonism in Finland have recently been addressed in Kim Östman, “Research on Mormonism in Finland: Literature, Research Ideas, and Sources,” *Uskonnontutkija - Religionsforskare* 2 (2006): 1-20.

¹³ Kahlile B. Mehr, “The 1903 Dedication of Russia for Missionary Work,” *Journal of Mormon History* 13 (1986-87): 110-123.

Sweden) and the efforts of a lone LDS missionary who preached in Russia's Courland Province (modern day Latvia). Mehr failed to notice that Finland was actually a Russian territory and that LDS missionaries—based out of the Scandinavian Mission's Stockholm Conference—had already preached and baptized a few hundred people in Finland. In addition to Mormon almanacs and historical encyclopedias, subsequent publications on Mormonism in Russia and Europe, such as *Building Zion: The Latter-day Saints in Europe* (1996), *Russia and the Restored Gospel* (1997), *Unto Every Nation: Gospel Light Reaches Every Land* (2003), and Mehr's own *Mormon Missionaries Enter Eastern Europe* (2002), have all used Mehr's 1987 study to document Mormonism's involvement with Tsarist Russia. From Mehr's study to the present scholars—and a team of LDS Church officials and lawyers who investigated LDS missionary efforts in Imperial Russia to legally document and reopen preaching in post-Soviet Russia—have embraced Mehr's inaccurate findings.¹⁴ My study attempts to offer a corrective to these earlier approaches to the history of Mormonism's involvement with Tsarist Russia.

As part of this process I have examined hundreds of letters, numerous diaries, reports, meeting minutes, church periodicals (especially the *Millennial Star* and *Nordstjernen*), and various church records kept by LDS missionaries and church officials that document LDS proselytizing in Finland—most of these written in English and Swedish. It is beyond the scope of my master's work to visit archives in Finland and

¹⁴ When the Soviet Union collapsed in 1992, the LDS Church opened negotiations with the Russian government in attempt to begin preaching in the Russian Federation. The Russian government stated that no new religious sects could proselytize in the Russia Federation, and thus the LDS Church needed evidence that missionaries had preached in Russia prior to the 1917 Revolution. All LDS Church employees could find was that one Finnish family was baptized in Saint Petersburg in 1895 and information concerning the missionary who preached in the Courland Province. It appears Church employees also failed to notice Finland was a Russian territory during this period, possibly because they used Mehr's 1987 essay.

Russia. I have however had great support from numerous libraries in Finland, Europe, and the United States that loaned Russian, Finnish, Swedish, English, French, and German language works and periodicals that document conditions in Finland and Russia. The online digitized Mormon Publications: 19th Century database available through Brigham Young University, Utah Digital Newspapers through the University of Utah, and Helsinki University's digitized Finnish Historical Newspaper Library have also provided ample source material. While this is the first English-language scholarly work to examine LDS missionary efforts in pre-1917 Finland, I hope that this work will facilitate intellectual discussions of Mormonism in Finland, Russia, and Europe in general.

The LDS Church: Beginnings:

Mormonism itself was christened a long way from Europe. The LDS Church was founded in 1830 in upstate New York by a twenty-five-year-old transient farmhand named Joseph Smith, Jr. (1805-1844). In 1820 Smith claimed he spoke face-to-face with God and Jesus Christ and received commandments from God to organize a religion modeled on the ancient church originally led by Jesus Christ and the Twelve Apostles at Jerusalem. As part of 'Restoring' this form of primitive Christianity, Smith stated angels led him to find and translate a scriptural account documenting the ancient inhabitants of the Americas, which was published in 1830 as the *Book of Mormon*. Today the LDS Church has a membership of 14 million and its numbers are now greater in South America than in North America. Overall, the LDS Church considers itself a Restored Church, and not necessarily a Protestant sect, although it is sometimes classified as one.

Theologically, Smith's movement adopted a religious hierarchy and its core doctrines taught that salvation came by works through the atonement of Jesus Christ, considered the *Book of Mormon* as scriptural companion to the *Holy Bible*, and taught that followers could become gods and goddesses in the next life as they followed God's commandments and sought perfection. Acting as God's prophet, Smith professed his religion was the only true church on the earth, arguing that it was guided through him (Smith) by God and Jesus Christ. Smith also laid claim to having priesthood authority, given to him by the former Apostles of Christ who appeared to Smith in angelic form.

Temporally, Smith required his followers to live higher standards in everyday life; to be industrious, hard working, honest, sober-minded, and intellectually sound. He instituted the Law of Consecration (later revamped and renamed the United Order under Brigham Young), which called on fellow Mormons to give and live communally, instituting a type of communal life among church members. In 1839 Smith and his followers founded Nauvoo, Illinois, a city that grew to approximately 50,000 people within five years, and a place where church members gathered to prepare for the Second Coming of Christ. At the height of Smith's power in 1844 he was simultaneously the leader of a populous city, the founder of a proliferating religious movement, a General in the Nauvoo Legion (Nauvoo's city militia), a co-founder of the University of Nauvoo, and a nominee for the office of President of the United States of America.¹⁵

From the beginning Smith taught that "the greatest and most important duty is to preach the Gospel."¹⁶ By 1844 LDS membership reached nearly 50,000 people, largely

¹⁵ For further information on Smith see; Richard L. Bushman, *Joseph Smith: Rough Rolling Stone* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2005).

¹⁶ Richard C. Galbraith, ed. *Scriptural Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1993), 133.

consisting of followers recruited from various places in the United States, Canada, and Europe by means of a highly organized missionary program. The Mormon missionary agenda functioned as church leaders spontaneously ‘called’ or commissioned lay members of the faith to go on voluntary unpaid proselytizing missions to various places across the globe. These newly commissioned individuals were assigned to ‘Missions’ where previous missionaries had generally already established a headquarters where incoming recruits could learn about living conditions, foreign languages, current undertakings, or read from the church periodical published in the local dialect. By 1880 prolific Mormons had established a handful of Missions in Europe and were publishing local organs in native languages, including Manchester’s *Millennial Star*, Copenhagen’s Danish *Skandinaviens Stjerne* and Swedish *Nordstjernan*, and Berlin’s *Der Stern*. As part of this process LDS missionaries encouraged converts to gather to ‘Zion’, which after 1847 meant Salt Lake City. To assist and speed up convert migration church leaders established the Perpetual Emigration Fund, a fiscal assistance program that aided or completely funded the emigration of thousands of European converts. Between 1847 and 1887 over 85,000 Europeans joined the LDS faith and migrated to the Utah Territory.¹⁷ During this forty-year period Mormonism transformed the lives and futures of ten-of-thousands of Europeans by serving as a vessel for transnational interaction and migration.

While LDS preaching in Russia had been discussed as early as 1843, beginning in 1860 and up to the eve of the First World War fifty-two identified LDS missionaries ministered in Russia lands, most in Finland.¹⁸ These missionaries found their greatest success along the coastal towns of Russia’s Grand Duchy of Finland, but also established

¹⁷ Leonard J. Arrington and Davis Bitton, *The Mormon Experience* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1979), 136.

¹⁸ See Appendix A for a list of LDS missionaries to serve in Russian lands.

a small presence in Saint Petersburg and made a short-lived foray into a Baltic province.¹⁹ LDS missionaries first proselytized in Finland because of its proximity to Sweden, where the LDS Scandinavian Mission was already sufficiently established. Because one of the Scandinavian Mission's dioceses, the Stockholm Conference, oversaw land that bordered Russia, the Stockholm Conference became the staging-ground from where Mormons spilled into Russian Finland. And although Sweden and Russia shared a border and most Finns spoke Swedish, the two nations' political and cultural ways of life remained distinct.

During this period the Russian government allowed Finns to legally practice only Lutheranism or Russian Orthodoxy, and the Russian Orthodoxy Church was the only one accorded the right to proselytize. Importantly however, the Russian government permitted legal recognition of the Lutheran Church of Finland because it agreed to bow to Russian Orthodoxy and tsarist authority. As part of this compliance, the Lutheran Church of Finland was instructed to indoctrinate followers about the 'greatness' of the Russian system. The demand for clerical conformity angered and caused disenchantment among laity who did not perceive Russian rule as legitimate or suited to Finnish culture. Since some Lutheran laity viewed the Lutheran Church of Finland as an arm of the Russian state—and less powerful than the Russian Orthodox Church—dissent and schism ensued. This ushered in a religious upheaval that swept across Finland between 1830 and 1917 as numerous schismatic and native religious movements emerged in Finland, most of which sought autonomy from Orthodoxy or the Lutheran Church of Finland.²⁰

¹⁹ See Kahlile B. Mehr, "The 1903 Dedication of Russia for Missionary Work," *Journal of Mormon History* 13 (1986-87): 110-123.

²⁰ These generally included factions of Lutheranism, including the Finnish Evangelical Movement founded by F. G. Hedberg (1811-1893), the Laestadian Lutheran Church established by Lars L. Laestadius (1800-

As part of this religious awakening, many Finns showed interest in Western religion. Finns sought out the Baptist, Methodist, and Mormon missionaries who had smuggled themselves into Finland to preach illegally. Some Finns embraced sectarian faiths, but since they could only legally practice Lutheranism or Orthodoxy most practiced their beliefs without the state's knowledge. During this period numerous Finns endured persecution for practicing sectarian Christian beliefs, along with a minority of fiercely oppressed Jews, Muslims, and 'pagans'. This religious friction was also tied the political tension that existed between Finns and tsarist rule.

Discord began around 1807-1808 when Sweden refused Tsar Alexander I's request to join the Continental System established by Napoleon Bonaparte, eventually culminating in the Russian-Swedish conflict known as the Finnish War. Experiencing repeated defeats, Sweden sued for peace and reluctantly ceded Finland to Russia at the Treaty of Hamina on 9 September 1809.²¹ In conjunction with the Treaty of Hamina, Tsar Alexander I made Finland a Grand Duchy of Russia and permitted his new Finnish subjects to enjoy liberties guaranteed by their former Swedish constitution, an agreement later interpreted differently by Finns and Russians. Although Alexander granted Finns the right to practice Lutheranism, he, a member of the Orthodox Church, subsequently appointed himself leader of the Lutheran Church in Finland, which Finnish Lutherans strongly resented. As time progressed, succeeding Russian governing officials interpreted

1961), and the Supplicationists founded by Henrik Renqvist (1789-1866). Other non-Lutheran movements also became popular among progressive minded Finns, such as Tolstoyanism, a religious-revolutionary belief that advocated passive resistance toward corrupt government. See Steven D. Huxley, *Constitutional Insurgency in Finland* (Helsinki: Finnish Historical Society, 1990), 177-185; Harri Heino, "The Evangelical Lutheran Church in Finland," in *Church in Finland* (Helsinki: Church Council for Foreign Affairs, 1989), 21, and Maunu Sinnemäki, *The Church in Finland* (Helsinki: Kustannusosakeyhtiö Otava, 1973).

²¹ O. Jussila, S. Henttilä, and J. Nevakivi, *From Grand Duchy to a Modern State: A Political History of Finland since 1809* (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1999).

Alexander's liberal agreement with Finns as binding only during the reign of Alexander I, and thus open to change by subsequent tsars. To the dismay of those in the Grand Duchy, after Alexander's death in 1825, his son Nicholas I and ensuing rulers restricted general freedoms, tightened religious liberties, and imposed Russification. Russification was an empire-building political doctrine implemented by the Russian government aimed to transform the culture of subjugated peoples and bring them into line with mainstream Russian culture and religious belief. It made Russian language mandatory in schools and legal institutions, and granted special privileges to the Orthodox Church. It caused great unrest in Finland.

Over the course of the nineteenth century the emergence of Finnish nationalism—in response to Russian rule—and passive resistance to Russification exposed the Russian state's ineffectiveness. As the historian Leonard Lundon has argued, every attempt Russia made to culturally assimilate Finns “collided with the fact that Finland had grown into a modern country with a high degree of self-awareness and a set of institutions and values that differed markedly from those of Russia.”²² By the late 1800s Finns began a campaign to revive Finnish language, arts, literature, and culture, and Finnish soldiers often refused to participate in Russian wars of aggression.²³ This was a period of social and political unrest in Finland. When LDS missionaries began preaching in the Grand Duchy in 1875 they ministered to a people disenchanted with Russian rule and moderately open to non-Russian ideologies.

²² Leonard C. Lundin, “Constitution and Historical Background of the Russification Dispute in Finland,” in *Russification in the Baltic Provinces and Finland, 1855-1914*, ed. Edward C. Thaden (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), 357.

²³ Theodore R. Weeks, *Nation and State in Imperial Russia: Nationalism and Russification on the Western Frontier, 1863-1914* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1996).

As LDS missionaries began preaching in Finland their efforts became entangled in Imperial Russia's problematic efforts to Russify Finland. As scholar Steven D. Huxley has demonstrated, religion in Finland played a substantial role in the Finnish revolutionary movement which peaked during the 1880s.²⁴ Huxley argues that Finnish revolutionaries used religious meetings as a cover for revolutionary gatherings and secret messages were transported via religious literature. Tsarist police and government officials expressed their suspicion of clandestine religious activities. This was especially the case after 1881 when Tsar Alexander II was assassinated on the streets of Saint Petersburg. In Finland Alexander's assassination heightened police surveillance and bolstered an ideology of 'enemies among us', ultimately placing LDS proselytizing in a precarious position. Although LDS missionaries had no interest in the political affairs of the Russian Empire and a good deal of published reports on the 'dangers' of Mormonism were significantly inflated, nonetheless, to tsarist officials and police, foreigners—such as Mormon missionaries—who entered Finland illegally without visas, held secret meetings, and avoided police contact, fit the profile of 'prime suspects' in the war for political and cultural hegemony.

Mormonism's entrance into Finland also was problematic because of the already ensuing turf war playing out between Russian Orthodox and Finnish Lutheran clergy, which also spilled into the political area. The Russian government granted the Orthodox Church authority and privilege in Finland, but only in agreement that Orthodox clergy would also indoctrinate converted Finns about the supremacy of the Russian state, culture, and way of life. Orthodoxy served as a force for 'creating' model Russian citizens in the Russian Imperial machine. However, Orthodoxy did not appeal to most Finns, who

²⁴ Steven D. Huxley, *Constitutional Insurgency in Finland* (Helsinki: Finnish Historical Society, 1990).

largely deemed it as a “Russian faith.” In response, as Marina Vitukhnovskaya’s study has shown, the clergy started witch hunts wherein the Orthodox clergy disseminated rumors (mostly untrue) that sectarians were revolutionaries, thereby tainting sectarians in state eyes and reasserting the Orthodox Church’s loyalty and value to the Empire.²⁵ This process also served to incriminate the efforts of LDS missionaries who preached in Finland.

In essence, this study seeks to examine these factors as they played out in Imperial Russia’s waning years. In “Part 1: Finnish and Russian Perceptions of Mormonism,” I examine the literary image of Mormonism as presented in newspapers, encyclopedias, scholarly journals, books, and church publications. I also discuss specific examples of how the Russian government, clergy, and others showed interest in the LDS faith. The aspects scrutinized in this chapter pave the path toward understanding how and why officials engendered such opposition toward LDS missionaries as they ministered in Finland beginning 1875. “Part 2: Proselytizing in the Grand Duchy of Finland: 1860-1914” analyzes the lives and actions of LDS missionaries and Finnish converts to Mormonism, and the responses of clergy, governing officials, and the public. Two appendices are included. Appendix A contains data on the LDS missionaries who ministered in Russian lands, including names, dates of proselytizing, and places evangelized. Appendix B shows a list of identified LDS Finnish converts and known information about their lives after they joined the LDS faith.

²⁵ Marina Vitukhnovskaya, “Cultural and Political Reaction in Russian Karelia in 1906-1907. State Power, the Orthodox Church, and the “Black Hundreds” against Karelian Nationalism,” *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* 49, no. 1 (2001): 25-48.

CHAPTER I

FINNISH AND RUSSIAN PERCEPTIONS OF MORMONISM

“This faith calls itself Latter-day Saints—an American sect founded by the villainous personality Joseph Smith.”
Vladimir Sergeyeovich Solovyov, 1896.²⁶

Amidst the crisp spring Rocky Mountain air in 1870, a small group of Russian adventurers set out to hike the foothills of the Wasatch Mountain Range, Utah Territory. Upon reaching the summit of Ensign Peak and looking over the Salt Lake Valley, the group admired the picturesque view of the Great Salt Lake, distant snow-capped mountains, and the bustling city and structures of the Mormon settlement below. Peering down on Salt Lake City with distaste, Russian adventurer Edward Romanovich Tsimmerman remarked, “it reminded me of an enormous developed cemetery, in which the dead move, trade, work, nourish themselves, and even reproduce. The tabernacle, with its decorative roof, is nothing more than a large sarcophagus.” Tsimmerman lambasted Mormonism as a “societal ulcer” fueled by a “moral utopia of human nature”, but also expressed bewilderment at how the Mormons had “transformed this desert region in flourishing state” and created a city with such an aesthetically “warm atmosphere”.²⁷

Tsimmerman, like many of his peers, provided an ambiguous interpretation of Mormon society. On one hand, Mormons were economic mavericks, and a minority contributing to American literature, architecture, theater, and culture. Voyagers who

²⁶*Entsiklopedicheskii slovar'*, Vol. 19, ed. Vladimir Sergeyeovich Solovyov (St. Petersburg: Brokgauza i Efron, 1896), 863, s.v. “Mormonstvo, Mormoni.”

²⁷ Eduard Romanovich Tsimmerman, *Puteshestvie po Amerike v 1869-1870* (Moscow: K. T. Soldatnekova, 1872), 296-307.

visited Salt Lake City, such as Tsimmerman, regularly enjoyed performances at the Salt Lake Theater, read from a variety of literature genres penned by LDS women, and pondered the deeper meanings behind LDS poetry and art. Mormonism's temples and tabernacles provided (and still remain) a truly unique and awe-inspiring example of nineteenth century Western American architecture. On the other hand, Mormons were simultaneously portrayed as credulous fools held captive by the hypnotic religious voices of church leaders. Charged with murdering people during temple rituals and challenging American sexual propriety with their practice of polygamy, Mormons were the villains in hundreds of cheap fictional works readily available across Europe in half a dozen languages. Although Tsimmerman, like most Russians who wrote about Mormonism, struggled to bring these polar descriptions of Mormonism into one complete dialogue, the overall public image of Mormonism was damning.

The multi-faceted image of Mormonism in Russia and Europe formed around the intellectual, political, and ecclesiastical backgrounds of the authors who wrote about Mormonism. Russian politicians viewed Mormonism as a threat to Russian culture, economy, and tsarist policy, arguing this religious contagion should not be permitted to enter the nation. Clergy classified the LDS faith as "fanatical", and thus a dangerous sect, occasionally arguing that Mormons were 'worse' than Jews. Russian intellectuals, however, provided the most interesting interpretation of Mormonism. Intellectuals did not necessarily worry about Mormonism entering Russia or its theological qualms with Orthodoxy; rather they were fascinated by Mormonism as a social movement and sought to discover how the Mormon society and economy functioned.

Yet the fact remained that virtually no Mormons lived in Russia prior to 1874 even though Mormonism became a topic of discussion in Russia preceding this period. Russians had learned about the LDS Church from European publications long before Latter-day Saints ever entered Russian lands to live, proselytize, or vacation in any large number. Excluding two published first-hand travel accounts, all other printed works on Mormonism produced in the Russian Empire were either translated from European languages or composed by Russian authors who cited European sources. Thus information about Mormonism could be considered a topic of Western knowledge imported into Russian.

The image of Mormonism in pre-1875 Russian Finland has recently been studied by Finnish scholar Kim Östman who demonstrated that as early as 1840 articles about Mormonism were regularly appearing in Finnish newspapers.²⁸ National Finnish periodicals, such as the *Finlands Allmänna Tidning* (an official government publication), *Helsingfors Morgonblad*, *Helsingfors Tidningar*, and numerous other newspapers regularly carried reports on Mormonism. Columns discussed the Mormon economy, the Mormon expulsion from Missouri and Illinois, the murder of church founder and U.S. Presidential Candidate Joseph Smith, and the implication of Mormons in the assassination attempt of Missouri Governor Lilburn Boggs. The *Helsingfors Tidningar*, based in Helsinki and the widest-read newspaper in Finland, issued a number of reports on Mormon ‘gold-digging’ in California—emphasizing the militant nature of Mormonism—and warned of “bloody conflicts” soon to emerge.²⁹ Such reports gave

²⁸ Kim Östman, “Early Mormonism in Finnish Newspapers, 1840-1849,” *BCC Papers* 1/1 (2006). <http://www.bycommonconsent.com/2006/07/bcc-papers-1-1-ostman>

²⁹ “Kaliforniens guld,” *Helsingfors Tidningar* 4, no. 12 (14 Feb. 1849): 2. Quoted from “Early Mormonism in Finnish Newspapers.”

government leaders ample reason to worry when LDS missionaries began preaching in Finland.

Lutheran clergy also published newspaper articles about this ‘shameless fraud’ of a religion. The main objective of ecclesiastical columns was to defame Mormonism in order to buttress the devotion of the Lutheran laity. Generally articles written by Lutheran clergy, such as the following which appeared in the *Borgå Tidning*, argued that Mormon theology transformed ordinary Christians into religious fanatics;

A society of religious dreamers calling itself Mormonites has been formed in the latest years in the United States, which has fallen apart into sects. They have 100,000 members and a 2,000-man army, a power comparable to the US front troops. This state within a state threatens with destruction everything that sets itself against it.³⁰

When LDS missionaries began preaching in Finland, clergy truculently lambasted the LDS faith. Mormons were charged with blasphemy, sexual immorality, and murder, such as how in Mormon temples “they are initiated into the gloominess of plural marriage and human sacrifices, ‘blood atonement’, and come out thus ‘initiated’.”³¹ Maligning Mormons for committing human sacrifices in temples (which never occurred) was a common tactic employed by European clergy, but importantly, it was also the regular ploy used by clergy to incite public anger against Jews.³² Attacks such as this not only discredited Mormonism, but functioned to foster the anger needed to provoke a Mormon pogrom.

³⁰ *Borgå Tidning* 66 (24 Sept. 1842): 3. Quoted from “Early Mormonism in Finnish Newspapers.”

³¹ “Mormonismen,” *Helsingfors* 279 (2 Dec. 1881): 3-4. Compliments of Kim Ostman.

³² See Robert Nemes, “Hungary’s Anti-Semitic Provinces: Violence and Ritual Murder in the 1880s,” *Slavic Review* 66, no. 1 (Spring 2007), 20-44.

In addition to periodical portrayals, numerous books in Swedish were produced outside of Finland on Mormonism,³³ but it appears that the only work published in Finland to reach a wide audience consisted of women’s activist Alexandra Gripenberg’s *Ett halfår i Nya Verlden* [A Half Year in the New World].³⁴ Available in both Swedish (1889) and Finnish (1892), this work documented Gripenberg’s 1888 travels across the United States and devoted a chapter to her time spent at Salt Lake City.³⁵ Her writing on Mormonism provides a liberal interpretation of LDS society from the ‘scholarly’ perspective of the time, but still suffers from numerous flaws often associated with works on Mormonism, such as an anachronism of how Joseph Smith—who was killed in 1844—engaged in numerous orgies in Salt Lake City during the 1850s.³⁶ Overall Gripenberg praised Mormons for building an aesthetic and prosperous society, but as a champion of women’s rights she assailed the unjust conditions of women living in polygamist households.

Gripenberg examined the social structure of polygamous families, detailing how LDS men had favorite wives in their ‘harems’, the existence of conflict and competition between wives, the emotional drain suffered by women in polygamist marriages, and the

³³ See C. J. Flake, L. W. Draper, and D. L. Morgan, *A Mormon Bibliography, 1830-1930: Books, Pamphlets, Periodicals, and Broadsides Relating to the First Century of Mormonism* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University, 2004).

³⁴ In addition to Gripenberg’s account, see also Johan Sahlman, *Kirkkohistoria koulua ja kotoa varten: nissenin ja kurtzin mukaan* (Helsinki: Hufvudstadsbladin kirjap, 1877), 155-156; Karl Ervast and D. Klami, *Kirkkohistorian selityksiä* (Hämeenlinna: Geitlin, 1884), 219-220; Tyko Hagman, *Amerika, sen löytö, valloitus ja kehitys* (Porvoossa: Werner Söderström, 1892): 146-147.

³⁵ Alexandra Gripenberg, *Ett halfår i Nya Verlden: strödda resebilder från Förenta Staterna* (Helsingfors: G. W. Edlund, 1889), and Alexandra Gripenberg, *Udesta maailmasta: hajanaisia matkakuvia Ameriikasta* (Helsinki: G. W. Edlund, 1891). This account has more recently been translated into English, see Alexandra Gripenberg, *A Half Year in the New World*, trans. Ernest J. Moyne (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1954).

³⁶ She also uses defamatory secondary sources to teach about ‘her’ experience in Salt Lake City, and contradicts herself throughout the chapter as she heartily attacks Mormonism, but concludes that LDS individuals “were the most genial and harmless people in the world.” (Alexandra Gripenberg, *A Half Year in the New World*, trans. Ernest J. Moyne. (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1954), 187.)

trade of young women as sex slaves. She asserted that only through constant family pressure and religious indoctrination about heavenly rewards and the virtue of suffering as Christ did, could these women remain entrenched in such a debasing environment. Gripenberg concluded that “Peace and harmony and happiness in the usual sense of the words do not exist in the Mormon harems” and only those with an “inclination toward mysticism or fanaticism” could be interested in Mormonism.³⁷

While information about Mormonism was available in Swedish and Finnish for citizens of the Russian Empire, larger discussions of Mormonism took place in the Russian language. As with Finland, information about Mormonism often came through newspapers articles; columns were often translated reprints from British, French, Swedish, and German periodicals.³⁸ In addition to defaming Mormonism, these write-ups informed readers about the LDS faith in relation to its immediate effects in Europe, such as convert migration to America, LDS missionary endeavors across Europe, and theories about Mormonism. Russian encyclopedias also carried entries about Mormonism beginning as early as 1864, and Finnish encyclopedias shortly thereafter.³⁹ Perhaps the most comprehensive encyclopedia entry on Mormonism was a dense four-page essay by Russian philosopher, poet, and literary critic Vladimir Sergeyevich Solovyov.⁴⁰

³⁷ Gripenberg, *A Half Year in the New World*, 181, 183.

³⁸ See Kim Östman, “Early Mormonism in Finnish Newspapers, 1840-1849,” *BCC Papers* 1, no. 1 (2006); and Gene A. Sessions and Stephen W. Stathis, “The Mormon Invasion of Russian America: Dynamics of a Potent Myth,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 45 (1977): 22-43.

³⁹ *Nastolnii slovar*, Vol. 2, ed. F. Tollya, (St. Petersburg: Paulsona & Ko., 1864): 923, s.v. “Mormoni.” I have been unable to find a Finnish encyclopedia article on Mormonism earlier than 1890 because of limited international library access, but it is highly probable that they exist. See the 1890 Finnish work; *Sanakirja yleiseen sivistykseen kuuluvia tietoja varten*, Agathon Meurman, (Helsinki: Edlund, 1890): 572, s.v. “Mormonismen”.

⁴⁰ *Entsiklopedicheskii slovar*, Vol. 19, ed. Vladimir Sergeyevich Solovyov (St. Petersburg: Brokgauza i Efron, 1896), 863-866, s.v. “Mormonstvo, Mormoni.”

Drawing upon German and British works published by both Mormons and non-Mormons, Solovyov calumniated the “fanatical” LDS faith by focusing on the sexual exploits of Joseph Smith and Brigham Young, theorizing about Mormon militancy, and recounting the Spaulding Theory (an attack on the authenticity of the *Book of Mormon*). Although Solovyov found ample reason to criticize Mormonism, he still expressed approval of the Mormon education system, the intellectual abilities of Mormon scientist and theologian Orson Pratt, and the Mormon economy. Overall Solovyov argued that the Utah Territory had become “quite favorable on account of the fervent dedication Mormons had toward their callings, of being strongly united, having disciplined appearances, and because of their diligent and intelligent work ethic, which overall had transformed the desert into a gathering place for higher cultures.”⁴¹

A handful of books on Mormonism also became available in Russian during the 1870s. American author Charles Beadle’s exposé, *Life in Utah; or the Mysteries and Crimes of Mormonism* was translated and published in Russian in 1872. However, Russians who wrote about Mormonism most often cited Moritz Busch’s *Die Mormonen: ihr Prophet, ihr Staat und ihr Glaube* (1855) and Robert von Schlagintweit’s *Die Mormonen: oder, Die Heiligen vom Jüngsten Tage von ihrer Entstehung bis auf die Gegenwart* (1878), both of which also castigated Mormonism. Other popular works translated into Russian, such as French adventurer Émile Jonveaux’s *L’Amérique actuelle*, contained a chapter on Jonveaux’s 1869 stay in Salt Lake City.⁴² Yet according to Russian literary critic Serafim Serafimovich Shashkov, for information on Mormonism

⁴¹ Ibid., 865.

⁴² See Émile Jonveaux, *Nynieshniaia Amerika*, trans. E. Blaramberg (St. Petersburg: V. I. Golovina, 1872).

Russians in Saint Petersburg relied most on a translated version of British author William H. Dixon's two volume work *New America*.⁴³

Dixon's book likely received such praise and popularity because of its objective approach, keen observations, and because he lived among Utah Mormons during the 1860s. Much of Dixon's writing elaborated on the eclectic nature of Mormon theology and philosophy, namely the Mormon paradigm that mankind can find enlightenment wherever he or she looks, and if mankind will adopt and practice this learning, it will enrich lives. For Dixon Mormon Christianity seemed largely a product of amalgamated secular wisdom and revelations of God received by church leaders. Yet Mormons were not philosophers, rather they "are a praying people. Religion being their life, every action of the day, whether social or commercial, is considered the will of God."⁴⁴ In the Utah Territory "work is considered holy" and "No beggar is seen in the streets; scarcely ever a tipsy man; and the drunken fellow, when you see one, is always either a miner or a soldier—of course a Gentile. No one seems poor."⁴⁵ Drunken gun-fighters, gambling rouges, and reckless adventures were denied access to their lascivious vices in Mormon towns. And although Dixon disliked the idea of polygamy, from his perspective, polygamy seemed to more often aid widows than hinder the youth. After viewing how Mormon society functioned on the whole, Dixon remarked, "I confess, I could not see much harm in it."⁴⁶

⁴³ Serafim Serafimovich Shashkov, review of *Mormonism, its Rise, Progress and Present Condition* by N. W. Green, appearing under the title "Tsarstvo Mormonov," *Delo* 12 (Dec 1871): 97-118. See also; Nikolai Alexevich Nekrasov, review of *New America Volume 2* by William H. Dixon, appearing under title "Neizvedannia mesta i novye ludi v Amerike," *Otechestvennyye zapiski* (May 1867): 83-116.

⁴⁴ William Hepworth Dixon, *New America: Volume I* (reprint, Leipzig: Adamant Media Corporation, 2006), 221.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 207, 163.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 209.

In addition to these authors, a small circle of Russian intellectuals between 1857 and 1872—particularly those who evidenced a Westernizing tendency—began a discussion of Mormonism. This intellectual dialogue has been investigated by modern scholar Leland Fetzer who demonstrated that theological matters did not concern Russian intellectuals; rather they were “stirred by Mormonism because it had emerged as a social movement, a new society struggling to survive within a state often inimical to it with great advantages in population and power.”⁴⁷ Politically leftwing Russian intellectuals of this group expressed interest toward Mormon socialism (the United Order), primarily because America—and especially its Western expanse—could serve as a laboratory for empirical observation of social and economic undertakings autonomous of European influence. The Mormon economy also captured the attention of conservative opinions like those expressed in an 1861 article appearing in *Vremia* [Time], a periodical operated by famous novelist Fyodor Dostoevsky and his brother Mikhail.⁴⁸ Although they argued Mormonism was unsuitable for Russian culture, they expressed approbation toward the economic accomplishments of Mormon society.

It is indisputable that they have rendered a valuable service to mankind by settling in these inhospitable regions. This barren plain which separates the slopes of the Pacific from the Atlantic appeared to be useless for cultivation. But in the center of this silent desert Mormons laid the foundation of their holy city, which, it appears, must in a short time become a warehouse midway between New York and San Francisco, between Western Europe and Eastern Asia.⁴⁹

The political left, according to Fetzer, produced the most perceptive and balanced study of Mormonism, a lengthy 1868 four-part article composed by prominent Russian

⁴⁷ Leland A. Fetzer, “Russian Writers Look at Mormon Manners: 1857-72,” *Dialogue* 13, no. 1 (Spring 1980): 74-84, 74-75.

⁴⁸ Artur Benni, “Mormonism i Soedinennye Shtaty,” *Vremia* 10 (1861): 321-355.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 327-328.

theorist and father of Russian populism, Pyotr Lavrovich Lavrov.⁵⁰ Written while Lavrov was in exile in the Vologda region north of Moscow, this erudite survey of American religions possesses a tremendous breath of view. It primarily focused on three distinct American faiths; the Shakers, who Lavrov asserts will never attain social significance because of their diminutive numbers, the Spiritualists who lack organization and a hierarchy, and the Mormons, which Lavrov expresses approbation toward for the creation of their culture and economy.

Lavrov devotes little attention to theological matters and focuses on the structure, morals, and character of Mormon society. He largely examines two aspects of Mormon life: the doctrine of subordinating the individual self to the community, and the striking industrious nature of Mormon society. He uses LDS leader Orson Hyde's statement "A lazy, inactive man cannot be a Christian and cannot be saved" to describe a prevailing tenet of Mormon culture. For Lavrov the two unifying traits of Mormonism were "theocracy and love of labor". As a utopian movement striving for social and economic tranquility, the behaviors of Mormons "can be explained only by a pathological urge toward the fantastic and the unheard of, which has so long persisted in mankind and has given birth to the strangest phenomena."⁵¹ Lavrov is stunned and disappointed that the American masses would flock to follow a select few individuals as soon as promises are made about enhancing the quality life. He predicts that "if the Mormons do not abandon

⁵⁰ Pyotr L. Lavrov, "Severo-Amerikanskoe sektatorstvo," *Otechestvennye zapiski* 177, no. 4 (April 1868): 403-470; 178, no. 6 (June 1868): 273-336; 179, no. 7 (July 1868): 269-318; and 179, no. 8 (Aug. 1868): 324-354.

⁵¹ Lavrov, *Otechestvennye zapiski* 179, no. 7 (July 1868): 297.

polygamy and adopt equality of the sexes in a timely fashion, one may predict that polygamy will destroy them.”⁵²

This dialogue, however, was restricted to a small group of Russian intellectuals, and never reached an audience as broad as that reached by state-backed Orthodox clergy. This is especially relevant to Finland because a major path for Russifying Finns came through the efforts of the Russian Orthodox Church. Conversion to Orthodoxy was interpreted by the tsarist government as embracing a Russian way of life. In citizenship terms being Orthodox was a determining factor for advancement socially, economically, and politically in the Russian Empire and the state evaluated regime loyalty in terms of Orthodox membership. The Orthodox clergy fulfilled an intrinsically valuable role by serving as unofficial government representatives by operating as frontline agents in the Russification project.

Prior to LDS missionary arrival in Russian Finland, the Orthodox clergy had discussed Mormonism for decades across European Russia, but especially in the Samara Diocese’s *Samarskie eparkhialnie vedomosti* [Samara Diocese Bulletin]. Mormonism was classified as a ‘fanatical sect’ and Orthodox clergy regularly voiced fears of losing followers to the sure eternal damnation Mormonism would bring. Coincidentally, as early as the 1860s Mormonism had such a negative reputation that the Orthodox clergy in the Samara Province adopted the process of nicknaming native Russian religious shakers who experimented with sex and polygamy as *Mormoni* [Mormons]. The nickname stuck and the sexual immorality of these *Mormoni* groups became a lasting term and topic of debate across the whole of Orthodoxy; regularly reported on in church bulletins, books,

⁵² Lavrov, *Otechestvennye zapiski* 179, no. 8 (Aug. 1868): 338.

and comprising a discussion panel at the national 1898 Third All Russian Missionary Conference held at Kazan.⁵³

When LDS missionaries began preaching in Finland in 1875, the St. Petersburg based Orthodox Church organ *Tserkovnyi vestnik* [Church Messenger], which oversaw the Finland Diocese, zealously disparaged Mormonism and warned Orthodox believers everywhere to reject LDS missionaries.⁵⁴ Lutheran priests also followed suit.⁵⁵ Orthodox and Lutheran clergy, mutual enemies during religious peacetime, teamed up against Mormon missionaries to ensure that the police arrested LDS ministers wherever they preached. Through their combined efforts and incitement of the masses against Mormonism, a public appeal was submitted to the tsar asking for an official ban on Mormonism, which the government officially granted in April 1878.⁵⁶

The Russian government, and Tsar Alexander II himself, also encountered the Mormon Question in the past. The LDS Church surfaced in the Russian political sphere during 1857-1858 as the Utah War was playing out, primarily because a rumor (unfounded of course) surfaced in periodicals that Brigham Young was going to lead the Saints to Russian Alaska to avoid approaching United States Army troops. These rumors

⁵³ There are numerous works available, but perhaps the best are; S. M. M., *Besedy o tak nazyvaemoi Mormonskoi verii* (Samara, Russia: A. I. Matrosova, 1904); Aleksei Mastushenskii, "Sekta Mormonov v Samarskoi Eparkhi," in *Deianniia 3-go Vserossiskogo missionerskago sezda v Kazani po voprosam vnutrennoi missii i raskolosektantstva* (ed. V. M. Skvortsov, 2nd ed, Kiev: I. I. Choklova, 1898), 109-113; and Timofei Ivanovich Butkevich, "Mormoni," in *Obzor Russkikh sekt i ikh tolkov* (Kharkov, Gubernskaia pravleniia, 1910): 597-600. Even Alexander Herzen, the famous Russian revolutionary, condemned the *Mormoni* in his London-based revolutionary organ *Kolokol* [The Bell] (Alexander I. Herzen, "Mormonism v Chernigovskoi gubernii," *Kolokol* (15 May 1861): 831).

⁵⁴ See "Mormoni," *Tserkovnii vestnik* 1, no. 46 (20 Nov. 1876): 11-13; "Smert' glavi Mormonov," *Tserkovnii vestnik* 2, no. 35 (3 Sept. 1877): 13; and "Religioznaya sekta v Amerike," *Tserkovnii vestnik* 3, no. 51-52 (22-29 Dec. 1879): 7-8.

⁵⁵ The Library of Finland has digitized many of its historic newspapers that can be keyword searched. There are numerous articles on Mormonism in Finnish papers during this period.

⁵⁶ This appeal and ban are mentioned in; Axel Tullgren *Journal, 1876-1879*, MS 4968, LDS Church Archives, and "Returned Missionary," *Deseret News* 27, no. 37 (16 Oct. 1878): 581.

reputedly led the tsar to remark that Russia should consider selling Alaska.⁵⁷ In subsequent years a number of Russian diplomats also publicly condemned Mormonism. Perhaps the most telling example occurred when Russian ambassador to the United States M. Kokosoff was criticized by American religious-liberals in an interview about the lack of religious freedom in Imperial Russia. In his rejoinder he specifically argued that Mormonism and LDS polygamy presented a danger to Russian culture and religious life and that Mormonism itself served as example of the type of ills cause by allowing religious freedoms.⁵⁸ Albert Heard, tsarist Russia's one-time Ambassador to China, also stated in his religious treatise and memoir that Mormonism should also be eschewed because it posed a threat to Russian economic and political stability.⁵⁹

⁵⁷ Gene A. Sessions and Stephen W. Stathis, "The Mormon Invasion of Russian America: Dynamics of a Potent Myth," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 45 (1977): 22-43.

⁵⁸ Published interview, M. Kokosoff, "The Russian View," *New York Times* (25 Jan 1912): 10.

⁵⁹ See Albert F. Heard, *The Russian Church and Russian Dissent: Comprising Orthodoxy, Dissent, and Erratic Sects* (1887, reprint, New York: AMS Press Inc., 1971).

CHAPTER II

PROSELYTIZING IN THE GRAND DUCHY OF FINLAND: 1860-1914

“Our elders in Finland have been followed by the Russian authorities.”
N. Wilhelmsen, Copenhagen, to A. Carrington, Manchester, 1881⁶⁰

On a cold Swedish winter’s day in 1884 a letter arrived on the desk of the Anthon H. Lund, a mission leader of the LDS Church’s Stockholm Missionary Conference. This letter, from LDS missionary August S. Hedberg who was proselytizing in Finland, reported he had converted numerous individuals, but everywhere “police officers were after me. The newspapers throughout the province were filled with stories concerning me.”⁶¹ This letter captures the essence of LDS missionary labors in Russia’s Grand Duchy of Finland between 1860 and 1914. During this period, but especially between 1875 and 1888, LDS missionaries illegally smuggled themselves across the Russian border into Finland to baptize a few hundred individuals in the face intense opposition from the authorities.

LDS missionary work in Finland continually struggled with the efforts of Finnish Lutheran and Russian Orthodox clergy, tsarist police, and the Russian government as they desperately sought to deter Mormon ministers from preaching in Finland. Backed by a tsarist law which forbade the dissemination of any non-Russian Orthodox message and with the already negative image associated with Mormonism, Finnish and Russian clergy heartily reported LDS activities to police in order to protect their congregations from

⁶⁰ N. Wilhelmsen to A. Carrington, 24 Dec. 1880, *Millennial Star* 43 (1881): 12.

⁶¹ August S. Hedberg to Anthon H. Lund, 22 Nov. 1884, *Nordstjernen* 46 (1884): 376-377. See a condensed but English translation published in *History of the Scandinavian Mission*, 281-282.

'pernicious' LDS teachings. Government officials viewed Mormonism as a threat to basic economic, social, cultural, and religious institutions of the Russian Empire. Although LDS missionaries saw no harm in preaching to Russian citizens, conservative governing officials were worried as Mormon missionaries exposed Finns to Western culture and encouraged them to leave their homeland and resettle in the American West. For these reasons the government concluded Mormon missionaries were enemies of the state, officially banning them from the Empire in 1878. Ignoring the ban, LDS missionaries continued to preach in Finland although they experienced persecution, public ridicule, were shadowed by the police, arrested, imprisoned, and deported. All in all, the Russian state took strong actions to protect its people from this dangerous Western religious movement in a province where Russification was already struggling to take root.

Nonetheless, between 1875 and 1888 LDS missionaries established congregations in the towns of Jakobstad (modern day Pietarsaari), Larsmo (Luoto), Pojo (Pohja), Sibbo (Sipoo), Åbo (Turku), and Helsingfors (Helsinki). Mormon proselytizing ventures in Finland laid bare Russian governmental religious policy in the provinces and showed how this policy changed with different tsarist regimes, and highlight aspects of religious life in the Grand Duchy of Finland. Primarily, the Lutheran Clergy, Orthodox clergy, and tsarist police played the most crucial role to ensure that Finns obeyed Russian religious law. Mormon missionaries and converts in Finland came under greater suspicion after the 1881 assassination of Tsar Alexander II, which inflamed an already smoldering government sentiment against foreign religious sectarians and other suspicious groups across the empire. In this context, it is crucial to examine the actions of LDS missionaries who preached in Finland and to seek to understand why Finns joined

this controversial religious movement amidst such mounting public and government opposition.

Reconnaissance of Russia and Preaching in Finland: 1860-1888

As LDS missionaries continued to harvest tens of thousands of converts across Western Europe throughout the mid-nineteenth century, Church leaders at Salt Lake City persistently investigated options to introduce missionaries into Eastern Europe and Russia. From the LDS perspective, sending missionaries to Slavic nations was crucial because Mormons believed Russia contained blood descendants of the Children of Israel, and gathering scattered Israel was an essential theme of Mormon theology. While a plan to penetrate Russia took time to solidify, even church founder Joseph Smith had championed the importance of sending missionaries to Russia. At Nauvoo, Illinois in 1843 Joseph Smith commissioned two missionaries to travel to Russia and begin preaching, but the plan collapsed with Smith's murder in 1844.⁶²

Fifteen years later subsequent church President, Brigham Young, and members of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles (the highest ranking quorum in the LDS Church) renewed discussion of missionary work in Russia.⁶³ Later that summer Apostle Orson Pratt made Quorum desires known in a talk about missionary work when he thundered from the pulpit that "Saints must be established in all those countries. Even in Russia, that place where they would put you to death if you brought a printed work of religious

⁶² "Announcements," *Times and Seasons* 4 (1843): 218, 347.

⁶³ See; Church Historians Office, letter to George A. Smith, 1 April 1859, Church Historian's Papers, LDS Church Archives, 439-440, 455. (Refers to Young's desires to send missionaries to Siberia by way of Japan.) Also see Susan Staker, ed. *Waiting for World's End: The Dairies of Wilford Woodruff* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1993): 193. Contains an entry by Woodruff which reads: "I attended the prayer meeting in the evening. President Young said we have got to send men to the Islands to liberate those who are there ... I would like to send some Elders to Siberia and also to the Japanees Islands with Proper papers."

nature into the empire”.⁶⁴ Quorum parley came to fruition the following year as the LDS Scandinavian Mission sent Gustaf Wallgren to Russia’s Finland province to reconnoiter conditions, but his returning report did not encourage the leaders to commence with a missionary operation in the Grand Duchy.⁶⁵ Six years later, after Tsar Alexander II emancipated Russia’s serfs and a more liberal reign began to emerge, Scandinavian Mission President Carl Widerbor and Brigham Young’s two sons, John W. and Brigham Young, Jr., visited Saint Petersburg and Moscow to again investigate the religious environment in Russia. They met with the American ambassador in Saint Petersburg, scrutinized Russian religious laws, conversed with people on the streets, and appraised the religious climate in general. At the end of their two weeks they concluded that laws against non-Orthodox sects were too harsh and rigid police enforcement made Russia too dangerous for missionary work.⁶⁶ However, during the next few years a number of Swedish Mormons moved to Finland for employment, prompting the Scandinavian Mission’s Stockholm Conference to begin missionary work in the Grand Duchy regardless.⁶⁷

With Mormons already living in Finland, Stockholm Conference leaders knew that establishing LDS congregations there would come easier since residents already knew the political, cultural, and linguistic conditions of the nation. In theory, as baptisms occurred congregations could be built around seasoned members who could serve in leadership positions and help instruct new converts. Stockholm Conference leaders

⁶⁴ Orson Pratt, 10 July 1859, *Journal of Discourses* 7 (1859): 185.

⁶⁵ Kaija H. Penley, “Leadership of Mormon Missionary Efforts in Finland and its Influence on Conversion Rates in the Finnish Mission, 1947-1969,” MA Thesis, Utah State University, 1994, 22. See also *History of the Scandinavian Mission*, 160.

⁶⁶ See Brigham Young, Jr. Dairy, 20-27 July 1866, Mss 1236, Reel 1, Box 1, Fd 4, Vol. 6, LDS Church Archive, and Brigham Young, Jr. to George A. Smith, 8 Aug. 1866, *Deseret News* (12 Sept. 1866): 5.

⁶⁷ See Erastus W. Snow letter, 15 May 1873, in *History of the Scandinavian Mission*, 214, and Erastus Snow to *Deseret News*, 25 May 1873, *Deseret News* (9 July 1873): 10.

viewed Finland as a more feasible place for preaching than in Russia proper. After all, most Finns spoke Swedish and there were numerous Swedish speaking missionaries available to send to Russia, whereas no Russian-speaking Mormons were on hand. Church leaders also hoped missionary work in Finland would yield a high rate of converts, like the thousands of Swedes and Danes who were joining the LDS faith during this period. And perhaps most importantly, testing conditions in Finland offered logistical insights into opening Russia proper for missionary work in the future.

In 1875 the Stockholm Conference commissioned two Swedish missionaries, brothers Carl A. and John I. Sundström to cross the border into the Grand Duchy of Finland, link with Mormons in Finland, and begin preaching in the immediate area. That fall the Sundströms arrived at Finland's western coastal Ostrobothnia Region and began proselytizing, selling religious tracts, and copies of the *Book of Mormon* at Jakobstad, Larsmo, and Toby (Tuovila), but also at numerous small agricultural villages.⁶⁸ They stood in town squares and on main roads to proclaim the LDS message. The Sundströms ministered to people from any economic background and of any religious affiliation and soon found a group of interested listeners.

A few months into their ministry, Carl A. Sundström wrote in his diary that they “Had a visit from a Lutheran Priest named [Johannes] Back. He forbade us to preach our religion” and “He said the Book of Mormon was a lie and false. We were also false.” A few weeks later another Lutheran Priest, named Wegeljus, “forbade us to explain our belief. The Priest was very angry.”⁶⁹ From this point onward the Sundströms continued to

⁶⁸ The *Book of Mormon* was not translated into Swedish until 1878, but during this time it was available in Danish and German. It was not translated into Finnish or Russian until the mid and late 20th century.

⁶⁹ Carl A. Sundstrom, *My Diary, 1845-1876*, trans. and ed. J. W. Holden (Layton: J. W. Holden, 1954), 54-55.

scuffle with local clergy who soon notified police. On 3 August 1876, while preaching in a public town square, the Sundströms were “called by two policemen to go and see the Justice of the Peace.” At the police station officials ordered the Sundströms to discontinue their illegal preaching, while, also present Johannes Back, “wanted to drive the Sundströms from Finland.”⁷⁰ In response, the Sundströms investigated the law further and found that Grand Duchy jurisprudence technically forbade only those who ‘stood’ to preach. Thus, for the next few months they circumvented the law by delivering sermons while ‘sitting’ on chairs in the public square.⁷¹ The tactic of sitting to proselytize was short-lived however, and soon—with encouragement from local clergy—police began breaking up all public LDS meetings.

As a fierce opponent of Mormonism Reverend Johannes Back stated in a newspaper, “Who would have thought that this injurious sect, of which one has said is a distorted and horrid caricature of all that is holy, would find its way even to our sequestered country?”⁷² Notwithstanding the negative press attention, by early 1877 the Sundströms had baptized enough people to establish a branch at Jakobstad and shortly thereafter at Larsmo. That spring the Stockholm Conference assigned Axel Tullgren to Jakobstad to serve as the congregation’s Branch President and to evangelize in the surrounding area.

Over the course of the next year Tullgren, and Olof A. T. Forssell who was sent in late 1877 to reinforce LDS efforts, continued to baptize additional Finns and strengthen congregations at Jakobstad and Larsmo. During Tullgren’s sixteen months in Finland he

⁷⁰ Ibid., 57-58.

⁷¹ John Andersson to *Deseret News*, 29 March 1876, *Millennial Star* 38 (1876): 331.

⁷² Johannes Back, “Mormonism,” *Morgonbladet* 228 (11 Dec. 1876): 2.

personally held 250 meetings, baptized 24 people, and organized three branches.⁷³ Elder Forssell, who was just as energetic, expanded LDS reach to the nearby towns of Vaasa, Pedersöre, and Kristinestad (Kristiinankaupunki) where more Finns embraced LDS membership. The following year Forssell traveled south with newly arrived missionary Truls A. Hallgren and the duo began preaching in the Eastern Uusimaa Region. They baptized a number of converts in the cities of Sibbo (Sipoo), Borgå (Porvoo), and Pernå (Pernaja) which eventually led to a small branch being established at Sibbo. Thus with an estimate of nearly 100 LDS converts and with three branches in operation in roughly two years, evident proliferation convinced church leaders to continue missionary work in the Grand Duchy notwithstanding mounting opposition.

As reports of Finnish baptismal rates filtered back to the Stockholm Conference, leaders were pleased and perhaps over-eager to press into Russia proper. In 1877 Ola N. Liljenquist, leader of the Stockholm Conference, asked Church leaders in Salt Lake City for permission to send an Estonian convert—then living in Stockholm—to Russia’s Baltic provinces to begin proselytizing because of his knowledge of the language.⁷⁴ This Estonian was never sent because tensions continued to escalate between LDS missionaries as the Lutheran, and after 1876 Orthodox clergy, took special interest in Mormon activities.

During the winter of 1876-77 conditions changed dramatically as Russian Orthodox clergy became involved in the move to stop LDS preaching in Jakobstad

⁷³ See “Returned Missionary,” *Deseret News* 27/37 (16 Oct 1878): 581, Axel Tullgren diary, 1876-1879, MS 4968, LDS Church Archives; August C. Carlson to H. W. Naisbitt, 8 Jan. 1878, *Millennial Star* 40 (1878): 46-47; Finland Branch Record Ledger, Scandinavian Mission, 1876-1897, MS LR 14149 21, LDS Church Archives, Scandinavian Mission Letterpress Copybooks, 1858-1920, LR 9332 21, LDS Church Archives.

⁷⁴ Ola N. Liljenquist to *Millennial Star*, 17 Oct. 1877, *Deseret News* (3 Jan. 1877): 14.

(known to Russians as Nikolaistad, named after Tsar Nicholas I). While the Orthodox Diocese of Finland boasted a comparatively small membership in western Finland, Orthodox presence in Jakobstad was however stronger than in most Finnish cities on account of the ethnic Russian soldiers quartered at the naval barracks located on the outskirts of town.⁷⁵ In December 1876 an Orthodox priest led the police to the homes of Tullgren and the Sundströms and apprehended them for illegally proselytizing. They were hauled before Jakobstad's governor "in a very rough and impolite manner and [the governor] forbade us to preach, telling the police to watch us. He went so far as to threaten to have us arrested and sent to Siberia."⁷⁶ Although the missionaries were released after this interrogation, the homes of Tullgren and the Sundströms were raided and their religious literature confiscated. For the next year the police shadowed missionaries and, as Tullgren stated, "It is uncertain how long we shall enjoy liberty, as a policeman may at any moment come and arrest us."⁷⁷ After the police had investigated Mormonism with cooperation from Orthodox and Lutheran clergy over the course of 1877, on April 18, 1878 government authorities officially outlawed Mormonism and banished LDS missionaries from Finland, arresting and forcibly deporting Axel Tullgren and Olof Forssell to back Sweden.⁷⁸

The religious and political motif to emerge for enforcing Russian religious law in Finland regarding Mormonism occurred as clergy acted as police informers. Once local clergy, either Lutheran or Orthodox, became aware of Mormon missionaries, they

⁷⁵ O. A. Iarovi, *Valaamskii monastyr i pravoslavnaia tserkov v Finliandii, 1880-1930* (Petrozavodsk: KNTS RAN, 1997).

⁷⁶ Axel Tullgren to Ola N. Liljenquist, 19 Dec. 1876, in *History of the Scandinavian Mission*, 227-228.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ "Returned Missionary," *Deseret News* 27/37 (16 Oct. 1878): 581. This letter also reports that Finns submitted a petition to the Tsar requesting religious liberty, but asked that Mormonism not be allowed in Finland.

notified police who in turn sought to capture, arrest, and deport LDS missionaries. This pattern is important because it reveals the power and influence held by clergy in Finland. Additionally important, the fact that Lutheran and Orthodox clergy—mutual enemies during religious ‘peace-time’—worked together on occasion to stop Mormon infiltration is significant. Scholar T. A. Kantonen argued that it was the Lutheran Church of Finland’s official policy to practice passive resistance toward Orthodox power, and as a general rule, not respond to or take part in Orthodox affairs.⁷⁹ The Mormon factor challenges this thesis since the Lutheran clergy cooperated with Orthodox clergy, primarily doing so because the introduction of Mormonism threatened the religious turf of both sects, thereby prompting the churches to work together for mutual benefit.

In addition to serving as police informants, clergy used the press to draw attention to the situation and warn laity of the dangers posed by circulating LDS ministers. Finnish, Swedish, and Russian language newspapers and church periodicals in both Finnish cities and Saint Petersburg disparaged Mormonism and called on citizens to notify the police or local parish magistrate if they encountered LDS missionaries. One warning printed in a Helsingfors newspaper by an author who claimed firsthand experience with Mormons stated:

Among the 4,000 to 5,000 Scandinavian Mormons that 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 there involved in the worst slavery imaginable—slavery under fanaticism, unskillfulness and under a gang of crooks, thieves, and murderers ... [In the temple] they are initiated into the gloominess of plural marriage and human sacrifices (“blood atonement”) and come out thus “initiated.”⁸⁰

Orthodox periodicals, such as the Saint Petersburg *Tserkovnii vestnik* [Church Messenger], which oversaw the Finland Diocese, printed a three-page expose on

⁷⁹ See T. A. Kantonen, “The Finnish Church and Russian Imperialism,” *Church History* 20, no. 5 (June 1951): 3-13.

⁸⁰ “Mormonismen,” *Helsingfors* 279 (2 Dec. 1881): 3-4.

Mormonism in 1876 which echoed similar arguments. This article emphasized the militant and murderous nature of Mormons in the Utah Territory by discussing the Mountain Meadows Massacre and doctrine of Blood Atonement. The following year *Tserkovnii vestnik* printed a celebratory obituary announcing the welcome death of Brigham Young, arguing Mormonism would finally sputter and die out.⁸¹

In response to the negative media coverage, past arrests and deportations, the government ban on Mormonism, and mounting actions of clergy and police, LDS leaders became trapped between walking away from a hostile zone and abandoning converts or continuing their efforts and hoping to tough out the vigilance of clergy and police. The LDS Church chose to continue proselytizing, but adopted a plan that limited the number of missionaries serving in Finland to one or two Elders per season, which became the motif for the next decade. Church leaders argued that “Russia is an iron-bound Empire, opposed to religious toleration” and Russian Finland stood as one the Church’s most dangerous areas for preaching.⁸²

In 1878 the difficulties of ministering in Finland pushed one missionary to his psychological and physical limits, rendering him so ill that Elders from Stockholm were sent to pick him up.⁸³ Thereafter mission leader Nils Flygare, who oversaw which missionaries ministered in Finland, told Salt Lake City that only “our very best Elders” should serve in Finland because of the emotionally taxing environment.⁸⁴ And although

⁸¹ “Mormoni,” *Tserkovnyi vestnik* 1, no. 46 (20 Nov. 1876): 11-13; “Smert’ glavi Mormonov,” *Tserkovnyi vestnik* 2, no. 35 (3 Sept. 1877): 13. See also “Religiozniya sekty v Amerike,” *Tserkovnyi vestnik* 3, no. 51-52 (22-29 Dec. 1879): 7-8.

⁸² “Impending Doom of Russia,” *Millennial Star* 41 (1879): 269

⁸³ See Nils C. Flygare to Pres. Joseph F. Smith, 17 June 1878, Nils C. Flygare Letterbook, 1878 May-1879 Aug., MS 8428, LDS Church Archives, and Nils C. Flygare to *Millennial Star*, 10 Aug. 1878, *Millennial Star* 40 (1878): 555-556.

⁸⁴ Nils C. Flygare to John Larson, 14 July 1879, Nils C. Flygare Letter book, 1878-79, MS 8428, LDS Church Archives.

missionary life was stressful, a letter penned by Elder F. R. Sandberg, one of these ‘best’, contextualizes the demeanor most LDS missionaries held, “I am happy to go as a representative for Jesus Christ’s gospel and show people the true way, which leads to eternal life, and my motto is: never surrender, but fight till victory is won.”⁸⁵ Most missionaries possessed a spiritual worldview, often attributing and making sense of reality in religious terms, such as how August Hedberg “wondered how long Lucifer [the devil] would permit me to have such progress” while at other times discussing how ‘the hand of God’ protected him from arrest.⁸⁶

Even with a spiritual worldview energizing missionaries, from 1878 to 1881 missionary work crept along at a moderate pace as nine Elders served in Finland.⁸⁷ While these missionaries continued to baptize a few converts each year, congregations continually depleted; some neophytes abandoned the church, many were excommunicated because of sin in 1880, others immigrated to the Utah Territory.⁸⁸ During the winter of 1878 mission leader A. W. Carlson reported that the missionaries in Finland “were making little progress, having made acquaintance with some families who were pleased to see them and converse about the Gospel.”⁸⁹ In 1880 Elder Peter O. Peterson was arrested, imprisoned, and then deported to Sweden.⁹⁰ By the time of his arrest it had become very difficult to hold a Sunday worship service since police knew the locations and names of LDS members. By the spring of 1880,

⁸⁵ F. R. Sandberg to Nils C. Flygare, 5 Aug. 1886, *Nordstjernen* 10 (1886): 252.

⁸⁶ August S. Hedberg to Anthon H. Lund, 22 Nov. 1884, *Nordstjernen* 46 (1884): 376-377. See a condensed but English translation published in *History of the Scandinavian Mission*, 281-282.

⁸⁷ For a complete list of missionaries who served in Finland see Appendix A.

⁸⁸ See the membership records in Finland Branch Record Ledger, Scandinavian Mission, 1876-1897, MS LR 14149 21, LDS Church Archives

⁸⁹ A. W. Carlson to H. W. Naisbitt, 8 Jan. 1878, *Millennial Star* 40 (1878): 46-47.

⁹⁰ N. Wilhelmsen to William Budge, 20 March 1880, *Millennial Star* 41 (1879): 204.

It is not uncommon for one or more of those officials [the police] to enter the house in which an 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 [Finland] in.⁹¹

Notwithstanding these impediments and Peterson's arrest, a few months later the Stockholm Conference commissioned two more missionaries to minister in Finland, Lars Johan Karlsson and David Olof M. Ekenberg. For the next year they were continually "followed by the Russian 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."⁹² These missionaries, and others, continually reported that the people of Finland were very interested in their message and they could have baptized hundreds each year had not the clergy and police hampered their efforts.

Yet conditions across the Russian Empire drastically changed in 1881 with the assassination of Tsar Alexander II on the streets of Saint Petersburg. In response to the tsar's murder, both foreign and domestic Russian political policy shifted sharply toward conservatism. Russification efforts in Finland redoubled, Russian Orthodoxy reasserted its authority, and police strength became limitless against those considered a threat to the Empire. As part of this process Alexander III created a special police force, the Okhrana, to 'regulate' the numbers and activities of undesirables in the Empire. In Russia during the post-1881 period religion blended closely with political policy and society "functioned under strict censorship and constant police surveillance."⁹³

⁹¹ D. M. Olson to William Budge, 3 April 1880, *Millennial Star* 42 (1880): 238-239.

⁹² N. Wilhelmsen to A. Carrington, 24 Dec. 1880, *Millennial Star* 43 (1881): 12.

⁹³ Catherine Evtuhov and Richard Stites, *A History of Russia: Peoples, Legends, Events, Forces Since 1800* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2004), 151.

For LDS missionaries preaching during this period became incredibly difficult due to the surveillance and efforts of the Okhrana. The Okhrana secretly shadowed missionaries, engaged in sting arrests, deported captured missionaries, and kept tabs on local LDS congregations.⁹⁴ In response, LDS missionaries attempted to approach the ministry more cautiously so as to avoid the Okhrana. Missionaries held religious meetings at secret locations after sunset, baptisms were performed after dark or in remote areas, and missionaries did not reside in one town for an extensive period so as to avoid arrest. Through these methods Mormon missionaries were sometimes able to avoid detection and carry out their ministry until 1888 when LDS proselytizing in Finland was terminated.

With increasing police surveillance of LDS activities in the Ostrobothnia and Eastern Uusimaa Region, post-1881 missionaries expanded their ministry to other cities where the police and clergy were not already watching for them. In 1882 Anders P. Norell, Matts Andersson, and Joseph R. Lindvall began proselytizing in the Finland Proper Region where they baptized converts at Åbo and Kimito (Kemiö), and later established a small branch at Åbo. However, the vigilance of the Okhrana soon chased missionaries from these cities also. It appears that Åbo was a difficult place for missionaries of any faith because Baptist evangelist Erik Åmossa was arrested in 1881 for proselytizing and sentenced to 24 days imprisonment on only bread and water. Throughout the 1880s Baptist ministers in Åbo were arrested and government officials

⁹⁴ See Alma Söderhjelm, *Jakobstads historia; 3 tredje perioden: utvecklingens tid 1808-1913* (Jakobstad, Finland: Jakobstads stad, 1974), 248.

encouraged mobs to attack Baptist missionaries and the mobs “even tried to murder them on a few occasions.”⁹⁵

Because of increasing difficulties in Finland, in 1884 the Stockholm Conference decided to send their best missionary, August S. Hedberg, to Finland. Known as the ‘champion tract-seller’ Hedberg was quite possibly the most zealous and bold missionary with regard to baptisms performed and distances traveled by any who ministered in Finland, but he was also perhaps the least careful. He regularly preached openly, converting a number of individuals, but his boldness soon attracted the attention of police.

Upon his arrival in Finland in October 1884, he began preaching in the Uusimaa Region where he soon baptized numerous converts and laid the groundwork for congregations at Pojo and Finland’s capital, Helsingfors (Helsinki). In November he traveled to Sibbo where he “held many good meetings and the people expressed a desire that I should continue to preach to them. I therefore held meetings every second day, occasionally every day, and on one day I held three meetings.” Because of his effrontery, at 7:00 am on a biting cold winter’s morning, local clergy and local police arrived at his home with an official document ordering him to leave the city. Hedberg reported that “I paid no attention to this order, but continued to hold meetings and baptize.” A few weeks later, after these local individuals contacted the Okhrana, Hedberg fled the city in desperation to avoid arrest and hid in an abandoned countryside barn. Hedberg reported to mission leaders that “police officers were after me. The newspapers throughout the province were filled with stories concerning me.” He later learned that the Okhrana had raided his residence, confiscated his belongings and church literature, and “had visited a

⁹⁵ Alfons Sundquist, “The Baptist Movement in Finland,” in *Baptist Work in Denmark, Finland, Norway, and Sweden* (Stockholm: Ernst Westerbergs Boktryckeri, 1947), 36-37. See also Teuvo Aaltio, “A History of the National Baptists in Finland,” Dissertation, Southern Baptist Theology Seminary, KY, 1958.

number of people, asking them what I had taught them.”⁹⁶ In late December and because “the police have been on his track the whole time,” Hedberg fled to Sweden.⁹⁷

Facing these difficulties and because it had become more difficult for missionaries to cross the border, Stockholm Conference leaders tried a new strategy; namely sending Finns instead of Swedes to Finland. This staple tactic had proved its effectiveness in past Mormon missionary ventures in Denmark and Sweden and leaders hoped it would pay off. From 1881 to 1888 fifteen different missionaries preached in Finland, eight of them Finns baptized in Finland or Sweden most of whom had immigrated to Utah. Local branch members in Finland began accompanying full-time missionaries as they traveled the country to preach. At the April 1885 General Conference in Salt Lake City Apostle John Henry Smith argued that “we have gained a foothold in Finland” because of these native elders and the Church was considering expanding the ministry into Russia proper.⁹⁸ However, Smith’s assessment was premature and conditions did not improve, notwithstanding the efforts of LDS Finnish missionaries.

The Okhrana knew where LDS converts lived and made missionary work nearly impossible after 1885. By 1886 missionaries were unable to visit the scattered LDS congregations, baptism rates were slowing, and police maintained a tight net of control. In 1886 Elder F. R. Sandberg, writing from Åbo in 1886, explained that “there are some brethren and sisters [LDS converts] which haven’t been visited in over two years.” Sandberg expressed his fear of being arrested at any moment and reported he was nearly captured by the police a few weeks prior, but the “Lord” had allowed him to escape and

⁹⁶ A. S. Hedberg to Anthon H. Lund, 22 Nov. 1884, *Nordstjernen* 46 (1884): 376-377.

⁹⁷ Anthon H. Lund to *Millennial Star*, 12 Dec. 1884, *Millennial Star* 8 (1884): 814-815.

⁹⁸ John H. Smith, speech, 6 April 1885, *Journal of Discourses* 27 (6 April 1885): 176.

later baptize five people. Sandberg concluded his letter by expressing pity for church members in the Grand Duchy who could not worship God as desired because of Russian “despotism.”⁹⁹

In the fall of 1888 Stockholm Conference leaders could not locate any Finnish-speaking missionaries and because the ministry had become so enervated, leaders decided temporarily to postpone operations in Finland. Work in Sweden soon took precedence for Stockholm Conference officials, and Finland was overlooked amidst the everyday bustle and soon forgotten by some on account of the regular turnover, since missionaries and leaders usually served for two or three year terms. After 1888 no full-time missionary was sent to preach in Finland until after the First World War. Missionary work in Russia’s Grand Duchy of Finland began in 1875 with energy, excitement, and ample coverage in Mormon periodicals, but ended unintentionally in 1888 without a bang or even a printed notice in LDS publications. Although full-time missionary work in Finland ended and branches were for the most part forgotten, a few attempts were made between 1888 and 1914 to reconnect with Finland’s wilting branches.

LDS Finnish Converts:

While LDS missionaries preached and baptized people in Finland from 1875 to 1888, for the Finns who embraced Mormonism it ushered in a new way of life. Primarily, once a Finn joined the LDS Church life become more difficult. For starters, Mormonism was officially banned by the government and the police persecuted members and

⁹⁹ F. R. Sandberg to Nils C. Flygare, 5 Aug. 1886, *Nordstjernan* 10 (1886): 252. See also F. R. Sandberg to ‘dear brethren’, 25 Sept. 1886, in Finland Branch Record Ledger, Scandinavian Mission, 1876-1897, MS LR 14149 21, LDS Church Archives. For additional information about missionary work in Finland between 1885 and 1888 see; Nils C. Flygare, abstract of correspondence, 9 Sept. 1886, *Millennial Star* 48 (1886): 603; Nils C. Flygare to D. H. Wells, 1 Dec. 1886, *Millennial Star* 48 (1886): 796-797; and Leonard D. Nyberg to N.C. Flygare, 22 July 1887, *Nordstjernan* 11 (1887): 254.

missionaries alike. Stockholm Conference contact with Finnish members via mail was also difficult since Russian customs officials at the Finnish border “opens the Star [*Nordstjernen*] packages and sends empty wrappers to the Saints ... they say their orders are to let no Mormon papers enter Finland.”¹⁰⁰ These factors made it difficult to practice the LDS way of life. Converts were regularly subject to criticism, shunned by family and those in their communities for abandoning Lutheranism. Mormon converts were often treated as ‘lost souls.’

Mormon neophytes reacted to these difficulties in a number of ways, some became disenchanted, abandoned the LDS Church because of the difficulty, immigrated to the Utah Territory to be among fellow Latter-day Saints, or chose to stay in Finland and practice their belief to whatever extent they could. Because of such difficulties it is important to ask; who were the people who joined the LDS Church in Finland during this period and why did they do so? Much of that question is currently unanswerable since there are nearly no surviving sources documenting why these converts embraced Mormonism. Although sources are very limited, enough material has survived to help us understand at least some aspects of who these Finnish converts were and why they joined such a controversial religious movement.

The Jakobstad Branch Record offers the best glimpse into the lives of Finnish converts.¹⁰¹ It contains individual names, birth place, birth date, baptismal date, place of baptism, tithing contributions, the spiritual status of converts, congregation meeting minutes, and information about marital status on about half of people who embraced Mormonism in Finland. This data discloses information about the background and

¹⁰⁰ Anthon H. Lund to *Millennial Star*, 1 Jan. 1885, *Millennial Star* 47 (1885): 27.

¹⁰¹ See Finland Branch Record Ledger, Scandinavian Mission, 1876-1897, MS LR 14149 21, LDS Church Archives.

religious devotion of Finnish converts. First, this record tells us that nearly all of those baptized in Finland were ethnic Finns (or Swedes). Although more individuals joined the LDS Church in Finland, of the eighty-two individuals recorded in this ledger, slightly more than half were women whose average age was 39 years, the oldest being 65 and the youngest 18. The average age of male converts was also 39. While women have regularly comprised the majority of those converted by Christian missionaries, it is interesting that this pattern also applies to the LDS faith in light of polygamy. This may have occurred in conjunction with the loosely connected Lutheran women's movement in Finland that encouraged women to become religiously involved in their communities.¹⁰² Growing numbers of women in Finland during this time were engaging in religiously motivated projects that sought to better Finnish society and improve conditions for women. And while records are somewhat inconclusive regarding this subject, Mormonism's Relief Society organization (a women's quorum with altruistic aims) could easily have satiated this cultural drive and provided a niche relative to Finland's female culture, thereby making Mormonism attractive to some.

Of these middle-aged Finnish women proselytes, records indicate that nearly seventy percent of those baptized were unmarried or joined without their husbands. Some of these single female converts were widowed, abandoned or divorced, or otherwise young single unmarried individuals. Sixty-one percent of men to join the LDS Church in Finland were also unmarried or joined without their spouse. And only about thirty percent of LDS converts in Finland consisted of a husband and wife joining together. Importantly,

¹⁰² See Pirjo Markkola, *Gender and Vocation: Women, Religion, and Social Change in the Nordic Countries, 1830-1940*, *Studia Historica* 64 (Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 2000).

these statistics disclose the fact that the LDS Church was more attractive to singles than family units.

Sources also indicate that most Finnish converts came from an agricultural or lower-class background,¹⁰³ and scholars have repeatedly argued that Mormonism was attractive to the masses because it offered the possible escape from dim economic conditions. It is understandable how converts hoped and believed that gathering at Zion (Utah Territory) would offer economic advantages not available in Finland, since agricultural lands were more readily available. Sources indicate that the LDS Church completely funded or at least helped fund the immigration of a number of Finnish converts to the Utah Territory where they began a new lives, embraced economic opportunities, and where singles married.¹⁰⁴

The story of the Johannes Blom family, LDS converts who lived in Finland during this period, and their religious experience in the Grand Duchy provides an example of what some proselytes endured in Finland. Originally born in Sweden, Johannes and his wife Anna joined the LDS Church and moved to a small community near Helsingfors for employment in 1880.¹⁰⁵ In the Helsingfors area the Bloms became a zealous member-missionary family and proved influential in bringing numerous Finns into the LDS Church. On one occasion however, during the summer of 1884 Johannes traveled to a secluded area where he had arranged to baptize two people. Unbeknownst to him the Okhrana trailed him to the baptismal site and after the baptism was performed

¹⁰³ Known convert occupations included farmers, gardeners, and lower-class tradesmen. Some were quite wealthy however, such as goldsmith Johannes Lindelof of Saint Petersburg whose family was later persecuted (some died in Siberia) by the Bolsheviks because of their wealth.

¹⁰⁴ See, Philip R. Kunz, *Johannes Emanuelsson Sidbäck Stoor, Johanna Majasdotter Gästgivers, Marie Vinberg Isaksson Family: Ancestors and Descendants* (Provo: P. R. Kunz, 2000), and Stig A. Stromberg, *Power in a Positive Attitude: the Saga of a Finnish Latter-day Saint* (Orem: Sharnspear Press, 2004).

¹⁰⁵ Blom was a professional gardener and groundskeeper and worked on the estate of a local wealthy aristocrat who lived on the outskirts of Helsinki.

police rushed from their hiding places and arrested Johannes. He was later sentenced to 30 days in prison and allowed only bread and water for sustenance during his prison term. He was fined 600 marks, and combined with court costs his debt amounted to 1,510 marks. Johannes, a gardener, and married with young children, had to sell his furniture and belongings before serving his 30-day sentence at the Helsingfors prison during the Christmas season.¹⁰⁶ Shortly after his release from prison, the Blom family fled Finland and relocated to the Utah Territory. The fact that the Blom family chose emigration is telling about sectarian religious life in the Grand Duchy. The Bloms were one Finnish family of many above whose names in the Jakobstad Branch Record appeared the Swedish words, “Emigrerat till Zion” [Emigrated to Zion].¹⁰⁷

While the example of the Blom family gives context to how Finnish Saints reacted, Polly Aird’s pioneering study offers a new theory on why European LDS converts accepted Mormonism and often immigrated to Utah.¹⁰⁸ She argues that while many have examined theories of push (forces that encourage one to leave their homeland or old way of life), pull (incentives that lure one to adopt a new way of life), and means (that financial incentives were available to those who join), she however argues that these three aspects do not comprehensively explain why people joined the LDS faith. While Aird agrees that aspects of push, pull, and means played a role in conversion, she asserts that people joined the LDS faith because of Religious Vision Theory. One aspect of Religious Vision Theory argues that LDS missionaries were successful because they

¹⁰⁶ See Johannes Blom, abstract of correspondence, 18 July 1884, in *History of the Scandinavian Mission*: 281; Anthon H. Lund to *Millennial Star*, 12 Dec. 1884, *Millennial Star* 8 (1884): 814-815.

¹⁰⁷ Finland Branch Record Ledger, Scandinavian Mission, 1876-1897, MS LR 14149 21, LDS Church Archives. Record contain 12 confirmed migrations to Zion, but the record also contains numerous entries that state people’s membership records had been ‘moved elsewhere’, which meant that some these individuals were now members of the church in different countries, such as in Europe or most likely in Utah.

¹⁰⁸ Polly Aird, “Why Did the Scots Convert?” *Journal of Mormon History* 26, no. 1 (2000): 91-122.

possessed a new vision of world history and believed that they were part of a Restored Church, which ultimately framed their behaviors. The other aspect of this theory suggests that when people joined the LDS faith they adopted new identities as they embraced new values, thereafter transforming themselves in reflection of LDS doctrine and culture. Once LDS converts emerged from the baptismal waters, Aird asserts, they became latter-day saints who left behind a spiritually decadent way of life to embrace a new world view.¹⁰⁹

Sources left behind by Finnish converts hint at this conclusion. When Mrs. Alma Lindelöf emerged from the baptism waters she felt spiritually reborn and exclaimed “Oh, how happy I am ... I know God has forgiven my sins.”¹¹⁰ Correspondence abounds that document how intimately bonded LDS members were with each other and with the missionaries who served them. Letters from numerous missionaries and converts discuss how proselytes were deeply sorrowed and “wept like children” when missionaries were arrested, persecuted, or had to leave their area. The 1887 letter of missionary Leonard D Nyberg, a Finnish convert who immigrated to Utah but later served as missionary in his homeland of Finland, briefly explains how he viewed his role in the LDS Church and as a missionary in his native land. “When I received my call [to be a missionary] through God’s priesthood, it gave me comfort and everything has went well ... I am happy that the gospel is spreading here [in Finland], and it is my sincere prayer to God that he will grant me the strength, power, and wisdom to carry out my calling and lead me to the pure

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., 93.

¹¹⁰ August J. Höglund to Anthon H. Lund, 18 June 1895, *Millennial Star* 57 (27 June 1895): 414.

in heart.”¹¹¹ In line with Aird’s findings, Lindelöf and Nyberg’s words indicate a new world vision and their conviction of Mormonism as a Restored Church.

Epilogue: Mormonism in post-1888 Finland

After 1888 LDS missionaries did not minister in Finland until the 1930s. However, a number of Finnish Latter-day Saints practiced Mormonism in secret to avoid government authorities, but also did so with no contact from LDS Church officials. During the 1930s when church leaders in Salt Lake City began taking steps to renew preaching in Finland, it came as a welcome surprise to find a group of committed Mormons there even though missionaries and church contact had been evanescent.

Finnish Mormons of the post-1888 era lived an interesting religious life. Cut-off from the main body of the LDS faith, they practiced their faith to the fullest extent possible, receiving contact and missionary visits only on rare occasions between 1895 and 1914, and no contact between 1915 and 1929. These few missionary visits occurred because in 1895 a Finnish family residing in Saint Petersburg wrote the Stockholm Conference requesting baptism. In response Stockholm Conference officials commissioned former President of the Stockholm Conference August Joel Höglund to journey to Saint Petersburg, where, in the Neva River, he baptized the Lindelöf family who had previously encountered missionaries in Finland.¹¹² While the story of the Lindelöf family and LDS efforts in Saint Petersburg has been examined elsewhere,¹¹³ this event proved important because the missionaries who traveled to Saint Petersburg after

¹¹¹ Leonard D. Nyberg to N. C. Flygare, 22 July 1887, *Nordstjernan* 11 (1887): 254.

¹¹² Members of the extended Lindelöf were baptized in Finland in 1884, some by Johannes Blom.

¹¹³ See Kahlile B. Mehr, “Johan and Alma Lindolf: Early Saints in Russia,” *Ensign* (July 1981): 23-24; Kahlile B. Mehr, “The 1903 Dedication of Russia for Missionary Work,” *Journal of Mormon History* 13 (1986-87): 110-123; Kahlile B. Mehr, *Mormon Missionaries Enter Eastern Europe* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Book, 2002); Gary Browning, *Russia and the Restored Gospel* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Book, 1997), and E. A. Eliason and Gary Browning, “Crypto-Mormons or Pseudo-Mormons? Latter-day Saints and Russia’s Indigenous New Religious Movements,” *Western Folklore* 61, no. 2 (2002): 173-207.

1895 occasionally stopped in Finland to ascertain the state of Finnish Mormons. Surviving sources from these missionary ventures yield a great deal of information about post-1888 LDS Finns.

The first account comes from the 1895 voyage of Höglund, who rendezvoused with the Lindelöf family in Saint Petersburg, and on his return stopped in Finland. He located a small congregation of “faithful” members at Jakobstad, and instructed, fellowshipped, and ordained a few Finnish males to the priesthood so they could manage their congregations with priesthood authority. Höglund believed “many good people could be found in Finland if missionaries were sent” and challenged Stockholm leaders to renew efforts in Finland. Höglund expressed concern about Jakobstad Mormons who had adopted various strange doctrinal practices and argued that missionaries were urgently needed to provide proper spiritual instruction.¹¹⁴

Although efforts in Finland were not renewed, the following year two missionaries traveled to Saint Petersburg to work with the Lindelöfs and then tour Finland. In Finland Elders Alonzo Irvine and Erick Gillen discovered many more Finnish Saints than Höglund had encountered, and the duo instructed Saints at Larsmo and Jakobstad for a few weeks before departing.¹¹⁵ The following year Elders S. Norman Lee and Carl Ahlquist, after visiting Saint Petersburg, stopped for a month to more comprehensively “hunt up” lost sheep in Finland. They first arrived at Åbo where they learned members there had “not been visited for at least seven years. They were all spiritually dead except for one old lady named Sjöblorn who has remained faithful.”¹¹⁶

¹¹⁴ August J. Höglund to *Nordstjernan*, 9 July 1895, *Nordstjernan* 19 (1895): 234-236.

¹¹⁵ A. L. Irvine to *Nordstjernan*, Sept. 1896, *Nordstjernan* 20 (1896): 297-299.

¹¹⁶ S. Norman Lee, *Diary*, 27 May 1896, published in *From Brigham City to St. Petersburg: A History of Severin Norman Lee*, ed. William L. Knecht (Sandy, Utah: Knecht Family Association, 1991), 20.

Next, they found a small group of devout Latter-day Saints in the Pojo area. The missionaries were very impressed by their faithfulness and subsequently ordained various male Pojo Mormons to the priesthood rank of Elder so they could practice Mormonism autonomously. After visiting areas where Mormonism had previously blossomed, Lee concluded the religious zeal in “some had pretty well dried up, but a number were very much alive spiritually ... We found 38 in all, most of whom were firm in the faith.”¹¹⁷

Although missionaries paid a visit to Finnish Saints in 1900, 1905, 1912, and 1914, no actual proselytizing occurred. LDS Apostle Francis M. Lyman attempted to open Russia and its provinces for full-time missionary work in 1903, but his aims were swiftly vetoed by the First Presidency of the church within a month after visiting Russian lands.¹¹⁸ His efforts included his 1903 visit to Åbo where he offered dedicatory prayer, but apparently knew little about the state of work in Finland because he failed to rendezvous with Finnish Saints.¹¹⁹ For the most part, the few practicing LDS Finns were counseled to remain ‘steadfast’ if unable to emigrate. However, emigration for European converts became increasingly difficult after 1887 as the United States Congress passed the Edmunds-Tucker Act, which disincorporated the Church’s Perpetual Emigration Fund on grounds that the church practiced polygamy. Finnish Saints were forgotten after 1914.

Ironically, it appears that LDS leaders of the Scandinavian Mission did not pay close attention to changing religious conditions in Finland after 1888. During the 1880s

¹¹⁷ “Autobiographical sketch of S. Norman Lee,” Box 1, Fd 1, pg 4, Lee, Severin Norman, Papers, Mss 315; 20th & 21st Century Western & Mormon Americana; L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University. See also S. Norman Lee and C.A. Ahlquist to *Deseret News*, “Trip to St. Petersburg,” *Deseret News* (4 Sept. 1897): 12, and S. Norman Lee, speech, *Conference Report* (April 1917): 105-106.

¹¹⁸ See Kahlile Mehr, “The 1903 Dedication of Russia for Missionary Work,” *Journal of Mormon History* 13 (1986-87): 110-123.

¹¹⁹ Joseph J. Cannon, “Prayer of Dedication Offered at Abo, Finland,” *Millennial Star* 65, no. 33 (13 Aug. 1903): 517-519.

Finnish resistance to Russification and adamant desire for independence climaxed to the extent that the tsarist government conceded on various political reforms to avoid a Finnish revolt. This included the 1889 Dissenter's Bill which granted religious liberties to citizens of the Grand Duchy, such as granting Protestant sects recognition, the right to hold meetings, proselytize, and allow Finns to join registered denominations. That year, the first two Christian sects to register with the government and legally proselytize in the Grand Duchy were Baptists and Methodists, both of whom enjoyed moderate success in obtaining converts after legal acknowledgment.¹²⁰ It is baffling why the LDS Church failed to act on this watershed event in the Grand Duchy, but no statement or acknowledgment of this Bill ever surfaces in records left by LDS leaders. It appears that during this period the LDS Church was so overburdened with debt, the quest for statehood, and the ensuing battle over polygamy to allocate time and means toward improving low-yield missionary endeavors.

Throughout the post-1888 period LDS leaders at Salt Lake City practiced their 'wait and see' policy—pausing for a time when conditions would improve for missionary work in Russian lands. In 1909 a LDS Apostle's pulpit comments at the church's biannual conference summed up the situation, "We have tried to send missionaries to Finland, but on account of the strict rule of Russia, our elders have not been able to stay there long."¹²¹ After 1914 LDS missionaries did not visit Finland for nearly two decades and it appears the LDS Church totally forgot about Finnish Latter-day Saints. In the late 1920s a lone Finnish Mormon, Anders Johansson, showed up in Stockholm looking for the Swedish Mission Headquarters on behalf of the Larsmo Branch to determine if the

¹²⁰ Harri Heino, "The evangelical Lutheran Church in Finland," in *Church in Finland* (Helsinki: Church Council for Foreign Affairs, 1989), 21.

¹²¹ *Conference Report* (Oct 1909), 12.

church still knew that there were Saints in Finland. He was warmly received and later returned to his branch in Finland with renewed hope of reconnecting to the larger church.¹²² In response to Johansson's visit, in 1929 former Swedish Mission President Gideon N. Hulterstrom traveled to Finland where he held meetings, blessed Finnish Saints, and baptized six individuals.¹²³ All in all, Hulterstrom's visit finally put independent Finland on the road toward becoming its own mission and receiving continual church support and contact. Throughout the 1930s and 1940s missionaries visited Finland and branches were reestablished. In 1947 the Finnish Mission was established and church membership there has grown slowly since. As of 2006 LDS membership in Finland was a little over 4,000 and in the fall of 2000 the LDS Church announced that a temple would be built in Finland. Completed in 2006, the Finland Helsinki Temple currently serves the geographically largest temple district of the LDS Church, which includes Finland, the Baltic States, and all of the Russian Federation.

¹²² See Stig A. Stromberg, *Power in a Positive Attitude: the Saga of a Finnish Latter-day Saint* (Orem: Sharnspear Press, 2004).

¹²³ Importantly, Hulterstrom encountered the three members of the Lindelöf family (formerly of Saint Petersburg). He learned that the Lindelöfs had been arrested shortly after the Russian Revolution because of their fathers wealth (Johannes Lindelöf was a goldsmith) and the Lindelöf children, who were in their twenties and teens, were sent to labor camps where two of them died. See Hugo M. Erickson, "President Halterstrom visits Finland," *Millennial Star* 91 (1929): 538-540.

APPENDIX A

LIST OF LDS MISSIONARIES WHO MINISTERED IN IMPERIAL RUSSIA¹²⁴

Timeline	Name	Place Ministered
1860 or 1861	Gustaf Wallgren	Grand Duchy of Finland
1866	Brigham Young, Jr.	Visited Saint Petersburg and Moscow
1866	John W. Young	Visited Saint Petersburg and Moscow
1866	Carl Widerborg	Visited Saint Petersburg and Moscow
1875-76	Carl August Sundstrom	Grand Duchy of Finland
1875-76	Johan I. Sundstrom	Grand Duchy of Finland
1876-77	Axel Tullgren	Grand Duchy of Finland
1877	Olof A. T. Forssell	Grand Duchy of Finland
1878	Truls A. Hallgren	Grand Duchy of Finland
1878-79	C. Larsson	Grand Duchy of Finland
1879-80	Peter O. Peterson	Grand Duchy of Finland
1880	Lars Johan Karlsson	Grand Duchy of Finland
1880-81	David Olof M. Ekenberg	Grand Duchy of Finland
1881	J. A. Passander*	Grand Duchy of Finland
1881-82	Joseph Reinhold Lindvall*	Grand Duchy of Finland
1881-82	Anders P. Norell	Grand Duchy of Finland
1880s	Anders Johansson*	Grand Duchy of Finland
1880s	Olof Olander*	Grand Duchy of Finland
1880s	Johannes Blom*	Grand Duchy of Finland
1882	Matts Andersson*	Grand Duchy of Finland
1884	August L. Hedberg	Grand Duchy of Finland
1883-84	Lars F. Swalberg	Grand Duchy of Finland
1885	Andrew P. Renstrom	Grand Duchy of Finland
1885	E. G. Erikson	Grand Duchy of Finland
1886	Frederick R. Sandberg	Grand Duchy of Finland
1886	Carl J. Selin	Grand Duchy of Finland
1887	Leonard D. Nyberg*	Grand Duchy of Finland
1887	Mischa Markow	Odessa, Russia (in present day Ukraine)
1887-88	Johannes J. Berg*	Grand Duchy of Finland
1891	Ann Caroline B. Roat* ¹²⁵	Russia

¹²⁴ All names with an asterisk were born and baptized in Finland.

1895	August Joel Hoglund	Grand Duchy of Finland & Saint Petersburg
1896	Alonzo Irvine	Grand Duchy of Finland & Saint Petersburg
1896	Erick Gillen	Grand Duchy of Finland & Saint Petersburg
1897	S. Norman Lee	Grand Duchy of Finland & Saint Petersburg
1897	Carl Ahlquist	Grand Duchy of Finland & Saint Petersburg
1900	Charles Leroy Anderson, Jr.	Grand Duchy of Finland & Saint Petersburg
1903	Mischa Markow	Riga, Russia (in present day Riga, Latvia)
1903	Francis Lyman	Finland, St. Petersburg, Moscow, & Warsaw
1903	Joseph J. Cannon	Finland, St. Petersburg, Moscow, & Warsaw
1903	John P. Horne	Visited St. Petersburg
1903	Kenneth Crismon	Visited St. Petersburg
1905	Peter Matson	Grand Duchy of Finland & Saint Petersburg
1905	Elder Nelson	Visited Saint Petersburg
1905	Elder Brockbank	Visited Saint Petersburg
1912	Peter C. Rasmussen	Traveled the Trans-Siberian Railway
1912	Andrew Jensen	Traveled the Trans-Siberian Railway
1912	Elder Samuelsen	Visited St. Petersburg
1912	Andreas Peterson	Visited St. Petersburg
1912	A. Theodore Johnson	Visited Finland and St. Petersburg
1914	Theodore Tobiason	Visited St. Petersburg
1914	Victor E. Erickson	Visited Finland
1929	Gideon N. Hulterstrom	Visited Finland and Russia

¹²⁵ She was baptized in Finland, immigrated to Utah, and called to serve a genealogy mission to Scandinavia and Russia. See Calvin S. Kunz, "A History of Female Missionary Activity of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints," MA Thesis, Brigham Young University, Provo, UT, 1976, 44.

APPENDIX B

ALPHEBETICAL LIST OF KNOW FINNISH CONVERTS TO MORMONISM¹²⁶

Name	Place & Date of Baptism	Notes from the Finland Branch Record ¹²⁷
Alander, Anders G.	Sibbo, 1886	
Alander, Anna Kristinia	Sibbo, 1877	Records at new place
Andersson, Greta Lovisa	Jakobstad, 1882	Records at new place
Andersson, Greta	Larsmo, 1880	Records at new place
Andersson, Mats	Larsmo, 1880	Records at new place
Barg, Anna ¹²⁸	Jakobstad, 1876	
Barg, Johanna Charlotta ¹²⁹	Jakobstad, 1876	
Beckman, Katharina E.	Åbo, 1884	Moved to St. Petersburg
Bjöstilsund, John	Helsingfors, 1888	
Blom, Anna Magreta	Sweden, 1878	Emigrated to Zion, 1886
Blom, Johannes	Sweden, 1878	Emigrated to Zion, 1886
Dagestund, Carl W.	Åbo, 1881	Emigrated
Ekenberg, D. O. M.	Stockholm, 1879	Emigrated to America, 1880
Ekovist, Amanda J.	Åbo, 1888	
Erickson, Kristina	Åbo, 1884	Living at Åbo
Farsblom, Gustafva C.	Borgå, 1886	
Fredberg, E.	Tinola, 1877	Disappeared
Gad, Maria Elizabeth	Pojo, 1882	Records at new place
Good, Ida Emila ¹³⁰	Pojo, 1886	Enroute to Copenhagen, 1895
Granholm, Catrina E.	1877	
Grönström, Ida W.	Kimito, 1886	Enroute to Copenhagen, 1895
Grönström, Karl V.	Pojo, 1884	Disappeared
Hedberg, Alexander S.	Sweden 1882	[emigrated to Zion]
Hendricksson, Anna Sofia	Sibbo, 1877	Records at new place

¹²⁶ This information is primarily from the Finland Branch Record held at LDS Church Archives (Finland Branch Record Ledger, Scandinavian Mission, 1876-1897, MS LR 14149 21). This record is not complete and shows no child baptisms and was compiled after the fact. There were numerous other individuals baptized in Finland but not recorded in this ledger (there were also five illegible names in the ledger). Some of the names on this list were identified and added because they were mentioned by missionaries in their diaries and correspondence. I have added bracketed comments.

¹²⁷ Bracketed notes were made by the author.

¹²⁸ Not mentioned in the Finland Branch Record, only in Carl A. Sundstrom, *My Diary, 1845-1876*, trans. and ed. J. W. Holden (Layton: J. W. Holden, 1954), 57.

¹²⁹ Ibid., 56. She was the first person to be baptized in Finland by LDS missionaries.

¹³⁰ Also mentioned in August S. Hedberg to Anthon H. Lund, 22 Nov. 1884, *Nordstjernan* 46 (1884): 376-377. See a condensed but English translation published in *History of the Scandinavian Mission*, 281-282.

Johansson, Anders ¹³¹	Larsmo, 1880	Records at new place
Johansson, Charlotte S.	Vasa, 1876	Excommunicated
Johansson, Gustof	Helsingfors, 1877	Records at new place
Johansson, Hedvig	Helsingfors, 1884	Emigrated in 1888
Johansson, Karl	Borgå, 1886	
Johansson, Lovisa	Larsmo, 1880	Records at new place
Johansson, Maria Hanella	Jakobstad, 1880	Records at new place
Karlsson, Eric	Larsmo, 1880	Records at new place
Karlsson, Lars Johan	Wingåker, 1879	[missionary in Finland]
Karlsson, W. S.	Sibbo, 1882	Enroute to Copenhagen, 1895
Laakkoner, Frans O.	Pedisjerna, 1886	Helsingfors
Lakonen, F. O.	Åbo, 1882	Excommunicated
Liljeström, Edla J.	Borgå, 1884	
Lindberg, Johannes	Sibbo, 1877	Excommunicated, 1880
Lindberg, Sofia Amaleia	Sibbo, 1877	Excommunicated, 1880
Linderot, Carolina A.	Pojo, 1883	Emigrated
Lindsatle, Gustaf F.	Ingo, 1887	
Lindblom, Amalia J. ¹³²	St. Petersburg, 1897	Moved to Finland
Lindblom, Karl	Åbo, 1886	
Lindblom, Lovisa	Haby, 1882	Records at new place
Lindlöf, Agnes I.	St. Petersburg	[see Mehr ¹³³]
Lindlöf, Alma	St. Petersburg, 1895	[Remained LDS & in Finland]
Lindlöf, Eva	Pojo, 1889	
Lindlöf, Karl Otto	Pojo, 1884	In full fellowship, 1897
Lindlöf, Kristina M.	Pojo, 1884	Enroute to Copenhagen, 1895
Lindlöf, Johannes M.	St. Petersburg, 1895	[Remained in Finland]
Lindlöf, Johannes L..	St. Petersburg	[see Mehr ¹³⁴]
Lindlöf, Oskar	St. Petersburg	[see Mehr ¹³⁵]
Lindlöf, Wandla	Pojo, 1882	Records at new place
Lindroth, Wilhelmina	Pojo, 1886	
Lindström, Carl Hindrick	Sibbo, 1877	Excommunicated, 1880
Lindström, Anna G.	Sibbo, 1877	Excommunicated, 1880
Lindström, Carl A.	Sibbo, 1877	Excommunicated, 1880
Lindström, Emelia	Helsingfors, 1888	
Lindvall, Charoline A.	Pojo, 1883	Records at new place

¹³¹ Ander and his wife remained faithful and LDS throughout their lives. He traveled to Stockholm during the 1920s to reconnect the Larsmo Branch with the LDS Church. See Stig A. Stromberg, *Power in a Positive Attitude: the Saga of a Finnish Latter-day Saint* (Orem: Sharpshar Press, 2004).

¹³² Not mentioned in the Finland Branch Record, but mentioned in the Severin Norman Lee diaries, Mss 315; 20th & 21st Century Western & Mormon Americana, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, UT, and William L. Knecht, *From Brigham City to St. Petersburg: A History of Severin Norman Lee* (Sandy, Utah: Knecht Family Assoc., 1991).

¹³³ Mehr, Kahlile B. "Johan and Alma Lindolf: Early Saints in Russia." *Ensign* (July 1981): 23-24. See also Hugo M. Erickson, "President Halterstrom visits Finland," *Millennial Star* 91 (1929): 538-540. Child of Johannes and Alma Lindlof, two of their three children died in a Soviet prison camp.

¹³⁴ Ibid.

¹³⁵ Ibid.

Lindvall, Adolf	Permarfok, 1882	Records at new place
Lindvall, Otto	Permarfok, 1882	Records at new place
Lindvall, U. J.	Permarfok, 1882	Records at new place
Löfberg, Mats	Larsmo, 1881	Excommunicated
Matsson, Alfred A.	Helsingfors, 1884	Branch President of Finland
Olander, Olof ¹³⁶		[Remained in Finland]
Ruth, Anna C.	Helsingfors, 1883	Emigrated, 1886
Pasander, Fredrika W.	Karleby, 1886	[Remained in Finland]
Pasander, H. Sofia	Jakobstad, 1877	
Pasander, J. A. ¹³⁷	Karleby, 1886	[Remained LDS & in Finland]
Petersson, Peter Olof	Stockholm, 1874	[missionary in Finland]
Selenius, Olga E.	Helsingfors, 1887	
Seliander, Maria Lovisa	Sibbo, 1879	Enroute to Copenhagen, 1895
Sjöblom, Maria O.	Åbo, 1882	[Remained in Finland]
Smedman, Charolina ¹³⁸	Jakobstad, 1876	
Söderman, Ulricka	Toby, 1877	Disappeared
Sten, Johan ¹³⁹	Jacobstad, 1876	
Tullgren, August	Sibbo, 1877	Excommunicated, 1880
Tullgren, Johanna Fredrika	Sibbo, 1877	Excommunicated, 1880
Wikström, Amanda W.	Pojo, 1886	
Wikström, Karl F.	Pojo, 1886	
Wingrist, Alexander	Helsingfors, 1886	
Wingrist, Erika	Helsingfors, 1887	
Wörgren, Alecksander	Jakobstad, 1881	Excommunicated, 1881
Wörgren, Charlotte, Lovisa	Jakobstad, 1882	Records at new place
Wörsten, Lovisa C. ¹⁴⁰	Helsingfors, 1883	Records at new place

¹³⁶ Not mentioned in the Finland Branch Record, but mentioned in August J. Höglund to *Nordstjernan*, 9 July 1895, *Nordstjernan* 19 (1895): 234-236; Severin Norman Lee diaries, Mss 315; 20th & 21st Century Western & Mormon Americana, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, UT, and William L. Knecht, *From Brigham City to St. Petersburg: A History of Severin Norman Lee* (Sandy, Utah: Knecht Family Assoc., 1991).

¹³⁷ Mentioned in A. L. Irvine to *Nordstjernan*, Sept. 1896, *Nordstjernan* 20 (1896): 297-299; Severin Norman Lee diaries, Mss 315; 20th & 21st Century Western & Mormon Americana, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, UT, and William L. Knecht, *From Brigham City to St. Petersburg: A History of Severin Norman Lee* (Sandy, Utah: Knecht Family Assoc., 1991).

¹³⁸ Not mentioned in the Finland Branch Record, only in Carl A. Sundstrom, *My Diary, 1845-1876*, trans. and ed. J. W. Holden (Layton: J. W. Holden, 1954), 56.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, 57.

¹⁴⁰ Also mentioned in August S. Hedberg to Anthon H. Lund, 22 Nov. 1884, *Nordstjernan* 46 (1884): 376-377. See a condensed but English translation published in *History of the Scandinavian Mission*, 281-282; Severin Norman Lee diaries, Mss 315; 20th & 21st Century Western & Mormon Americana, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, UT, and William L. Knecht, *From Brigham City to St. Petersburg: A History of Severin Norman Lee* (Sandy, Utah: Knecht Family Assoc., 1991).

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