

**D. L. Moody and Swedes**

**Linköping Studies in Arts and Science, No. 419**  
**Linköping Studies in Identity and Pluralism, No. 7**

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**D. L. Moody and Swedes:  
Shaping Evangelical Identity among  
Swedish Mission Friends  
1867–1899**

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The American Dwight L. Moody (1837–1899) was the most famous revivalist of the late 1800s and exercised a wide and lasting influence on the Protestant world, reaching Swedes in Sweden and America. His influence was felt among Swedes despite the fact that he was of Anglo-American heritage, never visited Sweden, and never spoke a word of the Swedish language. Nevertheless, he became a “hero” revivalist among Swedish Mission Friends in Sweden and America. Moody’s early ministry was centered in Chicago, the largest urban population of Swedes in the United States. In Chicago, he came into contact with Swedish immigrants such as J. G. Princell, Fredrik Franson, and E. A. Skogsbergh, later proponents of his ideal, beliefs and methods. News of Moody’s revival campaigns in Great Britain from 1873–1875 traveled quickly to Sweden, making “Mr. Moody” a household name in homes of many Mission Friends. Moody’s sermons published in Sweden were distributed in books, newspapers, and colporteur tracts, and led to the spread of Sweden’s “Moody fever” from 1875–1880. P. P. Waldenström cited Moody as an example of evangelical cooperation. Songs of Moody’s musical partner, Ira D. Sankey, were translated into Swedish by Erik Nyström and sung in homes and mission houses. As Mission Friends adopted Moody’s alliance ideal, beliefs, and methods, their evangelical identity shifted in the direction of Moody’s new American evangelicalism.

*Key Words:* Moody, Dwight, Swedes, Swedish, Mission, Friends, Missionsvänner, American, Amerikanska, revivalism, väckelse, free, frikyrkan, Covenant, church, immigration, evangelical, evangeliska, identity, Chicago, ethnic, Alliance, allians

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## Preface

My interest in this study piqued as I read books by various authors who described how D. L. Moody played a role in shaping Swedish Free Mission Friends in America. Free Mission Friends, commonly known as the “Free” eventually formed the Swedish Evangelical Free Church of America that merged in 1950 with the Norwegian-Danish Evangelical Free Church Association to form what is today the Evangelical Free Church of America. I am ordained in this church body.

I began research in this area of study when Philip J. Anderson of North Park Theological Seminary in Chicago suggested that I write an article on Evangelical Free Church history. In response, I wrote “J. G. Princell and the Waldenströmian View of the Atonement” that appeared in *Trinity Journal*, and mentioned briefly the connection between D. L. Moody, E. A. Skogsbergh, P. P. Waldenström, and J. G. Princell.<sup>1</sup> When my research bibliography on the Evangelical Free Church was published in the *Swedish-American Historical Quarterly*, the journal’s editor, Byron J. Nordstrom, asked me to submit an article on Evangelical Free Church history.<sup>2</sup> In response, I wrote the article titled “D. L. Moody and the Swedish-American Evangelical Free.”<sup>3</sup> This article was followed by a related article that appeared in *The Covenant Quarterly* titled, “John F. Okerstein and the Swedish Fellowship at Moody Church.”<sup>4</sup>

As a regular researcher at the Swenson Swedish Immigration Research Center at Augustana College in Rock Island, Illinois, I was further encouraged to write in the area of church history by the Swenson Center’s director, Dag Blanck. In addition, my former mentor, David L. Larsen, at Trinity Evangelical Divinity School in Deerfield, Illinois, encouraged me in my research and writing on the history of Moody and the Evangelical Free Church.

With encouragement from Dag Blanck, and Lennart Johnsson of Växjö universitet who was conducting research at the Swenson Center at the time, I applied to Linköpings universitet where I began doctoral studies in church history under my advisor, Kjell O. Lejon. During the course of research at Linköping, my doctoral seminars with faculty and doctoral students have refined my topic to the present study.

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<sup>1</sup> David M. Gustafson, “J.G. Princell and the Waldenströmian View of the Atonement,” *Trinity Journal*, 20, No. 2, (Fall, 1999) 191–214.

<sup>2</sup> David M. Gustafson, “A Bibliography of the History of the Swedish Evangelical Free Church of America,” *The Swedish-American Historical Quarterly*, LII, No. 4 (October, 2001) 222–230.

<sup>3</sup> David M. Gustafson, “D.L. Moody and the Swedish-American Evangelical Free,” *The Swedish-American Historical Quarterly*, LV, No. 2 (April 2004) 105–135.

<sup>4</sup> David M. Gustafson, “John F. Okerstein and the Swedish Fellowship at Moody Church,” *The Covenant Quarterly*, LXII, No. 1 (Feb. 2004) 35–53.

This work could not have been accomplished without the help and encouragement of several people in Sweden and the United States. First of all, I thank my wife Sharon who has loved me and supported me throughout my study, and for the encouragement from my children, Laura, Mark, Paul and Hannah. I would like to acknowledge my church, Homewood Evangelical Free Church in Moline, Illinois, for encouragement and support, especially from Rich Kraft, Tim Buhler, and the church board. I am grateful to the following in the congregation who proofread chapters: Chris Nordick, Patricia Axiotis, Ardith Palos, Sue Stolbom, Gene Stolbom, Julie Hanger, Steve Freed, Dick Hutchison, Dori Duncan, Doyle A. James, JoAnn Berg, Mike Berg, and Deanna Wheeler.

I want to acknowledge my advisor, Kjell O. Lejon, for his encouragement and scholarly insight, as well as friendship shown to me by him and his family—Annika and Jakob, Gabriel, and Petrus. In addition, I want to acknowledge Linköping faculty members Håkan Ulfgard, Jan Willner, Edgar Almén, Eva Carlestål and Jan Paul Strid, as well as doctoral candidates Rikard Roitto, Anders Mogård, Ulrica Engdahl, and Marcus Johansson for their constructive criticisms throughout the seminar process. Moreover, I am grateful to Klas Blomberg and his assistance with library services, and Monica Elwingsson for her administrative help. I want to acknowledge too my friends Nils-Eric and Gunilla Hallström for their hospitality and friendship.

At Kungliga biblioteket, Sweden's national library in Stockholm, I received much assistance from Janis Kreslins. At Örebro's Läsaren, the archives at Örebro Missionsskola, Yvonne Johansson-Öster and Göran Janzon were very helpful. Joel Halldorf at Uppsala universitet has been an encouragement to me, and a help in translating difficult sentences. I want to thank Staffan Runestam for proofreading my work on Nathan Söderblom.

In America, I want to acknowledge my advisor, Philip J. Anderson, and his careful eye for detail, constructive criticisms, and participation at my final seminar at Linköping. I also want to acknowledge Steve Elde and Anne Jenner, archivists at North Park University, who have assisted me.

I especially want to thank the staff at the Swenson Swedish Immigration Research Center, namely, Dag Blanck, Christina Johansson, Jill Seaholm, Susanne Titus, and John Andreas Henninger. The staff's encouragement and help is deeply appreciated. Furthermore, I want to acknowledge Kim Schimmel at Moline Public Library in Moline, Illinois, and her help with ordering hundreds of books for me through interlibrary loan.

I am thankful to Roy Fry at Trinity Evangelical Divinity School, as well as to faculty members John D. Woodbridge, Greg R. Scharf, Douglas A. Sweeney, Milo Lundell, and Gene Swanstrom. The archivist of the Evangelical Free Church of America, Jim Forstrom, in Minneapolis has been a source of much help. Ivar Overgaard, a researcher from Stavanger, Norway, also provided helpful information.

At Moody Bible Institute in Chicago, I want to acknowledge Lori Johnson and Marian Shaw for their assistance in the archives. I want to acknowledge John Norton, a friend in Moline who has faithfully proofread each chapter. I also want to thank Barbara Melaas-Swanson, my colleague at Augustana College, and Ann Elmore, my sister and church musician, who have proofread chapters. I am grateful to all who have helped me with this dissertation. Although I have done the work of research, translating and writing, this dissertation is certainly the product of many people. Thank you!



# Introduction

## Theme of the Study

Dwight L. Moody (1837–1899) was the most famous revivalist of the late 1800s and exercised a deep and lasting influence on the Protestant world, reaching Swedes in Sweden and America.<sup>1</sup> “Mr. Moody” became a household name not merely in the English-speaking world but also in the Swedish-speaking world where religious periodicals published his sermons and reported his campaigns.<sup>2</sup> P. P. Waldenström of Sweden cited Moody as an example of evangelical cooperation. Songs of Moody’s musical partner, Ira D. Sankey, were translated into Swedish by Theodor Truvé and Erik Nyström and sung in homes and mission houses. Moody’s influence extended even to Sweden’s Archbishop Nathan Söderblom who during his college years attended Moody’s student conference at Northfield, Massachusetts.

Moody’s early ministry was centered in Chicago, the largest urban population of Swedes in America.<sup>3</sup> The church that Moody founded, Chicago Avenue Church, organized a Swedish fellowship led by Swedish immigrant J. F. Okerstein. Many Swedes who immigrated to America were eager to adopt Moody’s ideal, beliefs and methods. Fredrik Franson who joined Moody’s church became a proponent of the American revivalist’s beliefs and methods, spreading them in America, Sweden, and several other countries. E. A. Skogsbergh, a pioneer of the Mission Covenant in America, adopted Moody’s preaching style so much that he became known as the “Swedish Moody.” John Martenson, a convert to faith during the Moody and Skogsbergh revivals, established the newspaper *Chicago-Bladet* that published many of Moody’s sermons, anecdotes, and news reports. Martenson was joined by J. G. Princell, also a proponent of Moody’s ideal and beliefs, and later a leader of the Swedish Evangelical Free Church of America.

Although most of the personalities in this study are men, women are also discussed such as Emma Dryer, the American who led a Swedish class at Moody’s church, Emma Moody, D. L. Moody’s daughter who visited Stockholm, and Cathrine

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<sup>1</sup> David W. Bebbington, *The Dominance of Evangelicalism: The Age of Spurgeon and Moody* (Downers Grove, Illinois: InterVarsity Press, 2005) 50.

<sup>2</sup> Timothy George, “Introduction: Remembering Mr. Moody,” in *Mr Moody and the Evangelical Tradition*, Timothy George, ed. (London and New York: T&T Clark, 2004) 4.

<sup>3</sup> Karl A. Olsson, “Dwight L. Moody and Some Chicago Swedes,” in *Swedish-American Life in Chicago: Cultural Aspects of an Immigrant People, 1850–1930*, Philip J. Anderson and Dag Blanck, eds. (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1992) 307–322; Ulf Beijbom, *Swedes in Chicago: A Demographic and Social Study of the 1846–1880 Immigration* (Stockholm: Läromedelsförlagen, 1971) 9–11, 207.

Juell, a Norwegian who worked in Scandinavia with Fredrik Franson, as well as the Swedish partnership of Nelly Hall and Ida Nihlén.

Moody's influence was felt among Swedes despite the fact that he was of Anglo-American heritage, never visited Sweden or any of the Scandinavian countries, and did not speak the Swedish language. Nonetheless, he was an archetypal revivalist among *Svenska missionsvänner* (Swedish Mission Friends) in Sweden and America. This study examines Moody and the effect of his popular movement on Swedes, the engagement of his ideal, beliefs, and methods, subsequent conflicts, and marks of new evangelical identity and praxis among leaders of Swedish Mission Friends. This occurs within the context of America's religious pluralism, and Sweden's increasing religious diversity.

### **Purpose, Questions Addressed, and Limits**

The purpose of this study is to describe and analyze the historical events and connections between D. L. Moody and Swedish Mission Friends. The study focuses particularly on Swedes who were receptive to Moody's ideal, beliefs and methods, and were shaped by him in their views and identity.

The major question addressed is: Did D. L. Moody shape evangelical identity of Swedish Mission Friends in Sweden and America, either directly or indirectly, and if so, in what ways? In addition, a number of supporting questions are answered. What common traits did he share with Mission Friends that drew them together as kindred spirits? What distinguishing marks of Moody—attributed to his influence—became evident among Mission Friends? Which periodicals published his sermons and reported his campaigns, and were they favorable or critical of him, and why? Who cited him in sermons, articles, and books, and were they favorable or critical of him, and why?

This study proceeds on the idea that D. L. Moody was a "hero" among Swedish Mission Friends in varying degrees.<sup>4</sup> Although he was not a formal leader of any organization of Swedish Mission Friends, he nevertheless had a direct or indirect role in shaping evangelical identity among them. His influence is observed by distinguishing marks of identity in those who adopted his American-revivalist beliefs and methods.

The decision to include Swedish Mission Friends in Sweden and America stems from the fact that these two groups were integrally connected; the history is transatlantic. Moody's influence in Sweden at the beginning of the great migration of Swedes to America, as well as the return of Moody's disciples to Sweden and other Scandinavian countries requires that this study include Mission Friends on both sides of the Atlantic.

The time limit of this study begins with Moody's first contact with Swedish Mission Friends in Chicago in 1867, and ends with his death at Northfield, Massachusetts, in 1899.

### **Definitions**

D. L. Moody was an American revivalist who preached the necessity of conversion in the Anglo-American tradition of preachers like Jonathan Edwards, John Wesley, George Whitefield, and Charles G. Finney. Moody conducted revivals, namely,

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<sup>4</sup> "Hero" is a distinguishing mark of identity like ideals, beliefs and methods. A "hero" is a respected personality who embodies characteristics that a person or group admires.

## Introduction

evangelistic campaigns, and spoke primarily in major cities in Great Britain and the United States to as many as forty- or fifty-thousand people per week, with six- to twenty-thousand in attendance at a single meeting.<sup>5</sup>

*Influence* refers to the moral power of a person to produce an effect on others, either directly or indirectly, moving them in a particular direction.<sup>6</sup> This can range from emotional inspiration to mental or volitional persuasion. It is acknowledged that influence of religious leaders is difficult if not impossible to quantify. Although the nature of influence makes it difficult to establish strict causality, it is nonetheless possible to establish probability by observing signs or distinguishing marks of influence—given proximity in time and space, either personally or through writings, and subsequent similarities. This influence may be indicated by changes in thinking, language, or behavior. Moreover, influence can be observed positively by the adoption of rhetoric, ideals, beliefs or methods, as well as negatively, by a reaction to them.

In the case of Swedish Mission Friends, many positively adopted Moody's ideal, beliefs, and methods such as his practical, evangelical ecumenism, his premillennial view of Christ's return, and his use of after-meetings in mass evangelism. While Moody was not necessarily the originator of the ideal, beliefs, and methods, he promoted them more than any person of his time, making him the primary agent of influence. An important distinction in this study is made between common traits that Moody and Mission Friends shared originally, and distinguishing marks of his influence—particular ways he directly or indirectly shaped evangelical identity.

Although the term *evangelical* has a Biblical sense derived from the Greek word *euangelion*, meaning gospel or good news, and a historical sense from Martin Luther's rediscovery of the evangel as the message of salvation, in this study *evangelical* refers to the broader sense first applied in 1648 when the Peace of Westphalia recognized the Reformed as *evangelicals* in addition to Lutherans.<sup>7</sup> This sense was later associated with the Great Awakening in Europe and America and continued in the 1800s when it was adopted by such organizations as the Evangelical Alliance, founded in London in 1846. D. L. Moody emerged from within this broader evangelical tradition. *Shaping evangelical identity* implies that Moody and his popular movement had an effect on particular Swedish Mission Friends, and that his influence led to a shift in their evangelical identity as they adopted new evangelical language, beliefs, and methods in the direction of Moody's new American evangelicalism.<sup>8</sup> *Identity* refers here to a

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<sup>5</sup> Stanley N. Gundry, "Demythologizing Moody," in *Mr Moody and the Evangelical Tradition*, Timothy George, ed., 13.

<sup>6</sup> *The New International Webster's Collegiate Dictionary of the English Language* (Naples, Fla.: Trident Press Intl., 2002) 368. The English word *influence* is *inflytande* in Swedish as "*under inflytande af*," meaning "under the influence (sway) of, someone or something." *Norstedts stora svensk-engelska ordbok. Andra upplagan* (Stockholm: Norstedts Förlag, 1993) 393.

<sup>7</sup> John H. Gerstner, "The Theological Boundaries of Evangelical Faith," in *The Evangelicals: What They Believe, Who They Are, Where They Are Changing*, David F. Wells and John D. Woodbridge, eds. (Nashville and New York: Abingdon Press, 1975) 22, 24; and Douglas A. Sweeney, *The American Evangelical Story: A History of the Movement* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2005) 17.

<sup>8</sup> See "Nya inflytelser på missionsvännernas verksamhet" in C. V. Bowman, *Missionsvännerna i Amerika. En återblick på deras uppkomst och första verksamhetstid* (Minneapolis: Minneapolis Veckoblad Publ. Co., 1907) 215–239; and Erik Brolund, *Missionsvännerna. Jämförelse och studier* (Chicago: Mission Friend's Publ., 1938) 108–115.

category, but in reality several evangelical *identities* emerged as Mission Friends took from Moody what they each deemed most important.

The evangelical awakening in Sweden in the 1800s saw several impulses that sought to reform or provide alternatives to the Church of Sweden, mostly Anglo-Saxon, and in later stages, American.<sup>9</sup> New organizations arose in the form of *missionsföreningar* (mission societies) characterized by a passion for home and foreign missions.<sup>10</sup> Those who gathered in these societies became known as *Missionsvänner* (Mission Friends)—a diverse movement centered generally in Evangeliska Fosterlandsstiftelsen (Evangelical National Foundation) founded in 1856, with national leaders such as C. O. Rosenius and Peter Fjellstedt.<sup>11</sup> This reform movement within the Church of Sweden emphasized preaching the gospel, conversion, conventicles, and foreign missions. The Mission Friends movement later included groups in Sweden such as: Svenska Missionsförbundet (Swedish Mission Covenant) established in 1878 and known today as Missionskyrkan (Mission Church), Svenska Alliansmissionen (Swedish Alliance Mission) with roots in Jönköpings Missionsförening (Jönköping’s Mission Society) founded in 1853, and Helgelseförbundet (Holiness Union), one stream of what is today known as Svenska Evangeliska Frikyrkan (the Swedish Evangelical Free Church).

In America, the Mission Friends movement included such groups as the Mission Covenant founded in 1885 and known today as the Evangelical Covenant Church, and the Swedish Evangelical Free Church, organized loosely in 1884, incorporated in 1908, and known today as the Evangelical Free Church of America.<sup>12</sup>

## Survey of Pertinent Literature

### Swedish Church History

The first category of literature in this survey pertains to works of Swedish church history. Near the centennial celebration of Moody’s birth, Swedish authors wrote about Moody’s international influence that extended to Sweden. In 1937, Karl Jäder wrote *En Världsväckare. D. L. Moodys livswerk och inflytande* (A World Revivalist: D. L. Moody’s Lifework and Influence). Jäder described this book as a new Swedish biography of Moody.<sup>13</sup> Much of the book is based on earlier biographies of Moody but added information such as the “Moody fever” that swept Sweden from 1875–1880. Jäder also tells about Martin Johansson, editor of *Teologisk tidskrift*, who published accounts of the Moody revivals held in Scotland in 1874. Jäder further mentioned Emma Moody’s visit to Stockholm in 1888, and Nathan Söderblom’s visit to Northfield in 1890.

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<sup>9</sup> George M. Stephenson, *The Religious Aspects of the Swedish Immigration* (New York: Arno Press and the New York Times, 1969) 24.

<sup>10</sup> Philip J. Anderson, *A Precious Heritage: A Century of Mission in the Northwest, 1884–1984* (Minneapolis: Northwest Conference of the Evangelical Covenant Church, 1984) 15. See also Brolund, *Missionsvännerna*, 10.

<sup>11</sup> Hans Andreasson, *Liv och rörelse. Svenska missionskyrkans historia och identitet* (Stockholm: Verbum, 2007) 25, 30.

<sup>12</sup> Walter Persson, *Free and United: The Story of the International Federation of Free Evangelical Churches* (Chicago: Covenant Publications, 1998) 267–273, 276–282.

<sup>13</sup> Karl Jäder, *En Världsväckare. D. L. Moodys livswerk och inflytande* (Stockholm: Harrier, 1937) 5.

## Introduction

In contrast to Jäder's more popular work, Ernst Newman published a scholarly article in 1938 titled "Dwight L. Moody och hans inflytande i Sverige" (Dwight L. Moody and His Influence in Sweden). This article was published in *Från skilda tider* (From Various Times), a festschrift dedicated to Hjalmar Holmquist.<sup>14</sup> In Newman's article, he presented a well-documented account of the events of Moody's influence in Sweden, especially regarding the polemics within Evangeliska Fosterlands-stiftelsen (Evangelical National Foundation) that led to the formation of Svenska Missionsförbundet (Swedish Mission Covenant). Newman who served at Lund University in Sweden, as well as Åbo in Finland, published related works including: *Evangeliska alliansen. En studie i protestantisk enhets- och frihetssträvan* (The Evangelical Alliance: A Study in the Struggle for Protestant Unity and Freedom), and an article titled: "Dwight L. Moody och hans inflytande på fromhetslivet i Finland" (Dwight L. Moody and His Influence on the Life of Piety in Finland).<sup>15</sup>

In 1939, E. H. Thörnberg published *Sverige i Amerika, Amerika i Sverige. Folkvandring och folkväckelse* (Sweden in America, America in Sweden: Emigration and Folk Revival).<sup>16</sup> While Thörnberg reported about Moody's influence among Swedish preachers, he provided a longer account of Sankey's influence through his popular gospel songs that accompanied emigrants from Sweden to America. More than history, Thörnberg presented a sociological analysis of Moody's transatlantic revival and Swedish emigration.

In 1996, Scott E. Erickson edited a volume titled, *American Religious Influences in Sweden*.<sup>17</sup> This collection of scholarly articles contains the works of Swedish and American authors who refer to Moody and his influence in Sweden, particularly, William R. Hutchison, Philip J. Anderson, Sven-Erik Brodd, and Scott E. Erickson. In addition, Göran Gunner contributed an article on Fredrik Franson and his premillennial view of Christ's Second Coming.

In 2003, Oloph Bexell of Uppsala universitet included a description of Moody's and Sankey's influence in Sweden in *Sveriges Kyrkohistoria 7. Folkväckelsens och kyrkoförnyelsens tid* (Sweden's Church History: The Time of Folk Revival and Church Renewal).<sup>18</sup> Bexell's section on Moody follows Ernst Newman's work and describes additionally some of Moody's publications in Sweden, as well as the American revivalist's influence on P. P. Waldenström and the polemics between those who were more confessionally-minded in the Church of Sweden and those who were more sympathetic to the free-church, evangelical revival. Furthermore, Bexell's work provides a context for the "Moody fever" that spread in Sweden from 1875–1880.

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<sup>14</sup> Ernst Newman. "Dwight L. Moody och hans inflytande i Sverige," in *Från skilda tider: Studier tillägnade Hjalmar Holmquist* (Stockholm: Svenska Kyrkans Diakonistyrelses Bokförlag, 1938).

<sup>15</sup> Ernst Newman, *Evangeliska Alliansen. En studie i protestantisk enhets- och frihetssträvan* (Lund: C.W.K. Glerups förlag, 1937); "Dwight L. Moody och hans inflytande på fromhetslivet i Finland" in *Protokoll. Fört vid lagtima synodalmötet med prästerskapet i Borgå stift den 19–22 Oktober 1937* (Borgå: Tryckeri & Tidningsaktiebolagets tryckeri, 1938).

<sup>16</sup> E. H. Thörnberg. *Sverige i Amerika, Amerika i Sverige. Folkvandring och folkväckelse* (Stockholm: Albert Bonniers Förlag, 1938).

<sup>17</sup> Scott E. Erickson, ed. *American Religious Influences in Sweden* (Uppsala: Tro & Tanke, 1996). See review in Kjell O. Lejon, "American Religious Influences in Sweden," *Svensk Pastoralidskrift*, No. 7 (1999) 120.

<sup>18</sup> Oloph Bexell, *Sveriges Kyrkohistoria, 7. Folkväckelsens och kyrkoförnyelsens tid*. (Stockholm: Verbum, 2003).

## Swedish-American Church History

In America, an article appeared in 1927 in *The Covenant Companion* titled, “The Influence of D. L. Moody on the Swedish People” written by Frederick E. Pamp.<sup>19</sup> In this article, Pamp stated that Moody’s influence among Swedes came through his books, direct contact with Mission Friends in Chicago, and conferences at Northfield, Massachusetts. In 1958, Leroy W. Nelson wrote a thesis at North Park Theological Seminary that built upon Pamp’s article. This thesis titled, “The Relationship of Dwight L. Moody to the Evangelical Covenant Church,” describes the early connections between Moody and Missions Friends in Chicago.<sup>20</sup> The section on E. A. Skogsbergh draws from Skogsbergh’s autobiography, particularly his reminiscences of D. L. Moody.

Frederick Hale’s work, *Transatlantic Conservative Protestantism in the Evangelical Free and Mission Covenant Traditions*, was published in 1979.<sup>21</sup> This work mentions Moody’s influence among Swedes, Danes, and Norwegians, and how Moody’s Scandinavian disciples spread his beliefs and methods among the Scandinavian countries. In Hale’s analysis, of the two American bodies of Mission Friends—the Evangelical Free and the Mission Covenant—Moody’s influence was felt greater by the Free.

In 1984, Edvard P. Torjesen wrote a dissertation titled, “A Study of Fredrik Franson: The Development and Impact of His Ecclesiology, Missiology, and Worldwide Evangelism.”<sup>22</sup> In this major work on Franson, Torjesen provides numerous details about the Swedish revivalist’s ministry and methods modeled on the pattern of D. L. Moody and Chicago Avenue Church, Moody’s congregation in Chicago.

Arnold T. Olson who served as president of the Evangelical Free Church of America published several histories that mentioned Moody’s influence among Free Mission Friends. These works include: *Believers Only*, *The Search for Identity*, *The Significance of Silence*, and *Stumbling toward Maturity*.<sup>23</sup> Although no single work by Olson presented a thorough description and analysis of Moody’s influence among Free Mission Friends, his citations argued for it. In 1992, Karl A. Olsson wrote, “Dwight L. Moody and Some Chicago Swedes” in *Swedish-American Life in Chicago*, edited by Philip J. Anderson and Dag Blanck.<sup>24</sup> This scholarly work by Olsson, a Covenant historian and former president of North Park University, identifies connections between Moody and Mission Friends in Chicago, as well as Waldenström in Sweden.

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<sup>19</sup> Frederick E. Pamp, “The Influence of D. L. Moody on the Swedish People,” *The Covenant Companion*, VI (November 1927) 6–8.

<sup>20</sup> Leroy W. Nelson. “The Relationship of Dwight L. Moody to the Evangelical Covenant Church,” (B.D. Thesis, North Park Theological Seminary, Chicago, Illinois, 1958).

<sup>21</sup> Frederick Hale. *Transatlantic Conservative Protestantism in the Evangelical Free and Mission Covenant Traditions* (New York: Arno Press, 1979).

<sup>22</sup> Edvard P. Torjesen, “A Study of Fredrik Franson: The Development and Impact of His Ecclesiology, Missiology, and Worldwide Evangelism” (Ph.D. Dissertation, International College, Los Angeles, 1984).

<sup>23</sup> Arnold T. Olson, *Believers Only: An Outline of the History and Principles of the Free Evangelical Movement in Europe and North America Affiliated with the International Federation of Free Evangelical Churches* (Minneapolis: Free Church Publications, 1964); Arnold T. Olson, *The Search for Identity* (Minneapolis: Free Church Press, 1980); Arnold T. Olson, *The Significance of Silence* (Minneapolis: Free Church Press, 1981); Arnold T. Olson, *Stumbling toward Maturity* (Minneapolis: Free Church Press, 1981).

<sup>24</sup> Karl A. Olsson, “Dwight L. Moody and Some Chicago Swedes,” *Swedish-American Life in Chicago*, Philip J. Anderson and Dag Blanck, eds. (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1992).

## Introduction

Furthermore, Olsson's two-volume work, *Into One Body...by the Cross*, provides a background of Moody's influence among Mission Friends in America in the 1870s, and the Evangelical Free and Mission Covenant in the 1880s.<sup>25</sup>

### Biographies of Moody

There have been numerous works written by American and British scholars about Moody's life, his evangelistic campaigns, and sermons. In addition, most books on the history of evangelicalism describe his transatlantic influence in the English-speaking world. Among the literature on Moody, some works that provide a background to this study are mentioned here.

John C. Pollock, Moody's English biographer, wrote *Moody* in 1963.<sup>26</sup> This work appeared in several editions with various subtitles. It was among the first scholarly biographies of Moody based on earlier biographies, Moody's papers, letters, periodicals, and pamphlets.

In 1969, James F. Findlay, Jr. published *Dwight L. Moody: American Evangelist, 1837-1899*.<sup>27</sup> Findlay's biography of Moody is a scholarly, critical treatment of the revivalist's life, complete with detailed footnotes. Stanley N. Gundry wrote *Love Them In: The Proclamation Theology of D. L. Moody*, published in 1976.<sup>28</sup> Gundry who served at the time on the faculty of Moody Bible Institute, provides a treatment of the theological content of Moody's sermons, and in some matters, offers a response to Findlay's conclusions.

In 1997, Lyle W. Dorsett of Wheaton College published, *A Passion for Souls: The Life of D. L. Moody*.<sup>29</sup> This book is based on 1,800 letters written by Moody, newspaper articles, and a number of earlier biographies, providing a scholarly and balanced view. In 2003, Bruce J. Evensen wrote, *God's Man for the Gilded Age: D. L. Moody and the Rise of Modern Mass Evangelism*.<sup>30</sup> This work examines Moody's highly popular and publicized evangelistic campaigns and his relationship with the press.

Timothy George edited *Mr Moody [sic] and the Evangelical Tradition*, published in 2004.<sup>31</sup> This book contains contributions from experts on Moody including: D. W. Bebbington, Richard T. Bewes, Thomas E. Corts, Lyle W. Dorsett, Lewis A. Drummond, Timothy George, Stanley N. Gundry, Donald P. Hustad, Don Sweeting, Derek Tidball, and Warren W. Wiersbe. The contributors address a variety of events and themes in Moody's life, and tell of his influence in the English-speaking world.

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<sup>25</sup> Karl A. Olsson, *Into One Body...by the Cross*. 2 vol. (Chicago: Covenant Press, 1985, 1986).

<sup>26</sup> J. C. Pollock, *Moody* (Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 1963).

<sup>27</sup> James F. Findlay, Jr., *Dwight L. Moody: American Evangelist, 1837-1899* (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1969).

<sup>28</sup> Stanley N. Gundry, *Love Them In: The Proclamation Theology of D. L. Moody* (Chicago: Moody Press, 1976).

<sup>29</sup> Lyle W. Dorsett, *A Passion for Souls: The Life of D. L. Moody* (Chicago: Moody Press, 1997).

<sup>30</sup> Bruce J. Evensen, *God's Man for the Gilded Age: D. L. Moody and the Rise of Modern Mass Evangelism* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2003).

<sup>31</sup> Timothy George, ed., *Mr Moody and the Evangelical Tradition* (London and New York: T&T Clark International, 2004).

## Relevance of This Study

This study is relevant, first to the field of American evangelical revivalism. Although there are a number of recent works about Moody and his influence in the English-speaking world, this study supplements what has been written as it describes the breadth of the American revivalist's influence that extended to Swedes. Most biographers of Moody and authors of evangelicalism have overlooked the aspect of Moody's ethnic and international ministry. This study is intended to fill the void in literature on Moody and American revivalism. The analysis of Moody's activity among Swedes through the lens of identity and pluralism contributes to the general study of Moody in American revivalism—an analysis that has not yet been made.

Second, this study is relevant to Swedish church history, and explores what Oloph Bexell describes in Sweden in the 1870s as “a spiritual Moody-fever in our land.”<sup>32</sup> Moody's influence contributed in part to the evangelical awakening in Sweden in the late 1800s. His impact on people like P. P. Waldenström and Fredrik Franson affected events in Sweden that led to new patterns of religious life, as well as the establishment of new organizations. In addition, the music of Ira D. Sankey and the popularity of *Sankeys sånger* (Sankey's Songs) impacted Sweden's religious culture and hymnody. Thus, this study builds on the works of several Swedish authors and provides a description and analysis of Moody's influence in Sweden.

Third, this study is relevant to Swedish-American church history. It provides a context and narrative for the development of Mission Friends in America, and subsequent organizations that formed in the late 1800s. It examines differences between the Mission Covenant and Evangelical Free, and tests Frederick Hale's thesis that: “...for several reasons, Moody's influence was not nearly so profound among the Swedish Covenanters as it was among the Evangelical Free.”<sup>33</sup> Thus, this study attempts to fill a void in literature on the history of the Evangelical Free Church and Moody's role in shaping this church body.

## Methods

This study is written in the English language. All Swedish book titles and descriptive words are written in Swedish in italics, followed by an English translation in parentheses. Thereafter, Swedish book titles and descriptive words that are common and understood by the reader are written in Swedish. Swedish organizational names are not italicized. I have translated all quotations from Swedish sources unless indicated otherwise in the footnotes. Footnotes of English titles are written in the American format, and footnotes of Swedish titles follow the Swedish format, with italicized subtitles. Bibliographical references in the footnotes begin with the full reference in each chapter, followed by a short reference when the source is repeated. All italics used in quotations are those of the original author, not mine. The bibliography is alphabetized according to the Swedish alphabet with Å, Ä and Ö following the letter Z.

Given the purpose and nature of this study, I have applied two main tools of research: the historical-critical method, and an analysis of identity and pluralism.

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<sup>32</sup> Bexell, *Sveriges Kyrkohistoria*, 7. *Folkväckelsens och kyrkoförnyelsens tid*, 157.

<sup>33</sup> Hale, *Transatlantic Conservative Protestantism*, 305.



## Historical-Critical Method

From the historical traces and clues that describe connections in the past between Moody and Swedish Mission Friends, I have sought, first of all, to write a history following the historical-critical method. This has meant connecting pieces of the puzzle, which at times is rather simple as the pieces fall easily into place. The large amount of primary source material in Swedish-language newspapers, along with secondary sources, has provided a consensus for telling the story.

As a historian, my narrative proceeds from the horizon of an ordained minister in the Evangelical Free Church of America. I tell this not merely to describe my personal interest in this study, but also for the sake of letting readers know my historical bias and point of reference. In the article, “Demythologizing Moody,” Stanley N. Gundry illustrates the problem of bias, saying:

The eulogistic biographers tend to touch up their portraits to eliminate the warts and blemishes. Another class of historians, the ‘debunkers,’ does its level best to discredit its subjects and to portray them as anything but what they claimed or appeared to be. The institutions founded or shaped by these individuals want to be viewed as their legitimate successors, but in supporting those claims they often ignore certain uncomfortable facts about their founders, or worse yet they engage in revisionist history. And as for the rest of us—well, it is only natural that we would like to have our heroes support those beliefs and practices that we hold dear.<sup>34</sup>

Even with the best intentions I, like all historians, possess a bias that can do violence to objectivity, or as Carter Lindberg states in applying Heisenberg’s indeterminacy principle to historical studies: “What is observed is influenced by the observer.”<sup>35</sup> The issue of historical bias has raised the question: Is it possible for historians to attain any reasonable degree of objectivity in reconstructing the past, and if so, how?<sup>36</sup> To this question, James E. Bradley and Richard A. Muller state:

The goal ... is to pursue balance and objectivity without abdicating one’s personality or losing entirely one’s sense of involvement in and with the events of history. It is, after all, involvement with past events that engenders continued historical interest. Objectivity in historical study does not, and cannot, exist if it is defined as an absence of involvement with or opinion about the materials. Instead, historical objectivity results from a methodological control of the evidence, of the various levels of interpretation both inherent in and related to the evidence, and of one’s own biases and opinions concerning the evidence and the various known interpretations.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> Stanley N. Gundry, “Demythologizing Moody,” in *Mr Moody and the Evangelical Tradition*, George, ed., 14.

<sup>35</sup> Carter Lindberg, *The Europeans Reformations* (Oxford and Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell Publishers, 1996) 4.

<sup>36</sup> James E. Bradley and Richard A. Muller, *Church History: An Introduction to Research, Reference Works and Methods* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1995) 48.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 49.

In this study, I have aimed to be balanced and critical, first, from a willingness to let the sources tell the story. Much of my research is based on primary sources that describe Moody's impact on Swedes. In pursuit of a sound historiography, I have documented my sources in footnotes. Second, I have sought to exercise critical judgment in my interpretation and analysis of source material. When the source data provide opposing sides of an issue, I have included both sides and perspectives. The frequent use of quotations is stylistic in an effort to produce a history that is more documentary.

## Identity and Pluralism

Moody's influence among Swedish Mission Friends is a case study of identity and pluralism—an analytical tool or paradigm of investigation well suited for this research. The American context of religious pluralism provided a theological *smörgåsbord* from which Swedes drew broad, evangelical beliefs and methods, adopting new elements and shaping new identities. This occurred alongside Americanization of Swedish immigrants, and American religious influences entering Sweden.

*Identity* refers to a self-understanding, which to varying degrees separates self from others.<sup>38</sup> In society, identity refers to distinguishing characteristics of a group that separate that group from others—characteristics such as common beliefs, language, heroes, ideals, ethnicity, history, and customs. In contrast, *pluralism* refers to diversity, variety, and differences contrary to the particularity of identity.<sup>39</sup> Thus, within pluralism there are a number of identities.

From its beginning, the United States has been characterized by diversity. Kjell O. Lejon illustrates the historical context of America's pluralism by the Latin phrase and American motto, *E pluribus unum*, meaning: "Out of many, one."<sup>40</sup> Philip J. Anderson highlights the diverse context into which Swedish immigrants came, describing America as "a nation of religious pluralism, a nation comprised of almost total immigrant stock with varied beliefs, behaviors and values."<sup>41</sup>

Some Swedish immigrants were eager to embrace the American religious context, the ecumenism of the Evangelical Alliance, and Moody's revivalist preaching, for example. Within this broad evangelical context, they questioned the received Lutheran tradition and explored the American theological *smörgåsbord* in a land of religious diversity and freedom. Thus, immigrants were shaped by the American context and formed, as Dag Blanck describes, "an identity that drew on cultural elements from Sweden and the United States."<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> William C. Fischer, David A. Gerber, Jorge M. Guitart, and Maxine S. Seller, eds., *Identity, Community and Pluralism in American Life* (New York : Oxford University Press, 1997) 3.

<sup>39</sup> Håkan Ulfgard, "Innanför och utanför i biblens värld," in *E pluribus unum? Studier i religiös identitet och pluralism*, Kjell O. Lejon, ed. (Linköping: Linköping University Press, 2003) 13–14.

<sup>40</sup> Kjell O. Lejon, "E pluribus unum? En introduktion till några identitetsmarkörer i amerikansk civilreligion," in *E pluribus unum? Studier i religiös identitet och pluralism*, Kjell O. Lejon (Linköping: Linköping University Press, 2003) 30.

<sup>41</sup> Philip J. Anderson, "The Covenant and the American Challenge: Restoring a Dynamic View of Identity and Pluralism," in *Amicus Dei: Essays on Faith and Friendship, Presented to Karl A. Olsson on His 75<sup>th</sup> Birthday*, Philip J. Anderson, ed. (Chicago: Covenant Publications, 1988) 109.

<sup>42</sup> Dag Blanck, *Becoming Swedish American: The Construction of an Ethnic Identity in the Augustana Synod, 1860-1917* (Uppsala: Upsaliensis S. Academiae, 1997) 16.

## Introduction

Distinguishing marks of identity are the unique qualities and distinctive characteristics that indicate and define identity, differentiating and distinguishing self- or group-understanding from others. This study observes not merely elements of belief and practices that Mission Friends shared in common with Moody, but also distinguishing marks that indicate his influence among them. Moody's ideal of evangelical ecumenism, for example, was an archetypal idea, an ultimate aim. Although there were differences between Christian denominations, forms of worship, and church organization, Moody promoted Christian unity and cooperative evangelism. He also opposed *sectarianism*—a narrow denominational or partisan attitude. A segment of Mission Friends adopted such opposition to partisanship in the church, and in turn, resisted forming denominations.

Another category of distinguishing marks is beliefs. Religious beliefs define and distinguish one religious group from another, especially on disputed points of teaching. Doctrinal beliefs and creeds hold people together and bring a sense of coherence and identity.<sup>43</sup> One religious belief that Moody held was the new premillennial view of Christ's return. Moody popularized this view at the time, a view equally accepted by Americans and Swedish Mission Friends in Moody's circle of influence. Another category of distinguishing marks is customs or methods. Moody's example of founding an independent, evangelical church in Chicago became a model for Swedes to follow. Moreover, his use of after-meetings where inquirers gathered after a revival meeting became a mark of his influence among Swedes in America and Sweden.

## Source Material

### Primary Sources

This study is based on research from primary and secondary sources. The primary sources consist mostly of Swedish-language newspapers. Of the Swedish-American newspapers, research was carried out from periodicals such as *Augustana*, *Chicago-Bladet*, *Missions-Vännern*, *Minneapolis Veckoblad*, *Österns Veckoblad*, *Zions Banér*, *Vårt Nya Hem*, and *Nordstjernen*. Most of these periodicals were selected because they were organs of Swedish Mission Friends in America.<sup>44</sup> A thorough analysis was made of each issue of the period, beginning with the first issue and ending shortly after Moody's death.

Research in Sweden was carried out by examining periodicals such as *Göteborgs Veckoblad*, *Folk-vännern*, *Wecko-Posten*, *Hemlands-vännern*, *Nya Posten*, *Teologisk*

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<sup>43</sup> Michael Barnes, *Christian Identity and Religious Pluralism* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1989) 3.

<sup>44</sup> *Minneapolis Veckoblad* described Mission Friends' periodicals in America, saying: "When we look at those in America, we have *Chicago-Bladet*, *Missions-Vännern*, *Minneapolis Veckoblad* and *Österns Veckoblad* which are independent. It is estimated that these periodicals should have no less than 40,000 subscribers and it is reasonable to assume that they are read by around 150,000 people. In addition to these, we can add several denominational organs such as [the Lutheran] *Augustana*, [the Baptist] *Veckoposten*, [the Methodist] *Sändebudet* and several others. "Den svenska kristliga tidningspressen och dess inflytande," *Minneapolis Veckoblad*, Jun. 27, 1892, 1. See also: Josephine Princell, "Den svenska kristna tidningspressen i Amerika," in *Skogsblommor. Illustrerad kalender för 1901*, Jos. Princell, ed. (Chicago: J. V. Martenson, 1900) 108–179.

*tidskrift, Wäktaren, Sanningsvitnet, Svenska Posten* and *Trons Segrar*.<sup>45</sup> These periodicals, as well as various autobiographies, letters, and church minutes, have served as a basis for describing Moody's influence among Mission Friends in Sweden. The majority of primary sources from Sweden and America are from within the Mission Friends' movement, and often reflect this viewpoint and bias.<sup>46</sup>

## Secondary Sources

The secondary sources consist of dissertations, articles, books, and biographies. A number of these works have been mentioned earlier. Several other secondary sources are: histories of Swedish Mission Friends, denominational histories, and mission histories. Many of these works are limited in their description of Moody's relationship with Swedes, mentioning briefly, for example, E. A. Skogsbergh as the "Swedish Moody" or Fredrik Franson as "Moody's Swedish disciple." The more descriptive secondary sources have offered a basis for analyzing Moody's influence among various groups of Mission Friends.

## Archives

This study has been possible because of the commitment of academic institutions, historical societies, and religious organizations to make available their archival holdings. Archivists have been helpful to me in my search for sources pertinent to this study. The vast majority of research has been completed at the Swenson Swedish Immigration Research Center at Augustana College in Rock Island, Illinois. Nearly all the Swedish-American newspapers that I researched were on microfilm at the Swenson Center. In addition, this archive has membership records and minutes of Swedish-American churches, emigration databases, and rare books related to my study.

I also conducted research at the archive of Rolwing Library at Trinity Evangelical Divinity School and Trinity International University in Deerfield, Illinois. This collection contains rare books on Evangelical Free Church history, the Swedish-language newspaper *Chicago-Bladet*, and a collection of books from the time the school was called Svenska Bibelinstitutet (the Swedish Bible Institute).

At the F. M. Johnson Archives at Brandel Library at North Park University in Chicago, I was able to view on microfilm the Swedish periodical *Pietisten*. The archive also contains Karl A. Olsson's notes of his research on Moody, and the English translation of E. A. Skogbergh's autobiography. Brandel Library also holds Frederick E. Pamp's article and Leroy W. Nelson's thesis.

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<sup>45</sup> *Minneapolis Weckoblad* described periodicals in Sweden, saying, "Within every province there is a Christian political newspaper. The larger and more general ones are *Svenska Posten, Hemlands Posten, Göteborgs Veckoblad, Sanningsvitnet*, and *Hemlandsvännan* and several more but the two latter mentioned have the larger circulations. These newspapers are also more independent. Besides these, there are the various [mission] society organs as well as the mass religious newspapers among which *Pietisten* would be the most influential. "Den svenska kristliga tidningspressen och dess inflytande," *Minneapolis Weckoblad*, Jun. 27, 1892, 1.

<sup>46</sup> Even primary sources can be less than objective. Many of the sources of Mission Friends used in this study reflect Moody as a "hero," leaning at times toward hagiography. However, this is recognized and countered with criticisms against Moody and his Swedish followers.

## Introduction

I found additional information at the archive of Cromwell Library at Moody Bible Institute in Chicago. This archive has a collection of catalogues from the time the school had its Swedish Department, affiliated with the Swedish Evangelical Free Church of America. Moreover, the archive has a number of Moody's books in Swedish published by Fleming H. Revell. Nearby at Chicago History Museum, I researched the YMCA archival collection regarding the Swedish branch of the Chicago YMCA. At the archives of the Billy Graham Center at Wheaton College in Wheaton, Illinois, I examined the minutes of Moody's Chicago Avenue Church that describe its Swedish fellowship in the 1870s and 1880s. In addition, I found the church's membership records helpful in my research of Swedes who were members of this congregation.

Nearby in Carol Stream, Illinois, I visited the library and archives of The Evangelical Alliance Mission (TEAM), originally called the Scandinavian Alliance Mission. In addition to rare books, I viewed a number of files about the life and ministry of Fredrik Franson, TEAM's founder. The Evangelical Lutheran Church of America (ELCA) archives that I visited in Elk River Grove, Illinois, holds rare publications not available elsewhere, such as the Swedish-language periodical *Barnvännern* that contains gospel songs of Sankey. The Evangelical Free Church of America (EFCA) archives at Minneapolis, Minnesota, has a number of rare books about its history, as well as letters and photographs of early Free Mission Friends.

In Sweden, I conducted archival research at Kungliga Biblioteket. This library contains the largest collection of Moody's works published in Sweden since Swedish law requires that a copy of every publication be kept at the national library. Nearly two hundred different titles of Moody's works published in Sweden between 1875 and 1899 are held there, and are listed in the Appendix. In addition, a few rare, non-catalogued works by Fredrik Franson are at Kungliga Biblioteket such as *Eftermötet i skriftens ljus* (After-Meetings in the Light of Scripture).

At the library at Linköpings universitet, I carried out research from the holdings that contain a number of biographies and secondary sources such as Ernst Newman's works. I also viewed periodicals available on microfilm, as well as rare books accessible through Sweden's interlibrary loan system. Several of Moody's earliest works and biographies, as well as books related to the "Moody fever" were available at Linköping.

In Örebro, I found a number of pertinent resources at Läsaren, the archive located at Örebro Missionskola. This collection holds *Wecko-Posten*, *Trons Segrar*, and *Sanningsvitnet*, as well as a number of rare books and songbooks.

## Outline of the Study

The first part of this study—Background—presents in Chapter 1, a background to the history of Moody and Swedes, describing the historical context of American evangelical revivalism and Swedish Lutheran pietism, and the interplay of pietistic and Reformed impulses that provided a basis for Moody's activity and influence among Swedish Mission Friends.

The second part—History—presents in Chapters 2–10 the events surrounding Moody's direct and indirect activity among Swedes. This section is more descriptive than analytical and provides a conclusion at the end of each chapter. This part employs the historical-critical method of inquiry to establish the narrative according to source

material, and aims to describe Moody's ideal, beliefs and methods, and corresponding features found in Mission Friends, and the connections between the two. Thus, comparison is applied mostly to Moody and Swedes, examining similarities and differences between them in an effort to identify common traits and distinguishing marks of influence.

Chapter 2 describes the early relationship between Moody and Mission Friends in Chicago, and how this friendship began. Chapter 3 describes how Moody's evangelistic success in Great Britain caught the attention of Mission Friends in Sweden through news reports and publications, spreading "Moody fever" throughout Sweden. Chapter 4 describes the effect of "Moody fever" in the direction of an alliance ideal, and how some Mission Friends in Sweden, inspired by Moody, appealed to his example of cooperative evangelism. Chapter 5 describes the spread of "Moody fever" in America, particularly in Chicago where Swedish immigrants heard him preach, and where his church served as a center for "Swedish Moodyites." Chapter 6 describes the alliance ideal among Mission Friends in America, a country of religious pluralism, with a group of Mission Friends moving away from Lutheranism and even Rosenian pietism toward Moody's American revivalism. Chapter 7 examines the shift in evangelical identity that came about as Mission Friends in America followed Moody's form of American evangelicalism, resulting in a struggle for theological and ecclesial identity. Chapter 8 describes events that surrounded Moody's disciples in Sweden and other Scandinavian countries, as well as a visit by Nathan Söderblom to Moody's Northfield conference. Chapter 9 describes Moody's interaction with Swedes in America during the last decade of his life, a relationship that continued until his death. Chapter 10 describes the closely-knit Moody-Sankey partnership, and how Sankey's popular songs were published in Swedish songbooks and sung in Sweden and America.

The third part—Analysis—in Chapters 11–12 analyzes criticisms, common traits, and identity-marks, employing identity and pluralism as a research tool. Chapter 11 examines criticisms of Moody by Swedish Lutherans. The chapter then identifies common traits that Moody and Mission Friends shared that drew them together as kindred spirits. Chapter 12 analyzes distinguishing marks of Moody, observed also in Mission Friends who were inspired by him and adopted his ideal, beliefs and methods, indicating degrees of influence. The Analysis section builds upon the History section, and provides additional information, and presents the final conclusion to this study.

The summary provides an overview. The Appendix contains a list of Moody's books and colporteur tracts published in the Swedish language.

**PART I:**  
*Background*





## Chapter 1

# American and Swedish Backgrounds

D. L. Moody's revivalism extended beyond Great Britain and the United States as his ideal, beliefs, and methods reached other countries. Although Moody never traveled to Sweden, news of his evangelistic campaigns, as well as his sermons published in Swedish-language newspapers, books and tracts, led to "Moody fever" in Sweden, the first major American religious influence to sweep the nation. In America, Swedish Mission Friends who immigrated to the new country were receptive to him because of his emphases on conversion, lay ministry, and cooperative evangelism. Moreover, Swedish immigrants just learning the English language could easily understand his sermons because of his use of simple words and phrases. As Moody grew in popularity, his name became known among Swedes from Chicago to Stockholm, Göteborg to Minneapolis, and Gävle to Moline.

This chapter presents the historical backgrounds to this study. To understand how Moody's influence shaped evangelical identity among Swedish Mission Friends, it is important to observe the broader historical context. Thus, this chapter answers the questions: What events, forces, and personalities shaped the American revivalist tradition of Moody, and what events, forces, and personalities shaped the Swedish pietist tradition of Mission Friends? This chapter begins with a brief overview of the history of American revivalism and the people who shaped the movement, leading up to the life of D. L. Moody. The chapter then presents a brief history of Swedish pietism and revivalism, the interplay of Reformed impulses among Swedes, and forces that shaped Mission Friends, leading up to the Swedish personalities presented in this study.

### North American Background

In the seventeenth century, most Reformation traditions found expression in North America as European settlers came and established colonies. The first were Anglicans who arrived in 1607, settling at Jamestown, Virginia.<sup>1</sup> In 1620, the Pilgrims, dissenters from the Church of England, arrived at Plymouth by way of the Netherlands. Puritans who had sought reform within the Church of England migrated in 1628 and established the Massachusetts Bay Colony. Swedes under the crown of Christina and her regent, Axel Oxenstierna, arrived on the Delaware River in 1638, forming the New

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<sup>1</sup> Mark Noll, *The Old Religion in a New World: The History of North American Christianity* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002) 29.

Sweden Colony.<sup>2</sup> Other Protestants found refuge in America including Baptists in Rhode Island, French Huguenots in the Middle Colonies, Scottish Presbyterians in New Jersey, and Quakers and Anabaptists in Pennsylvania.

The early colonists formed a diverse religious landscape with a variety of emphases and traditions.<sup>3</sup> Mark Noll describes the religious diversity of the early American colonies as a “mosaic of Christian faiths.”<sup>4</sup> Nonetheless, the tendency came for diverse religious groups to oppose efforts by other groups to settle in their colonies, resisting religious pluralism, especially as newer groups arrived on America’s shores.

Beginning in the 1680s, Germans including Lutherans, Mennonites, Moravians, and Brethren came to the American colonies influenced by German pietism.<sup>5</sup> Pietists emphasized “living faith” and “purity of life” over “dead orthodoxy,” creedal statements, and formal institutions. As Sydney Ahlstrom states, “Pietism was thus a movement of revival, aimed at making man’s relation to God experientially and morally meaningful as well as socially relevant. . . . It called always for a return to the Bible.”<sup>6</sup>

German pietism stemmed from the work of Johann Arndt (1555–1621) known as the second Luther because of Arndt’s classic work *Wahres Christentum (True Christianity)* that nearly rivaled Luther’s catechisms in influence.<sup>7</sup> The Pietist movement, however, was led by Philip Jakob Spener (1635–1705), also a German Lutheran. Spener’s book *Pia Desideria* (Pious Desires) drew inspiration from Arndt as well as English Puritan, Dutch Reformed, and German Reformed proponents of “true Christianity,” “new birth,” and “living, active faith.”<sup>8</sup> In 1692, Prince Frederick established the university at Halle in Germany, and appointed August Hermann Francke as pastor and professor.<sup>9</sup> During these years, an exchange of ideas between English Puritans and German Pietists brought the two streams closer in thought and practice. Each group stressed the need for conversion, and used *collegia pietatis* (conventicles) or *ecclesiolae in ecclesiae* (little church within a church) as means of spiritual nurture.<sup>10</sup>

The ideals, beliefs, and methods of Halle were also promoted in America by Lutheran missionaries such as Henry Melchior Mühlberg (1711–1787) who arrived to Pennsylvania from Halle in 1742.<sup>11</sup> In addition, the influence of German pietism in

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<sup>2</sup> Stellan Dahlgren and Hans Norman, *The Rise and Fall of New Sweden: Governor Johan Risingh’s Journal 1654–1655 in Its Historical Context* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1988) 45.

<sup>3</sup> Kjell O. Lejon, “E pluribus unum? En introduktion till några identitetsmarkörer i amerikansk civilreligion,” in *E pluribus unum? Studier i religiös identitet och pluralism*, Kjell O. Lejon, ed. (Linköping: Linköping University Press, 2003) 36–37.

<sup>4</sup> Mark A. Noll, *A History of Christianity in the United States and Canada* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans Publishing, 1992) 62.

<sup>5</sup> Mark A. Noll, *The Old Religion in a New World*, 34

<sup>6</sup> Sydney E. Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1972) 236.

<sup>7</sup> F. Ernest Stoeffler, *German Pietism during the Eighteenth Century* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1973) 2; Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People*, 237.

<sup>8</sup> Johann Arndt, *True Christianity*, trans. by Peter Erb (New York: Paulist Press, 1979) 62, 83–87, 114–117; Philip Jacob Spener, *Pia Desideria*, trans. by Theodore G. Tappert (Fortress Press, 1964) 8; and Dale W. Brown, *Understanding Pietism* (Grantham, Penn.: Brethren in Christ Historical Society, 1996) 17.

<sup>9</sup> Stoeffler, *German Pietism during the Eighteenth Century*, 40–42.

<sup>10</sup> Brown, *Understanding Pietism*, 44.

<sup>11</sup> Theodore G. Tappert, “The Influence of Pietism in Colonial American Lutheranism,” in *Continental Pietism and Early American Christianity*, F. Ernest Stoeffler, ed. (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Pub., 1976) 13–26; and Noll, *The Old Religion in a New World*, 34.

America came from the exchange of ideas with Puritan Congregationalists such as Cotton Mather (1663–1728) who interacted with Halle pietism in the early 1700s through the Anglican Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge (S.P.C.K.) in London.<sup>12</sup> Beginning in 1709, Mather corresponded with Francke and Anthony William Boehm, the principal proponent of Halle pietism in London, and translator of Arndt's *True Christianity*, published in English in 1712.<sup>13</sup> Richard Lovelace thus describes Cotton Mather as the “‘John the Baptist’ of American revivalism.”<sup>14</sup> Mather preached regularly about the “one thing needful,” the experience of God’s saving grace through the conversion process. In the Puritan tradition, Mather encouraged a “waiting period” of supplication in contrast to “instantaneous conversion” of Arminian theology. Moreover, he used conventicles similar to Spener’s *pietatis collegia* for Bible reading and prayer.

Pietism came to England and America also in the form of Methodism taught by John and Charles Wesley. John Wesley (1703–1791) became acquainted with Moravians in the American colony of Georgia, in London, and at Herrnhut, Germany—the center of Moravian pietism. At Herrnhut, Count Nikolaus von Zinzendorf (1700–1760) taught a lower form of Lutheran pietism which he developed after studying at Halle.<sup>15</sup> Following the Moravians’ use of conventicles, Wesley created societies, classes, and bands for spiritual nurture.<sup>16</sup> He stressed the sinner’s penitential conflict, but like Arminians, stressed the universal efficacy of Christ’s atonement.

Wesley’s movement and the spiritual awakening that followed became known in Great Britain as the Evangelical Revival.<sup>17</sup> This movement further spawned the preaching of George Whitefield (1715–1770), a Calvinist who traveled to America and tied the Evangelical Revival of Britain with the Great Awakening of the United States.

## **The Great Awakening**

America’s Great Awakening came in the 1730s and 1740s when a series of revivals swept the American colonies. Martin E. Marty describes the stirrings as “an Awakening or Revival movement that took many shapes, forms, expressions, and colors.”<sup>18</sup> The awakening had its roots in the middle colonies among Presbyterians and Dutch Reformed. Jonathan Edwards (1703–1758) and George Whitefield were its chief personalities. In 1734, revival broke out at Northampton, Massachusetts, when Edwards became convinced that America was the chosen place for coming of the Kingdom of God, and in turn, Edwards invited Whitefield to come and preach.<sup>19</sup>

Whitefield first came to America in 1738. On his second visit, beginning in 1739,

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<sup>12</sup> Richard F. Lovelace, *The American Pietism of Cotton Mather: Origins of American Evangelicalism* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1979) 32.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 33.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 199.

<sup>15</sup> Stoeffler, *German Pietism during the Eighteenth Century*, 132–134.

<sup>16</sup> D. Michael Henderson, *John Wesley’s Class Meeting: A Model for Making Disciples* (Nappanee, Ind.: Evangel Pub. House, 1997) 51, 59–81.

<sup>17</sup> Derek J. Tidball, *Who Are the Evangelicals? Tracing the Roots of Today’s Movements* (London: Marshall Pickering, 1994) 12, 32–37.

<sup>18</sup> Martin E. Marty, *Pilgrims in Their Own Land: 500 Years of Religion in America* (Boston and Toronto: Little, Brown and Co., 1984) 108.

<sup>19</sup> George M. Marsden, *Jonathan Edwards: A Life* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003) 202–205.

he launched a preaching tour that resulted in the most general awakening the American colonies had ever experienced.<sup>20</sup> In Boston, when crowds grew too large for any single church, Whitefield preached in the open air as he had done in England. His preaching brought various revivals in the colonies together, particularly the pietistic awakenings among the Dutch, the revival of Edward's congregation in Northampton, and the stirrings among the Presbyterians in the middle colonies.<sup>21</sup>

Whitefield carefully prepared his messages, but in contrast to the New England preachers, delivered his messages extemporaneously, talking directly to the listeners. He also made use of the media, utilizing newspapers and pamphlets to promote his work.<sup>22</sup> In Philadelphia, when Benjamin Franklin grew skeptical of the reports of the size of crowds, he stepped off the pavement from the Court House steps, estimating Whitefield's audience to be thirty thousand people.<sup>23</sup>

Whitefield and Edwards in the Calvinist tradition stressed the sinful nature of human beings, and the absolute inability to overcome the depraved human nature apart from God's saving grace through the Holy Spirit.<sup>24</sup> For these two men, conversion was a process that began with a concern over the state of one's soul, a "spiritual anxiety," marked by the prospect of eternal damnation.<sup>25</sup> Nonetheless, Whitefield and Edwards believed that the sinner could surrender unconditionally to God's will, an act of repentance, resulting in conversion when God through the promise of Christ's atonement, bestowed grace upon the repentant sinner.

In the wake of Whitefield's preaching, churches showed a renewed enthusiasm for evangelism and missions. Denominational barriers broke down and a spirit of cooperation prevailed—an evangelical ecumenism. Mark Noll comments about Whitefield's ecumenical spirit, saying: "He wore his Anglican ordination lightly and eagerly cooperated with Protestants of every sort who would support his work: Baptists, Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Moravians, the early Methodists, and more."<sup>26</sup>

In 1741, Count Nikolaus von Zinzendorf arrived to the American colonies to promote revival among the Moravians.<sup>27</sup> His ecumenical spirit attempted to bring a wider circle of Lutherans and Reformed Protestants together. However, despite his efforts, both denominations resisted him, stepping up aggression toward him and each another. Many of the pietistic Lutherans rallied behind Mühlenberg in Pennsylvania,

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<sup>20</sup> W. R. Ward, *The Protestant Evangelical Awakening* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992) 286–288.

<sup>21</sup> Randall Balmer and Lauren F. Winner, *Protestantism in America* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002) 15.

<sup>22</sup> Noll, *The Old Religion in a New World*, 52; and Ward, *The Protestant Evangelical Awakening*, 286–287.

<sup>23</sup> Marty, *Pilgrims in Their Own Land*, 119.

<sup>24</sup> Ward, *The Protestant Evangelical Awakening*, 290.

<sup>25</sup> Harry S. Stout, "George Whitefield in Three Countries," in *Evangelicalism: Comparative Studies of Popular Protestantism in North America, the British Isles, and Beyond, 1700–1990*, Mark A. Noll, David W. Bebbington, and George A. Rawlyk, eds. (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994) 62, 68; Marsden, *Jonathan Edwards: A Life*, 221–223.

<sup>26</sup> Noll, *The Old Religion in a New World*, 51.

<sup>27</sup> John R. Weinlick, "Moravianism in the American Colonies," in *Continental Pietism and Early American Christianity*, F. Ernest Stoeffler, ed., 138.

while the Reformed followed Michael Schlatter, leaving Zinzendorf to serve the Moravians and to carry out missionary work among the Indians.<sup>28</sup>

In contrast, Mühlenberg followed the motto *ecclesia plantanda*, “the church must be planted,” with a view to founding the church in America as it had been in Europe.<sup>29</sup> At the height of Mühlenberg’s ministry, he traveled from town to town preaching and organizing more than forty thousand immigrant Lutherans.<sup>30</sup>

The Evangelical Revival in England led by the Wesleys and Whitefield, as well as the Great Awakening in the American colonies led by Whitefield and Edwards, left an indelible mark on the future of American revivalism.<sup>31</sup> Whitefield’s and Wesley’s model of mass meetings established a pattern that developed eventually into camp meetings, religious gatherings on the new frontier.<sup>32</sup> Timothy George summarizes the effects of the Great Awakening, stating: “Much of what we associate with later Evangelicalism comes from this period: hymn singing, mass evangelism, the modern missionary movement, Bible societies, Christian social reform, and so on.”<sup>33</sup>

### **Religious Freedom in the United States**

Although early Puritan and Anglican colonists sought to organize religious life on the pattern of the state church, by the mid 1700s this model was breaking down, a pattern that Americans increasingly sought to abandon.<sup>34</sup> The reality of America’s religious pluralism, the ecumenism of the Great Awakening, the Anabaptist tenet of separation of church and state, and the popularity of Enlightenment ideals, advanced the principles of toleration and religious freedom.

After the War of Independence, the First Amendment of the Constitution of the United States which went into effect in 1791, established the nation’s religious freedom and stipulated that the government be separate from the affairs of churches.<sup>35</sup> Because of the disestablishment of religion, churches found themselves needing to function independently of the government and having to depend upon their own initiatives, leadership, and resources.<sup>36</sup> Thus, a more democratic Christianity characterized the new American nation. Religious leaders won souls wherever they could find them, challenged new converts to interpret the Bible for themselves, and helped them to organize new

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<sup>28</sup> Peter Vogt, “Nicholas Ludwig von Zinzendorf (1700–1760)” in *The Pietist Theologians: An Introduction to Theology in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, Carter Lindberg, ed. (Malden, Mass.: Blackwell Publishing, 2005) 209.

<sup>29</sup> Marty, *Pilgrims in Their Own Land*, 121.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, 122.

<sup>31</sup> Mark A. Noll, *The Rise of Evangelicalism: The Age of Edwards, Whitefield and the Wesleys* (Downers Grove, Ill.: InterVarsity Press, 2003) 104, 132–142, 155.

<sup>32</sup> Nathan Hatch, *The Democratization of American Christianity* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1989) 50.

<sup>33</sup> Timothy George, ed. *Pilgrims on the Sawdust Trail: Evangelical Ecumenism and the Quest for Christian Identity* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2004) 126.

<sup>34</sup> Noll, *The Old Religion in a New World*, 50.

<sup>35</sup> For discussion see Frank Lambert, *The Founding Fathers and the Place of Religion in America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003) 236–264.

<sup>36</sup> States disestablished afterwards such as Connecticut in 1818 and Massachusetts in 1833. Lambert, *The Founding Fathers and the Place of Religion in America*, 285, 288.

congregations.<sup>37</sup> Nathan O. Hatch states:

A diverse array of evangelical firebands went about the task of movement-building in the generation after the Revolution. Intent on bringing evangelical conversion to the mass of ordinary Americans, they could rarely divorce that message from contagious new democratic vocabularies and impulses that swept through American popular cultures. ... This expansion of evangelical Christianity did not proceed primarily from the nimble response of religious elites meeting the challenge before them. Rather, Christianity was reshaped by common people who molded it in their own image and who threw themselves into expanding its influence.<sup>38</sup>

With the disestablishment of religion by states, and democratization of Christianity in the United States, Protestantism further splintered, giving rise to varieties of Lutherans, Presbyterians, Methodists, Anabaptists, Baptists, and other religious groups.<sup>39</sup> The influx of immigrants to the new nation further augmented America's religious diversity. Congregationalists emphasized the covenant community, Lutherans stressed the penal view of the Christ's atonement and sacraments, Presbyterians and Reformed churches underscored the sovereignty of God, Anabaptists emphasized the gathered church, and Methodists promoted holiness. Each group, whether old or new, became a "legitimate heir of religious liberty" contributing to the competition and voluntaristic proliferation of denominationalism and sectarianism.<sup>40</sup> America became a theological *smörgåsbord* where Christians were free to experiment with new forms of organization and belief.<sup>41</sup>

Such pluralism led to an awareness of "the other," namely, sects and denominations that believed differently, worshiped differently, spoke differently, and lived differently.<sup>42</sup> The United States became a nation where currents of religious tradition and practice converged, where ideas were exchanged, and religious identities were shaped. While some immigrant leaders tried to preserve their ethnic and religious identity by establishing their own schools, churches and societies, others embraced their newfound religious freedom.<sup>43</sup> Hatch further states: "The array of denominations, mission boards, reform agencies, newspapers, journals, revivalists, and colleges is at best an amorphous collectivity.... The democratic winnowing of the church produced not just pluralism but also striking diversity."<sup>44</sup>

Denominations such as the Methodists and Baptists grew the fastest because of their direct appeal to people, their work alongside the expanding population, and their use of persuasion and other techniques. The Methodist pioneer Francis Asbury (1745–1816) gathered revivalists around him and used camp meetings where people came together for

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<sup>37</sup> Hatch, *The Democratization of American Christianity*, 5.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, 7, 9.

<sup>39</sup> Balmer and Winner, *Protestantism in America*, 14.

<sup>40</sup> Philip J. Anderson, "The Covenant and the American Challenge; Restoring a Dynamic View of Identity and Pluralism," in *Amicus Dei: Essays on Faith and Friendship Presented to Karl A. Olsson on His 75<sup>th</sup> Birthday*, Philip J. Anderson, ed. (Chicago: Covenant Publications, 1988) 116.

<sup>41</sup> Hatch, *The Democratization of American Christianity*, 7, 64–65.

<sup>42</sup> Michael Barnes, *Christian Identity & Religious Pluralism* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1989) 3.

<sup>43</sup> Lejon, "E pluribus unum? En introduktion till några identitetsmarkörer i amerikansk civilreligion," in *E pluribus unum?*, Kjell O. Lejon, ed., 32; Hatch, *The Democratization of American Christianity*, 59.

<sup>44</sup> Hatch, *The Democratization of American Christianity*, 64–65.

weeks at a time. The Baptists made rapid gains in the southern colonies, especially among English immigrants. Denominations that relied on the pattern of Europe's state churches fell behind.<sup>45</sup>

## **The Second Great Awakening**

The War of Independence, building the new republic, Enlightenment thinking, and westward expansion on the American frontier, led to spiritual lethargy in many churches. America was revived, however, by the Second Great Awakening. This revival began in New England in the late 1790s when Timothy Dwight (1752–1817), grandson of Jonathan Edwards and president of Yale College, promoted renewal among his students and laypersons in the region.<sup>46</sup> Dwight preached the need for faithfulness, sound doctrine, and practical religion.

This New England revival led to the founding of American missionary societies, Bible societies, tract societies, the Sunday school movement, and the Temperance movement.<sup>47</sup> Dwight was personally active in the founding of the Missionary Society of Connecticut in 1798 and the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in 1810.<sup>48</sup> The Bible societies modeled on the English organization of 1803, first appeared in Philadelphia in 1808. When the idea for a national Bible society was promoted, Dwight worked to organize the American Bible Society in 1816. The New England Tract Society was established in 1814, and nine years later the American Tract Society appeared. In 1824, the first Sunday school, following the English model of Robert Raikes began in Philadelphia, and in the same year the American Sunday School Union was organized. The American Society for the Promotion of Temperance formed in Boston in 1826, and in the same year, the American Home Missionary Society was founded in New York.<sup>49</sup>

The Second Great Awakening also came to upstate New York to a region known as the “burned over district,” named for its frequent revivals. The most important leader was Charles G. Finney (1792–1875) who underwent a dramatic conversion in 1821, and accepted a call in 1835 to become professor of theology at Oberlin College.<sup>50</sup> Finney was an effective preacher, although he was criticized for his revival methods known as “new measures.” These measures included mass advertising, protracted meetings, and “the anxious bench,” a pew placed prominently in front of the congregation where anxious sinners came and sat for prayer and personal counsel.<sup>51</sup> Finney preached earnestly for conversion and made passionate appeals for moral purity.<sup>52</sup> Besides preaching in upstate New York, he visited the major eastern cities of Boston, New York, and Philadelphia.

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<sup>45</sup> Noll, *The Old Religion in a New World*, 84.

<sup>46</sup> Douglas A. Sweeney, *The American Evangelical Story: A History of the Movement* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2005) 67.

<sup>47</sup> Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People*, 424.

<sup>48</sup> John R Fitzmier, *New England's Moral Legislator: Timothy Dwight, 1752–1817* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998) 72.

<sup>49</sup> Noll, *A History of Christianity in the United States and Canada*, 169.

<sup>50</sup> Charles E. Hambrick-Stowe, *Charles G. Finney and the Spirit of American Evangelicalism* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing, 1996) 1, 160.

<sup>51</sup> Sweeney, *The American Evangelical Story*, 69.

<sup>52</sup> Hambrick-Stowe, *Charles G. Finney and the Spirit of American Evangelicalism*, 165–227.

The Second Great Awakening also came to the region of the Cumberland River Valley in central Kentucky and Tennessee. The Baptists and Methodists thrived in this region as they determined to follow the westward movement of the frontier, joined by Presbyterians. The most famous event of the Cumberland River Valley was the Cane Ridge Revival of 1801, a massive camp meeting known also as “America’s Pentecost.”<sup>53</sup>

The Cane Ridge meeting was held in Bourbon County, Kentucky, and led by Barton Stone (1772–1844). Stone and others dissolved their presbytery in order to return to the ideal of the primitive church, and advocated no authoritative creeds, no party names, and no partisan spirits.<sup>54</sup> In 1804, Stone and his followers took the Bible as their only creed, and “Christians” as their only name, preaching the simple themes of sin, grace, and conversion.<sup>55</sup> The Cumberland River Valley was decisively Arminian in theology, particularly among Methodists, but the Baptists and Presbyterians also leaned toward this view. Eventually, Stone and his group of Christians joined Thomas Campbell, a Scottish-Irish minister who promoted Christian unity by preaching a simple gospel over denominationalism.<sup>56</sup>

The Second Great Awakening with its form of American revivalism left an indelible imprint on the United States. By the end of the awakening, the evangelical movement had gained prominence and prestige in American society, education was strengthened, Sunday schools were organized, Bibles and tracts were published, and foreign and home missionaries were sent to preach the gospel. The “new measures” and “new schools” challenged the old ones. Revival methods were increasingly viewed as means of revival. Popular Arminian theology taught “instantaneous conversion” over and against the Calvinistic view that conversion was a process.

### Evangelical Ecumenism

The Sunday school and Temperance movements, as well as the missionary, Bible and tract societies that were launched during the Second Great Awakening, promoted Christian mission across denominational lines.<sup>57</sup> The American Sunday School Union, an interdenominational fellowship founded in Philadelphia in 1824, became a vital element in the united work of evangelicals.<sup>58</sup> Nationally, the American Sunday School Union carried out a wide range of organizational and publication activities, and locally Sunday schools became an important means for reaching children and families, especially during the urban revivals of the late 1850s.<sup>59</sup>

The American Home Missionary Society was organized in 1826 as an ecumenical fellowship for home missions, led mostly by Presbyterians and Congregationalists.<sup>60</sup> The mission of the society was to establish churches, distribute Christian books and

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<sup>53</sup> Sweeney, *The American Evangelical Story*, 70.

<sup>54</sup> Marty, *Pilgrims in Their Own Land*, 196.

<sup>55</sup> Hatch, *The Democratization of American Christianity*, 71–72.

<sup>56</sup> Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People*, 447.

<sup>57</sup> Hatch, *The Democratization of American Christianity*, 170.

<sup>58</sup> George M. Marsden, *Understanding Fundamentalism and Evangelicalism* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing, 1991) 23; Noll, *A History of Christianity in the United States and Canada*, 229–230.

<sup>59</sup> Marsden, *Understanding Fundamentalism and Evangelicalism*, 23.

<sup>60</sup> Noll, *A History of Christianity in the United States and Canada*, 186–187; George M. Stephenson, *The Puritan Heritage* (New York: Macmillan, 1952) 140–142.



## *American and Swedish Backgrounds*

pamphlets, and reach immigrants entering America's urban centers and rural areas of the western territories, as well as to reach Indians of the West.<sup>61</sup> Hundreds of missionaries served through the American Home Missionary Society, including Swedes.<sup>62</sup> For example, the society subsidized Lars Paul Esbjörn and T. N. Hasselquist who in the 1850s founded the first Swedish Lutheran congregation in Illinois.<sup>63</sup>

The Temperance movement expanded its efforts during the early 1800s to ban the use and abuse of alcoholic beverages. Revivalist Lyman Beecher (1775–1865), former student of Timothy Dwight and advocate of Finney's "new measures," became a chief proponent of temperance. For Beecher and others, the progress of the gospel and the morality of the nation depended on the control of alcohol. The Presbyterian Robert Baird (1798–1863) advocated temperance reform in addition to his service as an agent of the American Bible Society, American Sunday School Union, and Foreign Evangelical Society. In 1846, Baird attended the temperance convention in Stockholm and participated at the organizational meeting of the Evangelical Alliance in London.<sup>64</sup>

The Evangelical Alliance was organized to promote cooperation and unity among Protestants, and to provide a united front against Roman Catholicism.<sup>65</sup> At the London meeting, more than eight hundred leaders from both sides of the Atlantic gathered to consider how to promote unity among themselves and religious tolerance in nations where Protestants were persecuted.<sup>66</sup> This ecumenical, evangelical movement established a doctrinal basis with nine doctrinal affirmations.<sup>67</sup> The Alliance was not a union of ecclesial bodies—churches or denominations—but *unum corpus sumus in Christo* (one body in Christ), an association of individual Christians free to hold different views in regard to subsidiary matters, while adhering to the cardinal principles of the Alliance set down in its basis.

In the United States, evangelicals were increasingly aware of the fragmentation that divided their ranks into hundreds of denominations and sects. Differences over theology, polity, nationality, and traditions had been emphasized to the detriment of the evangelical witness of the gospel. Leaders such as Philip Schaff held that a cooperative

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<sup>61</sup> Sweeney, *The American Evangelical Story*, 88.

<sup>62</sup> G. Everett Arden, *Augustana Heritage: A History of the Augustana Lutheran Church* (Rock Island: Augustana Press, 1963) 30–34, 233; Arnold T. Olson, *The Search for Identity* (Minneapolis: Free Church Press, 1980) 71–88; Karl A. Olsson, *By One Spirit* (Chicago: Covenant Press, 1962) 269–276, 482–483.

<sup>63</sup> Oscar N. Olson, *The Augustana Lutheran Church in America: Pioneer Period 1846-1860* (Rock Island: Augustana Book Concern, 1950) 37; Stephenson, *The Puritan Heritage*, 152–153.

<sup>64</sup> John E. Norton, "Robert Baird, Presbyterian Missionary to Sweden of the 1840s: His View of American Manifest Destiny, and His Impact upon Early Swedish Emigration," *The Swedish Pioneer Historical Quarterly* 23 (July 1972) 156; Ian Randall and David Hilborn, *One Body in Christ: The History and Significance of the Evangelical Alliance* (Waynesboro, Ga.: Evangelical Alliance and Paternoster Press, 2001) 64–66; 135.

<sup>65</sup> David W. Bebbington, *The Dominance of Evangelicalism: The Age of Spurgeon and Moody* (Downers Grove, Ill.: Inter Varsity Press, 2005) 20–21.

<sup>66</sup> Randall and Hilborn, *One Body in Christ*, 53–61.

<sup>67</sup> See Appendix 1, Randall and Hilborn, *One Body in Christ*, 358–359. In brief, the basis of faith was: 1) divine inspiration of the Scriptures, 2) private interpretation of the Scriptures, 3) Trinity, 4) depravity of man, 5) incarnation, atonement and reign of Christ, 6) justification by faith, 7) work of the Holy Spirit in conversion and sanctification, 8) resurrection of the body, judgment of Christ, eternal blessedness of the righteous, and punishment of the wicked, and 9) institution of Christian ministry, Baptism and the Lord's Supper.

effort among evangelicals would provide united action in meeting common challenges, and result in a spirit of fellowship among denominations.

In 1844, the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) began in London under the leadership of George Williams (1821–1905), a layman. This society was supported by church members and organized to meet the needs of young men moving to the cities. By 1851, there were twenty-four YMCAs in Great Britain, and in the same year one formed in Montreal and another in Boston.<sup>68</sup>

From within this historical context came the American revivalist D. L. Moody and his new American evangelicalism. In addition to the American background, Moody's role among Swedish Mission Friends must also be seen within the historical context of Sweden's Evangelical Revival and the sources that formed this movement.

### Swedish Background

The main political leader of the Protestant Reformation in Sweden was King Gustav Vasa.<sup>69</sup> The brothers Olaus Petri and Laurentius Petri, both students at Wittenberg under Martin Luther and Philipp Melanchthon, along with Laurentius Andreae, were main figures early in the theological process.<sup>70</sup> Through decisive events in 1527 at Västerås by the *Riksdag* (Parliament), and in 1531 at Uppsala and Strängnäs, the Swedish state took steps to become Lutheran, and appointed Laurentius Petri (1499–1573) as the first Lutheran archbishop.<sup>71</sup>

In 1529, a synod at Örebro modified the ordinances, banning Roman rituals and several Roman holidays. Similarly, in Uppsala, a ruling in 1536 declared that priests conduct mass in the Swedish language, and that clergy could marry. In 1544 at Västerås, the *Riksdag* proclaimed Sweden an evangelical kingdom, with the king serving as the church's most prominent member, and in 1571, a new church order was ratified. In 1593 at Uppsala, *Confessio Augustana* (Augsburg Confession) was formally accepted, along with the three ancient creeds of the church—the Apostles', Nicene and Athanasian creeds.<sup>72</sup> In 1611, Gustavus Adolphus became king and during his reign Sweden entered the Thirty Years War in the fight for Protestantism, along with Germany and Scotland.<sup>73</sup> As the Church of Sweden became established as a Lutheran state church, clergy and

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<sup>68</sup> Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People*, 742.

<sup>69</sup> Åke Andrén, *Sveriges kyrkohistoria 3, Reformationstid* (Stockholm: Verbum, 1999) 31–32, 45.

Reformation preaching for Gustav Vasa was not a “new faith” but the “original and true Christian faith” that existed before the medieval period of the church, when the teaching was corrupted. While Vasa sought to break the Roman Catholic Church's economic and political power, Andreae sought to carry out the Reformation and create an Evangelical (Lutheran) Swedish church.

<sup>70</sup> Carl Axel Aurelius, *Luther i Sverige. Svenska lutherbilder under tre sekler* (Skellefteå: Artos, 1994) 49–50.

<sup>71</sup> Andrén, *Sveriges kyrkohistoria 3, Reformationstid*, 44, 71–72, 110; and Ole Peter Grell, ed., *The Scandinavian Reformation from Evangelical Movement to Institutionalization of Reform* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995) 56.

<sup>72</sup> Andrén, *Sveriges kyrkohistoria 3, Reformationstid*, 212–213; Grell, ed., *The Scandinavian Reformation*, 64.

<sup>73</sup> Grell, ed., *The Scandinavian Reformation*, 167; N. Forsander, *Den oförändrade Augsbургiska Bekännelsen med inledning och förklaring* (Rock Island: Lutheran Augustana Book Concern, 1902) 21. For the background at Augsburg, Germany, see Conrad Bergendoff, *The Making and Meaning of the Augsburg Confession* (Rock Island: Augustana Book Concern, 1930).

bishops served as civil servants, and baptism signaled Swedish citizenship.

### ***Läsare* (Readers) Movement**

At the end of the 1600s, pietism entered Sweden along with the writings of Johann Arndt, Philip Jacob Spener, and August Hermann Francke. Some Swedish clergy, after reading these works, sought to incorporate pietism into church life. For example, Daniel Anander of Stockholm published a book in 1683 insisting that sermons of Lutheran priests emphasize “the crucified Christ, and living faith in him.”<sup>74</sup> Moreover, in 1693, Swedish students traveled to study at the university in Halle shortly after Francke’s arrival there, returning to Sweden with his form of pietism, along with books on the subject.<sup>75</sup>

Halle pietism came also to Sweden when prisoners-of-war who had been held captive during the Great Northern War between Sweden’s Charles XII and Russia’s Peter the Great, returned to Sweden, beginning in 1722. These soldiers had been interned in Siberia where they came under pietistic influences from German prisoners-of-war, as well as pietistic literature sent at Francke’s initiative. In the following years, a number of Swedish clergy such as Eric Benzelius, bishop of Linköping and later Sweden’s archbishop, as well as Peter Murbeck of Skåne, encouraged the study and practice of pietism.<sup>76</sup>

As pietism grew in popularity, however, some Swedish Lutheran clergy sought to suppress the movement, claiming the principle of the established church, namely: “One Nation, One Church.”<sup>77</sup> Therefore, in 1726 *konventikellakaten* (the Conventicle Law) was enacted, prohibiting all unauthorized *konventiklar* (conventicles) including all religious meetings without a Lutheran clergyman present. Only worship services of the state church, and family devotions were permitted.<sup>78</sup> This law was especially directed against conventicles led by lay people. Those who were discovered violating this law could be punished by fines, imprisonment, or banishment from Sweden. Although the edict did not prevent all religious meetings outside the Church of Sweden, it clearly discouraged them.<sup>79</sup>

Moravian missionaries from Herrnhut, Germany, brought the lower form of Nikolaus von Zinzendorf’s pietism to Sweden.<sup>80</sup> The Swedish nobleman C. H. Grundelstierna was associated with Zinzendorf at Herrnhut from its beginning in 1727. When Moravian missionaries came to Sweden, they were welcomed because they were

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<sup>74</sup> See Daniel Anander, *Nova concionandi methodus non nova, seu antiqva novitati multorum opposita pia simplicitas* (Wittenbergae: Johannes Wilcke, 1683).

<sup>75</sup> Stoeffler, *German Pietism during the Eighteenth Century*, 7.

<sup>76</sup> H. Wilbert Norton, *European Background and History of Evangelical Free Church Missions* (Moline: Christian Service Foundation, 1964) 22–23.

<sup>77</sup> For an earlier example see: Janet Glenn Gray, “The Calvinist Struggle for Recognition in Sweden,” *Fides et Historia* 39:2 (Summer/Fall 2007) 79–95.

<sup>78</sup> Kjell O. Lejon, *Diocesis Lincopensis. Historik över Linköpings stift* (Skellefteå: Norma, 2005) 372.

<sup>79</sup> Frederick Hale, *Trans-Atlantic Conservative Protestantism in the Evangelical Free and Mission Covenant Traditions* (New York: Arno Press, 1979) 19.

<sup>80</sup> Zinzendorf expressed his views in hymns, sermons and letters. He emphasized religious ideas and experiences or “heart religion” rather than rational precision. Vogt, “Nicholas Ludwig von Zinzendorf (1700–1760)” in *The Pietist Theologians*, Lindberg, ed., 210, 213. Also see Hilding Pleijel, *Herrnhutismen i Sydsvrige* (Stockholm: Svenska kyrkans diakonistyrelses bokförlag, 1925).

Lutheran, held to the Augsburg Confession, and promoted unity among Lutheran brethren. According to their practice, Moravians organized *konventiklar* (conventicles) and spread this lower form of pietism through tracts and songs.<sup>81</sup>

In 1735, Zinzendorf visited Sweden, but after a short stay, authorities issued an order for him to leave the country. He left, however, before the order could be carried out. By 1740, two Moravian clergymen were engaged in the work, Thore Odhelius and Arvid Grodin, along with itinerant worker Elia Östergren.<sup>82</sup> The Moravians led revivals in the province of Skåne, and established communities in Stockholm, Göteborg, and the northern province of Norrland.<sup>83</sup> Since the Conventicle Law was not always enforced, Moravians gathered in conventicles and were even allowed to have devotional rooms and worship services.<sup>84</sup>

Consequently, the seeds of Halle and Moravian pietism took root in Sweden's *läsare* (Readers) movement. Pietists gathered in homes to read the Bible, the writings of Luther and Arndt, and other devotional literature such as Anders Nohrborg's collection of sermons.<sup>85</sup> In 1761, the term "*läsare*" (reader) was first used in a religious sense in Västergötland, designating followers of the Herrnhut revival movement.<sup>86</sup>

Some churchmen influenced by pietism sought reform within the Church of Sweden including Anders Nohrborg (1725–1767), Jacob Otto Hoof (1768–1839), and Henric Schartau (1757–1825). Schartau introduced a form of Halle pietism that emphasized conversion but was confessional in nature and emphasized the sacraments and church order. Schartau had been influenced by Moravian pietism but rejected it after his ordination in the Church of Sweden.<sup>87</sup> His form of pietism held to an order of salvation or *nådens ordning* (order of grace), requiring a person to prepare for conversion, experiencing "the first workings of grace by which the Holy Spirit seeks to awaken confident sinners to anxiety for their eternal salvation."<sup>88</sup>

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<sup>81</sup> Gunnar Westin, *The Free Church through the Ages*, trans. by Virgil A. Olson (Nashville: Broadman Press, 1958) 279.

<sup>82</sup> Wilbert H. Norton, *European Background and History*, 26.

<sup>83</sup> Hale, *Trans-Atlantic Conservative Protestantism*, 16.

<sup>84</sup> Gunnar Westin, *De Frikyrkliga Samfundet i Sverige. Historia och trosåskådning i kortfattad översikt* (Stockholm : Svenska missionsförbundet, 1934) 16.

<sup>85</sup> Oloph Bexell, "Kyrkligheter i Svenska kyrkan. Behandlar den kristna fromhetens olika uttrycksformer och innebörden av beteckningar som högkyrklighet, lågkyrklighet, unglyrkighet, folkkyrka, frikyrka," *Kyrkans liv: Introduktion till kyrkovetenskapen*, Stephan Borgehammar, ed. (Stockholm: Verbum, 1988) 125. Bexell notes varieties of pietists or Readers, such as "*gammalläsare*" (Old Readers) after Arndt and Nohrborg, "*nyläsare*" (New Readers) after Rosenius, and "*lutherläsare*" (Luther Readers) after Luther. Among *lutherläsare* developed a hyper-evangelical element that not only took exception with older devotional literature but also *ny-böckren* (the new books), i.e., the Church of Sweden handbook, catechism and hymnal that were "characterized by Enlightenment theology that conflicted with the Confession of the Swedish Church."

<sup>86</sup> Anders Jarlert, *Sveriges kyrkohistoria 6, Romantikens och liberalismens tid* (Stockholm: Verbum and Svenska kyrkans forskningsråd, 2001) 73.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, 77. See Anders Jarlert, "Schartau och herrnhutismen. Erfarenheten, själavårdsbrev, efterverkningarna," in *Henric Schartau 1757–1825, Syfte, samtid, samhälle*, Anders Jarlert, ed., (Skellefteå: Artos, 2005).

<sup>88</sup> S. G. Hägglund, *Henric Schartau and the Order of Grace* (Rock Island: Augustana Book Concern, 1928) 141.

## **Anglo-American Religious Influences in Sweden**

Although the early religious influences of Sweden's Reformation and following were German, later influences came from Great Britain and the United States.<sup>89</sup> Two Congregational missionaries from Scotland, John Paterson (1776–1855) and Ebenezer Henderson (1784–1858), both educated at Robert Haldane's theological school, were commissioned in 1805 by two Congregational churches in Edinburgh to serve as missionaries to India.<sup>90</sup> When their ship was waylaid at Copenhagen, they began to preach, and through a series of events remained in Denmark.

On their first short excursion to southern Sweden in 1806, Paterson and Henderson came into contact with Moravians.<sup>91</sup> In 1809, when Paterson was invited to establish a tract society in Sweden, the two Scots along with Moravians established Evangeliska sällskapet (the Evangelical Society) for the purpose of missions and distributing Bibles and tracts. Soon afterwards, the Scots began to receive financial assistance from the London Missionary Society.<sup>92</sup> In 1811, Henderson planted a Congregational church in Göteborg, and two years later founded Göteborgs bibelsällskapet (Gothenburg's Bible Society).<sup>93</sup>

Moravians were eager to cooperate with Paterson and Henderson since they shared similar objectives. Moreover, Moravians in Sweden were part of an international network and familiar with the Evangelical Revival in Britain.<sup>94</sup> In 1815, Paterson along with Gustavus Brunnmark and the British and Foreign Bible Society, established Svenska bibelsällskapet (Swedish Bible Society) that brought thousands of Bibles and New Testaments to Sweden.<sup>95</sup> Paterson and Henderson maintained contact with the Moravian Gustaf Theodor Keyser in distributing Bibles in Stockholm while they served in northern Europe as agents for the Religious Tract Society, and the British and Foreign Bible Society.

In 1825, Samuel Owen, an English manufacturer and Methodist living in Stockholm, contacted the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society in London to see if a missionary could be sent to Stockholm. Since Swedish law permitted foreign nationals to practice their faith, and since Methodists had a global strategy for missions, in 1826 the Methodist society sent Joseph Rayner Stephens, who was soon followed by George Scott.<sup>96</sup>

George Scott (1804–1874) arrived at Stockholm in 1830 and began immediately to promote revival. Scott organized Methodist classes and established a society on the Wesleyan order, encouraging Swedish *läsare* (Readers) to gather in *konventiklar*

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<sup>89</sup> George M. Stephenson, *The Religious Aspects of Swedish Immigration* (New York: Arno Press, 1969) 24.

<sup>90</sup> Jarlert, *Sveriges kyrkohistoria 6, Romantikens och liberalismens tid*, 107; Hanna Hodacs, *Converging World Views: The European Expansion and Early-Nineteenth-Century Anglo-Swedish Contacts* (Uppsala: Uppsala Universitet, 2003) 90.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.* Jarlert notes that Henderson and Patterson continued their ecumenical activities in Göteborg and Stockholm in 1807. Jarlert, *Sveriges kyrkohistoria 6, Romantikens och liberalismens tid*, 107.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, 102.

<sup>93</sup> Westin, *The Free Church through the Ages*, 270, 281.

<sup>94</sup> Hodacs, *Converging World Views*, 141.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, 96.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, 108.

(conventicles). Although Scott was a Methodist, he exhibited an ecumenical spirit, and within a year he was preaching in the Swedish language.<sup>97</sup> In 1834, he founded the missionary periodical *Missionstidning*, and a year later organized Svenska Missionssällskapet (Swedish Mission Society), directed by Count Mathias Rosenblad, Sweden's Minister of Justice.<sup>98</sup>

Scott's position in Stockholm made him a highly visible contact for Anglo-American agents coming to Sweden such as America's "apostle of temperance," Robert Baird. Scott cooperated with Baird and Peter Wieselgren (1800–1877), Sweden's "apostle of temperance," in founding Svenska Nykterhetsällskapet (Swedish Temperance Society) in 1837.<sup>99</sup>

Baird made his first trip to Sweden in 1836 to join the efforts to liberate Sweden from *brännvin*, the home-brew brandy. His book on the history of America's temperance societies was published the same year in Swedish.<sup>100</sup> Baird was clearly an American evangelical in the wake of the Second Great Awakening, serving as an agent for the American Bible Society, American Sunday School Union, Foreign Evangelical Society known later as the American and Foreign Christian Union, and the Evangelical Alliance.<sup>101</sup> Baird traveled again to Sweden in 1840 to join Scott and Wieselgren in their temperance work, and on this trip met Carl Olof Rosenius (1816–1868) and Lars Paul Esbjörn (1808–1870), colporteurs within Sweden's *läsare* movement working with Scott.<sup>102</sup>

George Scott was equally an evangelical, serving the Methodist Missionary Society, and working on behalf of the Religious Tract Society and British and Foreign Bible Society. With the help of Gustaf Theodor Keyser, Scott revived the work of the Swedish Bible Society, and together with colporteurs, distributed thousands of tracts that described the English and American revivals.<sup>103</sup> In this work, colporteurs traveled by foot and carried with them Bibles, tracts, devotional materials, and hymnbooks. In addition to distributing materials, they often led conventicles, which at times put them at odds with local clergy and authorities. In addition to Scott's work with Rosenius and

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<sup>97</sup> Jarlert, *Sveriges kyrkohistoria 6, Romantikens och liberalismens tid*, 132.

<sup>98</sup> Rosenblad was active as president of Evangeliska sällskapet from 1813, and worked for several years as president of Svenska bibelsällskapet. Lejon, *Diocesis Lincopensis*, 352.

<sup>99</sup> Robert Baird, *Visit to Northern Europe or Sketches Descriptive, Historical, Political and Moral of Denmark, Norway, Sweden and Finland, and the Free Cities of Hamburg and Lubeck*, Vol. II (New York: John S. Taylor, 1841) 249–250. Wieselgren initiated the movement when he published a Swedish translation of Benjamin Rush's essay, the same essay that had inspired Lyman Beecher and B. J. Clark to establish the temperance society in New York in 1808. Philip J. Anderson, "The Lively Exchange of Religious Ideals between the United States and Sweden during the Nineteenth Century," *American Religious Influences in Sweden*, Scott E. Erickson, ed. (Uppsala: Tro & Tanke, 1996) 39. Beecher is also credited with founding the American Temperance Society in 1826. Moreover, his sermons were published in Swedish. See Lyman Beecher, *Sex predikningar om dryckenskapslastens beskaffenhet, anledningar, kännetecken, olyckliga följder och botemedel* (Norrköping, 1831).

<sup>100</sup> See Robert Baird, *Historisk teckning af nykterhetsföreningarna i Nord-Amerikas Förenta Stater, jemte några upplysningar angående dessa föreningar i England, Sverige och andra länder* (Stockholm, 1836).

<sup>101</sup> John E. Norton, "Robert Baird, Presbyterian Missionary to Sweden of the 1840s," *The Swedish Pioneer Historical Quarterly* 23 (July 1972) 153.

<sup>102</sup> Esbjörn served in 1849 as a leader of Swedish immigration to the Mississippi River Valley and in 1860 as founder of the Augustana Synod. John E. Norton, "Robert Baird, Presbyterian Missionary to Sweden of the 1840s," *The Swedish Pioneer Historical Quarterly* 23 (July 1972) 156.

<sup>103</sup> Westin, *De Frikyrkliga Samfundet i Sverige*, 34.

## *American and Swedish Backgrounds*

Esbjörn, he became acquainted with two other colporteurs, F. O. Nilsson and Anders Wiberg.

Scott's reputation preceded him, and he was able to persuade authorities to allow him to build a Methodist chapel, *Bellehemskyrkan* (Bethlehem Church) in Stockholm. The building opened in 1840 with seating for more than a thousand worshippers.<sup>104</sup> Scott's popularity ended abruptly, however, in 1841. While fundraising in the United States to secure financial support for colporteurs, he described moral and spiritual conditions in Sweden in such a way that offended Swedes. When he returned to Stockholm, he discovered that public opinion had turned against him, provoking a national reaction.<sup>105</sup>

Despite public sentiment, Scott identified the need for a journal that would promote pietism, and so in 1842, he and Rosenius began to publish *Pietisten* (the Pietist), a journal for Mission Friends.<sup>106</sup> In the next few months, however, Scott was accused by the Swedish press of disloyalty and humiliating the nation.<sup>107</sup> Later that year, a violent mob appeared outside the Methodist chapel, forcing him to leave Sweden.

Nevertheless, C. O. Rosenius (1816–1868) through Scott's and Baird's recommendation, served as a city missionary in Stockholm in cooperation with the American Foreign Christian Union of New York City.<sup>108</sup> Philip J. Anderson states:

When Scott visited America in 1841–42 to raise money for the work in Sweden, he persuaded Baird and the American Foreign Christian Union to employ the young Carl Olof Rosenius as a city missionary, support that enabled this future lay leader of the Swedish national network to work independently of Swedish funds, an arrangement that lasted until 1863, five years before his death.<sup>109</sup>

Rosenius sent annual reports of his ministry to Scott in England who forwarded them to Baird in New York. The financial assistance from America enabled Rosenius to work as a lay evangelist without being ordained, and allowed him to travel throughout Scandinavia promoting Bible-reading, conventicles, singing, conversion, and prayer.

### **Lutheran Agenda**

The various missionary, tract, and temperance societies at the local level encouraged Swedes in various activities, in mission work, and Bible distribution.<sup>110</sup> Since the local societies were independent of the parish, they often came into conflict with local clergy. Even bishops viewed activities such as tract distribution as “dangerous” and saw lay leaders as “propagating reformist ideas.” The *nyevangelism*

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<sup>104</sup> Hodacs, *Converging World Views*, 109.

<sup>105</sup> Hale, *Trans-Atlantic Conservative Protestantism*, 24.

<sup>106</sup> Jarlert, *Sveriges kyrkohistoria 6, Romantikens och liberalismens tid*, 154.

<sup>107</sup> Hodacs, *Converging World Views*, 172.

<sup>108</sup> Jarlert, *Sveriges kyrkohistoria 6, Romantikens och liberalismens tid*, 152. The American and Foreign Christian Union was formed in 1849 by the union of the Foreign Evangelical Society (1839-1849), the American Protestant Society (1844–1849), and the Christian Alliance (1842–1849).

<sup>109</sup> Anderson, “The Lively Exchange of Religious Ideals between the United States and Sweden,” in *American Religious Influences in Sweden*, Scott E. Erickson, ed., 39.

<sup>110</sup> Hodacs, *Converging World Views*, 155.

(new evangelicalism) of George Scott and Anglo-American influences were viewed in some cases as defying the Swedish structure. Kjell O. Lejon comments:

The emphasis on the individual could take on various forms within the religious life. Personal conversion was sometimes at the center. This happened in the new evangelicalism where the Methodist George Scott became an important inspiration ... The individualization led in turn to a privatization of faith, and in many ways came to challenge the views of the old Lutheran society and church, not least in its more orthodox formulation.<sup>111</sup>

The strongest opposition to societies came from Schartauan clergymen. Henric Schartau's writings were published largely at the end of his life, and exerted their greatest impact after his death, especially in the western parts of Sweden.<sup>112</sup> Schartau had opposed these societies, and his writings inspired Lutheran clergy to prevent such revivals from coming into the Church of Sweden.<sup>113</sup>

The Schartauan view led many toward a national, Lutheran agenda, and away from the international, ecumenical agenda of the Anglo-American societies. From the Schartauan viewpoint, the way to organize "true mission" was within the Church of Sweden. Nevertheless, there were prominent disciples after Schartau who supported the work of societies, men like Peter Lorenz Sellegren (1768–1843) of Småland who advocated the work of temperance, not merely "pure doctrine."<sup>114</sup> Another leader was Peter Fjellstedt (1802–1881) who like Schartau had been influenced by Moravians but ministered within the Church of Sweden.<sup>115</sup> For Fjellstedt, however, Moravians or Brödrasocieten (the Society of Brethren) had left a deep impression on him, especially in the area of missions.<sup>116</sup> After his experience as a missionary in India and the Middle East, he returned to Sweden to found a school to train colporteurs and missionaries.

The renewal of Schartau's old-church Lutheranism and promotion of a national, Lutheran agenda led to conflict, and in some cases dissenters were banished from Sweden. One colporteur was F. O. Nilsson, an emigrant who had returned from the United States with Baptist views. In 1850, Nilsson was arrested for violation of the Conventicle Law and deported.<sup>117</sup> This action was challenged, however, by the Evangelical Alliance when the international organization convened in 1851. Nilsson was introduced, and explained how he had been persecuted and banished from Sweden.<sup>118</sup>

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<sup>111</sup> Lejon, *Diocesis Lincopensis*, 355.

<sup>112</sup> Hodacs, *Converging World Views*, 153.

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*, 154.

<sup>114</sup> Stephenson, *The Religious Aspects of Swedish Immigration*, 35.

<sup>115</sup> Emmet F. Eklund, *Peter Fjellstedt: Missionary Mentor to Three Continents* (Rock Island: Augustana Historical Society, 1983) 32–34.

<sup>116</sup> Fjellstedt became a student at Basel Seminary. He was trained by the Church Missionary Society in London, serving as a missionary in South India, 1831–1834, and in Asia Minor, 1836–1840, where he published a translation of the Turkish Bible. Although he was inspired in Scotland to establish a Lutheran free church in Sweden, this idea was discouraged by Rosenius. Fjellstedt was among the "new line of Biblicism" influenced by J. A. Bengel and J. T. Beck. In 1854, he produced a new Swedish translation of *Pia Concordia* (Book of Concord). Jarlert, *Sveriges kyrkohistoria 6, Romantikens och liberalismens tid*, 114.

<sup>117</sup> Hale, *Trans-Atlantic Conservative Protestantism*, 37

<sup>118</sup> Gustavus W. Schroeder, *History of the Swedish Baptists in Sweden and America* (New York: Gustavus W. Schroeder, 1898) 155.



## American and Swedish Backgrounds

When the matter came before the assembly again in 1854, an English member requested that Britain's prime minister "send a petition to King Oscar I to promote toleration for dissenters," putting pressure on Sweden to grant religious freedom.<sup>119</sup>

In 1853, a group of Alliance-minded men formed Evangeliska alliansen (Evangelical Alliance) in Stockholm, a branch of the international organization.<sup>120</sup> The Swedish branch was devoted to bringing revival-minded people together while laying theological differences aside, an ideal that proved difficult among Lutherans and Baptists, particularly when missionaries were instructed to preach only the essentials of the faith and not touch on doctrines that would divide.<sup>121</sup> Since the missionaries were zealous about their views of baptism, the policy became difficult if not impossible to maintain. Thus, in 1856, Evangeliska alliansen's home mission was turned over to Lutherska stadsmissionen (the Lutheran City Mission).<sup>122</sup>

The renewed trend toward a national, Lutheran agenda also led to mediating views and solutions. In 1849, Carl Axel Torén, after visiting Scotland, viewed the pattern of the Free Church of Scotland as a desirable option to revitalize the Church of Sweden.<sup>123</sup> Torén, who became a professor at Uppsala in 1853, continued his friendship with James Lumsden (1810–1875), a Scottish Free Church pastor and later professor of theology at Aberdeen.<sup>124</sup> In 1852, Lumsden wrote expressing his delight that Sweden was becoming conscious of the principles of religious freedom described in its constitutional reform of 1809.<sup>125</sup> At a conference at Helsingborg in 1853, Lumsden described Schartauism as a danger to spiritual life, and stated that Lutheran priests were "lazy and depraved."<sup>126</sup> In Lumsden's book, *Sweden—Its Religious State and Prospects: with some Notices of the Revivals and Persecutions which are at Present taking place in that Country*, he criticized the persecutions against pietistic Lutherans and Baptists.<sup>127</sup>

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<sup>119</sup> Sture Järpemo, *Väckelse och kyrkans reform. Från religiös sällskapsbildning i Stockholm till inre mission och samfund 1771–1858* (Uppsala: Uppsala universitet, 1977) 119.

<sup>120</sup> Jarlert notes that at the founding of the Evangelical Alliance in 1846, two Swedes were present, G. W. Carlsson and C. E. Fahlerantz. The first Swedish committee was appointed in 1847. Although interest was high in Sweden, unrest in 1848 forced the committee to become cautious of "larger associations." *Aftonbladet* viewed the Evangelical Alliance as a new attempt on the part of clergy to fix a common *trostform* (faith-form). The original promoters were not revivalists, and Fahlerantz, almost "anti-Pietism," appeared more attracted to the Alliance's anti-Roman stance. Jarlert, *Sveriges kyrkohistoria 6, Romantikens och liberalismens tid*, 159–160.

<sup>121</sup> Oloph Bexell, *Sveriges kyrkohistoria, 7. Folkväckelse och kyrkoförnyelsens tid* (Stockholm: Verbum, 2003) 40.

<sup>122</sup> Järpemo, *Väckelse och kyrkans reform*, 124; Gunnar Westin, *Den kristna friförsamlingen i Norden. Frikyrklighetens uppkomst och utveckling* (Stockholm: Westerbergs Boktr., 1956) 50; and Ernst Newman, *Svenskt och anglo amerikanskt* (Uppsala, 1933) 162.

<sup>123</sup> Emmet E. Eklund, "The Scottish Free Church and its Relation to Nineteenth-Century Swedish and Swedish-American Lutheranism," *Church History* 51: (1982) 407.

<sup>124</sup> James Lumsden (1810–1875) served as a minister of the Church of Scotland at Inverbrothock and Barry, and in 1843 followed the Free Church disruption with Thomas Chalmers. He served as professor of systematic theology of the Free Church College in Aberdeen from 1864 until his death in 1875. Bexell, *Sveriges kyrkohistoria, 7. Folkväckelse och kyrkoförnyelsens tid*, 51; and *Göteborgs Weckoblad*, Oct. 29, 1875, 3.

<sup>125</sup> Jonas Berg and Bo Lagercrantz, *Scots in Sweden* (Stockholm: Nordiska museet, 1962) 73–74.

<sup>126</sup> Bexell, *Sveriges kyrkohistoria, 7. Folkväckelse och kyrkoförnyelsens tid*, 51.

<sup>127</sup> See James Lumsden, *Sweden—Its Religious State and Prospects: with some Notices of the Revivals and Persecutions which are at Present taking place in that Country* (London: James Nesbit & Co., 1855).

Lumsden also suggested that a Swedish committee form to translate English tracts into Swedish, with funds from Scotland.<sup>128</sup>

The translation committee was led by Hans Jacob Lundborg (1825–1867). In 1855, Lumsden invited Lundborg to Scotland to study the Free Church, at Lumsden's expense. On this visit it became clear to Lundborg that "a Swedish, national home mission should be created in order for the country to awaken to conversion on the evangelical pattern observed in Scotland."<sup>129</sup> Colporteurs, clergy, and tract and mission societies would cooperate, and a book publishing house would be established as a center for the work. Bibles and other devotional literature would be distributed systematically from parish to parish.

In Stockholm, Lundborg discussed his ideas with C. O. Rosenius. Thus, in 1856, Lundborg, along with Rosenius and others, founded Evangeliska Fosterlands-stiftelsen (Evangelical National Foundation or EFS), the leading organization of the revival movement within the Church of Sweden. Many of the colporteurs and *läsare* in Sweden were drawn under the influence of the EFS because of Rosenius' leadership.<sup>130</sup> However, with the rapid pace of events and EFS's association with traditional Lutheranism, a group of Baptists in 1857 formed their own union, and sympathetic colporteurs and local mission societies followed them.

### New Evangelical Revival

Sweden's Great Awakening that began in the 1840s with George Scott continued until the end of the century. After Scott, the movement was led by Rosenius, the most prominent pietist of Sweden's *nyevangeliska väckelse* (new Evangelical Revival). During the 1850s and 1860s, nearly every part of Sweden reported the spiritual activity of colporteurs and lay preachers. Despite opposition from civil and ecclesiastical authorities, they traveled from parish to parish inviting people to meetings in homes and out-of-the-way places.

Sweden's awakening was marked by some similar phenomena observed in the Cane Ridge revival in America's Cumberland River Valley. People in the province of Småland, for example, observed what they described as the "preaching sickness," accompanied by various symptoms, caused by the "wind of the Holy Spirit."<sup>131</sup> In 1842, Bishop J. A. Butsch (1800–1875) who saw people seized with spasms, jerks, and contorted faces, reported in *Aftonbladet*: "The sermons consisted of simple admonitions to repentance and the renunciation of sins such as card-playing, dancing, drunkenness and pride."<sup>132</sup>

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<sup>128</sup> An example is Andrew Gray's book on Free Church principles. See Andrew Gray, *Den fria skottska kyrkans grundsatsar och grundförfattning i frågor och svar*, trans. by C.A. Bergman (Uppsala: Wahlström, 1853).

<sup>129</sup> Bexell, *Sveriges kyrkohistoria 7, Folkväckelse och kyrkoförnyelsens tid*, 52.

<sup>130</sup> C. J. Nyvall (1829–1904) of Värmland became one of EFS's first colporteurs and a prominent figure of the new Evangelical Revival. Jarlert, *Sveriges kyrkohistoria 6, Romantikens och liberalismens tid*, 157. Nyvall stated that not all Mission Friends followed Lundborg's interest in the Scottish Free Church. See David Nyvall, *My Father's Testament: A Biography of the Preacher and Free Churchman Karl Johan Nyvall*, trans. by E. G. Hawkinson (Chicago: Covenant Press, 1974).

<sup>131</sup> Stephenson, *The Religious Aspects of Swedish Immigration*, 30.

<sup>132</sup> *Aftonbladet*, Sept. 6, 7, 1842, cited in Stephenson, *The Religious Aspects of Swedish Immigration*, 31.

## American and Swedish Backgrounds

In addition to Rosenius's role as editor of *Pietisten*, he traveled to Sunday schools and preached to large crowds, increasing his influence throughout Sweden, Norway and Denmark. Rosenius's Lutheran-Herrnhut theology emphasized "justification by grace through faith alone," and "Christ's suffering for our sake."<sup>133</sup> Although he was critical of weaknesses within the Church of Sweden, he believed nonetheless that it could be reformed from within, and opposed any movement that would break from the state church.<sup>134</sup> However, despite his Lutheran-Herrnhut heritage, he developed an affinity for British and American societies, along with their ecumenical spirit and Reformed emphases.<sup>135</sup> George M. Stephenson noted:

The practical side of Rosenius' preaching and writings was strongly tinged with American ideas. One of the most remarkable religious revivals in history swept over the United States in 1857 and 1858, and it was not confined within the boundaries of the one country. Sweden was flooded with American devotional literature, much of which was translated and fell into the hands of the common people. As time went on, almost every issue of the free-church papers included stories characterized by typical American moralizing, and many tracts were translations from American literature. As the successor of Scott in the position of editor of *Pietisten* and also as editor of *Missions-Tidningen*, Rosenius had access to a great mass of American and English publications and he drew liberally on it. Unlike the parish pastors, who despised the American religious influence, Rosenius and the free-church people saw the United States as the most Christian country in the world and were not ashamed to acknowledge indebtedness to their brethren in America for inspiration, example, and material support.<sup>136</sup>

Evangeliska Fosterlands-stiftelsen (EFS) served as an umbrella organization to train and coordinate colporteurs and lay evangelists, to publish and distribute tracts and Bibles, and to supervise missionary and temperance activities.<sup>137</sup> The lay preachers held the Bible as central, and in some cases surpassed Lutheran clergy in emphasizing it as the sole authority for faith and practice. Like Rosenius, the EFS was characterized by an ecumenical spirit, which at times caused an internal strain since the organization itself was founded within the Church of Sweden.<sup>138</sup>

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<sup>133</sup> Lejon, *Diocesis Lincopensis*, 357. Rosenius's father was a Pietist pastor in Norrland, and as a boy, Rosenius attended conventicles in his home and village. Rosenius was also influenced by the writings of Stephan Prætorius (1536–1603) and Joachim Lütkemann (1608–1655), German Lutherans like Arndt and Spener, although not Pietists in the narrow sense. Järpemo, *Väckelse och kyrkans reform*, 43.

<sup>134</sup> Hale, *Trans-Atlantic Conservative Protestantism*, 25

<sup>135</sup> Rosenius began studying for the ministry at Uppsala but left this course to join Scott in Stockholm. G. Everett Arden, *Four Northern Lights: Men Who Shaped Scandinavian Churches* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Pub. House, 1964) 118. Jarlert notes that Rosenius conveyed a Lutheran-Herrnhut heritage with an emphasis on the Christian life as a personal relationship with God, and that "the sacraments fell into the background." Jarlert, *Sveriges kyrkohistoria 6, Romantikens och liberalismens tid*, 154.

<sup>136</sup> Stephenson, *The Religious Aspects of Swedish Immigration*, 39.

<sup>137</sup> Arden, *Four Northern Lights*, 128. Thus, because of free-church characteristics, the EFS has been described as "the Swedish Church's own free church." Runar Eldebo, *Vart är frikyrkan på väg? Ett försök till kärleksfull positionsbestämning* (Göteborg: Förlagshuset, 1985) 7.

<sup>138</sup> In 1871, P. P. Welinder, a Swedish pastor and Alliance friend, expressed his sentiment, saying: "Even if the man from Skåne is formed as a disciple after Nohrborg, the Smålander after Sellegren, the Västergötlander after Hoof, the Norrlander after Rosenius, the Hallander after Schartau, etc., and since they all believe simply that forgiveness of sinners is found in Jesus Christ's blood alone, and wish to love Him by following in his footsteps—then they ought without a jaundiced eye be able to extend their hands to one

## New Religious Freedom

The popularity of conventicles and lay preaching, the founding of the EFS, and international pressure from the Evangelical Alliance and free churches in Britain and America calling for religious toleration, led the Swedish Parliament in 1858 to abolish the Conventicle Law.<sup>139</sup> The repeal of the law clearly signaled an increase of religious freedom in Sweden. Nevertheless, while citizens were free to gather in conventicles and for revival meetings, they were still supervised by the local *kyrkoråd* (church council). Furthermore, there were still prohibitions against any dissensions or creating disturbances at worship services, or undermining the observance of holidays.<sup>140</sup>

In 1859, Sweden lifted the parish restriction on Holy Communion and permitted parishioners to cross parish boundaries to receive the Lord's Supper from another priest. In most cases where this freedom was exercised, believers traveled to a parish to receive the Lord's Supper from a "believing priest." This freedom further opened the door to the formation of Communion societies. With the repeal of the Conventicle Law, a large number of mission houses were also erected. This was another step for mission societies to become Communion societies—a sort of "covering organization" for a "free church."<sup>141</sup> The popularity of local mission societies and the increased interest in home and foreign missions, led the *nyevangelism* (new evangelicals) or *nyläsare* (new Readers) to become known as *missionsvänner* (Mission Friends).<sup>142</sup>

Sweden's new religious freedom was expressed also in the increase in lay participation in societies, and preaching by colporteurs. Even temperance and aid societies became preaching centers where people gathered to hear laypeople preach, conduct Sunday school, distribute literature, pray, and care for children, the poor and sick.

With Evangeliska Fosterlands-stiftelsen (EFS) closely tied to local mission societies and supporting the work of home and foreign missions, missionaries needed to be trained and ordained within the Church of Sweden. Therefore, Per August Ahlberg (1823–1887) who had served as superintendent of Fjellstedt's school, opened a mission school in 1858 in Småland to educate colporteurs and missionaries.<sup>143</sup>

Children's Sunday schools were also established in various parts of the country. The first on the model of the Sunday School Union in London began in Stockholm in 1851 by book publisher Per Palmquist (1815–1887). When Anders Wiberg returned from America in 1855, one of his first goals was to form Sunday schools. At the meeting of Baptists in 1857, it was decided to establish Sunday schools in every assembly of

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another. Yet again: The way to spiritual unity is not that we put on the same uniform, but that we all be more united through faith in Christ." *Församlingsvännen*, 1871, 7, cited in Ernst Newman, "Dwight L. Moody och hans inflytande i Sverige," *Från skilda tider. Studier tillägnade Hjalmar Holmquist* (Stockholm: Svenska Kyrkans Diakonistyrelsens Bokförlag, 1938) 25.

<sup>139</sup> Hodacs, *Converging World Views*, 21; Bexell, *Sveriges kyrkohistoria 7, Folkväckelse och kyrkoförnyelsens tid*, 51.

<sup>140</sup> Lejon, *Diocesis Lincopensis*, 372.

<sup>141</sup> *Ibid.*, 371.

<sup>142</sup> Bexell, *Sveriges kyrkohistoria 7, Folkväckelse och kyrkoförnyelsens tid*, 60.

<sup>143</sup> Yngve Bredin, "Ahlsborg and America: The Influence of a Missionary School," *Swedish-American Historical Quarterly* 36 (July 1985) 160.

Baptists. The Sunday school work saw a high level of cooperation on an alliance basis, and beginning in the 1870s, Lutherans and Baptists cooperated in several places.<sup>144</sup>

Another unifying factor during this period was the revival music of Lina Sandell-Berg (1832–1903) and Oscar Ahnfelt (1813–1882).<sup>145</sup> The lyrics of Sandell-Berg and melodies of Ahnfelt spread to mission houses, particularly from distribution of the popular songbook *Andliga sånger* (Spiritual Songs), published with financial assistance from Jenny Lind.<sup>146</sup>

## **Conclusion**

D. L. Moody's influence in shaping evangelical identity among Swedish Mission Friends came in the wake of America's and Sweden's Great Awakenings. In America, Moody followed the revivalist tradition of Edwards, Whitefield, and Finney in mass evangelism, ecumenical cooperation, media advertising, and conversion—"the one thing needful." In Sweden, Francke's and Zinzendorf's forms of German pietism prepared the way for the *läsare* (Readers) movement, followed by impulses of British evangelical revivalism led by Paterson, Henderson, and Scott, leading to Sweden's *nyevangeliska väckelse* (new Evangelical Revival) and *nyläsare* (new Readers) or Mission Friends. The new evangelicals looked increasingly to British and American models of revival, temperance, mission, and organization, and in turn formed local and regional societies, organized under Evangeliska Fosterlands-stiftelsen (EFS).

While America was a pluralistic nation, Anglo-Saxon and later Anglo-American impulses slowly entered Sweden, challenging the nation's Lutheran provincialism. These influences worked steadily to bring greater religious freedom. Baird who represented American revivalism cooperated with Rosenius who represented Sweden's *nyevangelism* (new evangelicalism), setting a pattern later for Moody's role among Mission Friends—those characterized by a passion for conversion, Bible study, and mission.<sup>147</sup> Moody's success in Great Britain and the United States was soon to win the respect of Mission Friends, sparking "Moody fever" in Sweden, bringing a fresh wind to Sweden's evangelical revival.<sup>148</sup> The effects of Moody's work was also felt in Swedish America where Swedish pietism and Lutheran confessionalism intersected with Moody's American revivalism.

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<sup>144</sup> Bexell, *Sveriges kyrkohistoria 7. Folkväckelse och kyrkoförnyelsens tid*, 61.

<sup>145</sup> Bexell, "Kyrkligheter i Svenska kyrkan," in *Kyrkans liv*, Borgehammar, ed., 126.

<sup>146</sup> Lejon, *Diocesis Lincopensis*, 372.

<sup>147</sup> James F. Findlay Jr., *Dwight L. Moody: American Evangelist 1837–1899* (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1969) 10; Lewis A. Drummond, "D. L. Moody and Revivalism," in *Mr Moody and the Evangelical Tradition*, Timothy George, ed. (London: and New York: T & T Clark Intl., 2004) 95.

<sup>148</sup> Hans Andreasson, *Liv och rörelse. Svenska missionskyrkans historia och identitet* (Stockholm: Verbum, 2007) 30.



**PART II:**  
*History*



**D. L. Moody, age 25**

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Chicago, Illinois



## Chapter 2

### Moody's Early Work among Chicago's Swedes

In the 1860s, D. L. Moody began to minister full-time to people in Chicago, including Irish, German, Norwegian, and Swedish immigrants. In this decade, Chicago's Swedish-immigrant population grew from 835 in 1860 to 6,211 in 1870, with most Swedes settling along Chicago Avenue in what became known as "Swede Town."<sup>1</sup> Crop failures from drought and plagues in Sweden in 1867 and 1868 produced a wave of emigration. With so many Swedes arriving in Chicago, the city soon could boast of having the largest Swedish-immigrant population in North America.<sup>2</sup>

Among the immigrants were Swedish Mission Friends who like other Swedes came to Chicago for economic reasons, as well as religious purposes.<sup>3</sup> Mission Friends had experienced the new Evangelical Revival in Sweden, and continued in America to meet in conventicles and mission houses for Bible reading, singing, and prayer. In some cases, Mission Friends were led by colporteurs or city missionaries who had been commissioned by a mission society. In Chicago, America's Swedish Capital, Mission Friends met the young and energetic D. L. Moody.

This chapter answers the questions: What was Moody's personal background? What events, forces, and personalities shaped him as a young Christian leader? What were his earliest contacts with Swedish Mission Friends, and how did their friendship establish confidence for the future? This chapter presents Moody's early life, his initial contact with Mission Friends in Chicago, and the beginning of the Swedish fellowship at Chicago Avenue Church, commonly known as "Moody's church." The friendly exchange between Moody and Mission Friends began a relationship of mutual respect and trust that continued to the end of his life.

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<sup>1</sup> Ulf Beijbom, *Swedes in Chicago: A Demographic and Social Study of the 1846–1880 Immigration*, (Stockholm: Läromedelsförlagen, 1971) 111, 114; Per Nordahl, *Weaving the Ethnic Fabric: Social Networks among Swedish-American Radicals in Chicago, 1890–1940* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell Intl., 1994) 58.

<sup>2</sup> Harald Runblom, "Chicago Compared: Swedes and Other Ethnic Groups in America Cities" in *Swedish-American Life in Chicago*, Philip J. Anderson and Dag Blanck, eds. (Chicago and Urbana: University of Illinois, 1992) 75, 85.

<sup>3</sup> George M. Stephenson, *The Religious Aspects of Swedish Immigration* (New York: Arno Press, 1969) 9.

## **Dwight L. Moody**

Dwight Lyman Moody was born February 5, 1837, in Northfield, Massachusetts to Edwin and Betsy Holton Moody, both of English heritage.<sup>4</sup> Dwight was the sixth of nine children, seven sons and two daughters. His father died when he was four years old. All that was left to his mother Betsy was a couple acres of land and a small farmhouse with a mortgage. Her brothers in Boston helped to pay the interest while her sons helped with farm chores. In Northfield, the young Dwight received only three or four years of formal education.<sup>5</sup> He attended the Congregational church with his mother. Shortly after his seventeenth birthday, he left Northfield.

He arrived in Boston, and shortly afterwards began working at his uncle's boot and shoe store. In addition to selling shoes and boots, he attended a Sunday school class led by Edward Kimball at Boston's Mount Vernon Church because his uncle required him to attend. This was a time when Moody's greatest ambition was earning money.<sup>6</sup> Nevertheless, as he listened to "the plain and loving sermons of his pastor, and the personal instructions of his Sunday school teacher, his heart began to soften."<sup>7</sup> In 1856, Moody converted to faith in Christ.

In September of that year, Moody packed his belongings, boarded a westbound train and headed for Chicago, still ambitious to earn money. At the time, Chicago was considered America's "western frontier."<sup>8</sup> Like Moody, thousands of Americans were arriving to Chicago, along with immigrants from the British Isles, Germany, Norway, and Sweden.

Shortly after his arrival, Moody landed a job selling shoes and boots. He transferred his church membership from Mount Vernon Church in Boston to Plymouth Congregational Church in Chicago.<sup>9</sup> In addition, he attended an early Sunday school at First Methodist Church, and a prayer meeting at First Baptist Church where he met "Mother" Phillips who taught him to study the Bible, and how to reach Chicago's children with the gospel.<sup>10</sup> He also met Emma Charlotte Revell, his future bride, and John V. Farwell, his longtime friend and supporter.

In 1857 and 1858, Chicago experienced the prayer-meeting revival that swept America's urban and industrial centers. Similar to the Second Great Awakening, this revival emphasized lay preaching, non-denominational cooperation, and instantaneous conversion. At the time, Moody became active with Chicago's YMCA. After reading George Müller's book, *The Life of Trust*, Moody decided that if God could provide for Müller to feed, clothe, and house thousands of England's orphans, he could certainly

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<sup>4</sup> W. H. Daniels, *D. L. Moody and His Work* (Hartford, Conn.: American Publishing Co., 1875) 3.

<sup>5</sup> Lyle W. Dorsett, *A Passion for Souls: The Life of D. L. Moody* (Chicago: Moody Press, 1997) 36.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 45.

<sup>7</sup> Daniels, *D. L. Moody and His Work*, 21.

<sup>8</sup> See William Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1991).

<sup>9</sup> Dorsett, *A Passion for Souls*, 59.

<sup>10</sup> Timothy George, "Introduction: Remembering Mr Moody," in *Mr Moody and the Evangelical Tradition*, Timothy George, ed. (London and New York: T & T Clark Intl., 2004) 2.

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provide for the children on Chicago's streets.<sup>11</sup> Therefore, in 1860, Moody left his career in shoe and boot sales and entered full-time Christian service.

He began a mission Sunday school in a beer hall on North Market Street, and he soon became known as "Crazy Moody" from enticing children to attend Sunday school, with promises of pony rides and candy, known as "missionary sugar."<sup>12</sup> Within a few years, the Sunday school had over six hundred children in attendance and had become so popular that in November 1860, President-elect Abraham Lincoln visited Chicago and addressed Moody's pupils.<sup>13</sup>



**D. L. Moody and John V. Farwell** with a Sunday school class. Used by permission of the Billy Graham Center Archives, Wheaton College, Wheaton, Illinois

Among those who attended Moody's early meetings was a young Swede. Moody recalled:

There was a Swede converted once in our mission in Chicago. I don't know how. I don't suppose he was converted by my sermons because he couldn't understand much English. But the Lord converted him into one of the happiest men you ever saw. ... He came to me, and he had to speak through an interpreter. This interpreter said the Swede wanted to have me give him something to do. I said to myself: What in the world will I set this man to doing? He can't speak English! So I gave him a bundle of little hand-bills, and put him on the corner of the greatest thoroughfare of Chicago, and let him give them out, inviting people to come up and hear me preach.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Dorsett, *A Passion for Souls*, 86. See George Müller, *The Life of Trust: Being a Narrative of the Lord's Dealing with George Müller* (Boston: Gould and Lincoln, 1861). This book was originally published in four parts: 1837, 1841, 1845 and 1856.

<sup>12</sup> Timothy George, "Introduction: Remembering Mr Moody," in *Mr Moody and the Evangelical Tradition*, George, ed., 2.

<sup>13</sup> Bruce J. Evensen, *God's Man for the Gilded Age: D. L. Moody and the Rise of the Modern Mass Evangelism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003) 11, 16.

<sup>14</sup> William R. Moody, *The Life of Dwight L. Moody* (Chicago: Fleming H. Revell, 1900) 112–113.

## Moody's Church

As the mission Sunday school in Chicago grew to one thousand students and three hundred converted adults, Moody solicited help from evangelical churches to form a new organization, an independent church. However, the Congregationalists were the only group willing to help.<sup>15</sup> Moody's emphasis on a gathered church of believers and his distaste for ecclesiastical hierarchies found sympathy among Congregationalists who helped him draft articles of faith, a covenant, and bylaws for this new non-sectarian, free church.<sup>16</sup> John Pollock wrote:

When the Mission secured a permanent home and held meetings every night they wanted to make that their church. The "gathering" of a new church was neither unusual nor difficult under Congregational custom. Moody hesitated. His Mission was not Congregationalist but united, its one link being to the YMCA. Constantly he would say: "If I thought I had one drop of sectarian blood in my constitution, I would open a vein and let it out."<sup>17</sup>

The Illinois Street Church was officially organized December 30, 1864. In addition to regular services and classes, Bible studies, testimony meetings, praise and thanksgiving services, open-air meetings, and cottage meetings in homes were organized. From the beginning, it was as an independent, evangelical church with "the most aggressive evangelism program in Chicago."<sup>18</sup> A baptistery and baptismal font were placed in the sanctuary to allow for adult and infant baptism.<sup>19</sup>

Moody continued to be active with the Chicago YMCA, established in 1858 during the prayer-meeting revival. Its first president, Cyrus Bentley, in his inaugural address, stated that the YMCA was organized by members of various churches of the city "without reference to sect or denominational preferences ... for the avowed purpose of rescuing and saving vast numbers of young men in our city from the temporal and eternal ruin to which they are exposed."<sup>20</sup>

A number of committees were formed to carry out the work of the YMCA.<sup>21</sup> In 1860, John V. Farwell was chosen as president, and in 1861 Moody became the YMCA librarian and city missionary.<sup>22</sup> In the same year, he was invited to address the third annual Illinois State Sunday School Convention since so many people were intrigued by his work with Chicago's children.<sup>23</sup>

During the Civil War when the YMCA formed the U.S. Christian Commission, Moody served as a volunteer chaplain to Union soldiers. He went to the battlefield nine times to minister to soldiers, as well as to take supplies to the wounded after battles such

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<sup>15</sup> James F. Findlay, Jr., *Dwight L. Moody: American Evangelist, 1837-1899* (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1969) 109.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 112.

<sup>17</sup> John C. Pollock, *Moody* (Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 1995) 60.

<sup>18</sup> Dorsett, *A Passion for Souls*, 123.

<sup>19</sup> Pollock, *Moody*, 60.

<sup>20</sup> Emmett Dedmon, *Great Enterprises: 100 Years of the YMCA of Metropolitan Chicago* (New York, Chicago and San Francisco: Rand McNally & Co., 1957) 27.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 33-34.

<sup>22</sup> Dorsett, *A Passion for Souls*, 83.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 80.

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as Shiloh, Murfreesboro, and Chattanooga. He ministered alongside men and women of every denomination, leading him even more to favor “union work” and to oppose sectarianism.<sup>24</sup> While at home during the war in 1862, he married Emma Revell.<sup>25</sup>

In 1865, Moody became president of the Chicago YMCA and served in this role for four years. Through his efforts, the noon prayer meetings were attended by as many as a thousand people. As YMCA president, his vision was to reach Chicago with the gospel, and one means was to expand the association’s work among non-English speaking immigrants—Germans, Swedes, and Norwegians.<sup>26</sup>

Frank M. Rockwell served as the YMCA’s superintendent of the city mission department, overseeing tract distribution.<sup>27</sup> In Rockwell’s report from November 12, 1866, he noted that 5,800 English tracts, 290 German tracts, and 54 Swedish tracts had been distributed.<sup>28</sup> The next month he reported that 238 Swedish tracts had been distributed. Distribution increased among Swedes in 1867 when he reported in March



**Dwight L. Moody** as a missionary with the Young Men’s Christian Association in Chicago. Used by permission of Moody Bible Institute Archives, Chicago, Illinois

that 300 copies of Swedish newspapers had been handed out.<sup>29</sup> This was the year when the YMCA launched its publication *Heavenly Tidings*, a four-page digest with selections

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<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 116.

<sup>25</sup> Findlay, *Dwight L. Moody*, 96.

<sup>26</sup> Victor F. Lawson, publisher of Chicago’s *Skandinaven* and *Daily News*, as a boy attended Moody’s afternoon Sunday school class. Evensen, *God’s Man for the Gilded Age*, 133. Lawson later contributed generously to the YMCA. Odd S. Lovoll, *A Century of Urban Life: The Norwegians in Chicago before 1930* (Northfield, Minn.: The Norwegian-American Historical Association, 1988) 111–112, 176. *Skandinaven* covered Moody’s revival campaign in Chicago. *Skandinaven*, Oct. 10, 1876, 4; Oct. 24, 1876, 4. For more about the Scandinavian (Norwegian) YMCA see *Folke-Vennen*, June 16, 1882, 8; and A. E. Strand, ed., *A History of the Norwegians of Illinois* (Chicago: John Anderson Publishing Co., 1905) 199–200.

<sup>27</sup> Dedmon, *Great Enterprises*, 56–57.

<sup>28</sup> “Copies of the Minutes of the Board of Managers of the Young Men’s Christian Association of Chicago: June 21, 1858 to December 18, 1888” (Chicago Historical Society Research Center, Chicago, Illinois) 120.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 122–124.

from various religious newspapers.<sup>30</sup> The publication also had German and Swedish editions.<sup>31</sup> In 1867, the YMCA distributed over 42,000 copies of foreign-language newspapers.<sup>32</sup> YMCA workers often followed up tract and newspaper distribution with personal visits.

Besides tract distribution, relief work was a major part of the YMCA's program. In 1867, O. C. Gibbs, chairman of the relief committee reported that aid was given to 3,815 applicants, and of these, 2,315 were recent immigrants.<sup>33</sup> This aid amounted to \$24,325.38 in the form of bread, clothing, and coal.<sup>34</sup> In addition, Moody saw that English classes were offered to immigrants. In explaining the relationship of relief work to the spiritual goals of the YMCA, he declared:

Opportunities have been afforded for reaching a large number of people with the gospel of peace, otherwise almost unapproachable, simply because its forerunners were bread, coal, and clothing. The heart as naturally opens to such kindness as flowers to the sunshine; and when Christianity thus opens human hearts, its power with God and men is recognized and felt.<sup>35</sup>

Besides leading the Chicago YMCA in 1867 to reach immigrants, Moody traveled to England where he attended the Mildmay Conference in London. At the conference, he was drawn into the circle of William Pennefather (1816–1873), the conference organizer and clergyman at St. Jude's Anglican Church in Mildmay Park. The conference proved to be a formational experience in Moody's life. He also met members of the Plymouth Brethren such as George Müller, founder of the children's home in Bristol and author of *The Life of Trust*.<sup>36</sup> Moody also arranged to meet London's famous preacher, C. H. Spurgeon, and George Williams, founder of the YMCA.

Müller, a member of the Plymouth Brethren, introduced Moody to other Plymouth Brethren. Moody was inspired by the Brethren's views on conversion, biblical authority, lay preaching, and the premillennial return of Christ, tenets that he himself came to profess.<sup>37</sup> The Plymouth Brethren sought the simplicity of the early church and rejected clerical vestments and "ecclesiastical trappings," the "formalism" and "popery" associated with the Church of England.<sup>38</sup>

Moody was influenced particularly by Henry Moorhouse, a member of the Plymouth Brethren who came to visit him in Chicago in 1868. Moorhouse preached at the Illinois Street Church seven times from a single verse of scripture, John 3:16, on the topic of God's love. Moody remarked:

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<sup>30</sup> Dedmon, *Great Enterprises*, 63.

<sup>31</sup> Copies of the Minutes of the Board of Managers of the Young Men's Christian Association of Chicago, June 2, 1868, 155.

<sup>32</sup> Dedmon, *Great Enterprises*, 60.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>34</sup> Myron Raymond Chartier, *The Social Views of Dwight L. Moody and Their Relation to the Workingman of 1860-1900* (Hays: Fort Hays Kansas State, 1969) 30, 73.

<sup>35</sup> Dedmon, *Great Enterprises*, 60.

<sup>36</sup> D. W. Bebbington, "Moody as a Transatlantic Evangelical," in *Mr Moody and the Evangelical Tradition*, George, ed., 78.

<sup>37</sup> Findlay, *Dwight L. Moody*, 125–126.

<sup>38</sup> Dorsett, *A Passion for Souls*, 136.

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God loves us.... [Moorhouse] just beat that truth down into my heart, and I have never doubted it since. I used to preach that God was behind a sinner with a double-edged sword ready to hew him down. I have got done with that. I preach now that God is behind him with love, and he is running away from the God of love.<sup>39</sup>

Although Moody lacked formal theological education, he acquired theological knowledge from personal Bible study, sermons he heard or read, and discussions with Bible teachers and preachers like Pennefather, Müller, Spurgeon, and Moorhouse.<sup>40</sup> He always strove to acquire knowledge from those with more theological education.<sup>41</sup> Yet, he never abandoned his small-town simplicity. He was known for his quaint pronunciation, illustrated by Spurgeon's remark: "Moody was the only man who could say 'Mesopotamia' in two syllables!"<sup>42</sup> Moreover, Moody resisted ordination and insisted on being called, "Mr. Moody" rather than "Reverend Moody."<sup>43</sup>

In September 1867, the Chicago YMCA dedicated Farwell Hall, named for its principal benefactor and Moody's co-worker, John V. Farwell. The building had a seating capacity of 3,500 people. However, when a fire nearly destroyed it four months later, a more modest Farwell Hall was rebuilt with a seating capacity of 2,500.<sup>44</sup> The *Chicago Times* referred to it as a "modern Pantheon" where "Arminianism and Calvinism sit side by side."<sup>45</sup> Moody's emphasis on extending the kingdom of God and not promoting denominations or parties was expressed strongly at the Illinois State Christian Convention in 1868. Moody declared: "I would like to know to what denomination the Saviour would belong. I tell you, my friends, these denominational names do not come from on high. They are devices of the evil one."<sup>46</sup>

### **Chicago Mission Friends**

D. L. Moody came into personal contact with Swedish Mission Friends in the 1860s, with the first documented case in 1867. Karl A. Olsson suggested that Moody's first contact with Swedish Mission Friends occurred probably in 1864 soon after Martin Sundin (1837–1912) of the Rosenian circle of Mission Friends in Gävle arrived in Chicago.<sup>47</sup> After Moody became president of the Chicago YMCA and began to distribute

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<sup>39</sup> W. R. Moody, *The Life of D. L. Moody*, 139. *Chicago-Bladet* published serially "Några drag ur Henry Moorhouses lif och verksamhet" from Mar. 21–May 9, 1882. This was Josephine Princell's translation of George C. Needham's work, *Recollections of Henry Moorhouse, Evangelist* (Chicago: Fleming H. Revell, 1881).

<sup>40</sup> Stanley N. Gundry, *Love Them In: The Life and Theology of D. L. Moody* (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1976) 68.

<sup>41</sup> David W. Bebbington, *The Dominance of Evangelicalism: The Age of Spurgeon and Moody* (Downers Grove, Ill.: InterVarsity Press, 2005) 47–48.

<sup>42</sup> George, "Introduction: Remembering Mr Moody," in *Mr Moody and the Evangelical Tradition*, George, ed., 2.

<sup>43</sup> Dorsett, *A Passion for Souls*, 116

<sup>44</sup> Dedmon, *Great Enterprises*, 67.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, 68.

<sup>46</sup> "Third Annual Illinois State Christian Convention," *Advance*, II, No. 62 (Nov. 5, 1868) 2, cited in August J. Fry, *D. L. Moody: The Chicago Years 1865–1871* (Amsterdam: Free University Press, 1984) 37.

<sup>47</sup> Karl A. Olsson, "Dwight L. Moody and Some Chicago Swedes," in *Swedish-American Life in Chicago*, Philip J. Anderson and Dag Blanck, eds. (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1992) 309.

Swedish-language tracts, it was only a matter of time until his efforts touched Chicago's Swedish immigrants.

### Moody and Martin Sundin

Martin Sundin was born in Tolfta parish in Uppland, Sweden, in 1837, and moved to Gävle where as a young man he joined the Gefle missionsförening (Gävle Mission Society).<sup>48</sup> In 1864, he emigrated from Sweden to Canada, and in the same year came to Chicago where he worked as a carpenter. Sundin attended worship services at the Swedish Immanuel Lutheran Church on Chicago's north side where he met Pastor Erland Carlsson. One of Sundin's first questions to the pastor was whether or not there were any born-again believers in the congregation. The pastor responded that there were a few who had been converted to faith during the prayer-meeting revival that swept the country in 1857 and 1858. Sundin then asked to meet one of the believers, a man whom Carlsson described as a "meetingsman," a term used to describe those who attended a *väckelsemöte* (revival meeting), *bönmöte* (prayer meeting) or *konventikel*.<sup>49</sup> After being introduced, Sundin was not impressed by the man's spirituality. Sundin also learned that those who had been converted during the prayer-meeting revival had stopped meeting together for quite some time.

At Immanuel Lutheran Church, Sundin discussed with Pastor Carlsson the need for a *missionsförening* (mission society) that would build up believers in the faith, and work to convert Chicago's Swedish immigrants. In the meantime, more Mission Friends arrived to Chicago from Sweden.<sup>50</sup> Therefore, in 1867 the pastor in consultation with Sundin organized a mission society within Immanuel Lutheran Church, and called C. J. Lindahl as a *stadsmisionär* (city missionary).<sup>51</sup> However, tensions soon arose when the society permitted membership of converts and non-converts, a disappointment to Sundin and other converted members. Shortly afterwards, Lindahl was discharged as the city missionary because some did not think he was "sufficiently church-minded."

Immanuel Lutheran Church belonged to the Lutheran Augustana Synod that was founded in America in 1860 as Skandinaviska lutherska augustana-synoden (Scandinavian Lutheran Augustana Synod). In its early years, the Augustana Synod bore the marks of the new Evangelical Revival that was sweeping Sweden.<sup>52</sup> Two of its most prominent leaders, Lars Paul Esbjörn and T. N. Hasselquist, had been active among

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Martin Sundin was known as "the first Mission Friend in America." Erik Brolund, *Missionsvännerna. Jämförelse och studier* (Chicago: Mission Friend's Publishing Company, 1938) 73.

<sup>48</sup> Axel Mellander, "Den ringa begynnelsens dag. Ett blad ur de svenska missionsvännernas i Amerika historia," in *Aurora. Kristlig Kalendar för år 1907*, E. G. Hjerpe, ed. (Chicago: Missionsförbundet i Amerika, 1907) 130.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*; Karl A. Olsson, "Dwight L. Moody and Some Chicago Swedes," in *Swedish-American Life in Chicago*, Anderson and Blanck, eds., 323.

<sup>50</sup> C. V. Bowman, *Missionsvännerna i Amerika* (Minneapolis: Minneapolis Veckoblad Publ. Co., 1907) 50; Stephenson, *The Religious Aspects of Swedish Immigration*, 264.

<sup>51</sup> Emory Lindquist, *Shepherd of an Immigrant People: The Story of Erland Carlsson* (Rock Island: Augustana Historical Society, 1978) 152–153.

<sup>52</sup> Frederick Hale, *Trans-Atlantic Conservative Protestantism in the Evangelical Free and Mission Covenant Traditions* (New York: Arno Press, 1979) 189; Dag Blanck, *Becoming Swedish American: The Construction of an Ethnic Identity in the Augustana Synod, 1860–1917* (Uppsala: Uppsaliensis S. Academiae, 1997) 40.



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*läsare*. In America, however, tensions arose because the Augustana churches generally accepted members on the basis of making a brief statement of faith. Prospective members were required to profess an undefined belief in the authority of scripture alone, and acceptance of Luther's Shorter Catechism and Augsburg Confession.<sup>53</sup> In contrast, others within the synod insisted that Augustana churches receive members on the basis of conversion to faith in Christ.

During this time, Martin Sundin attended D. L. Moody's meetings, having "found there something that corresponded to the *läsare* gatherings in Sweden."<sup>54</sup> On one occasion, Sundin persuaded Erland Carlsson to come with him to hear Moody. They went and observed that "after the sermon, a meeting was held for personal conversation." On the way home Sundin asked Carlsson what he thought about the meeting. Carlsson answered: "Yes, it was certainly right and biblical, but the extremes of the Methodists have led us to go too far in the opposite direction."<sup>55</sup>

Nevertheless, Sundin suggested that Immanuel Lutheran Church hold a discussion meeting with the "Methodists," and Carlsson agreed to arrange for it—"something new."<sup>56</sup> Sundin later recalled, "Among those who attended, the Augustana folks kept silent while the Methodists took advantage of the opportunity." One man went on and on speaking and shouting and saying "Lord Jesus, Lord Jesus" until Carlsson interrupted him and said: "Not everyone who says 'Lord, Lord' will enter the kingdom of heaven."<sup>57</sup> Carlsson's words were "like cold water" on the man and he became silent. Sundin recalled, "After this experience, there were no more discussion meetings."<sup>58</sup>

Sundin, however, continued to visit Moody's meetings at Illinois Street Church, and took some of his friends with him. Since they were not able to speak English well enough to participate in the discussion meetings, "Moody opened a smaller room to them in his church where they could gather for personal edification."<sup>59</sup> This was possible because the Illinois Street Church contained several special classrooms, in addition to a 1,500 seat auditorium.<sup>60</sup>

Sundin's activity with the Illinois Street Church drew suspicion that he was working to split Immanuel Lutheran Church.<sup>61</sup> Therefore, the church appointed a committee of two people, Johan Ferm and Peter Colseth, to go and speak with him, "personal friends who had experienced delightful times with him in reading God's Word and prayer."<sup>62</sup> Colseth expressed that he could not approve of Sundin's course of action in seeking spiritual edification somewhere else when he belonged to the Augustana congregation. Colseth advised him that if he continued on this course that he should

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<sup>53</sup> Hale, *Trans-Atlantic Conservative Protestantism*, 190.

<sup>54</sup> Mellander, "Den ringa begynnelsens dag," in *Aurora*, Hjerpe, ed., 133–134.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, 134.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*; cf. Karl A. Olsson, *By One Spirit* (Chicago: Covenant Press, 1962) 200, and Olsson, "Dwight L. Moody and Some Chicago Swedes," in *Swedish-American Life in Chicago*, Anderson and Blanck, eds., 312.

<sup>60</sup> Dorsett, *A Passion for Souls*, 122.

<sup>61</sup> Mellander, "Den ringa begynnelsens dag," in *Aurora*, Hjerpe, ed., 134.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*

leave the Lutheran congregation.<sup>63</sup> Sundin responded that he was about to move away from Chicago, and that they would not have to worry about him any longer.

Sundin moved to Swede Bend in Webster County, Iowa, where he became a farmer. He soon met C. A. Björk (1837–1916) who lived in Richport, Iowa, worked as a shoemaker, and preached on Sundays at Swede Bend and other places.<sup>64</sup> In the beginning, Björk held meetings in his brother's home where neighbors gathered to hear him read from Rosenius's *Pietisten*.

### **J. G. Princell and the Swedish YMCA**

In the summer of 1867, J. G. Princell (1845–1915) returned to Chicago after completing his studies at the Augustana seminary in Paxton, Illinois. In Chicago, he worked at the newspaper *Hemlandet* and the Lutheran Publication Society. He also served as Sunday school superintendent at Immanuel Lutheran Church under Erland Carlsson whom Princell described as his “fatherly friend.”<sup>65</sup> During this time, Princell was drawn into the circle of D. L. Moody.

#### **J. G. Princell**

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Swenson Swedish Immigration  
Research Center, Augustana  
College, Rock Island, Illinois



Johan Gustaf Gummesson (Princell) was born September 18, 1845, in Tolg, Småland, Sweden, and immigrated with his parents to America in 1856.<sup>66</sup> His family settled in Princeton, Illinois, where he attended the Swedish Lutheran Church, as well as an American Sunday school.<sup>67</sup> He acquired the English language as a boy, becoming fluent in English and Swedish.<sup>68</sup> He converted to faith at the age of seventeen, following his confirmation at the Lutheran church. Responding to his call to ministry, he left Princeton to attend the new school of the Augustana Synod, then located in Chicago at

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<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, 136.

<sup>64</sup> C. A. Björk was born in Lommaryds, Jönköping, in 1837. In 1856, he became a soldier in Jönköping's regiment and served until 1864 when he was discharged, and immigrated to America. *Österns Weckoblad*, Dec. 12, 1894, 1.

<sup>65</sup> Lindquist, *Shepherd of an Immigrant People*, 205.

<sup>66</sup> Princell's father, Magnus Gudmundson, changed his name to Gummesson in America.

<sup>67</sup> Josephine Princell, *J. G. Princells Levnadsminnen* (Chicago: J. V. Martensons Tryckeri, 1916) 18.

<sup>68</sup> Karl A. Olsson, *Into One Body ... by the Cross*, Vol. 1 (Chicago: Covenant Press, 1985) 132n.

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Immanuel Lutheran Church.<sup>69</sup> He took the surname 'Princell' at that time in honor of his hometown Princeton.<sup>70</sup>

When the Augustana seminary moved from Chicago to Paxton, Illinois, Princell continued his studies there. Following his time in Paxton, he returned to Chicago, becoming active in 1867 with Mission Friends, meeting several who had been active in mission and Bible societies in Sweden. He also joined Immanuel Lutheran Church in Chicago on June 7, 1868, and became a deacon in the church on February 4, 1869.

Princell also attended Moody's meetings and became active in the non-sectarian work of the YMCA. In 1868, he, along with Jonas Engberg and C. O. Lundberg, founded the Swedish YMCA in Chicago with the same organizing principles as the Chicago YMCA led by Moody.<sup>71</sup> Like the Chicago YMCA, the Swedish YMCA served the general purpose "to seek converts and thus new members of the denominations, and to expand the moral influence of the churches throughout society."<sup>72</sup> In Chicago, the Swedish chapter sought cooperative work among Chicago's Swedish-immigrant churches including: Immanuel Lutheran Church on Superior Street with Pastor Carlsson, Swedish Episcopal Church at Indiana and Franklin streets with Pastor J. Bredberg, First Scandinavian Methodist Church on Illinois Street with Pastor N. O. Westergren, and the Swedish Baptist congregation with Pastor J. Ring that met on Bremer Street.<sup>73</sup> The Swedish YMCA met every Wednesday and every second and fourth Monday of the month at a meeting hall located on Milwaukee Avenue.<sup>74</sup> The *Chicago City Directory* for 1868–1869 listed the officers:

J. G. Princell, president  
C. O. Lundberg, vice president  
Charles Carlstadt, secretary  
Jonas Engberg, corresponding secretary  
John Lind, treasurer

In the same section, the city directory listed the officers of the YMCA:

D. L. Moody, president  
John V. Farwell, first vice president  
Geo. E. Purington, second vice president  
B. F. Jacobs, corresponding secretary  
John C. Harris, recording secretary  
S. A. Kean, treasurer<sup>75</sup>

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<sup>69</sup> Ernst W. Olson, Anders Schön and Martin Engberg, *The History of the Swedes of Illinois* (Chicago: Engberg-Holmberg Publishing, 1908) 267.

<sup>70</sup> Princell, *J. G. Princells Levnadsminnen*, 18.

<sup>71</sup> Beijbom, *Swedes in Chicago*, 255.

<sup>72</sup> Findlay, *Dwight L. Moody*, 71.

<sup>73</sup> *Svenska Amerikanaren*, Oct. 23, 1867, 2; Mar. 4, 1868, 3.

<sup>74</sup> *Chicago City Directory, 1868–1869* (Chicago: Edwards & Co. Publishing, 1868) 990; *Chicago City Directory, 1869–1870* (Chicago: Edwards & Co. Publishing, 1869) 972.

<sup>75</sup> *Chicago City Directory, 1868–1869*, 991.

Moody's connection with Princell and Swedish Mission Friends became more apparent in the following years. Although Princell was a Lutheran who graduated from the Augustana seminary, worked at *Hemlandet*, and joined Immanuel Lutheran Church, he was also president of the Swedish YMCA, declaring his commitment to cooperative work among Swedish-American churches in Chicago. Princell and the Swedish YMCA joined Moody's work with non-sectarian appeals to Chicago's Swedes in hopes that these souls would convert to faith in Christ.

A grasshopper plague in the fall of 1868 forced Martin Sundin to return to Chicago. By this time, more Mission Friends had arrived from Sweden including J. M. Sanngren (1837–1878), a colporteur trained at P. A. Ahlberg's school.<sup>76</sup> With an increasing dissatisfaction over the mission society permitting non-converts to join, Nils Ek, C. J. Lindahl, and John A. Peterson organized a new mission society comprised only of converted, believing members, an action that increased tensions at Immanuel Lutheran Church.<sup>77</sup> Pastor Carlsson tried in a friendly way to persuade these men not to take this action, but he was unable to convince them otherwise. After a meeting to discuss the possibility of changing membership requirements of the existing society, the new mission society was formed.<sup>78</sup> The organizational meeting of the Swedish Evangelical Lutheran Missionary Association of Chicago took place on December 26, 1868, in the home of Martin Sundin, the newly elected president.<sup>79</sup>

The new mission society rented a school house on Wesson Street (later known as Milton Avenue) where edification meetings were held on Sunday mornings from 8 to 10 a.m. These meetings allowed mission members to gather with other believers, and then attend worship at Immanuel Lutheran Church where they could partake of the Lord's Supper. At first, Sundin and August Nilsson led the mission society meetings. When C. J. Lindahl was called to serve as the city missionary, he led the meetings. Lindahl was followed by J. M. Sanngren. In 1869, Sundin returned to his farm in Iowa.<sup>80</sup>

Tensions continued to mount between the new mission society and the Augustana congregation. At the beginning there was name-calling; the new mission society was dubbed an "opposing party" like the "Methodists." There was also rock-throwing; a stone was hurled through a window of the rented mission house.<sup>81</sup> Despite opposition, the new mission society outgrew its space and began to consider building its own facility. Plans proceeded, and in January 1869, lots were purchased on North Franklin Street with a loan from one member and contributions from others, including Erland Carlsson.<sup>82</sup> The society maintained a cordial relationship with Carlsson and invited him to serve the Lord's Supper at the first general conference of Mission Friends held at Immanuel Lutheran Church, July 5–6, 1869.<sup>83</sup> One of the Mission Friends to attend was J. G.

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<sup>76</sup> Mellander, "Den ringa begynnensens dag," in *Aurora*, Hjerpe, ed., 137.

<sup>77</sup> Bowman, *Missionsvännerna i Amerika*, 50.

<sup>78</sup> Lindquist, *Shepherd of an Immigrant People*, 153; Karl A. Olsson, *By One Spirit*, 198–199.

<sup>79</sup> Mellander, "Den ringa begynnensens dag," in *Aurora*, Hjerpe, ed., 138.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, 141.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, 140.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, 140.

<sup>83</sup> Olsson, *By One Spirit*, 199.

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Princell.<sup>84</sup>

In the same year, Princell became associate editor of *Hemlandet*. He also continued his role as president of the Swedish YMCA, and attended meetings of Swedish Mission Friends.<sup>85</sup> As his popularity increased, he was invited to speak at mission meetings in homes and classrooms.<sup>86</sup> He also took up studies at the old Chicago University.<sup>87</sup>

### **Moody with Mission Friends**

The leaders of the new missionary society demonstrated their friendship with Moody when they invited him and Erland Carlsson, J. G. Princell, C. A. Björk, and J. M. Sanngren to speak at a thanksgiving service at the newly erected mission house on North Franklin Street on October 3, 1869. The minutes of the planning meeting stated, first of all, that the board decided to extend a call to Oscar Ahnfelt of Sweden to join the colporteur work in Chicago. This decision never materialized, however. The minutes further reported: "It was decided that a Mission celebration, Lord willing, be held Sunday, October 3, and that the newspapers be contacted to promote the event. The speakers selected for the event are: The pastors Modig [sic], Carlsson, as well as Mr. Princell, Björk, and Sanngren."<sup>88</sup>

The following week the minutes from the board meeting held at the mission house reported: "A question was raised regarding whether the work on the mission house would continue or not, and it was decided 'no' due to lack of funding, with the exception of what had already been started, for example, the pulpit and pews."<sup>89</sup> In addition, the motion for a "general day of thanksgiving" on October 3 was accepted.

After this "mission's celebration" or "day of thanksgiving" on October 3, the board was reminded of its need to make "one month's payment for the old mission house," and "the obligation on the so-called lumber debt for the month of November" on the new mission house.<sup>90</sup> The board sought to resolve this financial dilemma by appealing to Moody, as the minutes further record: "When someone has a door of opportunity to speak to "Mr. Modig,"[sic] discuss with him the possibility of taking up an offering, and that if this does not meet the entire obligation, then whatever is leftover will be met through subscriptions."<sup>91</sup> Such confidence to contact Moody about this financial dilemma demonstrated the friendly relationship that Mission Friends had with him. They shared a kindred spirit with the American while tensions were increasing between them and Augustana Lutherans.

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<sup>84</sup> Bowman, *Missionsvännerna i Amerika*, 253. The announcement in *Hemlandet* was probably submitted by Princell. Emory Lindquist, *Shepherd of an Immigrant People*, 154, and Ernst W. Olson, *The Swedish Element in Illinois* (Chicago: Swedish-American Biographical Association, 1917) 146.

<sup>85</sup> Bowman, *Missionsvännerna i Amerika*, 253.

<sup>86</sup> A. P. Nelson, *Svenska Missionsvännerna i Amerikas Historia* (Minneapolis: A. P. Nelson, 1906) 38–39.

<sup>87</sup> Princell, *J. G. Princells Levnadsminnen*, 16. The "old" Chicago University collapsed financially. The Baptist Union Theological Seminary merged and blossomed into the new University of Chicago.

<sup>88</sup> Minutes of First Covenant Church, Chicago, Ill., Sept. 6, 1869, 13–14.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, Sept. 13, 1869, 14.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, Oct. 7, 1869, 15.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.* The Swedish word *modig* means "courageous, brave, spirited, stout-hearted."

For Moody, the years 1868 and 1869 were trying and exhausting as he worked to raise funds for Farwell Hall, and carried on his administrative tasks with the YMCA, Christian Conventions, and the Sunday School Union. Besides these activities, Lyle W. Dorsett points out, “Moody still preached at his own church on Sundays, and he went to speak at other places too numerous to count during the week.”<sup>92</sup> Nevertheless, he attracted Mission Friends because of his genuine concern for Swedish immigrants, and because of his free, evangelical spirit. His emphasis on personal conversion, lay ministry, and unity in Christ was similar to *läsare* and colporteurs in Sweden.<sup>93</sup>

In contrast to Moody, Peter Colseth of Immanuel Lutheran Church, after the mission’s thanksgiving celebration, attacked the new mission society as being “Baptist, competitive and noisy.”<sup>94</sup> He criticized Princell for his shouting at the meeting and for the fact that he spoke in English, which was probably for Moody’s benefit. Moreover, Colseth accused the Mission friends of trying to undermine Immanuel Lutheran Church and urged that the new mission house be used as a shelter for Swedish immigrants, and that the Mission Friends should “return to the rock from which they were hewn.”<sup>95</sup> This growing tension continued until the next year on March 21, 1870, when the new mission society led by Sanngren, Princell, Peterson and others, separated from Immanuel Lutheran Church, and became an independent *missionsförsamling* (Mission congregation), celebrating the Lord’s Supper, with C. A. Björk participating.<sup>96</sup>

Princell served as president of the Swedish YMCA until 1870 when he left Chicago to attend the German American Lutheran College in Philadelphia.<sup>97</sup> In the same year, Moody ended his duties as president of the Chicago YMCA. Princell’s experience in Chicago combined activity with Swedish Mission Friends and the YMCA. If his Swedish “fatherly friend” was Erland Carlsson, then his American “brotherly friend” was D. L. Moody. Both left strong impressions on Princell, impressions that led him first to the Lutheran Church and its doctrine and polity, and second to the YMCA and its cooperative work without sectarian labels. As Mark A. Grandquist observed, Princell “represented a growing trend among Mission Friends in America to adopt methods and ideas from the American religious culture.”<sup>98</sup> Like Moody, Princell came to possess an ecumenical spirit, and increasingly opposed sectarianism, a narrow party-attitude that favored one denomination.

### The Great Chicago Fire

In 1871, the great Chicago fire swept away the north side of the city. The fire burned from October 8–10, destroying eighteen thousand buildings and leaving ninety

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<sup>92</sup> Dorsett, *A Passion for Souls*, 147.

<sup>93</sup> Olsson, *Into One Body . . . by the Cross*, Vol. 1, 26.

<sup>94</sup> Olsson, *By One Spirit*, 200.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, 200-201.

<sup>96</sup> David Nyvall and Karl A. Olsson, *The Evangelical Covenant Church* (Chicago: Covenant Press, 1954) 42-43; Olsson, *By One Spirit*, 200–201, 226.

<sup>97</sup> *Chicago City Directory, 1869–70*, 972. In the following years, the Swedish YMCA came under some criticism by others in Chicago. For the Scandinavian YMCA on Milwaukee Avenue, see Ulf Beijbom, *Swedes in Chicago*, 255.

<sup>98</sup> Mark A. Grandquist, “The Swedish Ethnic Denominations in the United States: Their Development and Relationships, 1880-1920” (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Chicago, 1992) 125

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thousand people homeless.<sup>99</sup> Many of Chicago's churches were destroyed, including Illinois Street Church and Immanuel Lutheran Church, as well as Farwell Hall and the new mission house of the new Swedish mission congregation.

Moody and his friends quickly erected a temporary meeting place, the North Side Tabernacle, which served as a relief center to feed and clothe thousands who had lost their homes. It also served as a temporary church to preach the gospel. Despite the North Side Tabernacle's simple and unsophisticated character, the spacious building provided a refuge for children and adults who came there seeking warmth and light for body and soul. Finding himself in the middle of charred ruins, Moody ministered as he had before to those around him, including Swedes.

Since the Swedish mission house had been destroyed, on the following Sunday some of the members gathered at a schoolhouse on the city's west side, an area spared from the fire.<sup>100</sup> The meeting was emotional, mixed with joy and thanksgiving over the fact that members' lives had been spared, but sorrowful over the loss of life, homes, and the mission house. Since their meeting place had been destroyed, Moody opened the North Side Tabernacle to them at certain times, until they found another meeting place.<sup>101</sup>

Although the mission house had been insured, the insurance company was ruined by the fire and could not meet its obligations. This put the congregation in a difficult position financially. Some members felt they could not afford to rebuild. However, a few months later when the congregation held its annual meeting, John A. Peterson proposed that they should "get to work and build a roof over their heads."<sup>102</sup> Thus, the members decided to continue their activity and rebuild the meeting hall on the same location that it stood before. In the meantime, a hall was provided on the city's south side where they could meet and Sanngren could preach.<sup>103</sup>

When the mission congregation decided to start a capital campaign to rebuild the chapel, they turned again to Moody for his advice and help.<sup>104</sup> He recommended that they visit some people in Milwaukee, people he hoped would help them. Two members of the mission congregation, Dr. Nordengren and Sven Youngquist, traveled to Milwaukee determined "not to return before they had collected a thousand dollars."<sup>105</sup> However, the people who Moody had recommended were not in a position to help, saying: "We would like to, but we are not able; our hearts are bigger than our wallets." The trip yielded only forty-five dollars after expenses.<sup>106</sup> Youngquist concluded: "We have no other recourse than to depend on the friends in Chicago."

In another instance soon after the fire, John A. Peterson received a call from a new mission congregation in Des Moines, Iowa, to become the pastor. Since he had lost his clothes in the fire, he felt he could not make the trip.<sup>107</sup> In his dilemma, he turned to Moody and asked him if he had any clothes to give or loan him. Although Moody's

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<sup>99</sup> Ross Miller, *The Great Chicago Fire* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1990) 18.

<sup>100</sup> Bowman, *Missionsvännerna i Amerika*, 72.

<sup>101</sup> Mellander, "Den ringa begynnensens dag," in *Aurora*, Hjerpe, ed., 142.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>104</sup> Bowman, *Missionsvännernas i Amerika*, 73.

<sup>105</sup> Mellander, "Den ringa begynnensens dag," in *Aurora*, Hjerpe, ed., 143.

<sup>106</sup> Bowman, *Missionsvännernas i Amerika*, 73.

<sup>107</sup> Brolund, *Missionsvännerna*, 108; "Historiska ljusbilder. Väckelse i Amerika och England genom Moody och Sankey," *Missions-Wännen*, Dec. 9, 1919, 1.

wardrobe equally had been destroyed in the fire, he found a Catholic priest's coat at the Tabernacle's relief center and gave it to him.<sup>108</sup> Peterson put it on and boarded a train for Des Moines. When he arrived at the station, it was reported that members of the new congregation were "quite shocked when they saw Peterson appearing as a Roman Catholic priest."<sup>109</sup>

Frederick E. Pamp later told about Moody's kindred spirit with Swedes, saying:

My father came [to America] in 1869, my mother in 1870. They were in the great fire in Chicago in 1871, in which everything they had gathered together was swept away. Those years were the great years of D. L. Moody's work in Chicago. He had gotten his Sunday school and church going, and it was exerting a tremendous influence. I was born not far from the Moody church in Chicago. Those first years, before the Swedish people had the opportunity to build their own churches and establish their own worship, Moody opened his heart and his church to them, and he addressed them, and they understood Moody's English. My father often told me that he had difficulty in understanding English, ordinarily, but when he heard D. L. Moody speak he could understand him. ... Here was a man who opened his heart and his church to them, and spoke to them out of the fullness of his experience of Christ, and even if they did not understand all that he said they understood his spirit and his warm heart.<sup>110</sup>

These accounts illustrate the friendly exchanges between Moody and Swedish Mission Friends in Chicago. His generosity and compassion for others continued despite his own loss of home, family belongings, Illinois Street Church, and Farwell Hall. He opened the North Side Tabernacle to the Mission Friends, and assisted Swedish immigrants with food and clothing.

Moody's reputation continued to spread among Mission Friends, even outside Chicago. In February 1872, the first Mission-Friend periodical, *Zions Banér*, published in Galesburg, Illinois, reported:

Mr. D. L. Moody of Chicago is known over all the country as the most prominent worker among the children in Chicago. His church burned down during the great fire. Christian friends in Philadelphia have received an offering to build a meeting hall again. It is located at the corner of North Wells & Ontario St. Its size is 109 feet long and 75 feet wide. There are seats for 1,500 people. May the Lord bless his work in the future.<sup>111</sup>

### **J. F. Okerstein and Moody's Swedish Fellowship**

The North Side Tabernacle's rescue mission combined free food and clothing with the gospel. Since so many Scandinavians attended the meetings, in 1873 the church called J. F. Okerstein (1837–1920) as city missionary to minister to them.<sup>112</sup> Thus,

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<sup>108</sup> Moody, *The Life of D. L. Moody*, 148.

<sup>109</sup> Ernst W. Olson, ed., et al., *History of the Swedes of Illinois, Part I* (Chicago: Engberg-Holmberg Publishing Co., 1908) 587.

<sup>110</sup> Frederick E. Pamp, "The Influence of D. L. Moody on the Swedish People," *The Covenant Companion* (Nov. 1927) 7.

<sup>111</sup> "Philadelphia Tabernacle," *Zions Banér*, Feb., 1872, 15.

<sup>112</sup> David M. Gustafson, "John F. Okerstein and the Swedish Fellowship at Moody Church," *The Covenant Quarterly* LXII, No. 1 (Feb. 2004) 35–53.



*Moody's Early Work among Chicago's Swedes*

Moody's ministry expanded beyond cooperating with Swedish Mission Friends to reaching Scandinavians from his independent, non-sectarian church. At the center of the Swedish Fellowship was J. F. Okerstein.

John Fritjof Åkerstein (Okerstein) was born October 9, 1837, near Motala in Östergötland, Sweden, the oldest of seven children.<sup>113</sup> His father, Abraham Åkerstein, had wealthy and powerful relatives in Sweden, but for Abraham and his family, they faced the challenges of the working class. The young John learned the trade of a molder as an apprentice at the large foundry in Motala. In 1865, he emigrated from Sweden with his wife, and after a brief stay in Pennsylvania, arrived in Chicago.

Since Chicago's blast furnaces produced steel for local manufacturers such as Cyrus McCormick's reaper plant and Crane Brothers' Manufacturing Company, Okerstein found employment immediately as a molder. When the Okersteins were struck by the tragedy of the great Chicago fire, they relocated to Green Bay, Wisconsin, where John continued his trade as a molder. In January 1873, he was called back to his work in Chicago.

Okerstein attended meetings at the North Side Tabernacle and was deeply affected in his faith in Christ through the ministries of Moody.<sup>114</sup> He heard Moody's teaching from the Bible and became increasingly active in the ministries of the church.<sup>115</sup> He also came to share Moody's vision for extending God's kingdom while setting aside denominational barriers. Moody had great appeal, attracting listeners to his meetings, especially Swedish immigrants. As mentioned earlier, he spoke simple, monosyllabic English that many Swedes just learning the language could understand. One person observed, "Swedish people often went to hear Moody preach because they could understand his English better than that of most speakers."<sup>116</sup>

As a city missionary, Okerstein actively visited Swedish neighborhoods, invited men and women to meetings, distributed tracts, shared the gospel, and provided aid as a means of reaching immigrants with the message of salvation. In 1873, Moody's congregation moved to their new, but half-finished Chicago Avenue Church, located at Chicago Avenue and La Salle Street, on the eastside of Swede Town.<sup>117</sup> With Okerstein's appointment as Chicago Avenue Church's city missionary, Swedes began to pour into Moody's church. Erik Brolund reported:

They crowded into Farwell Hall and later into Chicago Avenue Church when it was built after the fire. The Americans sang, "There is a gate that stands ajar," while the Swedes sang, "*Jag vet en port, som öppen står.*" It was an unforgettable time. Several hundred Swedes, almost from the first day, became associated with Moody and his church, and remain there still.<sup>118</sup>

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<sup>113</sup> "Rev. John F. Okerstein," *Commemorative Portrait and Biographical Record of Kane and Kendall Counties, Illinois* (Chicago: Beers, Leggett & Co., 1888) 903.

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>115</sup> Okerstein officially joined the church on May 2, 1875. Chicago Avenue Church Membership Register, 1864–1887, Billy Graham Center Archives, Wheaton, Illinois.

<sup>116</sup> Nelson, *Svenska Missionsvännerna i Amerikas Historia*, 26.

<sup>117</sup> Chicago Avenue Church Manual, Chicago, 1903, 3–4. The year 1873 was characterized by financial panic and economic depression and so the completion of the building was delayed.

<sup>118</sup> Brolund, *Missionsvännerna*, 109–110.

Okerstein led a Swedish Sunday school class and served on Chicago Avenue Church's executive committee. His influence extended beyond the congregation, however, as he co-labored with other Swedes in Chicago to reach Scandinavians with the gospel. Like Moody, Okerstein despised sectarianism—a religious party-spirit—and labored “to make Christians,” cooperating with Lutherans, Congregationalists, Baptists, Methodists and Mission Friends.<sup>119</sup> Okerstein led Chicago Avenue Church's Swedish Fellowship for more than a decade.<sup>120</sup>

After the great Chicago fire, Moody gradually delegated many of his responsibilities. In the summer of 1872, he was free to visit England again where he formed alliances, among others, with the Christian charity work at Mildmay Park in London. William Pennefather led Moody the following year to return with Ira D. Sankey (1840–1908), the Methodist song leader who joined Moody in 1871.<sup>121</sup> In June of 1873, Moody and Sankey completed their work in Chicago and traveled to England, beginning their evangelistic campaign in the British Isles.<sup>122</sup> During the next two years, the American evangelists traveled throughout Great Britain.

### **Moody's Musical Partner Ira D. Sankey**

Ira David Sankey was born August 28, 1840, in Edinburgh, Pennsylvania. He attended a Methodist church, and was converted to faith at a revival meeting at sixteen years of age. Sankey loved music and enjoyed gathering with friends to sing hymns and tunes of the church. In this way, he learned to read music, having never studied music or vocal performance formally.<sup>123</sup>

In 1857, Sankey and his family moved to Newcastle, Pennsylvania. When the Civil War broke out in 1860 and President Lincoln called for volunteers, Sankey was among the first in Newcastle to enlist. During the war, Sankey led singing at religious services in the camp. After his service in the military, he returned to Newcastle where he assisted his father as a collector with the Internal Revenue Service.

In 1867, a branch of the YMCA was organized at Newcastle. Sankey was elected secretary, and later became president. He was often in demand as a soloist for Sunday school conventions and political gatherings. His appointment as a delegate to the YMCA's International Convention at Indianapolis in 1870 changed the course of his life. At the convention, he met Moody who urged him to join him as his musical partner. Sankey delayed in making a decision during the convention. Six months later, however, he consented to join Moody for at least a week in Chicago.

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<sup>119</sup> A. P. Nelson, *Puritanernas och Pilgrimernas historia* (Boston and Chicago: Congregational Sunday-School and Publishing Society, 1901) 202.

<sup>120</sup> M. W. Montgomery reported that a “Scandinavian Congregational church in Chicago, Illinois” disbanded in 1874 and that “most of the members joined Chicago Avenue church under Mr. Moody's charge.” The Scandinavian church had been led by Christian Cornelius, formerly of Bergen, Norway, and later, Iowa. M. W. Montgomery, *A Wind from the Holy Spirit in Sweden and Norway* (New York: American Home Missionary Society, 1885) 85.

<sup>121</sup> Findlay, *Dwight L. Moody*, 123–124.

<sup>122</sup> W. R. Moody, *The Life of Dwight L. Moody*, 155.

<sup>123</sup> Donald P. Hustad, “D. L. Moody and Church Music,” in *Mr Moody and the Evangelical Tradition*, George, ed., 109.

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Early in 1871, Sankey arrived to the Windy City and began his work with Moody at the Illinois Street Church, singing, leading noon prayer meetings, and working in church activities. After the great Chicago fire, Sankey returned to Pennsylvania, thinking that his work with Moody in Chicago was finished. Two months later, however, he received a telegram from Moody asking him to return to Chicago to work at the North Side Tabernacle, the church's temporary mission shelter.<sup>124</sup> In October 1872, Sankey returned to Chicago with his family. Later that year, Moody left for England, leaving Sankey in charge of the work at the North Side Tabernacle with help from Major D. W. Whittle, Richard Thain, Fleming H. Revell, and others.<sup>125</sup>



**Ira D. Sankey**

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Archives, Chicago,  
Illinois

In June of 1873, Moody and his wife Emma, and their two children along with Sankey and his wife Fanny, left Chicago for England. Sankey commented: "The only books that I took with me were my Bagster Bible and my 'musical scrap-book,' which contained a number of hymns which I had collected in the past years, and many of which, in the providence of God, were to be used in arousing much religious interest among the people in the Old-Country."<sup>126</sup>

As Moody and Sankey were conducting their revivals in the British Isles, Swedish Mission Friends in America were actively exploring various organizational ventures.

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<sup>124</sup> Ira D. Sankey, *My Life and the Story of the Gospel Hymns* (Philadelphia: The Sunday School Times Company, 1906) 37–38.

<sup>125</sup> *Ibid.*, 39.

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.*, 41.

## Mission Friends' Ventures in America

In the early years, pastors in the Augustana Synod who were influenced by the Evangelical Revival in Sweden were generally open to revivalism. Shortly after the synod's founding, Augustana leaders invited P. P. Waldenström (1838–1917), a young scholar and Rosenian pietist among Sweden's Mission Friends, to come and teach at the Augustana seminary in Chicago, an invitation that never materialized. Nevertheless, Waldenström became popular among Mission Friends in Sweden when in 1862 he published the book *Brukspatron Adamsson, eller Hvar bor du?* (Squire Adamson, or Where Do You Live?), an allegory contrasting dead orthodoxy and living faith.<sup>127</sup> When C. O. Rosenius died in 1868, Waldenström took over as editor of *Pietisten*. In 1872, Waldenström's theory of the atonement sparked a theological controversy among Swedish Mission Friends.

In America, the Augustana Synod had moved gradually away from the new evangelical revivalism as more emphasis was placed on the Lutheran confessions and liturgy. Frederick Hale comments: "By 1870 Hasselquist, then president of the Synod, vigorously opposed lay ministries and revivalism on both sides of the Atlantic."<sup>128</sup> The result was that Mission Friends who emphasized revivalism looked to new forms of organization. The mission society in Chicago had already become an independent congregation, and similar congregations formed at Swede Bend and Des Moines, Iowa, as well as Princeton and Galesburg, Illinois. The pastor at Galesburg was Charles Anderson.

Charles A. Anderson was born in Denmark in 1843, and came to America with his parents at the age of five.<sup>129</sup> He graduated from Illinois State University in Springfield in 1863, having studied under Lars Paul Esbjörn, and was ordained in the Lutheran Synod of Northern Illinois in 1864.<sup>130</sup> During the Civil War, Anderson served in Alabama as a chaplain with the 46<sup>th</sup> Wisconsin Regiment, and remained in the south briefly after the war to assist in establishing Trinity School in Athens, Alabama, a school for freed slaves.<sup>131</sup> Although his native language was Danish, Anderson spoke English and Swedish fluently, and came to work with Swedish Mission Friends. In 1869, he began his duties as pastor of Second Lutheran Church in Galesburg, Illinois, a church that had separated earlier from the local Augustana congregation.<sup>132</sup>

In July 1871, Anderson launched the periodical *Zions Banér*, a monthly newspaper subsidized by the Lutheran General Synod.<sup>133</sup> In the following year, he

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<sup>127</sup> *Stads Missionären* began in 1862 and in the same year published serially P. P. Waldenström's *Brukspatron Adamsson*. See Harry Lindström, *I livsfrågornas spänningsfält. Om P. Waldenströms Brukspatron Adamsson—popular folkbok och allegorisk roman* (Uppsala: Uppsala University, 1997), P. P. Waldenström, *Brukspatron Adamson eller Hvar bor du?* (Stockholm, 1863), and P. Waldenström, *Squire Adamson, or, Where Do You Live?* Trans. by Ruben T. Nygren (Chicago by Mission Friends Publishing Company 1928).

<sup>128</sup> Hale, *Trans-Atlantic Conservative Protestantism*, 190–191.

<sup>129</sup> Philip J. Anderson, "Education and Identity Formation among Swedish-American Mission Friends: The Case of Ansgar College, 1873–1884," in *Scandinavian Immigrants and Education in North America*, Philip J. Anderson, Dag Blanck and Peter Kivisto, eds. (Chicago: Swedish-American Historical Society, 1995) 52.

<sup>130</sup> Olsson, *By One Spirit*, 227, 232.

<sup>131</sup> Bowman, *Missionsvännerna i Amerika*, 233; Olsson, *By One Spirit*, 227.

<sup>132</sup> Olsson, *By One Spirit*, 230–231.

<sup>133</sup> Stephenson, *The Religious Aspects of Swedish Immigration*, 271.

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organized a new synod, the Scandinavian Evangelical Lutheran Mission in the United States.<sup>134</sup> He also promoted Americanization in *Zions Banér*, hoping that the new synod would affiliate with American Lutherans, particularly the Synod of Northern Illinois of the Lutheran General Synod. However, at a conference in Keokuk, Iowa, on May 22, 1873, the sentiment of Mission Friends led them to a vote for an independent organization, and so they founded Svenska Evangelisk-Lutherska Missionssynoden (Swedish Evangelical Lutheran Mission Synod).<sup>135</sup> Despite this decision, Anderson was not discouraged. On October 1, 1873, he opened the Swedish Mission Institute, an independent school in Keokuk.<sup>136</sup>

In 1874, a rival periodical to Anderson's *Zion's Banér* was launched, *Missions-Wännen*, the new Mission Synod's monthly journal that followed the format of *Pietisten* in Sweden.<sup>137</sup> In May 1874, in an attempt to improve his earlier synod, Anderson along with C. J. Lindahl and John Anjou formed the Svenska evangeliskt-lutherska ansgariisynoden (Swedish Evangelical Lutheran Ansgarius Synod) affiliated with the General Synod.<sup>138</sup> In 1875, Anderson moved the Swedish Mission Institute to Knoxville, Illinois, near Galesburg, and renamed the school the Swedish-American Lutheran Ansgarius College, commonly known as Ansgar College.

Generally speaking, Charles Anderson, was a Lutheran characterized by an irenic and ecumenical spirit.<sup>139</sup> Just four months after he launched *Zions Banér*, he published an article about George Müller of the Plymouth Brethren in Bristol, describing his life of faith and work with orphans.<sup>140</sup> Anderson continued to promote Americanization among Mission Friends and worked to establish Ansgar College as a Swedish-American school. With his ecumenical and American spirit, it was not surprising when in 1874, *Zions Banér* published a news report about Moody's revival in Scotland. This four-page story reprinted from *Stads-missionären* of Stockholm's City Mission began by saying:

Scottish and English newspapers have recently reported about a gracious work of the Lord. The visible instruments who the Lord has used are two laymen from America, Mr. Moody and his friend Mr. Sankey, who already visited Scotland last year. The spiritual stream of life seems to affect men and women of all social classes. Clergy of various Protestant confessions within the country have joined together with heartiest participation, forgetting for a while all differences of doctrinal interpretation. Two, three, indeed several times a day, churches and meeting halls have overflowed with crowds of people, whose need of salvation seems to displace every other question. The revival has spread to other cities also. Moreover, church and civil authorities from all regions of the country have joined together in fervent prayer about the visit of these two men whose labor in the Word, the Lord has so richly blessed.<sup>141</sup>

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<sup>134</sup> Hale, *Trans-Atlantic Conservative Protestantism*, 195; Olsson, *By One Spirit*, 233–235.

<sup>135</sup> Olsson, *By One Spirit*, 238.

<sup>136</sup> Philip J. Anderson, "Education and Identity Formation," in *Scandinavian Immigrants and Education in North America*, Anderson, Blanck, and Kvisto, eds., 54.

<sup>137</sup> Mellander, "Den ringa begynnelsens dag," in *Aurora*, Hjerpe, ed., 144.

<sup>138</sup> Bowman, *Missionsvännerna i Amerika*, 230.

<sup>139</sup> Olsson, *By One Spirit*, 233.

<sup>140</sup> "George Muller," *Zions Banér*, Oct. 1871, 29.

<sup>141</sup> *Zions Banér*, May 1874, 125. Cf. "Den andliga wäckelsen i Skotland" *Stads-missionären* 31 (Aug. 1, 1874) 3; 32 (Aug. 9, 1874) 3.

At the end of the article, Anderson added some of his own editorial remarks. First, he pointed out that Moody was a layman from Chicago. Then he mentioned that Moody had been a member of the Congregational church, but was especially active with the YMCA. Anderson then stated: "He has traveled much here in America and is well known among our Swedish people in Galesburg, Chicago, and Rockford."<sup>142</sup> Finally, Anderson told the story of Moody when several years earlier "he had applied to become a member of a Congregational church but was denied by the board since he was not able to give a proper confession of faith."<sup>143</sup> Anderson then stated parenthetically, "or so it was told to us"—having apparently heard Moody's story firsthand. Anderson concluded his remarks, saying, "However, this man has become an instrument in the hands of the Lord for the conversion of thousands of souls."<sup>144</sup>

## **Conclusion**

In America, religious freedom, ecclesial volunteerism, and denominational pluralism were the norm. A person's affiliation with a church was a matter of free choice. If someone did not like a church, he or she could leave and attend a different church down the street, whether Baptist, Congregational, Lutheran, or Methodist. In Chicago, Swedish Mission Friends like Sundin soon discovered this ecclesial and theological *smörgåsbord* where a person could elect to attend a church led by a magnetic preacher like Moody, rather than maintain denominational loyalties along Lutheran confessional lines.

As early as 1867, tension between American revivalism and Lutheran confessionalism appeared. Erland Carlsson's interaction with Sundin over Moody and his "Methodist" tendencies demonstrated the tension that threatened a Swedish Lutheran heritage as confessional Lutherans faced losing their particular identity within the complex American religious context. Carlsson, Immanuel Lutheran Church, and the Augustana Synod quickly discovered the challenge of maintaining a distinctly Lutheran identity among Swedes who were drawn to forms of American revivalism, as well as the extra-ecclesial evangelism of the YMCA and American Sunday School Union.

Chicago's YMCA was a non-sectarian center for evangelism, particularly for young men coming to Chicago. The YMCA was Moody's primary contact with the Christian community, rather than any denomination, including Congregationalists, a trend that increased in American evangelicalism augmented by Moody himself. In his work as a city missionary, Moody practiced the common evangelical idea that charity and evangelism should go together, offering clothing, coal, and bread with the Bread of Life. In this context, Princell served a role parallel to Moody as president of the Swedish YMCA, an experience that began to shape Princell in the direction of the YMCA's non-sectarian, extra-ecclesial identity.

Moody's vision to reach Swedish immigrants led Chicago Avenue Church to call Okerstein as a city missionary, a decision that established a direct connection between Moody's church and Chicago's Swedish immigrant community. Moody's generosity and enthusiasm appealed broadly to Swedes, who admired and respected him for his

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<sup>142</sup> *Zions Banér*, May 1874, 128.

<sup>143</sup> *Ibid.* See also: Dorsett, *A Passion for Souls*, 48.

<sup>144</sup> *Zions Banér*, May 1874, 128.

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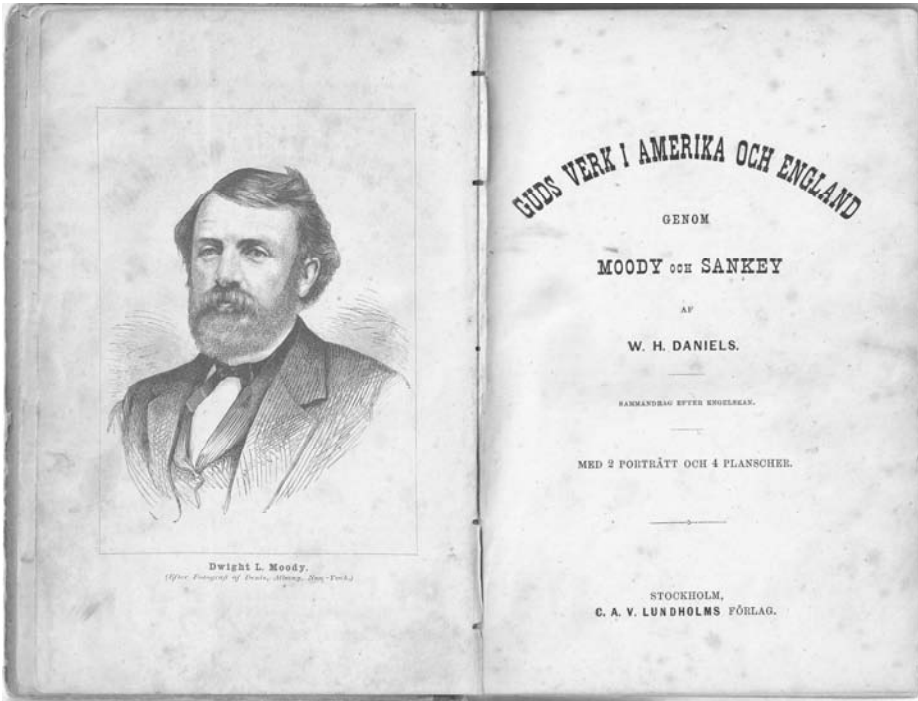
congenial attitude, concern for souls, and emphasis on conversion, "the one thing needful." Mission Friends who had experienced conversion in Sweden's Evangelical Revival found in him a kindred, pietistic spirit.

Moody's democratic American view, as well as more Arminian theological views, further drew Swedish immigrants who were eager to discover a more democratized Christianity that practiced the priesthood of believers. For example, some Swedish Mission Friends served as city missionaries, lay preachers, and leaders of mission societies. Moody's initial work among Mission Friends in Chicago laid a foundation for future activity and his influence among them, which for some such as Princell and Okerstein, began to shape their evangelical identity in the direction of his American evangelicalism.

In June of 1873, Moody and Sankey left Chicago for England, quite unaware of all that lay before them. What neither Moody nor Swedes in the Windy City realized, was that two years later, he would return to America as a revivalist of international fame.<sup>145</sup>

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<sup>145</sup> Findlay, *Dwight L. Moody*, 135.



The Swedish translation of *D. L. Moody and His Work* by W. H. Daniels, published by C. A. V. Lundholm in Stockholm in 1876. Private collection of David M. Gustafson



## Chapter 3

### Spread of “Moody Fever” in Sweden

When Moody and Sankey stepped onto land at Liverpool, England, on June 17, 1873, they were two unknown revivalists. The two Americans did not think they would stay in England for more than six months, and yet in August 1875, when they returned to the United States, they had completed an unprecedented two-year revival campaign in England, Scotland, and Ireland.<sup>1</sup> As crowds of thousands attended their meetings, their names became known throughout the Protestant world.

Although Moody and Sankey never crossed the North Sea to Sweden, news of their revivals quickly reached Stockholm, Göteborg, and Gävle. It was through the media of the press that their ministry in Great Britain was first noticed in Sweden. From the first news reports, came detailed stories from British newspapers, as well as from Swedish correspondents who traveled to the British Isles to observe the American revivalists. The effects of the revival spread from Britain to Sweden where it impacted Mission Friends. Thus, Moody and Sankey became “heroes” of international fame, not merely in Great Britain and the United States, but also in Sweden.

This chapter answers the questions: How did Moody and Sankey become international “heroes,” how did their fame spread to Sweden, and how and why did “Moody fever” spread throughout the country? Moody’s evangelistic success certainly caught the attention of revival-minded Mission Friends who longed for a similar revival in Sweden. As interest in Moody’s message and methods increased, some Swedes began to practice elements of his evangelistic strategy.

#### Moody’s and Sankey’s Revivals in the British Isles

When Moody and Sankey arrived at Liverpool, along with Moody’s family and Sankey’s wife, they discovered that they did not have any firm arrangements since the two men who had invited them to England, namely, William Pennefather and Cuthbert Brainbridge, had died.<sup>2</sup> However, Moody received earlier a letter from George Bennett, secretary of the YMCA at York, England, inviting him on his next visit to speak at York.<sup>3</sup> Moody responded to the invitation and launched his preaching tour, beginning at the Independent Chapel.<sup>4</sup> A notice advertised their evangelistic services, saying: “D. L.

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<sup>1</sup> James F. Findlay, Jr., *Dwight L. Moody: American Evangelist, 1837–1899* (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1969) 150.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> A. P. Fitt, *The Life of D. L. Moody* (Chicago: Moody Press, n.d.) 70.

<sup>4</sup> Henry Davenport Northrop, *Dwight L. Moody’s lif och versamhet. Den store evangelisten*, trans. by Emanuel Schmidt (Chicago: John C. Winston & Co., 1899) 84.

Moody of Chicago will preach, and Ira D. Sankey of Chicago will sing, at 7 o'clock P.M. tomorrow, Thursday, and each succeeding evening for a week, in the Independent Chapel. All are welcome. No collection."<sup>5</sup> The first meeting was attended by less than fifty people who sat as far back from the pulpit as possible. Sankey had difficulty getting them to sing because they were unfamiliar with his songs.<sup>6</sup>

After York, Moody and Sankey traveled to Sunderland where their meetings gained a wider audience. R. C. Morgan of London and editor of the periodical *The Christian* came there to write an article about Moody's and Sankey's revival work. While seated at a dinner table with Morgan, Sankey explained that his songs were growing in demand but that he did not have anyone to publish them. Morgan responded that he had printed musical leaflets for years and would be willing to take Sankey's songs with him to London and publish them in a pamphlet. Sankey then cut twenty-three pieces of music from his scrap-book, rolled them up, and wrote on them the words: "Sacred Songs and Solos, sung by Ira D. Sankey at the meetings of Mr. Moody of Chicago."<sup>7</sup>

Morgan returned to London the next day with the songs, and two weeks later sent Moody and Sankey five hundred copies of the pamphlet. After an all-day meeting, every pamphlet was sold. Immediately, Moody and Sankey sent a telegram to Morgan for a larger supply which was soon exhausted too, and within a few days copies appeared in windows of bookstores, grocers, and dry goods stores.<sup>8</sup> After six weeks in Sunderland and outlying districts, they traveled to Newcastle where attendance continued to increase.

Their breakthrough came at Edinburgh, Scotland, however, beginning on November 23, 1873.<sup>9</sup> In Edinburgh, people came to hear "Moody preach the gospel and Sankey sing the gospel" to a packed auditorium of two thousand people. At first, many Scots did not accept Sankey's gospel tunes and harmonium, a small organ.<sup>10</sup> They were accustomed to singing only psalms without any musical instruments. Nevertheless, they generally came to accept Sankey's songs and his organ. As Sankey's gospel songs became popular all over Great Britain, the co-evangelists observed how quickly people learned them, singing them in shipyards, on the streets, in railway trains, and market-places. Sankey later commented: "It was the beginning of a revolution in Great Britain in the matter of popular sacred songs ...."<sup>11</sup>

Most notably behind Moody's success in Scotland was the British press. British newspapers were filled with publicity about the American revivalists, beginning with the weekly newspaper *The Christian*, followed by other periodicals.<sup>12</sup> R. C. Morgan promoted Moody's meetings early in Moody's campaign. In February 1874, a British supporter of Moody paid Morgan to distribute *The Christian* to three thousand clergy in

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<sup>5</sup> Ira D. Sankey, *My Life and the Story of the Gospel Hymns* (Philadelphia: The Sunday School Times Company, 1906) 43.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 44.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 53–54. See also: *Sacred Songs and Solos, sung by Ira Sankey at Gospel Meetings* (London: Morgan and Scott, 1873).

<sup>8</sup> Sankey, *My Life and the Story of the Gospel Hymns*, 54.

<sup>9</sup> Findlay, *Dwight L. Moody*, 151; Timothy George, "Introduction: Remembering Mr Moody," in *Mr Moody and the Evangelical Tradition*, Timothy George, ed. (London and New York: T & T Clark Intl., 2004) 7.

<sup>10</sup> Findlay, *Dwight L. Moody*, 157–158.

<sup>11</sup> Sankey, *My Life and the Story of the Gospel Hymns*, 58–59.

<sup>12</sup> Karl Jäder, *En världsväckare. D. L. Moodys livsverk och inflytande* (Stockholm: Harrier 1937) 86, 177.

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England. Additional contributions made it possible to send complementary copies to ministers throughout Great Britain, further promoting the revival.<sup>13</sup> Furthermore, respected British clergy such as Andrew A. Bonar of Glasgow, Horatius Bonar in Edinburgh, and C. H. Spurgeon in London heartily backed Moody.<sup>14</sup>

### **Stockholm’s *Wecko-posten***

The wide circulation of news reports soon reached Sweden’s periodicals, including *Wecko-Posten*, a Baptist newspaper founded in 1868 by Adolf G. Drake (1833–1906).<sup>15</sup> In addition to editing and publishing *Wecko-Posten*, Drake taught courses at the Baptist seminary in Stockholm.<sup>16</sup> *Wecko-Posten*, with its wide appeal to Baptists and Lutheran Mission Friends, published a brief news report on February 5, 1874, about the American revivalists, saying:

The London newspaper *The Baptist* has received from Scotland great news for rejoicing about the spiritual movement that is taking place there in connection with the united prayer meetings and gatherings led by the American Moody from Chicago and his accompanying Christian singer, Sankey. Last fall both worked with tremendous blessing in Newcastle. Edinburgh is now the main center of their activity. The oldest residents of the city cannot remember when a movement as wide as this swept over Scotland’s old capital city. People of all confessions have attended the daily prayer meetings and have experienced great blessing. Even Glasgow, now Scotland’s most populated city, has begun to experience the influence of this wind of grace, and other cities have not been passed over either.<sup>17</sup>

A full article appeared in *Wecko-Posten* on February 19, 1874, describing the revival in Edinburgh. This article was the first of thirty articles covering the American revivalists in 1874 and 1875—nearly one-third of all weekly editions during this period—making “Moody” and “Sankey” household names among the readers.

*Wecko-Posten*’s articles about Moody and Sankey were based on articles in British newspapers, including *The Baptist* and *The Christian*.<sup>18</sup> The first major article titled “Wäckelsen i Skottland” (Revival in Scotland) compared the Edinburgh revival to America’s prayer-meeting revival of 1857 and 1858. Also citing *Evangelical Christendom*, *Wecko-Posten* reported: “Preachers of all confessions testify and regard

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<sup>13</sup> Lyle W. Dorsett, *A Passion for Souls: The Life of D. L. Moody* (Chicago: Moody Press, 1997) 210; D. W. Bebbington, “Moody as a Transatlantic Evangelical,” in *Mr Moody and the Evangelical Tradition*, George, ed., 78.

<sup>14</sup> Northrop, *Dwight L. Moody’s lif och verksamhet*, 92–94; David L. Larsen, *The Company of the Preachers* (Grand Rapids: Kregel Publications, 1998) 511; William R. Moody, *The Life of Dwight L. Moody* (Chicago: Fleming H. Revell, 1900) 202, 241, 243–244.

<sup>15</sup> Oloph Bexell, *Sveriges kyrkohistoria, 7. Folkväckelse och kyrkoförnyelsens tid* (Stockholm: Verbum, 2003) 43.

<sup>16</sup> A. G. Drake, influenced by Anders Wiberg, became a preacher and associate editor of *Evangelisten*, a Baptist monthly periodical in Stockholm. Drake edited *Wecko-Posten* until 1889, and served over forty years as a missionary with the Missionary Union. He received the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity from Bucknell University in Pennsylvania. *The Baptist Missionary Magazine*, Vol. 85, No. 5 (May, 1906) 192.

<sup>17</sup> *Wecko-Posten*, Feb. 5, 1874, 3.

<sup>18</sup> *Wecko-Posten*, Nov. 19, 1874, 3; Nov. 26, 1874, 3; March 25, 1875, 2; June 3, 1875, 2–3.

this as a special work of God.”<sup>19</sup> The article described Moody’s devotional meetings arranged for those seeking salvation, and claimed that many like those in apostolic times were asking, “What must I do to be saved?”<sup>20</sup> Referring to an English newspaper, *Wecko-Posten* quoted the correspondent as saying: “Mr. Moody’s evangelical message in the various churches was rich, simple, and from the heart. He always presented the gospel and exhorted everyone to accept it, as well as demonstrated with inspiration and power how unbelief was the only hindrance to a sinner’s conversion.”<sup>21</sup> Moreover, *Wecko-Posten* identified two of Sankey’s songs that penetrated listeners’ hearts, namely, *Hold the Fort*, and *Jesus of Nazareth Passeth By*, “songs that would never be forgotten.”<sup>22</sup>

*Wecko-Posten* also included a statement by Moody’s critic, Rev. John Kennedy, who had made a special trip to northern Britain to investigate the revival. Kennedy, a Free Church minister from Dingwall, Scotland, had criticized Moody and Sankey for what he called “hyper-evangelism,” arguing that the revival surrounding Moody and Sankey ignored the sovereignty of God.<sup>23</sup> Moreover, Kennedy attacked the use of the inquiry room for after-meetings, condemned the singing of “human songs,” and accused prayer meetings of becoming “factories of sensation.”<sup>24</sup> Nonetheless, in *Wecko-Posten*’s report, Kennedy conceded that after observing Moody and Sankey, many of his fears were allayed.

In April 1874, *Wecko-Posten* published a letter written by Sankey in which he reported that in Edinburgh “not less than 2,500 people gathered for the prayer meeting.”<sup>25</sup> He further stated: “Twenty to thirty gray-bearded men, preachers of the gospel, commented that they had never seen anything like this before in Scotland.”<sup>26</sup>

From Edinburgh, Moody and Sankey traveled to Glasgow where they stayed through April, holding meetings at the 4,000-seat Crystal Palace. Beginning in May 1874, they held meetings in outlying areas, including Aberdeen.<sup>27</sup>

### James Lumsden and *Teologisk tidskrift*

Shortly after Martin Johansson, editor of *Teologisk tidskrift* (Theological Journal) in Uppsala, became bishop in Härnösand, he published a substantial account of Moody’s activity in Scotland. Early in the spring of 1874, Johansson contacted his friend James Lumsden at the Free Church College in Aberdeen to get “a full account of the newsworthy phenomenon from a reliable source close to the revival.”<sup>28</sup> Johansson and others such as Carl Axel Torén, Hans Jacob Lundborg, and Peter Fjellstedt had shown much respect for Lumsden who had prompted them to found *Evangeliska Fosterlands-*

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<sup>19</sup> *Wecko-Posten*, Nov. 19, 1874, 3.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>21</sup> *Wecko-Posten*, Feb. 19, 1874, 2.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>23</sup> David W. Bebbington, *The Dominance of Evangelicalism: The Age of Spurgeon and Moody* (Downers Grove, Ill.: InterVarsity Press, 2005) 135–136.

<sup>24</sup> Dorsett, *A Passion for Souls*, 200.

<sup>25</sup> *Wecko-Posten*, Apr. 2, 1874, 3.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>27</sup> Findlay, *Dwight L. Moody*, 154.

<sup>28</sup> *Teologisk tidskrift* (No. 3, 1874) 178–200.

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*stiftelsen* (EFS). Lumsden verified to Johansson that from November 17, 1873, when Moody and Sankey held their first meeting in Edinburgh, that "a new religious era had begun in this and other cities."<sup>29</sup> Lumsden elaborated, saying:

All classes of men, rich and poor, lawyers, doctors, soldiers, students, shopkeepers, craftsmen, school boys, and school girls gather together under the banner of Christ; men of the world, drinkers and scoffers, unbelievers, and those who have fallen the farthest, take possession of the kingdom of heaven. ... Wherever one goes, he can hear people talking about the importance of salvation, and he marvels by it. ... Whatever the need may be, just as we know from former days, a person finds help merely by bringing his need before Jesus. ... All Christian clergy, and especially believing priests, have found their work doubled in the most blessed way.<sup>30</sup>

Lumsden's endorsement of Moody's revival instilled confidence in Swedish readers concerning the American revivalist.

In response to news of Moody's revival, Martin Johansson emphasized his longing for a similar movement in Sweden, saying: "And so this description of the Scottish revival ought for us Swedes, and especially for us as priests in the Swedish State Church, to be a reminder of both what we and our church need in this same respect, and what the Lord God is willing to give us, without a doubt, in answer to our prayer of faith."<sup>31</sup> In his conclusion, Johansson reported how tracts and newspapers which aided the progress of the revival in Scotland were reprinted in *Wäktaren* (The Watchman), the organ of the EFS, as well as other Swedish newspapers.<sup>32</sup>

Many of Sweden's Baptists and Lutheran Mission Friends accepted Moody's ecumenical appeal, especially those interested in Anglo-American mission-, Bible- and tract societies, as well as the Scottish Free Church. From the beginning of his campaign in England, Moody sought cooperation of all evangelical churches, and detested denominational partitions and partisan attitudes.<sup>33</sup> As a demonstration of unity, he brought together Presbyterian, Baptist, Methodist, and Episcopalian clergy on the preaching platform of his meetings.<sup>34</sup> He declared: "Truce to all sectarianism, that the Lord alone may be exalted: let all denominations for the time being be obliterated and forgotten, and let us bring our united Christian effort to bear upon the one great work of saving perishing souls."<sup>35</sup>

Moody and Sankey began meetings at Belfast, Ireland, on September 6, 1874.<sup>36</sup> After Belfast, they traveled to Dublin, conducting meetings from October 26 to November 29. Their meetings were held in Exhibition Palace with a seating capacity of

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<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 179–180.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>31</sup> Jäder, *En Världsväckare*, 21.

<sup>32</sup> *Teologisk tidskrift* (No. 3, 1874) 195.

<sup>33</sup> Moody applauded John V. Farwell who maintained that "Union work and Lay Preaching have taken root too deeply now to be rooted out by sectarian swine." Dorsett, *The Life of D.L. Moody*, 204.

<sup>34</sup> "Topics of the Time: Revivals and Evangelists," *Scribner's Monthly* 11 (April 1876) 887, cited in Thomas E. Corts, "D. L. Moody: Payment on Account," in *Mr Moody and the Evangelical Tradition*, George, ed., 69.

<sup>35</sup> J. H. Crespi, "Moody and Sankey," *The Southern Review* 19 (January 1876), cited in *Mr Moody and the Evangelical Tradition*, George, ed., 69.

<sup>36</sup> Findlay, *Dwight L. Moody*, 164.

10,000, a facility that was packed every night. *Wecko-Posten's* article title "Väckelsemöten i Irland" (Revival Meeting in Ireland) reported: "By Sunday afternoon, 20,000 people on that weekend had gathered to hear the gospel. On the last two Sundays, more than 1,000 anxious [souls] came in response to the invitation ... in order to speak with trained Christian workers who took part in the activity."<sup>37</sup> In another article of *Wecko-Posten*, the Irish correspondent to *The Christian* reported: "One of our influential newspapers here [in Dublin] stated the following morning (about Sunday's meeting in Exhibition Palace) that this was one of the most extraordinary events to have ever been held in the city. ... I believe that there has never been a gathering like this before in the history of Dublin. The number of people present was estimated as high as 15,000, while others thought 10,000 to 12,000."<sup>38</sup>

During his campaigns, Moody held "after meetings" where "anxious souls" entered an "inquiry room" to meet with "personal workers" to experience conversion, "the one thing needful." In November 1874, an article in *Wecko-Posten* described the invitation to the after-meeting, stating: "Mr. Moody ends the first meeting, and invites the Christians to remain for another twenty minutes in order to pray. Those who wish to talk about salvation of their souls are shown to a particular room."<sup>39</sup> The article further mentioned that some people came to Moody's public meetings with the intent to scoff and ridicule the activity, but later found themselves in the inquiry room, converting to faith in Christ. The article said: "Four young men were seen, for example, listening in, and began to whisper and snicker so much that they started to disturb those sitting around them. When Mr. Sankey sang, *Come Home, Come Home*, the words were directed at them. One of the young men sank his head, and soon began to flail and sob like a child."<sup>40</sup>

At the end of 1874, Moody and Sankey traveled back to England, arriving at Manchester on November 29. Following Manchester and Sheffield, they went to Liverpool where they held meetings at Victoria Hall, an 8,000-seat building that was filled to capacity from February 7 to March 7, 1875. Moody's campaign reached its peak in London, however, from March to July, held at four different locations in the city. Meetings at Agricultural Hall in north London regularly reached maximum crowds of 14,000.<sup>41</sup>

Even in such large crowds, Moody could be heard with only the aid of sounding boards. It was estimated that two and a half million people gathered in the final months of Moody's meetings in London.<sup>42</sup> Stockholm's *Wecko-Posten* summarized the phenomenon, saying:

When a person looks out over the vast crowds of people, he cannot help but ask himself, what is it that draws these vast crowds and holds them with a magic-like power? Is it the preacher's high rank, affluence, learning or eloquence? No, for he possesses little of these. It is simply that the cross of Christ is lifted up, held forth so that people might look

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<sup>37</sup> *Wecko-Posten*, Oct. 15, 1874, 3.

<sup>38</sup> *Wecko-Posten*, Nov. 19, 1874, 3.

<sup>39</sup> *Wecko-Posten*, Nov. 26, 1874, 3.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>41</sup> Gunnar Olén, *Berömda väckelse-predikanter* (Jönköping: Svenska Allians Mission Förlaget, 1969) 45.

<sup>42</sup> J. P. Bang, *De Stora väckelse-rörelserna* (Stockholm: Sveriges Kristliga Studentrörelses Förlag, 1926) 48; cf. Dorsett, *A Passion for Souls*, 210.

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upon the Lord Jesus in his divine glory, in his humanity, in the fullness of his nature to be admired, prayed unto, and received.<sup>43</sup>

Moody and Sankey held their final meeting at Liverpool on August 3 and returned to New York with international fame.



**D. L. Moody** preaching at Agricultural Hall in London, England, in 1875.  
Sankey is sitting at the organ, right of the pulpit.

### **Ebba Ramsay and *Wäktaren***

In March 1874, *Wäktaren*, the organ of the EFS and Lutheran Mission Friends, began to report about Moody’s and Sankey’s revival in Scotland.<sup>44</sup> In August, an article appeared which, after mentioning how the revival had spread beyond Scotland, stated how “hopes were kindled for a new outpouring of the Spirit.”<sup>45</sup> The reprinted article written by “the known and respected” James Lumsden conveyed “a favorable summary” of what had taken place in Scotland, and piqued interest in the subject again among the readers of *Wäktaren*.<sup>46</sup> The article contained the main points of Lumsden’s previous article about Moody and Sankey in *Teologisk tidskrift*, providing a “more detailed account by someone who with clarity” was more able to “shed light on this remarkable event.”<sup>47</sup>

<sup>43</sup> *Wecko-Posten*, Nov. 26, 1874, 3.

<sup>44</sup> “Wäckelsen i Edinburgh,” *Wäktaren*, Mar. 5, 1874, 3–4.

<sup>45</sup> “Den andliga rörelsen i Skotland,” *Wäktaren*, Aug. 6, 1874, 3.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.* See also “Den andliga rörelsen i Skotland,” *Wäktaren*, Aug. 20, 1874, 3–4; Aug. 27, 1874, 3.

In January 1875, Swedish correspondent Ebba Karström Ramsay (1828–1922) began a series of articles in *Wäktaren* about her impressions of Moody's activity in Scotland and England.<sup>48</sup> Her series continued through August 1875, when Moody and Sankey returned to the United States. Ramsay was the widow of the ship captain Carl Magnus Ramsay, and in 1874, she along with her oldest daughter traveled to Scotland to hear Moody preach. She stayed for six and a half months following Moody's campaign in order "to observe the earnest prayer and wide circle of revived and newly awakened souls."<sup>49</sup> She met Moody personally in the spring of 1875 at Liverpool and London.<sup>50</sup>

Ramsay first desired to travel to hear Moody while attending a lady's circle meeting at Brödräfsörsamling chapel in Göteborg. The women's group met to work for home and foreign missions, and to hear stories about the spreading of God's kingdom in the world.<sup>51</sup> At the meeting, Philip Aastrup read from Lumsden's account about Moody's revival in Scotland. Ramsay recalled: "Moody's and Sankey's names became a subject of wonder; we could not comprehend such a movement in our time. .... Yes, my heart rejoiced and trembled, but besides this I longed to know more."<sup>52</sup> In addition to hearing Moody, Ramsay wanted "to bring back some *lifs-frön* (seeds of life), and sow them in Sweden's vineyard."<sup>53</sup> Within months, Ramsay attended the prayer meeting at the Assembly Hall of the Free Church of Scotland as a correspondent for *Wäktaren*.

In an article titled "Bref från Skotland" (Letter from Scotland), she wrote: "We meet Moody's and Sankey's names on every street corner, in every shop. Their *Hymns, Sacred Songs and Solos*, and their portraits are displayed in shop windows or carried around on the streets."<sup>54</sup> She reported that these same sorts of things happened in other Scottish, Irish, and English cities and villages. In northern London where Moody preached, "lads and young chaps ran around selling Sankey's songbooks. ... Moody's and Sankey's names were pasted up on all the omnibuses and outside the giant assembly halls—like the one used for the exhibition of thousands of horses and cattle, the famous Agriculture Hall which for five weeks was filled night after night with 14,000 to 18,000 listeners."<sup>55</sup> Ramsay observed: "A person who arrived a couple hours before the meetings saw what looked like a swarm of bees settling down outside the beehive."<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>48</sup> Ebba Ramsay's name appeared as "E. R—y." Her series of articles about Moody and Sankey in Great Britain were published from Jan. 14, 1875 to Aug. 12, 1875. For example, see: "Bref från Skotland, I. Om de andliga rörelserna i Storbritannien 1873–1874," April 1, 1875, 3; "Bref från Skotland, II. Om m:r Moody's mission i London," (No. 24) Jun. 17, 1875, 3; "Bref från Skotland, IV, M:r Moodys och Sankeys afsked från wännerna i England," Aug. 12, 1875, 3. See also "Kyrkliga underrättelser," *Wäktaren*, May 27, 1875, 4.

<sup>49</sup> Ebby Ramsay, *Minnets blad I. En kort teckning af Dwight L. Moody* (Göteborg: Göteborgs Handels-Tidnings-Aktie-Bolag, 1875) 2.

<sup>50</sup> Ernst Newman, "Dwight L. Moody och hans inflytande i Sverige," in *Från skilda tider. Studier tillägnade Hjalmar Holmquist* (Stockholm: Svenska Kyrkans Diakonistyrelsens Bokförlag, 1938) 372n.

<sup>51</sup> Ebba Ramsay visited England and Scotland in 1854. She later lived in Göteborg where in 1870, she introduced the *symöten* (sewing meeting) and women's Bible ministry on the English model of Mathilda Foy. "Mödrarnas bönmöten, ett minne från Moodys och Sankeys dagar," *Wäktaren*, Jun. 29, 1876, 3. In March 1874, she established, along with her father, a children's home on the Wilhelmsro estate near Jönköping for disabled and diseased children. Ebby Ramsay, *Minnets blad*, 2.

<sup>52</sup> Ramsay, *Minnets blad*, 2.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>54</sup> "Bref från Skotland, I. Om andliga rörelsen i Storbritannien 1873–1874," *Wäktaren*, Jun. 3, 1875, 3.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>56</sup> "Bref från Skotland, II. Om m:r Moody's mission i London," *Wäktaren*, June 17, 1875, 3.



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She further reported that Sankey's songs were known all over the British Isles, saying: "They were heard in castles as well as cottages, among the upper and the lower classes. Both the educated and uneducated discussed Moody's words, his movement, and activities with as much interest as they talked about the thousand-and-one-things surrounding Queen Victoria herself."<sup>57</sup>

Ramsay believed that Moody's success lay with his personality and preaching. As for his physical appearance, there was nothing especially attractive about him. She said: "He had a boxer's frame," and looked as though he had "an arm so powerful that he could drop his opponent to the ground with a well-directed blow."<sup>58</sup> She commented that he was not an orator in the ordinary sense. He had "none of the graces of oratory" and that most of the English public had "learned to overlook his American nasal tone."<sup>59</sup>

She further reported that Moody could be "as quick as a flash" but "his presence alone was magnetic, and he powerfully attracted people to himself."<sup>60</sup> She observed that he was always "charged ... like an electric battery."<sup>61</sup> He was a man of the people, with everyday language, straightforward, and non-clerical in his style and dress.<sup>62</sup> When Moody walked to the platform in London before a crowd of 20,000 people, she reported:

All eyes were fixed on the speaker, all gave him undivided attention, and not a noise or a whisper was heard in the hall. ...With his penetrating eyes he seemed to follow each and every person. If someone can be said to have a falcon eye, then it is he. ...But as soon as Mr. Moody left the hall, instantly from below, a roar arose just like the sea. The clergymen who then attempted to lead a concluding prayer from the platform found to their surprise that they were not able to capture the attention of the thousands who without any request, had just listened to this common man and preacher.<sup>63</sup>

In addition to news stories, *Wäktaren* printed a letter from Sankey, and a sermon by Moody, "one that demonstrated quite well his uncommon manner of exposition, as a sample to show this extraordinary man's style of preaching."<sup>64</sup>

### ***Göteborgs Weckoblad***

The news stories of Moody's campaigns generally reached their destinations in Sweden within one or two weeks. Local British newspapers commonly carried full accounts of the previous day's meeting with a stenographer's account of Moody's

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<sup>57</sup> *Wäktaren*, Jun. 3, 1875, 3

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>59</sup> *Wäktaren*, May 27, 1875, 4.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>61</sup> *Wäktaren*, Jun. 3, 1875, 3.

<sup>62</sup> "De andliga wäckelse i England," *Wäktaren*, May 4, 1876, 3.

<sup>63</sup> *Wäktaren*, Jun. 17, 1875, 3.

<sup>64</sup> *Wäktaren*, Aug. 12, 1875, 3; "Predikan af m:r Moody," *Wäktaren*, Sept. 30, 1875, 3; Oct. 14, 1875, 3.

News reports of Moody and Sankey continued in *Wäktaren* when they returned to America. *Wäktaren*, Nov. 30, 1876, 3; "Moody och Sankey i Boston," *Wäktaren*, May, 15, 1877, 4. In 1884, the circulation of *Wäktaren* of the EFS was estimated at 5,000 copies. M. W. Montgomery, *A Wind from the Holy Spirit in Sweden and Norway* (New York: American Home Missionary Society, 1885) 39.

message printed on the front page.<sup>65</sup> In addition to eyewitness reports by Swedish correspondents, original articles in English were translated and published in periodicals in Sweden.

When *Göteborgs Weckoblad* reappeared at the end of 1874, it soon contained news stories about Moody.<sup>66</sup> An article in February 1875 titled, “Ett bref från Mr. Moody” (A Letter from Mr. Moody), began with the editor’s encouragement for readers to read with interest “the following letter from the famous American preacher who from Scotland and England has become a means to bring attention to this spiritual movement.”<sup>67</sup> In the letter, Moody instructed his readers to participate in the work of evangelism, saying: “Let us now ask ourselves the question, ‘What is to be done about the masses of [lost] people?’ ... May every man and woman know that this question is not for priests, elders and teachers, but for themselves! I especially want to instruct everyone who has never taken part in this work to ask God to show them their own personal obligation in this important matter.”<sup>68</sup> At the end of the letter Moody exhorted his readers: “It is high time that we wake up from sleeping. Let us stand up and examine ourselves before God and see what hinders us from entering into His Son’s vineyard. ... No earthly cost is too great for us to help one of these poor souls enter this eternal rest.”<sup>69</sup>

*Göteborgs Weckoblad* also described Moody’s “after-meeting,” when “those who are anxious for their souls are gathered into certain rooms for personal conversation with preachers, and at times, several hundred people come.”<sup>70</sup> On May 1, 1875, this newspaper printed a biographical sketch of Moody, introducing him as a “remarkable man who is famous throughout the Christian world.”<sup>71</sup> The sketch was followed by Alfred Bray’s description of Moody’s revival meeting in Manchester, England, taken from *Times of Blessing*.<sup>72</sup> Articles of Moody also appeared in *Budbäraren* (The Messenger), *Församlingsvännen* (The Congregation’s Friend), *Sanningswitnet*, and *Nya Posten* (The New Post).<sup>73</sup>

### Karl Erixon and *Nya Posten*

In 1875, Karl Erixon (1827–1900) in cooperation with Herman Hall began *Nya Posten*, a Christian political newspaper in Stockholm.<sup>74</sup> Erixon had collaborated with

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<sup>65</sup> Stanley N. Gundry, “Demythologizing Moody,” in *Mr Moody and the Evangelical Tradition*, George, ed., 13.

<sup>66</sup> Sven Gustafsson, *Nyevangelismens kyrkokritik* (Lund: Gleerups förlag, 1962) 197–198.

<sup>67</sup> *Göteborgs Weckoblad*, Feb. 27, 1875, 3.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>70</sup> *Göteborgs Weckoblad*, Apr. 3, 1875, 2.

<sup>71</sup> *Göteborgs Weckoblad*, May 1, 1875, 3.

<sup>72</sup> *Göteborgs Weckoblad*, Jun. 5, 1875, 3. Also see Rufus W. Clark, “Några drag ur Moodys och Sankeys lif,” *Göteborgs Weckoblad*, Jan. 7, 1876, 2.

<sup>73</sup> *Budbäraren* (1875) 71ff. and 88ff.; *Församlingsvännen* No. 5 (May 1874) 71f., No. 7 (July 1875) 104ff., cited in Newman, “Dwight L. Moody och hans inflytande i Sverige,” in *Från skilda tider*, 371.

*Sanningswitnet* 10 (Mar. 11, 1876) 73–75; 39 (Sept. 29, 1876) 313–314; 40 (Oct. 6, 1876) 321–323; 51 (Dec. 22, 1876) 412–414.

<sup>74</sup> *Nya Posten*, Sept. 17, 1875, 1.

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Hall to publish *Svenska Posten* in Stockholm in 1874 and 1875.<sup>75</sup> However, when *Svenska Posten* returned to Jönköping in 1875, Erixon began *Nya Posten* as *Svenska Posten*'s Stockholm edition.

Erixon served as director of Stockholm's Stadsmissions barnhem (City Mission's Orphanage) on Norrtullsgatan (Norrtull Street) since 1871. He was also a board member of Stockholm's Lutherska missionsförening (Lutheran Mission Society), a group that emphasized lay ministry.<sup>76</sup> He was also active with Svenska Evangeliska Alliansen that reorganized in Stockholm in 1875. In addition to the newspaper, Erixon opened a “mission” bookstore called *Nya bokhandeln*, a printing press named *Nya boktryckeri*, and a publishing office named *Nya förlagsexpeditionen*.<sup>77</sup>

Karl J. Erixon was born in Misterhult in Kalmar, Sweden, on June 2, 1827. In his youth, he came into contact with *läsare* (Readers) in Småland, and through them was converted to faith in Christ. He completed his examination for organist and teacher at Östra Vingåker in Södermanland, where he also began as a teacher in 1846.<sup>78</sup> During his years in education, however, he “became silent and lax in his [Christian] testimony.”<sup>79</sup> Nevertheless, when an illness nearly ended his life, he was healed in body and revived in spirit, and become active with Mission Friends.

The first issue of *Nya Posten* in September 1875 reported Moody's and Sankey's activity, saying “These remarkable evangelists who during the last two years in Ireland, Scotland and England, through sermon and song, have drawn lots of attention. They were unquestionably a means in God's hands to bring many souls to Jesus, the friend of sinners, and have now returned to their homeland, America.”<sup>80</sup> In October, the newspaper published a two-part sermon by P. P. Waldenström, followed by Moody's sermon titled, “*Det glada Budskapet*” (The Glad Tidings).<sup>81</sup> The newspaper also advertised William P. Mackay's book, *Grace and Truth*, published by C. A. V. Lundholm under the Swedish title *Nåd och sanning*, with the foreword by Moody.<sup>82</sup> From its beginning, *Nya Posten* was closely identified with the American revivalists and P. P. Waldenström who was also a supporter of Moody.

*Nya Posten* published a series of articles by C. A. V. Lundholm, the book publisher from Stockholm who traveled to England in 1875 to hear Moody and Sankey.<sup>83</sup> Lundholm's account described his travels from Stockholm to London where he observed firsthand the work of the American revivalists. His travel diary was published in December 1875 in *Betlehem, Julkalender för 1876* (Bethlehem, Christmas Calendar for

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<sup>75</sup> *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon*, Vol. 14 (Stockholm: Samfundet för Svenskt Biografiskt Lexikons utgivande genom Bengt Hildebrand, 1953) 441. *Nya Posten* was printed at Erixon's printing shop with Hall as publisher from 1875 to 1877, and with Erixon as publisher from 1877 to 1878.

<sup>76</sup> *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon*, Vol. 14, 441.

<sup>77</sup> G. Tapper, *Strålar af ett stort ljus, eller D. L. Moody i lif och död* (Brooklyn, M. Hultings Boktryckeri, 1900) 41. Tapper included a memorial to Karl J. Erixon in addition to Moody.

<sup>78</sup> In the 1850s, Erixon published the newspaper *Dagligt Alleh* with his plan to reform Sweden's public education system from kindergarten to the university. He also published a weekly school newspaper called *Triaden*. *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon*, Vol. 14, 441.

<sup>79</sup> *Österns Weckoblad*, Jan. 6, 1891, 1.

<sup>80</sup> *Nya Posten*, Sept. 17, 1875, 4.

<sup>81</sup> D. L. Moody, “Det glada Budskapet,” *Nya Posten*, Oct. 8, 1875, 3; Oct. 29, 1875, 3.

<sup>82</sup> See W. P. Mackay, *Nåd och sanning* (Stockholm: C.A.V. Lundholm, 1874). See also advertisements in *Göteborgs Weckoblad*, Sept. 24, 1875, 4; Dec. 3, 1875, 4.

<sup>83</sup> *Nya Posten*, Jan. 21, 1876, 3; Jan. 28, 1876, 3; Feb. 4, 1876, 3; Dec. 22, 1876, 3.

1876) that described his trip to London during “*missionsvännerna Moodys och Sankeys wistelse*” (the Mission Friends’ Moody and Sankey’s visit), a description that identified Moody and Sankey as “Mission Friends.”<sup>84</sup>

In January 1876, *Nya Posten* published an article titled, “Moody om alliance” [sic] (Moody on Alliance ), promoting Moody’s practical, evangelical ecumenism.<sup>85</sup> For the years 1875 to 1878 when Erixon edited *Nya Posten*, this newspaper published eight sermons by Moody and seven by Waldenström.<sup>86</sup> In addition to Moody’s sermons, *Nya Posten* published 26 news reports of Moody’s and Sankey’s activity, and 12 of Moody’s anecdotes and quotations. For example, *Nya Posten* reported about Moody’s and Sankey’s Christian convention in New York in an article titled, “Ett predikantmötet i New York” where 3,350 clergy and Christian leaders attended.<sup>87</sup>

During Moody’s Chicago campaign in 1876, the periodical reported that a tabernacle was erected with seating for 8,000 people, and that the meetings had a large number of the city’s pastors attending from various confessions.<sup>88</sup> In a major article titled: “Ett missionsmötet i Kikago” (A Mission Meeting in Chicago), *Nya Posten* published Moody’s instructions to pastors and Christian workers, and answered the following questions: What is the best way to lead a revival meeting? How should the music and songs be led? How should the after-meetings for the anxious be conducted?<sup>89</sup> The newspaper also reported on Moody’s church in Chicago including its newly completed building that seated 2,700, dedicated on July 16, 1876.<sup>90</sup>

All of these news reports of Moody’s revival piqued interest among Swedish readers. Moreover, publishers in Sweden were quick to take advantage of this interest.

### Moody’s Publications in Sweden

Biographical works about Moody and Sankey were first published in English in 1874. W. G. Blaikie wrote *The Religious Awakening in Edinburgh in Connexion with the Visit of Messrs. Moody and Sankey*, and Maria D. Peddie authored, *A Consecutive Narrative of the Remarkable Awakening in Edinburgh*.<sup>91</sup> In 1875, a number of books came out such as *D. L. Moody and His Work* by W. H. Daniels, *Narrative of Messrs. Moody and Sankey’s Labors in Scotland and Ireland* by A. D. F. Randolph, and *The Work of God in Great Britain* by Rufus W. Clark.<sup>92</sup> In the same year, collections of

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<sup>84</sup> *Nya Posten*, Jan. 14, 1876, 3. The edition of *Betlehem, Julkalender för 1876* also contained a sermon by Moody.

<sup>85</sup> *Nya Posten*, Jan. 14, 1876, 4.

<sup>86</sup> Other sermons published were by C. O. Berg, Erik Nyström, and E. J. Ekman.

<sup>87</sup> *Nya Posten*, Oct. 6, 1876, 4. Cf. “Predikantmötet i Stockholm,” promoting the meeting for Aug. 1, 1877, *Nya Posten*, July 13, 1877, 4.

<sup>88</sup> “Guds verk i Chicago.” *Nya Posten*, Nov. 3, 1876, 3; Nov. 10, 1876, 4.

<sup>89</sup> *Nya Posten*, Feb. 23, 1877, 4.

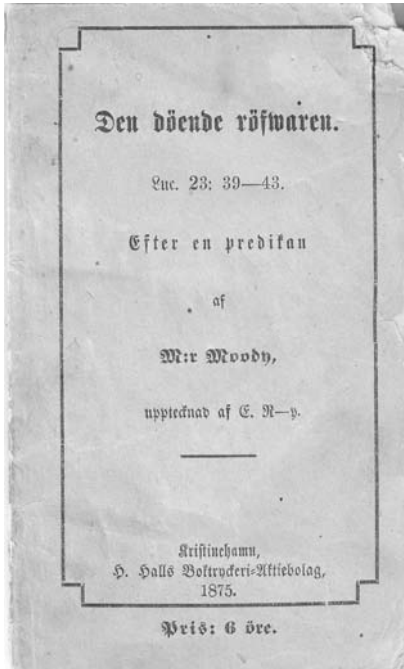
<sup>90</sup> *Nya Posten*, May 19, 1876, 3; Sept. 9, 1876, 4.

<sup>91</sup> See William G. Blaikie, *The Religious Awakening in Edinburgh in Connexion with the Visit of Messrs. Moody and Sankey* (Manchester, 1874), and Maria D. Peddie, *A Consecutive Narrative of the Remarkable Awakening in Edinburgh: under the labours of Messrs. Moody and Sankey, the city ministers and Christian laymen* (London: S. W. Partridge & Co., 1874).

<sup>92</sup> See W. H. Daniels, *D. L. Moody and His Work* (Hartford, Conn.: American Publishing Co., 1875), Anson D. F. Randolph, *Narrative of Messrs. Moody and Sankey’s Labors in Scotland and Ireland* (New

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Moody’s sermons appeared, such as *Addresses and Lectures* published by Randolph in New York, and *Anecdotes, Incidents and Illustrations* published by Morgan & Scott in London, R. C. Morgan’s publishing company.<sup>93</sup> Morgan also held the copyright to Sankey’s first hymnbook that he had published in 1873.<sup>94</sup>



***The Dying Thief***, a sermon by D. L. Moody from Luke 23:39–43, recorded by Ebba Ramsay in Swedish, published in 1875 by Herman Hall, and distributed as an eighteen-page colporteur tract. Private collection of David M. Gustafson

Swedish translations of Moody’s sermons, stories of the British revival, and versions of Moody’s biography soon followed. In 1875, Ebba Ramsay published *En kort teckning af D. L. Moody* (A Brief Sketch of D. L. Moody). In the beginning of the book, she stated: “There should no longer be any readers who are unacquainted with this remarkable man who has been used by the Lord to carry out such a great task on earth. However, I would like to bring to Sweden some more details of his earlier years.”<sup>95</sup> In addition to this short biography, Ramsay also translated two of Moody’s sermons published in 1875 by Herman Hall in the form of colporteur tracts, namely, *Den döende rövaren* (The Dying Thief), and *Vår herres Jesu Kristi varkunsamhet* (The Mercy of Our

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York: A. D. F. Randolph & Co., 1875), and Rufus W. Clark, *The Work of God in Great Britain under Messrs. Moody and Sankey, 1873–1875* (New York: Harper, 1875).

<sup>93</sup> Findlay, *Dwight L. Moody*, 364, Bebbington, “Moody as a Transatlantic Evangelical,” in *Mr Moody and the Evangelical Tradition*, George, ed., 80. See Dwight L. Moody, *Addresses and Lectures* (New York: A.D.F. Randolph & Co., 1875), and Dwight L. Moody, *Anecdotes and Illustrations* (London: Morgan and Scott, 1875).

<sup>94</sup> Bebbington, “Moody as a Transatlantic Evangelical,” in *Mr Moody and the Evangelical Tradition*, George, ed., 80. See Ira D. Sankey, *Sacred Songs and Solos* (London: Morgan and Scott, 1875).

<sup>95</sup> Ramsay, *Minnets blad*, 3.

Lord Jesus Christ).<sup>96</sup> The following year, H. L. Bolinder published the fifteen-page colporteur tract, *Hvad synes eder om Kristus?* (What Think Ye of Christ?) translated also by Ramsay.<sup>97</sup>

In 1875, Per Palmquist (1815–1887), a Baptist layman active earlier with Evangeliska Alliansen and founder of Sweden’s first Sunday school with Baptists and Lutherans, published a collection of Moody’s sermons under the title *Andeliga föredrag* (Spiritual Lectures).<sup>98</sup> In the same year, Sundwalls missionsförening (Sundwall’s Mission Society) published a collection of Moody’s sermons as *Kristliga föredrag* (Christian Lectures), while Karl Erixon’s Nya förlagsexpedition released the tract, *Det glada budskapet* (The Glad Tidings), and C. A. Stenholm published the booklet, *Tvenne predikningar* (Two Sermons).<sup>99</sup> In 1875, C. A. V. Lundholm published two books of Moody’s sermons, *Lifsord från evangeliska föredrag* (Life Words from Evangelical Lectures) and *Föredrag, hållna i Amerika* (Lectures, Delivered in America).<sup>100</sup>

In 1875, Theodor Truvé wrote *Moody och Sankey och deras verksamhet i Skottland, Irland och England* (Moody and Sankey and Their Activity in Scotland, Ireland and England), published in Stockholm by Per Palmquist. This book, based on multiple news reports from British sources, described Moody’s and Sankey’s ministry in Great Britain. In the foreword, Truvé stated that of the “one billion people who live on the earth, there is none in recent times who has led as many to the Lord Jesus as Dwight L. Moody.”<sup>101</sup> Truvé continued: “No person’s name among the living is more generally recognized than Moody’s ... Rich and poor, educated and uneducated, royalty and society’s dregs have gathered to hear him, and conversions in a single city have been estimated at ten thousand.”<sup>102</sup> In this book, Truvé commented that because of the American revivalists, “Christendom has awakened from its sleep and turned its eyes to England, astonished at the Lord’s work there, and that from thousands of lips, prayers of petition have arisen for a similar work in various parts of the world.”<sup>103</sup>

Throughout this book Truvé identified his sources, namely, *The Christian*, *The British Evangelist*, *Times of Blessing*, and the *Dayly Telegraph*.<sup>104</sup> From *Times of*

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<sup>96</sup> See Dwight L. Moody, *Den döende röfvaren. Luk. 23:39–43* (Trans. by E. R–y, Kristinehamn: H. Hall, 1875), and *Vår herres Jesu Kristi varkunsamhet. Föredrag*, trans. by E. R–y (Göteborg: Ebba Ramsay, 1875).

<sup>97</sup> See Dwight L. Moody, *Hvad synes eder om Kristus? En predikan*, trans. by E. R–y (Göteborg: H. L. Bolinder, 1876).

<sup>98</sup> *Wecko-Posten*, Dec. 16, 1875, 4; “Per Palmquist,” in *Svenskt biografiskt lexicon*, 28 (Stockholm: Svenskt biografiskt lexicon, 1994) 665–669. See Dwight L. Moody, *Andeliga föredrag*, transl. by A. S–g (Stockholm: P. Palmquists aktieb, 1875).

<sup>99</sup> See Dwight L. Moody, *Kristliga föredrag*. Part 1 and 2 (Sundswall: S-walls missionsfören., 1875), Dwight L. Moody, *Det glada budskapet. Predikan öfver 1 Kor. 15:1, 2* (Stockholm: Nya förlagsexp., 1875), and Dwight L. Moody, *Tvenne predikningar* (Göteborg: C.A. Stenholm, 1875).

<sup>100</sup> See Dwight L. Moody, *Lifsord från evangeliska föredrag* (Stockholm: C.A.V. Lundholm, 1875), Dwight L. Moody, *Föredrag, hållna i Amerika*. (Stockholm: C. A. V. Lundholm, 1875).

<sup>101</sup> Theodor Truvé, *Moody och Sankey och deras verksamhet i Skottland, Irland och England* (Stockholm: P. Palmquists Aktiebolag, 1875) 1.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*, 21, 66, 71–73, 77, 92, 95, 159–160, 167, 185–187, 190, 194, 207. *The British Evangelist* was a non-denominational evangelical periodical. Findlay, *Dwight L. Moody*, 164–165.

## *Spread of “Moody Fever” in Sweden*

*Blessing*, he presented Pastor Duncan MacGregor’s analysis of the results of Moody’s revival in Manchester, identifying them as:

1. Many have been converted and have found peace. ...
2. The believers have been revived. We needed to be shaken up and this has happened. ...
3. The believers have become united....
4. The Bible has been read more. ... Instead of gathering to dance and spending time in meaningless chatter, people have gathered to read and pray. ...
5. People have begun to see that there is something genuine in religion. ...
6. Many have joined the various congregations.<sup>105</sup>

Truvé further stated to his Swedish readers: “Sankey’s songs drew the people, and awakened them to their senses.”<sup>106</sup> Truvé also described how several people came to the meetings out of mere curiosity to hear Sankey sing, and often left having been met by a single truth of the gospel set forth in the music. He further mentioned that “the songs of particular blessing were: *Jesus of Nazareth Passeth By*, *Nothing but Leaves*, and *The Ninety and Nine*.”<sup>107</sup>

Theodor Truvé (1838–1910) was a Baptist pastor in Göteborg who studied under Gustaf Palmquist from 1859 to 1862.<sup>108</sup> Like his mentor, Truvé came to America, arriving in 1864 and entered Madison University, later Colgate University, in New York.<sup>109</sup> For two years during his studies, he led an American congregation.<sup>110</sup> In 1868, he returned to Sweden with his American wife and served as pastor of the Baptist congregation in Göteborg.<sup>111</sup> He was active as a pastor, author, and leader in Sweden’s Sunday school movement, initiating the Örebro Söndagsskolförening (Örebro Sunday School Union) in 1872.<sup>112</sup> He was joined at the Baptist church in Göteborg by Andreas Fernholm, as assistant pastor, formerly a priest of Sweden’s state church.<sup>113</sup>

For Truvé, in addition to writing *Guds verk genom Moody och Sankey i Skottland, Irland och England*, he wrote in 1878, *Guds verk genom Moody och Sankey i Amerika* (God’s Work through Moody and Sankey in America).<sup>114</sup>

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<sup>105</sup> Truvé, *Moody och Sankey och deras verksamhet i Skottland, Irland och England*, 119–121.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*, 156.

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>108</sup> Gustaf Landin, *Theodor Truvé. En minnestekning* (Stockholm: Tryckningskommitténs förlagsexpedition, 1917) 26. Gustaf Palmquist, brother of Per Palmquist, translated four volumes of C. H. Spurgeon’s sermons into Swedish, which were published by Palmquist’s publishing company. See Charles Haddon Spurgeon, *Walda predikningar*. Bd. 1 (Stockholm, 1860); Bd. 2 (1863); Bd. 3 (1867), 4 vol. (1874). See also C. H. Spurgeon, *Jesu ord på korset: Föredrag* (Öfvers. af Theodor Truvé, Stockholm : Tryckningskommitténs förl., 1909).

<sup>109</sup> Landin, *Theodor Truvé*, 68–71.

<sup>110</sup> Andrew Gustaf Hall, *Svenska baptisternas historia under en tid af femtio år 1848–1898* (Chicago: A. G. Halls förlag, 1900) 397.

<sup>111</sup> Landin, *Theodor Truvé*, 80.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*, 146.

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*, 169.

<sup>114</sup> Hall, *Svenska Baptisternas Historia*, 398. See T. Truvé, *Guds verk genom Moody och Sankey i Amerika* (Göteborg: Tidningen Bikupans Expedition, 1878). In the foreword, Truvé states that his source is *Gestrikland*.

## Sankey's Songs in Sweden

In 1875, Truvé came out with his edition of Sankey's songbook titled, *Melodier till andliga sånger* (Melodies to Spiritual Songs), published by the Örebro Söndagsskolförening.<sup>115</sup> In addition to this work, Erik Nyström's translation of Sankey's songs was published in 1875 by C. A. V. Lundholm titled, *Sånger till Lammets lof* (Songs to the Praise of the Lamb).<sup>116</sup> Moreover, in 1875 he came out with *Andliga Sånger, sjungna vid de i Skottland pågående väckelserna* (Spiritual Songs, Sung by Those in Scotland's Current Revivals), published by A. L. Norman in Stockholm.<sup>117</sup>

Finally in 1875, Herman Hall's publishing company in Jönköping produced Sankey's *Minnen från de sednaste väckelserna i England och Skottland, Andeliga sånger* (Memories from the Latest Revivals in England and Scotland, Spiritual Songs).<sup>118</sup> Herman Teodor Hall (1837-1883), the publisher and editor contributed greatly to the spreading of the new evangelical revival ideas.<sup>119</sup> He began *Jönköpings-Posten* in 1865, and by the 1870s published several newspapers including: *Wermlands Allehanda*, *Göteborgs Weckoblad*, *Svenska Posten*, *Nya Posten*, and others. He was a devoted spokesman for the revival movement, temperance advocate, and publisher of Moody's books and tracts, as well as Sankey's songs.

In 1876, a cooperative effort by C. A. Stenholm in Göteborg and W. Williamson in Chicago published *Sankeys sångbok* with credit given as well to P. P. Bliss, author of several of "Sankey's songs."<sup>120</sup> The common Swedish title, *Sankeys sånger*, (Sankey's Songs) was first used by D. S. Sörlin in his 1875 edition of *Sankeys sånger* published in New York.<sup>121</sup> The sudden popularity of Sankey's songs among Mission Friends is noted in the minutes of the Stockholm preacher's meeting in 1876 when those in attendance sang, *Upp! Kamrater, se baneret* (Ho! My Comrades, See the Signal), "number 6 from *Sankeys sånger*."<sup>122</sup>

In 1876 and 1877, there were so many publications of Moody and Sankey produced in Sweden that Ernst Newman concluded: "During these years we can speak about a *genuine Moody fever*, and even in the years that followed, the writings of this

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<sup>115</sup> See *Melodier till andliga sånger. Sjungna af I. D. Sankey vid väckelserna* (Örebro: Söndagsskolförening, 1875).

<sup>116</sup> See Ira D. Sankey, *Sånger till lammets lof*, (Stockholm: Lundholm, 1875). *Nya Posten* advertised *Sånger till lammets lov*, along with: *Sånger, sjunga af Ira D. Sankey, vid D. L. Moody andliga föredrag af D. L. Moody. Nya Posten*, Oct. 1, 1875, 2.

<sup>117</sup> See Ira D. Sankey, *Andliga Sånger, Sjungna vid de i Skottland pågående väckelserna*, trans. by J. Th. J. and B.S. (Stockholm: Norman, 1875).

<sup>118</sup> See Ira D. Sankey, *Minnen från de sednaste väckelserna i England och Skottland. Andeliga sånger* (Jönköping: H. Halls förlagsexp. 1875). The first issue of *Nya Posten* stated that there were three different editions of *Sankeys sånger*, one published in Stockholm, one in Göteborg, and one in Jönköping. *Nya Posten*, Sept. 17, 1875, 2.

<sup>119</sup> Gustafsson, *Nyevangelismens kyrkokritik*, 197.

<sup>120</sup> See P. P. Bliss and Ira D. Sankey, *Sankeys sångbok. Andeliga sånger, sjunga vid Moody och Sankeys evangeliska gudstjänster*. (Göteborg: C. A. Stenholm & Co., and Chicago: W. Williamson, 1876).

<sup>121</sup> See Ira D. Sankey, *Sankeys sånger, sjungna vid de stora väckelserna i England, Skottland och Irland: jemte ett litet urval sånger af wälkänka föfattare* (New York: Chas. B. Thore & Co., 1875).

<sup>122</sup> *Predikantmötet i Stockholm den 15-18 Augusti 1876, II. Diskussionen* (Stockholm: Tidskr. Sanningswitnets Expedition, 1876) 37; and *Wäktaren*, Jun. 14, 1877, 3.



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foreigner have been translated in our country as a testimony to his extensive and lasting influence.”<sup>123</sup>

In 1876, there were forty-six new titles of Moody’s works from publishers in Sweden. These publications included collections of Moody’s sermons in soft and hard bound books, as well as tracts for distribution by colporteurs and city missionaries. Among the leading publishers were: Per Palmquist, C. A. V. Lundholm, Evangeliska Fosterlands-stiftelsen (EFS), Nya förlagsexpedition, and *Sanningsvittnet*. In 1877, there were twenty-seven new titles of Moody’s books. In addition, second and third editions of earlier works were printed. (For a list of Moody’s works in Swedish from 1875 to 1899, see the Appendix.)

In 1876, the Swedish translation of W. H. Daniel’s book, *D. L. Moody and His Work*, was published under the title *Guds verk i Amerika och England genom Moody och Sankey* (God’s Work in America and England through Moody and Sankey) by C. A. V. Lundholm in Stockholm. In addition to Moody’s and Sankey’s biographies and stories of their revival meetings in Great Britain, this book contained the Articles of Faith and Principles of Organization of Moody’s Chicago Avenue Church.<sup>124</sup> In 1876, Lundholm also published Moody’s *Föredrag under väckelserna i England och Skottland* (Lectures during the Revivals in England and Scotland). Lundholm continued this series of Moody’s books in the following years.<sup>125</sup>

In the beginning of 1877, Lundholm also released *Pilar ur Moodys koger jemte en kort skildring af hans lif och af den stora väckelsen åren 1874–75* (Arrows from Moody’s Quiver, also a Short Description of His Life and the Great Revival in 1874–75), a collection of Moody’s sayings, and a sketch of his life written by John Lobb.<sup>126</sup> In April, the same work came out by Per Palmquist with a slightly different title, *Pilar och anekdoter af Dwight L. Moody jemte en teckning af hans lif och verksamhet* (Arrows and Anecdotes of Dwight L. Moody, also a Sketch of His Life and Activity), and included an endorsement by C. H. Spurgeon.<sup>127</sup>

In 1876, Per Palmquist published Moody’s sermons *Himmelen* (Heaven) and *Kristus söker syndaren* (Christ Seeks the Sinner) as separate tracts.<sup>128</sup> In the same year he produced two of Moody’s practical resources, *Moody på bönenmötena* (Moody on Prayer Meetings) and *Om bästa sättet att studera bibeln* (The Best Way to Study the Bible).<sup>129</sup> These followed in 1877 with a collection of Moody’s sermons titled, *Den stora*

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<sup>123</sup> Newman, “Dwight L. Moody och hans inflytande i Sverige,” in *Från skilda tider*, 374.

<sup>124</sup> W. H. Daniels, *Guds verk i Amerika och England genom Moody och Sankey* (Stockholm: C.A.V. Lundholm, 1876) 82–84; cf. W. H. Daniels, *D. L. Moody and His Work* (Hartford: American Publishing Company, 1875) 109–112.

<sup>125</sup> Dwight L. Moody, *Föredrag 3* (Stockholm: C.A.V. Lundholm, 1876) 345–568, Dwight L. Moody, *Föredrag 4* (Stockholm: Lundholm, 1877) 571–790, and Dwight L. Moody, *Föredrag 5* (Stockholm: Lundholm, 1877) 795–951.

<sup>126</sup> Dwight L. Moody, *Pilar ur Moodys koger jemte en kort skildring af hans lif och af den stora väckelsen åren 1874–1875* af John Lobb. (Stockholm: C.A.V. Lundholm, 1876).

<sup>127</sup> Dwight L. Moody, *Pilar och anekdoter: Jemte en teckning af hans lif och verksamhet af J. Lobb*, (Stockholm: P. Palmquists aktieb, 1877).

<sup>128</sup> Dwight L. Moody, *Himmelen, Föredrag* (Stockholm: P. Palmquist 1876), and Dwight L. Moody, *Kristus söker syndaren. Föredrag. Luke 19:10* (Stockholm: P. Palmquist, 1876).

<sup>129</sup> Dwight L. Moody, *Moody på bönenmötena. Kortare yttranden vid möten i New York* (Stockholm: P. Palmquist, 1876) and Dwight L. Moody, *Om bästa sättet att studera bibeln. Vinkar* (Stockholm: P. Palmquist, 1876).

*fröjden* (Great Joy).<sup>130</sup> In response, Herman Hall's publishing company in Jönköping published a translation of the same sermons in *Stora glädje* (Great Joy) with messages published earlier as tracts.<sup>131</sup>

### Moody's Swedish Colporteur Tracts

In 1876, Evangeliska Fosterlands-stiftelsen began to publish Moody's sermons as tracts and booklets for distribution by EFS colporteurs. Some of these works included: *Den nya födelsen* (The New Birth), *Frälsningens väg* (The Way of Salvation), *Den sanna tron* (The True Faith), *Här är ingen åtskilnad* (Here Is No Distinction), *Om bönen* (About Prayer), and *Ursäkter* (Excuses).<sup>132</sup> EFS also compiled Moody's sermons into the book titled *Föredrag i urval* (Selected Sermons).<sup>133</sup> In subsequent years, the EFS catalogue listed several of Moody's writings available for sale.<sup>134</sup>

Other evangelical societies and their publishing houses equally produced tracts and books by Moody in Swedish. Örebro's Söndagsskolförening published *Sökande Gud af allt hjerta* (Seeking God with Your Whole Heart), *Sanningsvittnet* published *Vänden om, i affäliga barn!* (Conversion, in Rebellious Children), and the Methodist publisher Wesleyana in Göteborg produced J. B. MacClure's collection of Moody sermons titled, *Små berättelser* (Small Tales).<sup>135</sup> Furthermore, in 1877 Herman Hall in Jönköping published *Tal till de nyomvända* (Talks to Young Converts), a tract that came out the same year by Julin & Hedenschoug in Chicago.<sup>136</sup>

Erixon's publishing and printing works produced several of Moody's tracts for colporteurs and city missionaries. For example, in 1875 he published *Det glada budskapet* (The Glad Tidings).<sup>137</sup> In 1876, he published: *Arbetar du för Herren?* (Do You Work for the Lord?), *Elias och Baals prester* (Elijah and Baal's Priests), *Hvad skall jag göra med Kristus?* (What Shall I Do with Christ?), and *Icke rum för Kristus* (No Room for Christ). In 1877, Erixon's press produced: *Gud, hjertats ransakare och ledare* (God, The Hearts Examiner and Leader), *Låt oss draga upp och intaga landet!* (Let Us

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<sup>130</sup> Dwight L. Moody, *Den stora fröjden: Tal och predikningar i Chicago vintern 1876* (Stockholm: P. Palmquists aktieb., 1877).

<sup>131</sup> Dwight L. Moody, *Stor glädje. Tal och predikningar vid bönestunder, hållna i Chicago tabernakel*, trans. by E—n. (Jönköping: H. Halls bokt.-aktieb. 1876).

<sup>132</sup> Dwight L. Moody, *Den nya födelsen* (Stockholm: Fosterlandsstift., 1876); *Frälsningens väg* (Stockholm: Fosterlands-stift., 1876); *Den sanna tron. Apg. 16:31* (Stockholm: Fosterlandsstift., 1876); *Här är ingen åtskilnad. Rom. 3:22* (Stockholm: Fosterl:s-stift., 1876); *Om bönen* (Stockholm: Fosterl:s-stift., 1876). *Ursäkter. Luk. 14:18-20* (Stockholm: Fosterl:s-stift; 1876).

<sup>133</sup> Dwight L. Moody, *Föredrag i urval. 2 vol.* (Stockholm: Fosterlands-stift., 1877).

<sup>134</sup> Bexell, *Sveriges kyrkohistoria, 7. Folkväckelse och kyrkoförmörelsens tid*, 314.

<sup>135</sup> See Dwight L. Moody, *En predikan hållen i Brooklyn Rink, d. nov. 1875* (Örebro: Söndagsskolförening, 1876); *Vänden om, I affäliga barn!* (Stockholm: Sanningsvittnet, 1876), *Små berättelser. som af honom omtalats under väckelsemöten*, J. B. MacClure, ed., trans. by B. S. (Göteborg: Boktr. Wesleyana, 1877).

<sup>136</sup> See Dwight L. Moody, *Tal till de nyomvända, den 17 jan 1877, det sista, hållet i Chicago-Tabernaklet*, trans. by dr. A. G. Nordengren (Jönköping: H. Hall, 1877); *Tal till nyomvända, den 17 januari 1877, det sista, hållet i Chicago-tabernaklet*, trans. by Dr. A. G. Nordengren (Chicago: Julin & Hedenschoug, 1877). Cf. *Nya Posten's* advertisement. *Nya Posten*, May 18, 1877, 3.

<sup>137</sup> This was Moody's sermon from 1 Corinthians 15:1–2.

## *Spread of “Moody Fever” in Sweden*

Draw Up and Take the Land!)—Moody’s first sermon in the Boston Tabernacle— and *Trons verkan* (The Work of Faith)—Moody’s sermon at Boston on February 1, 1877.<sup>138</sup>

In contrast to publishers in Sweden, Swedish-American publishers such as Julin & Hedenschoug produced few of Moody’s works, no doubt because of stricter copyright laws in America. In Sweden, however, from 1875 to 1878 over 100 publications of Moody’s sermons in books and tracts, editions of Sankey’s songs, and biographies of the American revivalists were published in the Swedish language, spreading “Moody fever.”<sup>139</sup>

### “Moody Fever”

With the interest in Moody and the wide circulation of his sermons, Sweden soon experienced “Moody fever,” a phenomenon from 1875 to 1880, peaking in 1876 and 1877. Charodotes Meurling (1847–1923) in Kristdala in northeastern Småland, described “Moody fever” as something that no one before, or at least according to memory, ever since had experienced.<sup>140</sup> Meurling recalled the news about Moody’s and Sankey’s work in England and America that reached Sweden:

The wonderful revivals and spiritual power that God demonstrated through them to these people and their countries evoked a deep cry within a large number of Christians in our country who wished for God also to bless our people with such a rich outpouring of the Spirit. Moody’s simple but bold sermons were translated into our language, were read in homes, and were used as a model by a large number of preachers when they preached the gospel of Christ. The preacher of the Word then did not merely try to impress his listeners with doctrine; people had begun to get tired of that manner of preaching. Now the preachers presented the Word as a “spear and nails to the conscience,” and they did not miss in their aim. Revival also broke out in our country as never before, or at least, as far as one had lived to see. Like a mighty wave, it flowed into all parts of our country, making its way up to the heights of society and down to the lowest ranks. It pushed its way into the King’s palace and into the poor house. During the height of the summer of 1876, it reached our congregation.<sup>141</sup>

Meurling, “the dean of Jönköpings missionsförening” (Jönköping’s Mission Society) in Kristdala, recalled that for those who were there, they would never forget it. He described how it was nearly impossible to avoid the crowds of people who gathered to hear Swedish revival preachers. When the weather was favorable, crowds of people gathered out-of-doors, and on occasion, when there was an extremely large crowd, preachers stood in the window of a house, and even the rooms behind him were full of listeners.<sup>142</sup> Meurling said:

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<sup>138</sup> In 1877, *Nya Posten* advertised other booklets by Moody available at Nya Förlagsexpeditionen, namely, *De eländas läkare* (Physician of the Wretched), *Se och lef!* (Look and Live!), and *Herrens budbärare* (the Lord’s Messenger). *Nya Posten*, Sept. 21, 1877, insert.

<sup>139</sup> Bexell, *Sveriges kyrkohistoria*, 7. *Folkväckelse och kyrkoförnyelsens tid*, 157. The total circulation of Moody’s works in Sweden in books, newspapers, and tracts is difficult, if not impossible to calculate.

<sup>140</sup> Bexell, *Sveriges kyrkohistoria*, 7. *Folkväckelse och kyrkoförnyelsens tid*, 157–158.

<sup>141</sup> *Återblick på Kristdala missionsförenings sextioåriga verksamhet*. (Stockholm: Ch. Meurling, 1916) 13.

<sup>142</sup> *Ibid.*

Whether the Word was preached in a church, in a log cabin, or out-of-doors, it was preached by priests and laymen, whether it was a weekday or holy day, whether it was in the yard next door or far away in another parish, crowds of people found a way to get there. Never in the memory of man have I seen people so light footed, and they even considered their walking excursions over several miles to be a wonderful and blessed time.<sup>143</sup>

Moreover, he characterized the mission society's preachers as:

...a string of gifted, warm-hearted lay preachers, whose originality in words and thoughts had not been stifled by some preacher-school education that made them imitators of the leading men of these schools. If the influence occurred, it arose according to the same source, from, i.e., Rosenius, Palmberg, and the American revival preacher Moody.<sup>144</sup>

Meurling further recalled Moody's practice in Great Britain where he would ask Christians to pray before he arrived to a certain city in order to "pray-down the Lord's blessing," and how prayer would open a door for the gospel when he arrived.<sup>145</sup> Meurling recalled too how *missionsvänner* in Kristdala, mindful of the Lord's promise—"If you believe you will receive whatever you ask for in prayer" (Matt. 21:22)—gathered for prayer and began to pray about the gift to pray in faith.<sup>146</sup>

Eric August Skogsbergh (1850–1939) recalled the "Moody fever" that affected Småland and Västergötland when Moody and Sankey were in Great Britain. Skogsbergh, a *kolportör* in Jönköping's missionsförening (Mission Society) and later known as "the Swedish Moody," said:

In Sweden, we had read about this and were deeply affected by a longing to see God work similarly among us, and we prayed to that end. A portion of songs in the so-called *Sankeys sånger* that had been sung in England were translated into Swedish by the well-known Dr. Eric Nyström, and distributed by the book publisher Lundholm in Stockholm. I was one of those who began to spread these songs, and I sang them to people wherever I went. It was wonderful—what an impression these simple and easy-to-sing songs made on the people. Believers here and there prayed to God that the Spirit would also come to Sweden and work, and one already sensed a breeze from the London meetings. And in my simplicity, I wanted more than once to visit London and become acquainted with these men in order, if possible, to participate in the divine powers that worked through them.<sup>147</sup>

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<sup>143</sup> Ibid.

<sup>144</sup> Gottfrid Westling, *Den religiösa ställningen inom Linköpings stift under 1800-talet* (Kyrkohistorisk Årsskrift, Uppsala, 1913) 126f., cited in Göran Åberg, *Enhet och frihet. Studier i Jönköpings missionsförenings historia med särskilt beaktande av organisationens förhållande till Svenska Kyrkan, Evangeliska Fosterlands Stiftelsen och Svenska Missionsförbundet* (Lund: CWK Gleerup Bokförlag, 1972) 56.

<sup>145</sup> Återblick på Kristdala missionsförenings sextioåriga verksamhet, 15.

<sup>146</sup> Ibid.

<sup>147</sup> E. Aug. Skogsbergh, "Från evangeliska stortider på Jönköpings missionförenings fält," Anders Hultman, ed., *Helig Eld. Evangelium och kultur* (Jönköping: Halls Förlag, 1928) 346–347.

## Spread of “Moody Fever” in Sweden

E. A. Skogsbergh was born June 24, 1850, in Glava parish, Värmland.<sup>148</sup> After preliminary studies at Västerås, he entered Kristenhamn mission school in 1871 with interest in mission work in Africa with the EFS.<sup>149</sup> He studied at Ahlberg’s school from 1872 to 1874, and then worked as a *kolportör* in Jönköpings missionsförening where he was well acquainted with Oscar Ahnfelt, Samuel A. Johansson, and Svening Johansson.<sup>150</sup> Skogsbergh intended to study privately to qualify for entrance to theological studies at Uppsala, but when he discovered his preaching abilities, he left his *kolporteur*’s sack of tracts and songbooks, and launched his work as a *lekmanpredikant* (lay preacher).<sup>151</sup> He did not intend to enter the ministry of the Church of Sweden, declaring, “When I was born again, I was born out of the state church and became a full-blooded free churchman.”<sup>152</sup>



**E. A. Skogsbergh** as a *kolporteur* of the Jönköping Mission Society, and future “Swedish Moody.” Used by permission of F. M. Johnson Archives, North Park University, Chicago, Illinois.

At end of 1875 and beginning of 1876, Skogsbergh’s preaching circuit led him to Fågelås where the revival movement was active. While at Fågelås, he was befriended by Baron Hans Henric von Essen (1820–1894) who invited him to his estate at Tidaholm

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<sup>148</sup> Skogsbergh also celebrated June 30, 1850 as his birthday.

<sup>149</sup> Per Erik Gustafsson, *Hans Henrik von Essen och den nyevangeliska kolportörsverksamheten*, (Stockholm: Gummessons Boktryckeri, 1963) 235.

<sup>150</sup> George M. Stephenson, *The Religious Aspects of Swedish Immigration* (New York: Arno Press, 1969) 104. In 1876, a new mission house in Jönköping was built with a seating capacity of five thousand.

<sup>151</sup> Skogsbergh, “Från evangeliska stortider på Jönköpings missionsförenings fält,” in *Helig Eld*, Hultman, ed., 346–347.

<sup>152</sup> E. Aug. Skogsbergh, *Minnen och upplevelser, under min mer än femtio-åriga predikerverksamhet* (Minneapolis: Veckobladets tryckeri, 1923) 56.

where he and his family were holding revival meetings.<sup>153</sup> Several months earlier, von Essen had visited England and attended Moody's meetings where he had heard Moody preach and Sankey sing.<sup>154</sup> Now at Tidaholm, von Essen and Skogsbergh conducted revival meetings together.<sup>155</sup>

Skogsbergh recalled that the revival in Sweden in 1876 and 1877 was rooted in the study of the Bible.<sup>156</sup> Sweden's new Evangelical Revival, of course, was wider than the "Moody fever" spreading across the country. P. P. Waldenström's questions "*Hvar står det skrivet?*" (Where is it written?) and "*Hur står det skrivet?*" (How is it written?) led Mission Friends to search the Bible, and to embrace a Biblical theology and question the Augsburg Confession. The songs of Oscar Ahnfelt and Lina Sandell further promoted the new Evangelical Revival. At least "Moody fever," brought a fresh wind to the revival, and at most, began to shape a new evangelical identity among Mission Friends.

For example, the title '*evangelisten*' (evangelist) became popular during Moody's revival campaigns. An article titled "Evangelister" (Evangelists) that appeared in Stockholm's *Wecko-Posten* on October 19, 1876, reported that the title '*evangelist*' referred to a gospel preacher who did not intend to stay in one location but "like Moody and others came temporarily to work for revival."<sup>157</sup> "Moody fever" was also felt increasingly in the area of cooperative evangelism. Moody's emphasis on Christian unity like the Evangelical Alliance challenged Lutheran sectarianism, a narrow, partisan zeal for Lutheranism. An example appeared in Moody's sermon "Stöttestenar" (Stumbling Stones) published in *Stor Glädje* where Moody declared:

The third stone is *the terrible sectarianism*. ...We must try to do away with this with all our power; let us get rid of every bit of it.... Do not speak about it or the sect, it or the party, but exclusively about the single most important matter: Jesus Christ... If a Christian does not sense a desire to offer praise to God, then that is a sure sign that he has not been converted to God but to some particular sect, to a certain formula of doctrine, to certain teachers, or to a certain school of doctrine.<sup>158</sup>

Moody's evangelical ecumenism clearly stood in contrast to the provincial attitude of the Church of Sweden.

### Eli Johnson, Moody's Gospel-Temperance Preacher

Another means of spreading "Moody fever" was Eli Johnson, "an American disciple of Moody," known for his temperance crusades.<sup>159</sup> In the fall of 1876, Johnson traveled throughout Sweden, preaching abstinence, from Blasieholmkyrkan (Blasieholm

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<sup>153</sup> Gustafsson, *Hans Henrik von Essen och den nyevangeliska kolportörsverksamheten*, 235, 240,

<sup>154</sup> *Ibid.*, 339.

<sup>155</sup> *Ibid.*, 240.

<sup>156</sup> Skogsbergh, *Minnen och upplevelser*, 88.

<sup>157</sup> Gunnar Westin, *Svenska Baptistsamfundet 1887–1914. Den baptiska organisationsdualismens uppkomst*. (Hässleholm: Svantessons Boktryckeri, 1965) 69.

<sup>158</sup> D. L. Moody, *Stor Glädje. Tal och predikningar wid bönestudner, hållna i Chicago Tabernakel*, trans. by E-n (Jönköping, H. Halls boktryckeri, 1877) 10.

<sup>159</sup> Stephenson, *The Religious Aspects of Swedish Immigration*, 129–130.

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Church) to the lecture room of Kungliga Vetenskapakademien (the Royal Academy of Science).<sup>160</sup> Although he preached in English, his interpreter translated his fiery appeal effectively. Johnson was the first American directly under Moody's influence in Chicago to preach the "gospel" and "temperance" in Sweden.<sup>161</sup>

In September 1876, *Folkvännen*, a journal edited by Theodor Truvé in Göteborg, published an article to promote Johnson's "gospel-temperance work" in Sweden.<sup>162</sup> Already, *Folkvännen* had published several of Moody's sermons.<sup>163</sup> Prior to Johnson's arrival, he spent several months in England and Ireland "where he held meetings every day and spoke to thousands about the importance of temperance," and how it could be promoted, "particularly through the *power of the gospel*."<sup>164</sup>

Johnson originally began his Christian work in Cincinnati, Ohio, where for several years he taught African-Americans in a Sunday school that he and his wife held in their home. This work was expanded and additional facilities were rented for new Sunday schools. He then moved to Chicago where he came into fellowship with Moody.<sup>165</sup>

Johnson left the Sunday school work, however, and began to counsel women with addictions, working alongside Moody as they held meetings for women.<sup>166</sup> Moreover, Johnson began to visit and work among prisoners. After this, as he explained, "I have come to work among the lowest level of society, the drinker."<sup>167</sup>

In 1871, Johnson lost everything in the great Chicago fire, just "like his friend and co-worker Moody, except for a trunk."<sup>168</sup> Johnson recalled his conversation with Moody on the night the fire broke out, saying:

Mr. Moody and I stood outside our mission chapel and talked about the ungodliness of the city. Mr. Moody said, "Certainly God will visit the ungodliness in this city because it has risen to such a height." While we talked, a young man came and asked, "Sirs, are you able to help me find some lodging for the night? I have been walking on the street all night and will spend tonight there too, if I do not have anything to pay for lodging." Mr. Moody turned to me and said, "How do you think Christ would have acted toward this man if he were in our place?" "I do not know," I said, "But I think I know what I should do." I took him with me to our mission, and gave him food and lodging. That same evening, the fire burned much of the city, and I did not see Moody again for three weeks.<sup>169</sup>

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<sup>160</sup> Newman, "Dwight L. Moody och hans inflytande i Sverige," in *Från skilda tider*, 376. See Eli Johnson, *Evangeliska Nykterhetsföredrag hållna af Eli Johnson från Amerika, under hans besök i Sverige* (Göteborg: Folkvännens redaktion, T. Truvé, 1876).

<sup>161</sup> Newman, "Dwight L. Moody och hans inflytande i Sverige," in *Från skilda tider*, 376.

<sup>162</sup> *Folkvännen*, Sept. 1876, 71.

<sup>163</sup> "Andeligt föredrag," *Folkvännen*, June 1875, 44–48; July 1875, 54–56; "Välsignelsen af att läsa bibeln," *Folkvännen*, Feb. 1876, 14–16; "Sökande Gud af allt hjerta," *Folkvännen*, Apr. 1876, 31–33; May 1876, 38–40; *Folkvännen*, May 1876, 40. *Folkvännen* also published sermons by T. De Witt Talmage and C. H. Spurgeon.

<sup>164</sup> *Folkvännen*, Sept. 1876, 71.

<sup>165</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>166</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>167</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>168</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>169</sup> *Ibid.*, 72.

After Johnson's work with Moody in Chicago, he joined the Temperance Brotherhood of Christian Churches in Brooklyn, working in New York until he traveled to England in 1876.<sup>170</sup> He carried out his "gospel temperance work" in Britain, Sweden, United States, and Australia.<sup>171</sup> His activity with Moody in Chicago and his temperance work in the tradition of Robert Baird in Sweden, opened the door for his work among Baptists and Lutheran Mission Friends.<sup>172</sup> Johnson was a living connection of someone who had worked directly with Moody in Chicago.

## Conclusion

Moody and Sankey began their revival tour in England in 1873 as two unknown Americans. In the next two years, however, they became internationally renowned evangelists. The Christian press in Britain quickly became the medium to promote Moody, discovering that new reports of his meetings and sermons made good print. When he left Scotland for Ireland on September 4, 1874, he was on his way to becoming a "hero evangelist" whose activities were reported on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean.<sup>173</sup> Moody's campaigns soon became the new standard for preaching the gospel.

From news reports in British newspapers and Swedish correspondents in the British Isles, a stream of reports in Swedish-language newspapers flowed into the country, making Moody and Sankey household names in Sweden.<sup>174</sup> For Swedish periodicals friendly to the new Evangelical Revival, Moody became equally good copy. Newspapers and journals spread news of his work, printing stories that profiled his history, character, and influence, asking questions such as: "Who is Moody?" and "What is behind his success?" Personal testimonies from those who attended his meetings stirred sentiment, and drew Moody further into favor with Swedish readers, especially Mission Friends. While it is impossible to determine the exact number, Moody's sermons reached thousands of Swedish readers, informing them about his message and his method of American revivalism. In addition to periodicals, his sermons were published in colporteur tracts and books, along with collections of *Sankeys sånger* (Sankey's songs) that were sung from cottages to Mission Friends' meeting halls.

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<sup>170</sup> "Hr Eli Johnson," *Folkvännen*, Sept. 1876, 72.

<sup>171</sup> *Folkvännen*, Oct. 1876, 80; Dec. 1876, 95; "Ett nykterhetsmötet under Moodys ledning i Chikago [sic]" *Folkvännen* (Mar. 1877) 23–24. In 1878, *Folkvännen* reported: "The temperance preacher Eli Johnson and his wife traveled May 18 from New York to England where they came to work for temperance. The President of the United States gave him a beautiful recommendation letter before he traveled, which in translation reads in this manner: 'Executive Mansion, Washington, May 7, 1878; Mr. Eli Johnson and his wife, Mrs. Johnson, intend to travel to England to work in the interest of temperance. I have long been personally acquainted with them and it is a pleasure for me to recommend them as worthy, zealous, and active workers in this matter. I hope that all who take interest in this mission will encourage and support them. R. B. Hayes'" *Folkvännen*, July 1878, 56.

<sup>172</sup> See D. L. Moody, Eli Johnson, and T. Clafford, *Nykterhetstal. Evangeliska nykterhetsföredrag. Det blod törstiga odjuret* (Gefle, Göteborg and Uppsala: Rosen, Folkvännen, Clafford, 1876–1890). Cf. Dwight L. Moody, *Nykterhetstal* (Stockholm: Palm, 1878).

<sup>173</sup> Bruce J. Evensen, *God's Man for the Gilded Age: D. L. Moody and the Rise of Modern Mass Evangelism* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2003) 37.

<sup>174</sup> Hans Andreasson, *Liv och rörelse. Svenska missionskyrkans historia och identitet* (Stockholm: Verbum, 2007) 31.

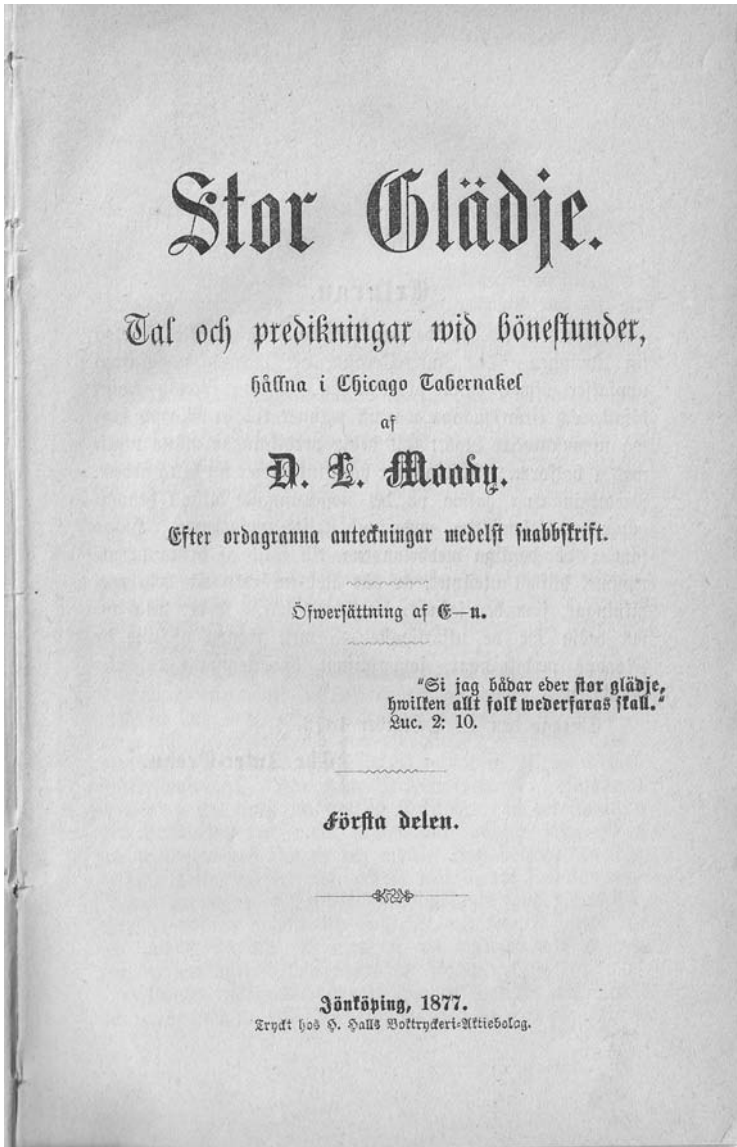


### *Spread of “Moody Fever” in Sweden*

The effects of Moody’s evangelistic campaigns in the British Isles and United States gave rise to “Moody fever,” spreading throughout Sweden from 1875 to 1880, peaking in 1876 and 1877. As a lay preacher, Moody became a “hero” to Mission Friends, especially to colporteurs and city missionaries who were associated with various mission societies. His non-clerical conformity fit well with their simple laicized posture and pietistic sympathies. While Moody cultivated friendly relationships with all evangelical denominations, he never formally united with one. He preferred the status of a Sunday-school worker or lay preacher rather than an ordained member of the clergy. Nevertheless, his ability to draw large crowds in Britain and America won the attention and respect of laymen and clergy alike.

Swedes such as Ebba Ramsay, Martin Johansson , C. A. V. Lundholm, Karl J. Erixon, Erik Nyström, Theodor Truvé, P. P. Waldenström, Charodotes Meurling, and E. A. Skogsbergh respected Moody as a revivalist and longed for a similar movement of revival in Sweden. Soon, a new wave of Swedish evangelists began to appear employing Moody’s methods such as his use of after-meetings, already introduced in Swedish periodicals and observed by lay preachers like Baron Hans Henric von Essen. The arrival of Eli Johnson, “an American disciple of Moody,” known for his “gospel temperance work,” further promoted “Moody fever” as he spoke of his work with Moody in Chicago, and served as a living witness in the American gospel-temperance tradition of Baird and Moody.

Moody’s impact in Sweden among Mission Friends was almost entirely independent of his initial work with Swedes in Chicago. Nevertheless, news eventually traveled to Sweden about his Swedish fellowship at Chicago Avenue Church, and with such positive reports of his care and concern for Swedish immigrants, he gained further respect and confidence among Sweden’s Mission Friends. With such interest in Moody, Swedish book publishers were quick to print and distribute his works, providing a broad exposure of the American evangelist, his winsome personality, and his passion “to convert anxious souls to faith.” News of his evangelistic campaigns, as well as his sermons published in Swedish-language newspapers, books and tracts, led to “Moody fever” in Sweden, the first major American religious influence to sweep the nation.



A Swedish translation of **Moody's Great Joy**, published in Jönköping in 1877 by Herman Hall. Private collection of David M. Gustafson

## Chapter 4

### Moody's Alliance Ideal in Sweden

A mark Moody's revival movement was a practical, evangelical ecumenism whereby churches of different confessions cooperated in evangelism. Through his revival campaigns and published sermons, Moody won thousands of people on both sides of the Atlantic to his evangelical-fellowship ideal, "doing more to unify Christians than any single person among his contemporaries."<sup>1</sup> Moody was "an alliance-man" who demonstrated an ability to balance idealistic and pragmatic elements, carrying out the Evangelical Alliance's ideal of cooperation across denominational lines. As "the apostle of cooperative evangelism," he opposed religious party-attitudes and sectarianism, and worked to unify Christians in common activities.<sup>2</sup> Along with this alliance ideal came a "softening toward confessional statements and creeds."<sup>3</sup>

This chapter answers the question: What was the immediate effect of "Moody fever" in Sweden? This chapter particularly examines Moody's alliance ideal and its practical effect on Mission Friends in Sweden such as P. P. Waldenström who appealed to Moody's example in the debate surrounding events that led to the formation of Svenska Missionsförbundet (SMF). While the alliance ideal was not original with Moody, his success inspired Waldenström to cite him as an example in an effort to broaden the theological base of Evangeliska Fosterlands-stiftelsen (EFS). This chapter also examines initial criticisms against Moody and Waldenström by those in the EFS and the Church of Sweden who resisted the alliance ideal in favor of traditional Lutheran confessionalism.

#### Moody's Inspiration toward the Alliance Ideal

Although the Evangelical Alliance had promoted unity among Protestant denominations, there were still signs of division and discord, a tension that was felt also in Sweden in the early 1870s. However, Moody's message provided an answer to the longing for unity. News in Sweden of his appeal for Christian unity "appeared as words delivered by God himself, and created an uncontainable yearning to abandon division over doctrinal differences, and instead, to win souls to Christ and to live in fellowship in

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<sup>1</sup> Ernst Newman, *Evangeliska alliansen. En studie i protestantisk enhets- och frihetsströvan* (Lund: C. W. K. Gleerups förlag, 1937) 158.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> Ernst Newman, "Dwight L. Moody och hans inflytande i Sverige," in *Från skilda tider. Studier tillägnade Hjalmar Holmquist* (Stockholm: Svenska Kyrkans Diakonistyrelses Bokförlag, 1938) 398. Newman refers here to the article, "Konfessionslöshet" in *Wäktaren*, No. 36, 1878, 4.

the church around him.”<sup>4</sup> This longing for unity that Moody inspired, formed the backdrop of the great revival that reached nearly every part of Sweden in the winter of 1876 and 1877.<sup>5</sup> Ernst Newman commented:

If Moody had not fostered a spirit of harmony and expectation, he would never have won this confidence and influence that now was the case. Since he did not promote any single denomination over the other, but rather assumed an attitude that could be shared by every evangelical Christian, he made friends from all backgrounds and paved the way for increased understanding and closer cooperation among Christians with a wide variety of denominational views. It is at this point, no doubt, that Moody’s influence in Sweden had the greatest impact. More than the new-fangled innovations of the after-meeting and the question box, and more than the impulses toward social ministry and the general thrust for a wholly sanctified life, the influence of this man of God with unprecedented authority by word and deed, was felt because he himself confessed to the Evangelical Alliance’s view of Christianity with its emphasis on the unity of believers on the basis of life.<sup>6</sup>

Some Christians in Sweden had already begun to promote unity in this manner. Free societies, for example, held fellowship meetings for prayer across party lines “in expectation of the blessing from the movement surrounding Moody and Sankey, hoping to participate in it.”<sup>7</sup> Moreover, Swedes heard that in Chicago, Moody had gathered Congregationalists, Presbyterians, Methodists, Baptists, Plymouth Brethren, and “a class of Swedes” into a single “free church,” Chicago Avenue Church, whose members considered it an “honor simply to be called Christians without reference to any denomination.”<sup>8</sup> Inspired by this alliance ideal, believers in Sweden required nothing more than what Moody required for membership, namely, “confession to Christ as Savior, verified by one’s life.”<sup>9</sup> For Moody, what mattered most was personal faith in Jesus Christ.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Newman, “Dwight L. Moody och hans inflytande i Sverige,” in *Från skilda tider*, 398.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., 383–384.

<sup>7</sup> “Den andliga väckelsen i Skotland,” *Teologisk tidskrift* 3 (1874) 198–199.

<sup>8</sup> Newman, *Evangeliska alliansen*, 160; Ebba Ramsay, *Minnets blad I. En kort teckning af Dwight L. Moody* (Göteborg: Göteborgs Handels-Tidnings-Aktie-Bolag, 1875) 4, 7. Ramsay spoke of Moody’s “kyrka,” Chicago Avenue Church, and Moody’s “missionshus,” Farwell Hall. The constitution of Chicago Avenue Church stated: “Denna församling af trogna vill endast vara känd såsom kristne utan att bära namn af någon kyrkobekännelse” W. H. Daniels, *Guds verk i Amerika och England genom Moody och Sankey* (Stockholm: C. A. V. Lundholms förlag, 1876) 83; “This body of believers desires to be known only as Christians without reference to any denomination.” W. H. Daniels, *D. L. Moody and His Work*, (Hartford, Conn.: American Publishing Co., 1875) 111.

<sup>9</sup> Newman, “Dwight L. Moody och hans inflytande i Sverige, in *Från skilda tider*, 398–399.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid. Although Moody’s Chicago Avenue Church had adopted a statement of faith, it was merely “a defense against the unsound doctrine of the Unitarians and other liberal religionists.” Newman, *Evangeliska alliansen*, 160. In summary, the articles of faith of Chicago Avenue Church addressed: 1) the Trinity, 2) inspiration of the Scriptures, 3) sin and judgment of humankind, 4) the person and work of Christ, 5) eternal life in Christ, 6) baptism and the Lord’s Supper. W. H. Daniels, *D. L. Moody and His Work*, 109–110; W. H. Daniels, *Guds verk i Amerika och England*, 82–83.

## P. P. Waldenström and the Alliance Ideal

Prior to C. O. Rosenius's death in 1868, there was a strong base of support for the Augsburg Confession among Lutheran Mission Friends within Evangeliska Fosterlandsstiftelsen (EFS). The evangelical Lutheran heritage provided a unifying factor between the Evangelical Revival and the Church of Sweden.<sup>11</sup> However, as Moody's influence from Britain and America was felt in Sweden, he became a new standard-bearer.<sup>12</sup> His evangelical-fellowship ideal promoted spiritual unity over creeds and confessions, a distinguishing mark of Sweden's "Moody revival."<sup>13</sup>

P. P. Waldenström was clearly aware of Moody's creedless evangelism and publications entering Sweden.<sup>14</sup> Moreover, he demonstrated interest in the American revivalist, partly by his repeated references to Moody's ministry and partly by the fact that *Gestrikland*, the newspaper that Waldenström edited from 1877 to 1880, continuously reported Moody's activities.<sup>15</sup> Waldenström admired Moody for his simple posture as a layman, reminiscent of the spiritual but uneducated "Mother Simplicity" in his *Brukspatron Adamsson* (Squire Adamson).<sup>16</sup>

Moreover, Waldenström and Moody shared common traits. For example, they rejected formalized church tradition, doctrine, and structure.<sup>17</sup> Scott E. Erickson notes: "In America, Moody's ecumenical and noncreedal evangelism, his stress on conversion as 'the one thing needful,' and his marginal emphasis on theology were somewhat similar to Waldenström's statements about religious institutions in Sweden."<sup>18</sup> Regarding Waldenström's promotion of cooperative activity in Sweden similar to what Moody realized in Britain and America, Philip J. Anderson states: "...there were many Anglo-American influences on the Swedish revival and folk movements. Even more important for our purposes, was the influence of Dwight L. Moody on Waldenström's developing views of theology and the church in relation to a creedless ecumenical evangelicalism."<sup>19</sup>

Paul Peter Waldenström was born July 20, 1838, in Luleå in Norrland, Sweden. He pursued graduate studies at Uppsala where he received the Ph.D. in logic and linguistics in 1863.<sup>20</sup> As early as 1862, he was invited by Lars Paul Esbjörn of the Lutheran Augustana Synod to teach at the synod's new seminary in Chicago.<sup>21</sup> Although Rosenius urged him to accept the call, Waldenström's concern for his father's wellbeing

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<sup>11</sup> Björn Svärd, *Väckelsen i lokalsamhället. Individ, förening, församling i Kumla 1865–1905* (Uppsala: Svenska Kyrkohistoriska föreningen, 1987) 66.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>14</sup> William Bredberg, *P. P. Waldenströms verksamhet till 1878. Till frågan om Svenska missionsförbundets uppkomst* (Stockholm: Missionsförbundets förlag, 1948) 362.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 363–365.

<sup>16</sup> Karl A. Olsson, "Dwight L. Moody and Some Chicago Swedes," in *Swedish-American Life in Chicago*, Philip J. Anderson and Dag Blanck, eds. (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1992) 314.

<sup>17</sup> Scott E. Erickson, "The Nature of American Religious Influences on the Swedish Covenant Church," in *American Religious Influences in Sweden*, Scott E. Erickson, ed. (Uppsala: Tro & Tanke, 1996) 135.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>19</sup> Philip J. Anderson, "Paul Peter Waldenström and America: Influence and Presence in Historical Perspective," *Covenant Quarterly* 52 (1994) 5.

<sup>20</sup> Philip J. Anderson, *A Precious Heritage: A Century of Mission in the Northwest, 1884–1984* (Minneapolis: Northwest Conference of the Evangelical Covenant Church, 1984) 17.

<sup>21</sup> Anderson, "Paul Peter Waldenström and America," in *Covenant Quarterly*, 6.

weighed heavily, and he declined the offer, and began to teach Latin, Greek and Philosophy at Växjö in 1863. In 1865, he became *lektor* at Umeå, and in 1868 after Rosenius's death, took over as editor of *Pietisten*. In the spring of 1874, Waldenström was appointed *lektor* in theology and Hebrew at Gävle, and in subsequent years edited *Gestrikland*, as well as co-edited with E. J. Ekman the journal *Vittnet*. During this period, Waldenström emerged as the foremost leader of Mission Friends in Sweden.<sup>22</sup>

In a sermon published in *Pietisten* in September 1872, Waldenström presented his view of Christ's atonement, a view that set off a storm of controversy.<sup>23</sup> In essence, Waldenström held that Christ died on the cross to reconcile humankind to God; God the Father was the subject of reconciliation, not the object as in the penal substitutionary view held by the Church of Sweden.<sup>24</sup> In defense of his view, in 1873 he published the book, *Om försoningens betydelse* (On the Meaning of the Atonement), and in 1874 he published his Latin treatise, *De justificatione quid statuunt libri symbolici ecclesiae lutheranae* (The Doctrine of Justification in the Lutheran Symbolic Books), concluding that *Confessio Augustana* (Augsburg Confession) and *Pia Concordia* (Formula of Concord) were confusing and contradictory and therefore not trustworthy or authoritative for church life; only the Bible was a trustworthy source of doctrine and life.<sup>25</sup> Waldenström further argued that to use the Augsburg Confession to counter his arguments violated Luther's *sola scriptura* principle, namely, that "the Holy Scriptures are the supreme authority in all matters of faith."<sup>26</sup> Waldenström's question, "*Hvar står det skrivet?*" (Where is it written?), soon became his watchword, as well as that of his followers.

Waldenström promoted Moody's alliance ideal and developed along with others a "unity-over-creed" or "fellowship-over-confession" view, holding that a Christian congregation was built on "life in Christ" over doctrine.<sup>27</sup> Moreover, he echoed Moody, saying: "The word 'sect' ought to be avoided, and that sectarianism is "driven by a *köttsligt partisinne* (carnal partisan attitude) whether it belongs to a large or small

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<sup>22</sup> Oloph Bexell, *Sveriges kyrkohistoria, 7. Folkväckelse och kyrkoförnyelsens* (Stockholm: Verbum, 2003) 110.

<sup>23</sup> In his sermon, Waldenström set forth five theses of the atonement: 1) The fall of man did not cause any change in the heart of God; 2) Therefore, it was not wrath or vindictiveness of God towards man which as a result of the fall became an obstacle for man's salvation; 3) The change brought by the fall of man took place in man only, in that he fell away from God and became sinful, and separated from Him; 4) As a result, an atonement was necessary, not to appease God and thereby make Him merciful, but to bring about a reconciliation that would save man from sin and make him righteous; 5) This atonement took place in Jesus Christ. P. P. Waldenström, *Pietisten*, Vol. 31 (Sept., 1872) 370. See also Glenn P. Anderson, ed., *Covenant Roots: Sources & Affirmations* (Chicago: Covenant Press, 1980) 113–131.

<sup>24</sup> The Augsburg Confession states "that He [Christ] might be a sacrifice, not only for original sin, but also for all other sins, reconciling the wrath of God." *The Unaltered Augsburg Confession, The Christian Book of Concord, or Symbolical Books of The Evangelical Lutheran Church* (West Virginia: Solomon D. Henkel and Brs., 1851) 21.

<sup>25</sup> See Paul Peter Waldenström, *Om försoningens betydelse* (Stockholm: Pietistens exped., 1873); P. P. Waldenström, *Om försoningens betydelse* (Chicago: Svenska evang. lutherska missionsfören., 1873); and Paul Peter Waldenström, *De justificatione quid statuunt libri symbolici ecclesiae lutherante* (Gefle: Ewerlöf, 1874).

<sup>26</sup> Frederick Hale, *Trans-Atlantic Conservative Protestantism in the Evangelical Free and Mission Covenant Traditions* (New York: Arno Press, 1979) 152. Waldenström was not persuaded by his critics' appeals to historic creeds either.

<sup>27</sup> Svärd, *Väckelsen i lokalsamhället*, 66.

### *Moody's Alliance Ideal in Sweden*

denomination.”<sup>28</sup> Gunnar Westin described Moody's influence on the Swedish leader, saying:

Obviously Waldenström had been swayed by the Moody revivals in Great Britain, and these ideas of the American revivalist were taking hold in the revival circles in Sweden, and were being put into practice. This also came indirectly, especially from American supported free-church efforts in the Baptist and Methodist forms that further influenced the development. Waldenström in his much debated book on the atonement, titled *Herren är from* [The Lord Is Upright] published in 1875, appeared to be strongly influenced by the *Evangelical Alliance ideal*, and entertained no fears whatsoever about joining with Baptists and Methodists. With a tendency toward simplification, Waldenström drew exclusively on the principles of the Alliance's fellowship ideal that Moody had realized, and wondered like E. J. Ekman and others in his *aid-de-camp*, whether it was possible to transform [Evangeliska Fosterlands-] stiftelsen into an umbrella organization for all independent, spiritual-life movements in Sweden.<sup>29</sup>



**P. P. Waldenström**

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In response to the emphasis toward the alliance ideal, the directors of Evangeliska Fosterlands-stiftelsen (EFS) reacted over their concern toward the growing “confessional

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<sup>28</sup> *Wäktaren*, Nos. 16, 32, 1876, cited in Newman, “Dwight L. Moody och hans inflytande i Sverige,” in *Från skilda tider*, 385n. “Om kyrkans uppgift gent emot andra samfundsformer,” *Teologisk tidskrift* (1878) 266. Cf. Bredberg, *P. P. Waldenströms verksamhet till 1878*, 234.

<sup>29</sup> Gunnar Westin, *Den kristna friförsamlingen i Norden. Frikyrklighetens uppkomst och utveckling* (Stockholm: E. Westerberg, 1956) 114. See P. P. Waldenström, *Herren är from. Beträktelser öfver Davids 25:te psalm* (Stockholm: Pietistens exp., 1875) 273.

indifference” in Sweden.<sup>30</sup> As early as 1874 at the annual meeting of the EFS, several mission societies that had originally formed the organization brought up the question of Christian unity and cooperative work, promoting the idea. In response, however, the board restated Rosenius’s original desire that the EFS “operate under the auspices of the Church of Sweden and its Lutheran confession.”<sup>31</sup> In April 1875, when the board adopted an agreement to the so-called *Waldenströmska missionsförening* (Waldenströmiian Mission Society), a cooperative work among denominations, Bernhard Wadström resigned from the board over his disapproval of the resolution.<sup>32</sup>

In the months that followed, Stockholm’s *Nya Posten* edited by Karl Erixon, in favor of the alliance ideal announced that the International Evangelical Alliance would hold its annual conference October 19–22, 1875, in Belfast, Ireland, “to discuss the Christian life, unity between the various confessions, and God’s work among the people.”<sup>33</sup> The article continued: “We hope that the meetings will serve to honor the heavenly Master, and we ask that believers in our country keep these meetings in their thoughts and prayers. May the time soon come when all God’s children speak as one!”<sup>34</sup> *Nya Posten* also reported the reorganization of Evangeliska Alliansen, the Swedish branch of the Evangelical Alliance, with a newly elected board and new set of bylaws, adopted on November 17, 1875.<sup>35</sup> The board consisted of: Philip Aastrup, Karl Erixon, A. W. Lindblom, Erik Nyström, Per Palmquist, D. A. Årnström, and others.<sup>36</sup> The initiative to reorganize Evangeliska Alliansen was stimulated among other things “by Moody’s and Sankey’s activity in England, leading some in Stockholm in this new effort to unite believers.”<sup>37</sup> In addition to the efforts of Evangeliska Alliansen, the alliance ideal was promoted by the Stockholm Preachers’ Meetings.

### Stockholm Preachers’ Meetings

A series of *predikantmöten* (preacher’s meetings) led by Waldenström and his colleagues met during the summers of 1876 to 1878. One of the objectives of these “free” or interdenominational, nonsectarian meetings was to address the lack of Christian unity that prevailed in Sweden.<sup>38</sup> The organizers hoped to bring all evangelical believers together without regard to confessional statements. The meetings or conferences were

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<sup>30</sup> “Evangeliska Fosterlandsstiftelsens årberättelse ...”, *Teologisk Tidskrift* (1875) 274–276. See *Evangeliska Fosterlands Stiftelsens årsberättelse* (Stockholm: Evangeliska fosterlands-stiftelsen, 1875).

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>32</sup> Newman, “Dwight L. Moody och hans inflytande i Sverige,” in *Från skilda tider*, 388n. See also Ernst Newman, *Svenskt och angloamerikanskt* (Uppsala: Lindblad, 1933) 162. In an editorial article, the periodical *Fosterlandet* blamed the EFS for having “a more forced interpretation of the idea ‘Evangelical-Lutheran’ than our State Church does that allowed Waldenström and like-minded clergy with him to stand behind this endeavor.” *Fosterlandet*, June 16, 1875, and *Göteborgs Weckoblad* June 26, 1875, cited in Newman, “Dwight L. Moody och hans inflytande i Sverige,” in *Från skilda tider*, 388n.

<sup>33</sup> *Nya Posten*, Oct. 15, 1875, 4.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>35</sup> *Nya Posten*, Dec. 24, 1875, 1.

<sup>36</sup> Others were: L. P. Cronwell, P. Johansson, N. M. Liljegren, A. Lindrom, G. S. Löfvenhjelms, and Johan Palmquist.

<sup>37</sup> Bror Walan, *Fernholm och frikyrkan. En studie i Svenska Missionsförbundets förhistoria* (Stockholm: Gumnessons Bokförlag, 1962) 63.

<sup>38</sup> Newman, “Dwight L. Moody och hans inflytande i Sverige,” in *Från skilda tider*, 389n.



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attended at first by Lutheran, Baptist and Methodist clergy, lay preachers, and colporteurs, but over the years were attended increasingly by those with alliance-oriented views, while conservative, confessional Lutherans withdrew.

The first meeting was held August 15–18, 1876, at Blasieholmskyrkan in Stockholm, with the first session opened by Karl J. Erixon.<sup>39</sup> At the conference, held also at Betlehemskyrkan (Bethlehem Church), Waldenström expressed his criticism toward denominations and doctrinal statements, saying: "...what solely matters is to live in Jesus."<sup>40</sup> Alongside Waldenström was E. J. Ekman (1842–1915), an alliance-oriented Lutheran clergyman.<sup>41</sup> Ekman elaborated on Waldenström's comments, saying:

We gather around our confession to Christ.... Therefore, inasmuch as we are gathered here today from various regions of the country ...in life through faith in God's Son, let everything else fall by the side. ... There is a unity higher than the confessions ...The overall unity that is found comes from living in faith in Jesus Christ. ... At Jesus' cross we, who are children in the house of God—Baptists, Methodists or whatever confession we might be, meet in love. ... I would rather join together in brotherly unity with those who live by faith in God's Son regardless of their church denomination than with the most doctrinally orthodox Lutherans who are still dead in trespasses and sins. ... We do not wish to call ourselves by any other name than Jesus Christ.<sup>42</sup>

Besides Waldenström and Ekman, Andreas Fernholm (1840–1892) was at the center of the alliance movement in 1876, a Baptist who labored for "the brotherhood of believers, and against partisanship."<sup>43</sup> Formerly a Lutheran clergyman, Fernholm was baptized in the Göta Canal in 1872, and left his role in the Church of Sweden to join the Baptists.<sup>44</sup> He served as associate pastor of the Baptist congregation in Göteborg, as president of Göteborg's missionsförening (Mission Society), and as editor of *Tidens Tecken*.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> *Predikantmötet i Stockholm den 15–18 augusti 1876. II. Diskussion* (Stockholm: Tidskr. Sanningswittnets Expedition, 1876) 3; *Österns Weckoblad*, Jan. 6, 1891, 1. Leaders of the Preachers' Meeting were: K. Erixon, Aug. Pohl, E. J. Ekman, P. Waldenström, Swening Johansson, E. Nyström, Ch. Meurling, D. A. Årnström, and C. J. Nyvall.

<sup>40</sup> *Predikningar, hållna wid Predikantmötet i Stockholm den 15–18 augusti 1876 af Aug. Pohl, E. J. Ekman, P. Waldenström and William Reid* (Stockholm: Sanningswittnet förlag, 1877) 19–21.

<sup>41</sup> Erik Jakob Ekman, a native of Strömsbro near Gävle, began studies at Uppsala in 1862, and was ordained in the Church of Sweden in 1864. He served the state church at Simtuna and Åmot, and then as associate priest in Ockelbo, beginning in 1868. E. J. Ekman, *Den Inre Missionens historia* (Stockholm: E. J. Ekmans förlagsexpedition, 1900) 1561.

<sup>42</sup> *Predikantmötet i Stockholm den 15–18 augusti 1876, II, Diskussion*, 19–21.

<sup>43</sup> Fernholm declared: "The Bible knows nothing of Lutherans or Calvinists or Wesleyans but much about Christians who believe in Christ and are buried with him through baptism to death." Walan, *Fernholm och frikyrkan*, 62; Bredberg, *P. P. Waldenströms verksamhet till 1878*, 287.

<sup>44</sup> Andreas Fernholm was born in Vestra Fernabo, Vestmandland, Sweden on May 7, 1840. In 1866, he was ordained as priest in the Church of Sweden and served as associate pastor in several places. In the summer of 1868, he met P. P. Waldenström and C. J. Nyvall, and with H. J. Lundborg led free communion services. In 1870, he was called as principal of Kristinehamn's missionsskolan (mission school) with students from Värmland's Ansgariiförening, including Skogsbergh. In 1872, Fernholm joined the Baptist society, leaving them in 1880 to join the free church in Kristinehamn, becoming a teacher there in 1882. In 1886, he moved to Stockholm and worked for *Hemlandsvännen*, and the daily *Morgonbladet*. *Österns Weckoblad*, June 1, 1892, 1; Karl A. Olsson, *By One Spirit* (Chicago: Covenant Press, 1962) 89.

<sup>45</sup> Walan, *Fernholm och frikyrkan*, 62. *Tidens Tecken* was published from 1873 to 1880.

Waldenström's question, "*Hvar står det skrivet?*" (Where is it written?), was applied equally to questions on Christian fellowship and the Lord's Supper. At the first Stockholm Preachers' Meeting, he asked: "What is the correct relationship between the Scriptures and the [Augsburg] confession? ... Shall the Biblical word or the Evangelical Lutheran Church's confessional writings be regarded as having higher authority?"<sup>46</sup> His conclusion was clear: "...the [Lutheran] symbolic books must yield to the plain and clear statements of the scriptures."<sup>47</sup>

Waldenström along with Erik Nyström held to the congregational idea of the church, a view that they believed was "not simply more *Biblical* but also more *Lutheran* than the folk or state church idea."<sup>48</sup> They believed that every local church should receive "each and every person whom the Lord has received"—essentially, the alliance ideal—a belief that shaped their view of "the believer's church." It was this view of "the church as a congregation of believers" that had led months earlier to the controversy surrounding the Lord's Supper.

On Pentecost Sunday 1876, the Uppsala Missionsförening (Mission Society) had requested use of the city's cathedral to celebrate the Lord's Supper, with Waldenström officiating.<sup>49</sup> When permission was denied by the Dean of the Cathedral, the society obtained permission to use the Church of the Trinity at Uppsala. However, a few days before the service, permission was revoked on the grounds that Waldenström opposed central teachings of the Church of Sweden. The communion service was then moved to the mission house of Uppsala Missionsförening, a building not legally sanctioned for sacramental use. On Pentecost Sunday, Waldenström served about three hundred believers, following the formulary of the Church of Sweden.<sup>50</sup> In the following weeks, he continued to administer the Lord's Supper illegally at the mission house in Uppsala, and at Gävle.

This violation of church law drew sharp criticism from officials in the Church of Sweden. Nevertheless, these warnings merely confirmed Waldenström's belief that the state church had placed unwarranted restrictions on the Lord's Supper. Then, in a request from the Stockholm Preachers' Meeting in August, Waldenström along with a committee drew up a "Communion Petition" to be presented to King Oscar II (1829–1907) that contained the following points: 1) That the observance of Holy Communion not be restricted ..., and 2) That, consequently, regulations of church law be removed that make it a crime for Lutheran Christians, who are forced by their consciences, to exercise this freedom which both the words of Christ and the words of Luther grant them.<sup>51</sup> In

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<sup>46</sup> *Predikantmötet i Stockholm den 15–18 augusti 1876, II, Diskussion, 4–5.*

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, 162–164. Nyström was the first who "changed the question over the Lord's Supper into a question about the church." This happened at the Preachers' Meeting in 1876. However, the issue over the Lord's Supper existed earlier "within certain revival circles that practiced the founding of 'New Testament' congregations." In 1876, when Nyström stated Luther's sectarian, high-sounding declaration in the preface to "Die deutsche Messe" ("Aber die dritte weyse...") as support for the "new" congregational idea, this was by no means the first time. Already in the beginning of the 1850s, C. A. Bergman and others had used Luther's statement as support for conventicles, understood this as "the living congregation" or "a true free church." Newman, "Dwight L. Moody och hans inflytande i Sverige," in *Från skilda tider*, 397n.

<sup>49</sup> Olsson, *By One Spirit*, 92.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>51</sup> Bredberg, P. P. *Waldenströms verksamhet till 1878*, 341; Gunnar Westin, *Den kristna friförsamlingen i Norden*, 114.

addition to Waldenström, Ekman, C. J. Nyvall, and Charodotes Meurling, 22,334 people signed the petition.

In the spring of 1877, Waldenström and two delegates delivered the petition to the king who “graciously received them with the assurance that he would give the petition careful consideration.”<sup>52</sup> However, he backed the state and church authorities, making the communion crisis acute for Mission Friends. In response, Waldenström attacked the state church for denying its clergy the opportunity to serve people who for the sake of conscience, would not partake of the Lord’s Supper, except with believers. Among other things, the king declared through the Court of Appeals that it was not lawful for a priest of the state church to officiate at private communion services.<sup>53</sup>

The Stockholm Preachers’ Meetings and Evangeliska Alliansen shared together an interest in Moody’s ecumenical activity, and worked toward the alliance ideal, promoting unity among all believers whether they were Baptist, Methodist or Lutheran.<sup>54</sup> Of special concern to Evangeliska Alliansen was the imprisonment of C. W. Palmblad, a Baptist lay preacher. Thus, on December 5, 1876, a committee of Evangeliska Alliansen came before King Oscar II to present him with a petition signed by G. S. Löwenhielm, Philip Aastrup, Karl Erixon, Per Palmquist and Erik Nyström, and others.<sup>55</sup> The petition called for the king to present a bill before *Riksdagen* (the Parliament) the next spring to repeal the ordinance that placed authority into the hands of the *kyrkoråd* (church council), and allowed preachers to be imprisoned without a hearing or trial for violating the 1868 law that prohibited lay preaching.<sup>56</sup> The petition further described the purpose of the International Evangelical Alliance, namely, “a society with the goal ... since its foundation in London in 1846 ... to work for toleration and cooperation among Christians and various denominations especially in the task of denouncing and ridding every remnant of heathen and Roman persecution that infects the various laws of countries.”<sup>57</sup>

The petition stated that a repeal of the 1868 law “would remove yet another of the hindrances to the full realization of the beautiful words in the sixteenth paragraph of the National Reforms.”<sup>58</sup> In response, King Oscar II expressed delight that his subjects had come personally and presented their concerns. He listened carefully, and agreed that with the Council’s advice, he would review the matter. He also reminded them that he was obligated to see that the Church of Sweden maintain necessary safeguards against those who worked for her division.

### **Waldenström, Moody, and the EFS**

Some members of the EFS who held views of Christ’s atonement that differed from the Church of Sweden and who supported free communion services, were dropped

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<sup>52</sup> Bernhard Nyrén, ed., *Paul Peter Waldenströms minnesanteckningar 1838–1875* (Stockholm: Svenska Missionsförbundets förlag, 1928) 329.

<sup>53</sup> B. A. Hawkinson, “Paul Peter Waldenström: His Life and Contribution to the Swedish Free Church Movement” (S.T.M. Thesis, Andover Newton Theological School, Newton Centre, Mass., 1937) 51.

<sup>54</sup> Bredberg, *P. P. Waldenströms verksamhet till 1878*, 362n.

<sup>55</sup> Ekman, *Den Inre Missionens historia*, 1598.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, 1595.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, 1597.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*

from membership rolls. Moreover, the EFS instituted a policy to refuse ordination to missionary students who would not subscribe to the Augsburg Confession. Therefore, at the annual meeting of the EFS that met June 7–9, 1877, Värmland's Ansgariiförening (Ansgar Society) proposed in a written statement that a change be made to the EFS's bylaws, stipulating that the requirement be dropped that all students must affirm the Augsburg Confession. The statement further recommended improving the EFS's bylaws by adding the sentence: "The purpose of the EFS shall be, through God's grace, to work toward a greater unity for the growth of Christ's kingdom, and that Stiftelsen become an organization to unite all of the country's evangelical Christians."<sup>59</sup>

Waldenström supported the proposal and argued for the removal of the requirement that all missionary students must affirm the Lutheran confession. He and his alliance-minded colleagues wanted to broaden the EFS to include Baptists, Methodists, and Lutheran Mission Friends who did not subscribe to all points of the Augsburg Confession. He believed that the EFS emphasized Lutheranism too much and should seek a broader, ecumenical evangelicalism, as Moody had advocated in Britain and America.<sup>60</sup> In the debate that followed, the directors of EFS and Waldenström and his colleagues, presented their views on Christian unity and the EFS's policy.

In his argument, Waldenström drew heavily on Moody and his example of cooperative evangelism. He agreed with Moody's evangelization strategy, and saw in the American revivalist, someone who had successfully united Christians of different confessions. Waldenström said:

When the mission's purpose is to draw disciples to the Lord Jesus and not to a particular denomination, and furthermore when God demonstrates through the fruit that which he has blessed, for example Moody, MacAll and others, showing how pleased he is with their mission, this should move us to tear down partisan attitudes (even in the name of confession-faithfulness) so that we might take hold of the primary objective: to draw sinners to the Lamb of God who takes away the sins of the world. Moreover, it is not any secret that there have already been missionaries sent out by the Stiftelsen who were persuaded in their minds to swear the ordination oath but over time have sensed the need to change their view from that of the Augsburg Confession. When this happens, these missionaries are threatened with being forced from the Stiftelsen's mission, although their ordination oath produced the mission. Yet, the state church maintains all authority, and it has been set forth that if the missionaries' commitment to the Augsburg Confession ceases, then the Stiftelsen is free to release these young men from service whom it has commissioned, because they no longer agree with the Augsburg Confession. However, as far as men and women can determine, they live in faith in Christ and are motivated by the love of Christ to win souls to him as the only Savior and throne of grace for sinners. Since it is impossible not to observe and admire the extraordinary blessing that the work of Moody generates widely, the time has certainly come for us to at least consider if we

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<sup>59</sup> Axel Andersson, *Svenska Missionsförbundet. Dess uppkomst och femtioåriga verksamhet. 1* (Stockholm: Svenska Missionsförbundets förl., 1928) 74, cited in Newman, "Dwight L. Moody och hans inflytande i Sverige," *Från skilda tider*, 392n.

<sup>60</sup> Erickson, "The Nature of American Religious Influences on the Swedish Mission Covenant Church," *American Religious Influences in Sweden*, Erickson, ed., 136.

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should not follow in his steps, especially since some modest steps in this direction have already proven to be of particular blessing in our country.<sup>61</sup>

In his appeal to drop the requirement for ordination, Waldenström pointed out the EFS's narrow confessional position, and considered a pledge to the Lutheran writings as "forcing a carnal partisan attitude."<sup>62</sup> He proposed that instead, the EFS grant more freedom to those in its service, and argued that it should expand its boundaries, and proposed a change to its constitution.<sup>63</sup> An additional statement by Waldenström demonstrated how deeply the alliance-ideal had affected him when he declared: "Let us ...in this matter be followers of Jesus and not separate into different denominations and parties since we have the same Savior. Rather may all those who are one in faith in Christ Jesus, unite in peace in this endeavor to draw souls to Christ. In regard to our love for truth and peace, let all evangelical teachers in every city unite together in the labor of drawing souls to Christ, so that the blessing of their work is evident."<sup>64</sup>

However, the board of directors rejected Waldenström's proposal to broaden the EFS, forcing him to resign his post as provincial delegate.<sup>65</sup> This action came as a defeat to Waldenström, forcing him and his followers out of the EFS. This rejection, however, spurred him on in his efforts to bring various denominations together as he emerged as leader among Baptists, Methodists, and Mission Friends who still considered themselves Lutherans.<sup>66</sup>

In Waldenström's meeting with the EFS' board, after he expressed his appreciation for the organization since its founding, he prayed that all misunderstanding and party strife would be set aside so that a united effort could be made to win people to Christ. In his farewell words, he again appealed to Moody, saying:

It is a peculiar phenomenon in our day that which saints in past times, as for example, Melancthon and those like him, strove for, now seems beginning to be realized in that Christians of various confessions and viewpoints have begun to draw near to one another, as well as to unite their efforts *in order to draw souls to Christ*. Instead of, as up until

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<sup>61</sup> Bredberg, *P. P. Waldenströms verksamhet till 1878*, 362–363. Bredberg also stated regarding the Evangelical Alliance ideal: "This was a time when the newspaper press began to write about Moody's and Sankey's successes in England, and McAll's work in France." *Ibid.*, 234. Robert W. McAll (1821–1893) founded a non-denominational evangelistic mission in Paris, France, in 1872.

<sup>62</sup> "Afskedsord" *Vitnet*, 1877, 346ff. cited in Newman, "Dwight L. Moody och hans inflytande i Sverige," in *Från skilda tider*, 391n.

<sup>63</sup> Bror Walan, *Församlingstanken i Svenska Missionsförbundet. En studie i de nyevangeliska rörelsens sprängning och Svenska missionsförbundets utveckling till omkring 1890* (Stockholm: Gummesson, 1964) 113, 115. Walan notes that approval to this desired end would not have signified any constitutional change since the EFS had earlier sent out students who had not been ordained.

<sup>64</sup> Bredberg, *P. P. Waldenströms verksamhet till 1878*, 370–371.

<sup>65</sup> Erickson, "The Nature of American Religious Influences on the Swedish Mission Covenant Church," *American Religious Influences in Sweden*, Erickson, ed., 136.

<sup>66</sup> For a discussion about the "so-called Lutheran separatism," see "Dwight L. Moody och hans inflytande i Sverige," in *Från skilda tider*, 390n–391n. In summary, some Swedes who still wished to be called Lutherans formed *nattvardsföreningar* (communion societies) in the Waldenströmian direction, and even in the early 1880s "claimed to be good Lutherans just as much as our *pure, orthodox-striving Lutherans*." However, various Waldenströmian "mission societies" already had exchanged the description "Lutheran" for "Evangelical Lutheran." The effect was that the word *Lutheran* in 1880s, for the most part, fell away to "Evangelical" or "Christian."

now, working against one another ... as well as under a guise of zeal for pure doctrine that hinders the success of Christ's kingdom, they have awakened to *the great, primary objective*: to draw sinners to Jesus in order to be saved, and they have found that their various views do not make it possible for them to unite their powers to this great objective. A practical evangelical alliance has begun to be felt, and the fruits have been extraordinary. I am keenly convinced that if Moody in his zeal for pure doctrine, that is to say, in zeal for *his* understanding, had strictly excluded himself from all cooperation with all who did not belong to the same way of looking at things as he; then none of us would even recognize his name. Yet, he has gathered to the work of the gospel *all* who desire to draw souls to Christ, and God has set his seal on his work. Thousands and thousands of souls in various countries have through this ministry become Christians. We have seen through God's grace even in our country the same experiences in these latter times. Our consideration of these beautiful things, however, is met with a highly mournful and disheartening disharmony, when one sees *Evangeliska Fosterlandsstiftelsen* in Sweden, as it is not about to deny its "prized fence" to speak now about God's work, entering upon an altogether opposite path, and severing and expelling from communion and cooperation those whose task in life and heart's desire is to draw sinners to the Lamb of God who takes away the sin of the world.<sup>67</sup>

Waldenström was clearly disappointed with the sectarian attitude of the EFS at a time when the Protestant world was working for Christian unity and cooperation. However, he alluded to the fact that a "practical evangelical alliance" was already being felt, and that some of the effects of Moody's work were already apparent in Sweden.<sup>68</sup> It was against the standard of Moody's alliance ideal that Waldenström evaluated the actions of the EFS.

### **Alliance Ideal and the Congregation**

Following the events surrounding the Communion Petition and the EFS's requirement for ordination of its missionary students, Waldenström and his circle of Mission Friends sought to formulate their doctrine of the church more precisely. Thus, Waldenström, Ekman, Nyvall, Meurling and others called for the second Preachers' Meeting in Stockholm, August 1–3, 1877. This conference convened at the Baptist's Betelkappellet (Bethel Chapel) with approximately 700 delegates attending from all parts of Sweden.<sup>69</sup>

In addition to discussion about the reconciliation of Lutherans, Baptists and Methodists, as well as criticisms against the Church of Sweden and the Augsburg Confession, the conference discussed the Biblical nature of the church and the local congregation, asking the questions, "What is Christ's church?" and "How should it be

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<sup>67</sup> "Afskedsord" *Waktaren*, June 21, 1877, 2; *Göteborgs Weckoblad*, May 28, 1877; *Vittnet*, 1877, 346–348. Gritsch notes that Melancthon pressed for "a pragmatic linkage of confessional identity with ecumenical initiatives," believing that the restoration of Christian unity, within the Roman Church, was the most important objective. Eric W. Gritsch, *A History of Lutheranism* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2002) 77.

<sup>68</sup> Bredberg, P. P. *Waldenström's verksamhet till 1878*, 366.

<sup>69</sup> *Förhandlingar vid Predikantmötet i Stockholm den 1–3 augusti 1877* (Stockholm: C. A. V. Lundholms förlag, 1877) 5; M. W. Montgomery, *A Wind from the Holy Spirit in Sweden and Norway* (New York: American Home Missionary Society, 1885) 70–71.

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organized?”<sup>70</sup> In the discussion, Waldenström stated: “A Christian church is a group of people, called out of the world, and organized into a body whose head is Christ.”<sup>71</sup> He cited Luther to prove the New Testament’s teaching that a church is comprised of “believers only.”<sup>72</sup> Moreover, Nyström argued that a church should never be organized according to certain doctrines or even on the basis of orthodoxy, but rather on the basis of “love to the Lord Jesus Christ,” and a “willingness to follow him who gave his life” for sinners.<sup>73</sup> Here the alliance ideal of “unity-over-creed,” or “fellowship-over-confession” was applied to the local church, namely, that a Christian congregation ought to be established on faith and life in Christ.

During the three-day meeting in Stockholm, an article titled “Om partisanne” (About Partisan Attitudes) appeared in *Nya Posten*, published earlier in *Pietisten* in which Waldenström had appealed to Moody’s ministry, saying:

Every new battle against an enemy is one link in the chain of battles through which victory will finally come. In a war, there are many battles that do not have a decisive victory but nonetheless each one, to some degree, contributes to the overall end to the war. And I believe that this applies equally to the battles against the darkness that we now face. And I will ask you: Look at Moody’s ministry and, look at the most recent spiritual movement in our country! They bear testimony of the blessing that has come and that nurtures Christians in *the life in Christ* more than unity in dogma or doctrine. There was once a priest who said to another, “I prefer a dead Lutheran over a living Baptist,” whereupon the other answered, “Yet, I would rather go to heaven as a Baptist, than go to hell as a Lutheran.”<sup>74</sup>

The Preacher’s Meeting of 1877 further challenged the decisions and policies of the EFS. In a written statement to the EFS’s board, Waldenström demanded that the mission reorganize on a general Christian basis.<sup>75</sup> To his followers within the EFS, he urged them to remain and work for change in the direction of confessional freedom.<sup>76</sup> Moreover, he expressed that a solution to the church-oriented questions would not

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<sup>70</sup> Ibid., 97. Karl Erixon spoke about the objective and subjective aspects of salvation. Ibid., 65.

<sup>71</sup> Hawkinson, “Paul Peter Waldenström,” 53.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid., 54.

<sup>74</sup> “Om partisanne,” *Nya Posten*, Aug. 3, 1877, 1; Montgomery, *A Wind from the Holy Spirit in Sweden and Norway*, 106.

<sup>75</sup> Newman, “Dwight L. Moody och hans inflytande i Sverige,” in *Från skilda tider*, 391–392;

*Förhandlingar vid predikantmötet i Stockholm den 1–3 augusti 1877*, 187–189, 197, 207, 271.

<sup>76</sup> Newman, “Dwight L. Moody och hans inflytande i Sverige,” in *Från skilda tider*, 391. The letter stated: “Hand in hand with the spiritual movement of late years has been earnest search of the Holy Bible, and it is believed that not all that is in our church’s Confession of Faith is in full harmony with the Word of God. . . . Let us leave all creed differences, bearing in mind that our work among the heathen is not to plant a State church or a sect there, but to bring souls from the power of Satan unto God. . . . To preach Christ and only Christ is what we have to do, and we may well leave at home our sect distinctions, and let the naked mark of the Cross shine as the only adornment on our ‘weapon-shield.’ . . . We beseech you that the Stiftelsen’s by-laws be so changed that henceforth missionaries whose life is in Christ and who are zealous in bringing souls to him may labor undisturbed in foreign lands, even if they cannot in all particulars adopt the Augsburg Confession.” Montgomery, *A Wind from the Holy Spirit in Sweden and Norway*, 72–73.

happen without arranging “an independent general church meeting “*i förbund med*” (in alliance with) Baptists and Methodists.”<sup>77</sup>

As a result, the Preachers’ Meeting appointed a committee with Waldenström, Ekman, Nyvall and “other radical Alliance men” to draft a proposal for “a congregational polity that would be consistent with the Word of God.”<sup>78</sup> The Baptists and Methodists with their simple, clear, and workable view of the church hastened its development. The committee met in December 1877, and in January 1878 published a proposal on free-church polity, concluding:

- 1) The church of Christ (the true congregation) has two meanings in the New Testament:
  - a) the communion of saints (i.e. believers), and
  - b) The local congregation of believing Christians;
- 2) The Christian congregation in the latter sense comes into existence when believers unite for mutual edification, discipline and aid, as well as for the work of extending the kingdom of God;
- 3) The congregation receives as members those who believe in Christ and have been baptized either as children or as adults.<sup>79</sup>

The hope was that local congregations would gather people not merely from communion societies of Mission Friends with a Lutheran heritage but also Baptists and Methodists.<sup>80</sup> This simple definition of the church, however, did not please Lutherans who remained loyal to the Church of Sweden, or Baptists who required baptism as a constituting ordinance. Thus, conservative Lutherans remained within the Church of Sweden and staunch Baptists remained separate, again disappointing Waldenström and his colleagues, and making reform toward unity seem unlikely. In regards to the goal of the committee and its definition of the church, Karl A. Olsson concluded:

The striking features of the definition are the total absence of doctrinal structure, concept of the ministerial office, and overall polity. Almost everything is assumed. And it is assumed because the definition grows out of a structured situation in which “believing Christians” has a specific meaning. It means people who have had an experience of conversion in the homogeneous contexts created by Anglo-American revivalism. It is no accident that in helping to formulate this idea of the congregation Waldenström depended more and more upon D. L. Moody who, without confessions of faith or theological subtleties, was “drawing people to Christ.”<sup>81</sup>

Waldenström promoted the idea that written confessions should be replaced with confessions to the “living and present Christ.” One of his followers later observed: “It is remarkable to see, how this truth in our county a couple of years back became clearer.

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<sup>77</sup> *Förhandlingar vid predikantmötet i Stockholm den 1–3 augusti 1877*, 392.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.* Meurling had left Waldenström’s circle at this time and remained in the Church of Sweden.

<sup>79</sup> William Bredberg and Oscar Lövgren, eds., *Genom Guds nåd. Svenska missionsförbundet under 75 år* (Stockholm: Missionsförbundet, 1953) 77–83, cited in Olsson, *By One Spirit*, 96. Cf. Montgomery, *A Wind of the Holy Spirit in Sweden and Norway*, 46–48.

<sup>80</sup> Newman, “Dwight L. Moody och hans inflytande i Sverige,” in *Från skilda tider*, 392. Fernholm held that it was not enough that “the believers’ associate with one another; they must also form a congregation.” *Ibid.*, 394n.

<sup>81</sup> Olsson, *By One Spirit*, 96.



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Almost every mission meeting discussed the question of how Christians of various viewpoints should act toward one another, and it was always answered unanimously: 'They should love one another as brothers.' There was a growing interest to see that the Christians in our country have one confession: *they confess Jesus and him alone.*"<sup>82</sup>

#### **Criticisms against Waldenström and Moody**

Waldenström's reference to Moody's example came with no small measure of authority. However, he met opposition from conservative, confessional Lutherans who reacted on the basis that Moody never attacked denominations. They argued that Moody, in accordance with the Evangelical Alliance, respected "the distinction in confessions among the various churches and denominations, and never tried to remove boundaries between the particular ministries and their confessions."<sup>83</sup> In 1877, a board member of the EFS wrote in *Wäktaren*:

Moody ...was neither accustomed to attacking other confessions nor arguing about the denominations' statements of faith in places where he was invited to preach. On the contrary, he possessed an urgent desire to have them cooperate. Moody's ministry showed that it was possible to unite denominations in the endeavor of saving souls—denominations that were otherwise separated over differences in confessions.<sup>84</sup>

The directors of EFS were certainly aware of the history behind the requirement for missionaries to subscribe to the Augsburg Confession. Therefore, when Waldenström suggested a broader ecumenical, nonconfessional evangelism, some claimed that he had forgotten the reason for the EFS's existence. In 1856, when Baptists and Lutherans had not been able to find common ground on which to cooperate in home and foreign missions, the EFS was formed on Lutheran confessional grounds. However, Waldenström and Värmland's Ansgariiförening (Ansgar Society) did know the history, and accordingly proposed a change to the bylaws. They were aware too that Moody preached sin, grace, and salvation according to the gospel, but that he emphasized a general evangelical message, rather than a fixed confessional one.<sup>85</sup>

Nevertheless, since the Augsburg Confession was the bond with the Church of Sweden, confessional Lutherans stood firmly on the Evangelical-Lutheran *ecclesia* view, holding to a "confession-over-fellowship" or "creed-over-unity" ideal of the church.<sup>86</sup> It was pointed out in *Wäktaren* that the EFS "never had the objective to be an organization to tie *all kinds* of free ministries together but merely to function among them, and in good harmony with the polity and Lutheran Confession of the Swedish Church."<sup>87</sup> Thus, while the EFS's board acknowledged the Evangelical Alliance's principles in spirit, the

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<sup>82</sup> *Vitmet*, Oct. 1877, 319–320, cited in Newman, "Dwight L. Moody och hans inflytande i Sverige," in *Från skilda tider*, 391n.

<sup>83</sup> Newman, "Dwight L. Moody och hans inflytande i Sverige," *Från skilda tider*, 401.

<sup>84</sup> *Wäktaren*, No. 25 (1877) cited in Newman, "Dwight L. Moody och hans inflytande i Sverige," in *Från skilda tider*, 390n.

<sup>85</sup> Bredberg, *P. P. Waldenströms verksamhet till 1878*, 362.

<sup>86</sup> Walan, *Församlingstanken i Svenska Missionsförbundet*, 113, 115.

<sup>87</sup> Newman, "Dwight L. Moody och hans inflytande i Sverige," in *Från skilda tider*, 390n.

directors distanced themselves from Waldenström and his attempt “to lead them in closer communion with Christian confessors of faith other than Lutherans.”<sup>88</sup>

The conflict over the Augsburg Confession, tradition, and church order became more turbulent as alliance-oriented and free-church advocates challenged the Church of Sweden’s doctrine, worship, and practice. A number of periodicals such as *Söndagen* in Linköping and *Illustrerad missionstidning* in Stockholm declared, for example, that they worked for the benefit and edification of all believers, irrespective of denominations. The latter, a short-lived periodical published by Erik Nyström, did not hesitate to criticize the confessional journals and blamed them for “causing a lot of debates on paper.”<sup>89</sup> Other periodicals such as *Göteborgs Weckoblad*, *Svenska Posten*, and *Nya Posten* joined Nyström and Waldenström in their effort toward the alliance ideal.<sup>90</sup> In 1877, Waldenström launched *Gestrikland*, and Ekman along with Waldenström began *Vittnet* that also supported the alliance work.<sup>91</sup> Moreover, *Nya Posten* continued to report efforts toward evangelical unity, as well as the controversies surrounding Waldenström’s practice of the Lord’s Supper and view of the Atonement.<sup>92</sup> In contrast, *Wäktaren*, the organ of the EFS, diminished its reports and advertisements of Moody’s works, and published views representative of the EFS and Church of Sweden.

The rift grew wider from the reaction of some within the Church of Sweden. In 1877, Gottfried Billing voiced criticism against ecumenical meetings, tracing them to “the influence of the so-called Moody movement.”<sup>93</sup> Ernst Newman observed: “The indifference toward the [Augsburg] Confession was so disturbing that it caused ‘the hair to stand up’ on the necks of Gottfrid Billing and other devout Lutherans.”<sup>94</sup> This was especially observed in non-confessional Sunday schools where “Baptists, Methodists, and Lutherans taught jointly, as well as the new-fashioned alliance meeting whose program sought to bring all kinds of confessors together, regardless of any misgivings toward the Confession.”<sup>95</sup>

Even the popular use of the adjective “Christian” indicated “the new indifference toward denominations and confessions, as well as Moody’s influence to break down confessional walls.”<sup>96</sup> A literary example of this emphasis was the book published in 1877 titled *Valda predikningar* (Select Sermons) that contained sermons by Martin Luther, D. L. Moody, W. de Talmage, P. P. Waldenström, E. J. Ekman, and others.<sup>97</sup> In

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<sup>88</sup> *Frågor rörande Evangeliska Fosterlands-Stiftelsen* (Stockholm: 1878) 31ff., cited in Newman, “Dwight L. Moody och hans inflytande i Sverige,” in *Från skilda tider*, 388.

<sup>89</sup> William Bredberg, *En frihetskämpe. dr Erik Nyström* (Stockholm: Svenska Missionsförbundet, 1935) 95, 105, cited in Newman, “Dwight L. Moody och hans inflytande i Sverige,” 386n.

<sup>90</sup> Gunnar Westin, *Emigranterna och kyrkan. Brev från och till Svenska i Amerika 1849–1892* (Stockholm: Svenska Kyrkans Diakonistyrelses Bokförlag, 1932) 415, 418.

<sup>91</sup> In 1884, *Vittnet* was estimated to have a circulation of 1,500 to 2,000, and *Förbundet* was estimated to have an average of 7,000 subscribers. Montgomery, *A Wind from the Holy Spirit in Sweden and Norway*, 44.

<sup>92</sup> “Om enhet mellan kristna af olika bekännelse,” *Nya Posten*, Jan. 18, 1878, 1.

<sup>93</sup> *Luthersk Ugeskrift*, 1<sup>st</sup> halvår (1877) 308ff., cited in Newman, “Dwight L. Moody och hans inflytande i Sverige,” *Från skilda tider*, 387n.

<sup>94</sup> Newman, “Dwight L. Moody och hans inflytande i Sverige,” *Från skilda tider*, 386.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, 387n.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, 402.

<sup>97</sup> See Martin Luther, D. L. Moody, W. de Talmage, P. P. Waldenström, E. J. Ekman, et al., *Valda predikningar* (Stockholm: Nya förlagsexpedition, 1877).

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the direction of the alliance ideal, Waldenström declared: "In our whole country, day by day, one stone after the other tumbles from the dividing wall between God's children that was erected by everyday speech and theology in the name of 'bekännelsestrohet' (confession-faithfulness), but in itself this practice is nothing other than what the Scriptures call parties, and classifies among *köttets gerningar* (the deeds of the flesh)."<sup>98</sup>

Criticism over the conflict between confessions and the alliance ideal was also directed against Moody. At the meeting of Lutheran clergy in Göteborg on June 18, 1878, Bishop G. D. Björck, a conservative Lutheran from a Schartaun view, in his introductory message expressed concern over the influence of American revivalism and its view of conversion as an act of the will, contrary to Lutheran teaching. Björck also expressed concern over the use of songs and other means to bring sinners to repentance, warning:

During the last year within the so-called "new evangelical camp," a Methodist influence has become evident so that rather inadvertently, as before, there has come a separation between a stand on grace, and falling away from it. However, there has also appeared the practice of stirring the emotions in order to effect immediate conversion and assurance of being a child of God. The use of the evangelical preacher Moody's writings seem to have had a considerable role in the introduction of these things, taking up and advancing the opportunity for edification that this party has used.<sup>99</sup>

Björck further warned that this behavior was in accordance with "Biblical prophecies of apostasy and the seduction of Babel," described as "wine that makes people drunk."<sup>100</sup> His criticism of the *nyevangelismen* (new evangelicalism) with its emphasis on instantaneous conversion, immediate assurance of salvation, and preaching that stirred the emotions was attributed to Moody's writings. Such criticism against the American revivalist further demonstrated Moody's influence in Sweden since influence is indicated by criticism as well as by acceptance of ideals, beliefs and methods.

### **The Alliance Ideal and Svenska Missionsförbundet**

At the EFS's annual meeting in June 1878, the directors held to their confessional Lutheran position, maintaining the *ecclesia* view of the church and their bond with the Church of Sweden, leading Waldenström and his circle of friends to abandon hope that the EFS would become a broader organization to include Lutherans, Baptists and Methodists.<sup>101</sup>

The third Stockholm Preachers' Meeting was held June 12–14, 1878, led by Waldenström at Betelkapellet (Bethel Chapel).<sup>102</sup> Questions were discussed such as: "Can a state church ever be a church in the ordinary sense?" and "Is cooperation among Lutherans and Baptists possible?" While the Baptists maintained an exclusive position

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<sup>98</sup> *Förhandlingar vid Predikantmötet i Stockholm den 1–3 augusti 1877*, 199, cited in Newman, "Dwight L. Moody och hans inflytande i Sverige," *Från skilda tider*, 402–403.

<sup>99</sup> Gust. Dan. Björck, "Inledningstal vid prestmötet i Göteborg den 18 Juni 1878," *Handlingar, rörande prestmötet i Göteborg, den 18, 19, 20 juni 1878* (Göteborg: D. F. Bonniers Boktryckeri, 1878) 7–8.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*, 8.

<sup>101</sup> Walan, *Församlingstanken i Svenska Missionsförbundet*, 115.

<sup>102</sup> See *Förhandlingar vid Predikantmötet i Stockholm den 31 juli–2 augusti 1878* (Stockholm: 1878).

on questions of Lord's Supper and congregational fellowship, they were nonetheless ready to cooperate along the old alliance lines— in Sunday schools, joint devotional meetings, etc. Although some were not ready to embrace “the Waldenströmians,” they wished to do away with the splitting of societies, and to gather all believers into “Christian” congregations with Christ and life in him as the only bond of union.<sup>103</sup>

The question of schools was also discussed. Enrollment at the Mission Friends' schools in Kristinehamn and Vinslöv had dropped due to the fact that their graduates were no longer accepted by the EFS's school at Johannelund which required all missionary students to subscribe to the Augsburg Confession.<sup>104</sup> With the motion of C. J. Nyvall who had a year earlier resigned as colporteur of Värmland's Ansgariiförening, a committee was formed to consider the school question. The committee called for a meeting from July 31 to August 2, 1878. On the last day of the conference, Svenska Missionsförbundet (SMF) was founded.

This new organization was not formed as a denomination in a legal or technical sense but as a mission society composed of “local mission societies and mission congregations comprised of believers.”<sup>105</sup> The committee stated that Svenska Missionsförbundet would be and remain a means for “gathering around Jesus Christ,” further declaring: “May its only and great aim be, free from all party spirit, to bring sinners to a knowledge of truth and salvation.”<sup>106</sup> David Nyvall, son of C. J. Nyvall, later described the organization as “...a revival of the Evangelical Alliance of 1853, for the avowed purpose of uniting in faith and work all true believers without reference to creeds, and especially to provide the undisturbed, separate celebration of the Lord's Supper and other privileges of edification according to their conscience to ‘Mission Friends’ who desire[d] them, without the necessity of appealing to the State Church.”<sup>107</sup> SMF was first led by E. J. Ekman, its newly elected president, along with others such as C. J. Nyvall, Erik Nyström, P. P. Waldenström, and Andreas Fernholm, those who supported the alliance ideal popularized by Moody's ecumenical and non-creedal strategy for evangelism.<sup>108</sup> From the beginning, Svenska Missionsförbundet (SMF) drew large numbers of people, especially from Evangeliska Fosterlands-stiftelsen (EFS) but also from Baptists and Methodists. The New Testament idea of the congregation, merely a vague notion at the Stockholm Preachers' Meeting of 1877 was now realized in SMF.<sup>109</sup>

As for the alliance ideal, Andreas Fernholm declared: “The instruments that God has been able to use in our times for effecting great revivals have been those men and women who have seen the need for Christians to join together, and work for it. Moody is

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<sup>103</sup> Newman, “Dwight L. Moody och hans inflytande i Sverige,” in *Från skilda tider*, 395.

<sup>104</sup> Anderson, *Inre missionen* Vol. I, 88, cited in Hawkinson, “Paul Peter Waldenström,” 57.

<sup>105</sup> Karl A. Olsson, *By One Spirit*, 89.

<sup>106</sup> Montgomery, *A Wind from the Holy Spirit in Sweden and Norway*, 74–75.

<sup>107</sup> David Nyvall, *The Swedish Covenanters: A History* (Chicago: Covenant Book Concern, 1930) 47.

Andreasson states: “When the break came through the founding of Svenska Missionsförbundet in 1878, those who were more church-faithful remained within the EFS while the alliance-minded group organized the SMF.” Hans Andreasson, *Liv och rörelse. Svenska missionskyrkans historia och identitet* (Stockholm: Verbum, 2007) 30.

<sup>108</sup> Erickson, “The Nature of American Religious Influences on the Swedish Mission Covenant Church,” in *American Religious Influences in Sweden*, Erickson, ed., 141.

<sup>109</sup> Newman, “Dwight L. Moody och hans inflytande i Sverige,” *Från skilda tider*, 394.

an example of that.”<sup>110</sup> Waldenström kept a watchful eye on the free congregations that associated with SMF so that they would not deviate from “the irenic fellowship ideal on the basis of a personal confession of Christ, which Moody, more than any other person promoted at the time.”<sup>111</sup> Waldenström held the view “that every congregation that excludes any sincere and conscientious Christian who *wishes* to be one and the same is not a congregation of God, but a human sect and nothing other.”<sup>112</sup> When Moody held his second revival campaign in the British Isles years later, Waldenström expressed his thoughts about the American revivalist, saying:

When I reflect upon Moody's ministry, I do not see him surrounded merely by Baptist, Methodist, and independent pastors, but also by many clergy of the English state church. He does a common work with them all, exhorting them to speak, and the people to listen. And for this he was rightly commended. If they have other views than he has about the church (and act accordingly), he understands nonetheless the need to acknowledge their position as servants of God, as well as to treat them as such. Yes, he rejoices over the blessing that even through them, God lets salvation flow to sinners. ... May we make our position clear before all humanity, that we do not prefer any party but that we joyfully bless every preacher, whether a Baptist or Methodist or state church priest who believes in Jesus and works in his name, in order that souls may be saved.<sup>113</sup>

No doubt, Waldenström's positive references to Moody and his respect for his non-sectarian evangelism led many Swedes emigrating from Sweden to be open and receptive to the American revivalist, with many arriving in Chicago. In 1878, Karl Erixon sold *Nya Posten* to P. Ollén and A. P. Larson, and immigrated to Knoxville, Illinois, taking over as president at Ansgar College and Seminary and editor of *Zions Banér*.<sup>114</sup> In America, the emerging leaders of Mission Friends looked equally to Moody and his alliance ideal for inspiration and direction. Now free from Sweden's social structure, some formed churches on the basis of Moody's alliance ideal.

## Conclusion

D. L. Moody was an alliance-man who demonstrated an ability to balance an idealistic and pragmatic evangelism. More than any of his contemporaries, he practiced the alliance ideal, an evangelical ecumenism whereby churches of different confessions cooperated in evangelism. Clearly, his guiding principle and consuming passion was evangelism. He believed that the witness of the church was hampered by denominations whose concern for creedal accuracy and doctrinal correctness overshadowed Christ's love and Christian unity. For Moody, creeds divided Christians and obscured the mission of the church. He held that where the gospel was preached, theological differences of

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<sup>110</sup> *Förbundet* (1880) 87, cited in Newman, “Dwight L. Moody och hans inflytande i Sverige,” in *Från skilda tider*, 399.

<sup>111</sup> Newman, “Dwight L. Moody och hans inflytande i Sverige,” in *Från skilda tider*, 399-400.

<sup>112</sup> *Hemlandsvännen* 1882, no. 50A (“Letter from Gävle” Dec. 9, 1882), cited in Newman, “Dwight L. Moody och hans inflytande i Sverige,” in *Från skilda tider*, 400.

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>114</sup> *Österns Weckoblad*, Jan. 6, 1891, 1. *Nya Posten* ended April 3, 1879, and was followed by *Hemlandsvännen*. In 1885, when P. Ollén served as editor of *Hemlandsvännen* of SMF, the circulation was estimated at 11,000. Montgomery, *A Wind from the Holy Spirit in Sweden and Norway*, 32.

“minor importance” were peripheral. Thus, he showed little interest in systematic theology, and “for denominations, he cared nothing” but for Christ and the gospel, he devoted his life.<sup>115</sup>

This was a time when events threatened the Church of Sweden’s centralized authority, weakening control of the ordered church. Free-church forces inspired by Moody and other Anglo-American impulses promoted the view that faith was more than a creed, and that Christian unity was possible. Debate centered increasingly on issues of church authority and organization. For Mission Friends who adopted the view that the Bible is the only creed, they sought to develop an ecclesiology based on the New Testament pattern.

The “Moody fever” that spread in Sweden from 1875 to 1880, peaking in 1876 and 1877, had an immediate effect in the direction of this alliance ideal, especially through the activities of Evangeliska Alliansen reorganized in 1875, and the Stockholm Preachers’ Meetings held from 1876 to 1878. Activities of these two groups resulted in the presentation of two petitions to King Oscar II in an effort to gain greater religious freedoms in Sweden.

With unresolved tensions between Evangeliska Fosterlands-stiftelsen (EFS) and alliance-oriented Mission Friends, Svenska Missionsförbundet (SMF) formed in 1878. Different views of the atonement, the Lord’s Supper, and the nature of the church led Mission Friends such as Ekman, Nyström, Fernholm, Nyvall, and Waldenström to establish SMF as a mission society of local mission societies and mission churches “comprised of believers” including Baptists, Methodists, and Lutherans—an application of the alliance ideal.

Waldenström’s attempt to broaden the EFS to include those who did not hold to all points of the Augsburg Confession was resisted by the directors of the EFS who maintained an allegiance to Lutheran confessionalism, seeing the matter from a different point of view.<sup>116</sup> On the other hand, Waldenström aligned with Moody’s evangelical ecumenism as a model for the “new evangelical mission that sought to work beyond the limits of the Augsburg Confession, and not destroy the unity that the EFS welcomed.”<sup>117</sup> Waldenström’s repeated references to Moody and his work in Britain and America, demonstrated how Moody had become a new “standard-bearer,” inspiring Waldenström “toward a creedless evangelism and mission work *à la* the Evangelical Alliance ideal.”<sup>118</sup> The fact that Waldenström and his alliance-oriented colleagues, as well as confessional Lutherans such as Charodotes Meurling “hid behind the shoulders of the renowned evangelist” demonstrated the breadth of Moody’s influence.<sup>119</sup>

Not only external but internal forces were at work which were met by resistance from those content with a Lutheran confessional identity. Moreover, for those who had leanings toward Reformed theology, Moody was a “champion.” His success in England, Scotland and Ireland made him a model, the standard-bearer of evangelistic success. Mission Friends like Waldenström saw the large crowds that he had attracted and concluded that God has blessed him, and ratified his ideal, beliefs and methods. Some

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<sup>115</sup> Findlay, *Dwight L. Moody*, 421.

<sup>116</sup> Walan, *Församlingstanken i Svenska Missionsförbundet*, 113.

<sup>117</sup> *Ibid.*, 114.

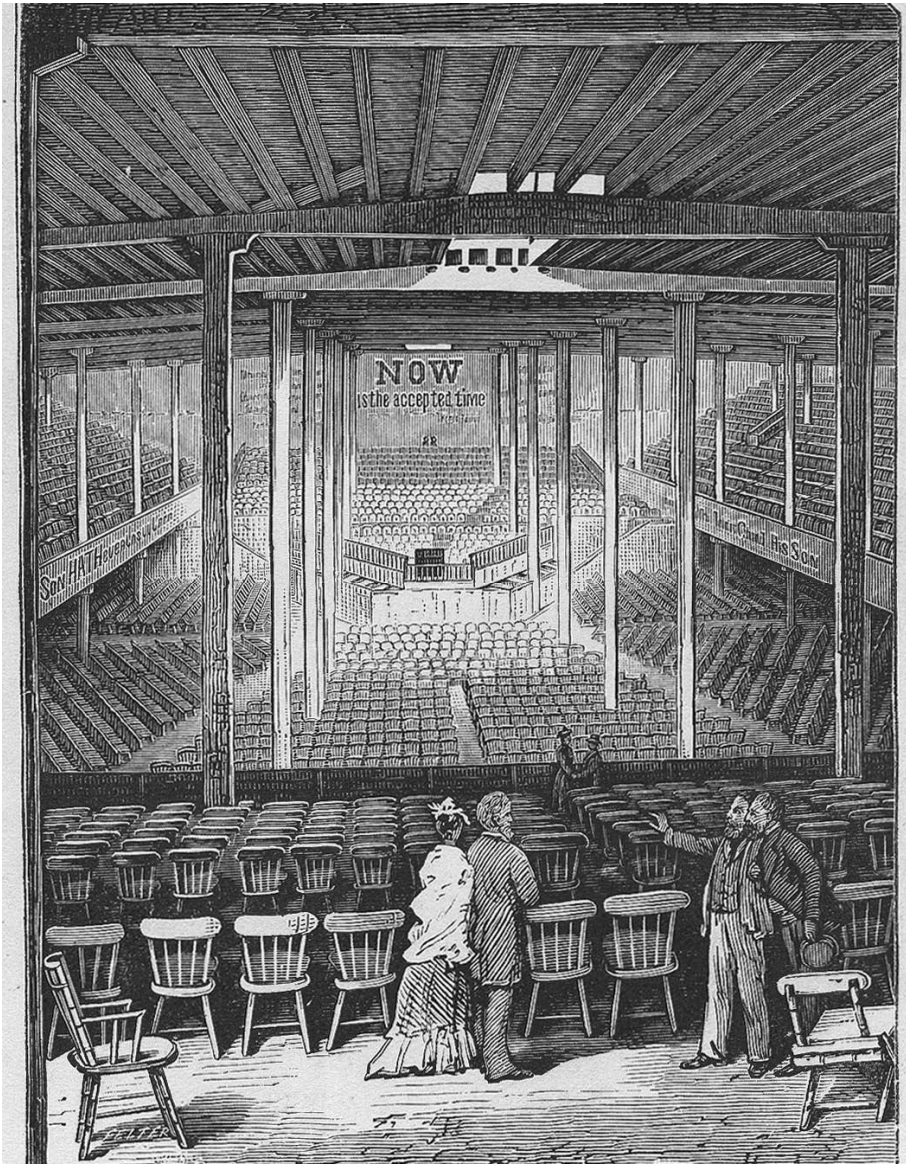
<sup>118</sup> Bredberg, *P. P. Waldenströms verksamhet till 1878*, 363.

<sup>119</sup> Newman, “Dwight L. Moody och hans inflytande i Sverige,” in *Från skilda tider*, 402.

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may argue that Waldenström merely used Moody as an example to further his own pre-conceived ideas. Moody, however, demonstrated an unprecedented success in bringing Christians together from various confessions on a scale that most—including Waldenström—never imagined possible. Moreover, Moody at least inspired Waldenström to strive toward a practical evangelical alliance in Sweden. Furthermore, Waldenström's repeated appeals to Moody as an example had an effect on impressionable minds—on hundreds of Mission Friends in Sweden and America who believed that Moody's practical alliance was both Biblical and right.

Efforts by Mission Friends in the direction of the alliance ideal served to broaden Sweden's religious landscape, and furthered the democratization of Swedish Christianity. Despite misgivings by the directors of the EFS and bishops of the Church of Sweden, alliance-oriented Mission Friends, inspired by Moody's irenic spirit, established SMF as a new mission society in the direction of a fellowship-over-confession *ecclesia*, away from Lutheran confessionalism and provincialism. This irenic spirit, exemplified in Moody, contributed to shaping of an evangelical, ecumenical identity among Sweden's Mission Friends.



**Chicago Tabernacle**, built for Moody's evangelistic campaign in the Windy City in 1876. Courtesy of the Billy Graham Center Archives, Wheaton College, Wheaton, Illinois.



## Chapter 5

### Moody's Chicago Revival and Swedes

Within a week of Moody's return to America in 1875, he was preaching in his hometown of Northfield, Massachusetts, and the surrounding area.<sup>1</sup> Church leaders came to Northfield to greet him, while committees across America were inviting him to hold revival campaigns in their respective cities.<sup>2</sup> With such a response, Moody called a meeting on September 14, 1875, in Northfield to speak with representatives from Brooklyn, Philadelphia, New York City, and Chicago to help him decide where to begin his American campaign.

By the middle of October, he decided to begin in Brooklyn, and then travel to Philadelphia, New York City, Chicago, and Boston.<sup>3</sup> This would occupy him for the rest of 1875 and much of 1876 and 1877. Then Sankey and he would travel to smaller cities in New England such as Providence, Springfield, Hartford, and New Haven, a preaching tour that would continue to 1878. The large-city revivals would last for two or three months, and the campaigns in smaller cities would last three or four weeks. The meetings would be held at a single location, normally in the city's downtown area in rented or newly-built facilities with seating for six to ten thousand people.

While Moody's first preaching tour was held in America, "Moody fever" was spreading in Sweden where news of his American mass meetings extended to the remotest villages, a phenomenon described by Americans too.<sup>4</sup> Moody's son-in-law, A. P. Fitt, described the spread of "Moody fever" in Sweden, saying: "The fire of the 1873–[187]5 revival in England had been carried to Sweden. Many of Mr. Moody's sermons and Mr. Sankey's hymns were translated into Swedish. The great revival of 1877 in Sweden is considered a result."<sup>5</sup> The Swedish-American Frederick E. Pamp described the phenomenon, saying:

I was speaking with a Swedish man here [in America] who told me that he remembered distinctly in his home in Sweden that almost everybody among the common people had copies of the sermons of D. L. Moody and the songs of Sankey in their homes. ... They met in little groups in homes, and had someone who would read to them, preferably the

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<sup>1</sup> James F. Findlay, Jr., *Dwight L. Moody: American Evangelist, 1837–1899* (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1969) 194.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 195.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 197.

<sup>4</sup> Karl A. Olsson, *By One Spirit* (Chicago: Covenant Press, 1962) 160.

<sup>5</sup> Arthur Percy Fitt, *Moody Still Lives: Word Pictures of D. L. Moody* (New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1936) 62.

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sermons of D. L. Moody, and then they would sing Sankey's songs. ... and men and women were converted to Christ in these little gatherings. The men who did the reading to the people were called in Swedish "Läsare," readers. ... We cannot measure the influence of D. L. Moody's sermons and Sankey's songs in the tremendous revivals that spread into the most remote regions in Sweden.<sup>6</sup>

This chapter answers the question: What was the effect among Swedish Mission Friends when Moody returned to America, holding meetings in cities such as New York and Chicago with large populations of Swedes? This chapter examines Moody's expanding influence in America among Swedish Mission Friends, particularly in Chicago, where Swedes could attend his meetings and personally hear him preach.

It is important to recognize that Sweden's "Moody fever" from 1875 to 1880 preceded the largest wave of Swedish immigration to America. Many Swedish immigrants, especially Mission Friends, arrived in America already familiar with Moody's sermons and Sankey's songs. In Chicago, Swedish Mission Friends came directly under his influence, as well as that of Moody's circle and Chicago Avenue Church. The year 1876 was pivotal for Mission Friends in America, the year when Moody began his revival campaign in Chicago, sparking a Swedish-American "Moody fever" in the United States. From his city-wide evangelistic campaign in the Windy City, a group of "freer" Mission Friends emerged following Moody in America as well as Waldenström in Sweden rather than the tradition of Rosenius and Lutheran *läsare*.

### **Swedish Mass Migration**

During the Moody revival in Sweden, large numbers of Swedes left their homeland and immigrated to America. George M. Stephenson noted that when "the greatest of the religious revivals swept over the country, in 1876 and 1877, thousands of young men and women in their best years, unable to obtain employment in their own overpopulated land, swelled the throng of fortune hunters who crowded emigrant ships."<sup>7</sup>

In 1870, following the first heavy peak of Swedish immigration, the Swedish population in America was 97,332. During the next decade, Swedish immigration increased dramatically. Dag Blanck notes: "By 1880, this figure had more than doubled to 194,337, and in 1890, following the single decade of the largest Swedish immigration, 478,041 Swedes were living in the U.S. During the 1880s alone, some 330,000 persons left Sweden for the United States, the peak year being 1887 with over 46,000 registered emigrants."<sup>8</sup>

The largest urban population of Swedish Americans was in Chicago, followed by New York City, Minneapolis-St. Paul, Seattle, and Rockford.<sup>9</sup> The Swedish-born

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<sup>6</sup> Frederick E. Pamp, "The Influence of D. L. Moody on the Swedish People," *The Covenant Companion* (Nov. 1927) 6.

<sup>7</sup> George M. Stephenson, *The Religious Aspects of Swedish Immigration* (New York: Arno Press and the New York Times, 1969) 103.

<sup>8</sup> Dag Blanck, *Becoming Swedish American: The Construction of an Ethnic Identity in the Augustana Synod, 1860–1917* (Uppsala: Uppsala universitet, 1997) 33. Cf. Hans Norman and Harold Runblom, *Transatlantic Connections: Nordic Migration to the New World after 1800* (Norwegian University Press, 1988) 289.

<sup>9</sup> Mark Alan Granquist, "The Swedish Ethnic Denominations in the United States: Their Development and Relationships, 1880–1920" (Ph. D. Thesis, University of Chicago, The Divinity School, 1992) 25.

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population in Chicago alone grew from 6,154 in 1870 to 12,930 in 1880, making Chicago the Swedish-American capital.<sup>10</sup> By the end of 1899, the Windy City could boast of being the second largest Swedish city in the world, next to Stockholm, Sweden's capital.<sup>11</sup> Chicago's largest Swedish neighborhood known as "Swede Town," was located along Chicago Avenue, intersected by streets such as Bremer, Townsend, Sedgwick, Oak, and Wesson.<sup>12</sup> Moody's church, Chicago Avenue Church, was located at the east end of "Swede Town," at the corner of Chicago Avenue and LaSalle Street.

With several of Moody's books and biographies already in print in the Swedish language, mostly published in Sweden, it is not surprising that many Swedish immigrants were attracted to Moody and Chicago Avenue Church when they arrived. It was reported that some Swedes who had read his sermons in Swedish were "disappointed to learn that he was not a Swede at all, and could not speak of word of the Swedish language; nevertheless, they were glad to hear him preach!"<sup>13</sup>

### **Moody's Chicago Revival**

The Swedish city-missionary John F. Okerstein continued his leadership role at Chicago Avenue Church. He attended executive committee meetings along with the pastor, William J. Erdman (1834–1903), and was even asked to open meetings in prayer.<sup>14</sup> In 1876, Okerstein became active with Moody's revival campaign. As a city missionary, Okerstein had experience leading "anxious" men and women to faith in Christ, whether in a home or at the church. He also met Moody's criteria for a revival worker, especially the requirement to avoid any form of a "party-spirit."<sup>15</sup> Months before Moody's Chicago campaign began, the fruit of Okerstein's work was evident as he led a Swedish Gospel meeting on Sunday mornings at Chicago Avenue Church.<sup>16</sup>

Moody visited Chicago at the end of May 1876, for the June dedication service of the newly completed Chicago Avenue Church.<sup>17</sup> During Moody's visit, a group of businessmen and pastors discussed with him plans for the Chicago campaign scheduled to begin in October.<sup>18</sup> For the campaign, the committee arranged to build a large but

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<sup>10</sup> Ulf Beijbom, *Swedes in Chicago: A Demographic and Social Study of the 1846–1880 Immigration*, trans. by Donald Brown (Stockholm: Läromedelsförlagen, 1971) 111.

<sup>11</sup> Blanck, *Becoming Swedish American*, 35.

<sup>12</sup> Beijbom, *Swedes in Chicago*, 70–71.

<sup>13</sup> Erik Brolund, *Missionsvännerna. Jämförelser och studier* (Chicago: Mission Friend's Publ. Co., 1938) 109.

<sup>14</sup> Minutes of Chicago Avenue Church, July 14, 1876. Archives of the Billy Graham Center, Wheaton, Illinois.

<sup>15</sup> Darrel M. Robertson, *The Chicago Revival, 1876. Society and Revivalism in a Nineteenth-Century City* (Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow Press, 1989) 56.

<sup>16</sup> Minutes of Chicago Avenue Church, Chicago, Illinois, July 7, 1876.

<sup>17</sup> C. J. Nyvall who visited America in 1875–1876 wrote of his visit to Moody's church in January 1876: "A friend of mine took me to see Moody's church and Sunday school. The main auditorium was not quite finished; it will be large and excellent. Below it is the place for the Sunday school. By means of moveable partitions the children's groups can be separated or consolidated as the occasion requires. The number of children amounts to 1,100. There is also a class for Scandinavians. ... Moody was not at home—he was still out East. According to what I was told, Moody's Sunday school is undoubtedly superior to many others, for it is required that those who teach must be only such as live in the grace of Jesus." C. J. Nyvall, *Travel Memories from America*, trans. by E. Gustav Johnson (Chicago: Covenant Press, 1959) 67.

<sup>18</sup> Robertson, *The Chicago Revival, 1876*, 41.

simple structure, the Chicago Tabernacle, on property owned by John V. Farwell, Moody's long-time friend. The warehouse-type building was located on the corner of Monroe and Franklin streets with seating for eight thousand people.<sup>19</sup> The building was completed just days before the citywide campaign began.

Thousands of volunteers assumed various roles in the campaign to reach Chicago's residents with the gospel. A systematic strategy to invite every resident was carried out, including visiting the Swedish neighborhood along Chicago Avenue where Okerstein worked. In the campaign, every home, business, bar and billiard hall received a visit by a Christian worker.<sup>20</sup> At the time, Okerstein began to work with another Swede who was deeply influenced by Moody, Fredrik Franson.

### Fredrik Franson, "Moody's Swedish Disciple"

In the fall of 1876, Fredrik Franson (1852–1908) arrived in Chicago to join Moody's revival campaign. In Nebraska, Franson had read news reports about Moody's evangelistic work in Great Britain, Brooklyn, Philadelphia and New York City, piquing his interest and leading him to Chicago with the hope of working with the American revivalist.

The newspaper *Zions Banér* was one Swedish-American periodical that covered Moody's campaigns. In 1875, this Mission-Friends' newspaper published two major articles about the American revivalist. The first article described Moody's early life and conversion, and the second article described his personality and ministry.<sup>21</sup> The paper reported:

His soul glows with burning devotion; not like the sparkling of a rocket or flickering of a flame but as metal heating to the core. He is penetrated by an inner love for the Lord Jesus and a longing to save souls. ... Moody is a Bible Christian. .... He always carries it with him, taking advantage of every free moment to study some part of it, whether on steamboats, locomotives or waiting in the stations. ... With the Bible, he has shaken the most powerful strongholds of darkness; it is his weapon and he wields it with firmness and strength. ... All that he says flows freely and naturally; many times his message is lifted by a pointed word or spontaneous thought. You are ready to smile when all of a sudden in a stirring illustration, in a soft voice, he evokes tears instead of a smile. The Christian life that he seeks to instill is joyful, devoted, free and full of power and truth. If any human being has been endowed with magnetic appeal, then Dwight Moody must have received it.<sup>22</sup>

Moreover, when Moody was at Brooklyn, *Zion's Banér* reported: "He insists that all Christians should unite and work together. He does not work to make Lutherans, Methodists, or Presbyterians, but to make Christians."<sup>23</sup> In January 1876, Moody's sermon titled "*Hvad synes eder om Kristus?*" (What Think Ye of Christ?) appeared in

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<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 50.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 83.

<sup>21</sup> *Zions Banér*, May 1875, 113–116.

<sup>22</sup> *Zions Banér*, June, 1875, 137–138. *Zions Banér* published serially Waldenström's *Brukspatron Adamsson* from April 1873 to February 1874.

<sup>23</sup> *Zions Banér*, Dec, 1875, cited in LeRoy W. Nelson, "The Relationship of Dwight L. Moody to the Evangelical Covenant Church" (B.D. Thesis, North Park Theological Seminary, Chicago, 1958) 25.

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*Zion's Banér*.<sup>24</sup> In February of the same year, a detailed article about his activity in Philadelphia was published, along with news of his upcoming New York City campaign.<sup>25</sup> In July, the sermon “*Se och lef*” (Look and Live) made *Zion's Banér's* front page, and the following edition contained one of his anecdotes.<sup>26</sup>

Another Swedish-language newspaper that reported Moody's campaigns was *Nordstjernen* in New York City. Moody's first citywide campaign in America began in Brooklyn on October 31, 1875, held at the Clermont Avenue Rink with seating for seven thousand people. *Nordstjernen* stated:

Moody and Sankey, the famous religious preachers, about which little or nothing was known before their European tour, appeared in Brooklyn for the first time last Sunday, and were elated over the large crowd of sinners that came. However, it may be presumed that many of those who were present came out of curiosity. The exact reason for their great fame in England, could not, at least by this event, be determined since every Sunday we can listen to religious messages in several of our churches from people who are far more intelligent than Mr. Moody. Or perhaps there was something in the songs that far exceeds our generally magnificent church music.<sup>27</sup>

While this news report was critical in tone, it complemented the revivalists for “alleviating the heavy burden of Brooklyn's list of sins.”<sup>28</sup> In connection with Moody's and Sankey's revival, the newspaper advertised the following: “Sunday, November 7 at 4:00 [p.m.], Pastor Sörlin from New York will preach at the *Missionskapellet* (the Mission chapel) on Pacific Street, at which time some of *Sankeys sånger* (Sankey's songs) will be performed, and our countrymen are invited to attend.”<sup>29</sup>

Daniel S. Sörlin, a Methodist preacher who came to New York from Göteborg in 1874, worked with O. G. Hedström onboard *Betelskeppet* (the Bethel Ship), a ministry to newly arriving immigrants.<sup>30</sup> In 1875, Sörlin published *Sankeys sånger* in New York.<sup>31</sup> *Nordstjernen* also reported that Moody and Sankey were moving to Philadelphia to continue their “conversion work” there.<sup>32</sup>

When Moody and Sankey came to Manhattan in New York City on February 7, 1876, *Nordstjernen* reported the great crowds that were drawn to the Hippodrome, P. T. Barnum's building on Madison Avenue and 27<sup>th</sup> Street, left empty when Barnum took his circus on the road. *Nordstjernen* said: “Thousands who have traveled here, during the past meetings have come to ask for prayer, and then, in a section of the Hippodrome that is set apart for the ‘seeking,’ they are able to converse personally with the evangelists and

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<sup>24</sup> *Zions Banér*, Jan. 1876, 2.

<sup>25</sup> *Zions Banér*, Feb. 1876, 4–5.

<sup>26</sup> *Zions Banér*, July 1876, 1; Aug. 1876; Cf. “Öfver afgrunden” *Zions Banér*, June 15, 1877.

<sup>27</sup> *Nordstjernen*, Oct. 29, 1875, 4.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>29</sup> *Nordstjernen*, Nov. 5, 1875, 4.

<sup>30</sup> N. M. Liljegren N. O. Westergreen and C. G. Wallenius, *Svenska Metodismen i Amerika* (Chicago: Svenska M.E. Bokhandels-Föreningens Förlag, 1895) 325–327.

<sup>31</sup> See Ira D. Sankey, *Sankeys sånger, sjungna wid de stora wäckelserna i England, Skotland och Irland: jemte ett litet urval sånger af wälkända författare*, trans. by D. S. Sörlin (New York: Chas. B. Thore & Co., 1875).

<sup>32</sup> *Nordstjernen*, Nov. 25, 1875, 4.

their co-workers,” an obvious reference to Moody’s after-meetings.<sup>33</sup> At the center of the activity was J. G. Princell, serving then as pastor of Gustavus Adolphus Lutheran Church at 22<sup>nd</sup> Street and 3<sup>rd</sup> Avenue in Manhattan, just six blocks from the Hippodrome.<sup>34</sup>

Articles, sermons, and new reports like these published in *Zions Banér* and *Nordstjernen* were what drew Fredrik Franson to Chicago to join the American revivalist.

Fredrik Franson was born June 17, 1852, in Nora in the mining district of Västmanland, Sweden.<sup>35</sup> His father died when he was five years old. Franson attended elementary school at Pershyttan, as well as the private school at Ringshyttan. At twelve years of age, he enrolled at the preparatory school in Nora, completed this course, and in 1867 began studies at Örebro’s högre elementarläroverk (high school) where he showed special aptitude in linguistics, learning Greek, Latin, and German.<sup>36</sup> In 1859, his mother married Per Olsson, a board member of the local mission society. Olsson opened a large room upstairs in his farmhouse for a school and revival meetings, and welcomed colporteurs, providing lodging and carriage rides.<sup>37</sup>

**Fredrik Franson,**  
“Moody’s Swedish  
disciple,” as a young man



In May 1869, Franson, his mother, and stepfather joined Lutheran clergyman Olof Olsson and his emigrant party that traveled from Värmland to Lindsborg, Kansas.<sup>38</sup> After a brief stay at Lindsborg, Franson and his family moved to Estina in Saunders County, Nebraska, west of Omaha.<sup>39</sup> While seriously ill with malaria in 1872, Franson converted

<sup>33</sup> *Nordstjernen*, March 3, 1876, 4.

<sup>34</sup> *Nordstjernen*, Mar. 3, 1876, 2. At the close of the New York campaign on April 19, *Nordstjernen* stated that an offering was received “to pay off the debt that the Young Men’s Christian Association owes for its place on the corner of 28<sup>th</sup> Street and Fourth Avenue.” *Nordstjernen*, Mar. 31, 1876, 4; Apr. 21, 1876, 4.

<sup>35</sup> G. A. Young, Frank W. Anderson, and E. A. Halleen, *Minnen och Bilder från Svenska Ev. Frikyrkans Predikantförenings Tjugofemåriga Verksamhet, 1894–1919* (Chicago: Emil Forslund Printing, 1919) 60.

<sup>36</sup> Edvard Paul Torjesen, “A Study of Fredrik Franson: The Development and Impact of His Ecclesiology, Missiology, and Worldwide Evangelism” (Ph.D. Diss., International College, Los Angeles, Calif., 1984) 41; Olsson, *By One Spirit*, 161.

<sup>37</sup> Torjesen, “A Study of Fredrik Franson,” 41.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, 42.

<sup>39</sup> C. V. Bowman, *Missionsvännerna i Amerika. En återblick på deras uppkomst och första verksamhetstid* (Minneapolis: Minneapolis Veckoblad, 1907) 274.

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to faith in Christ.<sup>40</sup> Following his prolonged illness, the Bible became his most prized possession, and for the next several years he studied it zealously. He was baptized by immersion and joined First Swedish Baptist Church of Estina.

With a growing desire to preach, Franson delivered his first sermon in the schoolhouse where the church's services were held. He then began his first preaching tour as a lay evangelist among Swedish immigrants, visiting various places in Nebraska. He also served as secretary of the Swedish Baptist Conference of Western Iowa, Nebraska, and the Dakotas.<sup>41</sup> In addition, he served as secretary of the board the Swedish Baptist congregation in Estina, and regularly attended board meetings from September 24, 1874, to August 11, 1876.<sup>42</sup>

### **Moody's School for Christian Workers**

When Franson arrived to Chicago in the fall of 1876, he was amazed by "the Lord's work at Moody's meetings."<sup>43</sup> Moody had come to Chicago on September 30 from Northfield to begin his revival campaign, held from October 1, 1876 to January 16, 1877. A training school for volunteer Christian workers was held at Farwell Hall. Noonday prayer meetings led up to the city-wide campaign. Interest was at an all-time high among Chicago's evangelical churches, and the YMCA at the center of activity.<sup>44</sup>

Moody welcomed Franson as a revival worker, and taught him the skills and methods used by Christian workers for the campaign. Franson took full advantage of the opportunity, and learned from Moody specific methods of revival work.<sup>45</sup> Moreover, as a co-worker, Franson invited people in neighborhoods and on streets to attend Moody's revival meetings.

Moody employed a strategy of house-to-house visitation, the same program that he had used in Liverpool and London. Franson recalled: "When Moody and Sankey conducted awakenings for three months, every home in this metropolis [of Chicago] with

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<sup>40</sup> O. C. Grauer, *Fredrik Franson: Founder of the Scandinavian Alliance Mission of North America* (Chicago: Scandinavian Alliance Mission, n.d.) 20.

<sup>41</sup> Edvard P. Torjesen, *Fredrik Franson: A Model for Worldwide Evangelism* (Pasadena: William Carey Library, 1983) 17.

<sup>42</sup> There has been confusion over the time that Franson joined Moody in Chicago. Edvard P. Torjesen posited "A Critical Data Gap" and "A Suggested Reconstruction" proposing that Franson was on the East Coast with Moody from Oct. 1875 to Apr. 1876. Torjesen held that "a gap exists (October 1875–February 1877) in the primary data on Fredrik Franson." Edvard P. Torjesen, "A Study of Fredrik Franson: The Development and Impact of His Ecclesiology, Missiology, and Worldwide Evangelism," 47–53. However, the minutes of First Swedish Baptist Church of Estina show that Franson served regularly as secretary of the church board from Sept. 24, 1874 to Aug. 11, 1876. The monthly minutes were recorded and signed by him. Although Franson was re-elected on Sept. 2, 1876 "to be the congregation's secretary for the next year," his move to Chicago at that time mandated "that in Fr. Franson's place, to choose a secretary until the next annual meeting." Minutes of First Swedish Baptist Church, Estina, Nebraska, Jan. 14, 1877. After Franson joined Chicago Avenue Church, he requested that he be dropped from membership at Estina. Minutes of First Swedish Baptist Church, Estina, Nebraska, Sept. 13, 1878.

<sup>43</sup> Josephine Princell, *Missionär Fredrik Fransons lif och verksamhet* (Chicago: Chicago-Bladet Publishing, 1909) 16. See previous footnote.

<sup>44</sup> Nelson, "The Relationship of Dwight L. Moody to the Evangelical Covenant Church," 17.

<sup>45</sup> Princell, *Frederick Franson: World Missionary*, 11–12.

its 500,000 inhabitants was visited.”<sup>46</sup> In addition to house-to-house visitation, Moody asked his Christian workers to distribute handbills advertising the meetings.<sup>47</sup>

Franson, like Okerstein, met Moody’s criteria for a revival worker, especially the requirement to avoid any form of a “partisan-spirit.” Earlier in 1876, Moody had declared, “...truce to all sectarianism, that the Lord alone may be exalted: let all denominations for the time being be obliterated and forgotten, and let us bring our united Christian effort to bear upon the one great work of saving perishing souls.”<sup>48</sup> Franson agreed with Moody over the need to set aside partisan attitudes, and to join together with all Christians to build the kingdom of God, believing “in the church as the body of Christ through which believers could co-operate for the furtherance of the Gospel.”<sup>49</sup>

Through this school for revival workers, Franson became proficient in Moody’s methods of leading inquirers to faith, especially during the after-meeting.<sup>50</sup> At the end of the large public meetings, the “anxious, burdened with their sins,” were invited to the inquiry room where they met individually with a Christian worker.<sup>51</sup> Moody instructed his co-workers to take time with each inquirer, to listen carefully, and to listen to the Holy Spirit.<sup>52</sup> Moody told his workers to look the inquirer in the eyes and stay with the person. In addition, he instructed them to pray with inquirers to receive Christ, and to make sure they had a church with a pastor or lay leader who could help them grow in faith.<sup>53</sup>

Chicago extended a warm, hometown reception to Moody.<sup>54</sup> His evangelistic campaign began October 1 when he came to the platform of the Chicago Tabernacle filled to capacity with eight thousand people. For the next three and a half months, Sankey and Moody ministered through music and message to win converts to Christ, as well as to encourage believers in the faith. Public transportation companies added extra horse-drawn carriages to accommodate the large numbers of people who came. The railways offered special fares to Chicago from outlying points with tickets to Moody’s meetings. The newspaper *Inter-Ocean* reported the campaign’s events of the previous day with a full account of the attendance, and a stenographic report of the sermon.

Franson observed at Moody’s meetings “a religious awakening inspired and empowered by the Holy Spirit, working through this simple and gifted man, ably aided by the Gospel singer, Ira D. Sankey.”<sup>55</sup> Through this experience as a revival worker,

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<sup>46</sup> *Morgenrøden*, April 15, 1883, cited in Frederick Hale, “Norwegians, Danes, and the Origins of the Evangelical Free Tradition,” *Norwegian-American Studies* (Vol. 28, 1979) 88.

<sup>47</sup> Lewis A. Drummond, “D. L. Moody and Revivalism,” in *Mr Moody and the Evangelical Tradition*, Timothy George, ed. (London and New York: T & T Clark, 2004) 98.

<sup>48</sup> J. H. Crespi, “Moody and Sankey,” *The Southern Review* 19 (January 1876) 195, cited in Thomas E. Corts, “D. L. Moody: Payment on Account,” in *Mr Moody and the Evangelical Tradition*, George, ed., 69.

<sup>49</sup> O. C. Grauer, *Fredrik Franson*, 20.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, 21.

<sup>51</sup> D. W. Bebbington, “Moody as a Transatlantic Evangelical,” in *Mr Moody and the Evangelical Tradition*, George, ed., 82. See also: D. L. Moody, “How to Hold an Inquiry Meeting,” in *Great Joy: Comprising Sermons and Prayer-Meeting Talks: Delivered at the Chicago Tabernacle* (New York: E. B. Treat, 1877) 277–287.

<sup>52</sup> Lyle W. Dorsett, “D. L. Moody: More Than an Evangelist,” in *Mr Moody and the Evangelical Tradition*, George, ed., 33.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, 34.

<sup>54</sup> Lyle W. Dorsett, *A Passion for Souls: The Life of D. L. Moody* (Chicago: Moody Press, 1997) 247.

<sup>55</sup> Grauer, *Fredrik Franson*, 21.



## *Moody's Chicago Revival and Swedes*

Franson became known as “Moody’s Swedish disciple.”<sup>56</sup> He learned the American revivalist’s campaign methods, adopted his preaching techniques, and developed a firm conviction for cooperative evangelism. Both directly and indirectly, Moody was a molding influence on Franson’s life.<sup>57</sup> From this time on, Franson remained a Swedish-American evangelist in Moody’s revivalist tradition.<sup>58</sup>

As Franson sat under Moody’s teaching, as well as that of William J. Erdman, pastor of Chicago Avenue Church, he adopted the “new premillennial” view of Christ’s Second Coming, a view which taught that Christ could return at any moment to rapture the church before the Great Tribulation, a seven-year period, followed by Christ’s earthly reign for a thousand years. This view, popularized in Britain by Plymouth Brethren such as John Nelson Darby and George Müller, was popularized in America by Moody and Erdman, as well as the Chicago businessman, William E. Blackstone.<sup>59</sup>

### **Franson, First Missionary from Moody’s Church**

Franson’s own revival campaign soon began after Moody’s Chicago campaign ended. As early as February 1877, Franson was preaching at Swede Bend, Iowa.<sup>60</sup> In the following years, he conducted evangelistic campaigns throughout Iowa, Minnesota, and Nebraska, preaching in Baptist churches and Lutheran Ansgar Synod and Mission Synod churches. Like Moody, Franson wanted to preach in churches of all denominations.<sup>61</sup> Although the Baptists and Mission Friends welcomed him, Augustana Lutherans opposed his activity. Karl Linge stated:

His delivery was lively and his zeal was limitless. His free and unconventional sermons and leading of meetings, especially the after-meetings, drew much criticism. Older pastors generally who were accustomed to reading the homily in a breathless, calm voice, sounded the warning against this fiery soul who threatened to demolish all church forms. They feared that weak souls would be ensnared in error through the novel teaching methods of this self-taught evangelist.<sup>62</sup>

Such criticism had been raised earlier by T. N. Hasselquist of the Augustana Synod who vigorously opposed lay ministries and revivalism on both sides of the

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<sup>56</sup> E. H. Thörnberg, *Folkkrörelser och samhällsliv i Sverige* (Stockholm: Albert Bonniers förlag, 1943) 153; Emil Larsen, *Brydningar. Kirkelige og frikirkelige, i sidste halvvel af det 19. århundrede, med særligt henblik på Fredrik Fransons besøg i Danmark 1884–85* (Copenhagen: Tro og liv, 1965) 161.

<sup>57</sup> Calvin B. Hanson, *What It Means to Be Free* (Minneapolis: Free Church Publications, 1990) 62.

<sup>58</sup> Karl Linge, *Fredrik Franson: “En man sänd av Gud”* (Uppsala: J. A. Lindblads Förlag, 1951) 21.

<sup>59</sup> See W. J. Erdman, *The Parousia of Christ: A Period of Time, or When the Church Will Be Translated?* (Chicago: Gospel Publishing Co., n.d.); D. L. Moody, “The Second Coming of Christ,” *The Gospel Awakening, Comprising the Sermons and Addresses, Prayer-Meetings and Bible Readings of the Great Revival Meetings Conducted by Moody and Sankey*, L. T. Remlap, ed. (Chicago: J. Fairbanks, 1879) 660–670; and W. E. Blackstone, *Jesus Is Coming* (Chicago: Fleming H. Revell, n.d.). Cf. G. Müller, “Kristi snara återkomst,” *Chicago-Bladet*, Sept. 12, 1879, 2; Göran Gunner, *När tiden tar slut. Motivförskjutningar i frikyrklig apokalyptisk tolkning av det judiska folket och staten Israel* (Uppsala: Studia Theologica Holmensis, 1996) 54; Weber, *Living in the Shadow of the Second Coming*, 138, 142.

<sup>60</sup> Torjesen, *Fredrik Franson: A Model for Worldwide Evangelism*, 18.

<sup>61</sup> John Olson Anders, *The Origin and History of Swedish Religious Organizations in Minnesota, 1853–1885* (Rock Island: Augustana Book Concern, 1932) 69.

<sup>62</sup> Linge, *Fredrik Franson*, 22.

Atlantic.<sup>63</sup> Moreover, C. J. Nyvall, on his visit to America during the winter of 1875 and 1876, observed that the Augustana newspaper *Hemlandet* “criticizes nearly all revival meetings so that not even Moody’s work—so blessed by the Lord—escapes their criticism.”<sup>64</sup> Franson was criticized for the “inquirers’ meeting” despite the fact that this method was becoming the new “standard for revivalism in America, and in much of the evangelical world.”<sup>65</sup>

Franson joined Chicago Avenue Church on August 4, 1878, and remained a member of the congregation his whole life. At the same time, he received the following recommendation, signed by Fleming H. Revell:

Chicago, August 4<sup>th</sup>, 1878

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN:

The bearer, Rev. F. Franson, having won our confidence during the time he has been among us (being a member of our church), and going forth now in evangelistic work, we commend him to the Lord and to the Lord’s people wherever his labors call him.

F. H. Revell,  
From Executive Committee,  
Chicago Ave. Church, Chicago<sup>66</sup>

With this commissioning, Franson became the first missionary sent out from the ranks of Chicago Avenue Church.<sup>67</sup>

In the same year, Franson left for Salt Lake City, where he cooperated with Presbyterian missionaries to establish churches there. From Utah he traveled to Denver where he preached among some five hundred rugged Swedes and established a free, evangelical church. He adopted the pattern of Chicago Avenue Church, following its

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<sup>63</sup> Frederick Hale, *Trans-Atlantic Conservative Protestantism in the Evangelical Free and Mission Covenant Traditions* (New York: Arno Press, 1979) 191.

<sup>64</sup> David Nyvall, *My Father’s Testament* (Chicago: Covenant Press, 1974) 213; David Nyvall, *Min faders testamente: En levnadsteckning av predikanten och frikyrkomannen Karl Johan Nyvall* (Chicago: David Nyvall, 1924) 316. Cf. *Augustana*, Vol. 4, No. 2 (Feb. 1877) 1–2. This article reported Moody’s meeting in Chicago favorably. Moody addressed the matter of secret societies. His warning against secular temperance societies even raised questions. At the end, clergy who belonged to the free masons reacted against Moody, accusing him of “a lack of love and judging a brother.” The editors of *Augustana*, T. N. Hasselquist and O. Olsson agreed with Moody that one should seriously consider the matter before joining a secret society, and “not be yoked with unbelievers.” Cf. “Åter en ny tidning,” *Augustana* Vol. 2, No. 3 (Mar. 1877) 70.

<sup>65</sup> Cf. Lewis A. Drummond, “D. L. Moody and Revivalism,” *Mr Moody and the Evangelical Tradition*, George, ed., 100–101.

<sup>66</sup> Josephine Princell, *Fredrik Franson: World Missionary* (Chicago: Chicago-Bladet, 1909) 13.

<sup>67</sup> Robert G. Flood, *The Story of Moody Church* (Chicago: Moody Press, 1985) 11.

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articles of faith and bylaws exactly.<sup>68</sup> From there he went to Nebraska, preaching in Swedish communities and establishing independent or “free” evangelical churches.<sup>69</sup>

Chicago Avenue Church's influence was apparent in Franson's article titled: *Bidrag till lösning af den inwecklade samfunds-och församlingsfrågan* (Contribution to Solution of the Complicated Denominational and Congregational Question).<sup>70</sup> In the article published in *Chicago-Bladet*, Franson held that during apostolic times, executive power was placed in the hands of local congregations, not in the hands of a denomination or synod. Each congregation, however, could express unity with all of Christ's churches through cooperative evangelism and collaborative projects.

### E. A. Skogsbergh, “The Swedish Moody”

In Sweden, Erik August Skogsbergh had been deeply impressed by news of Moody, taking interest in his revivals in the British Isles and hoping to travel there to hear him, but this never materialized. Nevertheless, Skogsbergh was eager to read reports of Moody's work that appeared regularly in Swedish periodicals.<sup>71</sup> Skogsbergh recalled that every time Mission Friends heard about Moody's successes, they were encouraged and desired a similar work in Sweden. Skogsbergh commented: “And I wonder if the wind from England at that time did not have a considerable amount to do with the revival winds in Sweden. I believe so.”<sup>72</sup>

In the spring of 1876, Skogsbergh was invited to come to Chicago to assist the ailing J. M. Sanngren at the Swedish Mission congregation, known also as the North Side Mission Church, on Franklin Street.<sup>73</sup> Skogsbergh agreed to come to Chicago from Sweden but was then plagued with indecision. Although Baron Hans Henrik von Essen had tried to dissuade him from emigrating, the Mission Friends in Chicago insisted that Skogsbergh keep his promise to them.<sup>74</sup>

Skogsbergh arrived in New York where he stayed a few days, meeting for the first time J. G. Princell.<sup>75</sup> Skogsbergh met other Mission Friends in Brooklyn, New York and Philadelphia too, cities where Moody had recently held major revival campaigns.

Skogsbergh arrived to Chicago on October 10, 1876, ten days after Moody had launched his campaign there. The first night Skogsbergh arrived, he preached to Swedes

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<sup>68</sup> Torjesen, “Fredrik Franson: The Development of His Ecclesiology, Missiology, and Worldwide Evangelism,” 102–103; Arnold T. Olson, *Stumbling Toward Maturity* (Minneapolis: Free Church Press, 1981) 81. Franson's access to W. H. Daniels' Swedish edition that included this information would have made this quite easy. See W. H. Daniels, *Guds verk i Amerika och England genom Moody och Sankey* (Stockholm: C. A. V. Lundholms förlag, 1876) 83.

<sup>69</sup> E. A. Halleen, W. B. Hallman, M. G. Nelson, and G. A. Young, *Golden Jubilee: Reminiscences of Our Work Under God, Swedish Evangelical Free Church of the U.S.A., 1884–1934* (Minneapolis: Swedish Evangelical Free Church, 1934) 17.

<sup>70</sup> *Chicago-Bladet*, May 23, 1879, 1.

<sup>71</sup> E. Aug. Skogsbergh, *Minnen och upplevelser. Under min mer än femtio-åriga predikoverksamhet* (Minneapolis: Veckobladets tryckeri, 1923) 149.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>73</sup> Erik Dahlhielm, *A Burning Heart: A Biography of Erik August Skogsbergh* (Chicago: Covenant Press, 1951) 53.

<sup>74</sup> Skogsbergh, *Minnen och upplevelser*, 135.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, 136. Skogsbergh noted that Princell, at the time was wearing “a Lutheran frockcoat and collar.”

at the North Side Mission while Moody was preaching at the Chicago Tabernacle.<sup>76</sup> Revival soon broke out among Swedes with a growing number attending Skogsbergh's services, as well as Moody's meetings. Skogsbergh recalled:

Though Mr. Moody had worked in Chicago before ... he did not have any special fame until after he came from England where those mighty awakenings had taken place. ... He was now an international spiritual personality whom the Lord used in this country with so much blessing. Among us Scandinavians the awakening continued without interruption, even though we were by ourselves, until thousands confessed Christ.<sup>77</sup>

Every afternoon in 1876 when Skogsbergh could slip away from his work at the North Side Mission, he attended Moody's and Sankey's meetings. He was captivated by Moody's message and the crowds that gathered to hear him.<sup>78</sup> Skogsbergh recalled:

Now, finally, I could see and hear these men of God. Though I understood very little of the language, I sat in the big tabernacle every afternoon whenever possible. I perceived the power of the Spirit which dwelt in these brothers. In that way the holy fire was kindled in my own heart so that, when I appeared before my own dear countrymen in the evenings, I was fire and flame.<sup>79</sup>

Moreover, Skogsbergh promoted the singing of Sankey's gospel songs. Skogsbergh had brought with him copies of Erik Nyström's version of Sankey's songbook, *Sånger till Lammets lov*, songs that Skogsbergh "had sung and spread in Sweden, as much if not more than anyone else."<sup>80</sup> In Chicago, he convinced the Mission Friend publishers Julin and Hedenschoug to publish an edition of Sankey's songs.<sup>81</sup>

Moody's revival campaign in Chicago ended January 16, 1877. After the campaign, the Chicago Tabernacle on Farwell's property was converted to a dry goods warehouse. Moody traveled to Boston where he led his next campaign, from January 28 to May 1, 1877.

### Skogsbergh's Meetings at Chicago Avenue Church

In Chicago, Skogsbergh became well known and respected among Swedes. With such large crowds coming to the North Side Mission, a new meeting place was needed.<sup>82</sup> Therefore, Skogsbergh approached Chicago Avenue Church and inquired if the

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<sup>76</sup> Ibid., 144; The night Skogsbergh arrived, he preached on the single word, 'Jesus.' Herbert E. Palmquist, *The Wit and Wisdom of Our Fathers* (Chicago: Covenant Press, 1967) 88.

<sup>77</sup> Skogsbergh, *Minnen och upplevelser*, 154; cited from E. August Skogsbergh, "Memories and Personal Experiences," trans. by Eric G. Hawkinson (Commission on Covenant History, 1972) III, 16.

<sup>78</sup> Dahlhielm, *A Burning Heart*, 57.

<sup>79</sup> Skogsbergh, *Minnen och upplevelser*, 149; cited from Skogsbergh, "Memories and Personal Experiences," trans. by Eric G. Hawkinson, III, 12.

<sup>80</sup> Skogsbergh, *Minnen och upplevelser*, 145–146.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid., 146. See Ira D. Sankey, comp., *Sånger till lammets lov* (Chicago: Julin & Hedenschougs förlag, 1877). Cf. *Lammets lov. Andliga sånger dels författade, dels bearbetade, öfversatta och samlade af E. Aug. Skogsbergh. 1. häftet.* (Chicago: E. Aug. Skogsbergh, 1878).

<sup>82</sup> Olsson, *By One Spirit*, 259.

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auditorium could be used for a Swedish service on Sunday afternoons. He was given permission, and began his meetings on February 4, 1877.<sup>83</sup> He recalled:

Now, everywhere in the city the Scandinavians had awakened and streamed to our meetings so that we were perplexed. At this time the Moody [Church] tabernacle on Chicago Avenue became available to us on Sunday afternoons at five o'clock. My schedule for Sunday was thus to preach in the morning in the Mission church on Franklin Street, at three o'clock on the South side, at five o'clock in the Moody [Church] tabernacle, and at 7:30 again in the Mission church on the North side [on Franklin]. ... Moody's tabernacle was also overflowing with Scandinavians on Sunday afternoons. After the [main] meetings, we held after-meetings in the side rooms with the anxious seekers between six and seven o'clock so that we did not always succeed in getting nourishment for the poor body before the meeting in the Mission church which began at 7:30 p.m. We then continued there with meetings until eleven and twelve o'clock. Then during the week, one preached in different parts of the big city almost every evening. We kept this pace all fall, winter, and spring, and into the summer of 1877.<sup>84</sup>



**Swedish Mission Tabernacle** in Chicago, built by Skogsbergh. Notice the arrangement of the pulpit and organ, similar to that of Moody and Sankey. Used by permission from F. M. Johnson Archives at North Park University, Chicago, Illinois.

As Skogsbergh mentioned, he preached at the North Side Mission Church on Franklin Street, at Chicago Avenue Church, and the new Swedish mission on Chicago's

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<sup>83</sup> *Missions Vännen*, Mar., 1877.

<sup>84</sup> Skogsbergh, *Minnen och upplevelser*, 149–151.

south side, organized as an independent congregation in February 1877.<sup>85</sup> He became pastor of this Swedish mission, a work that began during the revival, consisting mostly of new converts.<sup>86</sup> The congregation built a twelve-hundred seat auditorium named the Swedish Mission Tabernacle, located at LaSalle and 30<sup>th</sup> streets. The building was dedicated November 18, 1877, just one year, one month, and eight days after Skogsbergh had arrived in Chicago.

In addition to his role as pastor of the Swedish Mission Tabernacle, Skogsbergh received invitations to preach in Swedish mission churches in Illinois at Batavia, Joliet, Lockport, Princeton, Galva, Galesburg, Altona, Oneida, Bishop Hill, Moline, Rockford, Andover and Cambridge.<sup>87</sup> He adopted Moody's style of preaching so much that he soon became known as "the Swedish Moody."<sup>88</sup>

### Skogsbergh's Title, the "Swedish Moody"

In September 1877, Skogsbergh traveled by steamboat with Victor Rylander up the Mississippi River and conducted revival meetings in Minneapolis, St. Paul, and other cities in Minnesota.<sup>89</sup> Like Moody, he promoted cooperative evangelism, and "denominational barriers were forgotten."<sup>90</sup> Members of various Swedish churches volunteered as "personal workers." Anglo-American clergymen who visited to observe "the Swedish Moody" compared his style to Major D. W. Whittle and P. P. Bliss, Moody's associates who had held revival meetings in Minneapolis two years earlier.<sup>91</sup> Since many of the American pastors were impressed with Skogsbergh "who preached like Moody and sang like Bliss," they recommended to their congregations that their Scandinavian employees and acquaintances, whether Swedish, Norwegians or Danish, go and hear him.

At the close of Skogbergh's evangelistic messages, personal workers were located throughout the hall to talk and pray with those "whose hearts had been pricked by the two-edged sword [of God's Word]."<sup>92</sup> Skogsbergh himself described the climax of his meetings as "a battlefield after a bloody engagement," saying: "Wherever one looked, people lay in the pews or hung like dishrags over the backs. The weeping and sobbing of people could be heard everywhere by those asking earnestly what they must do to be saved."<sup>93</sup>

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<sup>85</sup> Dahlhielm, *A Burning Heart*, 61–62. The church later became known as Tabernacle Covenant of Oak Lawn, Illinois.

<sup>86</sup> Skogsbergh, *Minnen och upplevelser*, 157, 173. Groups of new converts formed in other places such as Englewood, Rock Island Shops, and the west side.

<sup>87</sup> Skogsbergh, *Minnen och upplevelser*, 156. See also: Lilly Setterdahl, "The End of Eric Jansonism: Religious Life in Bishop Hill in the Post-Colony Period," in *Western Illinois Regional Studies* Vol. XI, No. 1 (Spring 1988) 49–51.

<sup>88</sup> Erik Dahlhielm, *A Burning Heart*, 57.

<sup>89</sup> Skogsbergh, *Minnen och upplevelser*, 158, 164–165.

<sup>90</sup> Dahlhielm, *A Burning Heart*, 68.

<sup>91</sup> P. P. Bliss died December 29, 1876 when the train on which he and his wife were traveling fell through a bridge near Ashtabula, Ohio.

<sup>92</sup> Dahlhielm, *A Burning Heart*, 68.

<sup>93</sup> Skogsbergh, *Minnen och upplevelser*, 149–160, cited in Scott E. Erickson, "Ethnicity and Religion in the Twin Cities: Community Identity through Gospel, Music, and Education," in *Swedes in the Twin Cities*:

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Skogsbergh's ministry in Minneapolis was summarized in an article published in the *Minneapolis Tribune* under the title, "The Swedish Moody." A few days after he returned to Chicago, the article was reprinted in the *Chicago Times*.<sup>94</sup> A Swedish translation of the same article appeared in *Missions-Wännen*, a month later in *Göteborgs Weckoblad*, and then Stockholm's *Nya Posten*, all under the title "Den Svenske Moody."<sup>95</sup> The *Chicago Times* said:

At intervals during the past month, a young Swedish preacher has conducted meetings in Harrison's Hall. Though unheralded and almost unknown, he has created an interest among the people of his own nationality unparalleled in this community. His meetings have grown in interest and attendance so that Harrison's Hall proved entirely inadequate to accommodate the crowds. On Sunday last, as well as on the preceding Sunday, the Academy of Music was called into requisition, and three times on the last Sunday was that spacious hall crowded to its utmost capacity. The assemblies were the largest ever gathered of the Scandinavian nationality in the city.

The young preacher who has been so eminently successful is E. A. Skogsbergh, of Chicago, who labored in conjunction with Mr. Moody during the tabernacle meetings in Chicago and who still at intervals preaches in his native tongue in the Moody chapel on the north side. He came here under the auspices of the Swedish Lutheran Mission Synod and has worked independently, without the support or aid of the local divines, drawing largely, however, from their congregations by his eloquence.

His methods are identical with those of Mr. Moody. The reporter's linguistic qualifications failing him, he can give no better idea of the young preacher's doctrine than that it is closely allied to that of Mr. Moody. He is credited with the same simplicity and earnestness, coupled with a remarkable eloquence that carries his audience along with wonderful power.

Mr. Skogsbergh is, however, the Sankey of his movement also. He does the singing and succeeds almost as well, though he is not so gifted in voice as he might be, the constant strain upon it precluding success in that line. But he has the attention of his audience in his rendition of the simple Bliss and Sankey songs.

To his other elements of success Mr. Skogsbergh adds a fine personal appearance. Young, talented, enthusiastic and independent, he has accomplished much. It is impossible to state how many converts are the result of his endeavors here, but they are numerous, and the interest lingers after him. His labors in Minneapolis were closed on Sunday last, and he has already taken his departure.

Mr. Skogsbergh has been out in America only a little more than a year. The work he has accomplished here, though occupying a limited time, has been greater than that of Whittle and Bliss two years ago, in proportion to the limited class of auditors. Some idea of the ability of the man may be gleaned from the fact that for fully two weeks he spoke every evening and on Sunday three times a day, doing all the work himself, preaching, singing, exhorting, and pleading. By those capable of judging, he is described as a man of thought and power. He is never dull. He has always something to say and a good way of saying it.<sup>96</sup>

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*Immigrant Life and Minnesota's Urban Frontier*, Philip J. Anderson and Dag Blanck, eds. (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 2001) 290.

<sup>94</sup> Olsson, *By One Spirit*, 259, 712.

<sup>95</sup> *Missions-Wännen* (Oct. 1877) 264–265; *Göteborgs Weckoblad* (Nov. 9, 1877) 3; *Nya Posten* (Nov. 23, 1877) 4.

<sup>96</sup> *The Sunday Times*, October 7, 1877, cited in Nelson, "The Relationship of Dwight L. Moody to the Evangelical Covenant Church," 29–30; Dahlhielm, *A Burning Heart*, 70–72.

In St. Paul, Skogsbergh discovered his “Swedish Sankey,” Andrew L. Skoog (1856–1934).<sup>97</sup> Two years later, Skogsbergh called Skoog to Chicago to assist him in the work at the Swedish Mission Tabernacle where Skogsbergh concentrated on the gospel and Skoog on the music.<sup>98</sup> Scott E. Erickson states: “The meeting of Skogsbergh and Skoog initiated a lifelong partnership. Together, they would shape religious and ethnic community life among Mission Friends.”<sup>99</sup>

In architectural design, the Swedish Mission Tabernacle in Chicago was built much like Chicago Avenue Church with its auditorium-style seating and acoustics to enhance speaking and singing.<sup>100</sup> At the center of the platform stood Skogsbergh’s pulpit, and just to the side was Skoog’s organ, in the same arrangement as Moody’s pulpit and Sankey’s organ.

### Swedish Union Meetings

In 1879, Chicago Avenue Church resumed its Swedish “union meetings.” Skogsbergh preached and Okerstein was in charge of the arrangements. These cooperative services were held twice a month, filling Chicago Avenue Church to capacity.

In 1878, Okerstein was elected as a deacon of Chicago Avenue Church along with Robert Aitchison, Eugene Keppeler and Peter McSean.<sup>101</sup> As a deacon, Okerstein served on the executive committee with Fleming H. Revell, Moody’s brother-in-law.<sup>102</sup> Okerstein was also assigned to the missionary committee, overseeing various activities of the church’s mission work.<sup>103</sup> He acted as a liaison to groups such as the Swedish Missionary Brethren (Mission Friends), the Swedish Temperance Society, and the Scandinavian Union Gospel Society. In October 1879, the executive committee was joined by George C. Needham (1840–1902), the new pastor of Chicago Avenue Church.

Skogsbergh’s favorable and cooperative relationship with Okerstein and Chicago Avenue Church was apparent. The church minutes reported:

A motion was made and carried that Mr. Skougsburg [sic], the Swedish Evangelist, be invited to hold gospel meetings (in the Swedish language) under the auspices of this church, every alternate Sabbath, and that the collection taken at said meetings, with the

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<sup>97</sup> Skogsbergh, *Minnen och upplevelser*, 160.

<sup>98</sup> Erickson, “Ethnicity and Religion in the Twin Cities,” in *Swedes in the Twin Cities*, Anderson and Blanck, eds., 291.

<sup>99</sup> Scott E. Erickson, “The Anatomy of Immigrant Hymnody: Faith Communicated in the Swedish Covenant Church,” in *Singing the Lord’s Song in a Strange Land: Hymnody in the History of North American Protestantism*, Edith L. Blumhofer and Mark A. Noll, eds. (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 2004) 128.

<sup>100</sup> Olsson, *By One Spirit*, 260.

<sup>101</sup> Minutes of Chicago Avenue Church, Dec. 19, 1878, 34.

<sup>102</sup> Revell began publishing in 1869 when Moody convinced him to take over *Everybody’s Paper*, a publication for Sunday schools. After the great Chicago fire, Revell published his first book, *Grace and Truth under Twelve Different Aspects* by W. P. Mackay, because Moody needed it for “inquirers.” Revell eventually became the official publisher of all Moody’s works. Allan Fisher, *Fleming H. Revell Company: The First 125 Years, 1870–1995* (Grand Rapids: Fleming H. Revell, 1995) 7–8.

<sup>103</sup> Minutes of Chicago Avenue Church, Feb. 14, 1879, 47.



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exception of \$5.00 each Sabbath, be donated to Mr. Skougsburg's Church. On motion, Bros. Okerstein and Sundgren were appointed a committee to represent this church in the Swedish meetings conducted by Mr. Skougsburg.<sup>104</sup>

*Chicago-Bladet* advertised the meetings, stating, "Beginning on Sunday, December 14 at 4:45 [p.m.], and then every other Sunday after this, E. Aug. Skogsbergh has agreed to preach at Chicago Avenue Church (so-called Moody's Church), to which all Scandinavians are invited, with a heartfelt welcome from the congregation."<sup>105</sup> These Swedish alliance meetings held at Chicago Avenue Church continued until 1882.<sup>106</sup> While ministering at Chicago Avenue Church, Skogsbergh met his future wife, Mathilda S. Peterson, a member of the church choir.<sup>107</sup>

Skogsbergh's adoption of Moody's style and methods was apparent as Karl A. Olsson pointed out, saying: "...the very character of his rhetoric, as well as his view of what constituted public worship, were clearly influenced by the great American evangelist."<sup>108</sup> Even Moody was pleasantly surprised to learn that Skogsbergh was called "the Swedish Moody."<sup>109</sup> Skogsbergh sought out Moody's friendship, and the two men remained friends for life.

In February 1877, as a result of Moody's revival campaign and Skogsbergh's meetings among Swedes, the newspaper *Chicago-Bladet* began publication. Skogsbergh stated:

But the revival did not stay only within the limits of Chicago, but spread into other places in Illinois where Swedes lived. The news about the revivals in Chicago was spread widely. In this respect, *Chicago-Bladet* served with considerable effect. John Mårtenson, who lived on the North Side, had been converted at our meetings. Since he was familiar with the art of printing, and now, in addition had a spiritual interest, he came to me one day and asked what I thought about publishing a little newspaper, and did I want to cooperate? Immediately I saw the usefulness of this for the work. While, at the same time, I could by no means give financial support, I would nevertheless give moral support and submit articles and my goodwill as far as time would allow. We decided, therefore, to act and soon *Chicago-Bladet* was published, and in this way the news about the Lord's wonderful work in Chicago was spread.<sup>110</sup>

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<sup>104</sup> Minutes of Chicago Avenue Church, Dec. 5, 1879, 75. Additional meetings were granted to Skogsbergh on short notice. *Ibid.*, Jan. 23, 1880, 78.

<sup>105</sup> *Chicago-Bladet*, Dec. 12, 1879, 5.

<sup>106</sup> Matthew Spinka and Frederick I. Kuhns, *A History of Illinois Congregational and Christian Churches* (Chicago: The Congregational and Christian Conference of Illinois, 1944) 196; Because of the cooperative, non-denominational spirit of the leadership of Chicago Avenue Church, requests by various Swedish groups for use of the church also increased. See Minutes of Chicago Avenue Church Dec. 6, 1878; 7 Feb. 1879, 46; 11 April 1879, 52.

<sup>107</sup> Palmquist, *The Wit and Wisdom of Our Fathers*, 90. Skogsbergh and Mathilda Peterson were married May 21, 1879, with C. A. Björk officiating. Skogsbergh, *Minnen och upplevelser*, 179; Dahlhielm, *A Burning Heart*, 131. Matilda Peterson joined Chicago Avenue Church on Feb. 3, 1878. Chicago Avenue Church Membership Register, Billy Graham Center Archives, Wheaton College, Wheaton, Illinois.

<sup>108</sup> Olsson, *By One Spirit*, 259.

<sup>109</sup> Dahlhielm, *A Burning Heart*, 58.

<sup>110</sup> Skogsbergh, *Minnen och upplevelser*, 155–156, cited in E. August Skogsbergh, "Memories and Personal Experiences," trans. by Eric G. Hawkinson (Commission on Covenant History, 1972) III, 17.

### John Martenson and *Chicago-Bladet*

When Moody launched his major revival campaign in Chicago, John Martenson (1850–1915) was working as a writer for Chicago’s newspaper *Svenska Amerikanaren*.<sup>111</sup> Although Martenson had been raised by parents active as *läsare* in Sweden, as a young man he did not seek God, but “at the powerful revivals in Chicago during Moody’s and Skogsbergh’s activities in 1876, he was won to the Lord and immediately began to take an active part in the religious work.”<sup>112</sup> A couple months later, Martenson set up his own printing shop and began publishing *Chicago-Bladet*.

John V. Mårtensson was born March 25, 1850, in Jönköping, Sweden. His father, Abraham Mårtensson, was active among the revivalists in Jönköping. John worked for a year as a printer’s apprentice for Herman Hall, and then at a larger printing shop in Stockholm for six years, until he left for America in 1867.<sup>113</sup>

Martenson first arrived in Grand Rapids, Michigan, where he worked on a farm and sawmill, and then moved to Wisconsin where he floated timber. He came to Chicago in 1869 and resumed his trade as a typesetter for the newspaper *Hemlandet*, near the time when J. G. Princell was finishing his work there as associate editor. In 1874, Martenson became a foreman in the printing office for *Svenska Amerikanaren*, and worked as a writer.

Martenson’s conversion to faith during the Moody and Skogsbergh revivals led him to establish *Chicago-Bladet* as a Christian-political newspaper. In addition to Skogsbergh, A. G. Nordengren, C. V. Julin, and A. W. Hedenschoug, pledged their moral support.<sup>114</sup> Martenson’s goal was to establish a Swedish-language newspaper that not only informed readers of current events but addressed their need for conversion. The paper was non-sectarian, and opposed factions. Following Moody’s example, Martenson promoted cooperation among evangelical churches, and spurned ecclesiastical hierarchies.<sup>115</sup> The first issue of *Chicago-Bladet* was published February 16, 1877.

After the first issue appeared, T. N. Hasselquist and Olof Olsson, editors of *Augustana* reacted, saying: “In regards to churches, the [*Chicago-Bladet*] newspaper is for all denominations and, therefore, does not confess any certain doctrine; saying that it stands firmly upon God’s Word.”<sup>116</sup> The editors of *Augustana* quoted Martenson’s words that called for readers to “Throw away your Roman books and newspapers that contain the same contents, for they are a dangerous poison, and the devil knows well how to sneak them into people’s hearts ... and reaps thousands of victims daily.”<sup>117</sup> *Augustana*

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<sup>111</sup> J. Oscar Backlund, *A Century of the Swedish American Press* (Chicago: Swedish American Newspaper Co., 1952) 26.

<sup>112</sup> *Chicago-Bladet*, Nov. 23, 1915, 4.

<sup>113</sup> Ernst Wilhelm Olson, Anders Schön, and Martin J Engberg, eds., *History of the Swedes of Illinois*, II (Chicago: Engberg-Holmberg, 1908) 179; *Chicago-Bladet*, Nov. 23, 1915, 4; Ernst Skarskedt, *Pennfåktare. Svensk-Amerikanska författare och tidningsmän* (Stockholm: Åhlen & Åkerlunds förlag, 1930) 28, 125; Eric Johnson and C. F. Peterson *Svenskarne i Illinois* (Chicago: W. Williamson, 1880) 413.

<sup>114</sup> *Chicago-Bladet*, Mar. 2, 1877, 1.

<sup>115</sup> Karl A. Olsson, *Into One Body... by the Cross*, Vol. I (Chicago: Covenant Press, 1985) 204; George M. Marsden, *Understanding Fundamentalism and Evangelicalism* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans Publishing, 1991) 23.

<sup>116</sup> “Åter en ny tidning,” *Augustana*, Vol. 2, No. 3 (Mar., 1877) 70. Cf. “Anmällan” *Chicago-Bladet*, Feb. 16, 1877, 1.

<sup>117</sup> “Åter en ny tidning,” *Augustana* Vol. 2, No. 3 (Mar., 1877) 70.

criticized *Chicago-Bladet* for its desire not to align with any particular denomination, seeing this as “a dangerous and false premise” because “to be all is to be nothing, at least nothing right.”<sup>118</sup> Moreover, Hasselquist and Olsson held that *Chicago-Bladet* had taken up a hostile position against Lutherans, citing the conflict between Waldenström and state-church priests, in favor of Waldenström.<sup>119</sup>

The article concluded by saying that *Chicago-Bladet*'s primary objective was “to fight against the Augustana Synod and the Lutheran Church.”<sup>120</sup> Finally, the editors associated Martenson's paper with the non-sectarian YMCA, saying: “We have thought that we should give a full report of this new *okyrkliga* (non-churchly) newspaper, even more so, since it makes such great claims, and no doubt, is paid for by Americans, presumably the YMCA which seems to muster all its powers to dispel us since we do not wish to become anything other than Lutherans.”<sup>121</sup>

### **Chicago-Bladet and Moody**

*Chicago-Bladet* regularly featured news, sermons, and reports of mission meetings in America and Sweden. Nearly every issue contained a sermon or lecture by a prominent preacher. From the first issue in February 1877 until October 1884, *Chicago-Bladet* published 285 sermons.<sup>122</sup> Of these, seventy-two were by D. L. Moody, sixty-nine by P. P. Waldenström, fifty-one by E. J. Ekman, eleven by J. G. Princell, ten by Fredrik Franson, ten by Svening Johansson, eight by C. H. Spurgeon, and seven by August Pohl.<sup>123</sup>

Moody's influence was apparent from the front page of the first issue featuring his sermon titled “Werkä för Kristus” (Work for Christ).<sup>124</sup> Of the twenty-three sermons published in *Chicago-Bladet* in the first year, seventeen were by Moody and three were by Waldenström. Advertisements also appeared regularly for booklets by Moody such as *Tal till nyomwände* (Address to New Converts) and *Kristi andra tillkommelse* (The Second Coming of Christ), translated by A. G. Nordengren, and published by Julin and Hedenschoug.<sup>125</sup> Advertisements appeared too for *Sankeys sånger* available through

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<sup>118</sup> Ibid.

<sup>119</sup> Ibid. Cf. “Waldenström och kyrkan,” *Chicago-Bladet*, Feb. 16, 1877, 4.

<sup>120</sup> “Åter en ny tidning,” *Augustana* Vol. 2, No. 3 (Mar. 1877) 71.

<sup>121</sup> Ibid., 71. Cf. “Huggormen förgift är under deras läppar,” *Chicago-Bladet*, Mar. 16, 1877, 8. Martenson stated that anyone “who will read the March issue of *Augustana* will see the evil and partisan attitude that can characterize people.” Arden states: “The publications of the Mission Friends, *Sions Banér*, *Chicago-Bladet*, and *Missionsvännen* were filled with articles highly critical of the Augustana Synod and its religious leaders, while such Augustana journals as *Hemlandet*, *Augustana*, and *Skaffaren* attacked the Mission Friends personally, as well as their theology and practice, charging them with gross heresy, error and waywardness.” G. Everett Arden, *Augustana Heritage: A History of the Augustana Lutheran Church* (Rock Island: Augustana Press, 1963) 186.

<sup>122</sup> The meeting of Mission Friends in October 1884, in Boone, Iowa, was a highly informal gathering of what later became the Swedish Evangelical Free Church, incorporated in 1908.

<sup>123</sup> Other sermons published during this period were by Charodotes Meurling, George Müller, John Alworth, Karl Palmberg, Josephine Princell, and C. O. Rosenius.

<sup>124</sup> D. L. Moody, “Werkä för Kristus,” *Chicago-Bladet*, Feb. 16, 1877, 1.

<sup>125</sup> *Chicago-Bladet*, Apr. 18, 1877, 8. See D. L. Moody, *Kristi andra tillkommelse*, trans. by A. G. Nordengren (Chicago: Julin & Hedenschoug, 1877); D. L. Moody, *Tal till nyomwände, den 17 januari 1877, det sista, hållet i Chicago tabernaklet* (Chicago: Julin & Hedenschoug, 1877). *Chicago-Bladet* also advertised Mackay's popular work *Grace and Truth* with the foreword by Moody, sold in English and

Julin and Hedenschoug.<sup>126</sup> Besides sermons, *Chicago-Bladet* reported on Moody's and Sankey's revival campaigns.<sup>127</sup> The fact that Moody was the most published preacher of *Chicago-Bladet* demonstrated not only Martenson's interest in Moody but Moody's influence on Martenson and his readers, the burgeoning "freer" or "free" Mission Friends, known simply as "*de fria*" (the Free).

Moreover, in July 1877, *Chicago-Bladet* published P. P. Waldenström's letter to the EFS in Sweden that appealed to Moody's example, saying:

...In practice, an evangelical alliance has begun to make itself felt, and its fruits have been extraordinary. I am deeply convinced that if Moody, out of this zeal for pure doctrine, that is to say, zeal for his position, had strictly excluded all those from cooperation who did not share his same view, then none of us would even know his name. Now, he has gathered to evangelistic work all who want to bring souls to Christ, and God has placed his seal upon his work....<sup>128</sup>

Waldenström's letter that endorsed Moody and his work served to emboldened Martenson and "free" Mission Friends toward his alliance ideal, cooperating in their endeavor to draw souls to Christ. Moreover, Moody and Waldenström shared a kindred spirit in their emphasis on conversion, living faith, and the Bible as their final authority. While Waldenström asked, "*Hvar står det skrivet?*" (Where is it written?), Moody warned: "If the Word of God doesn't teach it, my friend, don't you receive it; but let us be ready and willing to bow to Scripture, because we read that all Scripture is given by inspiration."<sup>129</sup>

The fierce application of the *sola scriptura* principle by Waldenström led Mission Friends in Sweden and America to reject particular doctrines of the Lutheran confession, and to establish congregations solely on the Bible.<sup>130</sup> Martenson, acting as a spokesman among "free" Mission Friends in America, began to promote freedom in church order, emphasizing the purity and simplicity of the apostolic church.<sup>131</sup> Waldenström's doctrine of the atonement was also debated, a matter that "seemed to have more effect as the spark that caused a rift than the driving force behind it."<sup>132</sup> In addition, the new premillennial doctrine of Christ's Second Coming popularized by Moody in America was adopted by

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Swedish. See D. L. Moody and W. P Mackay, *Nåd och sanning. Tolf betraktelser* (Chicago: Julin & Hedenschougs förlag, 1877). Moreover, *Chicago-Bladet* advertised Moody's work *Great Joy*. *Chicago-Bladet*, Mar. 2, 1877, 1. See D. L. Moody, *Great Joy* (New York: E.B. Treat, 1877).

<sup>126</sup> *Chicago-Bladet*, July 6, 1877, 7. Ira D. Sankey, *Sånger till lammets lof* (Chicago: Julin & Hedenschoug, 1877). In the same year, Engberg and Holmberg published a version of Sankey's songs. See Ira D. Sankey, *Sånger till lammets lof* (Chicago: Engberg & Holmberg, 1877).

<sup>127</sup> *Chicago-Bladet*, Mar. 7, 1882, 1; Sept. 5, 1882, 4; Mar. 6, 1883, 7.

<sup>128</sup> "Evangeliska Fosterlands-stiftelsen," *Chicago-Bladet*, July 6, 1877, 1. Waldenström's letter was dated May 28, 1877.

<sup>129</sup> Remlap, ed., *The Gospel Awakening*, 660.

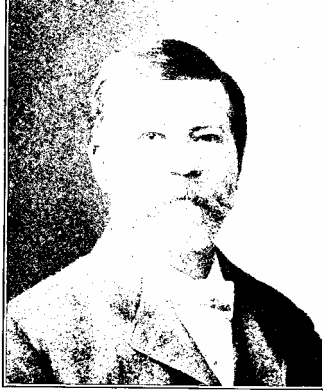
<sup>130</sup> Anderson, *A Precious Heritage: A Century of Mission in the Northwest, 1884-1984* (Minneapolis: Northwest Conference of the Evangelical Covenant Church, 1984) 17.

<sup>131</sup> H. Wilbert Norton, *European Background and History of Evangelical Free Church Foreign Missions, 1887-1955* (Moline, Ill.: Christian Service Foundation, 1964) 79. Arden noted: "The [Augustana] Synod had been too rigid in its insistence upon institutional conformity, and the [Mission Friend] hyper-evangelicals had been too eager to assert and insist on 'freedom.'" Arden, *Augustana Heritage*, 187.

<sup>132</sup> Granquist, "The Swedish Ethnic Denominations in the United States: Their Development and Relationships, 1880-1920," 121.

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Martenson and “freer” Mission Friends, leading to a further shift in evangelical identity among Swedish Mission Friends.



**John Martenson,**  
editor of *Chicago-  
Bladet*, and early  
“Swedish Moodyite.”

On the one hand, there were Mission Friends after Scott, Rosenius, Ahnfelt and Sanngren, representing Lutheran Mission Friends, or *läsare* in Sweden. However, “freer” Mission Friends after Moody, Waldenström, Sankey, and Skogsbergh, aligned more closely with Anglo-American, alliance-oriented revivalism. These Mission Friends were especially attracted to Moody’s non-confessional revivalism, finding in America a new-found freedom to adopt his theological views and methods.<sup>133</sup> In this process, Moody’s influence, as well as that of Chicago Avenue Church, began to shape a new evangelical identity among Swedish Mission Friends.<sup>134</sup>

In 1878, Martenson articulated his non-sectarian view at a meeting in Altona, Illinois, resonating with Moody’s alliance ideal, saying:

Dear brothers and sisters, within whatever enclosure we may find ourselves, whatever name or confession surrounds us, may this no longer keep us from them who share a precious faith. Those who do not want to serve the Lord but only their belly are sure to urge partisanship; but may God’s people in the Lord’s name bid farewell to all factions, for these things are the same as idolatry, murder and witchcraft (Galatians 5). May it be more important for us to associate with God’s people in love than to impose our convictions on them! ... Paul strongly emphasized the unity of Christians and sternly rebukes the Corinthians when they name themselves after Paul and Apollos; perhaps it is just as culpable and carnal to call ourselves Baptists, Lutherans, Methodists, Adventists, Ansgarians, and Mission Friends ... Now every Christian knows that these different parties are a hindrance to the furthering of God’s kingdom; one may even pray to God to break down the fences and bring believers together; but when it comes to practice in these matters, we are immovable. Then no one will yield, then everyone is right and no one wants to relinquish anything. Then the Methodist wants everyone else to be a

<sup>133</sup> Anderson, *A Precious Heritage*, 18–19.

<sup>134</sup> C. V. Bowman described “Nya inflytelser på Missionsvännernas verksamhet” (New Influences on the Mission Friends’ Activity), noting the rise of free or independent congregations beginning in 1876. At the center of this non-sectarian, “free” church movement was Martenson’s *Chicago-Bladet*. Bowman, *Missionsvännerna i Amerika*, 215–219.

Methodist and the Lutheran that everyone should be Lutheran, but to let one or the other name go and to know nothing except Jesus Christ and him crucified—that very few desire. ... God doesn't want us to be the slaves of people because we are destined for freedom; may we not then as a hindrance to the kingdom and to our own destruction continue to take part in what is harmful. What we mean is this: may no child of God any longer seek to establish or form Lutheran or any other factional congregations; rather, if there are Christians in a place, follow the example of the apostles, for they are good leaders in the forming of congregations as well as in confession and faith.<sup>135</sup>

Similar to the Evangelical Alliance, Martenson's non-sectarian position called for Evangelicals to bid farewell to all factions, to work together for unity, and to stand against certain Roman doctrines. Moreover, Martenson, like Moody, asked his readers to associate with one another in love, and to work together to draw souls to Christ. In 1880, for example, Martenson published Moody's sermon titled "Arbete" (Work) in which Moody declared:

If a man goes to work to build up exclusively the Congregational, the Presbyterian, the Baptist, or the Episcopal Church; to build up exclusively any of the denominations, he is on the wrong path. It is not the name of the church, but in the name of the Lord Jesus, that we are to do all things.... And then again, lastly, be united. It is the greatest force of all to be of "one mind and one spirit." The boast of infidels has been, "Christianity has been all divided up." But, I beseech you, be "of one mind and one spirit."<sup>136</sup>

Martenson's non-sectarian—and at times anti-sectarian—position opposed all forms of partisanship and confessionalism. At times, however, his zeal and immaturity as a new convert to faith went beyond Moody's warnings against sectarianism and became overly harsh, equating partisanship with "idolatry, murder, and witchcraft."<sup>137</sup>

In 1879, Martenson's *Chicago-Bladet* merged with Karl Erixon's *Zions Banér*, maintaining the name *Chicago-Bladet* and making a transition from a bi-weekly to weekly periodical, with Victor Rylander and Karl Erixon as financial and contributing partners. Three years later Martenson bought his partners out. In 1880, Erixon left Knoxville and moved first to Lindsborg, Kansas, where he served the Mission congregation there for a year, and then moved to Moline, Illinois, where he became pastor of Gustaf Adolph Lutheran Church of the Ansgar Synod, and continued to write for *Chicago-Bladet*.<sup>138</sup> In the years that followed, *Chicago-Bladet* served as the voice of the burgeoning "free" Mission Friends, reflecting Moody's alliance ideal, the "new

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<sup>135</sup> *Chicago-Bladet*, Oct. 11, 1878, cited in Olsson, *Into One Body*, 464–465.

<sup>136</sup> *Chicago-Bladet*, October 29, 1880, 3. Moody's message titled "Work" was delivered during his campaign in Chicago. See D. L. Moody, *Great Joy* (New York: E.B. Treat, 1877) 502–504.

<sup>137</sup> Calvin B. Hanson notes: "John Martenson had worked for a number of Chicago papers before his conversion in 1876 and had gained a reputation as an able writer not averse to dipping his pen in acid when he felt the situation called for it." Calvin B. Hanson, *What It Means to Be Free: A History of the Evangelical Free Church* (Minneapolis: Free Church Publications, 1990) 58. Cf. Olsson, *Into One Body ... by the Cross*, 48–50.

<sup>138</sup> A. P. Nelson, *Svenska Missionsvännernas historia i Amerika* (Minneapolis: A. P. Nelson, 1906) 330–331.

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premillennial” view of the Second Coming, Waldenström’s view of the atonement, and Chicago Avenue Church’s non-sectarian, free congregationalism.<sup>139</sup>

### Chicago’s “Swedish Moodyites”

Moody’s tie with Chicago Avenue Church attracted many Swedes to the church’s worship services and evangelistic meetings. Franson, Okerstein, Skogsbergh, and Martenson followed Moody and his new American revivalism closely, a new American evangelicalism that shared common features as well as differences with Rosenius’ Lutheran pietism.<sup>140</sup> The Swedes who followed Moody’s revivalism were shaped by him, becoming “Swedish Moodyites,” along with a number of Swedes at Moody’s church.<sup>141</sup>

In 1880, Swedes at Chicago Avenue Church made frequent requests to the executive committee for use of the church building on weeknights and Sunday afternoons for meetings and “tent work.”<sup>142</sup> As interest grew, Okerstein discussed with Martenson the idea of a mission meeting in Chicago that would be “free and non-sectarian.” Okerstein and the “Swedish Missionary Brethren” then secured use of the Lecture Room at Chicago Avenue Church for December 28 and 29, 1880.<sup>143</sup> Okerstein’s announcement in *Chicago-Bladet* stated:

I have heard that a good number of God’s children are wishing that a mission meeting could be held in Chicago, where believers could come together, united for a brotherly discussion of issues, as well as for the exercise and edification of gifts. And since in mentioning this, I have taken the advice of Brother Martenson to find out what the brethren are thinking on this matter. I would like to propose here that those of God’s children in the city who have interest in this sort of free, non-sectarian meeting to be held between Christmas and New Year’s, meet next Tuesday night at eight o’clock at the office of *Chicago-Bladet*. ... Those who, in due respect, are truly unable to attend but are themselves interested in the matter may mail a postcard to the aforementioned newspaper

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<sup>139</sup> In 1885, *Chicago-Bladet*’s weekly circulation was estimated at 10,000. M. W. Montgomery, *A Wind from the Holy Spirit in Sweden and Norway* (New York: American Home Missionary Society, 1885) 32.

<sup>140</sup> Scott E. Erickson, “Ethnicity and Religion in the Twin Cities: Community Identity through the Gospel, Music, and Education,” in Philip J. Anderson and Dag Blanck, *Swedes in the Twin Cities: Immigrant Life and Minnesota’s Urban Frontier* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 2001) 289.

<sup>141</sup> Erik Brolund, *Missions-Vännerna. Jämförelser och studier* (Chicago: Mission Friends Publishing, 1938) 110. Brolund noted that by 1938, the children and grandchildren of Swedish immigrants comprised approximately fifty percent of the membership of Chicago Avenue Church. According to *Österns Weckoblad*, John Rood who served as pastor of the Swedish Congregational Church in Sauk Rapids and East St. Cloud, Minnesota, came to faith in 1877 through Moody’s ministry, and joined Chicago Avenue Church where he was a member of the Scandinavian Bible class. Rood was born in Norway in 1844, and came to Chicago in 1871. After joining Moody’s church he moved to Lake City, Minnesota, where he began a Sunday school work, and preached. In 1885, he received support from the American Home Missionary Society, allowing him to work exclusively in missionary work, and serving mostly among Swedes. *Österns Weckoblad*, Jan. 3, 1894, 1.

<sup>142</sup> Minutes of Chicago-Avenue Church, July 30, 1880, 95; Sept. 3, 1880, 97; Sept. 10, 1880, 98.

<sup>143</sup> Minutes of Chicago Avenue Church, Oct. 29, 1880, 101.

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to let their thoughts be known, and to let us know how many to expect for room arrangements, if required. Let us pray that this becomes as God wills.

Your brother in the Lord,  
J. F. Åkerstein.<sup>144</sup>

Since there was no report from the meeting, it is not known what exactly took place. However, the concept was established for a free, non-sectarian meeting to be held in April 1881 when Chicago Avenue Church and the Swedish Mission Tabernacle hosted the first Swedish conference on Bible prophecy.

### **Conclusion**

While “Moody fever” was peaking in Sweden in 1876 and 1877, Moody was at the height of his revival work in America. Some Swedish immigrants who arrived in Chicago at this time had already experienced “Moody fever” in Sweden.<sup>145</sup> In 1876, when Moody’s evangelistic campaign began at the newly-built Chicago Tabernacle, he reached hundreds of Swedes with his message of conversion, and attracted Mission Friends to his non-sectarian American revivalism, igniting a Swedish-American “Moody fever.”

In 1876—a pivotal year for Mission Friends—Moody was surrounded by “Swedish Moodyites” such as Okerstein, Franson, Skogsbergh, and Martenson. These immigrants were deeply affected by Moody, adopting and promoting his ideal, beliefs and methods, along with hundreds of Swedes who attended alliance meetings at Chicago Avenue Church. During these years, Okerstein continued as the Swedish city missionary at Moody’s church. Franson, “Moody’s Swedish disciple,” served as the first home and foreign missionary sent out from the ranks of Chicago Avenue Church. Skogsbergh, known as “the Swedish Moody,” preached at Swedish union meetings at Chicago Avenue Church, began an independent congregation in Chicago, and held non-sectarian revival meetings in Illinois and Minnesota. In 1877, Martenson launched *Chicago-Bladet*, a non-sectarian newspaper that featured Moody as the most published preacher, followed by Waldenström.

These “Swedish Moodyites” soon began to distinguish themselves from other Mission Friends who followed closely after Rosenius and Lutheran *läsare*. The “Swedish Moodyites” were “freer” or “free” Mission Friends who followed Moody’s American revivalism, as well as Waldenström’s Swedish pietism. The “Swedish Moodyites” soon met resistance, however, from Augustana Lutherans who remained loyal to the Augsburg Confession and opposed American revivalism with its emphasis on evangelical ecumenism. With developments in America and Sweden from 1875 to 1878, divisions widened between Augustana Lutherans who were devoted to the Augsburg Confession, Mission Friends who followed after Rosenius but increasingly favored non-confessional freedom, and “free” Mission Friends who adopted much if not all of Moody’s American revivalism.

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<sup>144</sup> *Chicago-Bladet*, Nov. 26, 1880, 1.

<sup>145</sup> To some degree, “Moody fever” was tied to “American fever”—the growing interest to emigrate from Sweden to America. This subject, however, is outside the scope of this study.



*Moody's Chicago Revival and Swedes*

In America, Swedes could hear Moody, and in Chicago, they could attend or join his church. America was a land of religious freedom and pluralism, characterized by a religious “free-market” society. As Mission Friends were amazed at Moody’s evangelistic success, they became convinced that he must be right in establishing a free or non-sectarian, congregational church. Increasingly, what mattered to them was not doctrine or denominational structure and discipline but unity in Christ, simplicity of faith, and “winning souls to faith.” Mission Friends who were open to America and Americanization discovered they could embrace American evangelicalism at Moody’s church, a congregation tied directly to the American revivalist.

The burgeoning “free” or “freer” Mission Friends who embraced America’s religious freedom and welcomed Americanization, adopted Moody’s American revivalism, and began to establish their own ideal of the church, looking to him and his model for their own use. Thus, their shift in evangelical identity was not merely away from Lutheran confessionalism, or even an emphasis on conversion over sacraments as with Rosenian pietism, but they were characterized by distinctive features or marks of Moody’s new American evangelicalism.



## Chapter 6

### Moody's Ideal among Swedes in America

The success of Moody's evangelistic campaigns measured by the size of crowds that attended his meetings, the variety of churches that cooperated in his activities, and the number of souls converted to faith, increased his popularity and swayed some Swedish Mission Friends to adopt his ideal, beliefs, and methods. They followed his form of American revivalism, practicing his alliance ideal from the urban centers of New York City and Chicago to rural areas of Phelps Center, Nebraska, and Boone, Iowa.

Mission Friends also embraced Moody's premillennial view of Christ's Second Coming, a view advanced by him and those within his circle. Moreover, Swedes in Chicago familiar with Moody's church adopted the model of Chicago Avenue Church, founded as a body of believers "known only as Christians, without reference to any denomination."<sup>1</sup> This alliance ideal at the local level led "free" Mission Friends to establish free, non-sectarian, evangelical churches.

This chapter asks the questions: How did Swedish Mission Friends in America practice Moody's alliance ideal? What were the effects upon Swedes who were more closely located to Moody's church and his following? This chapter examines Moody's alliance ideal among Swedish Mission Friends in America, an ideal demonstrated by non-sectarian conferences held in Chicago in 1881 and 1883.

Like Sweden, the alliance movement in America promoted unity among all Christians, and held to a "fellowship-over-confession" or "unity-over-creed" ideal of the church. The first free or non-denominational Swedish conference was held at Chicago Avenue Church and the Swedish Mission Tabernacle where Swedes gathered to examine various topics related to Christ's return. At this conference, those who identified with Moody's alliance ideal gathered together including: Fredrik Franson, E. A. Skogsbergh, J. F. Okerstein, John Martenson, Karl Erixon, and J. G. Princell.

#### Princell and Moody's "Christian Conventions"

When J. G. Princell graduated from the German Lutheran Seminary in Philadelphia in 1872, he was ordained as a Lutheran clergyman by the Pennsylvania ministerium, and joined the Augustana ministerium the same year.<sup>2</sup> Princell served the

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<sup>1</sup> W. H. Daniels, *D. L. Moody and His Work* (Hartford, Conn.: American Publishing Co., 1875) 111.

<sup>2</sup> Conrad Bergendoff, *The Augustana Ministerium: A Study of the Careers of the 2,504 Pastors of the Augustana Evangelical Lutheran Synod/ Church 1850-1962* (Rock Island: Augustana Historical Society, 1980) 22.

Swedish Lutheran Church in Campello, Massachusetts, for one year, and in January 1873, became pastor of Gustavus Adolphus Lutheran Church in Manhattan in New York.<sup>3</sup>

Along with Anders Hult from Campello, Princell edited *Barnvännan*, a monthly Lutheran periodical for children and families. Moody's and Sankey's influence was evident shortly after their New York City campaign in 1876 when *Barnvännan* published several of Sankey's songs from *Gospel Hymns No. 2*.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, Princell spoke highly of Moody's Christian Conventions.<sup>5</sup> During Moody's New York City campaign, the American revivalist hosted a Christian Convention on March 29 and 30 on how to conduct revival meetings.<sup>6</sup> The *New York Tribune* reported that churches of all evangelical denominations responded, and that "five delegates from each church were allowed to attend."<sup>7</sup> Princell later referred to Moody's Christian Conventions as an example of Christian unity, in contrast to formal ecclesial structures, saying:

All manufactured forms of unity that are outside and beyond the reality that Christian congregations are one body in Christ lead to dissension and forming parties as experience and history from every era clearly demonstrate ... Others try to justify organizing a union on the basis of the apostolic meeting in Jerusalem (Acts 15). This meeting has been likened to an organized synodical meeting, and thereby, some draw the conclusion that it justifies a union of congregations. However, there are no grounds for this conclusion. There was neither a union before the meeting in Jerusalem nor any afterwards. It was a brotherly conference for investigation of a particular question. ... Such meetings are held by Mr. Moody and others, and are simply called "Christian Conventions."<sup>8</sup>

In this statement, Princell expressed his preference for a "brotherly conference for investigation of a particular question" and appealed to Moody's Christian Conventions in contrast to an "organized synodical meeting" or "union of congregations," an application of Moody's alliance ideal.

At the New York City revival campaign, evangelical pastors such as Princell cooperated with Moody to fill the Hippodrome. Presbyterians, Baptists, Methodists, Lutherans, and Episcopalians gathered together, as well as clergymen who up to that time had avoided cooperative activity.<sup>9</sup> A. P. Fitt wrote:

Moody and Sankey, aided by a multitude of local clergymen and bands of volunteer Christian workers, had undertaken the task of setting New York on fire with enthusiasm

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<sup>3</sup> In 1873, Princell married Selma E. Östergren who died two years later. He married Josephine Lind (1844–1937) in 1876.

<sup>4</sup> *Barnvännan* published, for example: "Hvar och en som vill!," by P. P. Bliss (Jan. 1877) 4; "Sjung om Jesus!," by W. H. Doane (Feb. 1877) 8; "Tröst i blodet" (Mar. 1877).

<sup>5</sup> *Chicago-Bladet*, Feb. 7, 1885, 8.

<sup>6</sup> Bruce J. Evensen, *God's Man for the Gilded Age: D. L. Moody and the Rise of Modern Mass Evangelism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003) 95. See also "Revival Convention," in D. L. Moody, *50 Evenings at the Great Revival Meetings Conducted by Moody & Sankey; or, Verbatim Reports of Sermons and Addresses of Dwight L. Moody, at the New York Hippodrome, together with a Report of the Christian Convention of Ministers and Laymen* (Philadelphia: Chas. H. Yost, 1876) 450–493.

<sup>7</sup> *New York Tribune*, March 29, 1876, 8. In addition, Moody spoke on "Inquiry Meetings: How can they become part of the service in our churches!"

<sup>8</sup> Josephine Princell, *J. G. Princells levnadsminnen* (Chicago: J. V. Martensons Tryckeri, 1916) 147–148.

<sup>9</sup> Evensen, *God's Man for the Gilded Age*, 106.

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for the cause of Christ. How great was the measure of their success may be judged by the fact that there were days between February 7, the beginning of the revival, and April 19, its close, when as many as sixty thousand persons found their way into the evangelists' meetings—one meeting following another from noon till quite late in the evening. A monster stage or platform in the main room was built to hold at least four hundred visiting clergymen or distinguished guests.<sup>10</sup>

Swedish clergy in New York City at the time were: Princell at Gustavus Adolphus Lutheran Church, Peter J. Svärd at the Swedish Lutheran Mission of the German-Scandinavian Immigrant House, O. G. Hedström and D. S. Sörlin at Swedish Bethel Ship, Albert Ericson at Swedish Methodist Church, and John Svanström, a city missionary at the Mission Chapel.<sup>11</sup> The *New York Herald* observed how Moody organized a community of believers who united in “cooperation to achieve great purposes.”<sup>12</sup> The YMCA was the center of Moody's organization, promoting his ideal of evangelical but non-sectarian activity.<sup>13</sup>

### Princell and the Galesburg Rule

During the years 1875 to 1878, Princell was moving away from views held by the Augustana Synod toward views of “freer” Mission Friends, following Moody in America and Waldenström in Sweden. This movement was augmented by a shift in the Augustana Synod from an earlier Rosenian pietism toward Lutheran confessionalism. Princell who had worked earlier with Moody and the YMCA in Chicago patterned his ministry increasingly after Moody's simple, non-sectarian evangelicalism.<sup>14</sup>

The Galesburg Rule of 1875 came to characterize the Augustana Synod's position, stating: “Lutheran pulpits for Lutheran ministers only, and Lutheran altars for Lutheran communicants only.”<sup>15</sup> This rule came as a result of the Lutheran confessional revival led by Charles P. Krauth (1823–1883), a conservative, confessional voice and president of the General Council of American Lutherans.<sup>16</sup> Krauth's action was a response to the ecumenical movement led by Samuel Schmucker (1799–1873), a German-American Lutheran pastor and theologian who helped found the Lutheran General Synod, and in 1838, published *Fraternal Appeal to the American Churches on Christian Union*, preparing the way for the formation of the Evangelical Alliance in London in 1846.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> A. P. Fitt, *The Life of D. L. Moody*, 80–81.

<sup>11</sup> *Nordstjernan*, Feb. 11, 1876, 4; Mar 3, 1876, 2; Mar. 31, 1876, 4.

<sup>12</sup> Evensen, *God's Man for the Gilded Age*, 121.

<sup>13</sup> James F. Findlay, Jr., *Dwight L. Moody: American Evangelist, 1837–1899* (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1969) 199. YMCA rooms were used as meeting places for planning sessions and preliminary services leading up to the campaign, and members of the YMCA cooperated in house-to-house visitation and other activities in preparation for the campaign.

<sup>14</sup> Philip J. Anderson, “Paul Peter Waldenström and America: Influence and Presence in Historical Perspective,” *Covenant Quarterly* 52 (1994) 8.

<sup>15</sup> Hugo Söderström, *Confession and Cooperation: The Policy of the Augustana Synod in Confessional Matters and the Synod's Relations with Other Churches up to the Beginning of the Twentieth Century* (Lund: Gleerup Bokförlag, 1973) 145–146.

<sup>16</sup> Eric W. Gritsch, *A History of Lutheranism* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2002) 192.

<sup>17</sup> G. Everett Arden, *Augustana Heritage: A History of the Augustana Lutheran Church* (Rock Island: Augustana Press, 1963) 51–52. See: S. S. Schmucker, *Fraternal Appeal to the American churches; with a Plan for Catholic Union on Apostolic Principles* (New York: Taylor & Dodd, 1839, 1838).

Schmucker was convinced that Christian disunity throughout the world had developed because leaders emphasized their denominations' particular theological viewpoints too heavily. He proposed that the way to overcome disunity and achieve greater unity was to discover broad areas of agreement.<sup>18</sup>

Conservative "Old Lutherans," however, became bitterly opposed to Schmucker and his American Lutheranism. They insisted that the historic confessions of the sixteenth century were pure and right expositions of the Bible and "must be literally accepted as definitive of Christian faith and practice."<sup>19</sup> Krauth sought to restore the confessions in *Concordia Pia* (Book of Concord) to prominence, insisting on a more conservative reading and prepared a series of statements regarding "pulpit and altar fellowship."<sup>20</sup>

At a conference in 1875 at Galesburg, Illinois, the General Council added a clause so that the statement read: "The rule *which accords with the Word of God and with the Confessions of our Church* is Lutheran pulpits for Lutheran ministers only, and Lutheran altars for Lutheran communicants only," and thus, the rule became known as the Galesburg Rule.<sup>21</sup> For Krauth and other conservatives, any Lutheran to depart from the Galesburg Rule was considered in some measure a denial of the Lutheran faith.

Princell, however, in the alliance-oriented spirit of the Evangelical Alliance, Moody, and Mission Friends in Sweden such as Waldenström and C. J. Nyvall, countered, saying: "The pulpits for all evangelical pastors; and the Lord's Table for all the children of God."<sup>22</sup> Princell opposed the Galesburg Rule, dismissing it on the premise that not all Lutheran pastors were worthy to proclaim the gospel and not all Lutheran communicants were worthy to receive the Lord's Supper; nor were all non-Lutherans unworthy to preach and receive the sacrament.<sup>23</sup> Princell held that all believers, regardless of whether or not they held to all points of the Augsburg Confession, should be allowed to partake of the Lord's Supper.<sup>24</sup>

Moreover, Princell became increasingly vocal about his view of the Second Coming, moving toward Moody's popular premillennial view.<sup>25</sup> In 1877, Moody's

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<sup>18</sup> In 1840, Schmucker presented before the Synod of Western Pennsylvania a treatise for Lutherans to achieve greater unity with the larger, unified Christian community. In 1855, he and two others drafted *Definite Synodical Platform* and submitted it to the General Synod and all district synods for adoption. It contained four planks: 1) A pledge to the Old and New Testaments as the only infallible rule and guide of faith and practice. 2) The Apostles' Creed. 3) The Nicene Creed. 4) An American Rescension of the Augsburg Confession. The Rescension included adoption of "new measures" techniques of revivalism. The Scandinavians opposed it. Arden, *Augustana Heritage*, 46–47, 52–54.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 55.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 47–58, 150.

<sup>21</sup> A. D. Mattson, *Polity of the Augustana Lutheran Church* (Rock Island: Augustana Book Concern, 1952) 330–331.

<sup>22</sup> Anderson, "Paul Peter Waldenström and America," *Covenant Quarterly* 52 (1994) 8.

<sup>23</sup> Princell, *J. G. Princells levnadsminnen*, 85.

<sup>24</sup> Philip Schaff described Lutherans in America in three groups: "Old Lutherans" defending confessionalism and rejecting Reformed doctrines, "Neo-Lutherans" representing Americanized German Lutheranism, and "Moderate" or "Melancthonian Lutherans" who were willing to compromise for the sake of Christian unity. Gritsch, *A History of Lutheranism*, 191.

<sup>25</sup> Princell held originally either to the amillennial view of traditional Lutheranism stated in Article XVII of the Augsburg Confession or the historic premillennial view of Pietists such as Peter Fjellstedt in Sweden and Joseph A. Seiss in Philadelphia. Amillennialism (no millennium) interprets Biblical references to the millennium figuratively—the millennial reign of Christ occurs in believers' hearts. Premillennialism holds

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sermon titled *The Second Coming of Christ* was published in booklet form in English, and later that year a Swedish version appeared with the title: *Kristi andra tillkommelse*, published by Julin and Hedenschoug in Chicago.<sup>26</sup> In 1878, the First American Bible and Prophetic Conference was held in New York City where Princell was serving at the time. This conference, along with the book, *Second Coming of Christ: Pre-Millennial Essays of the Prophetic Conference* edited by Nathaniel West, heightened the popularity of the premillennial view among Swedish Mission Friends.<sup>27</sup> Already in the summer of 1880 in Jamestown, New York, Princell presented messages on Christ's return, as well as church polity.<sup>28</sup>

In addition, in the mid 1870s Anders Hult introduced Princell to Waldenström's view of the atonement.<sup>29</sup> Princell became increasingly interested in this view as Waldenström's sermons and books appeared in America. In the fall of 1873, the Swedish Evangelical Lutheran Mission Society in Chicago had published and distributed three thousand copies of Waldenström's booklet *Om försoningens betydelse* (On the Meaning of the Atonement).<sup>30</sup> Waldenström's view gained popularity among Mission Friends, because he explained the atonement in a way that many of them experienced conversion. He emphasized God's unchanging nature and unfailing love, illustrated by the parable of the lost son, a theme similar in Moody.<sup>31</sup>

In response to Waldenström's view, in 1874 Eric Norelius of the Augustana Synod submitted four theses on the atonement for discussion at the synod's annual meeting.<sup>32</sup> These statements were discussed during the next three annual meetings, and

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that Christ will return before the millennial reign of Christ on earth. Premillennialism has two views: historic, and futurist or "new." All of these views were in contrast to postmillennialism, namely, that Christ will return after the church has established the millennium through the preaching of the gospel. Timothy P. Weber, *Living in the Shadow of the Second Coming: American Premillennialism, 1875-1982* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1987) 9.

<sup>26</sup> Dwight L. Moody, *The Second Coming of Christ: A Sermon Preached at the Tabernacle, Boston, April 29, 1877* (Boston: Advent Christian Publ., 1877). In April 1880, *Chicago-Bladet* published serially Moody's sermon on the Second Coming. *Chicago-Bladet*, Apr. 9, 1880, 1; Apr. 16, 1880, 1.

<sup>27</sup> Nathaniel West, ed., *Second Coming of Christ: Premillennial Essays of the Prophetic Conference Held in the Church of the Holy Trinity, New York City* (Chicago: F. H. Revell, 1879); Arnold T. Olson, *The Endangered Lampstand* (Minneapolis: Ardell Publications, 1992) 9.

<sup>28</sup> "Från missionsmöte i Jamestown, 30, 31 juli samt 1 aug.," *Chicago-Bladet*, Sept. 17, 1880, 1.

Discussion centered on the question of Biblical congregational life among believers according to 1 Cor. 12-14. The report stated that Princell preached on Christ's Second Coming from Rev. 22:6-21. Cf. "Nu är den uttersta tiden," *Chicago-Bladet*, Jun. 17, 1884, 2; June 24, 1884, 2.

<sup>29</sup> Princell, *J. G. Princells levnadsminnen*, 31.

<sup>30</sup> See the English translation: P. Waldenström, *The Reconciliation: Who Was to Be Reconciled? God or Man? Or God and Man?*, trans. by J. G. Princell (Chicago: John Martenson, 1888).

<sup>31</sup> David W. Bebbington, *The Dominance of Evangelicalism: The Age of Spurgeon and Moody* (Downers Grove, Ill.: 2005) 47-48; "Gud är kärlek, 1 John 4:8, Föredrag hållet i New York af D. L. Moody," *Sanningssvittmet* 31 (Aug. 4, 1876) 249-251; 32 (Aug. 11, 1876) 257-259.

<sup>32</sup> Norelius stated: 1) Sin separated man from God and caused a change both in man's attitude to God and in God's attitude to man. Sin is a rebellion against God; it causes an infinite guilt and must be punished, 2) God is the Holy Judge who cannot, because of his holiness, leave sin unpunished, 3) As true man and true God, Christ brought an eternal reconciliation between man and God. By his perfect obedience to God's will and his innocent suffering and death, he paid man's debt, and achieved the righteousness which is sufficient for God. As a sign that Christ's suffering and death were a sufficient satisfaction, God raised him from the dead, 4) Through faith in Christ man shares the fruits of Christ's atoning work. Man is reconciled to God, no matter whether he believes or not, but he does not have any benefit of the atonement as long as

became the official view of the Augustana Synod. Soon “*Augustanare*” and “*Waldenströmäre*” became party cries.<sup>33</sup>

By 1877, Princell endorsed Waldenström’s view that the primary effect of Christ’s death on the cross was to atone for humankind’s sin, not to reconcile the wrath of God.<sup>34</sup> A year later at the annual meeting in Princeton, Illinois, Princell was suspended from the ministerium for denying the traditional Lutheran teaching of the Augsburg Confession—the Anselmian or penal-substitutionary view that stated that Christ is “a sacrifice not only for original sin, but also for all other sins, reconciling the wrath of God.”<sup>35</sup> Princell’s hearing committee concluded that he denied the teachings of the Bible and the Lutheran Church, citing *Concordia Pia* as the official Lutheran position of the atonement.<sup>36</sup> This action against Princell followed years of discussion concerning the Waldenströmian controversy, and served as a precedent in the Augustana Synod, signaling that the Waldenströmian view would not be tolerated.

After the annual meeting, Princell continued to serve as pastor of Gustavus Adolphus Lutheran Church because the congregation was content to have him remain. In addition, he taught Waldenström’s views of the Lord’s Supper and church membership, holding that only persons who confessed a personal conversion to faith should be admitted as members and allowed to participate in the Lord’s Supper.<sup>37</sup> His preaching caused such tension that it eventually caused a division in the congregation. He declared:

To merely stand there and *say* that members of the church *ought* to be Christians, and that none other than believers *ought* to participate in the Holy Communion, but never *act* as one professes to believe—that is laxness, yea, hypocrisy. Even though the pastor may stand before the altar and at the last moment warn the unbelieving church member, he nevertheless becomes a partaker of their guilt, and a betrayer of his own conscience.<sup>38</sup>

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he does not repent and believe the Gospel. *Protokoll, Ev. Lutherska Augustana Synodens, Rockford, Illinois, 1874*, 17,45; and *Augustana*, (No. 10, 1874) 244, and (No. 17, 1874) 401, cited in Söderström, *Confession and Cooperation*, 130.

<sup>33</sup> B. A. Hawkinson, “Paul Peter Waldenström: His Life and Contribution to the Swedish Free Church Movement” (S.T.M. Thesis, Andover Newton Theological School, Newton Centre, Mass., 1937) 81.

<sup>34</sup> David M. Gustafson, “J. G. Princell and the Waldenströmian View of the Atonement,” *Trinity Journal* 20 (Fall, 1999) 197–200. Cf. Arden, *Augustana Heritage*, 182. For more on Waldenström’s view, see chapter 4 under P. P. Waldenström and the Alliance Ideal, and chapter 7 under Waldenström’s Visit with Moody at Northfield.

<sup>35</sup> Article III.—“Of the Son of God,” The Unaltered Augsburg Confession, *The Christian Book of Concord, or Symbolical Books of the Evangelical Lutheran Church* (West Virginia: Solomon D. Henkel and Brs., 1851) 21. *Concordia Pia* or *Book of Concord*, containing all the Lutheran books up to 1580, became the authorized explanation of the Augsburg Confession by the new Church law of 1686.

<sup>36</sup> Gustafson, “J. G. Princell and the Waldenströmian View of the Atonement,” *Trinity Journal* 20 (Fall, 1999) 199. Cf. “Augustana synoden och pastor Princell,” *Göteborgs Weckoblad*, Oct. 17, 1878, 3.

<sup>37</sup> Maria Elizabeth Erling, “Crafting an Urban Piety: New England’s Swedish Immigrants and Their Religious Culture from 1880 to 1915” (Ph. D. Thesis, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass., 1995) 114–115. In addition to Erling’s description of Princell not serving the Lord’s Supper to everyone who desired it, she notes: “Waldenström’s teachings were a threat to Augustana’s Lutheran identity, which had been hammered out when Augustana parted company with the more relaxed confessionalism of Samuel Schmucker’s General Synod.”

<sup>38</sup> Anna J. Lindgren, *Afterglow: Life and Letters of Josephine Princell* (Chicago: Free Church Publications, 1937) 44.



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When Princell's attempt to reform matters of church membership and communion failed, he resigned, leaving Gustavus Adolphus Lutheran Church on March 5, 1879, along with twenty-seven members, and organized the Bethesda Church in Brooklyn, a free mission.<sup>39</sup> Since he was no longer affiliated with the Augustana Synod in any way, he was removed from the clerical role that summer, having never recanted his view of the atonement.<sup>40</sup> Soon after the founding of Bethesda Church, Princell invited Skogsbergh to come to Brooklyn to hold evangelistic meetings there.<sup>41</sup>

In 1879, Princell traveled to Sweden where he was eager to meet and visit with the leaders of Mission Friends. He stayed with Waldenström a few days in Gävle where the two of them "talked, disputed, and sawed wood together."<sup>42</sup> Princell was busy in Sweden with a full schedule of preaching, including his message delivered in Stockholm at the first annual meeting of Svenska Missionsförbundet, along with other speakers such as Waldenström, E. J. Ekman, J. A. Larsson, and C. J. Nyvall.<sup>43</sup> After Princell's lecture, the Mission Friends sang "No. 28 ½ from *Sankeys sånger*."<sup>44</sup>

Discussion centered around the question: What does the Word of God teach, and what light does history afford in regard to the organization of churches?<sup>45</sup> Princell observed among Mission Friends in Sweden a strong aversion to sectarianism.<sup>46</sup> Waldenström and others such as Andreas Fernholm and C. J. Nyvall believed that the word "church" in the New Testament referred only to the communion of all believers, and that the "local congregation of believers" referred to those who united for mutual edification and extending the kingdom of God, and that the biblical meaning did not refer to denominations or sects.<sup>47</sup>

Princell returned to America and preached in Boston until the summer of 1880, when he accepted a call to become president of Ansgar College and Seminary in Knoxville, Illinois, following Karl Erixon. Although Princell had been offered an attractive pastoral position at an English-speaking Lutheran church, he declined the offer,

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<sup>39</sup> C. V. Bowman, *Missionsvännerna i Amerika. En återblick på deras uppkomst och första verksamhetstid* (Minneapolis: Minneapolis Veckoblad, 1907) 222–223. In 1879, Princell founded the Scandinavian Immigrant Home in New York City. Erik G. Westman, ed., *The Swedish Element in America* (Chicago: Swedish-American Biographical Society, 1931) 305–306.

<sup>40</sup> *Protokoll, Evangel. Lutherska Augustana Synodens, Chicago, Illinois, 19–27 juni, 1879*, 7, 13. See also Bergendoff, *The Augustana Ministerium*, 22.

<sup>41</sup> *Minnesskrift. Svenska Evangeliska Bethesda församlingen, New York City* (1929) 31.

<sup>42</sup> Princell, *J. G. Princells levnadsminnen*, 90.

<sup>43</sup> "Herren är min hjälpare, af J. G. Princell vid Svenska Missionsförbundet årsmöte i Stockholm, den 2–4 juli 1879," *Chicago-Bladet*, Oct. 10, 1879, 2–3; Erik Jakob Ekman, et al., *Föredrag. hållna vid Svenska missionsförbundets årsmöte 2–4 juli, 1879* (Stockholm: C.A.V. Lundholm, 1879). Contributors were: E. J. Ekman, J. Fredrik Grufman, Joh. Fryklund, J. A. Larsson, C. J. Nyvall, J. G. Princell and P. P. Waldenström.

<sup>44</sup> "Svenska Missionsförbundets årsmöte," *Göteborgs Weckoblad*, July 10, 1879, 2.

<sup>45</sup> M. W. Montgomery, *A Wind from the Holy Spirit in Sweden and Norway* (New York: American Home Missionary Society, 1885) 77.

<sup>46</sup> Frederick Hale, *Trans-Atlantic Conservative Protestantism in the Evangelical Free and Mission Covenant Traditions* (New York: Arno Press, 1979) 145, 154. Waldenström wrote, "Any church denomination, in the now common signification, is not known in the Bible." Montgomery, *A Wind from the Holy Spirit in Sweden and Norway*, 99.

<sup>47</sup> Hale, *Trans-Atlantic Conservative Protestantism*, 143. See the 1877 statement from the 1877 Stockholm Preachers' meeting on the church: Montgomery, *A Wind from the Holy Spirit in Sweden and Norway*, 46–48, 71–74.

vowing never to be part of a synod or denomination again, saying: “Someone who has had his nose in a vise once will not put it there again.”<sup>48</sup>

Ansgar College had experienced leadership and financial woes, and as a last resort, appointed a special board that hired Princell. Erixon joined John Martenson as a writer for *Chicago-Bladet*, along with their financial partner, Victor Rylander (1840–1899).

### Victor Rylander and the Nebraska Connection

Victor Rylander was a land agent for the Union Pacific railway who sold land to Swedes in south central Nebraska. He was born March 16, 1840, in Oppeby parish in Östergötland, Sweden. He immigrated to America in 1869, settling in Chicago. In 1875, he began working for the Union Pacific railroad, promoting Swedish settlement in Nebraska’s south Platte area.<sup>49</sup> Rylander worked with Leander Hallgren, originally from Horn parish in Östergötland who immigrated to America in 1870. Rylander and Hallgren became partners, and in 1876 were in Knox County, Illinois, recruiting Swedes to settle in Phelps County, Nebraska.<sup>50</sup>

From the beginning, Rylander and Hallgren promoted church life in the Phelps County settlement, appealing particularly to “believers” and inviting Pastor Jacob Danielson to join them in establishing the settlement.<sup>51</sup> Thus, in Phelps County, a mission society soon formed that was associated with the Lutheran Mission Synod.<sup>52</sup> In addition to worship services, the mission society conducted revival meetings for area settlers. In 1879, the society erected a church at Mosebacke, or Moses Hill.<sup>53</sup>

Phelps Center began to grow as Swedes continued to arrive. On January 4, 1877, Rylander, Hallgren, and O. P. Pearson, as financial partners, together with newspaper editor Magnus Elmlad, began publication of a weekly newspaper called *Vårt Nya Hem* in nearby Kearney.<sup>54</sup> In regards to religion, this newspaper would “always speak the true Christian tone, and would by no means become sectarian.”<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>48</sup> Princell, *J. G. Princells levnadsminnen*, 109. Princell also received a call from the Tabernacle Mission Church in Minneapolis. Ernst W. Olson and Martin J. Engberg, eds., *History of the Swedes of Illinois II* (Chicago: Engberg-Holmberg Publishing Co., 1908) 269.

<sup>49</sup> Frank A. Anderson, “Phelps County,” in John Faris, ed., *Who’s Who in Nebraska* (Lincoln: Nebraska Press Assoc., 1940) 884.

<sup>50</sup> In 1876, Rylander & Hallgren had post office addresses at Oneida, Illinois, and Kearney Junction, Nebraska. *Nya Svenska Amerikanaren*, Nov. 9, 1876, 3. See “Diary of Rolf Johnson,” Jan. 22, 1876 in *Citizen*, Nov. 18, 1939. Rolf Johnson Papers, Archives of the Swenson Swedish Immigration Research Center, Augustana College, Rock Island, Illinois.

<sup>51</sup> Waldenström described Phelps Center as a Swedish settlement founded in 1875 “existing mostly of believers.” P. Waldenström, *Genom Norra Amerikas Förenta Stater* (Stockholm: Pietistens Expedition, 1890) 449.

<sup>52</sup> The minutes were altered after the formation of the Mission Covenant in 1885. The name became the Swedish Evangelical Lutheran Mission Church, associated with the Swedish Evangelical Lutheran Mission Covenant.

<sup>53</sup> This church is known today as Moses Hill Covenant Church in rural Loomis, Nebraska.

<sup>54</sup> *Vårt Nya Hem’s* editor was Magnus Elmlad who immigrated in 1871, and worked in Chicago as the assistant editor of *Hemlandet*, and then editor of *Nya Svenska Amerikanaren*. In 1876 he began work with *Vårt Nya Hem* in Kearney. J. Oscar Backlund, *A Century of the Swedish American Press* (Chicago: Swedish American Newspaper Co., 1952) 114–115.

<sup>55</sup> *Vårt Nya Hem*, Jan. 4, 1877, 1.

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The first issue published Moody's lecture "For Young People" which he had recently delivered in Chicago.<sup>56</sup> In addition, a brief report stated: "Moody and Sankey have completed several days of their evangelistic work in Chicago. We hope that the seed they have sown falls on good soil."<sup>57</sup> The first issue also reported the tragic death of P. P. Bliss, the gospel songwriter who had composed many of the melodies in Sankey's songbook. The first issue of *Vårt Nya Hem* further mentioned Skogsbergh as "the second Moody."<sup>58</sup>

The newspaper demonstrated its association with Swedish Mission Friends from its advertisements by Julin & Hedenschoug, Ansgar College and Seminary, and *Zions Banér*. In the twenty issues of *Vårt Nya Hem*, Moody's influence on the editor and its partners was apparent. It regularly reported news of Moody's and Sankey's work, and published his articles and sermons.<sup>59</sup> However, after only five months *Vårt Nya Hem* ceased publication.

Rylander's interests in Chicago led him in 1878 to enter the book business while continuing as a land agent for the Union Pacific. His bookselling venture was named Rylander & Company, located on East Chicago Avenue, and his new partner was Carl F. Julin.<sup>60</sup> In 1879, Rylander & Co. published a second edition of Sankey's *Sånger till lammets lof*.<sup>61</sup> Rylander & Co. also offered books for sale including *Nåd och sanning* (Grace and Truth) by W. P. Mackay with the foreword by Moody. At this time, Rylander became partners with Martenson and Erixon at *Chicago-Bladet*.<sup>62</sup>

Rylander was clearly active as a layman among Swedish Mission Friends.<sup>63</sup> In August 1877, he accompanied Skogsbergh up the Mississippi River from Burlington to Minneapolis.<sup>64</sup> Rylander was also active with the Swedish fellowship at Chicago Avenue Church, officially joining the congregation on May 1, 1880.<sup>65</sup>

### **Franson and Nebraska Free Churches**

Fredrik Franson's connection with Rylander was one reason why "Moody's Swedish disciple" came in 1880 to establish free churches in south central Nebraska.

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<sup>56</sup> Ibid.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid.

<sup>59</sup> *Vårt Nya Hem*, Jan. 11, 1877, Feb. 8, 1877, Mar. 15, 1877, Apr. 19, 1877; "Moody om bönen," March 8, 1877; "Kristi Död" April 19, 1877; "Kärlek" May 3, 1877, May 10, 1877.

<sup>60</sup> *The Lakeside Annual Directory of the City of Chicago 1879* (Chicago: Donnelley, Gassette & Lloyd, 1879) 939; Rylander & Co. was formerly Julin & Hedenschoug. Hedenschoug died in November 1878.

<sup>61</sup> Gunilla Larsson and Eva Tedenmyr, *Svenskt tryck i Nordamerika: Katalog över Tell G. Dahllöfs samling* (Stockholm: Kungl. Bibliotheca, 1988) 252; Ira D. Sankey, et al., *Sånger till lammets lof* (Chicago: Julin & Rylanders förl., 1879).

<sup>62</sup> Ernst W. Olson, Anders Schön and Martin Engberg, *The History of Swedes of Illinois*, Part I (Chicago: Engberg-Holmberg, 1908) 817.

<sup>63</sup> A. P. Nelson, *Svenska Missionsvännernas i Amerika Historia* (Minneapolis: A.P. Nelson, 1905) 75.

<sup>64</sup> E. Aug. Skogsbergh, *Minnen och Upplevelser. Under min mer än femtioåriga predikoverksamhet* (Minneapolis: Veckobladets Tryckeri, 1923) 158.

<sup>65</sup> Moody Memorial Church, Original Membership Register, 1864–1887. Billy Graham Center Archives, Wheaton College, Wheaton, Illinois. See also, "Church Membership," *Pen and Scissors: Chicago Avenue Church Paper*. Vol. 1, No. 24 (June 9, 1888) 6.

Franson assisted settlers in forming independent, evangelical churches at Phelps Center, Loomis, Industry, and Keene.

At this time, there was a widening of opinion over church polity among Mission Friends. Some preferred the structure of the Lutheran Mission Synod to which the Moses Hill Mission Church belonged. Others, like Franson, preferred a free, non-sectarian church polity where churches remained independent, having no higher authority over them but were free to cooperate with others in evangelism and missions.<sup>66</sup> Franson declared, "...the best way to solve the question about the synods would be for each congregation to act as its own synod."<sup>67</sup>

Hallgren was quick to assist Franson in organizing the Nebraska free churches. Like Moody, Hallgren and Franson organized a coalition of evangelical congregations drawn from Swedish churches—Lutheran, Methodist and Baptist—and emphasized unity and setting aside minor differences over creeds.<sup>68</sup> The following announcement for a non-sectarian meeting appeared in *Chicago-Bladet* on October 1, 1880:

A mission meeting will be held, Lord willing, at Phelps Center, Nebraska, beginning Friday October 22<sup>nd</sup> and continuing through Sunday. The meeting will not be sectarian but free, aiming only at the salvation of souls and the building up of God's children on the ground of the apostles and prophets, which is Jesus Christ. Therefore, we invite all, regardless of denominational affiliation, to be present. And we not only invite, but also seriously urge, as many as possible not to stay away, but to come, even if at a sacrifice, in order to help their brothers pull in the fishing net of the Gospel. Carriage will be provided for those who arrive by train at Kearney on Thursday evening the 21<sup>st</sup>.

By request,  
L. Hallgren<sup>69</sup>

Hallgren reported in the December 10, 1880 issue of *Chicago-Bladet* what had transpired at the meeting. Franson attended along with preachers such as Jacob Danielson, C. J. Magnusson, Ed Nilson, and J. W. Strömberg. At the meeting, discussion focused on "living in the last days."<sup>70</sup> The study ended by concluding that the church, the Bride of Christ, should be ready for the Lord's return at any moment.

Hallgren said that a revival occurred among the people that touched all of Phelps County and parts of Kearney and Harlan counties. He noted that two Biblical admonitions especially gripped the people, namely, to expect Jesus' imminent return, and for God's children to be one.<sup>71</sup> Hallgren reported: "In four different localities around here, God's children have joined together in free congregations with no other

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<sup>66</sup> *Minneskraft. Utgifven med anledning af Svenska Evangeliska Frikyrkans i Amerika trettioårsjubileum i Rockford, Ill., 10–14 juni, 1914, 1884–1914* (Minneapolis: Larson, 1914) 176.

<sup>67</sup> Edvard Paul Torjesen, "A Study of Fredrik Franson: The Development and Impact of His Ecclesiology, Missiology, and Worldwide Evangelism" (Ph.D. Thesis, International College, Los Angeles, Calif., 1984) 87.

<sup>68</sup> Evensen, *God's Man for the Gilded Age*, 22, 27, 29, 41.

<sup>69</sup> Torjesen, "A Study of Fredrik Franson," 107–108.

<sup>70</sup> *Chicago-Bladet*, Dec. 10, 1880, 4.

<sup>71</sup> Torjesen, "A Study of Fredrik Franson," 109.

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Constitution than the New Testament, with no other label than that of the locality or nearest post office.”<sup>72</sup>

Within a month, three free churches in Phelps County were established with Franson's help. The churches were located at Phelps Center, Westmark, and Industry.<sup>73</sup> The minutes from the organizational meeting at Westmark stated:

It was decided that the congregation confesses both scriptures of the Old and New Testaments as equally inspired by God. But at the same time we recognize that the Old Testament was written to the people of the Old covenant, from which we may glean many of the same holy instructions. Nevertheless, we regard and accept the New Testament as our constitution, the only rule for doctrine and life.<sup>74</sup>

In Keene in Kearney County to the east, the Church of God of Keene was organized November 25, 1880.<sup>75</sup> Concerning developments there, Hallgren wrote:

In Kearney County it was a joy to see a host of new believers, who before had belonged to five separate communions, now give to each other their hands as brothers and sisters in one family. ... The communions to which they had belonged were the Baptists and Methodists, as well as the Mission, Ansgar, and Augustana synods. For a member of one communion to leave this communion and transfer to another is not much gain. But for all of them to agree to discard their party labels and become one under the banner of the cross, that truly is gain.<sup>76</sup>

The word “free” in Free Mission Friends clearly referred to a church without denominational labels, and independent of synods, denominational structures, and formal unions.

### **Swedish Prophetic Conference in Chicago**

Franson, Skogsbergh, Okerstein, Martenson, Erixon, and Princell all came together from April 13–18, 1881, to hold a conference in Chicago on the subject of Christ's Second Coming. Earlier that year in Moline, Illinois, Franson, Martenson and Princell were appointed as the organizing committee.<sup>77</sup> As such, they invited Methodists, Baptists, and Lutherans from the Mission, Ansgar and Augustana synods, as well as members of Chicago Avenue Church to attend. Martenson advertised the conference in

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<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, 110.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, 108. The first church was the Church of God at Phelps Center, organized November 16, 1880, with 32 members. *Minnesskrift. Utgifven med anledning af Svenska Evangeliska Frikyrkans i Amerika trettioårsjubileum*, 145. The Church of God at Westmark near the western edge of Phelps County was organized Nov. 19, 1880. Minutes of Westmark Free Church, Loomis, Neb., Nov. 19, 1880, 10. The Church of God at Industry was organized on Nov. 23, 1880. Torjesen, “A Study of Fredrik Franson,” 108. The work in Industry Township, northeast of Atlanta, was the only congregation that did not survive.

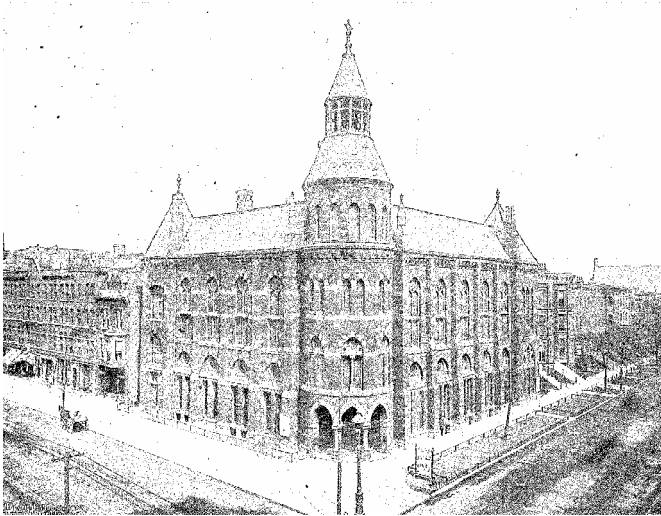
<sup>74</sup> Minutes of Westmark Free Church, Westmark, Neb., 10–11.

<sup>75</sup> *Minnesskrift. Utgifven med anledning af Svenska Evangeliska Frikyrkans i Amerika trettioårsjubileum*, 172–173; Torjesen, “A Study of Fredrik Franson,” 108. The Church of God of Keene is known today as Keene Evangelical Free Church, located south of Axtell.

<sup>76</sup> Torjesen, “A Study of Fredrik Franson,” 111; *Minnesskrift. Utgifven med anledning af Svenska Evangeliska Frikyrkans i Amerika trettioårsjubileum*, 173.

<sup>77</sup> *Chicago-Bladet*, March 11, 1881, 5.

*Chicago-Bladet* as “an *osekteriskt* (non-sectarian) meeting, mainly for the purpose of gathering God’s children together to search the prophetic portions of God’s Word.”<sup>78</sup> Furthermore, Martenson attended an executive committee meeting at Chicago Avenue Church to secure use of the building.<sup>79</sup> The sessions were held for three days at Chicago Avenue Church with Okerstein and Semand Sundgren in charge of the room arrangements, and for three days at the Swedish Mission Tabernacle, with Skogsbergh as host.<sup>80</sup> George C. Needham, pastor of Chicago Avenue Church, also participated.



**Chicago Avenue Church** (Moody’s Church) at Chicago Avenue and LaSalle Street, at the edge of Chicago’s “Swede Town”

In preparation for the conference, Franson preached at a Sunday afternoon service at Chicago Avenue Church on the theme “Yttersta dagarnes farliga tider” (Perilous Times in the Last Days), and again just before the conference on “Kristi tillkommelse” (Christ’s Coming).<sup>81</sup> Of the sixteen topics proposed, the following fourteen were presented and discussed:

1. “Kristus A och O” (Christ, A[alpha] and O[mega]) by J. G. Princell
2. “Himmelriket” (The Kingdom of Heaven) by D. S. Sörlin, and a lecture sent in by Ch. Sandquist
3. “Israel” by N. O. Westergren<sup>82</sup>

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, *Chicago-Bladet*, Apr. 1, 1881, 1.

<sup>79</sup> Minutes of Chicago Avenue Church, March 25, 1881, 113; April 8, 1881, 114.

<sup>80</sup> Minutes of Chicago Avenue Church, Jan. 7, 1881, 107.

<sup>81</sup> *Chicago-Bladet*, Feb. 4, 1881, 2; April 8, 1881, 2–4; Josephine Princell, *Frederick Franson: World Missionary* (Chicago: Chicago-Bladet, n.d.) 18.

<sup>82</sup> N. O. Westergren (Westergreen) was born in Bjäraryd, Gammalstorp in Blekinge on July 25, 1834. He immigrated to America in 1852 and after a brief stay in Maine came to Chicago where he joined the Methodists. He was converted to faith in 1853. He attended Garrett Biblical Institute in Evanston and Knox College in Galesburg. He became editor of *Sändebudet* in 1872 and served in this role for three

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4. "Wigten af ämnet om herrens återkomst" (The Importance of the Subject of the Lord's Return) by Karl Erixon
5. "Bruden, Lammets hustru" (The Bride, the Wife of the Lamb) by J. Johnson
6. "Antikrist" (Antichrist) by Fredrik Franson
7. "Herrens dag" (The Day of the Lord) by John Martenson
8. "Domstolarne" (The Judgment Seats) by Fredrik Franson
9. "Det tusenåriga riket" (The Millennial Kingdom) by August Davis
10. "Uppståndelsen" (The Resurrection) by J. W. Strömberg<sup>83</sup>
11. "Änden" (The End) by J. G. Princell
12. "Tidens tecken" (Signs of the Times) by Fredrik Franson
13. "Historien" (The History [of Premillennialism]) by J. G. Princell
14. "Den härlighet, som skall uppenbaras" (The Glory that Shall Be Revealed) by George C. Needham<sup>84</sup>

Others who participated in the discussion were: J. F. Okerstein, Loth Linquist, J. P. Zandell, A. Lind, N. Björklund, and E. A. Skogsbergh.<sup>85</sup> This was the first conference of its kind among Swedes in America, an ecumenical meeting that focused on Christ's Second Coming.

#### **Moody and "New" Premillennialism**

Regarding Moody's premillennialism, Stanley N. Gundry notes that Moody was "the first noteworthy premillennial preacher of revival and evangelism in America."<sup>86</sup> Moody was clearly premillennial in his understanding of the Second Coming, and more than any other American at the time, popularized the "new" or "futurist" premillennial view, preaching on Christ's return at least once during every revival campaign.<sup>87</sup> Moody's message urged sinners to turn from their interests in the world, and to believe in Christ.<sup>88</sup> This message also awakened believers to their need to draw sinners to the Savior before his imminent return in judgment. Moody's "new" premillennial message after John Nelson Darby (1800–1882), stood in contrast to historic forms of

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years. In 1881, he was pastor of Third Swedish Church in Chicago. Liljegen, Westergreen, and Wallenius, *Svenska Methodismen i Amerika*, 264–265, and Eric Johnson and C. F. Peterson, *Svenskarne i Illinois* (Chicago: W. Williamson, 1880) 392–393.

<sup>83</sup> J. W. Strömberg was born in Karlshamn, Sweden, on Sept. 10, 1828. He converted to faith at fourteen years of age and preached in Sweden, Denmark and America, especially Nebraska. He died at Orleans, Nebraska on April 20, 1912. *Minnen och Bilder från Svenska Ev. Frikyrkans Predikantförenings tjugoåriga verksamhet* (Chicago: 1919) 59.

<sup>84</sup> *Chicago-Bladet*, July 12, 1881, 4–5; July 19, 1881, 6.

<sup>85</sup> An American by the name of Saunders also participated.

<sup>86</sup> Stanley N. Gundry, *Love Them In: The Proclamation Theology of D. L. Moody* (Chicago: Moody Press, 1976) 178. Timothy P. Weber observes: "D. L. Moody, 'Mr. Evangelical' to nearly everyone at the end of the century, was an early premillennial convert, and nearly every major evangelist after him adopted his eschatology." Weber, *Living in the Shadow of the Second Coming*, 32–33.

<sup>87</sup> Findlay, *Dwight L. Moody*, 253. Lyle W. Dorsett states: "Premillennialism, like the Holy Spirit, Bible application, personal work, and evangelism, became the hallmarks of Moody's teachings." Lyle W. Dorsett, *A Passion for Souls: The Life of D. L. Moody* (Chicago: Moody Press, 1997) 335.

<sup>88</sup> Gundry, *Love Them In*, 186.

premillennialism of the early church, and later German Pietists, and marked a new course of evangelistic preaching in America.<sup>89</sup>

Regarding the subject of Christ's return, Moody said:

I think that every order that the Lord has given us, and ever commanded us to do, ought to be carried out literally; but we find that this doctrine has been, as it were, laid aside by the churches sometimes—they have forgotten all about it. But I don't know anything that will quicken the Church to-day so much as this precious doctrine of our Lord's return. ... If I read my Bible correctly, in the Epistles baptism is referred to thirteen times and the Lord's return upwards to fifty times.<sup>90</sup>

Concerning his own view, Moody stated:

And then we are also taught that his coming shall be sudden. ... Now, we have that order that the time of his coming is unknown; that he is coming unexpectedly. In another place it says that he is coming like a thief in the night. ... If the world remains, if we wait until Christ comes, we are going to defy death. Death has been conquered, and by and by, I don't know when, in the fullness of time, we shall rise victorious to glory. He shall come and set up his kingdom on earth. ... Every chapter in that first Epistle [of Thessalonians] is a sermon to young converts about his coming. "For the Lord himself shall descend from heaven with a shout, with the voice of the archangel, and with the trump of God; and the dead in Christ shall rise first; Then we which are alive and remain shall be caught up together with them in the clouds to meet the Lord in the air; and so shall we ever be with the Lord. Wherefore comfort one another with these words." That is the comfort of the church; not that we are agoing [sic] to die, but that the Lord may come at any time and take us away into that bridal chamber. Now, it is said that his coming in judgment on the earth to dash the nations to pieces that have disobeyed him, is one coming, and that his coming to take his bride away is altogether different. So his first coming is in the air; and that is when we shall be caught up to meet the Lord in the air. ... Now, there is no place in the Scripture where we are told to watch for signs—the rebuilding of Babylon, or the returning of the Jews to Jerusalem; but all through Scripture we are told what to do—just to watch for him; just to be waiting for our Lord's return from heaven.<sup>91</sup>

Moody's view followed several "new" premillennialists in Great Britain such as Darby, C. H. MacIntosh, George Müller, Henry Moorhouse, Henry Varley, and W. P. Mackay, a view that Christ's return was in two phases, first in the sky to gather the church, and second to earth at the end of the seven-year tribulation to establish his earthly kingdom for a thousand years.<sup>92</sup> Moody was originally attracted to Plymouth Brethren who taught dispensationalism because of their detailed method of studying Biblical and theological questions. While he never became a strict dispensationalist, he held to a

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<sup>89</sup> Ibid., 175; Weber, *Living the Shadow of the Second Coming*, 9–10, 28, 33, 44, 52; Ernest R. Sandeen, *The Roots of Fundamentalism: British and American Millenarianism 1800–1930* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1970) 172.

<sup>90</sup> D. L. Moody, "The Second Coming of Christ," *Moody's Sermons* (Chicago: J. Fairbanks, 1879) 660.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid., 662–663.

<sup>92</sup> Sandeen, *The Roots of Fundamentalism*, 173; Göran Gunner, *När tiden tar slut. Motivförsjutningar i frikyrklig apokalyptisk tolkning av det judiska folket och staten Israel* (Uppsala: Svenska institutet för missionsforskning, 1996) 47.



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general or moderate form of Darby's premillennialism.<sup>93</sup> More advanced forms were advocated, however, by some within Moody's circle such as George C. Needham, D. W. Whittle, William E. Blackstone, and Emma Dryer.<sup>94</sup>

Moody did not make his premillennial view a test for fellowship but cooperated nonetheless with postmillennialists and amillennialists alike.<sup>95</sup> For him, the alliance ideal of working in cooperative evangelism was of greater importance than theological details surrounding Christ's return.

#### **Premillennialism and Swedes in America**

The Swedish Prophetic Conference in Chicago came in the wake of this premillennial movement popularized in America by Moody. The speakers at the Swedish conference were Methodists such as Sörlin and Westergren, Lutherans such as Erixon of the Ansgar Synod, Free Mission Friends such as Martenson and Princell, and members of Chicago Avenue Church such as Franson and Needham.

Although Princell, Franson, Erixon, and Martenson followed the new premillennialism of Darby, it was mainly through Moody, Needham, Blackstone, and speakers of the First American Bible and Prophetic Conference in New York City in 1878 that this new premillennial eschatology came to them.<sup>96</sup> Clearly, the new premillennialism came through others than Darby himself.<sup>97</sup> For example, while

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<sup>93</sup> George M. Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture: The Shaping of Twentieth-Century Evangelicalism 1870–1925* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1980) 38; Gundry, *Love Them In*, 187, 190. David Bebbington notes: “Moody himself used the term ‘dispensations’, but he was not a strict dispensationalist, referring to only three dispensations rather than the seven espoused by Darbyites.” D. W. Bebbington, “Moody as a Transatlantic Evangelical” in *Mr Moody and the Evangelical Tradition*, Timothy George, ed. (London and New York: T & T Clark Intl., 2004) 84; Stanley N. Gundry, “Demythologizing Moody” in *Mr Moody and the Evangelical Tradition*, George, ed., 23–24; Gundry, *Love Them In*, 187; Gunner, *När tiden tar slut*, 54.

<sup>94</sup> Weber, *Living in the Shadow of the Second Coming*, 32–34, 52–53, 38. Findlay, *Dwight L. Moody*, 252; Sandeen, *The Roots of Fundamentalism*, 174–175. Emma Dryer (1835–1925), originally from Massachusetts, graduated from LeRoy Female Seminary, and then joined the faculty of Knoxville Female College. She left the school during the Civil War, and after teaching elementary school joined the faculty of Illinois State Normal University in 1864. She later came to Chicago, and assisted Moody with relief aid following the Great Chicago Fire. She became an early proponent of premillennialism. With Moody's encouragement, she worked as head of Chicago's Women's Aid Society and as superintendent of the Women's Auxiliary of the YMCA, later known as the YWCA. She developed a deaconess training program for women. Dorsett, *A Passion for Souls*, 165–168; Janette Hassey, *No Time for Silence: Evangelical Women in Public Ministry around the Turn of the Century* (Grand Rapids: Academie Books, 1986) 34–35.

<sup>95</sup> Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture*, 37.

<sup>96</sup> See D. L. Moody, *Kristi andra tillkommelse* (Chicago: Julin and Hedenschoug, 1877); William E. Blackstone, *Jesus Is Coming* (Chicago: Fleming H. Revell, 1878); and William E. Blackstone, *Jesus kommer* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1898).

<sup>97</sup> Karl A. Olsson posited a “Darby conspiracy” or “conspiracy of silence” based upon “conjecture” rather than primary sources, claiming: “Although not formally aligned with Darby or the Plymouth Brethren, Erixon, Martenson, Princell, and Franson were now following the Darby scenario point for point. Like most of their contemporaries within the dispensational camp in America, these four men carefully concealed their dependence on Darby, but in carrying their bold scenario, they diverged little from the program of their Irish mentor. ... From this miscellany of facts, we cannot arrive at more than conjecture about actual contacts between Darby and the ‘Free.’ We know and have tried to show that the ‘Free’ leadership was powerfully affected by Darby's ideas. But why this debt was never acknowledged and is

*Chicago-Bladet* published hundreds of sermons and anecdotes by Moody, the periodical never published a single sermon or account of Darby.<sup>98</sup> Göran Åberg notes: “Franson’s apocalyptic preaching, via D. L. Moody, which had much influence, had appeared earlier by John Nelson Darby and his followers, who held that the church, the Bride, would be snatched up to heaven to meet Christ, before the great tribulation, rather than suffer through it.”<sup>99</sup>

The influence of the New York conference in 1878 was apparent in Princell’s lecture titled “Historien” (The History) that he delivered at the Swedish conference in 1881. In this lecture, Princell cited the book that Nathaniel West had edited from the proceedings of the New York conference.<sup>100</sup> Princell described this meeting first-hand as “a meeting similar to this one that we have held these days, a meeting more grand and more adorned with greater gifts and abilities but with fewer topics than we have discussed at ours.”<sup>101</sup>

Moreover, Princell mentioned by name those who embraced premillennialism in its new and historic forms including: Frans Delitzsch and C. E. Luthardt of Germany, Carl A. Auberlen of Switzerland and Frédéric Godet of France, J. J. Van Oosterzee of the Netherlands, J. C. Ryle, Andrew Bonar, and C. H. Spurgeon of England, and Peter Fjellstedt, Andreas Fernholm and Erik Nyström of Sweden, among others.<sup>102</sup> Princell then added:

... and the evangelists whom God has so richly blessed such as: Moody, Whittle, Pentecost, Morehouse, Varley, Lord Radstock, Monod, etc. are premillennarians or Christian chiliasts, that is: they believe in and preach (naturally not excluding but alongside other doctrines of the Holy Scriptures) that the Lord Christ is coming again soon, really and personally, *in order* to raise those in the faith who have fallen asleep, to transform those in the faith who are living, and after they have been taken up and glorified, to reign together with him and to establish his kingdom on earth, and after one thousand years and a short time of testing, the end will come with the last judgment, and thereafter there will be “a new heaven and a new earth where righteousness dwells.”<sup>103</sup>

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still minimized in the annals of the Church we do not know. Perhaps nothing more can be said with certainty that in this matter the ‘Free’ joined many of their American colleagues in what amounts to a conspiracy of silence.” Karl A. Olsson, *Into One Body ... by the Cross* Vol. I (Chicago: Covenant Press, 1985) 76–77, 208.

<sup>98</sup> The earliest of Darby’s books in Swedish appeared in Sweden in 1889. See J. N. Darby, *Huru man får frid* (Göteborg: A. B. Peterson, 1889), a translation of *Peace with God: and How to Get It*. Darby’s other books in Swedish were published in 1910, 1914, and 1919. See J. N. Darby, *Hvad världen är och huru en Kristen kan lefva där*, trans. by Hayward (Göteborg, 1910); J. N. Darby, *Huru det förlorade färet blef funnit* (Göteborg, 1914); and J. N. Darby, *Konungens sons bröllop* (Göteborg, 1919).

<sup>99</sup> Göran Åberg, *Sällskap–Samfund. Studier i Svenska alliansmissionens historia fram till 1950-talets mitt* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1980) 267.

<sup>100</sup> *Chicago-Bladet*, Aug. 9, 1881, 2. See West, ed., *Second Coming of Christ: Premillennial Essays of the Prophetic Conference*, 479.

<sup>101</sup> *Chicago-Bladet*, Aug. 9, 1881, 2.

<sup>102</sup> *Chicago-Bladet*, Sept. 20, 1881, 6.

<sup>103</sup> *Chicago-Bladet*, Sept. 20, 1881, 6. Princell did not mention Joseph A. Seiss, speaker at the First American Bible and Prophetic Conference and president of the board of the German Lutheran Seminary in Philadelphia, where he had studied. Seiss, of Moravian and German premillennial roots, edited the periodicals *Prophetic Times* and *The Lutheran and Missionary*, and published several works on the end times.

### *Moody's Ideal among Swedes in America*

The fact that Mission Friends such as Franson, Princell, Martenson, and Skogsbergh may have gone beyond Moody's moderate premillennialism, does not dismiss the fact that they had come under his influence, as well as the Darbyite ideas floating around Moody's following.<sup>104</sup> For example, Franson's diagram of end-time events, published first in *Chicago-Bladet* in April 1881, was identical to Blackstone's diagram, only in Swedish.<sup>105</sup>

The published reports of the Swedish Prophetic Conference in *Chicago-Bladet* revealed that not all who participated held the same or similar eschatological views. Although the premillennial doctrine was promoted by the organizers, this view was not exclusive. Like Moody, they did not make eschatology a test for fellowship or evangelical cooperation. For example, when the Methodist N. O. Westergren spoke on the topic of Israel, he noted: "Christ made Israel and the Church one, and removed the partition between Jews and Gentiles, and so they should nevermore be two people, separated and with different privileges."<sup>106</sup> Martenson, however, responded with the Apostle Paul's words that "all Israel will be saved when the fullness of the Gentiles comes in," distinguishing between Israel and Gentiles in the present age.<sup>107</sup> Franson followed, saying, "When we read God's Word, we ought to read and believe what is written, even concerning Israel. When it says, 'Jerusalem,' we ought to read it so, and when it says 'Israel,' we should read it so."<sup>108</sup>

In Princell's message titled "Kristus A[lpha] och O[mega]," he described his premillennial view, saying:

The Lord himself will come down with the voice of the archangel and with the trumpet call of God, and the dead in Christ will rise first, then we who are still alive and remain, will be caught up with them in the skies to meet the Lord in the clouds. This is the gathering of the saints that must happen before the Lord comes with them. Then comes the tribulation, the signs, and the revelation of the Lord when the Antichrist is slain."<sup>109</sup>

In the discussion that followed, J. W. Strömberg, after reading Luke 21, responded by saying: "Jesus spoke of heavenly signs before the brothers and sisters would see him coming in the sky with great power and glory," questioning Princell's statement that the gathering of saints would happen before the Lord comes with them.<sup>110</sup>

In the message on the kingdom of heaven by the Methodist D. S. Sörlin, he remarked, saying: "If we do not have the kingdom of God within us, we will never enter

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<sup>104</sup> Karl A. Olsson states this particularly about Skogsbergh but it applies equally to the others. Olsson, *Into One Body ... by the Cross*, 142.

<sup>105</sup> *Chicago-Bladet*, Apr. 8, 1881, 2; Fredrik Franson, ed., *Utförligt referat öfver förhandlingarna wid den för de profetiska ämnens studier afsedde konferensen i Chicago, Amerika den 13–18 April 1881. (Aftryckt från Chicago-Bladet.) Jemte ett diagram, som tydliggör den ordning, uti hwilken de kommande händelserna stå till hwarandra* (Kristinehamn: F. Franson, 1882) 6; William E. Blackstone, *Jesus Is Coming* (Chicago: Fleming H. Revell, 1916) 72.

<sup>106</sup> Franson, ed., *Utförligt referat öfver förhandlingarna wid den för de profetiska ämnens studier afsedde konferensen i Chicago*, 37–38.

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*, 42, 71.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*, 43.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*, 15.

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*, 17.

it, whether it be a 1,000-year kingdom on earth, or the glorious kingdom of heaven.”<sup>111</sup> Sörlin continued: “I expect that Jesus will come, but I do not see much that says how he will come. However, since I am in the faith, I am ready to meet him.”<sup>112</sup> When Princell asked Sörlin to comment on the statement that the “kingdom of God is righteousness, peace and joy in the Holy Spirit—that the kingdom of God is in our hearts,” Sörlin explained that when the Holy Spirit dwells in our hearts, “we have the kingdom of heaven on earth.” He continued: “When Jesus comes, there is righteousness. I think that I will remain in the present grace, and do not need to build upon some unknown future. God saves us now, and not in the millennial kingdom.”<sup>113</sup>

Finally, Martenson’s message titled “The Day of the Lord,” demonstrated his new premillennial view, stating that the day of the Lord “shall come as a thief in the night but that God’s children do not have to fear this day,” adding further, “We see in Rev. 4 and 5 that before one single seal is broken on this day, that John saw the elders before the throne clothed in white robes and with golden crowns. Before the tribulation, they would be lifted up to the Lord and enter the heavenly chamber while the wrath passes over.”<sup>114</sup>

The proceedings from the fourteen sessions of the conference were published serially in *Chicago-Bladet* between April 29 to September 20, 1881. Clearly, a number of Swedish Mission Friends of the Ansgar and Mission synods, as well as most Free Mission Friends, accepted the new premillennial view popularized by Moody and those in his circle.<sup>115</sup> However, some Mission Friends resisted this view, holding rather to the amillennial view of Christ’s kingdom in the Lutheran tradition, or the historic premillennial view of Pietists like Peter Fjellstedt and P. P. Waldenström in Sweden.<sup>116</sup>

Following the Swedish Prophetic Conference, a question surfaced at Chicago Avenue Church regarding Franson’s doctrines. When Franson sought permission through Fleming H. Revell to use the church for a meeting, considerable discussion led the executive committee “to ascertain whether Bro. Franson [sic] was teaching doctrines contrary to the belief of this (the Chicago Ave.) Church.”<sup>117</sup> The next week a letter from Franson was read in which he defined his position on certain doctrines alleged to have been taught by him among the Swedish brethren.<sup>118</sup> In response, three members of the executive committee were appointed to ascertain whether Franson was preaching and teaching doctrines contrary to the beliefs of the church.<sup>119</sup>

The particular teachings were not identified. Since Franson followed views of the church and the Second Coming similar to those of Moody and Needham, these would not

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<sup>111</sup> Ibid., 23. Sörlin recalled twenty years earlier in Norrland hearing Fjellstedt speak about the millennial kingdom. Sörlin was glad that in contrast to Fjellstedt, as well as Adventists and Mormons, that “the Swedish brothers of this conference in Chicago did not set dates for Christ’s return.” Göran Gunner reports that Fjellstedt’s *Bibliska framtidsvinkar* illustrated his interest in the last things. Gunner, *När tiden tar slut*, 43. See P. Fjellstedt, *Bibliska framtidsvinkar* (Uppsala, 1880).

<sup>112</sup> Franson, ed., *Utförligt referat öfver förhandlingarna wid den för de profetiska ämnenas studier afsedde konferensen i Chicago*, 23.

<sup>113</sup> Ibid., 32.

<sup>114</sup> Ibid., 105.

<sup>115</sup> Torjesen, “A Study of Fredrik Franson,” 160.

<sup>116</sup> Karl A. Olsson, *By One Spirit* (Chicago: Covenant Press, 1962) 277–279. Gunner, *När tiden tar slut*, 61–65.

<sup>117</sup> Minutes of Chicago Avenue Church., April 22, 1881, 115.

<sup>118</sup> Minutes of Chicago Avenue Church., April 29, 1881, 116.

<sup>119</sup> Minutes of Chicago Avenue Church., May 6, 1881, 116–117.

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likely have been an issue, although they were being discussed in the wider circle of Mission Friends. His view of the atonement, however, may have raised concern since several Mission Friends such as Princell had been influenced by Waldenström, a view that Franson adopted too.<sup>120</sup> Nonetheless, after sufficient inquiry, Revell and Robert Aitchison determined that Franson was not teaching anything contrary to the belief of the church, and recommended the matter be dropped.<sup>121</sup>

### **Franson's Travel to Sweden**

Following the conference, Franson traveled to Sweden where he engaged in missionary work, preaching and leading revivals in the spirit of Moody.<sup>122</sup> When Franson landed in Sweden in June 1881, he was already known from his association with Chicago's Swedish Prophetic Conference.<sup>123</sup> Interest by a number of Mission Friends led him in December of that year to publish the proceedings of the Chicago conference for distribution in Sweden.<sup>124</sup> This report included Franson's diagram of events of Christ's return and millennial kingdom. In the foreword, he gave a heart-felt exhortation to all who would read the book, saying:

Study this report with a Bible in hand, remembering that the real lasting benefit of this work is that it is actually a study of the Bible. The dear brother Moody reminds us to give the new convert, among other things, the advice to get his own copy of the Bible in order to use it. He says: "Get a hold of a good Bible, but not one that is too good to mark up." I want to encourage you as the reader, that wherever you find something of value in this report, to take a pencil and make a note of it in a Bible that you can call your own, and you will have the benefit from it after you have finished reading it. And you may wish, for example, to underline with blue ink whenever the phrases mentioned in this report appear—phrases such as "Christ's return," "until he comes," "to come again," "the Lord's appearing," "the day of the Lord," or other words that refer directly to the Lord's coming. You will then have a blue thread of heavenly scenes that will shine in your eyes every time you open your Bible!<sup>125</sup>

### **Chicago's Swedish Free Mission**

At Chicago Avenue Church, the high demand for rooms for Swedish meetings became a growing concern. The requests came both from within the church, namely, from the Swedish fellowship led by Okerstein, and from outside the church by various Swedish groups. For example, one report in 1881 stated, "The clerk read a letter from the

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<sup>120</sup> O. C. Grauer, *Fredrik Franson: Founder of the Scandinavian Alliance Mission of North America* (Chicago: Scandinavian Alliance Mission, n.d.) 219–220.

<sup>121</sup> Minutes of Chicago Avenue Church, May 20, 1881, 118.

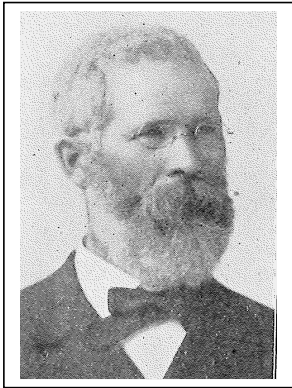
<sup>122</sup> Oloph Bexell, *Sveriges kyrkohistoria, 7. Folkväckelse och kyrkoförnyelsens tid* (Stockholm: Verbum, 2003) 246.

<sup>123</sup> Philip J. Anderson, "The Lively Exchange of Religious Ideals between the United States and Sweden during the Nineteenth Century," in *American Religious Influences in Sweden*, Scott E. Erickson, ed. (Uppsala: Tro & Tanke, 1996) 32.

<sup>124</sup> See Franson, ed., *Utförligt referat öfver förhandlingarna wid för det profetiska ämnenas studier afsedde Konferensen i Chicago, Amerika den 13–18 april 1881*. (Kristenhamn: F. Franson, 1882).

<sup>125</sup> *Ibid.*, 4.

Swedish Brethren asking for use of the church Sunday afternoons and Tuesday and Thursday evenings of each week during the year.”<sup>126</sup> With such growing demands for space, the matter of Swedish meetings became a special matter of business.<sup>127</sup>



**John F. Okerstein**, city missionary who led the Swedish Fellowship at Chicago Avenue Church, Chicago Illinois

Okerstein had already cooperated with John Martenson in 1880 to establish an independent Swedish mission, and in the fall of that year, seventeen people began to meet for devotional meetings on Milton Avenue, then known as Bremer Street. The meetings were described as “lively and spirited in nature, bearing the fruit of revival, building up believers, and leading sinners to salvation.”<sup>128</sup> When the meeting place would no longer accommodate all who came, Martenson offered use of the basement at *Chicago-Bladet* on Wells Street.<sup>129</sup>

By February 1881, the meetings had grown to an attendance of approximately one hundred fifty people.<sup>130</sup> In May, the weeknight meetings were moved to Chicago Avenue Church where Okerstein, Sundgren, and Aitchison were in charge of the arrangements.<sup>131</sup> The Swedish brethren were granted use of Chicago Avenue Church as long as there were “no conflicts from more pressing events.”<sup>132</sup>

Okerstein continued to lead his Swedish Sunday school class at Chicago Avenue Church on Sunday mornings. He even acquired an organ for leading songs in his classroom.<sup>133</sup> Although there were several weekly activities for Swedes associated with Chicago Avenue Church such as the weeknight meetings, the bimonthly Sunday afternoon services, and Emma Dryer’s Swedish school, no Swedish worship services were held on Sunday mornings.<sup>134</sup>

<sup>126</sup> Minutes of Chicago Avenue Church., Jan. 28, 1881, 109; cf. Feb. 18, 1881, 110; March 4, 1881, 111.

<sup>127</sup> Minutes of Chicago Avenue Church., March 4, 1881, 111; March 11, 1881, 112.

<sup>128</sup> *Minnesskrift. Utgifven med anledning af Svenska Evangeliska Frikyrkans i Amerika trettioårsjubileum*, 161.

<sup>129</sup> Olson, et. al., *History of the Swedes of Illinois, Part I*, 615–616.

<sup>130</sup> *Chicago-Bladet*, Feb. 18, 1881, 4.

<sup>131</sup> Minutes of Chicago Avenue Church, May 20, 1881, 118.

<sup>132</sup> Minutes of Chicago Avenue Church, June 17, 1881, 120.

<sup>133</sup> Minutes of Chicago Avenue Church, May 27, 1881, 118.

<sup>134</sup> Minutes of Chicago Avenue Church, Oct. 28, 1881, 129.

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Late in 1881, Martenson and the Swedish Free Mission secured Freja Hall on Chicago Avenue and met there for the first time on October 30.<sup>135</sup> Since the group had no regular preacher for Sunday worship, those most gifted at preaching took turns. They also invited guest preachers such as C. O. Sahlström.<sup>136</sup> During the next two years, the Sunday services grew significantly at Freja Hall, mostly from new converts.

The Swedish Free Mission continued to work closely with Okerstein and the Swedish fellowship at Chicago Avenue Church. In 1882, Sundgren assumed more responsibility, serving on the Chicago Avenue Church's newly formed "standing committee on Swedish meetings."<sup>137</sup> He secured use of the baptistery for baptizing Swedish converts and acted as a liaison to arrange for a Monday night meeting where J. G. Princell of Ansgar College was invited to speak.<sup>138</sup>

The growth of the Swedish work and special requests for use of meeting space at Chicago Avenue Church served to heightened tensions there. Shortly after Martenson was denied use of the church for a Sunday afternoon meeting, Sundgren offered his resignation as a member of the committee on Swedish meetings.<sup>139</sup> Later, use of the church was granted for a Swedish meeting where the offering over the average collection was donated to the mission work among the Swedes; thirty-five dollars was given to Princell at Ansgar College in Knoxville, and forty dollars was sent to the Swedish School in Kristiana (Oslo), Norway.<sup>140</sup>

In July 1882, the Swedish meetings at Chicago Avenue Church were discontinued by Sundgren, which only served to frustrate the Swedish brethren. When Sundgren's resignation was finally accepted, Okerstein was appointed to fill the vacancy on the committee for Swedish meetings, and the Thursday evening Swedish meetings resumed.<sup>141</sup>

In 1883, questions arose regarding the Swedish meetings—changing the evening of the meetings, inquiring into the characteristics of the meetings, and ascertaining what influence they were having on the church, and whether it was advisable to continue them.<sup>142</sup> Tensions mounted when Henry W. Eklund of the Swedish Methodist Church at Oak and Market streets was denied special use of Chicago Avenue Church for a Swedish Jubilee.<sup>143</sup> In response, the executive committee reviewed the ministries of the church

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<sup>135</sup> Olson, *History of the Swedes of Illinois, Part I*, 616, and *Minnesskrift. Utgifven med anledning af Svenska Evangeliska Frikyrkans i Amerika trettioårsjubileum*, 162.

<sup>136</sup> Carl O. Sahlström was born Sept. 22, 1852 in Stora Åby, Östergötland, and arrived in America in 1879. He was ordained to the ministry in 1881 in Fremont, Iowa. He served for several years as a preacher, as well as a Free Mission evangelist. *Minnen och bilder från Svenska Ev. Frikyrkans Predikantförenings Tjugofemåriga Verksamhet 1894–1919*, 21.

<sup>137</sup> Minutes of Chicago Avenue Church, Dec. 30, 1881, 136.

<sup>138</sup> Minutes of Chicago Avenue Church, Jan. 13, 1882, 137; March 3, 1882, 143.

<sup>139</sup> Minutes of Chicago Avenue Church, March 17, 1882, 144; April 7, 1882, 144.

<sup>140</sup> Minutes of Chicago Avenue Church June 2, 1882, 149. Ansgar College closed two years later. Philip J. Anderson, "Education and Identity Formation among Swedish American Mission Friends: The Case of Ansgar College, 1873–1884," in *Scandinavian Immigrants and Education in North America*, Philip J. Anderson, Dag Blanck and Peter Kivisto, eds. (Chicago: Swedish-American Historical Society, 1995) 58.

<sup>141</sup> Minutes of Chicago Avenue Church, July 28, 1882, 153; Aug. 11, 1882, 155; Aug. 18, 1882, 156; Feb. 23, 1883, 175.

<sup>142</sup> Minutes of Chicago Avenue Church, March 30, 1883, 178; May 4, 1883, 182.

<sup>143</sup> Minutes of Chicago Avenue Church, April 6, 1883, 179; April 13, 1883, 180.

and decided that “Emma Dryer’s Swedish School should meet in the Lecture room and the Swedish meeting occupy the Library room on Wednesday evenings.”<sup>144</sup>

When Okerstein and the Swedish brethren asked for use of the church for a non-sectarian, Swedish conference to be held in October 1883, the request was denied because it was not under the auspices of the church.<sup>145</sup> At the annual meeting, dissatisfaction was expressed over the Swedish meetings. The minutes reported:

While the election was in progress, Bro. Weeks moved that all who were dissatisfied with the work of the Executive Committee during the past year be requested to stand up. The motion was carried. Bro. Akerstein [sic] then stood up and said that he was dissatisfied because the Swedish meetings had not been permitted in the Church the same as last year.<sup>146</sup>

The heightened tensions that surfaced due to a growing ministry of Swedish immigrants had come to a head. While several Swedes had assimilated into Chicago Avenue Church, others were joining Martenson and the Swedish Free Mission that followed Moody’s American revivalism, as well as elements of Waldenström’s Swedish pietism.<sup>147</sup> In October 1883, Martenson and the Swedish Free Mission secured Bush Hall for their regular weekly meetings. The remodeled shop on Chicago Avenue had a seating capacity of 750 people.<sup>148</sup>

### Bush Hall Conference in Chicago

Without use of Chicago Avenue Church for a non-sectarian Swedish conference, Bush Hall became the meeting site with representatives of Mission Friends from the Lutheran Ansgar and Mission synods, Baptists, Methodists, and Chicago Avenue Church. The conference was called to discuss the Biblical nature of the church, polity, and reform.<sup>149</sup> The participants addressed issues such as church membership, unity and sectarianism, church confessions, proper relationships among churches, cooperation in mission, partisanship, and questions about formal unions in a synod or denomination.

Among those present were: Anders G. Larson, president of the Ansgar Synod, J. G. Princell, John Martenson, August Davis, Karl Erixon, Alfred Zandell, Loth Lindquist, J. W. Strömberg, Charles Sandquist, Leander Hallgren and Axel Nordin.<sup>150</sup> Also present

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<sup>144</sup> Minutes of Chicago Avenue Church, April 20, 1883, 181.

<sup>145</sup> Minutes of Chicago Avenue Church Aug. 31, 1883, 189.

<sup>146</sup> Minutes of Chicago Avenue Church, Dec. 13, 1883, 198.

<sup>147</sup> The Swedish Free Mission is an example of what Anita R. Olson describes as “an amalgam of the Swedish theological developments, their American modifications, and the experience of living in America.” Anita R. Olson, “Church Growth in Swedish Chicago: Extension and Transition in an Immigrant Community, 1880–1920” in *Swedish Life in American Cities*, Dag Blanck and Harald Runblom, eds. (Uppsala: Uppsala University, 1991) 78. While Moody’s American revivalism was formative, Waldenström’s Swedish pietism was evident from the Free Mission Friends’ adoption of his view of the atonement. Arnold T. Olson, *This We Believe: The Background and Exposition of the Doctrinal Statement of the Evangelical Free Church of America* (Minneapolis: Free Church Publications, 1961) 203–204.

<sup>148</sup> Olson, *History of the Swedes of Illinois Part I*, 616.

<sup>149</sup> The conference committee was Martenson, F. G. Roden, and Karl Erixon. *Missions-Wänner*, Oct. 3, 1883, 4.

<sup>150</sup> *Chicago-Bladet*, Oct. 23, 1883, 1; *Minneskrift. Utgifven med anledning af Svenska Evangeliska Frikyrkans i Amerika trettioårsjubileum*, 10.



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were: Carl A. Björk, president of the Mission Synod, E. A. Skogsbergh, F. M. Johnson, Carl H. Lundin, J. W. Carlson, A. A. Magnuson, E. G. Hjerpe, and B. A. Blanteroth.

The conference began October 10, 1883, and lasted for seven days. It was decided that the sessions would open with no formal presentations and no time limits. Princell was elected chairman and Alfred Zandell and Hjalmar Anderson were elected secretaries.

Okerstein's participation at the Bush Hall conference was significant because he represented Chicago Avenue Church. While major discussion at the conference was exchanged between Princell and Martenson on one side, and Björk on the other, the voice of Okerstein echoed Moody's alliance ideal. For example, Okerstein stated:

The church is known by her clothing. In Colossians 3, we are instructed in how she will be clothed in order to be recognized as God's church. "Therefore, as God's chosen people, holy and dearly loved, clothe yourselves with compassion, kindness, humility, gentleness, and patience," etc. If she is clothed in this way, then she will be known for who she is. However, she appears partly as Methodist, Baptist or some similar sect. In this case, she is not recognized as one body with one Father, one faith, one baptism, but rather as something detestable.<sup>151</sup>

Okerstein's words echoed Moody's concern for the character of God's people to be lived out in unity among all believers. Okerstein further echoed Moody's scorn for sectarianism and partisanship, stating:

One must first get away from sectarianism—if that is where he is—before he can mention not supporting the party-spirit of others. Paul, as a persecutor of God's church, had belonged to the party of Pharisees, but as soon as he was saved, he no longer considered himself as belonging to that party. He did not stand as a Pharisee but he preached against Pharisee-ism, something that those who speak against parties and "isms" ought to consider when they themselves belong to a party and "ism." When someone goes to put out a fire, he does not put more wood on it. And so, I believe those who do not wish to promote parties should also do this: Stop adding more to the party, and the flames of partisanship will surely go out.<sup>152</sup>

Okerstein's participation at the conference communicated not merely Moody's ideals but represented as well his cooperation with evangelical churches. Okerstein, along with Princell and Martenson, represented and communicated the non-sectarian voice of Moody, the view that "freer" Mission Friends held strongly.

At the end of the Bush Hall conference no resolutions were adopted. However, the participants elected a continuing committee of Princell, Martenson, and Hallgren to arrange a similar conference the following year that would set forth the vision for a common non-sectarian mission work among Swedish Christians in America.<sup>153</sup> The site of the 1884 conference was Boone, Iowa.

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<sup>151</sup> *Chicago-Bladet*, Nov. 27, 1883, 2.

<sup>152</sup> *Chicago-Bladet*, Dec. 11, 1883, 6.

<sup>153</sup> *Minnesskrift. Utgifven med anledning af Svenska Evangeliska Frikyrkans i Amerika trettioårsjubileum*, 9–10.

## **Conclusion**

Some Mission Friends in America adopted Moody's alliance ideal, his new premillennial view of Christ's return, and the model of Chicago Avenue Church—marks of his influence. As some viewed denominations and synods with increasing suspicion because of a perceived sectarian or partisan spirit, extra-ecclesial organizations such as the YMCA and Sunday School Union grew in popularity and were considered to be a more Biblical pattern of evangelical faith, demonstrating more closely the simplicity of the early church. Moody represented this non-sectarian, para-church evangelicalism based on fellowship of individuals over creeds—a “unity-over-creed” or “fellowship-over-confession” ideal. This does not imply that Moody was anti-denominational, but neither was he pro-denominational, forming or promoting denominations. Regarding his alliance ideal in relation to denominations, he remained on good terms with denominations, but as an evangelist never affiliated with one. Rather, he established an evangelistic network free from ecclesial or denominational control.

Princell, who had previously worked with Moody and the Swedish YMCA in Chicago, reacted to the Lutheran Church's Galesburg Rule, moving away from the Augustana Synod's emphasis on Lutheran confessionalism, and toward Moody's alliance-oriented, cooperative evangelism, demonstrated in Moody's New York City campaign and Christian Convention. When Princell resigned as pastor of Gustavus Adolphus Lutheran Church, he established Bethesda Church in Brooklyn as a non-sectarian, free mission. In 1879, he traveled to Sweden where he visited Waldenström, and spoke at the first annual meeting of Svenska Missionsförbundet. After returning to the United States, he came to Knoxville, Illinois, where he succeeded Erixon as president of Ansgar College and Seminary.

In 1880, Franson traveled from Denver to south central Nebraska, and through his connection with Victor Rylander at Chicago Avenue Church, worked with Leander Hallgren to establish free, non-sectarian congregations at Phelps Center, Loomis, Industry, and Keene. In the following year, Franson joined Princell and Martenson in organizing the first Swedish Prophetic Conference, held at Chicago Avenue Church and the Swedish Mission Tabernacle, with Okerstein and Skogsbergh as hosts. This conference was the first ecumenical or alliance meeting of its kind, bringing clergy and laymen together to discuss various topics on Christ's return.

The new premillennial view of Christ's return had become increasingly popular since the Civil War, emphasizing that the world would not improve until Jesus returned personally and set up his kingdom on earth. Moody preached this doctrine, along with his closest associates, and soon premillennialism became the view of Moody's revivalist strand of evangelicalism. Moody, more than any other person, was influential in this matter. Several Swedish leaders who identified with Moody were at the center of the 1881 Swedish Prophetic Conference including Franson, Skogsbergh, Okerstein, Martenson, Erixon, and Princell.

Meanwhile, Martenson, along with Okerstein, established the Swedish Free Mission in Chicago, which like Moody's church, was founded as a body of believers known only as Christians and without reference to any denomination. The Swedish Free Mission met in the basement of *Chicago-Bladet*, at Chicago Avenue Church, and at Bush Hall, the site of the 1883 non-sectarian, ecumenical conference. This meeting brought

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together Mission Friends of the Lutheran Ansgar and Mission synods, Baptists, Methodists, and members of Chicago Avenue Church to discuss questions related to the church, unity, sectarianism, and cooperation in mission. At the end of the conference, another meeting was proposed for the following year. The organizing committee of Princell, Martenson and Hallgren, selected Boone, Iowa, as the conference site. Clearly, the emphasis of “free” Mission Friends was cooperative evangelism among churches, without denominational labels, and independent of synods, denominational structures, and formal unions.

As in Sweden, the alliance ideal promoted a movement toward religious toleration and resisted strict theological boundaries and rigid ecclesial structures observed in state or synodical structures. This movement opposed the Lutheran confessionalism of the Church of Sweden and the Augustana Synod. Along with Moody's pragmatic, evangelical ecumenism came his doctrine of premillennialism. Thus the Prophetic Conference in Chicago in 1881 was not merely *osektariskt* (non-sectarian) but also driven by the premillennialism of Franson, Princell, and Martenson who stood in the shadow of Moody, Needham, and Blackstone. This was a period of identity formation among Mission Friends, beyond that of individuals, but a burgeoning movement of “freer” Mission Friends.

The shift in identity toward Moody's evangelicalism was apparent as Mission Friends were characterized by the alliance ideal, premillennialism, and independent congregationalism. Although other forces were certainly at work—and at times lines were blurred—Moody's message and example was a formative force shaping a new evangelical identity among Swedish Mission Friends.



## Chapter 7

### Mission Friends and the Struggle for Identity

Following the Bush Hall conference at Chicago, Mission Friends in America engaged in a struggle over evangelical identity. In the spirit of Moody's evangelical ecumenism and Chicago Avenue Church's independent congregationalism, "free" Mission Friends like Princell and Martenson resisted formation of a denomination or formal union.<sup>1</sup> They promoted evangelical ecumenism and autonomy of local churches, holding a non-sectarian conference at Boone, Iowa, in 1884 to continue discussion about the church and cooperative mission. On the other hand, a majority of Mission Friends led by C. A. Björk, F. M. Johnson, and Axel Mellander, supported a formal union of mission churches and societies, and in 1885, established the Swedish Evangelical Mission Covenant in America.

This chapter answers the question: How did a shift toward Moody's alliance ideal, premillennialism, and free congregationalism, affect Mission Friends in America? This chapter examines the struggle between Mission Friends in search of evangelical identity, and the separation of "Free" and "Covenant" Mission Friends in 1884 and 1885. Already the rise of Waldenström's views of the atonement, the Lord's Supper, and church membership had divided Mission Friends from the Lutheran Augustana Synod.<sup>2</sup> A new struggle came, however, over application of the alliance ideal and divergent ecclesial views. Free Mission Friends, who applied the alliance ideal, opposed all organization of synods and denominations which they characterized as "ecclesiastical machinery," "sectarianism," and "party-mindedness," preferring minimal organization with cooperative activity among free or independent churches. Mission Friends who formed the Covenant believed that a formal union of churches and societies was a proper and necessary application of the alliance ideal to carry out God's work.

#### "New Influences" among Mission Friends

In the book *Missionsvännerna i Amerika* (The Mission Friends in America), C. V. Bowman highlighted the struggle for identity, describing "*nya inflytelser*" (new

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<sup>1</sup> Karl A. Olsson, *By One Spirit* (Chicago: Covenant Press, 1962) 324.

<sup>2</sup> Periodicals of the Mission Friends, *Zions Banér*, *Chicago-Bladet*, and *Missionsvännen* published articles highly critical of the Augustana Synod, while Augustana journals such as *Hemlandet*, *Augustana*, and *Skaffaren* attacked the Mission Friends. Arden, *Augustana Heritage*, 186. Cf. George M. Stephenson, *The Religious Aspects of Swedish Immigration* (New York: Arno Press, 1969) 274–276.

influences) among Mission Friends, focusing on Martenson, Princell, and Franson.<sup>3</sup> Bowman described the contrast between mission churches founded in America before 1876, namely, those affiliated with the Lutheran Mission and Ansgar synods, and the independent or free-mission churches founded after that year. Princell soon became the chief spokesman of the “free” with *Chicago-Bladet* playing a supportive role in the free-mission movement.<sup>4</sup>

From its beginning, *Chicago-Bladet* drew attention from its bold, non-sectarian statements. Bowman observed: “It always expressed itself with exactness and without fear in church-related and doctrinal questions, and commonly stressed those things that were considered wrong.”<sup>5</sup> In editorials, Martenson openly expressed his desire for reform in areas of doctrine and church structure, drawing inspiration from Moody and his following, as well as from Waldenström in Sweden. While Martenson raised questions on matters such as *nådemedlen* (means of grace), he along with Princell and Franson, emphasized non-sectarian cooperation among Christians, as well as the new premillennial doctrine that Christ could return “*när som helst*” (at any moment).<sup>6</sup>

### Dissolution of the Lutheran Ansgar Synod

In 1880, J. G. Princell, a gifted teacher, accepted his new role as president of Ansgar College and Seminary on the condition that the school would become non-sectarian.<sup>7</sup> While serving at the school, he became convinced that the Ansgar Synod as an ecclesial structure had no basis in the New Testament, and suggested that the synod dissolve. Earlier, attempts at dissolution, or union with the Mission Synod had failed.<sup>8</sup> Princell’s growing preference for “extreme congregationalism” only served to strengthen centrifugal tendencies. Soon discussion at meetings by Free Mission Friends became increasingly “anti-organizational” to the point of equating all synods and denominations with idolatry and harlotry.<sup>9</sup> In regards to synods, Martenson said: “As far as we are concerned, we are convinced that this as well as all synods and parties, whatever name

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<sup>3</sup> C. V. Bowman, *Missionsvännerna i Amerika. En återblick på deras uppkomst och första verksamhetstid* (Minneapolis: Minneapolis Veckoblad, 1907) 215, 232.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 218; G. Everett Arden, *Augustana Heritage: History of the Augustana Lutheran Church* (Rock Island: Augustana Book Concern, 1963) 174, 182–183.

<sup>5</sup> Bowman, *Missionsvännerna i Amerika*, 218. Bowman acknowledged that the editors of *Chicago-Bladet* were always ready to defend their views, and in so doing “demonstrated a rare skillfulness,” but at times handled subjects “in a rather painful way that often evoked legitimate criticism.”

<sup>6</sup> Calvin B. Hanson, *What It Means to Be Free: A History of the Evangelical Free Church of America* (Minneapolis: Free Church Publications, 1990) 59. Cf. *Chicago-Bladet*, Nov. 27, 1888, 2. For Franson’s view on church polity see: Edvard P. Torjesen, “A Study of Fredrik Franson: The Development and Impact of His Ecclesiology, Missiology, and Worldwide Evangelism” (Ph.D. Thesis, International College, Los Angeles, Calif., 1984) 115–134.

<sup>7</sup> Philip J. Anderson, “Education and Identity Formation among Swedish-American Mission Friends: The Case of Ansgar College, 1873–1884,” in *Scandinavian Immigrants and Education in North America*, Philip J. Anderson, Dag Blanck and Peter Kivistö, eds. (Chicago: Swedish-American Historical Society, 1995) 58.

<sup>8</sup> For discussion of the Ansgar Synod leading up to Princell’s arrival, see Stephenson, *The Religious Aspects of Swedish Immigration*, 279–281.

<sup>9</sup> See Martenson’s report of the Altona meeting *Chicago-Bladet*, Oct. 11, 1878 in Karl A. Olsson, *Into One Body ... by the Cross Vol. 2* (Chicago: Covenant Press, 1986) 463–466. Cf. Stephenson, *Religious Aspects of Swedish Immigration*, 266. Princell claimed: “Synoder var synder nog” (synods were sins enough).

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they carry, should be eliminated in both word and act, and just as well now as later, for they cause harm if they exist only in name.”<sup>10</sup>



**J. G. Princell**  
Portrait taken in  
1882 at Linköping  
when Princell was  
visiting Sweden

Free Mission Friends like Princell, Erixon, and Martenson were troubled over the Ansgar Synod’s clause in its constitution that the Augsburg Confession was the true expression of Biblical doctrine, a clause that could not be changed.<sup>11</sup> In 1880, the synod adopted a new constitution in which the article that affirmed adherence to the Augsburg Confession was all but annulled by an amendment, a decision that proved unsatisfactory to devoted Lutherans. Nevertheless, by 1883, Free Mission Friends were convinced that the Ansgar Synod should dissolve and be replaced by a general, free-mission work, while others like J. Hagström favored the synod’s organization.<sup>12</sup> In the dilemma, Princell and A. Larson proposed a new constitution that would change the name of the synod to “The Swedish Mission Covenant of America,” and adopt the Bible as “the only perfect guide in matters of faith and living.”<sup>13</sup> Although Princell previously had withdrawn from the synod because he opposed all denominational organization, he agreed to abide by his drafted constitution, despite his personal convictions.

At a Free Mission meeting in Moline, Illinois, in July 1884, there was further discussion about a non-sectarian, free-mission work. The question was raised: “How can

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<sup>10</sup> *Chicago-Bladet*, July 25, 1882 in Olsson, *Into One Body ... by the Cross* Vol. 2, 462. Cf., E. J. E[kman], “Om partisinne,” *Göteborgs Weckoblad*, Apr. 14, 1881, 3; “Hvad är parti?,” *Göteborgs Weckoblad*, Jun. 23, 1881, 3.

<sup>11</sup> Roy A. Thompson, “Origin and Development of the Evangelical Free Church of America,” in *The Diamond Jubilee Story of the Evangelical Free Church of America*, H. Wilbert Norton, Olai Urang, Roy A. Thompson and Mel Larson., eds. (Minneapolis: Free Church Publications, 1959) 132. Erixon was elected president of the Ansgar Synod and traveled to become familiar with the synod’s congregations and preachers. The result was that many congregations were organized on the model of churches in Svenska Missionsförbundet, or at least communion societies were formed. *Österns Weckoblad*, Jan. 6, 1891, 1.

<sup>12</sup> Ernst W. Olson, Anders Schön and Martin J. Engberg, eds., *History of the Swedes of Illinois, Vol. I* (Chicago: Engberg-Holmberg Publishing Co., 1908) 601–602. Cf. Olsson, *Into One Body ... by the Cross*, Vol. I, 88–91.

<sup>13</sup> “Utdrag ur protokoll från Ansgari Synods årsmöte,” *Chicago-Bladet*, Apr. 22, 1884, 1.

we carry on a joint missionary work by the individual Christian churches?"<sup>14</sup> Princell summed up the discussion saying:

The churches not only should but can work together in carrying out a missionary program both at home and abroad. That such cooperation and understanding are needed, both for preachers and in supporting such a work, cannot be questioned. ... We should not follow the method of the denominations, however, in solving this problem, namely by multiplying of organizations, and organizations within organizations, until a lot of machinery is needed.<sup>15</sup>

Princell believed that the solution to organization was not in synods or denominations, but in non-sectarian societies on the order of the YMCA, the Sunday School Union, the Evangelical Alliance, and Moody's Christian Conventions.<sup>16</sup>

In August 1884, at the annual meeting of the Ansgar Synod in Worcester, Massachusetts, Princell proposed again a general, free-mission work, but the suggestion found little favor with the delegates who, tired of strife and dissension, voted to dissolve the synod the following year.<sup>17</sup> This meant that Ansgar College and Seminary would revert to the City of Knoxville, according to a preexisting agreement.<sup>18</sup>

With the closing of Ansgar College in 1884, Princell joined Martenson in Chicago as associate editor of *Chicago-Bladet*. Together, they advocated freedom of the local church from all denominational affiliation, while advocating "other Biblical means for Christians and local churches to work together to further the gospel."<sup>19</sup> They also introduced discussions regularly on theological subjects in *Chicago-Bladet*, and at free-mission meetings and conferences. Bowman observed:

As a rule, they moved, more or less, away from interpretations held by other Mission Friends, and sought to prove that their views were more Biblical in the interpretation of evangelical truth, and that in faith and practice they were restoring Christians on these matters to the viewpoint of the apostles and first-century Christian church.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> *Chicago-Bladet*, Aug. 12, 1884, 3.

<sup>15</sup> *Chicago-Bladet*, Aug. 19, 1884, 4.

<sup>16</sup> Torjesen held that Princell's anti-organizational position was similar to the "negative local church polity position" of Svenska Missionsförbundet during its first decade. Torjesen based this on Bror Walan's statement that one does not find a consistent denominational or local church view present at the beginning of Missionsförbundet. Walan stated: "There was too strong an aversion within the movement to sectarianism and denominationalism for any such view to have been present." Bror Walan, "De utomkyrkliga väckelserörelserna under senare hälften av 1800-talet," in *Väckelse och kyrka i nordiskt perspektiv. Nordiska studier över brytningarna mellan kyrklig ordning och religiös folkrörelse under 1800-talet*, A. Pontoppidan Thyssen, ed. (København: Gad, 1969) 202, cited in Torjesen, "A Study of Fredrik Franson," 166.

<sup>17</sup> The younger preachers supported dissolution with some speaking harshly of Princell who proposed an organization after Svenska Missionsförbundet. Stephenson, *The Religious Aspects of Swedish Immigration*, 283.

<sup>18</sup> Anderson, "Education and Identity Formation among Swedish-American Mission Friends," in *Scandinavian Immigrants and Education in North America*, Anderson, Blanck and Kivisto, eds., 59.

<sup>19</sup> Norton, et.al., *The Diamond Jubilee Story of the Evangelical Free Church of America*, 132.

<sup>20</sup> Bowman, *Missionsvännerna i Amerika*, 228.



With the dissolution of the Ansgar Synod, Free Mission Friends were prepared to form an alliance or informal fellowship that would allow them to carry out their mission activity.

### **Free-Mission Meeting at Boone, Iowa**

The conference at Boone, Iowa, that convened October 14–19, 1884, was a non-sectarian meeting in a series of events led by Princell, Martenson and Erixon to organize a general, free-mission work among Mission Friends in America.<sup>21</sup> According to their plan, the conference at Boone was a continuation of the Bush Hall conference in Chicago in 1883, the Moline meeting in July 1884, and the Ansgar Synod meeting at Worcester. Although the Boone meeting was non-sectarian, having as its purpose to discuss the Bible's teaching of the church, the twenty-two pastors and laymen who attended were mostly from the Ansgar Synod, as well as from free-mission churches "patterned after the congregational structure of Moody Church in Chicago."<sup>22</sup> The conference was held at the mission house with A. N. Sweders of Boone serving as host.<sup>23</sup> Princell, Martenson, Erixon, August Davis, Loth Lindquist, and J. W. Strömberg were most active in the discussion.

Loth Lindquist from Fort Dodge, Iowa, presided over the six-day meeting.<sup>24</sup> At the opening, he reminded those present that "this was not a meeting for any particular group of people with great gifts and knowledge, not for any single group of Christian friends; but in purpose for all Christians whether they be weak or strong, whether they see things the same or not."<sup>25</sup> He continued: "We are not meeting here on the grounds of

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<sup>21</sup> "Referat från mötet i Boone, Ia. d. 14–19 Okt." *Chicago-Bladet*, Nov. 4, 1884, 1. Frank Lindberg stated: "Why the Free Church reckons Boone, Iowa, as its birthplace, in October, 1884, we who have taken part from the beginning and know its history cannot quite understand, as it was then not a question of organizing." Frank T. Lindberg, *Looking Back Fifty Years: Over the Rise and Progress of the Swedish Evangelical Free Church of America* (Minneapolis: Franklin, 1935) 22. Cf. *Minnesskrift. Utgiftven med anledning af Svenska Evangeliska Frikyrkans i Amerika trettioårsjubileum i Rockford, Ill., 10–14 juni, 1914, 1884–1914* (Minneapolis: Larson, 1914) 11–15. The insert at page 382 titled "Rättelser" (Corrections) reads: "The Founding Conference" on page 11 should read "The Founding Conferences." A formal organization took place in 1890, with the name Swedish-American Mission Society. See "Från motet i Chicago d. 10–14 April," *Chicago-Bladet*, May 20, 1890, 1.

<sup>22</sup> Arnold T. Olson, *The Search for Identity* (Minneapolis: Free Church Press, 1980) 118.

<sup>23</sup> A. N. Sweders was born in Löfvestad, Malmöhus (Skåne), on Nov. 16, 1846. In 1870 when T. N. Hasselquist visited Sweden, Sweders accompanied him to America, studying at Paxton, Illinois. Sweders was ordained and called as pastor of the Augustana congregation in Omaha, Nebraska. In 1873, he moved to Polk County, Nebraska, and the following year to the Augustana church at Boone, Iowa. There, he came into contact with Mission Friends, and was dismissed from the Augustana Ministerium in 1877 for holding to Waldenström's view of the atonement. In 1877, he accepted a call from the Mission congregation in Bethesda, Saunders County, Nebraska, where he served until 1879 when he moved to Polk County. After battling consumption, he returned to preaching and served as an itinerant preacher for the Mission society in Nebraska, living in Strömsburg, where he died Jan. 28, 1891. *Österns Weckoblad*, Feb. 26, 1891, 1; Hugo Söderström, *Confession and Cooperation* (Lund: CWK Gleerup Bokförlag, 1973) 133.

<sup>24</sup> Loth Lindquist was born Jan. 23, 1825, in Bjurbäck, Alvsborg, Sweden. After serving with the Danish army in Danish-German War (1847–49), he immigrated to Canada where he converted to faith after hearing a Methodist revivalist. He became a Methodist preacher, but when he followed Waldenström's view of the atonement, and introduced this view to his congregation, the church split. Lindquist left the Methodists and joined the Free. N. M. Liljegren, N. O. Westergreen, and C. G. Wallenius, *Svenska Metodismen i Amerika* (Chicago: Svenska M. E. Bokhandels-Föreningens Förlag, 1895) 306–307.

<sup>25</sup> "Referat från mötet i Boone, Ia. d. 14–19 Okt." *Chicago-Bladet*, Nov. 4, 1884, 1.

looking at things in a similar way, but as brothers, children of the same Father, and members of one body.”<sup>26</sup>

At the conclusion of the conference, eight resolutions were adopted—statements that were not binding on the participants or their churches but expressed what they found the Bible to teach.<sup>27</sup> The first statement defined the Church as “an assembly of converted, born again believers who are baptized in Christ, and who reside and live on this earth, and in particular places.”<sup>28</sup> The second statement called for every local church to adopt a polity that has “the same mission, requirements, obligations for membership, etc. neither more nor less” than that of Christ’s Church. The third statement pertained to “denominations after men” and doctrines, traditions, and confessions that “bind pastors together as members of a particular sect of the church” establishing them “by the detestable name *party*—a name that characterizes its spirit and attitude, and thus sets itself in the place of God’s Word along with harlotry, murder, theft, blasphemy and so on, and with all sin should be repented of and forsaken.”<sup>29</sup> The fourth stated that “when Christians do not belong to any such party, and do not possess this attitude, then they will not be the cause for any schism among believers, and they will not be unjustly accused of any sectarian activity or partisan attitude.”

The fifth statement, while recognizing the need for at least limited organization declared that the particular assemblies of believers “have the right and duty to work for the salvation of souls and for their own edification in faith, love, unity, etc., employing all spiritual means such as the various gifts and ministries of the Spirit (1 Cor. 12), God’s Word, and Christian discipline, as well as pursuing these activities as simply as possible—using only the most necessary church machinery (or so-called church polity) such as rules, officials, church protocols, and so on ...”

The sixth statement called for the independence and cooperation of local churches, stating:

Always remembering that the church *is one* in Christ, that he is the head of the church, and the Holy Spirit is her infallible leader into all truth, and that all of God’s Word, especially the New Testament, is her “constitution” or unchanging rule—every assembly of believers must remain steadfast in the freedom with which Christ has made us free (Gal.5:1), i.e. both individually and collectively, and that together we have the right and duty to remain independent of all types of church authorities, as well as to resist all bonds which deprive us of our rights and perfect freedom; but individuals and congregations ought and are able to cooperate together through meetings and through individuals, and societies with whom they have confidence. Every free church has according to God’s Word and the laws of this country, all rights to ordain one or another person for Biblical Christian service, and the church may make use of these rights in the fear of the Lord.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> Ibid.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. “Suggestions Concerning the Order of the Churches,” in M. W. Montgomery, *A Wind from the Holy Spirit in Sweden and Norway* (New York: American Home Missionary Society, 1885) 46–48.

<sup>28</sup> “Referat från mötet i Boone, Ia., d. 14–19 Okt.” *Chicago-Bladet*, Dec. 23, 1884, 1.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid. The seventh resolution called for cooperative support for L. E. Ungert, a missionary returning to India, an action that never materialized. The eighth resolution called for cooperative opposition to drunkenness and support for temperance, as well as opposition to polygamy among the Mormons in Utah.

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Thus, while Free Mission Friends were characterized by independence from synods, denominations, and “ecclesiastical machinery,” they saw the need for fellowship, gathering regularly for mission meetings and conferences, and cooperating in evangelism and foreign missions. They were free to take part in such meetings without forming a denomination—an ideal that proved difficult with time.

### Reaction to a Formal Union

While the conference at Boone was still in session, another meeting, unknown to the participants at Boone, convened at Chicago.<sup>31</sup> On October 18, 1884, the day when F. M. Johnson, the new pastor of the Swedish Mission Tabernacle in Chicago arrived from Minneapolis, the church board arranged a meeting with C. A. Björk, president of the Mission Synod, to consider “the best means of uniting Christians.”<sup>32</sup> At this meeting, a proposal was set forth to organize the work of Mission Friends in a formal union of churches and societies, in contrast to the informal alliance proposed by Princell and Martenson. A meeting was called for February 18–25, 1885, in Chicago to discuss a union of churches.

When Princell and Martenson learned of the proposal, they opposed it. In a series of articles published in *Chicago-Bladet*, Princell addressed “The Question of the Union of Christian Congregations with Each Other for Joint Activity,” concluding that anything more structured than an informal alliance of local congregations was “organized hypocrisy,” and “harlotry in relation to the bridegroom, Christ.”<sup>33</sup> Taking his cue from Waldenström, he equated denominations with the divisions that the Apostle Paul preached against at Corinth.<sup>34</sup> While, drawing upon Waldenström’s warning against division, Princell was critical of him on matters of formal union and incorporation.<sup>35</sup> Moreover, he feared that Svenska Missionsförbundet too might become a denomination rather than an alliance for Lutheran Mission Friends, Methodists and Baptists.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> Torjesen, “A Study of Fredrik Franson, 178.

<sup>32</sup> Olsson, *By One Spirit*, 284–289.

<sup>33</sup> *Chicago-Bladet*, April 28, 1885, 8. Compare the language of Andreas Fernholm in Sweden who in 1876 described the established church in *Tidens Tecken* as “a poisonous snake” and “a harlot which came from the great mother harlot ... the papacy.” Frederick Hale, *Trans-Atlantic Conservative Protestantism in the Evangelical Free and Mission Covenant Traditions* (New York: Arno Press, 1979) 148, 201.

<sup>34</sup> Olsson, *By One Spirit*, 290. Princell appealed to Waldenström who in a lecture at a meeting of the Evangelical Alliance in Copenhagen said: “First and foremost, it is clear that those things that separate the various societies is anything but good, and for this reason one may soon wish to say that whatever the cost, they should be done away with. Second, God’s Word gives no indication that the various gifts of the Spirit should be represented through various societies, but the entire New Testament shows quite the contrary, namely, that the various gifts of the Spirit should, according to God’s plan, be represented through various persons within one and the same church. What concerns Paul in 1 Cor. is not the exclusivity of the various parties but their existence.” *Chicago-Bladet*, Jan. 13, 1885, 8.

<sup>35</sup> “Öppet svar till P. W” med anledning af hans bref i *Missions-Wännen* för d. 17 sistl. juni,” *Chicago-Bladet*, July 28, 1885, 8; Aug. 4, 1885, 8; Aug. 11, 1885, 8; Aug. 18, 1885, 8; Aug. 25, 1885, 8; Sept. 8, 1885, 8; Oct. 6, 1885, 8. Waldenström had expressed sorrow over the conflict between *Chicago-Bladet* and *Missions-Wännen*. He also asked if it was against God’s Word to join Christian congregations and societies together and to incorporate in the state if this would be beneficial. *Missions-Wännen*, Jun. 17, 1885, 1.

<sup>36</sup> *Chicago-Bladet*, May 5, 1885, 1. Gunnar Westin stated: “Repercussions from the American movements still were perceivable in the Waldenström movement, especially through the Moody and Sankey revivals.

In his articles, Princell presented the history of the free-church movement, its Biblical basis, and the history of Mission Friends in Sweden.<sup>37</sup> This was followed by articles on the history of Mission Friends in America.<sup>38</sup> In these articles, Princell described the immigration of Mission Friends, the work of city missionaries, the history of the Augustana and Northern Illinois synods, the origin of *Zions Banér*, and the formation of the Lutheran Mission and Ansgar synods.<sup>39</sup>

Moreover, Princell pointed out the legitimacy of Christian congregations in a geographical area to work together, not as they were described “by denominational names such as Lutherans, Methodists, Baptists, Seventh-Day Adventists, etc.”<sup>40</sup> For Princell, church denominations had organized themselves as “means for a particular doctrine or special doctrines, for particular traditions and practices, or for a particular form of church government, dividing one denomination from another.”<sup>41</sup> He believed in effect that they were sects or parties, saying: “They are sects in relation to one another since every denomination is separate from the others, or divided from other flocks. They are parties in relation to the church as a whole, i.e. in relation to the whole body of confessors within Christendom since they have made themselves an exclusive part of this body.”<sup>42</sup> Princell also was critical of a superficial cooperation between churches, saying:

It happens at times that joint meetings are organized for several or all societies that wish to participate, and then the word goes out to let others know that the meetings are *osekteriska* (non-sectarian). ... Sometimes such an *allianssträfwande* (alliance endeavor) is reduced to a representation by prominent leaders from different denominations in a show of church unity. This kind of alliance is good as far as it goes, but it does not go far enough. While it is a step in the right direction, such an ordinary little step comes with a lot of fuss. ... Well, if we grant that this is unity, then there is surely a big gap between alliance and unity. With respect to real unity, this type of alliance is little more than “playing” unity. A meeting like this can be described by the illustration of several boys who come together from different houses and yards to play in an open field for a while, and they have a lot of fun! But when the play is over, they all go back to their homes. O, may it not be so with the household of God!<sup>43</sup>

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Later the clear free church principle cherished by the Swedish American Mission Covenant Church evidently influenced [Svenska Missionsförbundet] ... which had started as a society only, not as a free church denomination separate from the Swedish state church.” Gunnar Westin, “Emigration and Scandinavian Church Life,” *The Swedish Pioneer* VII, 2 (April 1957) 48. Cf. Sven Lundkvist, *Tron och gärningarna. Svenska Missionsförbundets bakgrund och utveckling till omkring 1970* (Uppsala: Svenska institutet för missionsforskning, 2003) 66–68.

<sup>37</sup> “Frågan om kristna församlingars förening med hvarandra för gemensam verksamhet, I, i Sverige,” *Chicago-Bladet*, Dec. 9, 1884, 8; Dec. 16, 1884, 8; Dec. 23, 1884, 8.

<sup>38</sup> “Frågan om kristna församlingars förening med hvarandra för gemensam verksamhet, II, Ibland Svenska Kristna i Amerika,” *Chicago-Bladet*, Jan. 18, 1885, 8; Jan. 13, 1885, 8; Feb. 3, 1885, 8; Feb. 10, 1885, 8; Feb. 17, 1885, 8; Feb. 24, 1885, 8; Apr. 28, 1885, 8, May 5, 1885, 8; May 19, 1885, 8; May 26, 1885, 8.

<sup>39</sup> *Chicago-Bladet*, Jan. 20, 1885, 1; Jan. 27, 1885, 1; Feb. 3, 1885, 8.

<sup>40</sup> *Chicago-Bladet*, Jan. 13, 1885, 8.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*

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Princell argued that an alliance, whether great or small, can show Christians the benefit of cooperation outside a *formlig sammanslutning* (formal union).<sup>44</sup>

On February 17, 1885, the day before the meeting in Chicago to discuss a formal union of churches, an article by Princell appeared in *Chicago-Bladet* in which he appealed to Moody's meetings, the Stockholm Preachers' Meetings, and the meetings among Swedish Christians in America—mission-, discussion- and devotional meetings—as “examples of cooperation without a formal union of churches.”<sup>45</sup>

### **Formation of the Mission Covenant**

Sixty-two delegates attended the Chicago meeting to discuss a union of churches, mostly pastors of the Mission and Ansgar synods and free-mission churches.<sup>46</sup> Although Princell attended the meeting along with Martenson and Erixon, his application for membership to the meeting sparked a heated debate over his eligibility to participate.<sup>47</sup> The question over who should be entitled to vote was raised since the call was understood “to include all Mission Friends interested in the question of union one way or another.”<sup>48</sup> By raising the question whether Princell, as a pastor and elder although neither a member of a synod nor a delegate of a free-mission church, would be given a seat at the meeting, sparked a lively debate that resulted in a resolution that only members of synods and delegates of free churches who favored the proposed union were allowed as delegates.<sup>49</sup> When asked if he wrote the articles in *Chicago-Bladet* opposing all organization, and if he applied non-Christian epithets to those who favored it, Princell acknowledged that he had done so, but denied that he opposed all forms of cooperation, declaring that he was in favor of the unity of all Christians on a Biblical basis.<sup>50</sup> Nevertheless, the delegates voted to exclude him from participating, although the moderator allowed him finally to say a few words.<sup>51</sup>

The Chicago conference then discussed the question of whether it was right and advisable for churches and societies to unite on the basis of representation for the purpose of mission, education, and edification.<sup>52</sup> At the third session, the question of organizing was put to a formal vote. The question was answered affirmatively with only two or three delegates voting against the motion. Thus, seven men, namely, S. W. Sundberg,

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<sup>44</sup> Ibid.

<sup>45</sup> *Chicago-Bladet*, Feb. 17, 1885, 8.

<sup>46</sup> David Nyvall, “History of the Swedish Mission Friends in America,” in *The Swedish Element in America*, Erik G. Westman, ed. (Chicago: Swedish-American Biographical Society, 1931) 156.

<sup>47</sup> *Chicago-Bladet*, Mar. 3, 1885, 3–4. See also *Chicago-Bladet*, Mar. 10, 1885, 2.

<sup>48</sup> Olson, ed., *History of the Swedes of Illinois*, Vol. I, 603.

<sup>49</sup> Skogsbergh read Princell's note to the moderator and assembly: “I am neither a preacher of any synod, nor a delegate from any congregation but a free preacher and elder of a congregation who wishes for the unity and cooperation of God's children on Biblical grounds. Have I not any right of speech at this meeting?” *Chicago-Bladet*, Mar. 3, 1885, 3–4.

<sup>50</sup> Stephenson, *The Religious Aspects of the Swedish Immigration*, 283–284. Cf. *Missions-Wännan*, Feb. 25, 1885, 1; *Svenska Kristna Härolden*, Mar. 4, 1885, 186.

<sup>51</sup> Princell concluded his comments saying: “...in the future do not say, ‘We want to unite with everyone who fears God’; but if you say anything, tell the truth and say, ‘We wish to join only with those who we know have sanctioned a formal union of congregations.’” *Chicago-Bladet*, Mar. 3, 1885, 4.

<sup>52</sup> See Glenn P. Anderson, ed., *Covenant Roots: Sources and Affirmations* (Chicago: Covenant Press, 1980) 9–60.

Theodore Norlin, Andrew Hallner, A. Larson, C. R. Carlson, J. P. Eagle, and C. J. Nyvall were appointed as a committee to draw up the constitution.<sup>53</sup> The full name of the organization was “The Swedish Evangelical Mission Covenant of America,” known simply as the “Covenant.”

The constitution closely resembled the one Princll had proposed to the Ansgar Synod less than a year before.<sup>54</sup> Under the constitution, the Covenant was not comprised of individuals but of congregations and societies that exercised authority at the annual conferences by duly accredited delegates.<sup>55</sup> Björk was elected chairman, and Axel Mellander as secretary. Skogsbergh supported the decision and rejoiced that the Covenant had been born.

The action at the Chicago meeting was approved by the Ansgar Synod at its final annual meeting in June 1885 at Moline when it formerly dissolved. The Mission Synod held its annual meeting earlier, in May 1885, and at that time voted to affiliate with the Covenant as a body of forty-nine churches.

### Moody and the Debate over Denominations

In response to the formation of the Covenant, Free Mission Friends called for a meeting in March, 1885, in Minneapolis. Since the Boone conference participants had supported an informal alliance and opposed formal unions, they had no plans to establish a similar organization. The meeting in Minneapolis was held March 25–30, 1885, at the American Congregational Church in Minneapolis, hosted by August Davis.<sup>56</sup> In addition to Davis, four other participants from the Boone meeting were present, namely, Princll, Erixon, Edward Thorell, and Axel Nordin. At least thirteen others participated in the discussion including Skogsbergh, Frank Lindberg, George Wiberg, and F. E. Emrich, the American Congregationalist. While Skogsbergh supported the formation of the Covenant, he remained on friendly terms with the Free, and in many ways was typical of the Free, characteristic of his independent and irenic spirit.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> Nyvall, “History of the Swedish Mission Friends in America,” in Westman, ed., *The Swedish Element in America*, 156; Bowman, *Missionsvännerna i Amerika*, 53.

<sup>54</sup> Olson, ed., *History of the Swedes of Illinois*, I, 605. This history by Olson, Schön and Engberg concluded that the similarity of the constitutions indicated that “the dissension between Free Mission Friends and those forming the Covenant was based not so much on principles as on quibbles and personal differences.” However, while there were certainly personal differences, there were also differences over principles which remained in the end irreconcilable.

<sup>55</sup> The Covenant adopted a mixture of Congregationalism and Presbyterianism whereby delegates of churches made decisions, normally at annual meetings that affected all local churches.

<sup>56</sup> *Chicago-Bladet*, Apr. 21, 1885, 1. August Davis was born in Ereslöv in Halland, Sweden, on July 13, 1852 and came to America in 1873. He attended Ansgar College and served as an itinerant preacher while living in Princeton, Illinois. In 1884, he filled the pulpit as an interim preacher at the Swedish Mission Tabernacle in Chicago after Skogsbergh’s move to Minneapolis. In the same year, Davis helped organize Scandinavian Church of Christ (First Evangelical Free Church) in Minneapolis. He was known for his emphasis on “the blessing of Spirit baptism.” *Minnesskrift. Utgifven med anledning af Svenska Evangeliska Frikyrkans i Amerika trettioårsjubileum*, 22–23, 134, 150, 160; Olsson, *By One Spirit*, 329. Davis also published a songbook. See: August Davis, *Herde-rösten. En samling af kärnfriska och lifliga sånger egnade för väckelse och uppbyggelse* (Minneapolis: Aug. Davis, 1891). He died May 28, 1936. *Chicago-Bladet*, June 23, 1936, 2.

<sup>57</sup> David Nyvall, *The Swedish Covenanters: A History* (Chicago: Covenant Book Concern, 1930) 87–89; Olsson, *Into One Body*, 150.

## *Mission Friends and the Struggle for Identity*

The Minneapolis meeting first addressed three questions. How is a non-sectarian and non-denominational work best organized and carried out?<sup>58</sup> Do Christian congregations need to join together formally in order to carry out a common mission work? How can churches and preachers who are widely separated become better acquainted with one another and work together effectively to save sinners and edify God's children? The discussion eventually discussed Moody and his example of working with denominations.

Skogsbergh stated that a formal union of churches provided a better arrangement for preachers, especially when they needed to solve a problem that they personally could not handle.<sup>59</sup> He agreed that an ecclesial structure which restricted congregations from operating freely was wrong because God's Word prohibited it. However, he believed that it was not wrong or sinful for congregations to join together formally in a work. He declared: "Just because God's Word does not say anything about it, is not a valid reason not to do it," citing 2 Corinthians 8:16-23 as an indirect basis, at least, for a formal union.<sup>60</sup> He then added:

It is not right to judge all denominations as though they are hindrances since they are able to bring about a lot of good. Different denominations of churches supported Brother Moody's ministry, and God blessed the work to the salvation of many souls. Moody would not have had the success he now has if the denominations had not helped him. For me, I will answer "yes" that joining together is good. I do not see this as a being "coupled together" as one brother expressed it. I think that in 10 years, those who now oppose it [the Covenant] will actually be for it. If I see a person drowning in the Mississippi River and I cannot save him by myself, it is wrong for me to call on others for help in order to save the drowning person.<sup>61</sup>

Karl Erixon spoke after Skogsbergh and responded that it was true that an individual could not do what several people could do, and so it was not wrong to unite together with the goal of carrying out a common task. He explained, however, that having the same opinion about carrying out a certain task is entirely different from uniting together in a denomination. Erixon said: "Many are united who are by no means of the same mind about the work, while on the other hand, many are in agreement but not formally united or joined together. In regards to this matter, churches may cooperate without being united together in a formal union."<sup>62</sup>

Princell followed in the discussion and challenged Skogsbergh's appeal to Moody as an example which justified the formation of denominations, saying:

It ought to be enough for both unity and cooperation that we are born of the same Father and joined together in a single body in Jesus as Savior. That Brother Moody, as one speaker asserted, has worked with such great blessing on the basis that the denominations supported him, is an altogether erroneous idea in the reality of the matter. No, on the contrary, the denominations had to be amiable and set aside their denominational barriers and come together in order for Brother Moody to work among them. It is on this basis

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<sup>58</sup> *Chicago-Bladet*, Apr. 21, 1885, 1; Apr. 28, 1885, 1; May 5, 1885, 1; May 12, 1885, 2-3.

<sup>59</sup> *Chicago-Bladet*, May 5, 1885, 1.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*

that Moody's ministry among the denominations has brought such great blessing to the salvation of sinners.

To hold alliance meetings as the Americans do is a good thing. They hold such meetings once a year, and acknowledge that they are remarkably good. Now, if an alliance meeting brings such a great blessing once a year, or once a month or once a week, then why not hold alliance meetings 365 days a year? The Americans in general think that this would be an equally good idea for the Swedish denominations that seem unable to approach one another. Would it not be good to hold joint meetings several times a year, and get to know each other better? Unity does not come through a *sammanslutning* (union together) but by holding *gemensamma möten* (joint meetings), and by this the participants get to know one another and this brings real unity. Some seem always to be organizing themselves before they set out to do the work, while thousands of sinners are dying.<sup>63</sup>

Clearly, Skogsbergh stressed the legitimacy of denominations that cooperated with Moody, while Princell stressed the need for denominations to lay aside denominational barriers. This debate centered on whether Moody's evangelical ecumenism was non-denominational or inter-denominational. Non-denominational or non-sectarian meant that an activity was not sponsored or controlled by any religious denomination or sect; denominational affiliations were set aside. Inter-denominational meant that participants represented their denominations; several different denominations together sponsored or controlled the event or activity. Although this line was often blurred, Moody's meetings were technically non-denominational or non-sectarian. Local churches and clergy from a variety of denominations cooperated together on a voluntary basis under the direction of a non-sectarian committee, apart from any denominational sponsorship or control.

Moody clearly promoted cooperation between denominations but never formally united with one. He did not want to be bound by denominationalism in general, let alone one denomination in particular, preferring to be independent or free as an evangelist to the church at large. Similarly, Princell did not want to be bound by denominationalism. He preferred alliance meetings like the American evangelicals hosted, whether a prophetic conference in New York, a YMCA meeting at Farwell Hall in Chicago, or a Bible conference at Northfield, Massachusetts. The discussion between Princell and Skogsbergh, at least, illustrated Moody's influence on these two men and their individual application of Moody's alliance ideal.

The Minneapolis meeting also enlarged the planning committee of the Boone meeting by adding Leader Hallgren, P. J. Lofgren, and C. O. Linderoth to the existing core of Princell, Martenson, Erixon, and Lindquist. Moreover, while not legally adopting a name, the Free Mission Friends agreed to be called *Kristnas gemensamma verksamhet* (Joint Work of Christians), expressing their vision for cooperation in evangelism apart from denominational structures and barriers.<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>63</sup> Ibid. Cf. Bruce J. Evensen, *God's Man for the Gilded Age: D. L. Moody and the Rise of Modern Mass Evangelism* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2003) 27, 29, 33.

<sup>64</sup> *Minnesskrift. Utgifven med anledning af Svenska Evangeliska Frikyrkans i Amerika trettioårsjubileum*, 14. In 1890, the name became the Swedish-American Mission Society, in 1896, the Swedish Evangelical Free Mission, in 1908, the Swedish Evangelical Free Church, and finally in 1935, The Evangelical Free Church of America. H. Wilbert Norton, *European Background and History of Evangelical Free Church Foreign Missions* (Moline: Christian Service Foundation, 1964) 82.



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The free-mission meeting in Minneapolis then discussed the question: Will the church meet the Lord in the sky before or after the great tribulation?<sup>65</sup> While some participants made a distinction between “tribulation” and “wrath,” the majority believed that the Book of Revelation did not support such a distinction, and that Jesus would rescue his church from the coming tribulation. While this view was not official, the “*när som helst*” (at any moment) view of Christ’s return was soon becoming a distinguishing mark of the Free—or Kristnas gemensamma verksamhet.

After the meeting in Minneapolis, Princell published two more articles on the question of formal unions, and his exclusion from the Covenant’s organizational meeting.<sup>66</sup> In another article, he outlined the theological basis for a free-mission work, declaring that the Biblical model was informal meetings, namely, that “free and joint meetings were established for all Christians who wished to participate in them.”<sup>67</sup> He argued that such informal meetings were designed to discuss matters on the basis of God’s Word, as well as a means for individuals and churches to carry out joint missionary activity. Princell appealed again to Moody’s example, saying:

Generally, meetings like these have been held more and more in recent years, and they have proved to be a great blessing to those who attend them. Dr. Cullis, Mr. Moody, and other brothers have arranged to hold 3, 4 or even more such partisan-free meetings in various parts of the country each year, rather than just one. Of course, this represents even more so the original, authentic life of Christendom lived among believers in Jesus, and as authentic Christian meetings like these are held, the boring and unruly denominational meetings fade into the background.<sup>68</sup>

In addition to Charles Cullis and Moody, Princell highlighted the Congregationalists and Plymouth Brethren in Europe and America as examples of informal organizations. He also pointed to the informal ministry carried out by joint Sunday schools and youth associations such as the YMCA in several countries, including Sweden and America.<sup>69</sup>

### **Skogsbergh and Minneapolis Weckoblad**

In 1884, Skogsbergh moved from Chicago to Minneapolis where he served as pastor of the Swedish Mission Tabernacle.<sup>70</sup> With a vision for the “Great Northwest,” he launched his new Christian newspaper, *Svenska Kristna Härolden*, which in 1887 was named *Minneapolis Weckoblad*. The first issue that appeared on November 26, 1884, reported Moody’s mission meetings in New York, and the large gathering of evangelical preachers that planned to meet the following August at Moody’s home in Northfield.<sup>71</sup> The newspaper also reported Moody’s first visit to Minneapolis and St. Paul in December

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<sup>65</sup> *Chicago-Bladet*, May 12, 1885, 3.

<sup>66</sup> “En öfverblick på sammanslutningsfrågan,” *Chicago-Bladet*, Apr. 14, 1885, 8; Apr. 21, 1885, 8.

<sup>67</sup> *Chicago-Bladet*, May 19, 1885, 8.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>69</sup> *Chicago-Bladet*, May 26, 1885, 8.

<sup>70</sup> In Chicago, Skogsbergh had published *Kristlig krönika*, a calendar that in 1883 contained Moody’s sermon “Om Guds kärlek” (About God’s Love), a biographical sketch of Henry Moorhouse, and a chronology of the books of the Bible by J. G. Princell. *Missions-Wännan*, Oct. 25, 1882, 4.

<sup>71</sup> *Svenska Kristna Härolden*, Nov. 26, 1884, 7.

1884 when “he awakened Christians through the Word of truth, leaving deep and lasting impressions.”<sup>72</sup>

The importance of Moody to Skogsbergh was clearly demonstrated with the first biographical sketch published in *Svenska Kristna Härolden* which featured Moody.<sup>73</sup> The second biographical sketch was of Ira D. Sankey, the third of D. W. Whittle, and the fourth of the late P. P. Bliss, Moody’s closest associates.<sup>74</sup> Skogsbergh’s newspaper also reported Moody’s Christian Convention at Northfield where noted premillennialists such as A. T. Pierson, A. J. Gordon, G. F. Pentecost, and Emma Dryer participated.<sup>75</sup> In addition, the newspaper reported about Moody’s conference in 1886 when 250 young men gathered at Northfield.<sup>76</sup> It also reported plans to launch “Moody’s Bible Institute in Chicago.”<sup>77</sup> The newspaper advertised Moody’s books, as well as those by Waldenström, Ekman, and Rosenius.<sup>78</sup>

Moreover, *Minneapolis Weckoblad* published Moody’s sermons. Between 1884 and 1899, the periodical published 57 sermons or lectures by Waldenström, 32 by Moody, 27 by T. De Witt Talmage, 23 by Karl Palmberg, 21 by C. H. Spurgeon, 14 by E. A. Skogsbergh, 12 by F. M. Johnson, 11 by Theodore L. Cuyler, 11 by Henry Moorhouse, 7 by E. J. Ekman, 6 by C. A. Björk, 5 by A. T. Pierson, 5 by Axel Mellander, and 5 by Hudson Taylor.<sup>79</sup> This represented a mixture of Swedish Mission Friends such as Waldenström, Palmberg and Ekman and Anglo-American preachers such as Moody, T. De Witt Talmage, and C. H. Spurgeon.

### Moody’s Revival with Skogsbergh at Minneapolis

In November 1887, at the time when *Svenska Kristna Härolden* changed its name to *Minneapolis Weckoblad*, it published news reports about Moody’s meetings in Minneapolis and St. Paul, the American revivalist’s second visit to the Twin Cities.<sup>80</sup> The newspaper stated:

It was at the invitation of the Swedish Mission congregation that Moody came this time to Minneapolis. Last Wednesday evening he spoke for the first time in the Swedish Mission Tabernacle to a full house. On Thursday, Friday and Saturday, meetings were held in both the afternoon and evening. On Sunday, Moody preached five times at Westminster Church .... Meetings have been held this week in American churches. ... The Mission Tabernacle has been packed full with around 4,000 people, and yet large

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<sup>72</sup> *Svenska Kristna Härolden*, Dec. 24, 1884, 22.

<sup>73</sup> *Svenska Kristna Härolden*, Jan. 21, 1885, 81.

<sup>74</sup> *Svenska Kristna Härolden*, Mar. 25, 1885, 225; Apr. 15, 1885, 269; May 6, 1885, 819.

<sup>75</sup> *Svenska Kristna Härolden*, July 15, 1885, 491; Aug. 19, 1885, 555; Nov. 4, 1885, 1. *Svenska Kristna Härolden* also included lectures by A. T. Pierson and G. F. Pentecost. *Svenska Kristna Härolden*, Sept. 9, 1885, 614; Oct. 24, 1887, 3. It reported Moody’s summer conference for college students in 1888. *Minneapolis Weckoblad*, Sept. 5, 1888, 1.

<sup>76</sup> *Svenska Kristna Härolden*, Aug. 25, 1886, 1.

<sup>77</sup> *Svenska Kristna Härolden*, Sept. 1, 1886, 1; *Minneapolis Weckoblad*, Dec. 4, 1889, 1; June 12, 1889, 1.

<sup>78</sup> *Svenska Kristna Härolden*, Aug. 11, 1886, 6; Apr. 18, 1887, 7.

<sup>79</sup> Others whose sermons were published were: Fridolf Risberg, D. W. Whittle, George Müller, Svenning Johansson, Sam Jones, F. B. Meyer, August Pohl, Erik Nyström, J. G. Princell and Prince Bernadotte of Sweden.

<sup>80</sup> *Minneapolis Weckoblad*, Nov. 16, 1887, 1; Nov. 23, 1887, 1.

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crowds had to be turned away due to the lack of seating. The after-meetings for the anxious have been held every evening in the Tabernacle's basement. Just how many during these days have decided to begin a new life is not known, but surely it was many. It was particularly moving on Sunday evening when Moody spoke on the Lord's Supper. At the end of his message he asked, "Who will come?" The response from all sections was heard, "I will." Then scores came asking for prayer. As for the after-meeting, it lasted until late in the evening.<sup>81</sup>

Skogsbergh was thrilled over the fact that Moody came at the invitation of his congregation, and not from the "American churches."<sup>82</sup> He related that Moody followed "news of the work of the Swedish evangelical mission with great interest" and supported it, demonstrating this "by traveling nearly 1,500 miles and paying his own expenses for travel and eight nights in a hotel." Regarding after-meetings, Skogsbergh wrote:

In the evening, scores of seekers came down to the basement where we arranged for the after-meetings. (After-meetings were held every evening). Only those who sought salvation attended these meetings, as well as the Christian workers who were prepared to speak and pray with the anxious. At the same time, a meeting for believers was held in the auditorium, and led by various preachers. Clergy from the different congregations took part with the after-meetings. Several Americans from the Young Men's Christian Association in particular served diligently in this ministry. These after-meetings were wonderful for several reasons. When someone began to speak with people in a crowd, he was not sure if he would meet a Swede, Norwegian, Dane, Finn, Englishman, American, Scot, or German, etc., since the crowd consisted of a diverse mix of people. But this did not hinder the work. There was always someone who could speak the language of this or that person. Thus, these meetings went until 10 or 11 o'clock in the evening, and many found peace with God.<sup>83</sup>

Skogsbergh also reported about Moody's afternoon meetings for Christians when he held his question-and-answer sessions.<sup>84</sup> The objective of these meetings was partly to awaken Christians to a deeper spiritual life, passion, and labor for the salvation of souls, as well as "to offer *råd* (advice) and *winkar* (hints) to revive them to the spirit of the first Christians, or in other words, to lead them to become Bible-Christians who take seriously what the Word says." Skogsbergh continued:

[Moody] stressed this matter of how important it is to let the Word be our guiding principle and light. He showed with exactness how many evangelical preachers presently deliver long messages in the pulpit without using the Holy Scriptures. Yes, they cannot find their subjects in the Bible but must look for them outside the Bible. Moody

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<sup>81</sup> *Minneapolis Weckoblad*, Nov. 16, 1887, 1. In addition to preaching at the Swedish Mission Tabernacle, Moody also held meetings for Americans at Park Avenue Church, First Baptist Church, and Westminster Church. An attendance of 4,000 appears exaggerated, often typical of Skogsbergh's estimations.

<sup>82</sup> *Minneapolis Weckoblad*, Nov. 23, 1887, 1; cf. "D. L. Moody has just finished two weeks of activity in Montreal, Canada . . . It is possible that he will go next to Minneapolis to hold the meetings in the new Svenska Missionstabernaklet." *Missions-Wännan*, Nov. 7, 1887, 4.

<sup>83</sup> *Minneapolis Weckoblad*, Nov. 23, 1887, 1.

<sup>84</sup> *Minneapolis Weckoblad*, Nov. 30, 1887, 1.

lamented, “No, this is not good. Rather, let us ask: ‘What does the Lord say?’ and then search in the Word to find the answer so that we can say: ‘Thus says the Lord.’”<sup>85</sup>

Skogsbergh further noted the change that had taken place in Moody since he had first heard him, observing: “The person who heard him 10 or 12 years ago, or read his writings even earlier and was now able to hear him and be with him, noticed a vast difference.”<sup>86</sup> Skogsbergh noted that before Moody’s sermons were “shallow and contained much about his own life,” but more recently urged and pressed his listeners “with the pure and simple truths of the Bible.” Skogsbergh continued, saying: “He preaches against relying on feelings, emotions, self-righteousness, etc., and instead he emphasizes mercy, zeal for the truth, and an absolute confidence in God’s Word, and searching the scriptures to discover what the Lord says about this or that matter.” Skogsbergh also observed Moody’s emphasis on God’s love, saying, “He paints the Father’s love in the most intimate way and has dropped the old routine of painting the Father as cruel, and the Son as mild. He has found light in the words of Jesus: ‘He who has seen me has seen the Father.’”<sup>87</sup>

While Skogsbergh was active with Moody and churches of different denominations in Minneapolis, Princell was engaged in another alliance meeting to build up believers in their faith.

### **Princell and the Second American Bible and Prophetic Conference**

Princell continued to identify closely with the new premillennialism of Moody and his following, being invited to speak at the Second American Bible and Prophetic Conference at Farwell Hall in Chicago from November 16–21, 1886.<sup>88</sup> George C. Needham was the conference secretary and organizer. The conference featured premillennialists such as A. T. Pierson, William J. Erdman, Nathaniel West, A. J. Gordon, and William E. Blackstone. In addition to these speakers, expository letters were read from Frédéric Godet and Franz Delitzsch.<sup>89</sup> A letter of greeting from Moody was read since he was unable to attend. Moody’s letter ended by saying:

The coming of the Lord is to me a most precious truth and constant inspiration to work. There can be no better preparation for the Lord than breaking the bread of life to the perishing multitudes. My prayer is that the conference may result in sending every minister out to evangelistic work this winter. Evangelists cannot do one tenth of the work called for. Pastors must assist each other. May the Spirit of the Lord for service come upon each one attending the conference.

Yours sincerely,  
D. L. Moody<sup>90</sup>

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<sup>85</sup> Ibid.

<sup>86</sup> *Minneapolis Weckoblad*, Nov. 23, 1887, 1.

<sup>87</sup> Ibid.

<sup>88</sup> George C. Needham, ed., *Prophetic Studies of the International Prophetic Conference* (Chicago: Fleming H. Revell, 1886) 205–209. *Svenska Kristna Härolden* reported the Prophetic Conference in Chicago in 1886 led by George Needham, and that a letter of greeting by Moody was read. *Svenska Kristna Härolden*, Dec. 1, 1886, 4. Cf. *Missions-Wännen*, Sept. 15, 1886, 4.

<sup>89</sup> Needham, ed., *Prophetic Studies of the International Prophetic Conference*, 119–122; 137–142.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid., 41.

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Moody's statement related the mission of saving souls to the motivation of Christ's imminent return to the means of cooperating with pastors and churches of all denominations. The motivation of Christ's imminent return was especially articulated at the conference when the participants reaffirmed the resolution of the First Bible and Prophetic Conference that stated: "Resolved, that the doctrine of our Lord's pre-millennial advent, instead of paralyzing evangelistic and missionary effort, is one of the mightiest incentives to earnestness in preaching the Gospel to every creature, until He comes."<sup>91</sup>

The 1886 Prophetic Conference was also characterized by an ecumenical spirit since ministers were present from "all denominations from all parts of the United States and Canada." Needham recalled, "Nearly all the city clergy [of Chicago] were present, and hundreds of earnest Christians of every shade of belief from every church, charitable institution, and missionary society of the city."<sup>92</sup>

The lectures delivered by the respective speakers appeared verbatim in the next morning's edition of *The Inter Ocean*. Following the conference, Fleming H. Revell published the conference proceedings in the book, *Prophetic Studies of the International Prophetic Conference*, in which Princell's message was titled: "Waiting, Watching, Working."<sup>93</sup>

Princell explained that the church is not "to wait for great upheavals or catastrophes in nature, extraordinary signs and wonders in the heavens, in sun, moon, and stars, nor for unusually calamitous occurrences on earth," but while such events are predicted in the Bible, "they will not precede the coming of the Lord for the purpose of gathering and taking unto Himself His own people for their protection and eternal security."<sup>94</sup>

With Princell as with the new premillennialism in general, the initial concern was that the doctrine of Christ's return had fallen into neglect, and needed to be brought back to the church's awareness and acceptance. The growing tendency of the movement, however, was to dominate increasingly the prophetic conferences to the exclusion of other millennial—and premillennial—views.<sup>95</sup> Timothy P. Weber observes: "By stressing this form of eschatology, the new premillennialists were broadening their own movement while at the same time they were accentuating the differences which separated them from the rest of the evangelical community in the United States."<sup>96</sup> In 1888, for example, Princell stated:

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<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, preface.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, 5.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, 205–209.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*, 206. Princell cited P. P. Waldenström's story about a son who was curious about Christ's return, saying: "Dr. Waldenstrom, the great leader in the free church movement in Sweden at present, related once at a large public meeting a little story about one of his children. 'Mama,' said a bright little boy of 5 or 6 summers, 'when will Jesus come to earth again?' 'I do not know, my child,' answered the mother. 'Does the catechism say when Jesus will come?' 'No, it does not.' 'Does papa know when Jesus will come?' 'No, he can not know that, for the Bible does not say when Jesus will come.' 'Does it not stand in the Bible? But does not the Bible say He may come any time?' 'Yes, my darling, the Bible says He may come any time.'" *Ibid.*, 205–206.

<sup>95</sup> Timothy P. Weber, *Living in the Shadow of the Second Coming: American Premillennialism 1875-1982* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1987) 11, 28, 32–34.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, 28.

Many have waited for the tribulation, and this has made them relax, and they have given up on the idea. It is the old thought: “My Lord delays his coming.” However, when someone expects the Lord *när som helst* (at any movement), there comes with it a martyr’s courage and a willingness to sacrifice life, goods and all. When our free brethren in Sweden began to consider Jesus’ coming, they had come under the influence of the German authors who merely touched on the question of Jesus’ coming and the tribulation before the millennial kingdom. They had not even considered the *upptagande* (rapture) of God’s children before the tribulation and the Lord’s *uppenbarelse* (revelation) and descent to earth after the tribulation. Because of this, they had some preconceived interpretations, and so when Brother Franson came, they considered him a stranger who wished to teach them something new. In the process, what they learned from him, they discovered to be true—that the tribulation would precede the millennial kingdom. And so at last, there came a revision in their thinking, and this has affected this country too.<sup>97</sup>

Certainly, the trend for the premillennial view to dominate and exclude other millennial and premillennial views characterized Princll, Martenson, Franson, and the Free who, while promoting evangelical cooperation, emphasized increasingly the new premillennial view, and thus created a dichotomy between new premillennialism and evangelical ecumenism.<sup>98</sup>

While working as associate editor of *Chicago-Bladet*, Princll preached often at the Swedish Free Mission at Bush Hall on Chicago Avenue, where all meetings including those of the Swedish fellowship of Chicago Avenue Church, were held.<sup>99</sup> In 1885, the congregation moved to North Star Hall on Division Street, and in September 1888, purchased two lots on Oak Street, and a year later erected a building with a seating capacity for eight hundred. The building had two storefront offices; one was used for *Chicago-Bladet* and the other as a small meeting hall for a Bible school. The Swedish Free Mission in Chicago became known at that time as the Oak Street Swedish Mission.<sup>100</sup>

In 1887, Princll visited nearly every free-mission church in America.<sup>101</sup> In addition to writing his magnum opus, *Hufvuddragen af Judarnes historia* (Main Features of the Jews’ History), he translated three of Waldenström’s books into English, all published by Martenson.<sup>102</sup> He also served in 1887 on the organizing committee of the Chicago Hebrew Mission, an interdenominational work with William E. Blackstone.<sup>103</sup>

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<sup>97</sup> *Chicago-Bladet*, Nov. 27, 1888, 2.

<sup>98</sup> An example can be seen from the meeting at North Star Hall in Chicago, October 13–20, 1886. In a discussion about Christ’s return. J. W. Strömberg stated that when Jesus comes, “we are saved from the coming wrath.” A. Davis “believed that Jesus would come *snart* (soon) and . . .soon meant soon.” J. Martenson said “Christ can come *när som helst*, a fact generally known among us.” *Chicago-Bladet*, Nov. 16, 1886, 1.

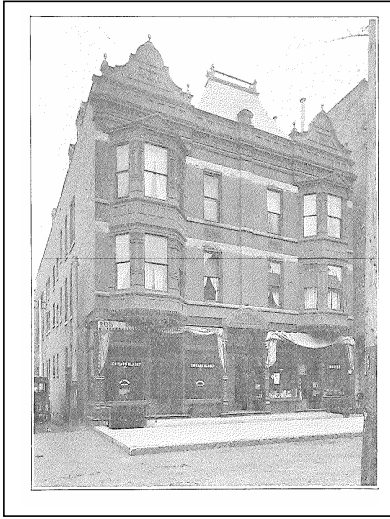
<sup>99</sup> Olson, ed., *History of the Swedes of Illinois*, I, 616.

<sup>100</sup> Later the Oak Street Free Mission was named First Evangelical Free Church of Chicago.

<sup>101</sup> M. W. Montgomery, *The Work among the Scandinavians* (New York: The American Home Missionary Society, 1888) 4.

<sup>102</sup> See J. G. Princll, *Hufvuddragen af Judarnes historia från Babyloniska fångenskapen till Jerusalems förstöring* (Chicago: Chicago-Bladets förlag, 1885); P. Waldenström, *The Reconciliation: Who Was to Be Reconciled?* trans. by J. G. Princll (Chicago: John Martenson, 1888); P. Waldenström, *The Blood of Jesus: What Is Its Significance?* trans. by J. G. Princll (Chicago: John Martenson, 1888); P. Waldenström, *The*

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**Oak Street Swedish Mission** in Chicago. Courtesy of the Evangelical Free Church of America Archives, Minneapolis, Minnesota.

### *Missions-Wänneren and Chicago-Bladet*

*Missions-Wänneren* of the Mission Synod became the organ of the Covenant after its foundation. While this periodical was friendly to Moody and regularly reported his activities in the United States and Great Britain, it did not give him the prominence that *Chicago-Bladet* gave him. From the first issue in July 1874, to the formation of the Covenant in 1885, *Missions-Wänneren* published 33 sermons by P. P. Waldenström, 10 by C. A. Björk, 8 by C. H. Spurgeon, 7 by C. O. Rosenius, and 6 by D. L. Moody.<sup>104</sup>

Following the formation of the Covenant in 1885 to the turn of the century, *Missions-Wänneren* published 45 sermons by Waldenström, 34 by Björk, 25 by Spurgeon, 20 by Fridolf Risberg, 17 by August Pohl, 16 by T. De Witt Talmage, 9 by F. M. Johnson and 7 by J. G. Princell. News reports of Moody and Sankey, however, remained frequent with seventy accounts of his revival campaigns in the United States and Great Britain.<sup>105</sup> Compared to *Chicago-Bladet*, however, *Missions-Wänneren* was more representative of the Swedish pietism of Rosenius, Waldenström, and Björk than the American revivalism of Moody.<sup>106</sup>

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*Lord Is Right: Meditations on the Twenty-Fifth Psalm in the Psalter of King David*, trans. by J. G. Princell (Chicago: John Martenson, 1889).

<sup>103</sup> *100 Years of Blessing, 1887–1897: The Centennial History of the American Messianic Fellowship* (Lansing, Ill.: American Messianic Fellowship, 1987) 4–5.

<sup>104</sup> Other published preachers were: E. J. Ekman, James D. Burns, Karl Palmberg, T. De Witt Talmage, F. M. Johnson and E. A. Skogsbergh.

<sup>105</sup> For example: “Moody i Glasgow,” *Missions-Wänneren*, Aug. 9, 1882, 4; “Moody och Sankey i Manchester,” *Missions-Wänneren*, May 2, 1883, 4; “Moody och Sankey i London,” *Missions-Wänneren*, Feb. 27, 1884, 4. The newspaper also reported: “Moody has between 300 and 400 young men who are preparing for mission work in his school in Northfield.” *Missions-Wänneren*, July 7, 1886, 4.

<sup>106</sup> Cf. Erik Brolund, *Missionsvännerna: Jämförelser och studier* (Chicago: Mission Friend’s Publ. Co., 1938) 108.

Despite this, *Missions-Wännen* advertised Moody's books such as *Förborgad Kraft* (Prevailing Power) and *Himmelen* (Heaven), as well as William P. Mackay's, *Nåd och sanning* (Grace and Truth) with the foreword by Moody.<sup>107</sup> In addition to Moody's books, *Missions-Wännen* offered books for sale by Waldenström, E. J. Ekman, K. Palmberg, G. E. Alfwegren, O. Funcke, W. Krummacher, and A. F. Mellander.<sup>108</sup>

*Missions-Wännen* printed news stories of Moody's visits to Chicago, reports about the formation of "Chicago Evangelization Society," and several of Moody's anecdotes.<sup>109</sup> It also published statements against "partisan attitudes" such as Svenning Johansson's article that described a "party" as "*en köttets gerning*" (a deed of the flesh), and statements for unity by Waldenström, as well as stories of his alliance effort with "Baptists, Methodists, Lutherans, etc."<sup>110</sup>

In contrast to *Missions-Wännen*, *Chicago-Bladet* following the Boone meeting in 1884 until Moody's death in 1899, published 27 sermons by Moody, 24 by Waldenström, 24 by Spurgeon, 20 by Princell, 14 by E. J. Ekman, 12 by Karl Palmberg, 10 by Theodore L. Cuyler, 9 by T. De Witt Talmage, and 9 by Carl Boberg.<sup>111</sup> In addition to Moody's sermons, *Chicago-Bladet* published thirty-one of Moody's talks and anecdotes. Overall, *Chicago-Bladet* published ninety-nine sermons of Moody, making him the most published preacher in *Chicago-Bladet* from the newspaper's first issue in 1877 until his death in 1899.<sup>112</sup>

In the debate over formal unions, whether denominations, synods, or a covenant, *Chicago-Bladet* published statements against "forming parties." In the debate, Martenson's view was expressed often in cutting commentary directed toward *Missions-Wännen*, a style common among other rival newspapers in Chicago such as *Svenska Amerikanaren* and *Hemlandet*.<sup>113</sup> In this debate, Martenson printed Waldenström's differentiation between "Christ's love" and "party-love," claiming "the former loves believers simply because they are believers in Jesus; the second loves only those who are of the same opinion."<sup>114</sup> Martenson also reported Waldenström's effort toward "union-work among the various societies in Sweden" in which Waldenström and Erik Nyström building upon the free-church meetings in Stockholm, sought "to bring all 'parties' of

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<sup>107</sup> "Förborgad Kraft eller nyckeln till framgång i kristligt lif och kristlig verksamhet by Moody for sale at *Missions-Wännen* at 94 E. Chicago Avenue, Chicago." *Missions-Wännen*, Mar. 30, 1887, 5; Apr. 27, 1887, 6; Apr. 1, 1885, 8.

<sup>108</sup> *Missions-Wännen*, Nov. 23, 1887, 2.

<sup>109</sup> *Missions-Wännen*, Sept. 19, 1883, 7; Jan. 27, 1886, 1. Moody visited Chicago "with overflowing crowds in Chicago Avenue Church that had "seating for 2,200 people with over 3,500 gathering in the church." *Missions-Wännen*, Feb. 23, 1887, 4; "Du är en fri man" *Missions-Wännen*, Oct. 18, 1882, 3.

<sup>110</sup> *Missions-Wännen*, Feb. 16, 1882, 2; Nov. 28, 1883, 1. Cf. Svenning Johansson, *Göteborgs Weckoblad*, Jan. 5, 1882, 3, and Aug. Anderson's statement: "Parties are a deed of the flesh." *Missions-Wännen*, Nov. 17, 1896, 1.

<sup>111</sup> In addition, *Chicago-Bladet* published 6 sermons by Hudson Taylor, 6 by F.B. Meyer, 5 by Andreas Fernholm, 4 by George Müller and 4 by Franson, as well as seven quotes by Martin Luther, demonstrating only a token connection to the German reformer.

<sup>112</sup> *Chicago-Bladet* also published regular news about Moody such as: his visits to Chicago, his "Christian conventions" at Northfield and New York, his revival meetings in the South, his summer schools at Mount Hermon and Northfield, and the beginning of the "Chicago Evangelization Society." For examples see: *Chicago-Bladet* Nov. 10, 1885; 8; Dec. 28, 1886, 8; July 31, 1888, 8; May 21, 1889, 8.

<sup>113</sup> Stephenson, *The Religious Aspects of Swedish Immigration*, 198–199.

<sup>114</sup> *Chicago-Bladet*, July 6, 1886, 1. Cf. "A party love is certainly not the same as Christian love." *Chicago-Bladet*, Dec. 29, 1885, 1.



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Lutherans, Methodists and Baptists into one movement,” an ideal in America sought more by the Free than the Covenant.<sup>115</sup>

Besides the disagreement over polity, *Chicago-Bladet* and *Missions-Wänneren* debated the doctrine of the atonement. Princell and Martenson advocated Waldenström’s view, while Andrew Hallner, editor of *Missions-Wänneren*, along with Björk and C. M. Youngquist of the Covenant, defended penal substitution, the traditional Lutheran view.<sup>116</sup> In the struggle for evangelical identity between the Covenant and Free, Waldenström charged the American Covenanters with building “sects” based on differences of opinion, and rebuked *Missions-Wänneren* and *Chicago-Bladet*, saying that they “have both sinned grievously.”<sup>117</sup>

In September 1888, Princell and the Covenant exchanged apologies for previous actions.<sup>118</sup> Princell was allowed to speak at the Covenant’s annual meeting in Chicago where he expressed that it was possible for the two groups to unite, but that it was also possible for them to go their separate ways.<sup>119</sup> He spoke nevertheless about the ideal of unity, “the unity found through faith in Jesus Christ.”<sup>120</sup> He said:

We represent here today ... two different ways of working to proclaim the name of our dear Lord and Savior among humankind. One is by a union of churches which through delegates is able to make decisions regarding common activities. As for me and those who think like me, i.e. the free, we represent another way, and prefer to have complete freedom in respect to cooperation. We believe that it is absolutely and certainly wrong for congregations to join together in a formal union, covenant, or synod ... In the books of the Bible, and particularly in the books of the New Testament that cover a period of 50 to 60 years of Christian activity after Christ’s ascension to heaven, there is not a single word of instruction about any formal union. ... However, we believe that a local Christian church, regardless of size, should be as true a copy as possible of Jesus Christ’s church. A local church, in order for it really to be one of Christ’s congregations, should not have any characteristics, forms or conditions unique to itself that are not characteristic of God’s church. ... Wherever the local church as an assembly takes anything and adds it to its platform so that it separates itself from the larger assembly of God’s church, it makes itself into a party.... Let it be known that we have never been against organized activity but we have opposed organized activity that is under a covenant, synod or union of congregations because we believe that such a formal union in one way or another infringes upon the rights and responsibilities of the congregations. ... I would like to propose a middle-way between a system of congregations and the absolutely free way. I do this, however, not because we are tired of our way or you are tired of yours but I think that we could come together and consider a better way of working than what we have done. We see that God has blessed your work. ... We have different thoughts, ideas, etc., but as for me, ten years ago I had my eyes opened to this fact, namely, that wherever God in heaven has a child, there I have a brother, and wherever God has a servant, there I do

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<sup>115</sup> The article was reprinted from Stockholm’s *Weckoposten*. *Missions-Wänneren*, Aug. 19, 1880, 3.

<sup>116</sup> Lindberg, *Looking Back Fifty Years*, 10–11.

<sup>117</sup> Olsson, *Into One Body...by the Cross*, Vol. I, 173; *Missions-Wänneren*, Jun. 17, 1885, 1.

<sup>118</sup> Olson, ed., *The History of the Swedes of Illinois*, I, 604, 607.

<sup>119</sup> Princell proposed that the Free would unite with the Covenant in an organization composed not of congregations but individuals, but the proposal was rejected. Stephenson, *The Religious Aspects of the Swedish Immigration*, 284, 287; Olson, *Swedish Element in Illinois*, 351.

<sup>120</sup> *Chicago-Bladet*, Sept. 25, 1888, 2; *Missions-Wänneren*, Sept. 26, 1888, 1.

not have the right to say that you may not serve but may you work with the blessing that God gives you.<sup>121</sup>

In the Mission Friends' struggle for an evangelical identity, the Free and Covenant followed different paths. While the Free resisted a formal union altogether, preferring to be known simply as Christians without any denominational structure, Mission Friends held to the legitimacy of a formal union. They did not see the formation of the Covenant as contrary to the alliance principle, but rather as an expression of it.

### Waldenström's Visit with Moody at Northfield

Skogsbergh later recalled a conversation with Moody when the American revivalist came to Minneapolis in 1887.<sup>122</sup> Skogsbergh noticed a shift in Moody's preaching "from the Heavenly Father being a cruel tyrant who needed to be appeased, to the God who so loved the world that he gave his only begotten Son."<sup>123</sup> Skogsbergh recalled how one of Moody's evangelists preached the Anselmian view of the atonement, namely, "how Christ had come down here to appease God by dying in our stead."<sup>124</sup>

In Skogsbergh's account, Moody acknowledged: "I cannot deny that I have had to change. I have read a portion of Waldenström's writings concerning the atonement and other subjects, and I have become convinced that such teaching as you have mentioned has no support in the scriptures."<sup>125</sup> Skogsbergh explained that Moody's theological shift came from reading Princell's English translation of Waldenström's book *Försoningens betydelse* published in 1888 by Martenson under title *The Reconciliation*, as well as *Herren är from*, published in 1889 under the title *The Lord Is Right*.<sup>126</sup> While Skogsbergh's account has raised doubts, he was accurate regarding Moody's personal knowledge of Waldenström and his works.<sup>127</sup>

Waldenström wrote in his journal about his visit with Moody at Northfield in June 1889. On his first visit to America, Waldenström was accompanied by J. A. Hultman, Bror Lindgren of Gävle, and F. E. Emrich, and was eager to visit with Moody at his home in Massachusetts. When Waldenström and his party arrived to Moody's home, the American revivalist was not there, but soon he returned and invited them to stay at the

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<sup>121</sup> Ibid.

<sup>122</sup> E. Aug. Skogsbergh, *Minnen och upplevelser. Under min mer än femtioåriga predikoverksamhet* (Minneapolis: Veckobladets Tryckeri, 1923) 210–212.

<sup>123</sup> The section is titled: "Moody var s.k. Waldenströmmare" (Moody Was a So-called Waldenströmian). Ibid., 212.

<sup>124</sup> The evangelist who "had driven to the uttermost the Anselmian payment theory" was "Brother N\_\_m [Needham]." Ibid., 213.

<sup>125</sup> Philip J. Anderson, "Paul Peter Waldenström and America: Influence and Presence in Historical Perspective," *Covenant Quarterly*, LII, No. 4 (Nov. 1994) 16, 21.

<sup>126</sup> Princell translated the title *Herren är from*, as *The Lord Is Right*, meaning the "Lord is upright" based on Psalm 25:8; the Swedish "from," means "upright." See P. Waldenström, *The Lord Is Right: Meditations on the Twenty-fifth Psalm in the Psalter of King David*, trans. by J. G. Princell (Chicago: J. Martenson, 1889).

<sup>127</sup> Waldenström's books translated by Princell were published after Skogsbergh's conversation with Moody, between Nov. 9–16, 1887. Walter Osborn, "D. L. Moody's Travels," Moody Bible Institute, Chicago, Ill., 1979, 10. Possibly Moody received a draft prior to the book's publication, or this subject may have come up in 1889 when Skogsbergh greeted Moody briefly in Chicago. *Minneapolis Veckoblad*, May 8, 1889, 1.

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Moody hotel as his guests.<sup>128</sup> During the visit, Waldenström was impressed with Moody's schools for boys and girls, as well as with a certain female instructor of Latin. He was not impressed, however, with a "so-called" philosopher whom Moody had invited to hold lectures for the school's instructors.<sup>129</sup>



**D. L. Moody**  
in his surrey in  
Northfield,  
Massachusetts

Moody complained about the "Babylonian confusion" of language, expressing his desire to have a long conversation with Waldenström because he had heard so much about him, saying to the Swedish leader, "We have much in common."<sup>130</sup> Moody invited Waldenström to preach at Chicago Avenue Church in the future, but this never materialized for various reasons. Moody spoke with great interest about Prince Oscar of Sweden and his marriage to Miss Ebba Munck. Waldenström inquired of Moody about a preacher who had once appeared with him, and who during the entire time that he spoke kept the large crowd in a constant state of laughter.<sup>131</sup> Moody said that he never took the liberty himself to do this, and after considering the matter, admitted that this was inappropriate.<sup>132</sup> After Moody and his guests talked for a while, Hultman, the "sunshine singer," played the piano and sang "*Blott en dag*" (*Day by Day*), and then they all knelt down for prayer, with Moody praying in English and Waldenström in Swedish. Finally, Hultman sang "*O, Jesu blif när oss*" (*O, Jesus, Be Near Us*).

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<sup>128</sup> With increased correspondence, and the number of people who wanted personal time with Moody, "the stream of pilgrims who showed up at his door—whether he was at home or away—increased with every passing year." Lyle W. Dorsett, *A Passion for Souls: The Life of D. L. Moody* (Chicago: Moody Press, 1997) 276.

<sup>129</sup> When Waldenström learned that this philosopher had debated the well-known skeptic Robert G. Ingersoll and had so completely "overpowered him and brought him to silence," Waldenström thought, "Ingersoll probably became quiet during the debate with this man, not because he felt himself convinced in any way, but for completely different reasons." P. Waldenström, *Genom Norra Amerikas Förenta Stater*, (Chicago: The Mission Friends Publishing Co., 1890) 183, 186. Quote translated by John E. Norton.

<sup>130</sup> *Ibid.*, 187. In 1884, Marcus Montgomery reported that Waldenström preached to crowds in Sweden numbering over five thousand people. Montgomery, *A Wind from the Holy Spirit in Sweden and Norway*, 15.

<sup>131</sup> "Ett samtal med lektor P. Waldenström," *Missions-Wännen*, Feb. 5, 1890, 1; *Minneapolis Weckoblad* Jan. 29, 1890, 1.

<sup>132</sup> *Ibid.*

When the day came for Waldenström to leave Northfield, Moody drove him in his surrey to the railway station, talking along the way as well as they could. Waldenström expressed what he could in Latin words with English pronunciations and endings, as well as body language. They passed Sankey's home but learned that he had gone to New York for the day. Waldenström summarized his visit with Moody saying:

...he is still followed, wherever he goes, by a visible blessing. This is probably because of his simple, straight-forward, wise presentation of evangelical truth. He does not appear as a spiritual orator, with artfully prepared speeches, but comes as a man of the people with an invitation from God to the people, and one hears that he has recently spoken with God.<sup>133</sup>

Moody's and Waldenström's visit clearly demonstrated their respect for one another. With regards to the atonement, as Skogsbergh mentioned, they shared a degree of common understanding. Each of them had reacted to a hyper-Anselmian view that portrayed God principally as stern, cruel, and wrathful, and preferred a view that emphasized God's love, mercy, and forgiveness.<sup>134</sup> However, while they shared common elements, their view differed in the final analysis. Moody preached a moderate Anselmian or penal-substitution view, demonstrated at least implicitly in his Biblical allusions and anecdotes.<sup>135</sup> Clearly, he did not work out his theory of the atonement in the manner of a scholarly theologian.

Waldenström preached that Christ was humankind's substitute to the extent that "it is our sins he bore, for us he suffered and became accursed."<sup>136</sup> In other words, Waldenström held that Christ died primarily for humankind, stating, "It was not God who needed to be reconciled to man but that it was man who needed to be reconciled to God; and that consequently, reconciliation is a work which proceeds from God and is directed towards man, and aims not to appease God, but to cleanse man from sin, and to restore him to a right relation with God."<sup>137</sup> Thus, while Waldenström held to a type of substitution, it was not Anselmian or penal.<sup>138</sup>

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<sup>133</sup> Waldenström, *Genom Norra Amerikas Förenta Stater*, 189; Karl Jäder, *En Världsväckare. D. L. Moody's livsverk och inflytande* (Stockholm: Harrier, 1937) 162.

<sup>134</sup> Harry Moorhouse taught Moody "to preach the love of God: 'I had thought,' Moody said, 'that God hated sinners as well as sin.'" John C. Pollock, "D. L. Moody and Revival," in *Great Leaders of the Christian Church*, John D. Woodbridge, ed. (Chicago: Moody Press, 1988) 340; "To Waldenström, God was no longer the cruel potentate ... Instead he was a God of love who gave his only begotten Son ..." B. A. Hawkinson, "Paul Peter Waldenström: His Life and Contribution to the Swedish Free Church Movement" (S.T.M. Thesis, Andover Newton Theological School, Newton Centre, Mass., 1937) 45.

<sup>135</sup> See Stanley N. Gundry, *Love Then In: The Proclamation Theology of D. L. Moody* (Chicago: Moody Press, 1976) 102–120. Themes of broken law, consequent punishment, divine wrath, debt, substitution, and satisfaction demonstrate Gundry's conclusion in his answer to Findlay. See James F. Findlay, Jr. *Dwight L. Moody: American Evangelist, 1837–1899* (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1969) 227–236.

<sup>136</sup> P. Waldenström, "Sermon for the Twentieth Sunday after Trinity," in *Covenant Roots*, Glenn P. Anderson, ed., 123.

<sup>137</sup> P. Waldenström, *The Reconciliation: Who Was to Be Reconciled? God or Man? Or God and Man?*, trans. by J. G. Princell (Chicago: John Martenson, 1888) 11–12.

<sup>138</sup> Ernst Newman, *Den Waldenströmska försoningsläran i historisk belysning* (Stockholm: Svenska Kyrkans Diakonistyrelsens Bokförlag, 1932) 244–246. Cf. Newman's statement that Moody preached on "the doctrine of salvation through *ställföretrände tillfylestgörelse* (substitutionary satisfaction)." Ernst

Yet, Mission Friends who followed Waldenström's view of the atonement heard similar themes of God's love, mercy, and forgiveness in Moody, along with his alliance ideal. Certainly, the meeting between Moody and Waldenström was of great importance not simply because of the friendly exchange between the American revivalist and the Swedish pietist, but also for "thousands of American Mission Friends who felt secure in the friendship between the two."<sup>139</sup>

### **Moody' Cooperative Evangelism and Rockford Swedes**

Moody's cooperative evangelism was demonstrated among Swedes at a meeting in Rockford, Illinois. At the end of October 1889, Moody came to Rockford on his first visit to the city, preaching first at the Methodist and Congregational churches.<sup>140</sup> F. M. Johnson (1857–1930), then pastor of the Covenant church in Rockford, observed:

Moody involves Christians in ministry. He stresses the importance of putting their hearts into this work. He seeks to have them bring unbelievers to the meetings so that he can speak to them about their salvation. He also has after-meetings whereby some participate in praying and speaking with the anxious. The after-meetings are a remarkable way to be able to speak with and pray for the anxious; what a great blessing it has been. Yes, these meetings work to bring sinners to Jesus, and we should, of course, use them more and more.<sup>141</sup>

Moody then preached at First Lutheran Church on a Sunday to a large gathering of Swedes. All the Swedish congregations suspended their meetings, and came together for this joint event.<sup>142</sup> Since so many attended, there was standing room only. Moody spoke on the subject of prayer, saying, "Christ did not teach men how to pray, but to pray."<sup>143</sup> He commented that Americans were often guilty of coming before the Lord in a flippant sort of way, and then said, "I do not know how it is with you Swedes, but this is the way it is with us Americans."<sup>144</sup>

Moody also challenged his Swedish listeners to receive Christ, saying: "I am one of those old-fashioned Christians who believe in the Bible and believe that if a person dies in his sins, he will suffer throughout all eternity. ... I believe that there will be a great chasm between a believer and an unbeliever in the next world. I give you this

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Newman, "Dwight L. Moody och hans inflytande i Sverige," in *Från skilda tider. Studier tillägnade Hjalmar Holmquist* (Stockholm: Svenska Kyrkans Diakonistyrelses Bokförlag, 1938) 380.

<sup>139</sup> Olsson, *Into One Body...by the Cross*, Vol. I, 209. Victor Rylander served as a guide for Waldenström across America. Waldenström, *Genom Norra Amerikas Förenta Stater*, 262, 439, 440, 475, 490, 519. When Waldenström was in Chicago, he and Princell spoke at the dedication of the new building at the Oak Street Free Mission. Ernst W. Olson, *Swedish Element in Illinois*, 616. See also Waldenström, *Genom Norra Amerikas Förenta Stater*, 359–360.

<sup>140</sup> *Minneapolis Weckoblad*, Nov. 13, 1889, 1; Walter Osborn, "D. L. Moody's Travels: Arranged Alphabetically by Country, City and Chronologically," Chicago: Moody Bible Institute Library, 1991, 44.

<sup>141</sup> *Minneapolis Weckoblad*, Nov. 13, 1889, 1.

<sup>142</sup> The churches were: First Lutheran Church with Pastor L. A. Johnston, Swedish Ev. Lutheran Zion Church with S. G. Öhman, Swedish Methodist Church with Pastor A. Dahlberg, Swedish Ev. Lutheran Immanuel Church with Pastor Charles Roos, Swedish Mission Tabernacle with Pastor F. M. Johnson, and Swedish Baptist with P. Swartz. *Rockfords-Posten*, Nov. 30, 1889, 3.

<sup>143</sup> *Minneapolis Weckoblad*, Nov. 20, 1889, 1.

<sup>144</sup> *Ibid.*

warning now: “You reap what you sow.”<sup>145</sup> At the end of his sermon, Moody urged his Swedish listeners to forsake their sins and to receive Christ.

## Conclusion

In the 1880s, Mission Friends in America experienced conflict in pursuit of evangelical identity, or identities. With religious liberty and opportunity, they were free to choose from the theological *smörgåsbord* of Lutheran confessionalism, Rosenian pietism, American revivalism, and a host of options and mediating views. Mission Friends who were drawn to Moody, his circle of friends, and Chicago Avenue Church, increasingly adopted beliefs and methods characteristic of his American revivalism—and away from Lutheran confessionalism and formalism, and sometimes in protest against them.

Princell, for example, resisted formal unions that multiplied “ecclesiastical machinery,” preferring alliance meetings of the “American brothers.” In this way, he followed Moody who did not want to be bound by denominationalism in general, let alone a single denomination in particular, but preferred to be independent or free to serve the church at large. For Moody, he never organized a denomination of churches but developed a non-sectarian network of leaders, meetings, conferences, publishers, and schools, each independent but associated with the evangelical mission of reaching “anxious souls.”

Princell likewise favored alliance meetings, whether a prophetic conference at New York or a YMCA meeting at Chicago. Along with “alliance men” such as Erixon, Martenson and Franson, Princell advocated freedom of local churches as the means for Christians to work together to further the gospel.<sup>146</sup> Unfortunately, his extreme congregationalism that favored cooperation without formal union only strengthened centrifugal tendencies. His intense zeal for a general, free-mission work, along with harsh criticism and lack of diplomacy, overshot the mark in editorials and articles and alienated rather than unified Mission Friends whom he sought to bring into an alliance, deviating from Moody’s diplomatic spirit.

The failed attempt by Free Mission Friends to transform the Ansgar Synod into a non-sectarian, non-confessional fellowship was not completely unlike Waldenström’s attempt, however, when he drew from Moody’s alliance ideal to transform the EFS into an umbrella organization for all societies and churches in Sweden. Princell believed that a new mission-work on the order of Svenska Missionsförbundet was possible, although he personally opposed a formal union and incorporation, and feared that the SMF might too become a denomination. Thus, the meeting at Boone, Iowa, in 1884, advanced the agenda for a free-mission work among “all Christians” regardless of “whether they saw things the same way or not,” gathering as “children of the same Father, and members of one body.”

However, the Mission Friends movement took a different turn from what Princell, Martenson, and Erixon had envisioned, when at Chicago in February 1885, the Swedish Evangelical Mission Covenant formed, organizing a formal union of churches from the Mission Synod, Ansgar Synod, and independent churches and societies. For Mission

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<sup>145</sup> *Minneapolis Weckoblad*, Nov. 27, 1889, 1.

<sup>146</sup> Hanson, *What It Means to Be Free*, 61–63.

### *Mission Friends and the Struggle for Identity*

Friends like C. A. Björk, F. M. Johnson, Axel Mellander, and E. A. Skogsbergh, the Covenant was a proper and necessary means to carry out Christian mission, education, and edification. In this action, the Covenant followed general guidelines of Svenska Missionsförbundet that emerged from Waldenström's circle, inspired by Moody's creedless, ecumenical evangelism.<sup>147</sup> However, the American Covenant was more intentional in ecclesial and denominational structure, seeking greater order and organization.

The formation of the Covenant sparked a heated debate at Free mission meetings, drawing upon Moody's example for clarity. Meanwhile, Skogsbergh labored with Moody at Minneapolis, hosting revival meetings at the Swedish Mission Tabernacle, while Princell joined the ranks of premillennial speakers at the Second American Bible and Prophetic Conference held at the YMCA's Farwell Hall in Chicago.

In the struggle between the Covenant and Free, Waldenström rebuked *Missions-Wännan* and *Chicago-Bladet* for sinning grievously. In 1889, on his first visit to America, he met Moody at Northfield, a meeting that demonstrated mutual respect and admiration for one another. The visit also symbolized the meeting of Swedish pietism and American revivalism, and the Mission Friends' struggle for evangelical identity.

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<sup>147</sup> Olsson, *Into One Body ... by the Cross*, Vol. I, 209.

*D. L. Moody and Swedes*



**D. L. Moody**

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## Chapter 8

### Moody's Disciples in Scandinavia

Moody's influence spread generally throughout Sweden and other Scandinavian countries in the 1870s and 1880s through his published writings, and more directly by proponents of his ideal, beliefs, and methods. Scandinavians such as Fredrik Franson, Cathrine Juell, N. P. Lang, Erik Jansson, and Edward Björkenheim came directly under Moody's influence in America and England, returning to their respective countries where they promoted elements of his American revivalism.<sup>1</sup> In 1890, Nathan Söderblom attended Moody's international student conference at Northfield, Massachusetts, and returned to Sweden with greater vision for Christian unity.

This chapter answers the question: What developments occurred in Sweden in the 1880s, and how did Moody's network of disciples affect Sweden, as well as Norway, Denmark, and Finland? The chapter examines the spread of Moody's influence in Scandinavia, chiefly through Franson who led revival campaigns with after-meetings, organized a major prophetic conference, and hosted evangelist courses to prepare home and foreign missionaries. The chapter also examines Nathan Söderblom's visit to Northfield that left a lasting impression on the future archbishop of Sweden.

The geographical, social, and theological scope of personalities examined in this chapter, illustrates the breadth of Moody's influence, especially when one considers that he never set foot in Sweden or any of the Scandinavian countries. This chapter also demonstrates the increasing religious tolerance and freedom in Sweden, and the gradual movement toward a more pluralistic religious culture.

#### Franson's Moody-Style Meetings in Sweden

In 1881, Fredrik Franson traveled to Sweden where he sparked a new revival that left an indelible mark on Swedish Christianity.<sup>2</sup> From Chicago, he traveled to New York, where he departed onboard ship with Mission Friends F. M. Johnson and Carl Peterson, as well as George Müller, the father of faith-missions from Bristol, England.<sup>3</sup> When Franson arrived in Sweden, crowds of listeners gathered to hear his Moody-style

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<sup>1</sup> Göran Åberg, "Sverige – Amerika tur och retur och vice versa. Om svenska förkunnarens predikoresor bland immigranter i Förenta Staterna och svenskamerikanska predikanter besök i Sverige 1875–1950," in *Den Svenska utvandringen till Amerika. Religiösa perspektiv*, Symposium Aug. 30, 2003, 61–62.

<sup>2</sup> Gunnar Westin, *Den kristna friförsamlingen i Norden. Frikyrklighetens uppkomst och utveckling* (Stockholm: Westerberg, 1956) 140.

<sup>3</sup> Josephine Princell, *Missionär Fredrik Fransons lif och verksamhet* (Chicago: Chicago-Bladet Publ. Co., 1909) 44.

preaching.<sup>4</sup> As a missionary from Chicago Avenue Church, he was welcomed as “Moody’s Swedish disciple,” and like his American mentor, he gathered people to large meetings, emphasized instantaneous conversion, and used after-meetings to “harvest anxious souls.”



**Fredrik Franson,**  
“Moody’s Swedish  
Disciple,” as a  
traveling evangelist

Franson arrived two years after Lord Radstock (1833–1913) had visited Sweden. The third Baron Lord Radstock of England had ministered among Sweden’s high society and royal circles for six months. On his way from Russia to England, he planned to stay a only few days in Sweden but ended up staying half a year.<sup>5</sup> He held Bible discussions, society dinners, and prayer meetings, as well as led singing from *Sankeys sånger*. He also taught the new premillennial view of the Second Coming.<sup>6</sup> The year before Radstock arrived, Moody-fever had swept through Sweden, preparing the soil for his work.<sup>7</sup>

However, the soil was prepared even more for Franson. Moody’s sermons published in newspapers, books, and colporteur tracts, opened the way for his activity in Sweden, as well as in Norway, Denmark, and Finland.

Shortly after Franson arrived at Malmö, he began preaching on the imminent return of Christ, whereby Christ would return first for his church, followed by a seven-

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<sup>4</sup> Karl Linge, *Fredrik Franson. En man sänd av Gud* (Uppsala: J. A. Lindblads förlag, 1951) 54; Edvard Paul Torjesen, “A Study of Fredrik Franson: The Development and Impact of His Ecclesiology, Missiology, and Worldwide Evangelism” (Ph.D. Diss., International College, Los Angeles, Calif., 1984) 194.

<sup>5</sup> Oloph Bexell, *Sveriges kyrkohistoria, 7. Folkväckelsens och kyrkoförnyelsens tid* (Stockholm: Verbum and Svenska kyrkans forskningsråd, 2003) 159; David W. Bebbington, *The Dominance of Evangelicalism: The Age of Spurgeon and Moody* (Downers Grove, Ill.: InterVarsity Press, 2005) 109.

<sup>6</sup> Lars Österlin, *Stockholmsväckelsen kring Lord Radstock. En kyrkohistorisk undersökning* (Stockholm: Svenska Kyrkans Diakonistyrelses bokförlag, 1947) 17.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 32.

### *Moody's Disciples in Scandinavia*

year tribulation, and then his glorious appearing and millennial kingdom on earth.<sup>8</sup> Franson wrote: "General interest was stirred, particularly by the diagram that I used in America (a diagram originally worked out by the English-speaking brothers, that they would use generally to illustrate this truth). This diagram more than words puts into focus the order of events that will occur in connection with Christ's return."<sup>9</sup> Emanuel Linderholm said that when Franson preached on Christ's return, "it would seem as if in the very next moment the heavens might rend and Christ would come."<sup>10</sup>

In 1881, Franson began his revival campaigns in various parts of Sweden, piquing interest with his Moody-style techniques. In December, he came to Örebro where he preached, later holding a series of *gemensamma väckelsemöten* (joint revival meetings) with Lutheran Mission Friends, Baptists, and Methodists.<sup>11</sup> In some places, he met resistance, however, and found mission houses closed to him by clergy who viewed his message and methods as new and foreign.<sup>12</sup>

At Karlstad, Franson published in December, 1881, his report from the Prophetic Conference held at Chicago earlier that year, and a second edition appeared in February, 1882.<sup>13</sup> He also published a colporteur tract titled, *Råd till de nyomvända*, for use in counseling new converts.<sup>14</sup> He then traveled to Norrköping where he was assisted by Leander Hallgren of Phelps Center, Nebraska, who was in Sweden working as a land agent with the Union Pacific railway.<sup>15</sup> Franson's meetings in Norrköping attracted large crowds, drawing considerable attention in the press and criticism from local clergy of the Church of Sweden.<sup>16</sup>

Franson then traveled to Linköping where he began revival meetings at Lutherska missionshuset on February 20, 1882, encountering opposition within a week.<sup>17</sup> A reporter from *Östgöta Correspondenten* described the after-meetings where Franson asked listeners to identify themselves as either "God's children" or "unconverted."<sup>18</sup> After a week at Linköping and nearby Askeby, Franson delivered his final sermon at the mission house where nearly two thousand people attended the meeting, including the *domprost* (dean) of Linköping's cathedral, Carl Wilhelm Linder (1825–1882), who was

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<sup>8</sup> Göran Åberg, *Sällskap–Samfund: Studier i Svenska alliansmissionens historia fram till 1950-talets mitt* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1980) 127.

<sup>9</sup> Fredrik Franson, "Till Guds barn i Amerika," *Chicago-Bladet*, July 9, 1881, 4–5. See Göran Gunner, "Fredrik Franson, American Influences, and Radical Apocalyptic Teachings" in *American Religious Influences in Sweden*, Scott E. Erickson, ed. (Uppsala: Tro & Tanke, 1996) 147–148.

<sup>10</sup> Emanuel Linderholm, *Pingströrelsen i Sverige: Ekstas, under och apokalyptik i nutida svensk folkreligiositet* (Stockholm: Bonnier, 1925) 25–26, cited in Torjesen, "A Study of Fredrik Franson," 196.

<sup>11</sup> John Magnusson, *John Ongman. En levnadsteckning* (Örebro: Örebro missionsförenings förlag, 1932) 89.

<sup>12</sup> Torjesen, "A Study of Fredrik Franson," 195.

<sup>13</sup> Fredrik Franson, "Till de helgon och trogna bröder i Kristo äro i Amerika," *Chicago-Bladet*, Dec. 13, 1881, 6.

<sup>14</sup> Edvard P. Torjesen, *Fredrik Franson: A Model for Worldwide Evangelism* (Pasadena: William Carey Library, 1983) 37. See Fredrik Franson, *Råd till de nyomvända, eller, Huru skall jag blifva bevarad i Jesus Kristus?* (Stockholm: 1905), and Fredrik Franson, "Några råd till de nyomvända," *Chicago-Bladet*, Dec. 13, 1881, 2.

<sup>15</sup> Torjesen, "A Study of Fredrik Franson," 209.

<sup>16</sup> Princell, *Missionär Fredrik Fransons lif och verksamhet*, 47–48.

<sup>17</sup> Torjesen, "A Study of Fredrik Franson," 212.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 214.

in the crowd unbeknown to Franson.<sup>19</sup>

Before leaving Linköping on the following day, Franson received a summons to appear before a state *kyrkoråd* (church council) in Linköping. After appearing before the council, he left for Mjölby and Mantorp, while the council prepared an injunction against him, certified on March 4, 1882, prohibiting him from preaching, based on the royal edict of December, 1868.<sup>20</sup>

Franson then left for Skänninge where he began preaching on March 7, 1882. The next week, *Östgöten* reported:

After the message, an announcement was made that now the meeting proper was over, and that those who were not anxious about their sins should leave. Those, however, who were anxious were urged to move up front. At the same time, some of God's children were urged to stay behind in order to be of help in the prayer meeting, and to counsel with the anxious ones.... After this, Franson left the pulpit and walked among the people, seeking to pray for as many anxious ones as possible. "If anyone is anxious, please come forward," he kept saying. When it looked as if no one else would respond to the call, Franson knelt down in front of all the anxious ones and prayed to God for the salvation of their souls. ... Then they all got up, and with thanks and praise to God, interspersed and with some songs, they continued the meeting until nearly 9 p.m.<sup>21</sup>

When Franson arrived at Visby, he mailed his appeal to Linköping's district court against the injunction by the church council.<sup>22</sup> However, the district court ruled against his appeal, and on May 20, ruled against his appeal for a similar injunction at Skänninge.<sup>23</sup> Despite this action, Franson was welcomed in nearly every city by local mission societies of Mission Friends, and large crowds attended his revival meetings that followed Moody's pattern.

### Moody's and Sankey's Invitation to Sweden

During this time, interest among Swedish Mission Friends in Moody's campaigns in Great Britain was high. In response, Håkan Bengtson, editor of *Göteborgs Weckoblad*, published an article asking: "What is the secret to Moody's tremendous ability as a preacher? This question has often been asked in England and America. Now that Moody is in Newcastle, this point is being raised again, especially when he fascinates 3,000 listeners like light, while other preachers can only win the attention of a dozen. How is this possible?"<sup>24</sup> The answer that Bengtson offered was: "Moody is a Bible man ... he is well versed in what God has written in the good old book."<sup>25</sup> The article further

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<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

<sup>20</sup> "Den religiöse fribytaren Fransen," *Östgöta Correspondenten*, Mar. 7, 1882, and "Predikanten Fransen och domkyrkoförsamlings kyrkoråd," *Östgöten*, n.d., in Torjesen, "A Study of Fredrik Franson," 215–216. In addition, the press obtained names of two priests called as witnesses against Franson, namely, Wilhelm Arbin and J. A. Söderlund.

<sup>21</sup> *Östgöten*, March 15, 1882, cited in "Fransons religionsmål i Skenninge" *Nerikes Allehanda*, Mar. 20, 1882, cited in Torjesen, "A Study of Fredrik Franson," 217.

<sup>22</sup> *Göteborgs Weckoblad*, Mar. 30, 1882, 3.

<sup>23</sup> Torjesen, "A Study of Fredrik Franson," 230.

<sup>24</sup> "Moody och Sankey i England," *Göteborgs Weckoblad*, Oct. 27, 1881, 2.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid.

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explained that Moody's success was in his spiritual power, "the power found only in those who are filled with the Holy Spirit," and in Moody's "holy zeal, great love, and mighty power manifested in true humility."<sup>26</sup>

Besides Moody's work in Great Britain, *Göteborgs Weckoblad* reported his plans to host a preachers' conference at Northfield, featuring Andrew Bonar of Glasgow who would speak on "the doctrine of sin, atonement ... and Christ's return," as well as "discuss different ways of winning souls to the Lord."<sup>27</sup> *Göteborgs Weckoblad* stated that Moody hoped "to bring 500 to 600 servants of the gospel together for this meeting to help them gain a clearer understanding of the main doctrines of scripture, and better insight in ways to work in God's vineyard."<sup>28</sup>

In the fall of 1881, leaders of Lutherska missionsföreningen (the Lutheran Missionary Society) in Göteborg, along with the Methodist and Baptist congregations, invited Moody to hold revival meetings in Sweden.<sup>29</sup> Congregations in Stockholm, Gävle, Jönköping, Uppsala, Örebro, Malmö, and Karlskrona were also invited to participate.<sup>30</sup> Gunnar Olén later commented: "I can still remember how as a young assistant priest in Karlskrona when I was perusing the old minutes of Lutherska missionsförening that I discovered that the society, along with the mission society in Göteborg, had decided to call Moody and his well known singing evangelist Ira Sankey to Sweden to hold meetings. Waldenström was also in agreement with extending this call."<sup>31</sup>

This invitation to Moody and Sankey never materialized, however. The following spring, Moody's response arrived, dated March 22, 1882, from Glasgow, stating:

I have received your kind letter with the signatures of the three church chairmen inviting Mr. Sankey and me to hold meetings in Göteborg. Whereas I am not strong enough now to speak, I have not given any thought to working outside England, but if during the summer I would discover this to be God's will, then I will travel to your country where the fresh air would give me greater strength to work, and so I will write to you. At the present time though, I am unable to make any plans to work in Sweden or Norway. With much thanks for the invitation, and in Christian love.

Sincerely yours,  
D. L. Moody<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> Ibid.

<sup>27</sup> *Göteborgs Weckoblad*, July 21, 1881, 2–3. See the report in "Predikantmötet i Northfield," *Göteborgs Weckoblad*, Oct. 6, 1881, 2.

<sup>28</sup> *Göteborgs Weckoblad*, July 21, 1881, 3.

<sup>29</sup> The meeting was held at Bethlehemskyrkan on Nov. 6, 1881. *Göteborgs Weckoblad*, Mar. 30, 1882, 3. See also: Emil Larsen, *Brydninger. Kirkelige og frikirkelige i sidste halvdel af det 19. århundrede med særligt henblik på Fredrik Fransons besøg i Danmark 1884–85* (Copenhagen: Tro og Liv, 1965) 68.

<sup>30</sup> The churches in the first three cities mentioned did not wish to participate but the last four were in agreement about extending the call. The letter to Moody and Sankey was signed on behalf of the mission society and congregations in Göteborg, along with a greeting from the other cities mentioned, plus Växjö and Kristiania. *Göteborgs Weckoblad*, Mar. 30, 1882, 3. Cf. John Magnusson, *John Ongman. En levnadsteckning* (Örebro: Örebro missionsförenings förlag, 1932) 88.

<sup>31</sup> Gunnar Olén, *Berömda väckelse-predikanter* (Jönköping: SAM Förlaget, 1969) 41–42.

<sup>32</sup> *Göteborgs Weckoblad*, Mar. 30, 1882, 3.

Despite Moody's response, Franson followed up with this invitation on his visit to England and Scotland in May, 1882.

### Franson's Visit with Moody at Glasgow

Franson traveled first to London and reported: "On Monday I visited Miss Hedenström who works successfully among immigrants and seamen .... From there I went to Grattan Guinness's mission institute, known in Sweden by its association with the foreign mission of Svenska Missionsförbundet, as well as Guinness's foreign mission work."<sup>33</sup> Franson also attended the May Meetings hosted by mission organizations, and described how in England one could learn about foreign missions, recognizing "how little Swedes were doing in this effort to bring the gospel to the millions who needed to hear about the Savior."<sup>34</sup> He said that he had been awakened to China's need with its three to four million people open to the gospel, describing it as "a need that more and more is attracting the attention of *missionsvännerna* (the Mission Friends) despite the difficulty of learning a new language."<sup>35</sup>

Franson visited the British branch of the Evangelical Alliance, known for promoting religious freedom and tolerance, something he desired in Sweden. While Franson was already a devoted "alliance man," he nevertheless joined the Evangelical Alliance on May 11, 1882, along with Victor Rylander from Chicago and Pastor S. Svenson.<sup>36</sup> Franson reported: "On Tuesday we were invited to the Evangelical Alliance's annual meeting in Regents Park College where, among other speakers, Mr. Turino from Milan spoke with joy about God's work in Italy. This country now seems to be open, either to free thinking, or to the gospel."<sup>37</sup> Franson also reported plans for the Evangelical Alliance to hold an international conference in Sweden—a meeting that was moved to Copenhagen.<sup>38</sup>

Franson then traveled to Glasgow to attend Moody's meetings, saying: "I was delighted to have the opportunity to see and speak with the old soldier again."<sup>39</sup> Franson noted that Moody continued in the same old way, with his usual eagerness, zeal, and faith, noting that Sankey was abroad in Germany due to his son's illness. Franson reported that Moody was leading up to four meetings a day, saying:

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<sup>33</sup> "Bref från England," *Göteborgs Weckoblad*, May 17, 1882, 2. Cf. M. W. Montgomery, *A Wind of the Holy Spirit in Sweden and Norway* (New York: American Home Missionary Society, 1885) 19. C. O. Orest and C. J. Engvall attended the Guinness Training School in London.

<sup>34</sup> "Bref från England," *Göteborgs Weckoblad*, May 17, 1882, 2.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>36</sup> "Proceedings of Council," *Evangelical Christendom*, June 1, 1882, in Torjesen, "A Study of Fredrik Franson," 228.

<sup>37</sup> "Bref från England," *Göteborgs Weckoblad*, May 17, 1882, 2.

<sup>38</sup> When the Evangelical Alliance announced plans to meet in 1884 at Stockholm, King Oscar II offered to host a reception. However, plans changed when Archbishop A. N. Sundberg, along with the twelve bishops and eleven theological professors of Sweden, sent a letter to the General Conference of the Evangelical Alliance stating that it was "unseasonable for the Evangelical Alliance at the present time to summon a general conference at Stockholm." When the Alliance meeting convened at Copenhagen in 1884, a ministerial conference met in Stockholm on the same days, making it impossible for Church of Sweden clergy to attend. Montgomery, *A Wind from the Holy Spirit in Sweden and Norway*, 68–69.

<sup>39</sup> "Bref från England," *Göteborgs Weckoblad*, May 17, 1882, 2.

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The way that he goes about this is to give a short message at one place, and then he appoints God's children to the work of talking with the anxious, and then he goes directly to the next location to preach there. Discussion meetings are quite similar to the ones that we hold. Yes, yesterday when the first part of the meeting ended and God's children were spreading out among the people to seek out and talk with the anxious, it looked like some of our after-meetings at home in Sweden—just like two eggs that look alike.<sup>40</sup>

Franson commented that Moody liked to give new converts the opportunity to speak with others about what God had done in their lives, and how this would bring great blessing to them and their listeners. Franson stated that Moody was always glad to hear what God was doing in other places too, and then reported:

He has called me up front at three meetings to tell about God's work among the Swedes, and specifically how God's grace has been shown to many of the emigrants in the company who are now traveling with us. It is clear that God has truly shown his grace to this group. Several were already God's children before they left their homes. However, at Hull a good number were saved. After their arrival to Glasgow, they were exhorted by the brothers H—n [Hallgren] and R—r [Rylander] who are acquainted with Moody and Sankey in America, to accompany them to his meetings held at the city's Circus. As soon as Moody found out that so many Swedes were present, he wanted to know how many of them were Christians, and then encouraged one of the Swedish brothers to say something to them. In addition, they sang a song in Swedish. The English-speaking friends just listened with joy to the message and song, since they did not understand it. After this, the Swedes were assigned to a different [inquiry] room where a number of them gave their lives to the Lord.<sup>41</sup>

At this time, Victor Rylander and Leander Hallgren were working as land agents for the Union Pacific with an office in Göteborg, the major port of embarkation for Swedish emigrants.<sup>42</sup> They were actively recruiting Swedes to settle in Nebraska, and often assisted Mission Friends such as Franson, Princell, and A. P. Nelson in their travels and activities in Sweden.<sup>43</sup>

When Franson asked Moody if he would visit Sweden that summer, or sometime later, he replied that he could not give a definite answer, but that "God willing, he would do so, and that the trip would be good, if time allowed it."<sup>44</sup> While this never

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<sup>40</sup> Ibid.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid.

<sup>42</sup> Rylander published a twenty-page guide for buying inexpensive land in Nebraska. See Victor Rylander, *Wägledare till billiga hem: 3,000,000 acres of Union Pacific Jernvägens öofverträffliga farmland till salu i Nebraska* (1881). In another booklet, he gave practical hints for immigrants coming to Nebraska. See Victor Rylander, *Råd och upplysningar för dem som ämna resa till Union Pacific Railway Co's (Stilla hafsbanans) landsträckor i staten Nebraska, Förenta Staterna, Nord-Amerika* (Göteborg: Göteborgs boktryckeri-aktiebolag, 1882). Besides, *Chicago-Bladet*, Rylander advertised in Chicago Avenue Church's newspaper. See *Pen and Scissors: Chicago Avenue Church Paper* Vol. 1, No. 8 (18 Feb 1888).

<sup>43</sup> In the spring of 1883, A. P. Nelson received a complimentary first class ticket on Thingvalla Line, leaving New York on May 26 on the Atlantic steamship, Island, along with J. G. Princell. A. P. Nelson, *Svenska Missionsvännernas historia i Amerika* (Minneapolis: A. P. Nelson, 1906) 94.

<sup>44</sup> "Bref från England," *Göteborgs Weckoblad*, May 17, 1882, 2.

materialized, further news of his campaigns again piqued interest in his writings and Sankey's songs.<sup>45</sup> (See the years 1884–1887 in the Appendix.)

### Franson and the Uppsala Prophetic Conference

When Franson returned to Sweden, he helped to organize a prophetic conference at Uppsala, held July 2–4, 1882.<sup>46</sup> After he preached at the mission house in Uppsala, he was asked to organize a similar conference to the one held in Chicago in 1881, a conference also on the model of Mildmay, Niagara, and New York City prophetic conferences that featured Darby's new premillennialism.<sup>47</sup>

Leaders of Mission Friends such as Waldenström, Erik Nyström, E. J. Ekman, and Andreas Fernholm, participated in the three-day event sponsored by Lutherska missionsföreningen (Lutheran Mission Society). In addition, F. M. Johnson and Carl Peterson from America participated.<sup>48</sup> The guest lecturer from Hull, England, was William P. Mackay (1839–1885), Moody's friend, and author of *Grace and Truth*, and its Swedish version, *Nåd och sanning*.<sup>49</sup> In addition to other conferences, Mackay spoke at the American Bible and Prophetic Conference in New York in 1878.<sup>50</sup>

The Uppsala Prophetic Conference discussed several questions regarding Christ's Second Coming and end-time events, following the premillennial ideas that Franson promoted.<sup>51</sup> Among the questions were: What do the Holy Scriptures say about Christ's coming? Are we able on the basis of certain passages in the Holy Scriptures to expect the rapture, or taking up of the Church, the Bride, to meet the Lord in the air (1 Thess. 4:13–18) before the appearance of the Antichrist? (2 Thess. 2:1–10)? What does the Bible teach about the kingdom of God, its coming, development, and fulfillment? Do we presently have any obvious signs that the Lord's coming is near? What will it be like on the earth during the so-called millennial kingdom according to the revelation of the Holy

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<sup>45</sup> Ernst Newman, "Dwight L. Moody och hans inflytande i Sverige," in *Från skilda tider. Studier tillägnade Hjalmar Holmquist* (Stockholm: Svenska Kyrkans Diakonistyrelses Bokförlag, 1938) 374–376. Cf. "En jul predikan af Moody," *Göteborgs Weckoblad*, Jan. 10, 1884, 3. In 1885, M. W. Montgomery reported that *Hemlandsvännen* of the SMF circulated 11,000 copies weekly, *Wäktaren* of the EFS circulated 5,000 copies, from 1877 to 1880 Waldenström and Ekman published *Vittnet* with 1,500 to 2,000 subscribers, and since 1880 Ekman and Fernholm published *Förbundet* monthly with an average of seven thousand subscribers. This compared with *Chicago-Bladet* with a weekly circulation of 10,000 copies. Montgomery, *A Wind from the Holy Spirit in Sweden and Norway*, 32, 39, 44.

<sup>46</sup> See *Redogörelse för diskussionen vid konferensen i Upsala den 2–4 juli 1882* (Stockholm: A. L. Normans förlag, 1882). The prophetic conference was held one week after the annual conference of Svenska Missionsförbundet which Franson also attended. Torjesen, "A Study of Fredrik Franson," 233.

<sup>47</sup> Ernest R. Sandeen, *The Roots of Fundamentalism: British and American Millenarianism 1800–1930* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1970) 145–151.

<sup>48</sup> Princell, *Missionär Fredrik Fransons lif och verksamhet*, 55.

<sup>49</sup> *Redogörelse för diskussionen vid konferensen i Upsala*, 47–52, 107–111, 158–161, 216–228, 282–288. William P. Mackay studied at the University of Edinburgh, and after his work as a medical doctor, served as pastor of Prospect Presbyterian Church of Hull, and as editor of *The British Evangelist*.

<sup>50</sup> Sandeen, *The Roots of Fundamentalism*, 148–153. See Nathaniel West, *Second Coming of Christ: Premillennial Essays of the Prophetic Conference Held in the Church of the Holy Trinity, New York City* (Chicago: F. H. Revell, 1879) 315.

<sup>51</sup> Göran Gunner, *När tiden tar slut. Motivförskjutningar i frikyrklig apokalyptisk tolkning av det judiska folket och staten Israel* (Uppsala: Svenska Institutet för Missionsforskning, 1996) 55.



## Moody's Disciples in Scandinavia

Scriptures?<sup>52</sup>

In addition to the discussion, lectures were presented by Ekman, Fernholm, Franson, Mackay, J. Elfström, and S. Blomqwist. Regarding Mackay's lecture, the conference report stated: "...a lecture was given by Dr. Mackay from England (known to many as the author of the book *Nåd och sanning*) with Dr. E. Nyström as the translator."<sup>53</sup> Mackay's lecture on whether the rapture of the church—the Bride—to meet the Lord in the air would happen before the appearance of the Antichrist, "sparked a lively discussion that did not end until after 8 p.m. in which no less than 16 different speakers spoke and several of them did so time and again."<sup>54</sup> According to the report, the most skillful champions were Ekman on one side and Franson on the other.

After the moderator set forth the view that the rapture of the Bride is a secret act to the world, followed by the great tribulation, Ekman acknowledged that he disagreed with the view. He held rather that Christians would go through the tribulation.<sup>55</sup> In response, Franson wondered "where God would find people for the millennial kingdom if all human beings were taken away from the earth."<sup>56</sup> He further argued that in Rev. 3:3, it does not say that God "will keep them from the trial, as in John 17:15, but that God would keep them from the hour of trial that draws near for all the world."<sup>57</sup>

Following the conference, J. G. and Josephine Princell joined Franson in Sweden.<sup>58</sup> Josephine noted from the conference report that several Swedish believers "still held to the belief that the church will go through the tribulation associated with Antichrist's rule on earth, a view maintained by leaders of Svenska Missionsförbundet."<sup>59</sup> While leaders like Ekman and Waldenström agreed with Franson as far as a general premillennial view, they disagreed over how it would happen.<sup>60</sup> Nevertheless, they expressed unity despite their differences.<sup>61</sup>

With the Linköping church council's injunction still against Franson, he submitted an appeal to King Oscar II, and received a favorable response back on August 4, 1882.<sup>62</sup> Perhaps his recent membership in the British Evangelical Alliance helped persuade the king to nullify the council's injunction against him, as well as the district

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<sup>52</sup> "Frågor att behandla vid konferensen i Upsala missionhus," *Göteborgs Weckoblad*, June 22, 1882, 3. The last question examined Article 17 of the Augsburg Confession and Revelation 20.

<sup>53</sup> "Konferensen i Upsala den 2 juli och följande dagar," *Göteborgs Weckoblad*, July 6, 1882, 2. In addition to Nyström, Mrs. Andersson from Stockholm and Franson translated for Mackay. *Göteborgs Weckoblad*, July 6, 1882, 3.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.* Widely diverse views were articulated by Ekman, Nyström, Franson, Mackay, as well as Dr. Lee, and editor Strömberg.

<sup>55</sup> "Konferensen i Upsala den 2 juli och följande dagar," *Göteborgs Weckoblad*, July 6, 1882, 2.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>58</sup> O. C. Grauer, *Fredrik Franson: Founder of the Scandinavian Alliance Mission of North America* (Chicago: Scandinavian Alliance Mission, n.d.) 221.

<sup>59</sup> Josephine Princell, "Bref från Sverige," *Chicago-Bladet*, Sept. 12, 1882, 4–5; Princell, *Missionär Fredrik Fransons lif och verksamhet*, 54.

<sup>60</sup> Gunner, *När tiden tar slut*, 61–65; Montgomery, *A Wind of the Holy Spirit in Sweden and Norway*, 34. See Waldenström's historic premillennial view in: P. P. Waldenström, *Om Guds rike och församlingen: Bidrag till läran om de yttersta tingen och den tillkommande verldsåldern* (Stockholm, 1882). Two more conferences convened at Uppsala in the mid 1880s to discuss the end times. Bexell, *Sveriges kyrkohistoria*, 7. *Folkväckelse och kyrkoförnyelsens tid*, 248.

<sup>61</sup> *Redogörelse för diskussionen rörande de yttersta tingen vid konferensen i Upsala*, 331.

<sup>62</sup> Torjesen, "A Study of Fredrik Franson," 235.

court's decision to uphold it. Franson then traveled to Härnösand along the Gulf of Bothnia where he held evangelistic meetings for three weeks. At Härnösand he met Fridolf Risberg who had served as a priest in the Church of Sweden before joining Waldenström's movement, and working then as a preacher and teacher with Svenska Missionsförbundet. Risberg promoted Franson's meetings and worked alongside him in after-meetings, becoming friends for life.<sup>63</sup>

In 1883, August Hedström of Örebro, another friend of Franson, began the Christian newspaper *Morgonstjärnan*.<sup>64</sup> This periodical contained sermons and lectures about Christ's return, the church, the unity of believers, and holiness. Franson, Josephine Princell, and others served as contributing editors.<sup>65</sup>

### Moody's Influence in Norway

When Norway's Frimisjon (the Free Mission) sought evangelists for revival services, they heard of Franson and his revival work in Sweden from Cathrine Juell who encouraged the mission leaders to invite him to Norway.<sup>66</sup> Franson arrived at Oslo in January, 1883, and for the next two years conducted revival meetings in the Nordic country.

Moody's and Sankey's fame had spread there too, through published works and songs in the Norwegian language, beginning in 1875.<sup>67</sup> In 1876, Theodor Truvé's Swedish book, *Moody och Sankey och deras verksamhet i Skottland, Irland och England*, was translated into Norwegian by Johan Storm Munch and published in Kristiania as *Moody og Sankey og deres Virksomhed i Skotland, Irland og England* (Moody and Sankey and Their Work in Scotland, Ireland and England).<sup>68</sup> In 1877, the Swedish version of W. H. Daniels' book was translated by J. C. H. Storjohann and published as *D. L. Moodys Liv og første Virksomhed i New York og Chicago*.<sup>69</sup> Collections of Sankey's songs were also published and sung in Norway.<sup>70</sup>

Moody's published books and sermons prepared the way for Franson's work in Norway as in Sweden. One report in *Kristelige Tidende* stated, "When Franson came to Norway, it was said that in his activities, he would follow Moody's example."<sup>71</sup> After a

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<sup>63</sup> Grauer, *Fredrik Franson*, 36–37.

<sup>64</sup> Torjeson, *Fredrik Franson: A Model for Worldwide Evangelism*, 41.

<sup>65</sup> "Ett predikantmöte," *Göteborgs Weckblad*, Jan. 3, 1884, 4.

<sup>66</sup> Torjesen, "A Study of Fredrik Franson," 263.

<sup>67</sup> Frederick Hale, "Insights from Norwegian 'Revivalism'," in *Modern Christian Revivals*, Edith L. Blumhofer and Randall Balmer, eds. (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1993) 111. See D. L. Moody, *Religiøse Taler*, trans. from English by H. C. Knutsen (Kristiania: Grams forlag, 1875); D. L. Moody, *Frelser og Synder. Evangeliske Taler*, trans. from English by H. C. Knutsen (Kristiania: Gram, 1876); and D. L. Moody, Ira D. Sankey, and Pastor Storjohann, *Taler af D. L. Moody og Sange sungne af Ira D. Sankey*, udgivne af Pastor Storjohann (Christiania: Steen, 1876).

<sup>68</sup> See T. Truvé, and J. St. Munch, *Moody og Sankey og deres Virksomhed i Skotland, Irland og England*, trans. from English (Kristiania: Palmquist & Svenson, 1876).

<sup>69</sup> See W. H. Daniels and Pastor Storjohann, *D. L. Moodys Liv og første Virksomhed i New York og Chicago*, efter W. Daniels, udgivet af Pastor Storjohann (Christiania: Steen, 1877).

<sup>70</sup> See Ira D. Sankey, *Samling af Aandelige Sange*, transl. from English by H. I. B. (Risør, 1876); *Sions Harpe: en Samling af evangeliske Sange; tildels sjungne af I. D. Sankey* (Norsk Forlagsselskab, 1880).

<sup>71</sup> *Lutersk Kirketidende*, Mar. 22, 1884, cited in Hale, "Norwegians, Danes and the Origin of the Evangelical Free Tradition," *Norwegian-American Studies* Vol. 28 (1979) 89.

### Moody's Disciples in Scandinavia

series of meetings at Oslo, Franson traveled throughout the country, gaining acceptance, and meeting resistance, especially because after-meetings had not been seen there before.<sup>72</sup> One Norwegian claimed: "We are so far up here in the north where it is cold, and we do not expect this enthusiasm, these sudden conversions, these foreign ways. After-meetings are not as common here as they are in England, America, or Sweden."<sup>73</sup>

Moody's books continued to be published in Norway, and in 1883, the first issue of *Morgenrøden* published Moody's sermon on the Second Coming, emphasizing Christ's premillennial return.<sup>74</sup> Moreover, Franson urged that Moody's strategy to take the gospel to every home in Chicago be carried out in Norway.<sup>75</sup>

Franson worked with Cathrine Juell (1833–1901), a woman of noble birth and wealth in Kristiania.<sup>76</sup> After her mother's death in 1868, Cathrine traveled to Paris, France, and then to the United States, living for a while in New York.<sup>77</sup> She returned to Norway, and in 1876, when she received news from her nephew Nicolaj Andresen who had recently attended Moody's meetings in Chicago, she decided to return to America to attend Moody's meetings for herself, first in Chicago and then Boston.<sup>78</sup> She converted to faith, and began to observe how "peoples' hearts were touched at Moody's meetings," characteristically different than worship services of the Norwegian church. In Chicago, she met Franson and attended his meetings that were similar in nature to those of Moody.<sup>79</sup>

When Juell returned to Norway, she joined Lammers's church in Kristiania, and when Franson arrived there in 1883, she joined his work, ministering through home visitation, literature distribution, calling on the poor, and assisting with after-meetings.<sup>80</sup> In addition, she financed several of Franson's booklets such as: *Vink og Raad for Nyomvendte* (Hints and Advice for New Converts), *Skal du live tilbage?* (Will You Be Left Behind?), and *Min Vej og Herrens Vej?* (My Way or the Lord's Way?).<sup>81</sup> She also financed Moody's works *Gjenfødelse: hvad er det?* (Regeneration: What Is It?), and

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<sup>72</sup> Arnold T. Olson, *Believers Only: An Outline of the History and Principles of the Free Evangelical Movement in Europe and North America Affiliated with the International Federation of Free Evangelical Churches* (Minneapolis: Free Church Publications, 1964) 174–175.

<sup>73</sup> Fredrik Franson, *Eftermøtøna i skriftens ljus*, trans. by N.[elly] H.[all] (Karlshamn: Nya Tryckeri-Bolaget, 1888) 39.

<sup>74</sup> Hale, "Norwegians, Danes and the Origin of the Evangelical Free Tradition," *Norwegian-American Studies* Vol. 28 (1979) 91. *Morgenrøden* became the organ of Det Norske Misjonsforbund, and often published sermons by Moody and Franson. Frederick Hale, "British and American Millenarianism in Norway during the Breakthrough of Modernity," *Fides et historia* Vol. XIX, No. 1 (Feb., 1987) 44.

<sup>75</sup> Frederick Hale, *Trans-Atlantic Conservative Protestantism in the Evangelical Free and Mission Covenant Traditions* (New York: Arno Press, 1979) 209.

<sup>76</sup> Montgomery, *A Wind from the Holy Spirit in Sweden and Norway*, 24.

<sup>77</sup> Emil Larsen, *Bibelkvinnen fra Christiania, Tro og Liv* (København, 1964).

<sup>78</sup> Ingulf Diesen, *Veiryddere Ingulf Diesen, Veiryddere: Gustav Adolph Lammers og den bevegelsen og de medarbeiderne som grunnla de eldste norske frimenigheter som utgjør Det norske misjonsforbunds forhistorie og opprinnelse* (Oslo: Ansgar Forlag, 1980) 224–233, cited in letter to David M. Gustafson from Ivar Oevergaard, Stavanger, May 31, 2006. See Moody's sermons at Boston in Norwegian in: D. L. Moody, *Prædikener: holdte i Tabernaklet i Boston i Tidsrommet fra Februar til Mai 1877* (Thronhjelm: Oversætterens forl., 1877).

<sup>79</sup> Emil Larsen, *Kvinde, din er stor. Cathrine Juells liv og virke* (Copenhagen: Tro & Liv, 1976) 15–19.

<sup>80</sup> Olson, *Believers Only*, 218.

<sup>81</sup> Larsen, *Kvinde*, 20–21. Cf. F. Franson, "Wink til Nyomvendte" *Folke-Vennen*, June 19, 1884, 4.

*Hvorledes man bør læse Bibelen?* (How Is the Bible to Be Read?).<sup>82</sup> Moreover, she financed an edition of Franson's collection of American gospel and Swedish revival songs titled, *Evangelii Basun*.<sup>83</sup>

In 1884, Franson returned to Sweden, holding Bible courses at Västerås, Jönköping, and Malmö. At Malmö, he was assisted by Nelly Hall (1848–1916), and later by Cathrine Juell.<sup>84</sup> In July 1884, they returned to Kristiania where Franson conducted his Bible course there, and helped to organize Det Norske Misjonsforbundet (The Norwegian Mission Covenant).<sup>85</sup> During this time, a number of Norwegians were especially influenced by Franson, including Severin and David Didriksen, brothers who immigrated to America and established evangelical, free churches, and Paul Peter Wettergren and his sons, Olaf and Jacob, who established a free missionary society.<sup>86</sup>

### Moody's Influence in Denmark

After making contacts in Denmark where he had attended the Evangelical Alliance conference in Copenhagen, August 30 to September 7, 1884, Franson began a series of revival meetings on October 17, 1884.<sup>87</sup> He announced at introductory meetings that he was "an evangelist in Moody's tradition" and that he would preach on topics such as "the return of Christ, the Antichrist, instantaneous conversion, and hold after-meetings for inquirers."<sup>88</sup> Cathrine Juell followed Franson to Copenhagen and assisted him in distributing tracts, working in after-meetings, and preaching to women, at first reading Moody's sermons.<sup>89</sup>

After an unsuccessful attempt to work with the Danish Home Mission, Franson joined forces with Den Christelig Traktat Forening (the Christian Tract Society), founded the previous year by Niels Peter Lang, a Danish disciple of Moody's from Chicago.<sup>90</sup>

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<sup>82</sup> D. L. Moody, *Gjenfødelse: hvad er det?*, oversat fra Engelsk af C. J.[u]ell (Laurvik: Dehly, 1888, and D. L. Moody, *Hvorledes man bør læse Bibelen* (Laurvik: Dehly, 1888).

<sup>83</sup> F. Franson, comp., *Evangelii Basun: aandelige Sange, oversat fra Svensk og Engelsk* (Kristiania: 1883). The sixth edition was published by Juell in Denmark. See F. Franson, comp., *Evangelii Basun: Aandelige Sange* (Kjøbenhavn: Juell, 1889).

<sup>84</sup> Gunnila Gunner, *Nelly Hall oppburen och ifrågsatt. Predikant och missionär i Europa och USA 1882–1901* (Uppsala: Studia Missionalia Svecana XCII, 2003) 93–96, 163; Torjesen, *Fredrik Franson: A Model for Worldwide Evangelism*, 46.

<sup>85</sup> Frederick Hale, *Norwegian Religious Pluralism: A Transatlantic Comparison* (Lewistown, New York: Edwin Mellen Press, 1992) 80.

<sup>86</sup> Severin Didriksen preached briefly in Kristiania (Oslo) but left shortly to join his older brother, David, in Boston, where they established an evangelical, free church in 1885. L. J. Pedersen, *The Norwegian Evangelical Free Church of Boston, Mass. (Congregational): A Brief Historical Sketch* (Boston: Eastern Press, 1935) 4, 6. In 1887, P. P. Wettergren helped to organize a non-sectarian conference on Bible prophecy in Kristiania, and apparently "inspired by Moody's non-sectarian emphases in line with the Evangelical Alliance, laid plans with his sons to establish a free missionary society." Hale, *Norwegian Religious Pluralism*, 158–159. Albert Lund, converted in America and deeply impressed by the Moody-movement, came to Norway in 1902 where he was known as one of the Nordic countries' most famous revival preachers. Westin, *Den kristna friförsamlingen i Norden*, 289.

<sup>87</sup> Torjesen, "A Study of Fredrik Franson," 321.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, 330–331.

<sup>89</sup> Olson, *Believers Only*, 218–219.

<sup>90</sup> Franson found the doors of the Copenhagen Inner Mission closed to him. "There was no thought of any extension of cooperation to this revival preacher from the evangelical, alliance-practicing Moody Church." Torjesen, "A Study of Fredrik Franson," 327–329.

### *Moody's Disciples in Scandinavia*

Franson first met Lang at Chicago Avenue Church in 1876, and participated with him in activities such as the free-mission meeting at Moline, Illinois, in February 1881, along with Princell, Martenson, and August Davis.<sup>91</sup> Lang returned to America just before Franson arrived at Copenhagen.

In 1864, when Lang emigrated from Denmark to Chicago, he came directly under Moody's influence, attending the Illinois Street Church.<sup>92</sup> In 1881, he became editor of *Folke-Vennen*, an independent newspaper launched two years earlier.<sup>93</sup> This non-sectarian periodical was a Norwegian-Danish newspaper on the order of *Chicago-Bladet*, publishing Moody's sermons in addition to those by C. H. Spurgeon, C. O. Rosenius, Peder Sørensen, Theodore L. Cuyler, P. C. Trandberg, Chr. Christiansen, and P. P. Waldenström.<sup>94</sup> In 1882, Lang translated and published a collection of Moody's sermons titled, *De ni Nye Ting* (The Nine New Things), and his own songbook, *Den lille Sanger*, containing songs translated from Swedish and English.<sup>95</sup>

In 1882, when Lang returned to Denmark, he was welcomed by Lutheran mission societies at Copenhagen, Nordsjælland, Helsingør and several places in Skåne in southern Sweden.<sup>96</sup> In August of 1882, he wrote to *Folke-Vennen* saying: "I have received much help and encouragement from the old dear Brother in the Lord, N. Christoffersen, as well as his zealous wife, and a sister C. Juel from New York and several Swedish *Læsere* (Readers)."<sup>97</sup>

Although Lang was instrumental in the revivals among Danish Lutheran Friends, his use of Moody's revival techniques led to a quarrel with the society's leaders.<sup>98</sup> When a rift developed, he left the society and established a new work, only to establish another society called Den Christelig Traktat Forening (the Christian Tract Society).<sup>99</sup> He returned to America in May, 1884, and worked as an itinerant evangelist, traveling to Tacoma in Washington Territory in 1885 to assist the newly founded Scandinavian Congregational Church, a free church.<sup>100</sup>

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<sup>91</sup> *Chicago-Bladet*, Mar. 23, 1881, 2–3. The discussion centered on the timing of the rapture.

<sup>92</sup> Arnold T. Olson, *The Significance of Silence* (Minneapolis: Free Church Press, 1981) 112.

<sup>93</sup> Larsen, *Brydninger*, 76. Waldimar Mortensen came alongside Lang as editor.

<sup>94</sup> *Folke-Vennen* advertised in *Chicago-Bladet*, asking "Swedish brothers to assist with the distribution of the newspaper to Norwegians and Danes." *Chicago-Bladet*, Nov. 27, 1883, 8. Cf. *Folke-Vennen*, Oct. 21, 1881, 5; Dec. 9, 1881, 3; Mar. 31, 1882, 5; Aug. 17, 1882, 4. See "Christus-Livets Band," *Folke-Vennen*, Dec. 23, 1881, 2; "Herrens: Jeg vil!" Jan. 13, 1882, 2; "Jesu Opstandelse," Apr. 7, 1882, 1; "Gud er skjærlighed," May 26, 1882, 1. The newspaper advertised Skogsbergh preaching at Bethania Kirken, the Norwegian free church at the corner of W. Indiana and N. Carpenter. *Folke-Vennen*, Jan. 20, 1882, 8.

<sup>95</sup> See D. L. Moody, *De ni nye Ting. Prædiken*, trans. by N. P. Lang (Chicago: 1882), and N. P. Lang, *Den lille sanger: Et udvalg af evangeliske salmer og sange* (Chicago: *Folke-Vennen*, part 1, 1882; part 2 1882; 1883; 1886; 1888; 1891). Cf. *Folke-Vennen*, Mar. 3, 1882, 8.

<sup>96</sup> Larsen, *Brydninger*, 76.

<sup>97</sup> N. P. Lang, "Fra Kjøbenhavn," *Folke-Vennen*, Aug. 3, 1882, 5.

<sup>98</sup> N. P. Lang, "Fra Danmark," *Folke-Vennen*, Oct. 26, 1882, 5.

<sup>99</sup> Hale, *Trans-Atlantic Conservative Protestantism*, 169; Torjesen, "A Study of Fredrik Franson," 329.

<sup>100</sup> "Missionær N. P. Lang" returned last week to Chicago ... after his work in Denmark and Norway." *Folke-Vennen*, June 12, 1884, 8; N. P. Lang, "Til Troesvenner i Danmark!" *Folke-Vennen*, June 19, 1884, 5. N. P. Lang, "Tacoma, Wash. Terr." *Folke-Vennen*, Aug. 13, 1885, 8; Oct. 15, 1885, 5; Jan. 7, 1886, 5. M. W. Montgomery, *The Work among the Scandinavians including the Swedes, Danes and Norwegians* (New York: The American Home Missionary Society, 1888) 16–17; and Arnold T. Olson, *The Search for Identity* (Minneapolis: Free Church Press, 1980) 50. Lang worked with Franson and Skogsbergh at the

In Denmark, Franson preached at meetings before large crowds of people, followed by after-meetings. In April, 1885, however, just six months after Franson had arrived in Denmark, he was deported due to rising tensions with state officials.<sup>101</sup> Nevertheless, his fellow-workers remained including Juell who assumed leadership of the mission work, and prepared the way for the founding of Det Danske Misjonforbund (the Danish Mission Covenant) in 1888. In 1885, C. W. Gillén, a young Swedish soloist who had attended Franson's evangelist course joined Juell in Denmark, working at Mørkøv.<sup>102</sup>

Franson returned to Sweden where he resumed his evangelistic activities, discovering a greater responsiveness and toleration than before. He held mass meetings at Malmö, Landskrona, Linköping, and Norrköping.<sup>103</sup> In Stockholm, he preached to crowds of two thousand people, holding three to four meetings on Sundays. His use of after-meetings became so common that "people came to expect them."<sup>104</sup> Franson began an evangelism course on May 18, 1885, that taught students how to win "the unsaved masses" to Christ.<sup>105</sup>

After a preaching tour in Germany, Switzerland, France, Italy, Southern Europe, East Prussia, Africa, and the Middle East, Franson returned to Sweden in 1888 and held a three-day evangelism course in Örebro.<sup>106</sup> His interest clearly turned to foreign missions at this time, specifically the work J. Hudson Taylor of China Inland Mission who had appealed for one thousand missionaries to go to China.<sup>107</sup> Franson joined Taylor in this endeavor, and followed Moody's example of recruiting young men and women as foreign missionaries and preparing them for the mission field through Bible and evangelism courses.<sup>108</sup>

### Franson's Book on After-Meetings

In 1888, Franson's theological treatise on after-meetings was translated from German and published in Sweden under the title, *Eftermötene i skriftens ljus* (After-Meeting in the Light of Scripture).<sup>109</sup> In the foreword, Nelly Hall wrote: "The so-called *eftermöten*, an evangelical expression—praise God—is not uncommon in our beloved homeland but something the Lord has used to bear much fruit among the evangelists who diligently use them."<sup>110</sup> Hall explained that Franson's book was "not merely an apologetic for the *evangeliska eftermöte* (evangelical after-meeting) but that it, by God's mercy, contained a heartfelt recommendation to all sent out as witnesses," and "for all Christians who are concerned with seeing souls saved." She continued:

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Swedish Mission Tabernacle in 1890. *Morgenstjernen*, 1 April 1890, cited in Hale, "Norwegians, Danes and the Origins of the Evangelical Free Tradition," *Norwegian-American Studies* Vol. 28 (1979) 99–100.

<sup>101</sup> *Svenska Kristna Härolden*, Apr. 29, 1885, 316.

<sup>102</sup> Torjesen, "A Study of Fredrik Franson," 360–362.

<sup>103</sup> Torjesen, *Fredrik Franson: A Model for Worldwide Evangelism*, 53–54.

<sup>104</sup> "Verksamheten," *Minneskrift vid Karlstads ev. luth. missionsförenings femtioårs-jubileum* (Karlstad, 1911) 39, cited in Torjesen, "A Study of Fredrik Franson," 204.

<sup>105</sup> *Hemlandswännen* article about Franson's Stockholm visit appeared in *Chicago-Bladet*, July 21, 1885, 6.

<sup>106</sup> *Göteborgs Weckoblad*, Dec. 14, 1888, 1.

<sup>107</sup> Åberg, *Sällskapet—Samfund*, 127.

<sup>108</sup> Westin, *Den kristna friförsamlingen i Norden*, 141.

<sup>109</sup> Franson, *Eftermötene i skriftens ljus*, 3.

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*

### *Moody's Disciples in Scandinavia*

Since the gospel in our days has been so widely spread in our country, the issue is not about what to say to people—what they do not know—but rather it is necessary to *draw in the net* as well as to cast it out. We believe that the preacher in our days who does not use after-meetings may not see many souls saved through his work. During Moody's ministry in Great Britain in 1875, he was asked one day by some evangelical preachers why there was so much fruit from his meetings and so little fruit from theirs since they thought they could preach as well as he could. Moody answered: "Yes, you all cast out the net well enough, but I also draw it in."<sup>111</sup>

Hall stated that the after-meetings made a large difference among the evangelical preachers in Sweden too. She commented, "God loves after-meetings because they require faith and self-denial on the part of the leader and participants. Satan on the other hand hates them because they put his kingdom in danger."<sup>112</sup>

In his book Franson asked, "What is the after-meeting? And how does it differ from other meetings?"<sup>113</sup> He explained that after-meetings are more personalized meetings that follow the sermon and have the purpose of bringing one soul into contact with a believer in order to talk. While a sermon is delivered to many people at once, after-meetings focus on the individual. Franson continued: "We do not say that after-meetings are the only way to bring souls near, but they are merely one of the ways. After-meetings are now held—praise God—in various countries and are gaining more and more ground, especially when people realize their Biblical basis and practical benefit."

Franson referred to Moody several times in this book, and mentioned how masses of souls were converted to faith through him, stating: "People forget that souls won through men like Finney and Moody happened through after-meetings."<sup>114</sup> Franson pointed out that many people embrace Finney's distinct theology and read Moody's sermons with enthusiasm but have nothing to do with them practically. Franson then described the impact of observing Moody's meetings, writing:

Every visitor is left with an unforgettable impression from one of these large evangelical meetings where often 2,000 to 5,000 souls are gathered together. In the after-meetings, one first sees dozens of men and women with their Bibles in their hands walking among the anxious or indifferent souls in order to speak with them, pray, and read God's Word aloud, either until the indifferent person leaves or the anxious person finds peace. One can never forget the sight of believing parents in tears beside their children who have been affected by the Word of God, or the sight of converted men beside their unconverted wives, or vice-a-versa, etc., as workers in the after-meeting pray with and for their loved ones. One can never forget the sight of their joy when the loved ones pray and the battle is won and they receive the Savior.<sup>115</sup>

Franson's book examined after-meetings scripturally, outlined a Biblical theology of conversion, explained the role prayer and dependence on the Holy Spirit, and answered objections to the after-meeting. For instance, he claimed that Jesus often used

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<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*, 3–4.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*, 4.

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*, 6.

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.*, 7.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*

after-meetings when he spoke to people personally about their spiritual condition.<sup>116</sup> Regarding instantaneous conversion, he wrote: “Moody says, ‘Some do not believe in instantaneous conversion, and I do not believe in any other kind,’ knowing well that spiritual life is communicated in a moment.”<sup>117</sup> Again, he reminded the readers of their purpose, saying: “Keep in mind the objective of the after-meeting, namely, to search the depth of souls and to bring them to a decision. The importance of the evangelistic sermon lies especially in the casting of the net; the after-meeting is used to draw in the net. The drawing in the net is the most difficult but also the most rewarding work.”<sup>118</sup>

Reports of Moody’s use of after-meetings reinforced their use in Sweden.<sup>119</sup> This, together with Franson’s explanation of their scriptural and practical basis, as well as example, led Mission Friends in Sweden to employ them too, as read in the account of C. J. Ledin. He reported from Nässjö, Småland, saying:

A powerful revival has broken out here. It began gradually. On my travels through Skåne to Falköping, I stayed, and together with Brother G. Th. Larsson of Falköping who sings and plays guitar, we conducted a meeting with *missionsvännerna* (Mission Friends) in that place. In the evening we were able to pray with some anxious souls. ... On Jan. 26 we were again in Nässjö. The first 2 evenings we had meetings in the smaller hall that had a seating capacity of 350 people. The next evening there was still not enough seating so on the third night we met in a larger room that seated around 2,000 who came. This mission house accommodated between 3 to 4,000 people. There was not a fireplace in the large room and so it was quite chilly especially during the after-meeting that evening, and many people gathered for the after-meeting.<sup>120</sup>

The use of after-meetings in Sweden was a distinguishing mark of Moody’s influence in Sweden.

### Moody’s Influence in Finland

Franson arrived in Finland during the last week of September 1888, and joined Constantin Boije (1854-1934), missionary of Svenska Missionsförbundet, to hold revival meetings at Vasa.<sup>121</sup> Afterwards they conducted meetings in various parts of Finland such as: Tampere, Viborg, Helsinki, and Åbo—a two month itinerary arranged by

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<sup>116</sup> Ibid., 35.

<sup>117</sup> Ibid., 25.

<sup>118</sup> Ibid., 70.

<sup>119</sup> For example, in 1883, *Göteborgs Weckoblad* reported: “Around 3,000 people remained for another half hour during which time Moody addressed them briefly and called them to surrender their wills which was the only thing that stood in the way to reconciliation and forgiveness. Then Sankey sang some verses that led all heads to bow in silent prayer. After this, the majority of people left the hall while 600–700 remained, and a noticeable number of people counseled them. Several wept, and many were engaged in serious conversation with the ‘workers.’ Moody and Sankey went around among the dispersed groups, encouraged the ‘workers,’ and spoke some words again and again to the ‘anxious’ while clergy and laymen equipped with a Bible in hand taught about instantaneous righteousness and full assurance of salvation.” *Göteborgs Weckoblad*, Nov. 29, 1883, 3.

<sup>120</sup> *Minneapolis Weckoblad*, Mar. 16, 1892, 1. C. J. Ledin also reported: “The believers have begun to see that they need to draw nearer to God and to one another, and thus they have lately begun to hold *alliansmöten* (alliance meetings) in this place.”

<sup>121</sup> Torjesen, “A Study of Fredrik Franson,” 445.



### Moody's Disciples in Scandinavia

Boije.<sup>122</sup> Beginning on November 6, 1888, Franson hosted a three-week evangelist course at Helsinki where his lectures were interpreted from Swedish to Finnish. His Swedish co-workers Nelly Hall and Ida Nihlén also arrived to Finland, and began to conduct evangelistic meetings in December.<sup>123</sup> On February 12, 1889, Hall wrote: "Brother Franson had been in Finland about two-and-a-half months before us, and has already been a blessing, most of all through his evangelist course in Helsingfors (Helsinki) in November."<sup>124</sup>

As in Sweden, Norway, and Denmark, the work was preceded by Moody's books, tracts, and news reports. In the years 1875 to 1880, Moody's writings were distributed widely in the Swedish-speaking areas of Finland—in the coastal areas of Uusimaa, Turunmaa and Österbotten (East Bothnia).<sup>125</sup> They were also translated into Finnish and distributed among Finnish-speakers.<sup>126</sup> Interest in Moody's writings increased from the popularity of Sankey's songs which "at the same time exercised considerable influence in Finland and Sweden."<sup>127</sup> An edition of Sankey's songs was published under the title, *Ira Sankey, m.fl., Sångers i urval*, while a version in Finnish titled, *Lauluja Karitsan Kiitokseksi* (Jyväskylä), was published in eight parts from 1876 to 1881, with new editions following.<sup>128</sup>

However, it was not merely through literature that Moody's and Sankey's influence was felt in Finland, but through people. Besides the work of Franson, Nelly Hall, and soloist Ida Nihlén, Lord Radstock had previously visited Helsinki and Åbo in 1879, co-laboring with A. F. Tiselius from Stockholm, holding large meetings and conventicles among the upper classes, teaching his new premillennial doctrine, as well.<sup>129</sup> Earlier at Stockholm, Radstock met Boije, a native Finn, who had invited him to come to Finland. Radstock preached to Finnish and Swedish speakers with a translator, calling sinners after the sermon to come to an inquiry meeting.<sup>130</sup> Boije was a zealous proponent, too, of the free-church movement that was "open to all true believers," a movement after the example of "Moody, Lord Radstock, and Hudson Taylor."<sup>131</sup>

Another Finnish proponent of Moody's views was Erik Jansson (1848–1927). In the fall of 1871, Jansson as a twenty-three year old seaman from Petalax in south

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<sup>122</sup> Ibid., 444.

<sup>123</sup> Ibid.. Emanuel Olsson wrote to Ida Nihlén: "We ask God that Nelly [Hall] and you as women [evangelists] may be what Moody and Sankey were as men." In 1892, when Hall and Nihlén traveled to the United States on a preaching tour, they tried to visit Moody at Northfield. He was not at home, however, so Mrs. Moody invited the Swedish evangelists to stay at the hotel. They did hear Moody a few months later in Chicago. Gunner, *Nelly Hall uppbores och ifrågasatt*, 169, 187, 220, 232.

<sup>124</sup> "Om den andliga ställningen i Finland," *Minneapolis-Weckoblad*, Mar. 27, 1889, 3.

<sup>125</sup> Ernst Newman, "Dwight L. Moody och hans inflytande på fromhetslivet i Finland," in *Protokoll, Fört vid lagtima synodalmötet med prästerskapet i Borgå stift den 19-22 oktober 1937*, 34.

<sup>126</sup> Ibid., 36.

<sup>127</sup> Ibid., 35.

<sup>128</sup> Ibid., 36. See: Ira D. Sankey, *Ira Sankey, m.fl., Sångers i urval* (Lovisa, 1881). Cf. F. W. Lönnbeck, "Den frikyrkliga rörelse i Finland," *Svenska Morgonbladet*, Nov. 22, 1894, 3.

<sup>129</sup> Newman, "Dwight L. Moody och hans inflytande på fromhetslivet i Finland," in *Protokoll*, 36; Lönnbeck, "Den frikyrkliga rörelsen i Finland," *Svenska Morgonbladet*, Nov. 22, 1894, 3.

<sup>130</sup> Montgomery, *A Wind from the Holy Spirit in Sweden and Norway*, 79.

<sup>131</sup> Westin, *Den kristna friförsamlingen i Norden*, 352; Runar Eldebo, *Den ensamma tron. En studie i Frank Mangs predikan* (Örebro: Libris; Stockholm: Teologiska högsk., 1997) 30–33.

Österbotten left for Chicago.<sup>132</sup> He was converted in the same year at a meeting at Moody's "newly constructed tabernacle," and "joined Moody's *friförsamling*" (free church) in 1872.<sup>133</sup> Jansson and his wife became active members at Chicago Avenue Church at a time when "Mr. Moody was front-page news."<sup>134</sup> In 1877, Jansson left America and returned to Finland "to carry out the mission he received from Moody," namely, "to make Jesus known to kith and kin."<sup>135</sup>

Already in the winter of 1879, fifty people in Vasa had "found peace with the Lord," sparking opposition from Lutheran priests against "the false prophet Jansson."<sup>136</sup> Even laymen tried to ruin him economically, and threatened his life more than once. However, in the spirit of Moody, he labored to win souls to Christ without leading them away from the Lutheran Church, but after repeated harassment culminating in an interrogation by the church council in Närpes and the cathedral city in Åbo, Jansson was forced to separate, and in 1881 joined the Baptists in Svartvik, south of Sundsvall, being baptized in 1881.<sup>137</sup>

In May 1886, Jansson was restored to membership at Chicago Avenue Church as a missionary to Finland.<sup>138</sup> In 1888, Chicago Avenue Church's newsletter, *Pen and Scissors*, reported: "Mr. Erick Janssen [sic], our missionary to Finland has been heard from recently. He writes from 'Wasa, Petalax,' Finland, and his letter, like himself, is replete with faith, hope, and charity. The letter would indicate that he longs to hear more frequently from his friends in Chicago."<sup>139</sup> In the same year, when Nelly Hall was actively ministering in Finland, she wrote: "The Baptists have various congregations and perhaps ten prayer houses in Österbotten, most in the rural villages. Foremost in their activity is missionary Janson [sic] in Petalax, 4 miles from Wasa."<sup>140</sup> Jansson remained a leader among the Baptists.<sup>141</sup>

Another Finn who promoted Moody's ideal, beliefs, and methods was Edvard Björkenheim (1856–1934). He was a landowner and public official from Österbotten

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<sup>132</sup> Nils Näsman, *Baptismen i Svenska Österbotten 1868–1905* (Helsingfors: Finska Kyrkohistoriska samfundet, 1962) 231.

<sup>133</sup> Newman, "Dwight L. Moody och hans inflytande på fromhetslivet i Finland," in *Protokoll*, 37. No. 388, Erick Jansson, received May 20, 1872. Moody Church Membership Register, Billy Graham Center Archives, Wheaton College, Wheaton, Illinois.

<sup>134</sup> A. P. Fitt, *Moody Still Lives*, 68, cited in Näsman, *Baptismen i Svenska Österbotten*, 231.

<sup>135</sup> Newman, "Dwight L. Moody och hans inflytande på fromhetslivet i Finland," in *Protokoll*, 37.

<sup>136</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>137</sup> *Ibid.* Also Westin, *Den kristna friförsamlingen i Norden*, 342.

<sup>138</sup> Jansson was restored to membership on May 7, 1886, after he was suspended Nov. 13, 1878. Moody Church Membership Register, Billy Graham Center Archives, Wheaton, Illinois.

<sup>139</sup> *Pen and Scissors: Chicago Ave. Church Paper*, Vol. 1, No. 23 (June 2, 1888) 2. See also: "Directory of Chicago Avenue Church," *Pen and Scissors: Chicago Ave. Church Paper*, Vol. 1, No. 24 (June 9, 1888) 6. Among the fifty members "absent from the city" were: Frederick Fransom [sic], Sweden; Erick Johnson [sic], Finland; D. L. Moody, Northfield, Mass., and Rev. G. C. Needham.

<sup>140</sup> N[elly] H[all], "Om den andliga ställningen i Finland," *Minneapolis-Weckoblad*, Mar. 27, 1889, 3.

<sup>141</sup> See Näsman, *Baptismen i Svenska Österbotten 1868–1905*, 231–331. Jansson returned to America in 1905 and founded Cypress Avenue Baptist Church in New York, and in 1911 returned to America as a delegate to the Baptist World's Congress in Philadelphia, serving the same church for a year. *Fifty Years of Christian Stewardship 1901–1951* (Baptist Mission Union of America, 1951) 40–41.

### *Moody's Disciples in Scandinavia*

who became a preacher in Finland's free-church revival along with Constantin Boije.<sup>142</sup> Björkenheim had been affected by "the same 'Moody fever' that through literature also affected Sweden during the years 1875 to 1880."<sup>143</sup>

In the fall of 1877, Björkenheim came into contact with the Hellman sisters in Vasa. In February, 1878, Alba Hellman (1845–1894) sent the first part of the music of *Sankeys sånger* to her new friend in Orisberg. In April, she reported that a revival arose among "the Finns" in Karstula in which *Sankeys sånger* had played a prominent role, and in July sent more than 30 copies, from which several songs were translated to Finnish. In early April, 1881, Björkenheim received from another friend, Mia Sahlberg in Helsinki, several copies of one of Moody's revival sermons that she had printed in Finnish. Moreover, at the end of 1881, Björkenheim heard the news from a friend in Stockholm that "the Christians in the larger cities had agreed to invite Moody and Sankey to come to Sweden."<sup>144</sup>

In the later half of 1883, Björkenheim traveled to England where he prepared for the work of becoming "a blessed soul winner." While in London, he had several opportunities to see and hear Moody and Sankey, "the American models."<sup>145</sup> In a letter to his wife from London dated Oct. 30, 1883, Björkenheim wrote: "On Sunday, Moody and Sankey begin their work here, and for six weeks I have the opportunity to follow them, but what I fear most is the lack of time."<sup>146</sup> In a letter from November 4, he described with excitement his first impression of the American revivalists, saying:

Today was, of course, the day for Moody's and Sankey's work. Miss Turner had obtained tickets and so we arrived in plenty of time, and got the best seats (to Tuesday and Wednesday I have through Mathieson platform tickets.) I have never been to a meeting like this before. It was next to impossible to take my eyes off M. and S. I have learned several of Sankey's new songs. The one that has stayed with me most begins with the words: "Behold, what love, what boundless love." Sankey opened the meeting with this glorious solo. I have never heard such a song before. Every word was full of spirit and life and plainly audible throughout the whole room. Apart from this he sang the solo "Man of Sorrows." During the second meeting that I attended, (following the first for the anxious) a well-rehearsed choir with c. 150 members sang at least 15 songs.<sup>147</sup>

Night after night Björkenheim traveled to the meeting places in London, "never hearing enough" of Moody and Sankey.<sup>148</sup> One Sunday, he heard Moody not less than three times—at 8 and 11 in the morning, and in the evening.

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<sup>142</sup> Newman, "Dwight L. Moody och hans inflytande på fromhetslivet i Finland," in *Protokoll*, 37. The Finnish preachers were: Constantin Boije, Edw. Björkenheim, Hj. Braxén, Antti Makinen, and others such as educator Mia Sahlberg. *Svenska Morgonbladet*, Nov. 22, 1894, 3.

<sup>143</sup> Newman, "Dwight L. Moody och hans inflytande på fromhetslivet i Finland," in *Protokoll*, 41. Newman placed the dates of Sweden's "Moody fever" from 1875 to 1880. Most of Moody's literature was published from 1875 to 1878, and most sources say the "Moody fever" peaked in 1876 and 1877.

<sup>144</sup> *Ibid.*, 38.

<sup>145</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>146</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>147</sup> *Ibid.*, 39.

<sup>148</sup> *Ibid.*, 41.

In the spring of 1884, Björkenheim began his work in Finland as an itinerant lay preacher, giving him many opportunities to practice the lessons that he learned at Moody's and Sankey's meetings.<sup>149</sup> He had gone to England to "learn how to win souls," and when he returned he did not hesitate to make use of Moody's methods of the after-meeting and the care of souls. With Björkenheim's talented voice, he also sang Sankey's songs as a way of proclaiming the gospel. But more importantly, while in England Björkenheim witnessed and learned the principle that "it is God alone who can make the Word alive!"<sup>150</sup> It was Moody's preaching of the pure and simple gospel, and his desire to live for God that inspired Björkenheim for decades to come.

### Emma Moody's Visit to Stockholm

While invitations for Moody to visit Sweden remained open, his daughter Emma R. Moody (1864–1942) visited Stockholm in 1888.<sup>151</sup> She personally witnessed the phenomenon in the capital city of how her father's influence had spread to Sweden, extending to the royal palace. A. P. Fitt, later her husband, wrote of Emma's experience, saying:

She was taken by a friend to visit the palace. There she was introduced to a certain baroness who was a cousin of the king and lived in a wing of the palace. After a gracious reception the baroness said that every American was a welcome visitor because of what a great American, D. L. Moody, had meant to herself and to Sweden.

"Did you ever know him?"

"Oh," said Miss Moody's friend, "you did not catch this young lady's name. She is D. L. Moody's daughter."

At this the baroness showed extreme pleasure and friendliness. Miss Moody was accorded the special privilege of being shown through the private living rooms of the royal family. At the head of the beds of each of the young princes she saw bookcases each supporting a marble bust of Christ, and on the shelf copies of several of her father's books of sermons that had been translated into Swedish, bound in rich red Russian leather.

Ever since the great revival in Sweden in 1877, the Swedish people have been warm to Mr. Moody.<sup>152</sup>

This brief account illustrated the extent that Moody's books circulated in Sweden.<sup>153</sup> This conversation also showed people's attitudes toward him, at least by this member of the royal family. The fact that the young princes' bookcases contained Moody's works also demonstrated their knowledge of the American revivalist. In

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<sup>149</sup> Ibid., 42.

<sup>150</sup> Ibid., 42. Cf. Protokoll fordrt vid prestmötet i Nikolaistad, sept. 16–22, 1885 (G. W. Wilén & Co. boktryckeri, 1886) 36.

<sup>151</sup> Emma Reynolds Moody married Arthur Percy Fitt of Northfield, Massachusetts, in 1894. Lyle W. Dorsett, *A Passion for Souls: The Life of D. L. Moody* (Chicago: Moody Press, 1997) 12.

<sup>152</sup> Arthur Percy Fitt, *Moody Still Lives: Word Pictures of D. L. Moody* (New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1936) 61–62.

<sup>153</sup> Karl Jäder, *En världsväckare. D. L. Moody's livsverk och inflytande* (Stockholm: Harrier 1937) 177–178.

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addition to the baroness who escorted Emma Moody, it is likely that Prince Bernadotte read Moody's works because of his interest later in cooperative evangelism.<sup>154</sup>

#### **Nathan Söderblom at Moody's Northfield Student Conference**

In 1890, Nathan Söderblom attended Moody's international student conference at Northfield, Massachusetts. The young Söderblom had been active with Mission Friends, and a member of KFUM (YMCA).<sup>155</sup> Lars Olof Jonathan (Nathan) Söderblom was born January 15, 1866, in Trönö parish in Hälsingland. As a boy, he was nurtured in the Christian faith by his mother and versed in the scriptures by his father, a pietistic Lutheran pastor. In the fall of 1883, Nathan enrolled as a candidate for ministry at Uppsala universitet where he became a member of Studentmissionsföreningen (the Student Missionary Union), organized in the spring of 1884.<sup>156</sup> After he received his bachelor's degree in 1886, he continued to study theology and history at Uppsala for the next six years, and served as editor of *Meddelanden*, the publication of Studentmissionsföreningen.



**Nathan Söderblom** as a student at Uppsala University. Used by permission of Uppsala universitetsbibliotek.

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<sup>154</sup> Prince Oscar Bernadotte (1859–1953), the second oldest son of Oscar II and Queen Sofia, for example, felt the effects of the Radstock revival in Sweden. In 1885, Prince Bernadotte converted to faith after a worship service, and began a lifelong service in alliance-oriented associations such as KFUM (YMCA) and the Swedish committee of the Evangelical Alliance, in which he later served as president. Bexell, *Sveriges kyrkohistoria, 7. Folkväckelse och kyrkoförnyelsens tid*, 165. *Chicago-Bladet* reported, "Prins Bernadotte has among evangelical Christians in foreign lands made himself known as a warm confessor of living faith in Jesus." *Chicago-Bladet*, July 21, 1891, 6. Cf. Frederick E. Pamp, "The Influence of D. L. Moody on the Swedish People," *The Covenant Companion* (Nov., 1927) 6–7.

<sup>155</sup> Newman, "Dwight L. Moody och hans inflytande i Sverige," in *Från skilda tider*, 402.

<sup>156</sup> Charles J. Curtis, *Söderblom: Ecumenical Pioneer* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1967) 41.

In Söderblom's theological studies he encountered Julius Wellhausen's historico-critical view of the Old Testament, a challenge that sparked a crisis of faith within him. He was faced with the question, "Can the Bible be trusted or not?" When at his parents' home for Christmas break in 1889, a neighbor gave him a copy of *Nåd och sanning*, the Swedish translation of W. P. Mackay's book *Grace and Truth*.<sup>157</sup> In his diary, dated January 18, 1890, Söderblom wrote:

I was in my old condition, that of longing and praying to find peace. I tried to convince myself that I had peace, but I did not. I was waiting with anxiety and longing to know in my heart the sweetness of the powers of the heavenly world. Then I read a book, *Nåd och sanning* by Mackay. What are you waiting to know? Why do you not believe God in his Word? Romans 5 comes before Romans 8. First believe, then you will know. And then I read John 3. Here I found things I had not seen before. Those who had been bitten by snakes lifted their faces from the ground with cries and tears when the serpent was shown to them. Is it possible then that I might turn from my sin and look solely on the Savior who was lifted up? He who is raised was set forth as the brazen serpent. Yes, it cannot be otherwise. What has he done? There is no time for speculation. He has suffered death for the ungodly. He is my Savior. I must believe. Thanks be to God for this faith that I have not given to myself. Thanks for all your unspoken gifts, in your Son, in my faith in him, in a new life.<sup>158</sup>

As Söderblom read the words of this book, he found peace and a renewed confidence in the scriptures.<sup>159</sup> In the foreword to the book, Moody stated:

I know of no other book of greater value to young Christians. I am happy to put this book into the hands of troubled souls, and my experience is that it will soon dispel all their doubts. I think that it ought to be distributed by the thousands, spread over the world like leaves covering the ground in autumn. And if I live, I will try to put this book into the hands of every preacher in America. I cannot begin to describe how much I have personally benefited from this book.<sup>160</sup>

For Söderblom's anxious soul, Moody's words were realized as Mackay's book dispelled his doubts about the trustworthiness of the scriptures.

In the fall of 1889, James Reynolds, a young American graduate from Yale University in New Haven, Connecticut, traveled to Uppsala.<sup>161</sup> His purpose for coming was to invite nominated students from universities in Europe to the international student conference led by Moody at Northfield the following summer.

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<sup>157</sup> Bengt Sundkler, *Nathan Söderblom: His Life and Work* (Lund: Gleerups, 1968) 30.

<sup>158</sup> Hans Åkerberg, *Omvändelse och kamp. En empirisk religionpsykologisk undersökning av den unge Nathan Söderbloms religiösa utveckling 1866–1894* (Lund: Studentlitteratur, 1975) 161; Kajsa Ahlstrand, "Nathan Söderblom and American Fundamentalism" in Anders Jarlert, ed., *Arkiv, Fakultet, Kyrka. Festskrift till Ingmar Brohed* (Lund: Lunds Universitets Kyrkohistoriska Arkiv, 2004) 317.

<sup>159</sup> Nathan Söderblom, *Från Upsala till Rock Island. En Predikofärd i nya världen* (Stockholm: Svenska Kyrkans Diakonistyrelses Bokförlag, 1925) 22, and Sundkler, 31. See W. P. Mackay, *Grace and Truth: Under Twelve Different Aspects* (Chicago: Fleming H. Revell, 1872) 42.

<sup>160</sup> William P. Mackay, *Nåd och sanning. Tolf betraktelser* (Stockholm: C.A.V. Lunholm, 1874) preface. The foreword by Moody was dated Nov. 18, 1873.

<sup>161</sup> Nathan Söderblom, *Sommarminnen* (Stockholm: Svenska Kyrkans Diakonistyrelses Bokförlag, 1941) 10.

### *Moody's Disciples in Scandinavia*

Beginning in 1886, Moody began to hold conferences for students that in time led to the founding of the Student Volunteer Movement, a union of Christian students devoted to service in foreign missions.<sup>162</sup> Söderblom recalled being selected to attend the 1890 summer meeting at Northfield:

Among the Nordic universities, Uppsala was presumably chosen because of its long history. After inquiries by James Reynolds, I was invited from Uppsala, a decision that surely depended in a large part on my friend Karl Fries who also lent me his tried and trusted leather suitcase. Then I was on my way across the Atlantic. Maybe Waldemar Rudin and others from Uppsala also had a part in the American's decision.<sup>163</sup>

Söderblom's economic obstacles were entirely removed by the American committee that paid the expenses of his trip.<sup>164</sup> He enjoyed his voyage across the Atlantic, and on his arrival to New York, he was welcomed at the YMCA.

He traveled then to Northfield to the student conference where he met several people who impressed him deeply.<sup>165</sup> Among them was John R. Mott (1865–1955) who later came to Sweden several times and became a lifelong friend to Söderblom.<sup>166</sup> Other Americans were Robert E. Speer and Robert P. Wilder who led prayer sessions and delivered missionary addresses.<sup>167</sup> Söderblom was also impressed by Wilfred Monod from Paris who later became a spokesman for the ecumenical movement.<sup>168</sup>

Although Söderblom was extremely impressed by the music of Ira D. Sankey, he was most impressed by Moody in whom he met “a simple, pietistic peasant who very easily could have fit into the revival situation in Hälsingland.”<sup>169</sup>

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<sup>162</sup> *Göteborgs Weckoblad* reported Moody's Northfield conferences such as the one in 1887 when 500 students gathered for Bible study for ten days. “Northfield konferenser,” *Göteborgs Weckoblad*, Oct. 14, 1887, 3. See also Lyle W. Dorsett, “D. L. Moody: More Than an Evangelist,” in *Mr Moody and the Evangelical Tradition*, Timothy George, ed. (London and New York: T&T Clark Intl., 2004) 37.

<sup>163</sup> Söderblom, *Sommarminnen*, 10. Dr. Karl Fries was secretary of the Stockholm KFUM (YMCA). Eric J. Sharpe, *Nathan Söderblom and the Study of Religion* (Chapel Hill and London: The University of North Carolina Press, 1990) 29. At the time, Nathan Söderblom was secretary of the Studentmissionsförening. Johan Söderblom, “Från Nathan Söderbloms ungdomsår,” in *Hågkomster och livsintryck. Till minnet of Erik Axel Karlfeldt och Nathan Söderblom* (Uppsala: J. A. Lindblads förlag, 1931) 165.

<sup>164</sup> See also Dorsett, *A Passion for Souls*, 406.

<sup>165</sup> Sharpe, *Nathan Söderblom and the Study of Religion*, 30. See also Olle Nystedt. *Nathan Söderblom. Kort Levnadsteckning* (Stockholm: Svenska Kyrkans Diakonistyrelses Bokförlag, 1931) 46.

<sup>166</sup> John R. Mott, *The Evangelization of the World in This Generation* (Chicago: Missionary Campaign Library, 1900) 176. For Mott's friendship with Söderblom see: Nils Karlström, *Kristna samförstånds-strävanden under världskriget, 1914–1918* (Stockholm: Svenska Kyrkans Diakonistyrelses bokförlag, 1947) 161–162. For John R. Mott, see: Kjell O. Lejon, *Diocesis Lincopensis. Historik över Linköpings stift* (Skellefteå: Norma, 2005) 383.

<sup>167</sup> Tor Andrae, *Nathan Söderblom* (Uppsala: J.A. Lindblads förlag, 1931) 87; Alhstrand, “Nathan Söderblom and American Fundamentalism,” 319; Dorsett, *A Passion for Souls*, 352.

<sup>168</sup> Monod visited Uppsala in 1888, as well as the YMCA's World Congress in Stockholm. Sundkler, *Nathan Söderblom*, 39; Karlström, *Kristna samförstånds-strävanden*, 161. Söderblom formed a closer friendship with him on the voyage in 1890. Andrae, *Nathan Söderblom*, 87.

<sup>169</sup> Sundkler, *Nathan Söderblom*, 38; Åkerberg, *Omvändelse och kamp*, 313.

### **Söderblom's Report of the Student Conference**

In Söderblom's account of the student meeting at Northfield he wrote: "Some Christians said to me when they learned that the purpose of my voyage across the Atlantic was to attend the student gathering at Northfield, 'One receives such blessed inspiration from the fresh air of youth among Northfield's students.' I then had every good reason to verify this claim."<sup>170</sup>



**Delegates at the Northfield Student Conference in 1890**  
Nathan Söderblom is in the lower left corner wearing the student cap. Used  
by permission of Uppsala universitetsbibliotek.

Söderblom thoroughly enjoyed Northfield, a sunny valley on the bend of the Connecticut River. He was especially fond of the view from Round Top, a small hill with a commanding view over the river valley. He commented: "This reminds me so

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<sup>170</sup> Nathan Söderblom, "Ett studentmöte i Northfield, Massachusetts, U.S., I." *Göteborgs Veckoblad*, April 23, 1891, 4. After his return home, Söderblom summed up his impressions of the Northfield meeting in the Danish weekly paper, *Fra Bethesda*, March 15, 1891, 177–187. See also Söderblom, *Sommarminnen*, 88–103, and Nystedt, *Nathan Söderblom*, 47–50. Söderblom explained that Moody's student conference first began when Luther Wishard (1854–1925), a man devoted to ministering to American students, as well as India's and Japan's education-seeking youth, asked Moody while riding in a train if he might send four or five international students to spend a couple of weeks in the summer to his gathering in Northfield. Moody's response was: "Why not send fifty?" And so in the summer of 1886 approximately 200 students gathered at Mount Hermon in Massachusetts. The following year the meeting was moved to Northfield. See: Luther D. Wishard, *A New Programme of Missions: A Movement to Make the Colleges in All Lands Centers of Evangelization* (New York: F.H. Revell, 1895).



### *Moody's Disciples in Scandinavia*

much of the landscape of Sweden's Nordic nature. Upon my arrival I was quite impressed with the likeness of this view to the Ljusnan's river channel in Hälsingland."<sup>171</sup>

The conference began June 28 and ended July 10, and contained sessions on how to reach incoming students, how to develop student unions, and how to organize students into a unified ministry.<sup>172</sup> There were two daily Bible hours, one consisting of inductive Bible study and the other, the Bible Training Class that focused on personal work for Christ. There were also preaching meetings followed by discussion. In the evenings on Round Top and at Stone Hall, foreign missions were a prominent topic.<sup>173</sup> Söderblom recalled, "There, with the valley's airy summer beauty in our eyes as it bathed in the last rays of sun, we heard important words about our Savior's calling by some of the mission veterans who were present, as well as by younger ones who had dedicated themselves to service in foreign missions."<sup>174</sup>

Among the speakers were A. T. Pierson of *Missionary Review*, James Thoburn, the Methodist missionary from Calcutta, Franklin Weidner of Augustana Seminary in Rock Island, George Pentecost, and Major D. W. Whittle. Of all the speakers, however, Moody left the greatest impression on Söderblom.<sup>175</sup> He wrote:

Moody is nonetheless and remains the person in charge at the Northfield meetings. He is unpretentious and unlettered—although with persistent effort he has obtained a respectable, even theological education—one with colossal influence, for it must be called colossal. What else would be the reason that the most learned professors are drawn to listen to the words of this "peasant," as he likes to call himself? Why does he receive such unanimous respect from all the best men of various confessions, from the most high-church Episcopalians and Lutherans to independents and Baptists? In order to understand this, we need to keep in view how Moody has never used propaganda to promote any particular church over another. Proselytism and sectarianism are what he hates most in the church, dead-next to apathy. Wherever he goes, he urgently labors in mutual understanding with the local church leaders, and recommends that the new believers turn to their respective denominations for spiritual counsel and growth, and advises them not to divide but to build humbly on what already exists.<sup>176</sup>

In his report, Söderblom illustrated Moody's ecumenical spirit when he cited the American revivalist saying:

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<sup>171</sup> Söderblom, "Ett studentmöte i Northfield, Massachusetts, U.S., I," April 23, 1891, 4.

<sup>172</sup> Nathan Söderblom, "Ett studentmöte i Northfield, Massachusetts, U.S., II" *Göteborgs Weckoblad*, April 30, 1891, 4.

<sup>173</sup> M. W. Moorhead, "Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions," *Missionary Review of the World*, Sept., 1890, 684–685.

<sup>174</sup> Söderblom, "Ett studentmöte i Northfield, Massachusetts, U.S., II," April 30, 1891, 4.

<sup>175</sup> Söderblom wrote to Herman Palmgren, "It was a memorable moment when I first saw Moody and Sankey, two warm-hearted and self-denying contenders for the conversion of all souls. They are two stout, corpulent men with sincere eyes. Moody is neither formally educated nor refined but as original as a finger print. At the first meeting on Saturday, Moody urged all of us to present ourselves to God. I was pleasantly surprised at the continual, enthusiastic applause that could be heard all the way to Uppsala, Sweden, and nothing will for a long time surpass these feelings." Letter to Herman Palmgren, July 1, 1890, cited in Nystedt. *Nathan Söderblom*, 46–47.

<sup>176</sup> Söderblom, "Ett studentmöte i Northfield, Massachusetts, U.S., III," May 6, 1891, 4.

God has established a blessed unity. Woe to the person who first breaks it! But if there is proselytism, it must be broken. Otherwise this will be the triumph of sects over Christ. The cry is: "Walk out, walk out!" I say, "Remain!" If you have a priest who preaches Christ, stay with him! You will only become more confused and arrogant by leaving him. There are some who think ill and speak about the church, finding faults with the teacher who bears testimony. I say these people ought to "bear testimony" as some do, and that is all that Christ expects of them. I warn you as a Christian brother; be on your guard not to carry some of these new believers away from the nurseries where they were born, for in doing so, you shall reap guilt on your head. The moment we begin to elevate our little party or our church, it seems that the Spirit of God then leaves us and there are no more conversions.<sup>177</sup>

Söderblom attributed Moody's influence in general to his unique gift of speaking, to his "curious eloquence that is never solemn but moves with everyday-life expressions." He stated that Moody's "oratorical gift has an original stamp, as though chiseled in granite, and has been a means to bring thousands of souls to a presence of mind and peace." Nonetheless, he felt that Moody's greatest personal influence stemmed from his childlike love. Söderblom continued: "Love is and always has been the driving force of his life. It is a love for God and for the redeemed, an unselfishness that not even the bitterest enemy of Christianity who has met him can deny."<sup>178</sup> Moreover, Moody appeared as a child, "a true child of God," with childlike "tender-heartedness" and "spontaneity."<sup>179</sup>

Relating Moody's childlike love to his preaching, Söderblom said:

Someone remarked that Moody knows that it is his most important and sacred duty to preach the Word. To this matter, Moody said: "If I were to keep silent, the stones would cry out." But words carried by such a deep and burning conviction of importance and truth do not return in vain. Is he not a child when sitting there listening to Sankey singing, and nodding his head in conviction as he hears his partner sing about his main theme: reconciliation in Christ?<sup>180</sup>

Söderblom felt that seeing Moody's childlike faith and spontaneity "takes one's eyes off the rough edges that make Moody's first impression slightly unfavorable, yes, even unflattering."

Söderblom said that the student conference was characterized by a vigorous, robust sort of Christianity, "a Christianity devoid of religious formalism and the look-of-Sunday."<sup>181</sup> He was impressed by the simplicity and spontaneity that characterized the talks, and "the extraordinary and lively interaction between speakers and listeners that requires constant transparency and personality in the delivery." For him, as well, he could not escape the excitement of being with young men from different parts of the

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<sup>177</sup> Ibid.

<sup>178</sup> Ibid.

<sup>179</sup> Ibid.

<sup>180</sup> Ibid.

<sup>181</sup> Nathan Söderblom, "Ett studentmöte i Northfield, Massachusetts, U.S., IV" *Göteborgs Weckoblad*, May 14, 1891, 3.

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world and different confessions, and “to sense *the strong breeze of unity of Christ's Church.*”<sup>182</sup> He observed:

And when one finds himself in this assembly among brothers from all the regions of North America, from Great Britain, from the European continent, from Japan ...perhaps he hears one of them who speaks for China's millions with a natural familiarity and love, or listens to a Native American with quivering in his voice as he, to benefit his people, appeals to the love of Christ. When this happens, who can escape experiencing the universality of Christ's kingdom and at the same time the width of Christian responsibility? The conference lacked every *theological* stamp, and likewise in this case corresponded to the Hilleröd meeting. It was a gathering of Christian students with an emphasis on practical Christianity, not of young theologians. Physicians, lawyers, and philosophers felt as much at home as young theological apprentices. Northfield is not a school for scholarly theology, and is not regarded as such. This was told to me beforehand. I was so glad to know this earlier so that when I came, I had the right expectation, namely, this was *a student meeting with a Christian program.* That's all!<sup>183</sup>

Moody's international student conference left a deep and lasting impression on Söderblom, especially regarding the “universality of Christ's kingdom.”



**D. L. Moody** as chairman at the Northfield Conferences, Northfield, Massachusetts.

MR. MOODY SÅSOM ORDFÖRANDE VID NORTHFIELD KONFERENSERNA.

In a letter to Karl Fries, Söderblom commented: “The last day was remarkable. It was hard to think of the gray-bearded, good-natured man in the moderator's chair—who at the beginning came across to me as a secular and restless person, but with each day I

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<sup>182</sup> Ibid.

<sup>183</sup> Ibid.

learned to love—who with the small, child-like eyes would soon become a mere memory. ... This man is remarkable; he is a new chapter in my life.”<sup>184</sup>

The young Söderblom who listened to Moody at Northfield later became known to the world for his dedicated labor to the unity of Christ’s church.<sup>185</sup> Söderblom served as pastor of the Swedish Church in Paris and earned a doctor of theology degree at Sorbonne. He held a chair in the School of Theology at Uppsala from 1901 to 1914, as well as at Leipzig in Germany concurrently, from 1912 to 1914. His election in 1914 as Archbishop of Uppsala and primate of the Church of Sweden came rather unexpectedly, as he was chosen over two highly qualified candidates. As archbishop, he played a leading role in the ecumenical movement of the twentieth-century, and in 1930 he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for his work.

Söderblom embodied “the strong breeze of unity of Christ’s church” that was blowing in Sweden. Just years before when attempts at cooperation between the EFS and Waldenström and his circle of Mission Friends was resisted, as Ernst Newman stated, “‘the breeze of unity of Christ’s church’ was moving forward in the day when Nathan Söderblom stood ready to give new flight, and newly accepted forms to those endeavors for unity that Moody himself had cherished.”<sup>186</sup>

## Conclusion

Moody’s influence expanded from Sweden to Norway, Denmark, and Finland. This influence was spread generally through his published works, but more directly through his Scandinavian disciples. The chief proponent of his ideal, beliefs, and methods was Fredrik Franson who embarked on preaching tours throughout Scandinavia, gaining acceptance and encountering resistance, due mostly to his Moody-style evangelism. His opposition came chiefly from state churchmen, fearing religious competition and pluralism.

It was unthinkable to Swedish church leaders that a radical revivalist like Franson, a Swedish-American itinerant, should be allowed to influence congregations, and so he was barred from holding meetings, something impossible in America. Despite the misgivings of Swedish state clergy, Franson took the mass-revival meeting circuit by storm. His use of mass evangelism and after-meetings, his new premillennial doctrine of Christ’s return, his prophetic conference and evangelist courses, and use of a gospel singer followed Moody’s pattern.

During the 1880s, Franson experienced the gradual political change in Sweden, a new wind blowing in the direction of religious tolerance, freedom, and acceptance. Franson led Moody’s network of disciples, tied either formally or informally to Moody or Chicago Avenue Church, as he co-labored with leaders of free-church movements in Sweden, Norway, Denmark, and Finland. Franson represented Moody’s non-denominational, evangelical ecumenism where denominations were of secondary importance to the kingdom of God. Thus, Franson was the primary ambassador of

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<sup>184</sup> Söderblom’s letter to Karl Fries from Northfield, dated July 23, 1890, cited in Karl Fries, *Från Nathan Söderbloms studentår och senare minnen*, in *Hågkomster och livsintryck. Till minnet of Erik Axel Karlfeldt och Nathan Söderblom* (Uppsala: J.A. Lindblads förlag, 1931) 172.

<sup>185</sup> Jäder, *En Världsväckare*, 180.

<sup>186</sup> Newman, “Dwight L. Moody och hans inflytande i Sverige” in *Från skilda tider*, 404.; Cf. Gunnar Westin, *Den kristna friförsamlingen i Norden*, 154–155.

### *Moody's Disciples in Scandinavia*

Moody's ideal, beliefs and methods in Scandinavia. Like Moody and those in his following, Franson's premillennial view of Christ's return impelled him to vigorous missionary and evangelistic efforts.

Franson's message and methods were received mostly by "freer" Mission Friends represented later by Svenska Alliansmissionen, Örebromissionen, and Helgelseförbundet, the latter two forming today Evangeliska Frikyrkan.<sup>187</sup> In Norway, Franson worked with Cathrine Juell and with others who helped to establish Det Norske Misjonsforbundet. In Denmark, he built on the work of N. P. Lang, and prepared the way for Cathrine Juell, C. W. Gillén, and others to establish Det Danske Misjonforbund. In Finland, he cooperated with Constantin Boije who along with Edvard Björkenheim led the free mission work represented today in Fria Missionsförbundet. Erik Jansson, also a missionary of Chicago Avenue Church, worked among Finnish Baptists, represented today in Finland's Svenska Baptistsamfund.

The breadth of Moody's influence is observed also in Nathan Söderblom who attended the international student conference at Northfield. While Söderblom identified with Mission Friends early in his life, his experience with Moody broadened his view of Christian unity, especially seen in his ecumenical activity while serving as Archbishop of Sweden. In contrast to Franson who embraced all of Moody's distinguishing marks—and at times exceeded them—Söderblom drew mostly from Moody's character, his missionary zeal, and childlike love, and gained a respect for leaders of various confessions.

Söderblom especially represented Moody's later work among university students. When Moody recognized that his revival campaigns were in decline, he turned his attention to the next generation of evangelists and Christian leaders who would help fulfill Christ's great commission in their generation.

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<sup>187</sup> Åberg, *Sällskap—Samfund*, 267–268; Sven Kårbrant, ed., *Ett sekel i Herrens tjänst. En jubileumsbok om Helgelseförbundet 1887-1987* (Kumla: Helgelseförbundet, 1987) 15, 35. Helgelseförbundet, Örebromissionen, and Fribaptistsamfundet merged to form Evangeliska Frikyrkan (Nybygget). Helgelseförbundet was founded in 1887, not as a church but a non-sectarian missionary society, supported by free churches and youth societies interested in the cause of home and foreign missions, with membership open to all God's children.



**D. L. Moody**

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## Chapter 9

### Swedes in Moody's Final Years

In the final years of Moody's life, he continued to exercise an influence among Swedish Mission Friends in America—among the Free and Covenanters. In the 1890s, Fredrik Franson was actively recruiting missionaries to China and formed the Scandinavian Alliance Mission, a non-sectarian, faith-mission in the spirit of Moody, Hudson Taylor, and George Müller. Free Mission Friends hosted the second Prophetic Conference in Rockford, and Karl Erixon began *Österns Veckoblad*, a newspaper for Mission Friends in the east. In 1893, Moody invited E. A. Skogsbergh to cooperate with him and other evangelists in the city-wide campaign during Chicago's World's Fair. Swedes gathered to hear Moody preach in other places too such as Minneapolis, and Providence, Rhode Island. Furthermore, Moody's Chicago Bible Institute served as a model for Svenska Bibelinstitutet (the Swedish Bible Institute) in Chicago founded in 1897 by P. J. Elmquist, J. G. Princell, and John Martenson. Just months before Moody's death, he cooperated with Swedish missionary C. Richard Tjäder who preached at Chicago Avenue Church and Oak Street Free Mission.

This chapter answers the question: In the final years of Moody's life, how wide and diverse was his activity and influence among Mission Friends? The chapter examines the variety of Moody's work and his direct and indirect influence on Mission Friends, and their various activities during the last chapter of his life. Until his death, he remained active ministering among Swedes who maintained a respect for him and applied elements of his evangelistic work and strategy to reach the next generation. Swedish Mission Friends were deeply affected by Moody's death in 1899. His passing was marked by remembrances and publication of his biographies in the Swedish language.

#### Franson's Bible and Evangelist Courses

Fredrik Franson arrived in New York City on September 7, 1890, following his extensive evangelistic tour, and immediately began to recruit missionaries for China.<sup>1</sup> By the middle of October, he gathered nearly fifty young men and women to attend his Bible and evangelist course in Brooklyn. Twenty of the students were selected to go to China as itinerant evangelists, serving under the direction of J. Hudson Taylor of the China

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<sup>1</sup> O. C. Grauer, *Fredrik Franson: Founder of the Scandinavian Alliance Mission of North America*, (Chicago: Scandinavian Alliance Mission, 1939) 79.

*D. L. Moody and Swedes*

Inland Mission.<sup>2</sup> In China, the young missionaries would learn the language and travel from city and village, preaching the gospel and distributing Bibles and tracts.

Franson then traveled from New York to Chicago where he held a Bible and evangelist course at the Swedish Mission Tabernacle. He lectured six hours a day for eleven days to more than seventy men and women, and preached in Swedish, Norwegian, and English-language churches, making his appeal to reach China's millions with the gospel.<sup>3</sup> After Chicago, he held courses in Minneapolis, and then in Omaha where thirty-five students were selected to go to China's mission field. Along with Victor Rylander and J. A. Hultman, Franson accompanied the new missionaries to the railway station in Omaha, and on January 22, 1891, the missionaries embarked from San Francisco to Shanghai.<sup>4</sup>

**E. A. Skogsbergh**, "the Swedish Moody" (standing), with **Fredrik Franson**, "Moody's Swedish disciple" Used by permission of F. M. Johnson Archives, North Park University, Chicago, Illinois



In 1891, Franson held additional Bible and evangelist courses at Lindsborg, Denver, Seattle, Phelps Center, and Des Moines.<sup>5</sup> A second course was arranged in Chicago by John Martenson at the Oak Street Free Mission.

Franson's Bible and evangelist courses were similar in method to how Moody prepared Christian workers. Both men sought spiritually qualified believers who would

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<sup>2</sup> Taylor, a premillennialist, recruited predominantly from the ranks premillennialists.

<sup>3</sup> *Chicago-Bladet*, Nov. 25, 1890, 1.

<sup>4</sup> Grauer, *Fredrik Franson*, 80–81.

<sup>5</sup> Josephine Princell, *Missionär Fredrik Fransons lif och verksamhet* (Chicago: Chicago-Bladet, 1909) 146–147.



serve as “gapmen,” namely, workers without seminary degrees but with some Biblical and practical training.<sup>6</sup> Franson required that every candidate who attended his courses bring a letter of recommendation from a believing congregation stating that he or she was “a believer in Jesus” and had demonstrated “zeal for the salvation of souls.”<sup>7</sup> Franson’s two-week courses provided Bible teaching, missionary instruction, and in some instances first aid.<sup>8</sup> The last session was devoted to prayer. Like Moody, he encouraged missionary candidates to have a musical talent such as playing guitar.<sup>9</sup> In addition, Moody’s and Franson’s programs were characterized by a spirit of unity and cooperation in common mission.<sup>10</sup>

With the overwhelming response of missionary candidates, Franson’s work required him to recruit an advisory committee, and the Scandinavian Alliance Mission (SAM) was formed as a non-sectarian alliance of mission-minded Christians.<sup>11</sup> Chicago naturally became the mission’s headquarters since it was central to Chicago Avenue Church and Franson’s base of support among Scandinavian-American churches. He recruited a committee of Swedes, Norwegians, and Danes from Chicago that began to function in January 1891 as the organizational base of SAM.<sup>12</sup> The committee included: Fridolf Risberg, secretary, August Pohl, treasurer, C. T. Dyrness, C. W. Holm, Tea Pohl, and Josephine Princell.<sup>13</sup> John Martenson, G. A. Young, M. E. Peterson, C. B. Bjuge, P. J. Elmquist, Otto Högfelt, and O. C. Grauer later served with the committee.<sup>14</sup>

C. T. Dyrness (1865–1933) represented Norwegians who had been influenced by Moody and Franson.<sup>15</sup> Originally from Fjeldberg, Norway, Dyrness discovered Moody

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<sup>6</sup> James F. Findlay, Jr., *Dwight L. Moody: American Evangelist, 1837–1899* (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1969) 328.

<sup>7</sup> *Österns Weckoblad*, Nov. 17, 1891, 1.

<sup>8</sup> Jon P. DePriest, “Send the Light: TEAM and the Evangelical Mission, 1890–1975” (Ph.D. Dissertation, Claremont Graduate University, Claremont, California, 2001) 31.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 15.

<sup>10</sup> Grauer, *Fredrik Franson*, 79.

<sup>11</sup> O. C. Grauer, *Fifty Wonderful Years: Scandinavian Alliance Mission 1890–1940 Jubilee* (Chicago: Scandinavian Alliance Mission, 1940) 13, 310. The committee incorporated Nov. 22, 1897.

The constitution stated: “This organization shall never develop into or become an ecclesiastical organization or denomination, but shall remain an interdenominational and interchurch agency for the fullest cooperation in missionary effort.” The name was changed to The Evangelical Alliance Mission (TEAM) in 1949.

<sup>12</sup> Edvard P. Torjesen, *Fredrik Franson: A Model for Worldwide Evangelism* (Pasadena: William Carey Library, 1983) 73.

<sup>13</sup> Princell, *Missionär Fredrik Fransons lif och verksamhet*, 134.

<sup>14</sup> Grauer, *Fredrik Franson*, 86; Grauer, *Fifty Wonderful Years*, 13–14; O. C. Grauer, originally from Skien, Norway, attended Tabernacle Congregational Church in Chicago, worked for John V. Farwell & Co., and joined Major D. W. Whittle’s Yoke-Fellows Band. John F. Swanson, ed., *A Missionary Statesman: A Brief Biography of Dr. Otto Christopher Grauer* (Chicago: The Scandinavian Alliance Mission, 1945) 15, 22–23, 45; A. E. Strand, ed., *A History of the Norwegians of Illinois* (Chicago: John Anderson Publishing Co., 1905) 321. Cf. Lyle W. Dorsett, *A Passion for Souls: The Life of D. L. Moody* (Chicago: Moody Press, 1997) 126, 147. For Risberg’s impressions of Moody and Sankey, see Fridolf Risberg, *Strödda minnen. Från mitt flydda liv* (Chicago: Missions-Vännen, 1916) 118.

<sup>15</sup> Grauer, *Fredrik Franson*, 219; Frederick Hale, “Norwegians, Danes and the Origins of the Evangelical Free Tradition” *Norwegian-American Studies* Vol. 28 (1979) 82; H. Wilbert Norton, et. al., *The Diamond Jubilee Story of the Evangelical Free Church of America* (Minneapolis: Free Church Publications, 1959) 61, 76. Fleming H. Revell published Moody’s books in Norwegian such as *Førborgad kraft* in 1881,

and Sankey's work in Chicago to be a great source of inspiration that left "an indelible mark" on him.<sup>16</sup> Dyrness served as pastor of Salem Evangelical Free Church in Chicago. The Scandinavian Alliance Mission became the single sending-agency for missionaries of the burgeoning Norwegian-Danish Evangelical Free churches.<sup>17</sup>

In his Bible and evangelist courses, Franson emphasized Christ's premillennial return, lecturing often from the book of Revelation. Like Moody, he stressed the need to win the masses of lost souls before Christ's return. In January of 1890, for example, *Missions-Wännen* reported about Moody preaching on the Second Coming, saying:

Christ's Second Coming was the subject of a powerful and soul-stirring sermon that the famous evangelist D. L. Moody delivered at his church in Chicago last Sunday morning. This sermon made a deep impression on the crowd that gathered. The end was especially moving; tears appeared in many eyes, and Moody himself was so moved that he could not read all the words of a song but had to let someone else read them while he sat down and wept. Moody went quickly past the various views of Christ's coming. What he principally tried to emphasize in this sermon was the great certainty that Christ *shall* come. He believed that the world would not become better and better but that it would rather increase in ungodliness until Christ comes and takes the reigns of government into his own hands. Humankind now has its day; and when this day comes to an end, the day of the Lord begins. God's Word declares in many places that Christ shall come again, but the time for his arrival is unknown, and therefore, it is not right, yes, unbiblical to set a day for his coming. He shall come unexpectedly so that the world shall be dismayed as the city of Jerusalem was at the news of his first coming.<sup>18</sup>

## Second Swedish Prophetic Conference

The premillennial and imminent coming of Christ that Moody preached was also the topic of discussion at the Swedish Prophetic Conference in Rockford, Illinois, beginning April 21, 1891, ten years after the first Swedish Prophetic Conference in Chicago.<sup>19</sup> The Rockford conference addressed several topics related to Christ's Second Coming. One question dealt with whether or not certain events and signs would precede Jesus' return, or if he could come "*när som helst*" (at any time) without any signs other than what currently existed. Another question dealt with the resurrection, and whether there were several resurrections that were different in time and nature. Franson attended the conference along with John Martenson, J. G. Princell, Josephine Princell, August Davis, C. O. Sahlström, Axel Nordin, E. Brolund, R. Jernberg, Nils Rylander and others.<sup>20</sup>

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*Seirende bön* and *Tolv udvalgte prædikener* in 1884, and *Himmelen* in 1886. In 1887, the Moody Colportage Library published *Førborgad kraft*.

<sup>16</sup> O. C. Grauer, *Kort Biografi af Pastor C. T. Dyrness, 1865–1933* (Chicago, 1933) 5; R. Arlo Odegaard, *With Singleness of Heart* (Minneapolis: Free Church Press, 1971) 137.

<sup>17</sup> Grauer, *Fifty Wonderful Years*, 13, 310. The identity with Moody and Franson and their ideals and beliefs was, in the final analysis, one reason why Norwegian-Danish Evangelical Free churches remained distinct from the American Congregationalists, and formed their own ecclesial association.

<sup>18</sup> *Missions-Wännen*, Jan. 22, 1890, 1.

<sup>19</sup> *Chicago-Bladet*, Dec. 15, 1891, 6.

<sup>20</sup> *Minnesskrift. Utgifven med anledning af Svenska Evangeliska Frikyrkans i Amerika trettioårsjubileum i Rockford, Ill., 10–14 juni, 1914, 1884–1914* (Minneapolis: Larson, 1914) 41.

## Swedes in Moody's Final Years

Overall, the view that Christ would come for the church before the tribulation was prominent in the discussion. Princell summarized the position, saying, "My Lord can come today so that I am spared both death and future troubles."<sup>21</sup> When the question arose regarding whether or not interest among Swedish and other Christians over prophecy had increased or decreased since the 1881 Prophetic Conference, Axel Nordin recalled how his interest had piqued in Sweden, saying:

When I arrived at the mining district, I found some past editions of *Chicago-Bladet* that contained a report of the Prophetic Conference in Chicago. These issues explained just what we wanted to know; I was so glad that I had discovered a goldmine. These newspapers were read by one person and then another until they were all worn out. Then the book was published as a reprint of the report, and so we were able to read the entire account which helped in many ways.<sup>22</sup>

Josephine Princell spoke of her experience over the years, her interest in Biblical prophecy, and how interest in this subject had waned, saying:

When I came to Sweden in 1882, we heard the same cry—that Jesus would come again soon. Naturally, this subject met opposition, but for a time the joy concerning our hope in Jesus' soon return seemed to surpass all opposition. This subject was published particularly in the Swedish newspaper *Morgonstjernen*. But it was not long when interest began to wane. How terrible. — I see now that one of the reasons why interest began to wane was because some people began to set forth the idea that the tribulation comes before Jesus' return [for the church]. The subject was new to them, and rather than examine the subject, they appeared as experts and explained away something that they did not see.<sup>23</sup>

Following the Prophetic Conference at Rockford, Franson left for New York and traveled to Sweden on July 9, 1892. In the following year, more than five hundred people attended his Bible and evangelist courses in Sweden and Norway, and from among them he chose two hundred missionary candidates for the projected "Swedish Field" in China.<sup>24</sup> In Linköping, Franson's course included the study of the Chinese language, lasting until the middle of November when students conducted evangelistic meetings in the country. In the fall of 1893, eight students left for China via England, and eleven traveled to America for additional training and from there departed for China in the spring of 1894.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> *Chicago-Bladet*, July 28, 1891, 1.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>23</sup> *Chicago-Bladet*, Dec. 15, 1891, 6.

<sup>24</sup> J. F. Frederickson worked with Franson for several years in the western United States, and later served as a foreign missionary in Mongolia (north China). Franson reported: "Frederickson said to me one day, 'You will now get to see the Alliance Mission's first church among the Tibetans.' ... The meetings in the evening ... are filled with testimonies by our brothers and sisters in the Tibetan language. These brothers and sisters who have been educated in the schools have acquired a rather fine skill and ability to express themselves. We have thought about translating a part of Moody's and others' stories in order to expose these brothers and sisters to their sermons." *Österns Veckoblad*, July 4, 1894, 6.

<sup>25</sup> The foreign minister of Linköping's province issued a statement regarding missionaries to China, saying that they should exercise caution because of the risks, the difficulty of language, and that they must have

Besides the Prophetic Conference in Rockford, Free Mission Friends also held a *Kristnas gemensamma möte* (joint meeting for Christians) on October 21–26, 1891, at the Oak Street Free Mission, advertised as “neither a meeting of the *Fria* (Free) nor *Förbundsvännerna* (the Covenant Friends) nor Baptists nor Methodists but a meeting for all Christians whatever name they might bear.”<sup>26</sup> A strong alliance, non-partisan view was apparent in *Chicago-Bladet*’s announcement that read:

... all Christians are welcome to participate, and we hope that none will feel unwelcome but that everyone will be able to say: “This was our meeting.” This meeting will have Jesus as the only foundation, and it is not intended to propose a union to form a party or denomination but rather it is simply a union with Jesus and one another through him. We have together one God and Savior, and so let us show this by taking part with as many who are able, and not like so many others who have disgraced themselves and the Christian name by showing themselves to be *partimenniskor* (party-men) who for a *partimöte* (party meeting) are willing to travel thousands of miles but for an *osekteriskt möte* (non-sectarian meeting) of Christians joining together, they do not even have the desire to cross the street.<sup>27</sup>

The discussion at the meeting dealt with unity in faith, the nature of the church, the work of an evangelist, membership in the local church, and the church’s role in future eras. The non-sectarian sentiment and non-denominational nature of the meeting characterized the Free and their alliance-ideal.<sup>28</sup>

### Karl J. Erixon and *Österns Veckoblad*

In 1885, Karl Erixon moved from Moline, Illinois, to New York City where he became pastor of the Swedish Evangelical Bethesda Church, organized earlier by Princell. While at the Bethesda Church, Erixon served as editor of *New York Missionstidning* from 1887 to 1890, and then became the organizing editor of *Österns Veckoblad*, later titled *Nya Österns Veckoblad*. This periodical was to be “a messenger of peace, remain *opartisk* (non-partisan), and bring the gospel of salvation to every Scandinavian home.”<sup>29</sup>

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adequate funding. Princell, *Fredrik Fransons lif och verksamhet*, 176–177; O. C. Grauer, *Fredrik Franson*, 102.

<sup>26</sup> *Chicago-Bladet*, Oct. 20, 1891, 1; *Missions-Wännern*, Oct. 28, 1891, 4.

<sup>27</sup> *Chicago-Bladet*, Oct. 20, 1891, 1.

<sup>28</sup> Over time the Free moved away from Princell’s earlier non-organizational stance. For example, they eventually allowed: 1) voting at annual meetings “to every preacher in good standing,” whether chosen or not as a delegate of the congregation, 2) “the right to discipline and expel ministers” whose teachings were not in accord with the beliefs of the association, and 3) in 1908 at Minneapolis, decided to incorporate as a church body under the name, the Swedish Evangelical Free Church. Ernst Olson, Anders Schön, and Martin J. Engberg, *History of the Swedes of Illinois*, I (Chicago: Engberg-Holmberg Publishing Co., 1908) 614–615. Moreover, like Moody, the Free’s alliance ideal and “secret rapture” view created a tension between the principle, “Unity in the essential matters and liberty in all things unessential.” E. A. Halleen, “History of the Swedish Free Church of America,” in *The Swedish Element in America*, Erik G. Westman and E. Gustav Johnson, eds. (Chicago: Swedish-American Biographical Society, 1931) 220.

<sup>29</sup> *Österns Veckoblad*, Jan. 6, 1891, 1. Erixon served Bethesda Covenant Church until his death on April 27, 1900. Karl A. Olsson, *By One Spirit* (Chicago: Covenant Press, 1962) 789.

*Swedes in Moody's Final Years*



**Karl J. Erixon**, editor of *Österns Veckoblad* Used by permission of F. M. Johnson Archives, North Park University, Chicago, Illinois

In the first decade of publication, *Österns Veckoblad* published 22 sermons and articles by C. H. Spurgeon, 9 by D. L. Moody, 8 by P. P. Waldenström, 8 by Karl Erixon, 5 by T. de Witt Talmage, and 4 by J. Hudson Taylor.<sup>30</sup> Other preachers whose sermons were published were: E. J. Ekman, Karl Palmberg, David Nyvall, F. B. Meyer, A. P. Nelson, F. Risberg, Erik Nyström, and C. W. Holm. The newspaper published four Bible studies by Franson as well as numerous articles of his work on the mission field. Articles reported events of Moody such as his revival meetings in Brockton, Massachusetts, Chicago, Providence, Rhode Island, Washington D.C., Lowell, Massachusetts, Texas, Boston, and New York.<sup>31</sup> It reported news of Moody's Bible Institute in Chicago, and his conferences at Northfield.<sup>32</sup> The periodical also offered Moody's books for sale.

*Österns Veckoblad* often featured articles on world missions and Christ's Second Coming.<sup>33</sup> For example, Erixon published a series of polemical articles between Loth Lindquist of the Free, and John P. Eagle of the Covenant. In this debate, Lindquist set out to answer the question, "Can Christ come *när som helst* (at any moment)?" He acknowledged that while "*när som helst*" is not found in the Bible, it was a Biblical concept.<sup>34</sup> He argued that if "being taken up to Christ in the clouds was not the first thing for Christians to expect—an event that would happen before the day of the Lord—then how would Christ be able to come on that day with his saints to earth?"<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> An example of Moody's sermons was his message delivered at the Christian Endeavor meeting in Mechanics Hall in Boston on July 11, 1895. D. L. Moody, "Bibeln," *Österns Veckoblad*, Sept. 4, 1895, 2.

<sup>31</sup> *Österns Veckoblad*, Feb. 19, 1891, 2; Feb. 1, 1893, 4; Feb. 7, 1894, 5; Mar. 21, 1894, 5; Dec. 12, 1894, 4; June 23, 1897, 5; Mar. 16, 1898, 8; Mar. 23, 1898, 4; Aug. 30, 1899, 4; Sept. 20, 1899, 4.

<sup>32</sup> *Österns Veckoblad*, Apr. 11, 1894, 1; Mar. 25, 1896, 5; Jan. 18, 1899, 4; July 3, 1895, 4.

<sup>33</sup> For several weeks, Erixon published his own series of lectures titled "Vår Herres Jesu Kristi tillkommelse" (Our Lord Jesus Christ's Coming). *Österns Veckoblad*, Mar. 22, 1893; Apr. 5, 1893; May 3, 1893, 3; July 12, 1893; Aug. 16, 1893.

<sup>34</sup> *Österns Veckoblad*, June 13, 1894, 2; *Minneapolis Veckoblad*, May 30, 1894, 2.

<sup>35</sup> *Österns Veckoblad*, June 13, 1894, 2.

Eagle responded to Lindquist and his new premillennial view by asking, “Have they who in the last ten years preached that Christ can come *när som helst* preached truth or falsehood, pure doctrine or error?”<sup>36</sup> Eagle raised his question in response to a statement that Franson had made at the Prophetic Conference in Rockford when he said, “Had the Lord been able to come, then he would have already come.”<sup>37</sup> To this Eagle asked: “Why has the Lord not come? And perhaps the answer is that he may not yet be able to come but he will come as soon as he can.” Eagle believed that if Christ had not come, would it be correct to teach that he can come *när som helst*? He went on to cite James 5:8 which says that the Lord’s coming is “*nära*” (near), arguing further that “Paul expected the Lord to return in his day but he did not teach the Lord could come *när som helst*.”

Whereas Lindquist interpreted “the Lord’s coming” and “the day of the Lord” as two different events, Eagle saw them as one and the same. He believed that end-time events would signal the Lord’s return, an event that “we are now able to expect very soon.”<sup>38</sup> On this matter Eagle sided with Ekman, Mellander, and Waldenström, while Lindquist followed the new premillennialism of Moody’s Darbyite following such as Franson, Princell and Martenson.<sup>39</sup>

In 1892, Missionary Otto Witt (1848–1924) of the Church of Sweden’s mission, lectured at various locations in Chicago including Chicago Avenue Church, supported chiefly while in Chicago by “*de fria vännerna*” (the Free Friends).<sup>40</sup> He had preached previously in Seattle, Portland, San Francisco, Los Angeles, San Diego, Boston, Aberdeen, Baltimore, Washington D.C., Toronto, Dallas, Cincinnati, Tampa, Colorado Springs, Phoenix, and Kansas City. In Chicago, Witt delivered a lecture titled “*De yttersta ting*” (The Last Things) that was “along the lines of Franson and Princell,” and shared his experiences as a missionary, especially about conversions in Zululand in Africa.<sup>41</sup>

### Moody and Skogsbergh at the Chicago World’s Fair

In 1893, Moody carried out one of the largest evangelistic campaigns ever held in a single city.<sup>42</sup> To reach as many people as possible with the gospel during the Chicago’s World’s Fair, he recruited evangelists from several countries to come and hold services in their native languages for international visitors. He recruited A. P. Fitt and John McNeil from Great Britain, Adolf Stöcker from Berlin, and Theodore Monod from Paris.<sup>43</sup> In America, he recruited: J. William Chapman, R. A. Torrey, A. C. Dixon, George Pentecost Billy Sunday, E. A. Skogsbergh, and others.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> *Österns Weckoblad*, June 27, 1894, 2.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>38</sup> *Österns Weckoblad*, July 18, 1894, 2; *Österns Weckoblad*, June 27, 1894, 3.

<sup>39</sup> *Österns Weckoblad*, Aug. 8, 1894, 7.

<sup>40</sup> *Österns Weckoblad*, April 17, 1892, 4.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.* Witt served with Svenska Kyrkans Mission (SKM), a separate mission from the EFS.

<sup>42</sup> Dorsett, *A Passion for Souls*, 391.

<sup>43</sup> *Chicago-Bladet*, Aug. 29, 1893, 4; *Minneapolis Weckoblad*, Aug. 9, 1893, 1; Sep. 13, 1893, 1.

<sup>44</sup> Dorsett, *A Passion for Souls*, 390–391; *Österns Weckoblad*, Aug. 1, 1894, 2; E. Aug. Skogsbergh, *Minnen och upplevelser. Under min mer än femtioåriga predikoverksamhet* (Minneapolis: Veckobladets tryckeri, 1923) 251. H. B. Hartzler, *Moody in Chicago or The World’s Fair Gospel Campaign: An Account*

## *Swedes in Moody's Final Years*

In February 1893, Josephine Princell described Moody's plans, saying:

Mr. Moody, the dear, illustrious evangelist and man of God has also recently visited Chicago. He held some meetings at Chicago Avenue Church, and actually came here to organize evangelistic activities that he is planning for Chicago this summer during the World's Fair. The meetings will be held daily in as many languages as possible so that people from all the nations of the world who visit the city will be able to hear the gospel in their own language, if they wish. This is good. May the Lord bless this endeavor and may many take their places among the leaders of volunteers so that this work finds great success!<sup>45</sup>

*Minneapolis Weckoblad* reported that Skogsbergh was personally invited by Moody to preach to Swedes.<sup>46</sup>

Moody and his associates, with the Chicago Bible Institute as their headquarters, organized evangelists and singers, sending them to churches, halls, tents, and auditoriums throughout Chicago. *Chicago-Bladet* reported: "For several weeks, Bible readings have been held under the leadership of well-known American and European preachers at the Bible Institute and Chicago Avenue Church. Last week, the indefatigable preacher [Moody] rented Central Music Hall where he preached from 10 to 12 o'clock and after this Dr. J. McNeill continued from 12 to 1."<sup>47</sup>

Skogsbergh published a report of the activities in *Minneapolis Weckoblad* saying:

... I am now a guest of the evangelist D. L. Moody at the so-called Bible Institute where he is staying too. Earlier he had written and asked if I would come to Chicago and preach to the Scandinavians during the World's Fair this summer. With all of my work in Minneapolis, this was nearly impossible until D.[avid] Nyvall arrived back home and agreed to come and preach, and the congregation said, "Go!" ... And so I came here on the 12<sup>th</sup> of this month. I did not know where the meetings would be held until the time of my departure, and then learned that they would be held at the Swedish Mission Church on the north side where Brother Björk preaches. And it was so. Moody had arranged with the Mission Church that I preach there every evening for a week, and so I started on the 13<sup>th</sup>. ... Eight days ago from this Sunday, I began with a series of meetings among the Norwegians on the west side in Pastor Thorgeson's church. I had ministered among the Norwegians there about twelve years ago when a powerful wind of grace blew among them. Oh, that a similar spiritual movement would be felt again since preachers as well as listeners lament over the spiritual indifference that is so prevalent. Next Friday, the 25<sup>th</sup>, Moody has promised to join me, and we will preach at the Mission Church on the north side. The reason for this meeting was that it would have concluded my series of meetings for the time, but I have promised to stay at least one more week in order to preach every evening at the so-called Moody Church.<sup>48</sup>

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*of Six Month's Evangelistic Work in the City of Chicago and Vicinity during the Time of the World's Columbian Exposition, Conducted by Dwight L. Moody and His Associates* (New York, Chicago and Toronto: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1894) 119–120.

<sup>45</sup> *Chicago-Bladet*, Feb. 7, 1893, 1.

<sup>46</sup> *Minneapolis Weckoblad*, Feb. 8, 1893, 1.

<sup>47</sup> *Chicago-Bladet*, Sept. 12, 1893, 6.

<sup>48</sup> *Minneapolis Weckoblad*, Aug. 30, 1893, 1.

Skogsbergh further explained the dark, spiritual condition of Chicago, and how Moody with this in mind established the Chicago Evangelization Society, comprised of members from various churches and denominations. Skogsbergh also described Chicago's Bible Institute, and how the school placed such importance on music. Skogsbergh said, "Look, it is half of Moody's life; he believes strongly in good songs and music as meaningful factors in evangelistic work. And he is right."<sup>49</sup>

Moody's strategy during the World's Fair was to involve the 275 students from the Bible Institute in the campaign. In addition, he invited thirty to forty evangelists and musicians from the United States and Europe "to preach and sing at churches, halls, theaters, tents, empty lots, and street corners in their various languages."<sup>50</sup> Moreover, when Moody saw that most people attended the World's Fair on Sundays, he set out "to make Jesus Christ so attractive that people would be attracted to him, not the fair."<sup>51</sup> In response, so many people attended Moody's organized meetings that the fair's organizers decided to close the exhibition on Sundays.

In the mornings, the evangelists were together with Moody at the Bible Institute. Skogsbergh recalled:

We had many pleasant moments there. Moody was an enormously pleasant person at the art of conversation even when he had just a moment in passing. He would always greet others and was always on visiting terms with them. But for the most part, he was engaged in the work. In the mornings we helped him with his correspondence and counted the money that sat in big piles on the desk, money received during the exhibition for the evangelistic work. It was said that he received about \$300,000 during this time. ... Moody was very interested in stories, and humorous ones. Some of the evangelists were extremely funny. Rather often it happened that when Moody was sitting there seriously, opening letters, dictating a letter, or glancing over the piles of money, that one of the evangelists would begin to tell a funny preacher story, or as Yankees say, "cracked a joke." Moody began to laugh so hard that he had to hold onto his chair if he did not want to fall off.<sup>52</sup>

On a more serious note Skogsbergh recalled how someone said something to Moody one day regarding B. Fay Mills, and how "he had begun to doubt certain truths of God's Word."<sup>53</sup> Skogsbergh recalled: "Moody heard it, swung around in his chair, and with fire in his eyes shouted: 'The hundreds have taken him!' 'What?,' I interjected. 'What has taken hold of Mills?' He answered: 'When a preacher begins to doubt and deny some of the statements of truth found between the covers of the beloved Bible, I have no use for him; Mills has gone astray.'"<sup>54</sup> Skogsbergh commented that Moody was not known to say something negative about another person even if that person held different viewpoints or interpretations on matters of less importance. However, when someone attacked the Bible, he then became harsh. Skogsbergh observed that Moody believed simply "as a child in all that was written in the Bible," and that he used to say,

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<sup>49</sup> Ibid.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid.

<sup>51</sup> Martin E. Marty, *Pilgrims in Their Own Land: 500 years of Religion in America* (Boston: Little and Brown, 1984) 315.

<sup>52</sup> *Minneapolis Weckoblad*, Feb. 6, 1900, 1.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid.



"If you throw away one part of the Scriptures, you must throw away all of it, for the scriptures are a coherent whole."<sup>55</sup>

Skogsbergh also recalled that while the summer heat was intense, it did not hinder the work. Moody said to him and the others that the gospel was for the entire year regardless of the season, repeating his motto: "Preach in season and out of season."<sup>56</sup> In addition to speaking, Moody made 200 home visits in a single day. Skogsbergh said, "When his friends would quit for the day, Moody continued to work climbing up and down the staircases."<sup>57</sup>

During the World's Fair, Moody decided to bypass the World's Parliament of Religions that was being held at the same time. However, he was eager to attend the Evangelical Alliance conference in Chicago. Skogsbergh reported that Moody had planned to preach on the subject of the power of the Holy Spirit but decided instead to speak on the love of Christ, "a subject most dear to him."<sup>58</sup>

At the conclusion of the World's Fair, Skogsbergh summarized his experience, saying:

D. L. Moody's six-month long evangelistic campaign during the World's Fair in Chicago is now over. It ended Oct. 31. ... Besides the fact that he preached from one to three times a day, he engaged between 50 to 100 preachers and vocalists from Europe and this country who spoke and sang in various languages. ... For my part, I have participated in this ministry for around seven weeks during which time I have preached in Chicago's south side at 55<sup>th</sup> Street Blvd, Englewood, Swedish Mission Tabernacle, in the Norwegian church on the west side, and at the Mission Church on the north side, as well as at Moody's Church. ... We have also had the joy of praying with a number of anxious [souls].<sup>59</sup>

### **Swedes at Moody's Revival in Providence**

John P. Eagle reported about Moody's and Sankey's revival campaign in Providence, Rhode Island, and the surrounding cities in January 1894. Moody and Sankey arrived there after Major D. W. Whittle, E. W. Bliss, and George C. Stebbins conducted meetings for several weeks. Eagle said: "Now that Moody and Sankey have come, the others would get some rest."<sup>60</sup> Eagle went on to say that when their first meeting began, "the large 'Hall' was packed so full with people that several were not able to get in." Two policemen stood at the door and said to those who were trying to force their way in that they should go to Central Baptist Church nearby, where Major Whittle would lead the meeting, and Sankey would come and sing and speak.

Eagle was able to enter the hall where Moody was speaking, and recalled:

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<sup>55</sup> Ibid.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid.

<sup>57</sup> *Minneapolis Weckoblad*, Apr. 29, 1891, 1.

<sup>58</sup> *Minneapolis Weckoblad*, Oct. 25, 1893, 1.

<sup>59</sup> *Minneapolis Weckoblad*, Nov. 8, 1893, 1; *Chicago-Bladet* reported that Skogsbergh preached at the Mission Church on the north side, as well as in south Chicago, at a church at Atlantic and 55<sup>th</sup> streets, and the Swedish Tabernacle on the south side. *Chicago-Bladet*, Aug. 22, 1893, 6; Oct. 10, 1893, 4.

<sup>60</sup> *Österns Weckoblad*, Jan. 10, 1894, 3.

I had a ticket that read "Admit to the platform only." ...I entered through a side door and heard Moody who first asked all the church members to stand up, and after that asked for the collection to be received. Then he asked that the windows be opened to let some fresh air into the hall, and then he read Joshua 1 and spoke on the topic of faith. There was a large number of Swedes at the meeting and to their credit numbered more than any other nationality, i.e. immigrants who came to hear the gospel. Some were devoted Christians who had heard much about Moody but had not yet seen or heard him for themselves. ... May God bless this brave man and all those who labor with him so that many will be saved from their sins. Those of us who belong to the Swedish Mission Church have asked God to work here through Mr. Moody so that many Swedes might come to faith in Jesus, and in light of this, we suspended our prayer meeting that evening so that as many as possible might go and hear him. We have also requested that he or any of his co-workers come to our church sometime in order to preach and sing, but we have not yet received any commitment regarding this. However, we have prayed and expect great blessings from these meetings. May God give us many of the rich treasures of his house ... and may revival be felt among us.<sup>61</sup>

Eagle reported some of the effects that Moody's ministry had on Swedes in Providence, saying that those who were present "listened with concentrated attention to the songs, prayer, and sermon."<sup>62</sup> Many of the Swedes were facing difficult times, especially since a strike had lingered on and affected those employed in the city's textile factories. He reported that some of the Swedes had come to seek God's help and through his grace would "become better, yes, even new men." He continued: "May those who are most wretched and have fallen the farthest become both honest and useful human beings through faith in Jesus Christ. May the gospel that is sung and preached be the power of God unto salvation among the diverse nationalities here in Providence, but most of all among our dear Swedes."<sup>63</sup>

### Skogsbergh's Visit to Sweden

In the summer of 1894, Skogsbergh traveled to Sweden to visit relatives in Värmland, as well as to attend meetings of Mission Friends. Arriving at Göteborg, he preached at Betlehemskyrkan (Bethlehem Church) that seated over 3,000 people.<sup>64</sup> In Stockholm, he attended the annual meeting of Svenska Missionsförbundet, and traveled to Dalarna, Värmland, Närke, Skåne and other provinces to attend additional meetings.<sup>65</sup> He visited with Karl Palmberg and Samuel Johansson at Mora, E. J. Ekman at Örebro, and P. P. Waldenström at Vanneberga and Åmål.<sup>66</sup> He preached in Stockholm on August 19, 1894, to a full house at Immanuelskyrkan (the Immanuel Church) and Lutherska

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<sup>61</sup> Ibid.

<sup>62</sup> "Mera om Moodys verksamhet i Providence," *Österns Veckoblad*, Jan. 17, 1894, 2. August Nelson in Washington D.C. reported Moody's and Sankey's work held at Convention Hall, with congressmen, senators and the Vice-President in attendance. *Missions-Wännen*, Mar. 7, 1894, 5.

<sup>63</sup> *Österns Veckoblad*, Jan. 17, 1894, 2.

<sup>64</sup> Skogsbergh, *Minnen och upplevelser*, 220.

<sup>65</sup> *Österns Veckoblad*, Jun. 20, 1894, 5; *Missions-Wännen*, Sept. 12, 1894, 8; "Dalarnes Ansgariiförenings årsmöte" *Svenska Morgonbladet*, July 2, 1894, 2-3; "Svenska Missionsförbundets årsmöte" *Svenska Morgonbladet*, June 11, 1894, 2; June 12, 1894, 2.

<sup>66</sup> Skogsbergh, *Minnen och upplevelser*, 220.

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missionshuset (the Lutheran mission house). He commented that he was impressed by “the religious meetings in Sweden, the most sincere Christians, the spiritually rich preachers, and the large number of telephones.”<sup>67</sup>

In his lecture at Mora after the Ansgar meeting, Skogsbergh shared his thoughts about Moody's life and ministry. The account was published in *Hemlands-Vännen*.<sup>68</sup> In describing Moody's preaching, he said “his sermons resemble the Swedish preachers' sermons, and that he speaks so plainly that he is easily understood by Scandinavians.”<sup>69</sup> Skogsbergh further described Moody's visit to Minneapolis when so many Scandinavians attended that separate meetings had to be arranged for the English-speaking Americans. He also joked about Moody singing poorly, and how the American revivalist himself claimed to be able to sing as well as Sankey, saying: “We both sing as well as we can.”<sup>70</sup> Skogsbergh then explained how Moody conducted his revival meetings, saying:

Moody gathers believers to a prayer meeting and deals with questions regarding the conditions for a successful worker in the Lord's service. Then, when he uses a question box, he has people place questions in it, questions they write down for him to answer during the public meetings. If the building that is used is not large enough to accommodate everyone who wants to come, Moody asks believers not to attend but to gather at a nearby location and to pray while he speaks to the unconverted. He becomes quite upset when someone violates this request. After the songs and sermon that lasts for a rather long time, this meeting ends, and then comes the after-meeting with the anxious [souls]. At times this meeting can last long into the night. The addresses of the anxious are collected, and the believers are urged to talk with them. Then Moody exhorts the new converts to join a church soon in which they have the most confidence. He has never established any congregations except for his own congregation in Chicago. This is how Moody operates during his evangelistic trips.<sup>71</sup>

When Skogsbergh was asked about Moody's thoughts about women preachers, he explained that Moody did not attempt to silence them but believed they should work solely as Bible-women or within certain circles.<sup>72</sup>

Skogsbergh recalled that during his visit to Sweden, preachers everywhere wanted to hear about Moody, and whether he ever intended to visit Sweden. With such interest among the Swedes, after a similar lecture given on the north shore, Karl Palmberg recommended that a greeting be sent to Moody with an invitation for him to visit Sweden.<sup>73</sup> A reply came from Moody to Skogsbergh while in Sweden, saying:

I received your letter. It was good and brought thankfulness to my heart for my Christian friends in Mora, Dalarne, for their brotherly greeting in Jesus Christ, that they sent me

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<sup>67</sup> *Missions-Wännen*, Sept. 12, 1894, 8.

<sup>68</sup> *Hemlands-Vännen*, July 5, 1894, cited in *Österns Weckoblad*, Aug. 1, 1894, 2.

<sup>69</sup> *Österns Weckoblad*, Aug. 1, 1894, 2.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, *Minneapolis Weckoblad*, Feb. 13, 1900, 1.

## *D. L. Moody and Swedes*

through you. I rejoice over a religion that brings us into brotherhood through Christ's blood, even though we do not know one another personally.

Yours in the work,  
D. L. Moody<sup>74</sup>

Skogsbergh said that when he arrived back to the United States, the two of them discussed the possibility of visiting "old Sweden" together. However, this never materialized due to Skogsbergh's and Moody's busy schedules. Skogsbergh concluded: "The fact that Sweden's Christians never got to see and hear the beloved evangelist was certainly a great disappointment to them."<sup>75</sup>

### **Moody's Chicago Bible Institute**

In 1887, Moody had begun his work to establish a school in Chicago to teach "gapmen" the Bible and basic doctrine, and to train them for evangelism and personal work. Emma Dryer had already taught classes at Chicago Avenue Church to young women, such as her class for Swedish women. Moody respected Dryer, and her encouragement led him to found the Chicago Bible Institute.<sup>76</sup> He felt the work should be expanded to include young men as well as young women. Several preliminary institutes lasting from a few weeks to several months were held at Chicago Avenue Church.<sup>77</sup> The school then opened formally on September 26, 1889, with the goal of equipping "gapmen" to reach Chicago and neglected mission fields.<sup>78</sup> Students represented every Christian denomination and creed.

Alongside the school, Moody founded the Bible Institute Colportage Association in Chicago to publish inexpensive books in mass, and to place them into the hands of Christian workers, Sunday school teachers, and prison inmates.<sup>79</sup> The Colportage Association published several of Moody's books in the Swedish language including: *Vägen till Gud (The Way to God)*, *Himmelen (Heaven)*, *Utvalda predikningar (Selected Sermons)*, and *Förborgad kraft (Secret Power)*.<sup>80</sup> These titles were also published by Fleming H. Revell.

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<sup>74</sup> "Helsning från evangelisten D. L. Moody," *Svenska Morgonbladet*, Sept. 10, 1894, 2.

<sup>75</sup> *Minneapolis Weckoblad*, Feb. 13, 1900, 1.

<sup>76</sup> Gene A. Getz, *MBI: The Story of Moody Bible Institute* (Chicago: Moody Press, 1969) 33–40; Dorsett, *A Passion for Souls*, 165–169.

<sup>77</sup> William R. Moody, *The Life of Dwight L. Moody* (Chicago: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1900) 340.

<sup>78</sup> *Minneapolis Weckoblad*, Nov. 19, 1890, 2; Getz, *MBI: The Story of Moody Bible Institute*, 30–31, 44.

<sup>79</sup> Dorsett, *A Passion for Souls*, 340, 342–343. Getz, *MBI: The Story of Moody Bible Institute*, 229–236. The Bible Institute Colportage Association is today Moody Press.

<sup>80</sup> D. L. Moody, *Vägen till Gud och huru man skall finna den* (Chicago: Bible Institute Colportage Association, 1893); D. L. Moody, *Himmelen. Löftet om himmelen, dess invånare, dess rikedomar, dess sällhet; vissheten af Guds löfte om ett lif på andra sidan grafven och af den lön som der väntar en trogen tjänare* (Chicago: Bible Institute Colportage Association, 1887, 1896); D. L. Moody, *Utvalda predikningar* (Chicago: Bible Institute Colportage Assoc., 1887); D. L. Moody, *Forborgad kraft; eller Nyckeln till framgång i kristligt lif och kristlig verksamhet* (Chicago: Bible Institute Colportage Association, 1881).



**Emma Dryer** who led a Swedish women's class at Chicago Avenue Church, and inspired Moody to begin the Chicago Bible Institute. Used by permission of Moody Bible Institute Archives, Chicago.

Students of the Bible Institute functioned as colporteurs selling these paperbacks door-to-door and church-to-church. *Nya Österns Weckoblad* reported that Moody's Bible Institute was "a Bible school for men and women, missionaries, and lay preachers as well as *kolportörer*" (colporteurs) and that "Moody's book distribution society that prints and distributes good Christian literature especially among the prisoners in the nation's prisons" had "unquestionably accomplished a lot of good."<sup>81</sup> In 1897, *Missions-Wänneren* reported that 708 workers from the Chicago Bible Institute had been sent already to the mission field, and that Moody saw it as a means to evangelize and reform the city of Chicago.<sup>82</sup>

*Minneapolis Weckoblad* joined in similar support of Moody's work among soldiers. When the Spanish-American War broke out in 1898, "a mission society—The Army and Navy Christian Commission— was established by Christians whose aim was to spread the gospel through speech and publications among the soldiers."<sup>83</sup> Moody led this effort, making an appeal for funds to carry out this work. *Minneapolis Weckoblad* announced: "We have therefore thought, perhaps that the Swedes would like to contribute something to this work. There are many Swedish parents and sisters and brothers whose sons and brothers have entered the army. ... Those who wish may send a contribution to *Minneapolis Weckoblad's* office, and we will ... send them then to Moody."<sup>84</sup>

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<sup>81</sup> *Nya Österns Weckoblad*, Dec. 27, 1899, 1.

<sup>82</sup> *Missions-Wänneren*, Apr. 6, 1897, 1.

<sup>83</sup> *Minneapolis Weckoblad*, Aug. 9, 1898, 1.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*

**D. L. Moody's Swedish books** published by Fleming H. Revell, Moody's brother-in-law. Private collection of David M. Gustafson



### **Chicago's Swedish Bible Institute**

Moody's Bible Institute provided a model for a number of schools at the end of the nineteenth century including Chicago's Svenska Bibelinstitutet (Swedish Bible Institute).<sup>85</sup> P. J. Elmquist, superintendent of missions for the Free Mission Friends was troubled by the fact that he received requests from churches seeking pastors but did not know where to turn for candidates to recommend to them.<sup>86</sup> In 1897, he came to the annual meeting and shared his burden for a training program with the result that the conference approved a Bible course to begin in the fall of 1897 for a ten-week period. P. J. Elmquist, J. G. Princell, and Axel Nordin instructed the twenty-two young men and

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<sup>85</sup> William R. Moody observed: "In further testimony to the practical nature of his ideas as embodied in the Institute, it is only necessary to state that institutions on precisely similar lines have sprung up in various parts of the land. Toronto, Canada, and Glasgow, Scotland, sent representatives to Chicago to study the institution; and now both cities have Bible Institutes after Mr. Moody's model." Moody, *The Life of Dwight L. Moody*, 346.

<sup>86</sup> The Free Church's *Minnesskrift* stated that Svenska Bibelinstitutet informally began with the evangelist- and Bible-courses that were arranged by Franson, Princell, Davis, and Elmquist that lasted for 2 or 3 weeks, beginning in 1891 with Franson. *Minnesskrift. Utgifven med anledning af Svenska Evangeliska Frikyrkans i Amerika trettioårsjubileum*, 356.

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women who enrolled.<sup>87</sup> Classes were held at the Oak Street Free Mission without cost. The Swedish Free Church's thirtieth Jubilee titled *Minnesskrift* explained:

Classes were held in the smaller and sometimes larger hall at the Swedish Free Mission on Oak Street. ... The pastor there at the time, Brother A. Nordin, joined Elmquist and Princell by lecturing a couple of hours a week and leading discussion on the practical subject of the Christian congregational life. Nordin also spoke Saturday mornings at the so-called "conferences" for practical exercises in preaching, leading meetings, etc. ... The second course, in October 1898, also lasted ten weeks.<sup>88</sup>

Princell who had practical experience as a schoolman taught the Biblical subjects.<sup>89</sup> After the ten-week course in 1898, *Chicago-Bladet* reported that the twenty-six students disseminated to various places in the country, with several going into the Lord's work, some as congregational teachers, others as evangelists in various states, while "a couple continued their studies at Moody's Bible Institute."<sup>90</sup> In addition to the ten-week course, Princell offered a correspondence course to students.<sup>91</sup> For an additional resource, he recommended a Bible study by N. G. Helander titled *Sanningens Våg* (Wave of Truth) that contained helps by Moody.<sup>92</sup>

P. J. Elmquist described his original burden for the Swedish Bible Institute and how he considered what could be done to meet the pressing need for preachers. He said that he heard a voice in his spirit saying ...

Go and raise ten thousand dollars as capital to begin a Swedish, non-sectarian Bible institute, where the doors will be permanently open to all young men and women who believe in Jesus, who also possess gifts to go out as preachers, evangelists, and missionaries; an institute where these young men and women are able to receive the necessary education in the Bible and other subjects needed in order to preach the gospel.<sup>93</sup>

Elmquist presented his idea to several people in Chicago and discovered that others were in agreement with him about the need to establish a school on the order of Moody's Bible Institute for Swedish-speaking students. They organized a school board, and Svenska Bibelinstitutet in Chicago incorporated in 1901 with board members: P. J. Elmquist, John

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<sup>87</sup> Calvin B. Hanson, *The Trinity Story* (Minneapolis: Free Church Press, 1983) 15.

<sup>88</sup> *Minnesskrift. Utgifven med anledning af Svenska Evangeliska Frikyrkans i Amerika trettioårsjubileum*, 358.

<sup>89</sup> *Chicago-Bladet*, Aug. 2, 1898, 2.

<sup>90</sup> *Chicago-Bladet*, Dec. 20, 1898, 4. The students went to serve in Illinois, Iowa, Nebraska, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Michigan, and the West coast.

<sup>91</sup> *Missions-Wännen*, Dec. 27, 1898, 6; *Chicago-Bladet*, Aug. 15, 1899, 8.

<sup>92</sup> See N. G. Helander, *Sanningens våg. En praktisk sammanställning af Guds ord till ett viktigt bibelstudium, der-jemte vinkar af D. L. Moody om bibelläsning* (Jamestown, New York, 1897). Another version was published in the same year by Johnston & Lundquist in Minneapolis. See also the advertisement in *Chicago-Bladet*, May 25, 1897, 3.

<sup>93</sup> *Minnesskrift. Utgifven med anledning af Svenska Evangeliska Frikyrkans i Amerika trettioårsjubileum*, 358.

Martenson, J. G. Princell, G. A. Young, Alfred Sellstrom, Charles J. Anderson, A. L. Anderson, Gust. F. Johnson, and Edward Thorell.<sup>94</sup>

### Moody's Last Visit in Minneapolis

In November 1897, Moody again visited the Swedish Mission Tabernacle in Minneapolis when Dr. Nansen, the North Pole explorer, was lecturing there too.<sup>95</sup> Both men spoke at the church to a full house of listeners. Moody held lectures in the morning and afternoon, as well as in the evenings when “thousands had to return home without being able to enter to hear the great evangelist.” *Minneapolis Weckoblad* reported: “The enthusiasm with which Moody was received was no less, although he was well-known among us and had nothing more to present than the old gospel of Christ which has been preached for the last 2,000 years.”<sup>96</sup> Moody’s objective was noted as the same as before, “to preach the simple gospel of Christ.”<sup>97</sup>

However, Moody had changed the way he ministered during this visit. *Minneapolis Weckoblad* reported: “Earlier he preached mainly to the ungodly, and thus used the so-called revival meetings. He still holds revival meetings now but it is not the ungodly who first fill the room but members of Christian churches. He wants to awaken them to zeal and action. He says that if the church members were merely as they should be, then sinners would be saved.”<sup>98</sup> In addition, Moody had nearly abandoned his use of after-meetings. On his final visit to Minneapolis, he held only one after-meeting asking “as many who wished to stay to do so in order that he might show them the way to life. ... Around a hundred asked for intercession and desired to become Christians.”<sup>99</sup>

### Moody's Last Activities with Swedes

In April 1897, Otto Högfelt, editor of *Missions-Wännen*, described Moody’s meetings at the Chicago Auditorium in Chicago. Högfelt said, “... Moody came and took lead of the whole meeting. The short, thick-bellied and spirited man with a grizzly beard did not seem to change since the last time we saw him.”<sup>100</sup> Moody said that he was glad to visit Chicago again and while it had been forty years since he had started his work in the city, Chicago had always been on his mind.

At the meeting, Moody preached on the Second Coming, saying, “Christ shall come and establish his kingdom on earth, and all free-thinking and God-denying will

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<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*, 359. This school represented the Swedish branch of what is today Trinity International University in Deerfield, Illinois.

<sup>95</sup> *Minneapolis Weckoblad*, Nov. 23, 1897, 6. Walter Osborn, “D. L. Moody’s Travels: Arranged Alphabetically by Country, City and Chronologically” Chicago: Moody Bible Institute Library, 1991, 58.

<sup>96</sup> *Minneapolis Weckoblad*, Nov. 23, 1897, 6.

<sup>97</sup> *Minneapolis Weckoblad*, Nov. 23, 1897, 1

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.* In an interview with P. P. Waldenström, Stockholm’s *Aftonblad* reported: “In regards to Moody, he is really a tremendous preacher and has an *enormt inflytande* (enormous influence) although nowadays he does not awaken the mass-movements that he did ten years ago.” *Minneapolis Weckoblad*, Jan. 29, 1890, 1.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.* Cf. *Minneapolis Weckoblad*, Sept. 27, 1898, 1. All meetings were held in the Swedish Mission Tabernacle with the exception of a Sunday afternoon meeting at Westminster Church. See also Bruce J. Evensen, *God’s Man for the Gilded Age: D. L. Moody and the Rise of Modern Mass Evangelism* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2003) 186–187.

<sup>100</sup> *Missions-Wännen*, Apr. 6, 1897, 1.



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disappear; this is merely a question of time.”<sup>101</sup> He also preached about the Bible, giving “a powerful testimony for the good old book,” showing that “most of those who take a stand against the Bible, do not know it very well.”<sup>102</sup> During an afternoon meeting, Moody preached about salvation, followed by an after-meeting where “weeping and prayers were heard throughout the large crowd,” and “large numbers of people stood up and asked for intercession, evidence of a wondrous power.”<sup>103</sup>

In April 1899, *Chicago-Bladet* reported that Moody made a brief visit to Chicago during his trip from the west coast, and that he was accompanied at the time by the Swedish Missionary C. Richard Tjäder (1869–1916) who came to work in the city among Swedes, Germans, and English speakers.<sup>104</sup> Every night Tjäder preached at the Oak Street Free Mission, and the following week he preached in the English language at Chicago Avenue Church, and then again at the Oak Street Mission, as well as the Swedish Mission Tabernacle on Chicago's south side and the Mission Church on the north side.<sup>105</sup> Tjäder, who had attended school in Stockholm and Fjellstedt's school in Uppsala before traveling to Germany, had been inspired by Franson to enter the preaching ministry.<sup>106</sup> Tjäder traveled to the United States where he, through arrangements by Franson, cooperated with Moody and A. B. Simpson.

A contingent of Swedes regularly attended Moody's general conference in Northfield.<sup>107</sup> An example of the interest by Swedes is observed in the invitation from August Liljenberg of Boston, John Axelson of Fitchburg, and K. E. Forsell of Worcester, Massachusetts, in *Nya Österns Veckoblad*, asking Swedes to join Moody and Sankey in Northfield from August 7–20, 1899. They wrote:

It will be refreshing for body and soul to get to spend a couple of weeks in the beginning of August together with such men like Moody and Sankey as well as F. B. Meyer from London and the renowned singer Stebbins in the beautifully situated Northfield, Mass. Many other well-known speakers and Bible scholars will be speaking there during the conference including Rev. A. T. Pierson, Rev. R. A. Torrey, as well as J. G. Cunningham from Edinburgh, and others.<sup>108</sup>

*Nya Österns Veckoblad* later reported that the summer conferences in Northfield under Moody's charge had significance not merely for America but for England and Scotland. The Northfield meetings and Moody's diverse activities were “*fri från*

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<sup>101</sup> Ibid.

<sup>102</sup> Ibid.

<sup>103</sup> Ibid.

<sup>104</sup> *Chicago-Bladet*, Apr. 11, 1899, 8.

<sup>105</sup> *Chicago-Bladet*, Apr. 18, 1899, 3.

<sup>106</sup> After preaching briefly in Russia, Tjäder returned to Sweden where he conducted meetings along the coasts, and also in Stockholm. In 1898, he published the book *Bibelnstriumf över fritänkeri och otro*. While sailing in the summer of 1898 in a south Norway fjord, his wife and two of his children drowned. After Tjäder's marriage to a millionaire's daughter, the couple founded in 1901, The International Union Mission in New York. This support organization for missions had branches in other cities including Stockholm under the name, International Allians Missionen. *Svenska män och kvinnor. Biografisk uppslagsbok*, 7 (Stockholm: Albert Bonniers förlag, 1954) 563–564.

<sup>107</sup> Frederick E. Pamp, “The Influence of D. L. Moody on the Swedish People,” *The Covenant Companion* (Nov. 1927) 7. Arthur Percy Fitt, *Moody Still Lives: Word Pictures of D. L. Moody* (New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1936) 62.

<sup>108</sup> *Nya Österns Veckoblad*, July 26, 1899, 4.

*partisinne* (free from partisanship), founded in faith, and built up through prayer, with generous contributions from thousands of Christians in several countries.”<sup>109</sup>

### Moody's Death

Moody delivered his last sermon in Kansas City on November 14, 1899.<sup>110</sup> *Minneapolis Weckoblad* announced that for weeks he had been so ill that he had to suspend his activity and travel home due to serious illness—a weak and failing heart. The hope was that he would recover and not have to end his work.<sup>111</sup> Skogsbergh received a letter from Moody stating that he was better and hoped to return soon to his beloved work.<sup>112</sup> *Minneapolis Weckoblad* asked for “God’s people to pray for him in his time of suffering and that God would see fit to make him healthy again.” The sentiment was: “According to how we judge things, we certainly need him in our country.”<sup>113</sup>

However, news came that Moody died at his home in Northfield at noon on Friday, December 22, 1899, at 62 years of age.<sup>114</sup> *Nya Österns Weckoblad* reported, “Mr. Moody was not only a great evangelist but also a great general in the spiritual realm. ....Thus, people, rich and poor, had complete confidence in him.”<sup>115</sup> *Missions-Wänneren* stated, “It can reasonably be said that Moody was this century’s greatest evangelist, and that he won large crowds to Christ through his untiring activity.”<sup>116</sup> *Chicago-Bladet* reported: “Mr. Moody’s life and work among our readers is already well known.... What was the secret behind Mr. Moody’s success? We would like to answer that it was his great faith in God and his Word, in his command of the Bible, or more accurately that he wholly and completely lived by its command, and that it shaped his character and spirit.”<sup>117</sup>

Moody’s funeral was held December 26, 1899, in East Northfield at 2:30 p.m. *Nya Österns Weckoblad* published a report by J. M. Henrikson of Orange, Massachusetts, who along with August Edman and Bror Josefson, attended Moody’s funeral service. Henrikson expressed that other Swedes would no doubt have attended the service if they had lived closer to Northfield.<sup>118</sup> Henrikson reported:

We arrived one and a half hours before the service began but Moody’s coffin was already there, and we now had plenty of time to view him. ... His faithful co-worker, Mr. Ira D. Sankey, was also there, and when he stood there and viewed his deceased co-fighter, he patted his cheek so tenderly. Then [Methodist] Bishop Mallalieu spoke about the first time he met Mr. Moody in London, and Sankey appeared to be overcome by tears. The sun cast its beams through the window on Moody’s face and it can be said about him what was written about Stephen in Acts 6:15; his face was like the face of an angel.

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<sup>109</sup> *Nya Österns Weckoblad*, Dec. 27, 1899, 1.

<sup>110</sup> *Minneapolis Weckoblad*, Dec. 26, 1899, 4.

<sup>111</sup> *Minneapolis Weckoblad*, Dec. 19, 1899, 4.

<sup>112</sup> *Minneapolis Weckoblad*, Dec. 26, 1899, 4.

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>114</sup> *Nya Österns Weckoblad*, Dec. 27, 1899, 1.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>116</sup> *Missions-Wänneren*, Dec. 26, 1899, 4.

<sup>117</sup> *Chicago-Bladet*, Dec. 26, 1899, 4.

<sup>118</sup> *Nya Österns Weckoblad*, Jan. 3, 1900, 1.

## *Swedes in Moody's Final Years*

Just before 3 o'clock the large church was completely filled with people. My companions from Orange and I took our seats directly in front of the platform so that Moody lay right in front of us, and it was impossible to take our eyes off him even though he was now dead. After the singing of a song, Dr. A. T. Pierson read from 2 Cor. 4:11 and following, after which Dr. George Needham led in prayer to God. Dr. Scofield who was in charge of the service then came up and delivered a warm-hearted message introduced from 2 Cor. 5:1. He pointed out that we first know that the body is a tent and that it is therefore corruptible, subject to this storm-filled world, a dwelling for the present time, and that as there is a natural body, so there is a spiritual body. ... Furthermore, he pointed out the reasons for Moody's influence and success. The first was that he was really saved and certainly demonstrated it. He had experienced God's saving grace, having crossed over from death to life. For the second reason, he believed completely in the Bible as God's Word, and the third reason was that he was baptized with the Holy Spirit and showed it. The fourth reason was that he was a man of prayer, and the fifth reason was that he believed much in work and labored diligently. Finally, Scofield said that he liked to think about Moody now being present with the Lord, Elijah, Daniel, Paul, Augustine, Luther, Wesley and Finney ....

Dr. Torrey from Chicago spoke very shortly .... Large crowds of clergy and doctors were seated on the platform ... Dr. Pierson also spoke briefly ... He said that a hundred million people have heard him [Moody] during his lifetime of ministry. ... Dr. Scofield said ... Yes, there is much to learn from these talks about Moody's ministry for us preachers who still live, and one is ready to join in the prayer with a soldier of salvation who said when I was in Kristiania [Oslo] a decade ago: "Make me, oh God, like Moody." And I believe that when we desire this, not in order to become great and marvelous to people, but useful and pleasing to the Lord, we can seek and pray for it since the scriptures exhort us to take such people as an example and follow those who have walked in faith and holiness. ...

After giving thanks to God and a beautiful song by the men's quartet, the great and impression-filled service was over, the lid was closed on the casket, and then carried out to Round Top where it was covered. We would no longer see Moody's face or hear his voice until the glorious morning of the resurrection when we will see him in star-like radiance—something he has instructed many about unto salvation—when they praise him, the Sun of Righteousness, when they rise to blessedness under his wings, to those who fear the name of the Lord. May you, my readers, and I then also be among them.<sup>119</sup>

### **Remembrances of Moody**

Following Moody's death, several articles appeared describing his life and influence among Swedes. Although eulogies and hagiographies were certainly written, the remembrances of his life contained particular ways his influence was felt. For example, David Nyvall wrote that the boundaries of Moody's "powerful and blessing-bringing influence would in truth extend to those of an empire."<sup>120</sup> He said that hearing of Moody's death brought a greater sorrow to the Christian world more than that of any other person at the time. This grief extended to "all nationalities, all classes of society, all denominations." Nyvall went on to say:

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<sup>119</sup> *Nya Österns Veckoblad*, Jan. 3, 1900, 1.

<sup>120</sup> *Missions-Wännen*, Jan. 2, 1900, 2. Cf. *Wecko-Posten*, Jan. 4, 1900, 3. The Stockholm paper stated that Moody authored a large number of religious writings, whereby many were translated into the Swedish language, and that Baptists were among the first to spread them in Sweden.

Joining together in the work ... [Moody and Sankey] received a call to come and preach and sing in Great Britain in 1873, the visit when they gained world-wide fame. These American evangelists led a movement that awakened people wherever they went, and such that England and Scotland had ever beheld. ... The scum of the streets and nobles at the height of society heard the simple testimony of these unlettered laymen, and thousands upon thousands fell at the foot of the cross and were converted. In the following years, a wave of revival rolled over the entire Christian world, and was soon felt in far away lands. Moody's sermons and Sankey's songs were translated into one language after another, and from castle to cottage rang: "Look, Jesus of Nazareth Passeth By." ... Even in our old homeland, Sweden, the spiritual movements that had begun earlier picked up speed. The years 1876 and '77 were memorable years. It seemed that almost every person would then be influenced by the Spirit of God.<sup>121</sup> ... With his writings, Moody extended his influence far away to many far-off countries. Of course, his influence was also felt within all the evangelical churches. His words have had great weight when it came to any of the day's issues. From beginning to end, he has remained faithful to the plain evangelical truth, and as far as theological hair-splitting, modern rationalism and higher criticism have had in him one of their most powerful opponents.<sup>122</sup>

Following Moody's death, Skogsbergh wrote a series of three articles about his personal acquaintance with the American revivalist.<sup>123</sup> He recalled that he first learned about Moody in 1876 in Sweden when he had read much about him and his co-worker Sankey and their ministry in England and America.<sup>124</sup> Skogsbergh remembered how in Chicago, Moody learned of the revival among the Swedes when the North Side Mission was inadequate for the crowds, and how Moody opened his church to him—the church that Swedes called "*Moodys kyrka*."<sup>125</sup> Skogsbergh also described Moody's first visit to the Mission Tabernacle in Minneapolis in 1887 when the newly built structure was dedicated. Skogsbergh said that Moody came to know the Scandinavians more than ever "as a people who were predisposed to hear God's Word." Skogsbergh also recalled Moody's second visit to Minneapolis in 1897 at a time when Skogsbergh was ill and Moody came to visit and pray for him.<sup>126</sup>

Following Moody's death, John Martenson published in *Chicago-Bladet* an article titled "Moody om Kristi tillkommelse" (Moody on Christ's Coming). The article served as a statement and testimony of Moody's premillennial view that was shared in common by many readers of *Chicago-Bladet*. The article stated:

The doctrine of the Lord's coming to earth is precious to me. It is preached in the New Testament as plainly as any other doctrine, and yet I attended church for fifteen or sixteen years before I ever heard a sermon on the subject. In every church, someone may, for example, hear something said about baptism, and of course this is well and good but note: baptism is mentioned around thirteen times and the Lord's return fifty times. And yet, the church has so little to say about it! The reason is this: the devil does not want the

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<sup>121</sup> *Missions-Wännen*, Jan. 2, 1900, 1.

<sup>122</sup> *Missions-Wännen*, Jan. 2, 1900, 1.

<sup>123</sup> "Minnen från min personliga bekantskap med D. L. Moody," *Minneapolis Weckoblad*, Jan. 30, 1900, 1; Feb. 6, 1900, 1; Feb. 13, 1900 1.

<sup>124</sup> *Minneapolis Weckoblad*, Jan. 30, 1900, 1.

<sup>125</sup> *Minneapolis Weckoblad*, Feb. 6, 1900, 1.

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.*

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doctrine of Christ's return to be preached since nothing has as much power to awaken the church as the doctrine of his return. In the moment that a person understands the truth that Jesus will come back and gather his friends to himself, in the same moment he is torn away from the world, his assets, and his stocks; his business and position become secondary in significance. His heart is liberated, and he expects the blessed appearing of his Lord, and when he comes, he will take him to himself in his heavenly kingdom. ... And I do not know any better means in which to awaken the dead churches than to preach the Lord's return. Thanks be to God! The Lord Jesus shall come again in the same manner that he went from us; we may see him personally. He left the earth blessing, and he shall return blessing in order to take with him those who have believed in him and expect his return. And thanks be to God that this time is not far off! Christ shall return soon.<sup>127</sup>

*Hemlandet*, the Augustana Synod newspaper in Chicago, summarized Moody's influence saying: "Moody was indisputably the most earnest and Bible believing of revival preachers of our time. During his most fruitful time of ministry here in Chicago, he counted numerous Swedish-Americans among his listeners. His preaching style and content of his sermons appealed particularly to the countrymen who had been more or less touched by the free, non-denominational revivals in Sweden."<sup>128</sup> *Hemlandet* observed that Moody's influence was felt mainly among Mission Friends. With a degree of criticism from the Lutheran perspective, *Hemlandet* added: "Indeed, the countrymen who were nurtured in the schools of Schartau and Hoof and other teachers were less favorable to his ministry than those whose eyes had been greatly colored by the Reformed [theologians]. Nevertheless, all esteemed Moody for his honest conviction, zeal and earnestness."<sup>129</sup>

Moody also had his detractors. J. M. Henrikson reported in *Nya Österns Weckoblad* that one American pastor whom he met in Northfield and had studied at Moody's seminary, commented: "There are people in Northfield that would not cross the street to attend the funeral since Moody does not merely have friends, but also enemies in Northfield."<sup>130</sup>

Shortly after Moody's death, two biographies were published in Swedish.<sup>131</sup> Advertisements appeared for the biography by his son William R. Moody, published in Swedish under the title, *Moodys lif och verksamhet*.<sup>132</sup> Advertisements also solicited Swedish sales agents to sell this book.<sup>133</sup> Advertisement appeared for Moody's Swedish biography by Henry Davenport with the same title: *Dwight L. Moodys lif och verksamhet*.<sup>134</sup> Finally, Gustaf Tapper wrote a poem about Moody's and Sankey's

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<sup>127</sup> *Chicago-Bladet*, Feb. 20, 1900, 2.

<sup>128</sup> *Hemlandet*, Dec. 27, 1899, 1.

<sup>129</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>130</sup> *Nya Österns Weckoblad*, Jan. 3, 1900, 1.

<sup>131</sup> The biographies were: Henry Northrop, *Dwight L. Moodys lif och verksamhet: Den store evangelisten*, trans. by Emanuel Schmidt (Chicago: P. A. Lindberg & Co., 1899), and William R. Moody, *Dwight L. Moodys lif* (New York and Chicago: Fleming H. Revell, 1900).

<sup>132</sup> *Minneapolis Weckoblad*, Feb. 13, 1900, 6.

<sup>133</sup> *Chicago-Bladet*, Feb. 6, 1900, 8.

<sup>134</sup> *Minneapolis Weckoblad*, May 22, 1900, 3.

ministry in New York at Carnegie Hall on January 22, 1897, as well as a twenty-eight page poem of his life.<sup>135</sup>

The death of Moody in 1899 brought to an end the personal impact that this man had made on Swedish Mission Friends from 1867 when Swedes at Immanuel Lutheran Church in Chicago first became acquainted with him and his ministry.<sup>136</sup>

## **Conclusion**

In the last years of Moody's life, he turned to educational and equipping structures that would widen and perpetuate his principle concern, evangelism. Spurred on by the urgency of Christ's imminent return, he set out to reach and train young people, accomplishing this mostly through his student conferences at Northfield, and his schools at Northfield and Chicago. In contrast to denominational seminaries, Chicago Bible Institute prepared "gapmen" for home and foreign missions.

In his last years, Swedish Mission Friends and Moody showed a mutual respect for one another. As Moody's emphasis shifted from mass-evangelism campaigns to conferences and schools to train the next generation of Christian workers, Franson followed his example, holding Bible and evangelist courses to prepare Scandinavian "gapmen." Furthermore, Franson founded the Scandinavian Alliance Mission, a non-sectarian, faith-mission that sent groups of Scandinavians to China in connection with J. Hudson Taylor's China mission. SAM missionaries were supported mostly by Mission Friends' churches, without regard to denominational affiliation.

As for Moody, the imminent return of Christ was not merely a doctrine but an anticipated event that led to zeal for evangelistic work. Thus, the second Swedish Prophetic Conference, held in Rockford, like Moody, fostered an urgent call for Christian workers, whether at home or abroad in China or some other country.

In Chicago, P. J. Elmquist and J. G. Princell launched the Swedish Bible Institute, a non-sectarian, free-mission school to equip Christian workers for service as pastors and missionaries, without cost—hallmarks of Moody's Chicago Bible Institute. They followed Moody's model as he turned his attention to creating lasting institutions, particularly in the area of education, founding schools for girls in Northfield and for boys at Mount Hermon, and transforming Chicago's Evangelization Society into a co-educational school, known today as Moody Bible Institute.

Skogsbergh's invitation by Moody to cooperate with him at the World's Fair was of great significance, not only to Swedes in America but also in Sweden where Mission Friends still hoped that Moody would come and preach.

By the time of Moody's death in 1899, distinguishing marks of his influence were evident among Mission Friends in America. Several of the Free and "freer" Covenanters had adopted his evangelical ecumenism, new premillennialism and after-meetings, and sang Sankey's gospel songs. The Free established independent evangelical congregations on the pattern of Moody's church. For the Mission Friends who followed Moody, they embraced a new evangelical identity shaped by his American revivalism, as well as

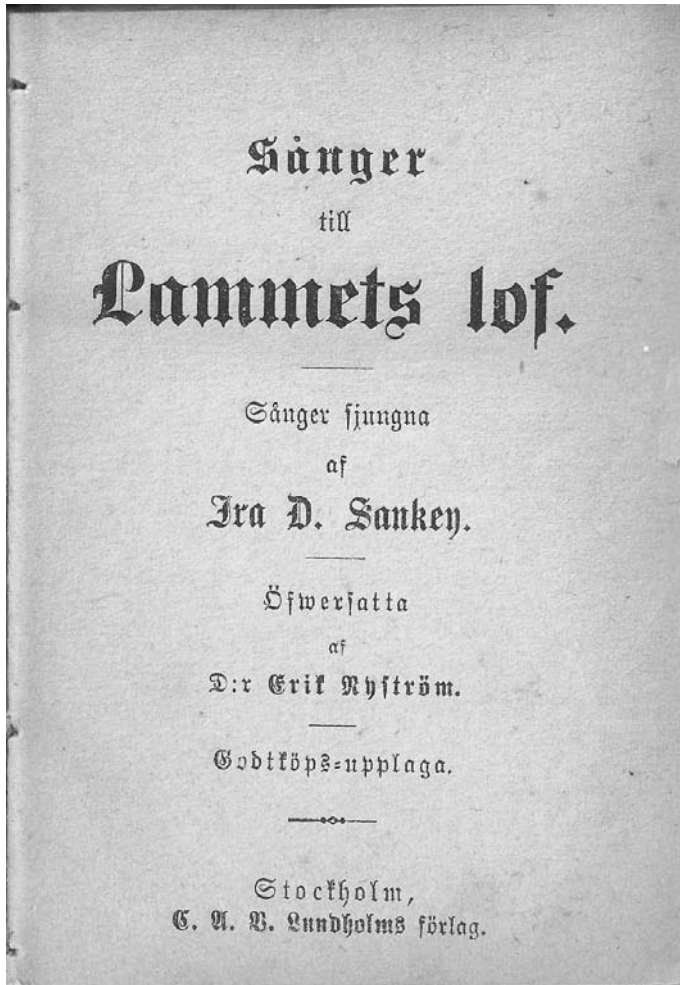
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<sup>135</sup> See Gustaf Tapper, *Strålar af ett stort ljus, eller, D. L. Moody i lif och död* (Brooklyn: M. Hulting, 1900), and G. Tapper, "Moody och Sankey i New York," *I Sol och Skuggor. Dikter och sånger* (Worcester, Mass.: Sveas Boktryckeri, 1898) 68–71; *Österns Veckoblad*, Oct. 5, 1898, 7.

<sup>136</sup> Karl A. Olsson, *Into One Body...by the Cross*, Vol. I (Chicago: Covenant Press, 1985) 208.

*Swedes in Moody's Final Years*

Waldenström's Swedish pietism. They embraced Moody's non-sectarian, revivalistic, lay-oriented ministry. Overall, they had adopted a more democratic form of American Christianity—taking on characteristics of Moody's new American evangelical identity.



***Sånger till Lammets lof***, the Swedish version of Sankey's collection of songs translated by Erik Nyström, published by C. A. V. Lundholm in Stockholm.  
Private collection of David M. Gustafson



## Chapter 10

### Moody, Sankey's Songs, and Swedes

Moody and Sankey were comrades-in-arms, co-workers in proclaiming the gospel, a partnership that began in 1871 and lasted until Moody's death in 1899.<sup>1</sup> The Moody-Sankey duo was so closely tied that each man's contribution could not be separated from the other.<sup>2</sup> Moody acknowledged his dependence on Sankey's singing as much as Sankey acknowledged his dependence on Moody's preaching. After Moody's death, Sankey moved from Northfield to Brooklyn, New York, where he lived until his death in 1908.

Moody highly valued music at his revival meetings and for this reason employed Sankey as a vocalist. Although Moody knew very little about music and had no musical ability, he appreciated the power of gospel songs to complement his evangelistic messages to awaken souls to faith in Christ. Following Moody's death, Sankey commented about his partner: "Although himself not a singer, he used the service of praise more extensively and successfully than any other man in the nineteenth century."<sup>3</sup>

This chapter answers the question: Did the songs of Moody's partner Sankey have a similar affect on Mission Friends as Moody's sermons? This chapter examines the popularity of Sankey's songs, a phenomenon that paralleled the publication and distribution of Moody's sermons and books, flowing generally in the same directions, into the same circles of Swedish Mission Friends. Mission Friends not only adopted elements of Moody's ideal, beliefs and methods but they sang *Sankeys sånger* (Sankey's songs) in Sweden and America. Their acceptance of these songs represented the sphere of Moody's influence—songs consistent with the beliefs and methods of his popular American revivalism.

#### Moody and Gospel Songs

Through his partnership with Sankey, Moody had a major impact on hymnody in Great Britain, North America, and the Protestant world. Moody knew the value of gospel songs, and early in his work as an evangelist in Chicago used them in his meetings.<sup>4</sup> In

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<sup>1</sup> Karl Nelton, ed., *Moody och Sankey-Minnen. Berättelse om sånger, som sjungits på deras möten.* (Torshälla: K. Neltons Förlag, 1937) 18.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 15.

<sup>3</sup> Ira D. Sankey, *My Life and the Story of the Gospel Hymns* (Philadelphia: The Sunday School Times Company, 1906) 79.

<sup>4</sup> Sharon Minarik, "The Moody –Sankey Era's Gospel Hymnology Exemplified in Gospel Hymns Nos. 1–6" (M.A. Thesis, Graduate School of Concordia Teachers College, River Forest, Illinois, 1978) 71.

1868, Moody compiled songs of William B. Bradbury and Asa Hull into *The North-Western Hymn Book: A Collection Adapted to Church, Sunday School and Revival Services*.<sup>5</sup> Moreover, Moody brought into service those who were most prominently connected with the gospel-song movement including composers and song leaders such as Philip Phillips and P. P. Bliss.

Although some gospel hymns and songs had been written prior to Moody's revival meetings, he showed how they could be used effectively on a large scale to lead anxious souls to faith.<sup>6</sup> His popular evangelism campaigns and world-wide fame gave impetus and broad exposure to gospel songs. Music became such an important component of evangelistic ministry to Moody that he included it in the curriculum at Chicago Bible Institute, and encouraged students to learn an instrument for use in Christian work.<sup>7</sup>

### Style and Content of Gospel Songs

In the late 1800s, gospel hymns and songs were distinctly an American phenomenon. During Moody's and Sankey's first tour of Great Britain, Sankey introduced these songs to English and Scottish churches, a style virtually absent in Britain at the time, and considered an innovation.<sup>8</sup> Sankey's use of a harmonium was also novel, along with his distinct style and interpretation of songs filled with pathos and emotion. Sankey not only popularized his own songs but those of other American gospel-song writers such as: P. P. Bliss, W. H. Doane, George F. Root, William B. Bradbury, Robert Lowry, Silas J. Vail, and Fanny J. Crosby.<sup>9</sup>

Although Sankey was by no means the only proponent of gospel songs, he was directly the most popular.<sup>10</sup> In 1873, the first edition of *Sacred Songs and Solos*, a sixteen-page pamphlet, was spread from England and Scotland to the Protestant world. At first, Moody personally guaranteed the cost of the printing plates, while the publishers, Morgan and Scott, secured the copyright.<sup>11</sup> Maria Havergal, sister of the hymn writer Frances Havergal, admitted that the harmonies of Sankey's tunes were weak, but accurately observed, "They move the masses in England."<sup>12</sup>

In the United States, many of the songs from Sankey's collection appeared in 1875 under the title *Gospel Hymns and Sacred Songs, No. 1*.<sup>13</sup> Sankey and P. P. Bliss collaborated in this endeavor, as they did again in 1876 with *Gospel Hymns, No. 2*,

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<sup>5</sup> Dwight L. Moody, comp., *The North-Western Hymn Book: A Collection Adapted to Church, Sunday School and Revival Services* (Chicago: Spalding & LaMontes, 1868).

<sup>6</sup> Minarik, "The Moody-Sankey Era's Gospel Hymnology," 71.

<sup>7</sup> Gene A. Getz, *MBI: The Story of Moody Bible Institute* (Chicago: Moody Press, 1969) 97.

<sup>8</sup> Thomas E. Corts, "D. L. Moody: Payment on Account," in *Mr Moody and the Evangelical Tradition*, Timothy George, ed. (London and New York: T & T Clark Intl., 2004) 70.

<sup>9</sup> *Gospel Hymns, Combined Embracing No. 1, 2 and 3 as Used in Gospel Meetings and Other Religious Services* (Chicago: Fleming H. Revell, 1879) 4, 11, 10, 13, 14, 19, etc.

<sup>10</sup> David W. Bebbington, *The Dominance of Evangelicalism: The Age of Spurgeon and Moody* (Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 2005) 95.

<sup>11</sup> William R. Moody, *The Life of Dwight L. Moody* (Chicago: Fleming H. Revell, 1900) 170-171.

<sup>12</sup> Bebbington, *The Dominance of Evangelicalism*, 95.

<sup>13</sup> See *Gospel Hymns and Sacred Songs* by P. P. Bliss and Ira D. Sankey, as Used by Them in *Gospel Meetings* (Cincinnati: John Church & Co.; and New York: Biglow & Main, 1875).

shortly before Bliss' untimely death.<sup>14</sup> During the next eighteen years, new editions of Sankey's songs were released and contained a complete volume of twelve hundred gospel hymns and songs.<sup>15</sup> Over the next several decades, an estimated eighty million copies were sold around the world.<sup>16</sup> Thus, gospel songs became a popular phenomenon, and were a distinct American contribution to Christian hymnody. Sankey's collection represented this unique style of American gospel folk-music.

Sankey songs exhibited a "musical simplicity, evangelistic emphasis on the individual, and a light, catchy refrain."<sup>17</sup> *The New Harvard Dictionary of Music* described the songs, saying:

In revival meetings, preacher Dwight Moody ... and singer Ira Sankey ... popularized simple, strophic melodies set homophonically to strong tonal progressions in major keys. The sentimental poetry of Fanny Crosby ... exemplified the texts, each assembled around a biblical idea. Texts are often in the first person and concern the Christian life and the anticipated joys of heaven.<sup>18</sup>

These gospel songs did not bear the classical elegance of the Wesleyan hymns, for example, but struck nevertheless a favorable chord with the people of the late 1800s.<sup>19</sup> They were characterized by a simplified theology and simplicity of words with an emphasis on conversion, rich in images. Sankey admitted that his collection of songs was more useful in kindling enthusiasm at evangelistic meetings than for regular public worship.

Sankey depended on a repertoire of about thirty songs which he sang slowly, clearly, and with emphasis.<sup>20</sup> His style was "more like a recitative—a sort of cantillation or *Sprechstimme* in which the music was the servant of the words, and there was no hint of operatic 'vocalizing.'"<sup>21</sup> Most of the melodies that he wrote could be harmonized with three chords.

Some gospel songs, however, were quite lively and spirited. At the Exhibition Place in Dublin, Sankey noted after singing "What Shall the Harvest Be?" that he was surprised when Moody requested him not to sing it again, and then for some time

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<sup>14</sup> See *Gospel Hymns No. 2* by P. P. Bliss and Ira D. Sankey as Used by Them in Gospel Meetings (Cincinnati: John Church & Co.; and New York: Biglow & Main, 1876). Major D. W. Whittle was treasurer of the Elgin Watch Company until he joined Moody in 1873 as a co-evangelist. His song leader and soloist was P. P. Bliss, until Bliss was killed in a train wreck on his way to Moody's meeting at the Chicago Tabernacle in 1876. Donald P. Hustad, "D. L. Moody and Church Music," in *Mr Moody and the Evangelical Tradition*, George, ed., 113.

<sup>15</sup> See Ira D. Sankey, James McGranahan, and Geo. C. Stebbins, *Gospel Hymns Nos. 1 to 6 Complete: For Use in Gospel Meetings and Other Religious Services* (Chicago: Biglow & Main Company; and Cincinnati and New York: The John Church Company, 1894).

<sup>16</sup> Sandra S. Sizer, *Gospel Hymns and Social Religion: The Rhetoric of Nineteenth-Century Revivalism* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1978) 4.

<sup>17</sup> Minarik, "The Moody-Sankey Era's Gospel Hymnology," 1.

<sup>18</sup> Dan Randell, ed., *The New Harvard Dictionary of Music* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1986) 344, cited in Hustad, "D. L. Moody and Church Music," in *Mr Moody and the Evangelical Tradition*, George, ed., 112.

<sup>19</sup> Lyle W. Dorsett, *A Passion for Souls: The Life of D. L. Moody* (Chicago: Moody Press, 1997) 226.

<sup>20</sup> John Kent, *Holding the Fort: Studies in Victorian Revivalism* (London: Epworth Press, 1987) 217.

<sup>21</sup> Hustad, "D. L. Moody and Church Music," in *Mr Moody and the Evangelical Tradition*, George, ed., 109.

suggested to Sankey what solos he wanted him to sing. Sankey later learned the reason why Moody did this, saying: “A prominent minister, having heard the hymn the first time I sang it, had remarked to Moody that if I kept on singing such hymns I would soon have them all dancing.”<sup>22</sup>

**Ira D. Sankey**, Moody’s musical partner and compiler of *Gospel Hymns and Sacred Songs*.



The content of gospel hymns and songs was the gospel—the good news of Christ. Although the lyrics had several themes, the evangelistic spirit of winning souls to faith was predominate; the gospel song was the counter-part of the gospel sermon.<sup>23</sup> Like Moody’s emphasis on the individual soul’s need to convert to faith, Sankey’s gospel hymns emphasized the same need. Both had the goal of leading anxious souls to the Savior. An example was “Whosoever Will” written by P. P. Bliss. This song was written after the English evangelist Henry Moorhouse preached seven sermons on John 3:16 at Moody’s Illinois Street Church in Chicago during the winter of 1869–1870. Moorhouse’s sermons left a deep impression on Bliss, Moody, and others, giving them a clearer view of God’s love. As a result, Bliss wrote “Whosoever Will.”<sup>24</sup>

Whosoever cometh need not delay,  
Now the door is open, enter while you may;  
Jesus is the true, the only Living Way;  
“Whosoever will may come.”<sup>25</sup>

Another popular gospel song was “Hold the Fort.” This song expressed the evangelical, pietist conviction that the church was a remnant of faithful believers holding

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<sup>22</sup> Sankey, *My Life and the Story of the Gospel Hymns*, 70. Oscar Lövgren wrote about the stories behind the songs of Sankey’s collection in: Oscar Lövgren, *Den Segrande sånger. Upplevelser med psalmer och sånger* (Stockholm: Missionsförbundets förlag, 1967) 9–13, 24–26, 28–29, 32–33 and 40–42.

<sup>23</sup> Denham, “Gospel Song Movement,” 6, cited in Minarik, “The Moody–Sankey Era’s Gospel Hymnology Exemplified in Gospel Hymns Nos. 1–6,” 101.

<sup>24</sup> Sankey, *My Life and the Story of the Gospel Hymns*, 344–345.

<sup>25</sup> *Gospel Hymns and Sacred Songs* by P. P. Bliss and Ira D. Sankey, 12.

## *Moody, Sankey's Songs and Swedes*

on bravely in the hope that Christ's Second Coming would soon bring reinforcements from the sky.<sup>26</sup> The chorus stated:

Hold the fort, for I am coming,  
Jesus signals still.  
Wave the answer back to Heaven,  
"By Thy grace, we will."<sup>27</sup>

### **"The Ninety and Nine"**

The song titled "The Ninety and Nine" with its message that Christ, the Good Shepherd, seeks his lost sheep was one of Sankey's most popular songs, and became virtually the theme song of the Moody-Sankey campaigns.<sup>28</sup> "The Ninety and Nine" was first introduced in 1874 when the evangelists were holding meetings at the Free Assembly Hall in Edinburgh. The topic of the speakers, which included Moody and Horatius Bonar, was "The Good Shepherd," based on Matthew 18:10-14.<sup>29</sup>

Before boarding the train to Edinburgh, Sankey purchased a newspaper, hoping to read some news from America. Reading the advertisements, a poem in the corner of the newspaper caught his eye. He read it carefully, and immediately decided to use it in a song, if he could find a tune for it. Sankey said:

So impressed was I that I called Mr. Moody's attention to it, and he asked me to read it to him. This I proceeded to do with all the vim and energy at my command. After I had finished I looked at my friend Moody to see what the effect had been, only to discover that he had not heard a word, so absorbed was he in a letter which he had received from Chicago.... Notwithstanding this experience, I cut out the poem and placed it in my musical scrap-book.<sup>30</sup>

At the conclusion of Bonar's message on "The Good Shepherd," Moody turned to Sankey and asked: "Have you a solo appropriate for this subject, with which to close the service?" Since Sankey did not have anything in mind, he was perplexed. He thought of "The Twenty-Third Psalm" but this had already been sung several times at the meeting. At that moment, he heard a voice saying: "Sing the hymn you found on the train!" Sankey thought it was impossible since he did not have any music for the poem. Again, he was strongly impressed to sing the words that he had found the day before. Therefore, he placed the newspaper clipping on the organ, lifted his heart and prayed, "God help me so to sing that the people might hear and understand." Laying his hands on the organ, he struck the key of A flat, and began to sing, "There were ninety and nine that safely lay in the shelter of the fold." He later recalled:

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<sup>26</sup> John Kent, *Holding the Fort: Studies in Victorian Revivalism* (London: Epworth Press, 1987) 218. In 1888, Sankey wrote his song, "The King Is Coming," used in England in connection with Moody's sermons on the Second Coming. Sankey, *My Life and the Story of the Gospel Hymns*, 302.

<sup>27</sup> *Gospel Hymns and Sacred Songs* by P. P. Bliss and Ira D. Sankey, 22.

<sup>28</sup> Bebbington, *The Dominance of Evangelicalism*, 95; Hustad, "D. L. Moody and Church Music," in *Mr Moody and the Evangelical Tradition*, George, ed., 110-111.

<sup>29</sup> Hustad, "D. L. Moody and Church Music," in *Mr Moody and the Evangelical Tradition*, George, ed., 110.

<sup>30</sup> Sankey, *My Life and the Story of the Gospel Hymns*, 305-306.

Note by note the tune was given, which has not been changed from that day to this. As the singing ceased a great sigh seemed to go up from the meeting, and I knew that the song had reached the hearts of my Scotch audience. Mr. Moody was greatly moved. Leaving the pulpit, he came down to where I was seated. Leaning over the organ, he looked at the little newspaper slip from which the song had been sung, and with tears in his eyes said: "Sankey, where did you get that hymn? I never heard the like of it in my life." I was also moved to tears and arose and replied: "Mr. Moody, that's the hymn I read to you yesterday on the train, which you did not hear." Then Mr. Moody raised his hand and pronounced the benediction and the meeting closed. Thus, "The Ninety and Nine" was born.<sup>31</sup>

A woman from Edinburgh said that Sankey had sung "The Ninety and Nine" with such conviction that anxious souls were "receiving Jesus between one note and the next."<sup>32</sup> "The Ninety and Nine" became Sankey's most famous gospel tune. The poem was written by Elizabeth C. Clephane in 1868.<sup>33</sup>

### Sankey's Songs in Sweden

Sankey's *Sacred Songs and Solos* achieved a worldwide impact. The Evangelical Alliance prayer meetings in South Australia, for example, adopted this songbook in 1875.<sup>34</sup> This phenomenon occurred among Swedes too as reports about Moody's sermons and Sankey's songs reached Sweden.<sup>35</sup> These songs, known commonly in Swedish as *Sankeys sånger* (Sankey's songs), became popular among Swedes, especially in the homes of Mission Friends.<sup>36</sup>

In 1875, Theodor Truvé came out with an edition of Sankey's songbook titled, *Melodier till andliga sånger* (Melodies to Spiritual Songs) published by the Örebro Söndagsskolförening (Sunday School Union).<sup>37</sup> Truvé's edition was issued in three parts between 1875 and 1877 and contained 230 songs. In 1875, *Andliga Sånger, sjungna vid de i Skottland pågående väckelserna* (Spiritual Songs, Sung by Those in Scotland's Current Revivals) was published by A. L. Norman in Stockholm, translated in part by Jakob Th. Jacobsson.<sup>38</sup> In 1875, Herman Hall published a version titled *Andeliga sånger*.

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<sup>31</sup> Ibid., 307.

<sup>32</sup> John C. Pallock, *Moody* (Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 1995) 137–138.

<sup>33</sup> Oscar Lövgren, *Psalm och sånglexikon* (Stockholm: Gummessons Bokförlag, 1964) 130–131.

<sup>34</sup> Bebbington, *The Dominance of Evangelicalism*, 95.

<sup>35</sup> Lövgren, *Psalm och sånglexikon*, 616; Oloph Bexell, *Sveriges kyrkohistoria, 7. Folkväckelsens och kyrkoförmylsens tid*. (Stockholm: Verbum, 2003) 318.

<sup>36</sup> M. W. Montgomery, *A Wind from the Holy Spirit in Sweden and Norway* (New York: American Home Missions Society, 1884) 20; Bexell, *Sveriges kyrkohistoria, 7. Folkväckelse och kyrkoförmylsens tid*, 158, 318; See "Moody och Sankey sångboken" in William R. Moody, *Dwight L. Moodys lif* (Chicago: Fleming H. Revell, 1900) 170–181.

<sup>37</sup> See *Melodier till andliga sånger. Sjungna af I.D. Sankey vid väckelserna* (Örebro: Söndagsskolfören, 1875).

<sup>38</sup> Ira D. Sankey, *Andliga Sånger, Sjungna vid de i Skottland pågående väckelserna* (Stockholm: Norman, 1875). In addition to Jacob Th. Jacobsson, another translator was designated by the initials B. S.

*Minnen från de sednaste väckelserna i England och Skotland* (Spiritual Songs: Memories from the Latest Revivals in England and Scotland), the work of several translators.<sup>39</sup>



**Erik Nyström** who translated many of Sankey's songs to Swedish. Used by permission of Svenska Missionskyrkans Arkiv, Stockholm, Sweden

The most popular and most widely distributed Swedish translation of Sankey's songs, however, was Erik Nyström's *Sånger till Lammets lof* (Songs in Praise of the Lamb), published by C. A. V. Lundholm.<sup>40</sup> Erik Nyström (1842–1907), alternately active with Svenska Baptistsföreningen (The Swedish Baptist Society) and Svenska Missionsförbundet, published this version with the subtitle *Sånger sjunga av Ira D. Sankey, m.fl.* (Songs Sung by Ira D. Sankey, et.al.) in a series between 1875 and 1886.<sup>41</sup> Since *Sånger till Lammets lov* grew in popularity and spread rapidly, this collection of Sankey's songs soon became the leading version in Sweden, and gained entrance into several circles. In 1875, Nyström was active as secretary of Evangeliska alliansen (The Evangelical Alliance), and in this role hoped that his translation of Sankey's songs would bring a visible sign of fellowship among Sweden's Christians.<sup>42</sup> The sudden popularity of Sankey's songs was noted in the minutes of the Stockholm's preacher's meeting in 1876 when those in attendance sang "Hold the Fort" from *Sånger till Lammets lov*.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> Ira D. Sankey, *Minnen från de sednaste väckelserna i England och Skotland. Andeliga sånger* (Jönköping: H. Halls förlagsexp., 1875); William Bredberg, *En frihetskämpe. Dr Erik Nyström* (Stockholm: Svenska Missionsförbundets Förlag, 1935) 272.

<sup>40</sup> Lövgren, *Psalm och sånglexikon*, 616; See advertisement in *Wäktaren*, Apr. 15, 1875, 4.

<sup>41</sup> Bexell, *Sveriges kyrkohistoria, 7. Folkväckelse och kyrkoförnyelsens tid*, 318; Bredberg, *En frihetskämpe. Dr Erik Nyström*, 272. Johan Erik Nyström was born in 1842 in Stockholm. From 1877 until his death in 1907, he served as a missionary in Algeria among Jews and Arabs. Hans Andreasson, *Liv och rörelse. Svenska missionskyrkans historia och identitet* (Stockholm: Verbum, 2007) 56.

<sup>42</sup> In the following year, Nyström produced another collection of songs, namely, *Andeliga sånger för ynglingaföreningar, söndagsskolor och bönemöten*. Bredberg, *En frihetskämpe. Dr Erik Nyström*, 272–273.

<sup>43</sup> *Predikantmötet i Stockholm den 15–18 augusti 1876, II. Diskussionen* (Stockholm: Tidskr. Sanningswittnets Expedition, 1876) 37. *Sånger till Lammets lov. Sånger sjunga af Ira D. Sankey m.fl., översatta af D:r Erik Nyström* (Stockholm: C. A. V. Lundholms förlag, 1875) no. 6. See also: John Alén,

The first part of Nystöm's translation of Sankey's songs came out in 1875 with 28 songs. The second part, with song numbers 29–58, was published the same year and contained songs "sung by Ira D. Sankey." A third part published in 1875 with numbers 59–85 had songs by both Swedish and foreign authors.<sup>44</sup> Despite its title, "*Sånger till Lammets lof*," Nyström's collection was commonly known as "*Sankeys sånger*."<sup>45</sup>

Sankey's songs immediately began to compete in popularity with older Swedish hymns and revival songs. The reports of mission meetings reflected this growing popularity. For example, one report stated that the Ansgariiförening (Ansgar Society) in the district of Örebro concluded a meeting with "several songs sung from *Sankeys sånger*."<sup>46</sup> Another report from a meeting of Mission Friends in Falköping, held January 4–5, 1880, stated, "Dr. Linnarsson was willing to open his church for the meeting where Baron von Essen of Tidaholm and several other preachers gave testimony about the Lord's love for sinners, and also sang some of *Sankeys sånger*."<sup>47</sup> The report described that Linnarsson came under attack in a newspaper for opening his church to this meeting, further reporting:

What newspaper was it then? *Fäderneslandet*, *Kaspar*, or *Söndags-Nisse*? Oh no, but in "*Swensk Luthersk Kykotidning* (Swedish Lutheran Church's Newspaper)." Our meeting had been reported in *Swenska Posten* (The Swedish Post) and from there everything was made clear. What concerned them, the church's friends, was that Dr. Linnarsson was willing to let laymen and colporteurs into the pulpit and allow them to sing "*Sankeys sånger*—note, "Sankey" who belongs to the Reformed church."<sup>48</sup>

Moreover, in 1891, a letter from P. P. Waldenström, who visited Sjömanshemmet (the Seaman's Home) with E. J. Ekman and F. E. Emrich, the American Congregationalist, said that after Waldenström preached to Scandinavian seamen, they all "sang some of *Sankeys sånger* which were sung in such a way that made the house shake."<sup>49</sup> E. H. Thörnberg later described the broad influence of Sankey's songs, writing:

These songs, known exclusively by his name, were actually the words and melodies of others, but nevertheless they bear the signature of Ira D. Sankey. Doctor Erik Nyström clothed the collection of these songs in Swedish attire.... Many of us, as we draw close to the sixtieth anniversary of these songs, remember vividly how they made their way triumphantly through Sweden's neighborhoods. People had earlier—and in different ways—sung them in cottages and stables, along pathways and in meadows. But then a

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ed., *I evangelii tjänst. Biografiska anteckningar över Dr. F. W. Bædeker, Missionär F. Franson, och Sångaren Ira D. Sankey* (Köping: J. A. Lindblads förlag, 1909) 203.

<sup>44</sup> The fourth part with song numbers 86–112 was published in 1876, a fifth part in 1876 contained songs 113–139, and a sixth part in 1877 had numbers 140–176. In 1878, a seventh part was published with song numbers 177–206, an eighth part in 1878 with song numbers 207–236, and a ninth part in 1881 with numbers 237–262. Finally, a tenth part in 1886 contained songs 263–292, with Swedish texts and melodies.

<sup>45</sup> Lövgren, *Psalm och sånglexikon*, 616. In 1878, *Göteborgs Weckoblad* advertised *Sångbok för Söndagsskolan och Hemmet* published by C.A. V. Lundholm in Stockholm that contained "the best of *Sankeys sånger*." *Göteborgs Weckoblad*, Nov. 14, 1878, 4.

<sup>46</sup> *Chicago-Bladet*, March 16, 1877, 5.

<sup>47</sup> *Chicago-Bladet*, April 16, 1880, 4.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>49</sup> *Minneapolis Weckoblad*, Aug. 12, 1891, 1.



new revival came and the mournful ballads ... were replaced by: "Den store läkaren är här" (The Great Physician Is Here), "En morgon utan synd" (A Morning without Sin), and "Få vi mötas vid den floden?" (Shall We Gather at the River). These became the songs of the saints and the parish from Torndalen to Göingebygden. These melodies were cherished in the cottage and on the farms, in the homes of the middle class and the parlors of nobles including the palaces of princes. It was the tune and rhythm that likely contributed to softening the formality among us. They countered the tendency toward being inward and dreary. They possessed a warmth of heart. And they spread a beaming smile over the heavy solemnity that characterized the Swedish religiosity, as expressed in our hymns. But they also could predispose Christian understanding, moving people toward religious sentiment. They could bring the religious mood to a similar level to that produced by the tunes of the music hall.<sup>50</sup>

### Sankey's Songs in Swedish-America

Sankey's songs quickly became popular among Swedes in America too. The common Swedish title, *Sankeys sånger*, was first used by D. S. Sörlin in his edition of Sankey's songs published in New York in 1875.<sup>51</sup> In 1876, J. G. Princell and Anders Hult, editors of *Barnvännen*, printed several songs from Sankey's and Bliss' collection of *Gospel Hymns No. 2*.<sup>52</sup> Moreover, in 1882, Hult published a songbook titled *Barnvännens lyra* that contained many songs from Sankey's collection such as: "Hållen fästet!" (Hold the Fort!), "Hvar och en som vill" (Whosoever Will), and "De nittionio" (The Ninety and Nine).<sup>53</sup>

In 1876, a cooperative effort by C. A. Stenholm in Göteborg and W. Williamson in Chicago produced a version called *Sankeys sångbok*.<sup>54</sup> In 1877, Engberg and Holmberg in Chicago published Sankey's songs under the title, *Sånger till lammets lof*, as did Julin and Hedenschoug in the same year.<sup>55</sup> In 1879, Julin and Rylander, published a second edition.<sup>56</sup> In 1878, a version of *Lammets lof* was collected, arranged in part, and published by E. A. Skogsbergh.<sup>57</sup> In Texas, a version of Sankey's songs was published

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<sup>50</sup> E. H. Thörnberg. *Sverige i Amerika, Amerika i Sverige* (Stockholm: Bonnier, 1938) 66.

<sup>51</sup> Ira D. Sankey, *Sankeys sånger, sjungna vid de stora väckelserna i England, Skotland och Irland: jemte ett litet urval sånger af wätkänka föfattare* (New York: Chas. B. Thore & Co., 1875).

<sup>52</sup> *Barnvännen* published, for example: "Hvar och en som vill!," by P. P. Bliss, (Jan. 1877) 4; "Sjung om Jesus!," by W. H. Doane (Feb. 1877) 8; "Tröst i blodet," (Mar. 1877).

<sup>53</sup> A. Hult, ed., *Barnvännens lyra. Andliga Sånger för hemmet, kyrkan och skolan*. (Chicago: Engberg-Holmberg Pub. Co., 1882, 1913). See No. 6, "Närmare, Gud, till Gud"; No. 7, "Trygg i min Jesu armar"; No. 23, "Hållen fästet!"; No. 35, "Hvar och en som vill"; No. 36, "Den förlorade sonen"; No. 46, "Jag kommer"; No. 50, "Tröst i blodet"; No. 51, "Sjung om Jesus!"; No. 56, "Vid Jesus kors"; No. 58, "Gå ej mig förbi"; No. 66, "Om en liten tid"; No. 72, "Den rätte läkaren"; No. 81, "Möts vi då?"; No. 97, "De nittionio."

<sup>54</sup> P. P. Bliss and Ira D. Sankey, *Sankeys sångbok. Andeliga sånger, sjunga vid Moody och Sankeys evangeliska gudstjenster* (Göteborg: C. A. Stenholm & Co., and Chicago: W. Williamson, 1876).

<sup>55</sup> Ira D. Sankey, *Sånger till lammets lof. Sånger sjunga af Ira D. Sankey* (Chicago: Engberg & Holmbergs förlag, 1877); Ira D. Sankey, *Sånger till lammets lof* (Chicago: Julin & Hedenschougs förlag, 1877); Karl A. Olsson, "Dwight L. Moody and Some Chicago Swedes," in *Swedish-American Life in Chicago*, Philip J. Anderson and Dag Blanck, eds. (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1992) 309.

<sup>56</sup> Ira D. Sankey, *Sånger till lammets lof* (Chicago: Julin & Rylanders förlag, 1879).

<sup>57</sup> *Lammets lof. Andliga sånger dels författade, dels bearbetade, öfversatta och samlade af E. Aug. Skogsbergh. 1. häftet* (Chicago: E. Aug. Skogsbergh, 1878).

by Carl Charnquist.<sup>58</sup> Other versions of Sankey's *Gospel Hymns* came out with the title *Sankeys sångbok. Andeliga sånger* (Sankey's Songbook: Spiritual Songs).<sup>59</sup> In 1881, *Missions-Wänneren* advertised the Mission Synod's *Samlingssånger* (Collected Songs) and *Sankeys sånger* in one volume.<sup>60</sup> This songbook combined many of Ahnfelt's revival songs from *Andeliga sånger* with Sankey's gospel songs in *Sånger till lammets lof*.<sup>61</sup>

Naturally, Swedes in Chicago who attended meetings at Farwell Hall and Chicago Avenue Church sang Sankey's songs.<sup>62</sup> A report in *Missions-Wänneren* in 1878 from the mission meeting at Bethesda in Saunders County, Nebraska, stated that "after a sermon and a prayer by A. N. Sweders, the morning's devotional meeting ended with the choral union singing No. 11 in *Sankeys sånger*."<sup>63</sup> Later that year, a report from the mission meeting at Melrose, Nebraska, said: "When the [Mission] Friends gathered from the various rooms, the meeting began with singing some of *Sankeys sånger* (Sankey's songs)."<sup>64</sup> At a free mission meeting in Altona, Illinois, in 1879, *Chicago-Bladet* reported: "De trognas syskonband' (Blest Be the Tie That Binds) was sung" from *Sankeys sånger*.<sup>65</sup>

Sankey's songs in Swedish grew in popularity in America as they were published in Chicago, New York, and Texas. In addition, as immigration increased in the late 1870s, peaking in the 1880s, immigrants, particularly Mission Friends, had experienced "Moody fever" in Sweden. When they arrived to America, they carried with them hymnals and songbooks from Sweden including *Sankeys sånger*, in addition to the revival songs of Sandell and Ahnfelt.<sup>66</sup> E. H. Thörnberg noted:

*Sankeys sånger* (Sankey's songs) were sung by Swedish-Americans as well as by Swedes who emigrated. And the songs also made the hundreds of miles of the sea voyage shrink in time. The warm breezes of the Moody-Sankey revival had already knitted the hearts of

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<sup>58</sup> Larry E. Scott, *The Swedish Texans* (San Antonio: The University of Texas Institute of Texan Cultures, 1990) 270. C. C-q, comp., *Den ljufwa rösten: en samling af P. P. Bliss, Ira D. Sankeys evangeliska sånger no. 1, no. 2. sjunga vid de stora wäckelsemötena, hållna af Moody och Sankey i Europa och Amerika: jemte ett urval sånger af andra författare* (Austin, Texas: C. C-q, 1877).

<sup>59</sup> *Sankeys sångbok. Andeliga sånger, sjunga vid Moody och Sankeys evangeliska gudstjenster* (Cincinnati, Chicago and St. Louis: Walden & Stowe, n.d.; *Sankeys sångbok. Andeliga sånger af P. P. Bliss och Ira D. Sankey, sjunga vid Moody och Sankeys evangeliska gudstjenster* (Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden, n.d.)

<sup>60</sup> "Missionssynodens Samlingsånger och Sankeys i ett band," *Missions-Wänneren*, Feb. 24, 1881, 4.

<sup>61</sup> *Andeliga sånger, samlade och utgifne af Svenska Evang. Luth. Missions-synoden* (Chicago: Svenska Evang. Luth. Missions-Synoden, 1882). The songbook *Samlings-sånger* was bound with Sankey's *Sånger till lammets lof*, and printed by Engberg & Holmberg in Chicago. Cf. *Andeliga sånger* (Chicago: Svenska Evang. Luth. Missions-synoden, 1877).

<sup>62</sup> Erik Brolund, *Missionsvännerna. Jämförelse och studier* (Chicago: Mission Friend's Publ. Co., 1938) 109–110.

<sup>63</sup> *Missions-Wänneren*, May 1878, 155–156.

<sup>64</sup> *Missions-Wänneren*, Nov. 1878, 349.

<sup>65</sup> *Chicago-Bladet*, October 31, 1879, 1. K. Erixon, A. Lidman, J. W. Strömberg, E. A. Skogsbergh, August Davis, and John Martenson attended this meeting.

<sup>66</sup> George M. Stephenson, *The Religious Aspects of Swedish Immigration* (Minneapolis: Arno Press and the New York Times, 1969) 264. Ernst Newman noted Stephenson's anachronism, placing Moody and Sankey in the period 1867–1869. Newman, "Dwight L. Moody och hans inflytande i Sverige," in *Från skilda tider*, 372. Newman stated: "It was at earliest, through the 1875 translation and those that followed that Moody and Sankey won favor and popularity within the Pietist circles in Sweden." See also: James Monson, "A Study of the Resources of the Hymnody of the Evangelical Free Church of America before 1900" (B.D. Thesis, Trinity Theological Seminary, Deerfield, Illinois, 1961) 38.

## Moody, Sankey's Songs and Swedes

Swedish emigrants in the homeland. ... [Sankey's songs] greeted them at the arrival to the new land. They accompanied them on the railway west. Calling and exhorting, these songs followed them into houses where they lived, into harvest fields, and on the streets in Illinois, Minnesota, Kansas and Nebraska.<sup>67</sup>

### “The Swedish Sankeys”

In 1880, E. A. Skogsbergh published *Evangelii Basun I* (Gospel's Trumpet I).<sup>68</sup> A. L. Skoog, Skogsbergh's musical partner, collaborated with him in this project. *Evangelii Basun I* contained songs written mostly by Skogsbergh, along with Skoog and others.<sup>69</sup>



**A. L. Skoog**, “the Swedish Sankey,” and musical partner of E. August Skogsbergh, “the Swedish Moody.” Used by permission of F. M. Johnson Archives, North Park University, Chicago, Illinois

In 1883, *Evangelii Basun II* came out with a larger number of Skoog's songs. In 1887, *Lilla Basunen* (The Little Trumpet) was published with Skoog having an even larger role.<sup>70</sup> This popular edition contained several songs written by Sankey including: “O, dyrabara ord!” (O Precious Word!), “En tillflykt uti stormens tid” (A Shelter in the Time of Storm), and “O, underbara namn!” (O, Wondrous Name!).<sup>71</sup>

<sup>67</sup> Thörnberg. *Sverige i Amerika, Amerika i Sverige*, 66.

<sup>68</sup> This edition was sold through Chicago-Bladets expedition. A long quote by Moody introduced the song “Det blir bättre högre opp.” *Evangelii Basun No. 1, Andliga Sånger* (Chicago: E. Aug. Skogsbergh, 1880) 47.

<sup>69</sup> Carl G. Strom, Nils W. Lund, and Oscar E. Olson, *Frykman, Hultman, Skoog: Pioneers of Covenant Musicians* (Chicago: Covenant Book Concern, 1943) 112. In 1882, C. J. Leaf advertised in *Missions-Wännen* three works for sale: *Sankeys Sånger*, *Missionssynodens Samlingsånger och Sankeys i ett band*, and *Evangelii Basun*. *Missions-Wännen*, Apr. 13, 1882, 8.

<sup>70</sup> Strom, et.al., *Frykman, Hultman, Skoog: Pioneers of Covenant Musicians*, 102.

<sup>71</sup> *Lilla Basunen: Andliga Sånger för Söndagsskolan och Hemmet* (Minneapolis: E. Aug. Skogsbergh and A. L. Skoog, 1890). See No. 85, “En tillflykt ut stormens tid”; No. 87, “O, underbara namn!”; No. 90, “Varen starka uti Gud!”; No. 92, “O, dyrabara ord!”; No. 106, “Hvilken skara.”

Andrew L. Skoog (1854–1934) with his congenial spirit and talent for composing gospel hymns and tunes in the Swedish language, earned for himself the nickname “the Swedish Sankey.”<sup>72</sup> Skoog’s and Skogsbergh’s nicknames came as a result of following the model of Moody and Sankey. In 1894, a combination of *Evangelii Basun I and II* appeared with a total of 563 songs.<sup>73</sup> This edition contained eleven songs by Sankey, as well as works by Skogsbergh, Skoog, P. P. Bliss, Oscar Ahnfelt, W. H. Doane, William B. Bradbury, and George F. Root, demonstrating the acceptance of Sankey’s songs, and the genre of American gospel songs.<sup>74</sup>

Another “Swedish Sankey” was J. A. Hultman, more commonly known as “The Sunshine Singer.” Johannes A. Hultman (1861–1942) became increasingly known and respected by Swedish Mission Friends in America as a songwriter and vocalist. When P. P. Waldenström traveled throughout the United States in the summer of 1889, Hultman accompanied him. Hultman met Waldenström in New York and went with him to Northfield where they visited Moody. Waldenström later described Hultman as “the Swedish Sankey.”<sup>75</sup> In 1896, Hultman and Skoog collaborated in publishing *Jubelklängen. Andliga sånger* (The Ring of Jubilee: Spiritual Songs) that contained four songs written by Sankey.<sup>76</sup>

### Sankey and Swedish-American Hymnbooks

Among the Mission Friends who formed the Mission Covenant, there were several composers such as Skogsbergh, Skoog, Hultman, and Nils Frykman. Their songs, hymnals, and songbooks reflected “the strong impact of Dwight L. Moody and the Sankey hymnody on the piety of the Covenant.”<sup>77</sup> The hymnbooks contained not only

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<sup>72</sup> Strom, et.al., *Frykman, Hultman, Skoog: Pioneers of Covenant Musicians*, 112. See also: “Andrew (Anders) L. Skoog” in Josephine Princell, *Skogsblommor. Illustrerad Kalendar för 1900* (Minneapolis: North Star Publishing Co., 1899) 52–57. Scott E. Erickson, “The Anatomy of Immigrant Hymnody: Faith Communicated in the Swedish Covenant Church,” in *Singing the Lord’s Song in a Strange Land: Hymnody in the History of the North American Protestantism*, Edith L. Blumhofer and Mark A. Noll, eds. (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama, 2004) 124–125, 136.

<sup>73</sup> Strom, et. al., *Frykman, Hultman, Skoog: Pioneers of Covenant Musicians*, 129.

<sup>74</sup> E. Aug Skogsbergh and A. L. Skoog, comp., *Evangelii Basun. Andliga sånger* (Minneapolis: E. Aug. Skogsbergh and A. L. Skoog, 1894). This edition was sold through Minneapolis Veckoblad Publishing. See also: J. Irving Erickson, *Twice Born Hymns* (Chicago: Covenant Press, 1976). Skoog’s music journal, *Gittit*, offered advice to church musicians and new material for their choirs and congregations. Erickson, “The Anatomy of Immigrant Hymnody,” in *Singing the Lord’s Song in a Strange Land*, Blumhofer and Noll, eds., 131.

<sup>75</sup> Oscar Lövgren, *The Sunshine Singer*, trans. by Ruth Elvira, Borg Anderson and Clara Ann Tennis (Lincon, Neb.: Dageford Pub., 1998) 28. See P. Waldenström, *Genom Norra Amerikas Förenta Stater* (Chicago: The Mission Friends Publishing Co., 1890) 420. Waldenström added: “He [Hultman] is in America, what Ahnfelt, in his best days, was here in Sweden.” In 1901, Waldenström invited Hultman to Sweden. On the voyage, Hultman and his family joined Fleming H. Revell for dinner. Lövgren, *The Sunshine Singer*, 34.

<sup>76</sup> A. L. Skoog and J. A. Hultman, *Jubelklängen. Andliga sånger* (Minneapolis: A. L. Skoog and J. A. Hultman, 1896). See: No. 101, “Hur få äro de, som gå in!”; No. 105, “Varen starka uti Gud”; No. 106, “En tillflykt uti stormens tid”; and No. 118, “Kom, kom, irrande barn.”

<sup>77</sup> Karl A. Olsson, *Into One Body ... by the Cross*, Vols. 1, 2 (Chicago: Covenant Press, 1986) 25, 381. One of Hultman’s most familiar songs was inspired by Matt. 25, warning believers to be ready when Christ returns. Lövgren, *The Sunshine Singer*, 23–26. See J. A. Hultman, *Cymbalen. Andliga sånger* (Chicago: J. A. Hultman, 1885).

songs written by Sankey and American gospel-song writers, but also the gospel songs of these Swedish-Americans.<sup>78</sup> Thus, Swedish Mission Friends' publishers combined Sankey's songs with the revival songs from Sweden, illustrated in the songbook *Missionssynodens Samlingsånger och Sankeys i ett band* (The Mission Synod's Collection of Songs and Sankey's in One Volume).<sup>79</sup> Moreover, the first Mission Covenant hymnal, *Sions Basun*, published in 1908, contained a variety of music from the *läsare* revivals of Sweden, the hymns of the Church of Sweden, and gospel songs of "the Sankey type" from Sankey, Bliss, W. H. Doane, and Fanny Crosby.<sup>80</sup> *Sionsharpan* published by Mission Friend's Publishing Company in 1890 contained several of Sankey's songs such as "Hvar och en som vill" (Whosoever Will), "De nittionio" (The Ninety and Nine), and "Min bön" (My Prayer) in addition to the songs of Sandell-Berg, Joel Blomqvist, and Nils Frykman.<sup>81</sup>

Free Mission Friends in America also sang Sankey's songs, as well as the Swedish revival songs of Ahnfelt and Sandell. They also sang from the songbooks of Skogsbergh, Skoog, Hultman, and August Davis.<sup>82</sup> *Chicago-Bladet* regularly advertised *Sankeys Sång*er including *Sankeys Sång*er with notes, *Sankeys Sång*er printed in Sweden and leather bound, and *Sankeys Sång*er in clothbound.<sup>83</sup> *Chicago-Bladet* advertised Skogsbergh's *Evangelii Basun* and *Lilla Basunen*.<sup>84</sup> In 1880 and 1883, Skogsbergh arranged with John Martenson for *Evangelii Basun* to be sold through *Chicago-Bladet*.<sup>85</sup> Moreover, Martenson published songbooks for Free congregations such as *Evangeliska sånger* (Evangelical Songs) for the Oak Street Free Mission in Chicago, and *Sånger för de gemensamma evangeliska möten* (Songs for the Common Evangelical Meetings) for Lake View Free Church in Chicago.<sup>86</sup>

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<sup>78</sup> For example, *Minneapolis Weckoblad* advertised *Evangelii Basun*, *Sånger till Lammets Lof*, and *Lilla Basunen* that contained songs by Sankey. *Minneapolis Weckoblad*, Feb. 6, 1895, 5. Additional songbooks advertised were: *David's Harpa*, *Sionsharpa*, *Cymbalen*, *Sånger i Zion*, and *Faders Rösten*.

<sup>79</sup> In 1883 *Mission-Wännens*'s bookstore advertised: Sankey's *Sånger till lammets lof*, *Missionssynodens Samlingsånger och Sankeys i ett band*, and *Barnvännens lyra*, all containing works by Sankey. In addition, the bookstore offered *Ahnfelts sånger*, *Pilgrims sånger*, *Hemlandssånger*, *David's Psalmer*, *Sv. Psalmboken*, *Evangelii Basun*, and others. *Missions-Wännens*, Jan. 21, 1883, 8.

<sup>80</sup> Strom, et.al., Frykman, Hultman, Skoog: *Pioneers of Covenant Musicians*, 130–131. See: *Sionsbasun. Psalmer och sånger till Guds församlings tjänst* (Chicago: Covenant Book Concern, 1909, 1927). For example see: No. 154, "Dyrbara ord"; No. 163, "Jag vet en port som öppen står," No. 211, "Än finns det rum"; No. 226, "Tag mig som jag är," No. 238, "Det var nittionio"; No. 253, "Tröst i blodet"; No. 330, "Under hans vinge"; No. 639, "Sof godt"; and No. 648, "Hvilken skara!"

<sup>81</sup> *Sionsharpan. Andliga sånger till Guds församlings tjänst* (Chicago: Mission Friend's Pub. Co., 1890). For example, see: No. 125, "Hvar och en som vill"; No. 180, "Min bön"; No. 639, "De nittionio."

<sup>82</sup> *Chicago-Bladet* advertised: *Evangelii Basun No. I & II*; *Lilla Basunen*, *Pilgrims Sång*er, *Ahnfelts Sång*er, *David's Psalmer*, *Hemlands Sång*er, *Cymbalen* (J. A. Hultman), *Till Jesu ära* (V. Witting) and *Truvé's Sång*er. See also *Chicago-Bladet*, Jan. 5, 1886, 7; Mar. 31, 1891, 7.

<sup>83</sup> *Chicago-Bladet* April 24, 1888, 7.

<sup>84</sup> *Chicago-Bladet*, Jan. 25, 1887, 8.

<sup>85</sup> E. Aug. Skogsbergh, *Evangelii basun. Andliga sånger, no. 1* (Chicago: Chicago-Bladets tryckeri, 1880); E. Aug. Skogsbergh, *Evangelii basun. Andliga sånger. Musik till Evangelii Basun No. I-II* (Chicago: E. Aug. Skogsbergh; Säljes genom Chicago-Bladets expedition, 1889).

<sup>86</sup> *Evangeliska sånger, Oak Street Mission* (Chicago: J. V. Martensons tryckeri, n.d.); *Sånger för de gemensamma evangeliska möten som hållas i Lake View, Chicago, mars månad 1911* (Chicago: J. V. Martensons boktr., 1911). Most songs were selected from *Evangelii basun*, *Hemlandsklockan* and *Famous Gospel Hymns*.

*Chicago-Bladet* also advertised *Herde-Rösten*, a collection of songs by August Davis. This songbook was devoted to revival and edification, and was published first as an edition with words only in 1891, and second edition followed in 1894. A songbook with musical score appeared in 1892, and another edition with accompaniment for guitar was published in 1902.<sup>87</sup> In addition to over thirty songs composed by Davis, this songbook contained songs by Sankey, Skoog, Ahnfelt, D. S. Sörlin, and Nils Frykman, as well as O. Running, also a Free Mission Friend pastor and musician.<sup>88</sup> From *Sankeys sånger*, Davis included: “Hållen fästet!” (Hold the Fort), “Den förlorade sonen” (The Prodigal Child), “Jag vet en port” (The Gate Ajar for Me), and others.<sup>89</sup>

Free Mission Friends regularly promoted the singing of American gospel songs, Swedish revival songs, and Swedish-American gospel songs.<sup>90</sup> They sent missionaries to home and foreign mission fields with guitars in order to lead singing and to perform solos.<sup>91</sup> Fredrik Franson supplemented his preaching whenever possible with the music of a gospel singer.<sup>92</sup> Carl W. Gillén joined him as a gospel singer from 1885 to 1887, and Ida Nihlén joined his evangelistic team as vocalist from 1888 to 1890.<sup>93</sup> During Franson’s first months in Norway in 1893, he published a Norwegian songbook titled *Evangelii Basun*, compiled from translations of American and Swedish gospel songs, particularly those by Skogsbergh, Truvé, Sandell-Berg, and Sankey’s collection such as “En Morgen uden Synd” (A Morning without Sin).<sup>94</sup> A second edition came out that

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<sup>87</sup> August Davis, *Herde-rösten: En samling af kärnfriska och lifliga sånger egnade för väckelse och uppbyggelse* (Minneapolis: Aug. Davis) 1891; Aug. Davis, *Herde-rösten. Till guitar. En samling af gamla och nya sånger satta med ackompangemang för guitarr* (Minneapolis: Aug. Davis, 1902).

<sup>88</sup> G. A. Young, Frank W. Anderson, and E. A. Halleen, *Minnen och bilder från Svenska Ev. Frikyrkans Predikantförenings tjugofemåriga verksamhet* (Svenska Ev. Frikyrkans Predikantförening, 1919) 63; and *Minnesskrift. Utgifven med anledning af Svenska Evangeliska Frikyrkans i Amerika trettioårsjubileum i Rockford, Ill., 10–14 juni, 1914* (Minneapolis: Larson, 1914) 64.

<sup>89</sup> A. Davis, comp., *Herde-Rösten. En samling af kärnfriska och lifliga sånger egnade för väckelse och uppbyggelse* (Minneapolis: August Davis, 1892). No. 34, “Hör Fadrens röst i dag!”; No. 71, “Den förlorade sonen”; No. 202, “Hållen fästet!”; and No. 592, “Jag vet en port.”

<sup>90</sup> Josephine Princell, “Ett klöfverblad från sångens och poesins värld,” in Josephine Princell, *Skogsblommor. Illustrerad kalender för 1903* (Minneapolis: Minneapolis Veckoblad, 1902) (Fanny Crosby) 35–40, (Ida Kindvall, f. Nihlen) 40–42. Josephine Princell, “Ett klöfverblad från Sverige,” in Josephine Princell, *Skogsblommor. Illustrerad kalender för 1900* (Minneapolis: North Star Publishing, 1899) (Lina Berg, född Sandell) 136–141.

<sup>91</sup> Frank T. Lindberg, *Looking Back Fifty Years: Over the Rise and Progress of the Swedish Evangelical Free Church of America* (Minneapolis: Frank T. Lindberg, 1935) 58.

<sup>92</sup> Frederick Hale, *Trans-Atlantic Conservative Protestantism in the Evangelical Free and Mission Covenant Traditions* (New York: Arno Press, 1979) 124–125.

<sup>93</sup> Torjesen, “A Study of Fredrik Franson,” 360, 365, 483, 496; Ida Nihlén Kindvall “Missionär Fredrik Franson I,” in Jos. Princell, ed., *Skogsblommor. Illustrerad kalender för 1909* (Chicago: Jos. Princell, 1908) 43–51; Josephine Princell, “Minnesrunor. Fru Ida Nihlén-Kindvall,” in Josephine Princell, ed., *Skogsblommor. Illustrerad kalender för 1911* (Chicago: Jos. Princell, 1910) 97–107; Gunilla Gunner, *Nelly Hall, uppuren och ifrågasatt. Predikant och missionär i Europa och USA 1882–1901* (Uppsala: Svenska institutet för missionsforskning, 2003) 32, 152, 165. Emanuel Olsson wrote to Ida Nihlén: “We ask God that Nelly [Hall] and you as women [evangelists] may be what Moody and Sankey were as men.” See Gunilla Gunner, *Nelly Hall, uppuren och ifrågasatt*, 169, 232.

<sup>94</sup> Fredrik Franson, comp., *Evangelii basun. Aandelige Sange, udgivne af F. Franson, oversatte fra Svensk og Engelsk* (Kristiania: F. Franson, 1883). Torjesen, “A Study of Fredrik Franson,” 288, 301, 335.

year, a third edition in 1886, and several editions followed, including one in 1895.<sup>95</sup> In 1892, Franson published *Felt-Sange* in Chicago for Scandinavian Americans.<sup>96</sup>

*Chicago-Bladet* published several articles about Sankey. In 1882, a letter from Sankey in England to George Needham in Chicago told about Sankey's memories of Henry Moorhouse, after he had died.<sup>97</sup> Sankey commented that he had lost a friend and brother in Moorhouse who had helped him in spiritual matters as much as anyone else. The newspaper also reported the hope that Sankey's songs would be sung in Russia since the government had lifted its ban on singing gospel songs on June 24, 1886. The account stated that authorities in Russia had since "expressed a desire that the song 'Hold the Fort until I Come' might become a sort of national song."<sup>98</sup>

In 1896, *Chicago-Bladet* published an article titled "De nittionio" that told the story of how Sankey first sang "The Ninety and Nine."<sup>99</sup> It said: "Many have considered Mr. Sankey's song "The Ninety and Nine" to be at the top of his entire collection of songs."<sup>100</sup> The article explained how Sankey purchased a newspaper, read a poem at the bottom of the page, and turned to Moody saying, "I have found a new song!" The article explained that silence filled the hall as Sankey began to sing: "There were ninety and nine that safely lay."<sup>101</sup> The article further told how after the first verse, Sankey drew a deep breath and wondered if he would be able to sing the second verse with the same melody. He did so, and sang: "Thou, hast here Thy ninety and nine."

The popularity of Sankey's songs also spread to *Hemlandssånger*, published in 1891 by the Augustana Synod. This version included such songs as: "Trygg i min Jesu armar" (Safe in the Arms of Jesus), "Skynda till Jesus, Frälsaren," (Come to Jesus, the Savior), and "Jag vet en port" (The Gate Ajar for Me), all from Sankey's collection.<sup>102</sup> Moreover, *Hemlands-Klockan* published in 1900 by the Swedish Baptist Peter Benson contained: "Det var nittionio" (The Ninety and Nine), "Vår fasta klippa Herren är," (A Shelter in the Time of the Storm), "Trygg i min Jesu armar" (Safe in the Arms of Jesus), and "Just som jag är" (Just as I Am), in addition to songs by N. L. Ridderhof, Nils Frykman and Lina Sandell-Berg.<sup>103</sup> *Jubel-sånger* published by the Swedish Methodists in 1902 and *Evangeliska Sånger* published in 1917 also contained songs by American authors found in Sankey's collection.<sup>104</sup>

<sup>95</sup> Torjesen, "A Study of Fredrik Franson," 365. A third edition in 1886 was published by Den frie Missionsforening forlag in Kristiania.

<sup>96</sup> F. Franson, *Felt-Sange: for det aandelige Felttog gjennem Amerikas skandinaviske Settlementer* (Chicago: F. Franson, 1892).

<sup>97</sup> *Chicago-Bladet*, May 9, 1882, 7.

<sup>98</sup> "Sankeys Sånger," *Chicago-Bladet*, Sept. 17, 1895, 3.

<sup>99</sup> This article was reprinted from *Sanningswitnet*, translated from an English newspaper.

<sup>100</sup> "De nittionio," *Chicago-Bladet*, Jan. 19, 1896, 3.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>102</sup> *Hemlandssånger* (Rock Island: Augustana Synod, 1981). See: No. 88, "Tätt wid korset, Jesus kär"; No. 235, "Skynda till Jesus, Frälsaren kär"; No. 264 "Trygg i min Jesu armar"; No. 303, "Jesus kär, gå ej förbi mig"; No. 334, "Mer helighet gif mig"; No. 371, "O, säg ett ord om Jesus"; No. 478, "Jag vet en port"; and No. 482, "Gå din strid du kämpat ut."

<sup>103</sup> *Hemlands-Klockan. Andliga sånger för väckelse och uppbyggelsemöten, söndagsskolan och hemmet* (Minneapolis: P. Benson, 1907). See: No. 120, "Vår fasta klippa Herren är"; No. 147, "Det var nittionio"; and No. 218, "Trygg i min Jesu armar."

<sup>104</sup> *Jubel-sånger för Evangeliska möten, söndagsskolan och hemmet* (Chicago: The Swedish M.E. Book Concern, 1902) See No. 9 "Hvarför ej nu?"; *Evangeliska sånger. För söndagsskolan, hemmet och Evangeliska möten* (Chicago: Svenska Bokhandelsföreningen, 1917). See No. 51 "De nittionio."

### Sankey's Songs in Hymnbooks in Sweden

In 1892 and 1893, Erik Nyström served in Sweden as editor for *Missionsförbundets sångbok* (Missionsförbundet's songbook) along with Carl Bohlin and A. G. Lindqvist.<sup>105</sup> Ironically, Nyström was asked to translate certain songs that he had translated previously for *Sånger till Lammets lof*. The concern was whether he would be able to write new versions of the songs and stay within the narrow margin between plagiarism of earlier versions, and create new versions that would not be recognized.<sup>106</sup>

However, Nyström accomplished the task, remaining true to the original texts, author's intentions, and means of expression.<sup>107</sup> This was done in part by the differences between the goal of his original translation in 1875, and his work with the committee in 1892 and 1893. The songbook committee applied different criteria based on suggestions from a hymnological viewpoint, comments and remarks he received since the first edition, and comparisons of other translations.<sup>108</sup> Essentially, the songbook committee allowed greater liberties while remaining true to the original song. Thus, *Missionsförbundets sångbok* contained twenty-five songs from Sankey's *Gospel Hymns*, songs such as: "Trygg i min Jesu Armar" (Safe in the Arms of Jesus), "Hållen fästet" (Hold the Fort), "Vit såsom snö" (White as Snow), "Även mig," (Even Me), and "Rädda de Döende" (Rescue the Perishing).<sup>109</sup>

Sankey's songs were also published in the *Metodist episkopal-kyrkans svenska psalmbok* (The Methodist Episcopal Church's Swedish Hymnbook), *Heimlandstoner* (Homeland's Tunes), *Uppåt!* (Upwards!) by the YMCA, and *Hjärtetsånger* (Songs of the Heart) by Emil Gustafson.<sup>110</sup> Furthermore, Fabian Månsson's efforts ensured that one of Sankey's songs was published in *Svensk psalmboken* (The Swedish Hymnal). Fabian Månsson was a member of the hymnal committee that supplemented the "Wallinian psalmbok" of 1921 with No. 301, whose first stanza says, "Jag vet en port, som öppen står" from "The Gate Ajar for Me."<sup>111</sup>

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<sup>105</sup> Lövgren, *Psalm och sånglexikon*, 678–679; *Svenska Missionsförbundets sångbok. Sånger och psalmer till enskildt och offentligt bruk* (Stockholm: Svenska Missionsförbundet, 1893).

<sup>106</sup> Bredberg, *En frihetskämpe. Dr Erik Nyström*, 282.

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>109</sup> Nelton, *Moody och Sankey-Minnen*, 20–88; The songs from Sankey's *Gospel Hymns* were: No. 1, "Gud en Vändig Borg"; No. 31, "Han leder mig"; No. 50, "Högtlovat vare Jesus namn"; No. 60, "Jesus älskar mig"; No. 129, "Jesu kors"; No. 131, "O säg, vart skyndar denna hop"; No. 203, "Skynda till Jesus, Frälsaren"; No. 208, "Än finns det rum!"; No. 227, "Klippa du som brast för mig"; No. 238, "Vit såsom snö"; No. 273, "Led milda ljus"; No. 277, "Jag gav mitt liv i döden"; No. 284, "Gräv ned uti djupet"; No. 328, "Göm mig i dig"; No. 332, "Trygg i min Jesu Armar"; No. 335, "Hela vägen"; No. 396, "Tänk en sådan vän som Jesus"; No. 395, "Närmare Gud till dig"; No. 399, "Även mig"; No. 483, "De trognas syskonband"; No. 552, "Rädda de Döende"; No. 560, "Låt de mindre ljusen brinna"; No. 585, "Stå upp för Jesus"; No. 590, "Hållen fästet." See also: Oscar Lövgren, *Läsarsång och folklig visa: Texter och melodier med historiska kommentarer* (Stockholm: Gummessons Bokförlag, 1975).

<sup>110</sup> Alén, ed., *I evangelii tjänst*, 199, 229, 235, 238. See: *Metodist episkopal-kyrkans svenska psalmbok, med noter* (Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe, 1887); *Heimlandstoner. Andeliga sånger och psalmer till Guds församlings tjänst, med förord av G. E. Alfwegren* (Stockholm, 1883, 1890); *Uppåt! Samling af andliga och fosterländska sånger* (Stockholm: K.F.U.M., 1906); *Hjärtetsånger för enskild och allmän uppbyggelse* (Örebro: Emil Gustafsson, 1889, 1892).

<sup>111</sup> Gunnar Olén, *Berömda väckelse-predikanter* (Jönköping: SAM Förlaget, 1969) 42.



## Swedes with Sankey in New York

In 1900, Sankey welcomed K. A. Jansson, a Methodist pastor from Sweden who came to visit him at his home in Brooklyn, New York.<sup>112</sup> Jansson recalled Sankey in his home sitting beside the piano singing “the good old songs.” Jansson remarked:

Some of these had been translated into scores of languages, awakening many hearts by the heart-stirring power of their glorious melodies. In 1900, when I visited Sankey, he still had much of his rich voice. The old gentle melody of his voice was partially lost but the force of his enthusiasm remained. I told him then about the revivals in Sweden, and the songs that we sang at home like “Den förlorade sonen” (The Prodigal Child), “Nittionio” (The Ninety and Nine), and “Ljus uti mörkret” (Light after Darkness). And so we, he and I, sang the old songs again and again, rejoicing over the mighty works of God.<sup>113</sup>

In the spring of 1908, Jansson visited Sankey twice more at his home in Brooklyn, just months before Sankey died. Each time he noticed about Sankey “how the light continued to burn down in the streetlamp.” The second time he came to visit Sankey, Jansson brought his wife and friend Eric Lundgren, the organist and composer from Stockholm.<sup>114</sup> Jansson said, “I will never forget these visits. The flame flickered weakly and it was plain to see that the light was almost burned out.” In fact, Sankey had become blind during the last five years of his life, and was so weak that at times he was unable to leave his bed. Jansson said:

His home was full of memories from the time when he and Moody as comrades-in-arms stood beside one another and won great victories for the Lord who inspired their work in communities around the world during the 1870s and 1880s. Among the many memories in his home from those days was the organ that Sankey took with him everywhere. The keys were worn; his fingers had gradually worn deep grooves in the ivory. With that organ, Sankey held large crowds spellbound as he sang the gospel of Jesus.<sup>115</sup>

On the last visit, Mr. Rosevall, Sankey's friend and secretary, played the phonograph so that the Swedish guests could hear one of Sankey's sing-a-longs, playing “The Ninety and Nine” and “I Am Praying for You.” They did not listen to the songs just once but played them over and over again.<sup>116</sup> Jansson, Mrs. Jansson, and Lundgren then joined in a trio and sang in Swedish: “*De nittionio vila tryggt inom fårahusets hägn ...*” (There were ninety and nine that safely lay in the shelter of the fold). Jansson admitted that it was difficult to sing with streams of tears flowing, and with choked voices, especially as they looked at Sankey, “the old veteran,” laying there so helpless and blind.

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<sup>112</sup> Alén, ed., *I evangelii tjänst*, 190, and *Metodistkyrkan i Sverige, 100 år 1868–1968* (Stockholm: Nya Bokförlaget AB, 1968) 30, 40, 101, cited in letter to David M. Gustafson from Göran Janzon, Örebro, June 26, 2007.

<sup>113</sup> Alén, ed., *I evangelii tjänst*, 190.

<sup>114</sup> Lövgren, *Psalm och sang lexicon*, 393.

<sup>115</sup> Alén, ed., *I evangelii tjänst*, 191.

<sup>116</sup> *Ibid.*

When they finished singing, Sankey sang about his heavenly home above, meeting there, and the bliss of eternal fellowship in God's sight. Jansson commented about Sankey: "His voice was weak, but it was still Sankey who sang. I believe that we were the last in this world who heard him sing."<sup>117</sup> At the end of the visit, Sankey gave his Swedish friends a photograph of himself as a keepsake, and even though he was blind, he signed it with his own hand. Sankey then sent a hearty and warm greeting to the believers in Sweden, asking for God's blessing on them. Jansson recalled: "When we left Sankey's home that Sunday afternoon, it was as if we had just come from one the most genuine and moving worship services. Thus, the impression that this left will never be forgotten."<sup>118</sup> Sankey died in Brooklyn on August 13, 1908.

### Archbishop Söderblom and "The Ninety and Nine"

In addition to Moody, Sankey had an impact on Nathan Söderblom. Even in his youth, Söderblom sang Sankey's songs at revival meetings.<sup>119</sup> Söderblom referred specifically to the impression that Moody's tears and Sankey's music had on him.

In 1923, during Söderblom's visit as Archbishop of Sweden to the United States, he recalled from 1890 Sankey singing his signature song, "The Ninety and Nine," believing it was "the finest among the sentimental songs."<sup>120</sup> Söderblom had been invited by the Luther Society of New York to speak at a banquet at Hotel Astor in a hall that seated thirteen hundred dinner guests.<sup>121</sup> His speech was to begin and end on time since the program was being broadcast on radio.

Among other things, Söderblom spoke about his visit to Northfield in 1890. He recalled: "One day as Moody sat at the center of the platform, he asked Sankey to sing 'The Ninety and Nine.' Everyone in the hall was moved. The saying went that Sankey never sang that hymn without some soul being awakened or finding peace."<sup>122</sup> Söderblom described the melody as a trumpet fanfare. He continued: "Sankey struck the keys of the organ. His powerful voice over the years had become cracked and hard, but what it lacked in tone and quality, the old singer made up with his overwhelming pathos, as he went from a whisper to a booming forte along with the relentless sighing and blowing of the harmonium." Söderblom then asked the New York audience, "Do you know what I remember best of all from this?" He answered, saying:

Moody had traveled with his friend crisscrossing the American continent and (in spite of seasickness from the voyages) traveled to Great Britain to hold revivals there where he preached about the Savior's unfathomable love. No one asked Moody how many times he had heard Sankey sing "There were ninety and nine." Although he had heard the song

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<sup>117</sup> Ibid., 192.

<sup>118</sup> Ibid.

<sup>119</sup> Hans Åkerberg, *Omvändelse och kamp. En empirisk religionpsykologisk undersökning av den unge Nathan Söderbloms religiösa utveckling 1866–1894* (Lund: Studentlitteratur, 1975) 200, 203.

<sup>120</sup> Nathan Söderblom, *Från Upsala till Rock Island. En Predikofärd i nya världen* (Stockholm: Svenska Kyrkans Diakonistyrelsens Bokförlag, 1925) 235.

<sup>121</sup> The attendance was estimated at 1,300 in Söderblom, *Från Upsala till Rock Island*, 235, and 1,600 in Nathan Söderblom, *Sommarminnen* (Stockholm: Svenska Kyrkans Diakonistyrelsens Bokförlag, 1941) 99.

The event was sponsored by the Luther Society in New York City, according to G. A. Brandelle. Sven Thulin, ed., *Hågkomster och livstryck till minnet av Nathan Söderblom* (Uppsala: J. A. Lindblad, 1934).

<sup>122</sup> Söderblom, *Från Upsala till Rock Island*, 152.

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numerous times, he never tired of it. I can still see him, his quadrangular body sitting in the center chair, leaning toward the crowd of fifteen hundred people, his beard growing gray around his square head. ... He sat there glancing toward the singer, and was completely taken up by what he heard, more than a thousand times. What has left the greatest impression in my mind from this memorable experience at Northfield? It was the large, round tears rolling like clear beads down Moody's sun-tanned cheeks. It was the song about "The Ninety and Nine."<sup>123</sup>

Söderblom believed that every adult and child in America would know this song by heart, but just before he left Hotel Vanderbilt to go to the banquet at Hotel Astor, he asked a young man if he knew "'The Ninety and Nine,' the battle hymn of Moody's and Sankey's revival campaigns."<sup>124</sup> The young man recalled that his mother had sung something similar but he had forgotten the words. Söderblom was stunned and so decided at that point that he would merely mention that he had heard Sankey sing: "There were ninety and nine that safely lay" since he could not determine whether or not the American guests at the banquet would know the song as well as Swedes knew "*Var hälsad sköna morgonstund*" (Greetings Beautiful Morning Hour) or "*Vår Gud är oss en väldig borg*" (Mighty Fortress Is Our God).

Nevertheless, Söderblom located a songbook, and with little time remaining wrote down the verses. When he came to the middle of his speech he surprised his audience by singing all the verses of "The Ninety and Nine," reasoning, "I thought that the multifaceted American public from diverse European origins ought to learn the popular, beloved song of the Pietists." Söderblom sang:

There were ninety and nine that safely lay  
In the shelter of the fold,  
But one was out on the hills away,  
Far off from the gates of gold—  
Away on the mountains wild and bare,  
Away from the Shepherd's tender care.

*(Det var nittionio gömda väl  
I det trygga fårahus,  
Men en gick bort och blev syndens träl  
Långt bort ifrån liv och ljus,  
Långt bort uti marken vild och hård,  
Långt bort ifrån herdens milda vård.)*<sup>125</sup>

When Söderblom came later to Chicago, he was greeted with a handshake after one of his many lectures and talks. After the lecture, someone said to him: "I have heard the archbishop sing 'The Ninety and Nine' on the radio." Regarding Sankey singing "The

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<sup>123</sup> Söderblom, *Sommarminnen*, 99.

<sup>124</sup> Ibid. Cf. "the battle hymn of the revival pietists" in Söderblom, *Från Uppsala till Rock Island*, 237.

<sup>125</sup> Söderblom noted: "Since there are perhaps some among my readers who by chance are not familiar with "The Ninety and Nine," then to be certain about the uncertain, I have printed the words here, first in the English text, and then the Swedish which were translated by E. Nyström for the Swedish edition of Sankey's songs (*Sankeys sånger*), which incidentally were printed in the proposed 1920 addition to the Swedish Psalm book." Söderblom, *Från Uppsala till Rock Island*, 237.

Ninety and Nine” with a soul always being awakened or finding peace, Söderblom expressed, “May God be praised for all songs that cause the heart’s strings to vibrate, whether they are classified as the ‘fine churchly type’ or not.”<sup>126</sup>

In this way, Söderblom came to verify what S. F. Fredlund, a Schartauan and “respected pastor of God’s grace,” uttered during a meeting of pastors when the conversation turned to “*De nittionio*” (The Ninety and Nine) and other gospel songs of this type.<sup>127</sup> The discussion centered on the new choruses and their melodies. Söderblom recalled:

A person tried to compare, not without reason, the simplicity of the Anglo-Saxon melodies next to our proud tradition of hymns which were nonetheless created at times by taking melodies from street ballads, and “baptizing” them, and giving them new lyrics. In the choruses mentioned earlier, we had hoped to reject them according to our perception that they were the “weakest” melodies in class and style compared to the others. Or at least we had in our scheme of things a preference for the alternative. Unfortunately now that the issue was being pressed to a critical point, things went in favor of the religious tradition and not after the recent trend. But then a man spoke up, a man whose words came with the spiritual maturity and authority of an experienced pastor. Even old Bishop Billing said about him that he was the finest, congregational priest he had ever met. It was the Rev. Fredlund of Skåne who began to speak. What he uttered was not much, but distinguished all the more or less acceptable points of view and ideas about style, correctness and ecclesiastical dignity, and all sorts of secondary matters of importance, with a word about “the only thing needful.” He said regarding the songs by Ahnfelt and Sankey that had been declared heretical: “These songs have proven themselves powerfully to stir the heart.” He added that if they were deprived of their own original melodies then they would be deprived of having their full effect on souls. With this, the matter was settled. The support was so great, indicated by the majority at the church meeting, that the choruses mentioned became bound, and have been honored ever since.<sup>128</sup>

## Conclusion

Equally important as Moody’s preaching to the success of his revival campaigns was the singing of Sankey whose songs reinforced Moody’s sermons both in content and sentimentality. Sankey’s hymns used simple and touching contrasts between sinners lost in their sinfulness and the love of God in Christ. Sankey’s signature hymn was “The Ninety and Nine.”

Sankey’s gospel hymns and songs spread throughout the Protestant world, receiving the widest distribution of any collection of songs at the time. Moody valued the power of gospel songs to complement his sermons and invited Sankey to join him as a co-evangelist “to sing the gospel.” Moody’s dedication to gospel songs and hymns led him eventually to establish a music program at Chicago Bible Institute to prepare future

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<sup>126</sup> Söderblom, *Från Upsala till Rock Island*, 152.

<sup>127</sup> *Ibid.*, 239. Severin F. Fredlund “sang with affection Ahnfelt’s songs his whole life, and at a church meeting created a stir when he proposed that “Ingen hinner fram” be included in the song book.” *Lunds Stifts Herdaminne: Från Reformation till Nyaste Tid*, Ser. II, Biographer 2 (Lund: C.W.K. Gleerups Förlag, 1948) 432.

<sup>128</sup> Söderblom, *Sommarminnen*, 100.

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musicians to carry on singing of gospel songs and hymns in partnership with evangelists, pastors, and missionaries.

Swedish Mission Friends not merely adopted elements of Moody's ideal, beliefs and methods, but they also sang songs from Sankey's collection, known commonly in Swedish as *Sankeys sånger*. These songs spread among Swedes in Sweden and America, songs they had never heard before. The popularity of Moody's sermons and Sankey's songs in Great Britain and the United States led musicians such as Erik Nyström, Theodor Truvé, E. A. Skogsbergh, C. Charnquist, and D. S. Sörlin to translate and publish Swedish collections, including songs written by Sankey himself. Sankey's songs were sung in cottages and palaces in Sweden, at Mission Friend meetings in Stockholm and Falköping, on emigrant ships across the Atlantic, at Chicago Avenue Church, and at Mission Friends' meetings in Illinois and Nebraska, flowing in the same direction, in the same circles as Moody's sermons.

The fact that Sankey's songs were published in Swedish songbooks and sung in Sweden and America is a mark of the Moody-Sankey influence among Swedes, particularly Mission Friends. Wherever "Moody fever" spread, "Sankey fever" also spread.



**PART III:**  
*Analysis*





## Chapter 11

### Moody's Swedish Critics and Kindred Spirits

Swedes reacted to Moody in a spectrum of ways. Some resisted him and his writings altogether. Some disagreed with him on certain points of theology or methodology, but respected him nonetheless for preaching the gospel. Swedish Mission Friends generally considered him a kindred spirit, received his message, and adopted his ideal or perhaps one or more of his beliefs and methods. Some Mission Friends were “Swedish Moodyites” who followed him on several or all points.

This chapter answers the questions: What common traits did Moody share with Mission Friends that drew them together as kindred spirits, and who were his critics and why were they critical of him? The chapter begins with Moody's Swedish critics who opposed him. This opposition came mainly from Swedish Lutheran clergymen and scholars who disagreed with his theology and methods. Such resistance was nevertheless an indication of influence; a reaction to it. This chapter also identifies characteristics that Swedish Mission Friends shared in common with Moody that drew them to him, predisposing them to accept his ideal, beliefs, and methods. This does not mean that all of them were greatly influenced by him, but at least they accepted his message because they agreed with him on certain points. His message reinforced views they already held, and his example inspired their activity and promoted their cause. The fact that Moody and Swedish Mission Friends shared common characteristics indicates that they were moving in the same general direction, and accepted one another as kindred spirits.

#### Moody's Critics

In 1874, Moody faced criticism while in Scotland from John Kennedy of Dingwall, a hyper-Calvinist pastor in the Highlands.<sup>1</sup> Kennedy circulated among Calvinists a pamphlet titled *Hyper-Evangelism: 'Another Gospel' though a Mighty Power*, arguing that Moody's revival movement ignored the sovereignty of God and that an emphasis on personal faith hindered the work of the Spirit and denied the impotence of sinners who, “dead in sin and trespasses,” were unable to believe.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, Kennedy criticized Moody's use of after-meetings, Sankey's singing of gospel hymns, and his use of organ music.<sup>3</sup> Moody faced similar criticisms from J. K. Popham of

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<sup>1</sup> John Pollock, *Moody* (Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 1963, 1995) 120.

<sup>2</sup> See John Kennedy, *Hyper-Evangelism: 'Another Gospel' though a Mighty Power: A Review of the Recent Religious Movement in Scotland* (Edinburgh: Duncan Grant & Co., 1874).

<sup>3</sup> Pollock, *Moody*, 120.

Liverpool.<sup>4</sup>

In Sweden, at the height of “Moody fever,” a statement appeared in 1877 in *Svenska Luthersk kyrkotidning* by Gottfrid Billing of the conservative Lundensian high-church movement who voiced criticism against ecumenical meetings stemming from “the influence of the so-called Moody movement.”<sup>5</sup> Billing’s concern was the growing indifference toward the Augsburg Confession.<sup>6</sup> Similar concern was voiced in 1878 by the Schartau-influenced Gustaf Daniel Björck at a meeting of Lutheran clergy in Göteborg. Bishop Björck reported that “Methodist influences” in the new evangelical camp were promoting “use of emotions to effect conversions” along with other practices that had been introduced from “the writings of the evangelical preacher Moody.”<sup>7</sup>

In 1877, P. P. Welinder from Åsum in a letter to T. N. Hasselquist at Augustana College in Rock Island, wrote: “I have sent you edition No. 1 of the Finnish *Tidskrift för Teologi och Kyrka* (Journal for Theology and Church)—the only copy I have. The next issue will follow. In No. 1 there is a good review of the modern religious movement, Moody’s activity included.”<sup>8</sup> The critique about Moody’s revival movement written by Herman Råbergh (1838–1920), professor at Helsingfors universitet (Helsinki University), gave a harsh critique of Moody’s and Sankey’s activities. Råbergh began by saying:

For the most part, our readers know that during the years of 1874–75 in several parts of Europe, some American preachers led religious movements in England, Germany, and Switzerland. They traveled around with the goal of bringing a religious revival to the English church. Two of these, Moody and Sankey, limited their activity to England, while another, Pearsall Smith, traveled the European continent, stirring a great deal of attention with his success in Germany and Switzerland. Strange as it may seem, these preachers were not trying (at least openly) to gain adherents to one sect or another but to spark a revival within the church, and thereby benefit the kingdom of God generally.<sup>9</sup>

Råbergh described how the American evangelists developed good relationships with the people who were most active in the churches, especially with clergy who received them. He explained, however, that in many places people were cautious and resisted them, watching and waiting before they made a decision about this “strange” phenomenon. Råbergh noted that Moody and Sankey sought, above all, to awaken souls to spiritual life through preaching God’s love in Christ, while Pearsall Smith set as his objective to preach holiness to believers.

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<sup>4</sup> John Kent, *Holding the Fort: Studies in Victorian Revivalism* (London: Epworth Press, 1978) 137.

<sup>5</sup> *Svenska Luthersk kyrkotidning* (1878) 74 cited in Ernst Newman, “Dwight L. Moody och hans inflytande i Sverige,” in *Från skilda tider. Studier tillägnade Hjalmar Holmquist* (Stockholm: Svenska Kyrkans Diakonistyrelses Bokförlag, 1938) 379; Oloph Bexell, “Kyrkligheter i Svenska Kyrkan,” in *Kyrkans liv. Introduktion till kyrkovetenskapen*, Stephan Borgehammar, ed. (Stockholm: Verbum, 1993) 130.

<sup>6</sup> Billing held that Mission Friends were strongly influenced by Reformed views. Sven Lundkvist, *Tron och gärningarna. Svenska Missionsförbundets bakgrund och utveckling till omkring 1970* (Uppsala: Svenska institutet för missionsforskning, 2003) 30–43, 48.

<sup>7</sup> Gustaf Daniel Björck, “Inledningstal vid prestmötet i Göteborg den 18 juni 1878,” *Handlingar, rörande prestmötet i Göteborg, den 18, 19, 20 juni 1878* (Göteborg: D. F. Bonniers Boktryckeri, 1878) 7–8.

<sup>8</sup> Letter from P. P. Welinder to T. N. Hasselquist, Apr. 3, 1877 in Gunnar Westin, *Emigranterna och kyrkan. Brev från och till Svenskar i Amerika 1849–1892* (Stockholm: Svenska Kyrkans Diakonistyrelses bokförlag, 1932) 445–446.

<sup>9</sup> Herman Råbergh, “Från det moderna religiösa lifvets område,” *Tidskrift för Teologi och Kyrka*, Vol. I, (1877) 61.

### *Moody's Swedish Critics and Kindred Spirits*

In describing Moody's and Sankey's movement as the larger of the two, Råbergh explained how volumes of literature followed in their paths, and that many of their works were published in the Swedish language. When he examined the messages according to how one would evaluate any exposition of God's Word, he placed them on the level of an introduction, "skin-deep," containing a variety of stories about the preachers' experiences, and "geared toward the excitement of the moment." He said: "These types of messages are able to work revival, but not edification."<sup>10</sup>

Råbergh then described the commercialism that accompanied Moody and Sankey when they returned to America, holding campaigns in Philadelphia and New York where thousands attended. When the two American revivalists left Philadelphia, American capitalists sought to make a profit from all the excitement, auctioning the furniture that Moody had used. Råbergh reported: "For the chair that Moody sat in during the meetings, someone paid 55 dollars; for a hand towel upon which he dried his hands, someone paid 5 ½ dollars. This nauseous, free-church form of saint-worship is indicative of the movement that is under discussion."<sup>11</sup>

Råbergh went on to describe how in New York, the Hippodrome was divided into sections where three meetings were held at the same time, one for men only, another for women only, and one for youth. Between these rooms was "the so-called 'Enquiry room,' a kind of confessional room where the work of conversion was carried on, particularly by Moody's co-workers, and where those who were awakened through Moody's preaching were able to lay aside their sins."<sup>12</sup> Råbergh commented that Moody knows well how "to electrify the masses with his religious stories," and knows that "he is in charge of the auditorium." Without doubting Moody's sincerity, however, Råbergh paid him a complement, saying: "Undeniably we must admit that Moody is driven by true zeal for God. His goal is to awaken the indifferent ones to become anxious about their souls in order to drive them to seek the saving truth in Christ. The moral earnestness of his personality is high above all doubt. However, the religious life that he wishes to spread contains too many flaws of the times and conditions in which he lives."<sup>13</sup>

Råbergh then asked about the fruit that remained from Moody's work, acknowledging that this was certainly a difficult question to answer. He explained that with sowing the seed of God's Word, it often happens, as the Lord said in the gospel, that "some seed fell along the path, some fell on rocky places, and some fell among the thorns." However, only a very small amount "fell on good soil." Råbergh continued:

What concerns us regarding this movement under discussion is not all the hoopla that has surrounded Moody's and Sankey's activity. Rather, it is that most of the "awakened" have fallen again. Shortly after these preachers left their field of activity, there is found a lack of spiritual vitality among the majority of these newly persuaded listeners. Hence, a correspondent from America expressed: "The birds have eaten up most of the good seed and the un-disciplined in this religious windstorm have had outcomes that make Moody's friends shudder." At a Methodist conference in New York, the question was raised whether Moody's activity had results that ended in genuine religious life. On this occasion, one of Moody's greatest admirers appeared—someone who had cooperated

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<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 62.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 63.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*

with him. He testified that of the sixty men who joined Sankey's choir and participated in the conversion-work in New York, that not one single person demonstrated that he was truly converted, and most had not visited their meetings. Others who were gathered gave similar testimonies—those who all had just seen a powerful work of God's Spirit in this movement.<sup>14</sup>

Råbergh thought that a good part of Moody's and Sankey's revival appeared merely as "a paroxysm without any real depth, a movement of excitement rooted in emotions."<sup>15</sup> He concluded that revival caused by human device and emotions and not fixed firmly on God's Word, does not yield any lasting fruit for the kingdom of God. In 1891, Råbergh wrote a similar article titled "Det fromma bedrägeriet" (The Pious Deception) in which he described Moody's work as *pia fraus* (pious fraud), turning others away from historical traditions of the church "with well-meaning intentions to expand Christian truth, but standing on a slippery path in a subjective, one-sided way of thinking."<sup>16</sup>

### Old-Church Pietism versus New Evangelicalism

Certainly, Lutheran clergyman like Råbergh reacted against Moody because of their differences. In Chicago, the Augustana periodical *Hemlandet* reported that Swedes nurtured in the schools of Schartau and Hoof, and others like them, were less favorable to Moody's ministry than those "whose eyes had been colored by the Reformed."<sup>17</sup> Moody was clearly identified within the broader Reformed tradition of evangelicals, along with Methodists and Baptists. In Sweden, those nurtured in the schools of Henric Schartau and Jacob Hoof and others such as Peter Sellergren had been influenced by Lutheran orthodoxy and *gammalkyrklig* (old-church) piety.<sup>18</sup>

Old-church piety emphasized the importance of a "right teacher," namely, a pastor who stressed the basis, means, and order of grace. In this tradition, the established order of the Church of Sweden held a central place and stressed the means of grace and the objective function of ministry. Schartauism, centered in western Sweden in the diocese of Göteborg, emphasized particularly the need for regular Sunday worship in order to hear God's Word expounded in the pastor's sermon. Moreover, personal devotional reading was encouraged in addition to regular preaching, teaching, and care of souls.<sup>19</sup>

In contrast to the old-church form of Lutheranism and pietism, George Scott and C. O. Rosenius had promoted a new form of pietism, blending Lutheran pietism with an Anglo-Methodist, alliance-oriented revivalism, described as *nyevangelism* or

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<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 63–64.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 64.

<sup>16</sup> See Herman Råbergh, "Det fromma bedrägeriet," *Tidskrift för kristlig tro och bildning* (1891) 205–214; Archbishop Renwall sounded similar warnings against Baptists and Methodists at a ministerial meeting in Vasa in 1885. *Protokoll, fördd vid prestmötet i Nikolaistad den 16–22 sept. 1885* (Åbo, 1886) 19, cited in Ernst Newman, "Dwight L. Moody och hans inflytande på fromhetslivet i Finland," in *Protokoll, Fört vid lagtima synodalmötet med prästerskapet i Borgå stift den 19-22 oktober 1937* (Borgå: Tryckeri and Tidningsaktiebolagets tryckeri, 1938) 33–34. Cf. 47.

<sup>17</sup> *Hemlandet*, Dec. 27, 1899, 1.

<sup>18</sup> Bexell, "Kyrkligheter i Svenska Kyrkan," in *Kyrkans liv*, Borgehammar, ed., 123.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 124.

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*nyevangelisk* (new evangelical).<sup>20</sup> Within this “new evangelicalism,” colporteurs distributed tracts and lay evangelists preached conversion as “the one thing needful,” and emphasized holiness. Because individual conversion took a central place in the religious life of new evangelicals, certain theological and ecclesial matters such as means and order of grace, liturgy, and sacraments took on less importance.<sup>21</sup> Moreover, lay evangelists who preached the Bible did not consider “preaching” to be an “administration of the sacrament of the Word,” but viewed it separately, unlike old-church Lutheran pietists.<sup>22</sup>

Furthermore, new evangelicals held strongly that the true church was comprised of “born-again believers,” who gathered locally in conventicles, prayer groups, and societies. Some became increasingly critical of the Church of Sweden.<sup>23</sup> At the same time, the growing alliance-oriented, non-sectarian attitude of Moody, and non-confessional sentiment coming from Waldenström forced people to take stands, choosing between sectarian, Lutheran confessionalism on one hand, or non-sectarian, alliance-oriented revivalism on the other.<sup>24</sup>

In America, Augustana Lutherans who held to the Augsburg Confession became increasingly critical of Mission Friends who identified with alliance-oriented and Anglo-American forms of revivalism. In the late 1870s, while most societies of Mission Friends professed to be Lutheran—except for their view of the church as “believers only”—their numerical growth and criticism toward Augustana’s “institutionalism” and “formalism” created division.<sup>25</sup> When Mission Friends such as Princell began to promote Moody’s alliance-ideal over the Galesburg Rule, and Waldenström’s atonement doctrine over the “old atonement doctrine,” Augustana Lutherans felt that this group of Mission Friends no longer represented “the wholesome non-conformity characteristic of Rosenian pietism.”<sup>26</sup>

Certainly, Moody was respected as an earnest and Bible-believing revival preacher, but he was nevertheless seen by old-church Lutherans as standing within the broader Reformed tradition of evangelicals. Thus, old-church Lutheran pietists were generally critical of Moody’s theology and methods. The new evangelicals or *läsare* in Rosenius’ tradition of Mission Friends such as J. M. Sanngren and C. A. Björk, however, were generally favorable to him. The Mission Friends who embraced even newer forms of evangelicalism after Waldenström and Moody himself, such as Princell and

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<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 126.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 128.

<sup>22</sup> Compare Vilhelm Beck of the Danish Lutheran Inner Mission, and his colleagues who complained of the so-called ‘missionaries’ or ‘evangelists’ from Sweden, Norway, and America who “lack a clear view of the church and sacraments,” and pleaded with his Lutheran readers not to open their homes to factions but to “adhere to our old Lutheran doctrine, which never separates God’s Word and the sacraments from each other.” *Den indre Missions Tidende*, December 14, 1885, cited in Frederick Hale, *Trans-Atlantic Conservative Protestantism in the Evangelical Free and Mission Covenant Traditions* (New York: Arno Press, 1979) 171.

<sup>23</sup> Bexell, “Kyrkligheten i Svenska Kyrkan,” in Borgehammar, ed., *Kyrkans liv*, 128.

<sup>24</sup> Oloph Bexell, *Sveriges kyrkohistoria*, 7. *Folkväckelse och kyrkoförnyelsens tid* (Stockholm: Verbum, 2003) 158.

<sup>25</sup> G. Everett Arden, *Augustana Heritage: A History of the Augustana Lutheran Church* (Rock Island: Augustana Press, 1963) 187.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*

Skogsbergh, were highly favorable to him, and came under fire from the Augustana Synod.<sup>27</sup>

In 1878, N. Th. Winquist described a situation repeated in several churches. In a letter written to Erik Norelius, Winquist explained how Skogsbergh, “sometimes called the Swedish Moody,” came to Paxton, Illinois, and had won people to faith by his preaching.<sup>28</sup> Winquist described the outcome of the event which had brought division in the congregation, saying: “Now that all hope of a return to peace by peaceful means was out, severe steps had to be taken: deacons, four of them, had to be dismissed. And whereas we could not expect to get a majority on our side, I first had to deprive about twenty persons of the right to the Holy Communion, and thereby the right to vote. .... The new Church Council must start by exercising church discipline and it seems to me as there will be no end to this trouble.”<sup>29</sup> Clearly, Moody and his Swedish friends met criticism from confessional Lutherans and those of the old-church piety.

### Common Traits of Kindred Spirits

The fact that Mission Friends shared common characteristics with Moody drew them together. The common traits they shared were: Biblical authority, conversion, emphasis on God’s love at the cross, lay evangelism, and living faith.<sup>30</sup>

#### Biblical Authority

The first common trait that Moody and Mission Friends shared was their view of the Bible’s authority. Moody believed that the Bible was God’s special and direct revelation. He held to the sole and sufficient authority scriptures, relying on the Bible as his standard for teaching and faith.<sup>31</sup> He was popularly known as a “Bible-Christian,” preaching regularly from the scriptures and referring to several passages during a single sermon. One person remarked that Moody’s library was entirely devoted to literature to help him understand the Bible.<sup>32</sup> Moreover, he held to Bible’s verbal inspiration, inerrancy, and infallibility.<sup>33</sup>

Mission Friends resonated with Moody’s appeal to the Bible’s authority because the scriptures occupied a central place for them too.<sup>34</sup> In Sweden, lay Mission Friends were known to surpass some clergy in emphasizing the Bible as the authority for

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<sup>27</sup> Ibid.

<sup>28</sup> Hugo Söderström, *Confession and Cooperation: The Policy of the Augustana Synod in Confessional Matters and the Synod’s Relations with Other Churches up to the Beginning of the Twentieth Century* (Lund: Gleerup Bokförlag, 1973) 133.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. David Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the 1980s* (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1989) 2–17. Bebbington’s characteristics of evangelicals are: conversionism, activism, Biblicism, and crucicentrism.

<sup>31</sup> Dorsett, *A Passion for Souls: The Life of D. L. Moody* (Chicago: Moody Press, 1997) 393; Stanly N. Gundry, *Love Them In: The Proclamation Theology of D. L. Moody* (Chicago: Moody Press, 1976) 203.

<sup>32</sup> David W. Bebbington, “Moody as a Transatlantic Evangelical,” in *Mr Moody and the Evangelical Tradition*, Timothy George, ed. (London and New York: T & T Clark Intl., 2004) 75.

<sup>33</sup> Timothy George, “Remembering Mr Moody,” in *Mr Moody and the Evangelical Tradition*, George, ed., 5.

<sup>34</sup> Hale, *Trans-Atlantic Conservative Protestantism*, 87–88, 150.

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Christian faith and life.<sup>35</sup> The Bible served as their touchstone for revival, and lay evangelists referred to the scriptures repeatedly when defending themselves against clergy and councils that tried to suppress their activities.

Like Moody, Waldenström was committed to Biblical literalism years before higher criticism became a dividing issue.<sup>36</sup> He affirmed the primacy of the Bible over historical and systematic theology, and openly questioned the received Lutheran tradition, asking the question, “*Hvar står det skrivet*” (Where is it written)?<sup>37</sup> He made the person of Jesus Christ the center of Christian fellowship, and the Bible the only rule for faith, life, and conduct, which made the confessional writings of the Church of Sweden superfluous.<sup>38</sup>

With the rise of higher criticism, Moody sought unity among diverging theological wings of evangelicalism—the conservative and liberal—despite his own conservative position.<sup>39</sup> In the 1890s, he spoke against higher criticism, observing how it was weakening the message of preachers and evangelists.<sup>40</sup> In a sermon published in *Österns Weckoblad* in 1895, he proclaimed:

Someone declares that it was impossible for the whale to swallow Jonah since its mouth was not large enough. Is this not a question of faith as to whether God can make a fish do this? Could not God Almighty create a fish like this? It is one of the devil's tricks to lead us to doubt this. If we reject the story of Jonah and the whale then we will also reject the doctrine of the resurrection. And this is one of the Bible's most important and fundamental doctrines. If our beloved ones will not be resurrected and we will not meet them on the other side of the grave and recognize them as we have known them here, then we are of all men most to be pitied. Let us hold on to our whole and coherent Bible, from Genesis to Revelation.<sup>41</sup>

Besides the story of Jonah, Moody rejected other attempts to set Biblical miracles aside.<sup>42</sup> Nonetheless, he did not want to engage liberals in heated theological disputes and hair-splitting, but believed it was more effective to set forth positive arguments for the Bible's truthfulness. *Österns Weckoblad* reported him saying:

Destructive theology on the one side, and no less evil spirit of extreme intolerance on the other side, have brought about wide division in many communities in America. Instead of fighting error by emphasizing the truth, there has been too much hair-splitting, and all

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<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, 88.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, 89, 156–159.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 150, 258; Dorsett, *A Passion for Souls*, 243.

<sup>38</sup> Newman, “Dwight L. Moody och hans inflytande i Sverige,” in *Från skilda tider*, 399.

<sup>39</sup> Kjell O. Lejon notes that Moody represented the conservative movement that focused on preaching the pure and clear message of the Bible, holding to the doctrine of inerrancy. Kjell O. Lejon, *Till kristendomens försvar: Om John Gresham Machen och hans kamp mot liberalteologin* (Artos, 2002) 51–53.

<sup>40</sup> Bebbington, “Moody as a Transatlantic Evangelical,” in *Mr Moody and the Evangelical Tradition*, George, ed., 90.

<sup>41</sup> D. L. Moody, “Bibeln,” *Österns Weckoblad*, Sept. 4, 1895, 4.

<sup>42</sup> Gundry, *Love Them In: The Proclamation Theology of D. L. Moody*, 203.

too often an un-Christian spirit of bitterness. This has frequently resulted in divided churches, and has opened the way for the entrance of still greater errors.<sup>43</sup>

John Martenson also identified with conservatives on this matter and expressed his concern about higher criticism. In *Chicago-Bladet*, an article charged that higher criticism threatened to “lessen the worth of the Bible’s content and reduce it to a common good book written only through and by human beings, without the help of inspiration.”<sup>44</sup> Martenson as well as other Free Mission Friends held strongly to the Bible’s authority, taking over Waldenström’s cry, “*Hvar står det skrivet?*”<sup>45</sup> In 1894, the newly-formed Frikyrkans Predikantförening (Free Church’s Ministerial Association) led by A. A. Anderson and Nils Jernberg, affirmed the Bible’s authority adopting the statement: “The society confesses the Bible, the Old and New Testaments, as the only infallible and sufficient rule and guide for Christian faith, doctrine, life, conduct, and practice.”<sup>46</sup> Already in 1885, the Mission Covenant had adopted a similar statement confessing “the Word of God, the holy books of the Old and New Testaments, as the only perfect rule for faith, creed, and conduct.”<sup>47</sup>

In 1894, on the subject of divine inspiration, an article appeared by Axel Mellander in the *Minneapolis Weckoblad* defining “inspiration” as “influence of the Holy Spirit over the authors of the Bible in such a way that their writings became a true and right expression to the revelation of God’s existence, will, and counsel of salvation.”<sup>48</sup> Mellander explained that “the word ‘inspiration,’ derived from the Latin translation of 2 Timothy 3:16, means that scripture ‘came from above.’” In 1892, Karl Erixon published in *Österns Weckoblad*, an article by H. L. Hastings that strongly argued for the divine inspiration of the Bible.<sup>49</sup>

As a practical measure of the Bible’s authority, Moody encouraged his listeners to study the Bible personally. For example, on a visit to Chicago in 1897, he lamented:

How poor are the church members who are fed only by the pastor’s spoon. Oh, may Christians learn to eat for themselves—to study the Bible on their own. But how many are they who only read the Sunday newspaper? Oh, my friend, get a Bible and read it. Sit down and have a quiet time in the Word. Read a whole book. Select a certain subject

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<sup>43</sup> *Österns Weckoblad*, July 19, 1899, 4. Moody went on to say: “Under these conditions, the question of authorship of the individual books of the Bible has become of less importance than knowledge of the teaching of the Bible itself, the question of the two authors of Isaiah less urgent than a familiarity with the prophecy itself. These facts are being recognized by many of our leading churches, and some of our most able pastors have begun to preach the gospel as never before. I believe that the coming year will bring forth a wide evangelical movement in which thousands will be reached through the churches.”

<sup>44</sup> “En tunn bibel,” *Chicago-Bladet*, May 16, 1893, 1.

<sup>45</sup> Calvin B. Hanson, *What It Means to Be Free* (Minneapolis: Free Church Publications, 1990) 39.

<sup>46</sup> *Minnen och bilder från Svenska Ev. Frikyrkans Predikantförenings tjugofemåriga verksamhet* (Chicago, 1919) 6, 9. See also Princell’s foreword in: Nils P. Truedson, *Bibelns gudomlighet, eller Bibelns innehåll bevisar dess gudomliga ursprung* (Chicago: J. V. Martensons tryckeri, 1909).

<sup>47</sup> C. V. Bowman, *Missionsvännerna i Amerika. En återblick på deras uppkomst och första verksamhetstid* (Minneapolis: Minneapolis Weckoblad Publ. Co., 1907) 253.

<sup>48</sup> Axel Mellander, “Om Bibelns inspiration,” *Minneapolis Weckoblad*, Mar. 14, 1894, 1. Cf. D. Nyvall, “Biblens inspiration,” *Minneapolis Weckoblad*, Sept. 6, 1898, 1,3.

<sup>49</sup> H. L. Hastings, “Om Bibelns inspiration,” *Österns Weckoblad*, Dec. 21, 1892, 6.



and go through the Bible in order to see what it has to say. In sermons, go right to the scriptures, expound, and hold forth these truths.<sup>50</sup>

Moody often advised new converts that they needed three books for personal Bible study: a Bible, *Cruden's Concordance*, and a topical textbook of the Bible.<sup>51</sup> In the same manner, J. G. Princell, in his book co-authored with his wife Josephine Princell and Nils Jernberg, recommended "a Bible handbook or little concordance—either the one published by Söndagsskolföreningen in Örebro or the one published by Evangeliska Fosterlands-stiftelsen," explaining that both books were adaptations of *The Bible Text-Book* published by the American Tract Society and "highly recommended by D. L. Moody."<sup>52</sup> Princell also recommended *Hints on Bible Marking* by Mrs. Stephen Menzies, describing it as "a very valuable book, and highly recommended by D. L. Moody."<sup>53</sup> Princell continued by saying: "First and foremost, I would like to advise everyone to get your own Bible, a good Bible, but as Moody used to say, 'Not one that is too good to mark in.'" Princell then noted: "At times it is good to have the goal when reading the Bible to find out what one or another of the books or chapters or psalms of the Bible says—its main contents, subject, and characters; what were the key words, actions, history and character of a certain person ... Thus, as Moody always used to say, 'Try to hunt after something!'"<sup>54</sup> Clearly, while Princell and Moody shared a common commitment to the Bible's authority, Princell and other Mission Friends drew upon Moody's practical ideas and resources to teach habits for personal Bible study.

## Conversion

The second common trait that Moody and Swedish Mission Friends shared was an emphasis on conversion, "the one thing needful."<sup>55</sup> Moody urged his listeners to convert from a life of sin to faith in Jesus Christ. The popularity of Methodism, along with democratic tendencies on the American frontier, combined in American revivalism to emphasize the sinner's free will to receive Jesus Christ as Savior.<sup>56</sup> Moody also preached that if his listeners were to go to heaven, they needed to be converted, and for him, sudden or instantaneous conversion was the norm.<sup>57</sup> In response to criticism, he

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<sup>50</sup> *Missions-Wännen*, Apr. 6, 1897, 2.

<sup>51</sup> Gundry, *Love Them In*, 203.

<sup>52</sup> J. G. Princell, N. Jernberg, and Josephine Princell: *Fem föredrag hållna vid en Bibelkurs i friförsamlingen å Whitall St. i St. Paul, Minnesota, 13–16 mars 1894* (Chicago: Andrew Holmberg, 1894)

7. See Thomas B. Bishop, *The Bible Text-Book* (New York: American Tract Society, 1880).

<sup>53</sup> Princell, et.al., *Fem föredrag*, 8; See Mrs. Stephen Menzies, *Hints on Bible Marking* (Chicago: Fleming H. Revell, 1875).

<sup>54</sup> Princell, et.al., *Fem föredrag*, 11.

<sup>55</sup> Karl A. Olsson, "Dwight L. Moody and Some Chicago Swedes," in *Swedish-American Life in Chicago* Philip J. Anderson and Dag Blanck, eds. (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1992) 309.

<sup>56</sup> Dorsett, *A Passion for Souls*, 411.

<sup>57</sup> Bebbington, "Moody as a Transatlantic Evangelical," in *Mr Moody and the Evangelical Tradition*, George, ed., 75. Moody did not try to reconcile God's sovereignty and man's free will. Gundry, *Love Them In*, 141. His general evangelicalism attempted to span both the Calvinist and Arminian systems, although practically he was Arminian. Bebbington, "Moody as a Transatlantic Evangelical," in *Mr Moody and the Evangelical Tradition*, George, ed., 83. Thus, he was criticized by Calvinists such as John Kennedy for Scotland for preaching the Arminian message that all could be saved. David W. Bebbington, *The Dominance of Evangelicalism: The Age of Spurgeon and Moody* (Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press,

answered: "Some people do not believe in sudden conversion. I should like them to answer me, when was Zaccheus converted? He was certainly in his sins when he went up into that tree; he certainly was converted when he came down. He must have been converted somewhere between the branch and the ground!"<sup>58</sup>

*Missions-Wännen* reported Moody saying: "If you want to be saved, you must simply receive the gospel—that Christ is your Savior, that he is your Redeemer, and that he has saved you from the curse of the law. Just say, 'Lord Jesus, I trust in you from this hour on, that you will save me.' And the moment you take this step, he will wrap his loving arms around you and clothe you with righteousness."<sup>59</sup> Ernst Newman observed: "It is altogether clear that his unreserved preaching of grace which always aimed at a radical conversion satisfied a strong need at the time. Moody definitely held firmly to the 'old' atonement doctrine, and yet the accent of his preaching fell, as with tongues of fire, on God's readiness to accept the sinner immediately."<sup>60</sup>

The American revivalist view of conversion as an act of the will, and use of songs and after-meetings as means to bring sinners to repentance was in stark contrast to traditional Lutheranism.<sup>61</sup> However, Mission Friends in the Rosenian tradition held to the need of conversion.<sup>62</sup> Rosenius himself was an heir of Herrnhut pietism with its emphasis on conversion. Therefore, he and those within his circle accepted George Scott and Anglo-American methods of evangelism, as well as the Methodist emphasis of "the new birth."<sup>63</sup> Waldenström also promoted a revival theology that placed responsibility for salvation with the individual. For example, he declared: "For all are invited to Christ, and everyone is free to come. . . . But to come is nothing else than in simplicity of heart to put all faith in Christ Jesus, with confidence to trust in him as the only true Savior."<sup>64</sup> Thus, Moody's Arminian theology that stressed conversion harmonized well with the current of Mission Friends.<sup>65</sup>

Of course, Moody's emphasis was not merely on "instantaneous conversion," but also "mass conversion." Karl Jäder described Moody's strategy, saying: "For Moody, the

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2005) 47. On the other hand, while Moody emphasized human ability to believe the gospel, he did not reject the Reformed doctrine of election, and actually held certain distinctive Calvinist positions. Bebbington, "Moody as a Transatlantic Evangelical," in *Mr Moody and the Evangelical Tradition*, George, ed., 83. Moody avoided putting obstacles in the path of either Arminians or Calvinists if he was to retain their confidence. Bebbington, *The Dominance of Evangelicalism*, 47.

<sup>58</sup> D. L. Moody, *Addresses and Lectures* (New York, A. D. F. Randolph & Co., 1875) 45.

<sup>59</sup> *Minneapolis Weckoblad*, June 3, 1891, 3.

<sup>60</sup> Newman, "Dwight L. Moody och hans inflytande i Sverige," in *Från skilda tider*, 381. Cf. J. P. Bang, *Den stora väckelserörelserna. En historisk och psykologisk framställning* (Stockholm: Sv. Kristl. Stud.-rörelse, 1926) 38.

<sup>61</sup> George M. Stephenson, *The Religious Aspects of Swedish Immigration* (New York: Arno Press and the New York Times, 1969) 106.

<sup>62</sup> Karl A. Olsson, *By One Spirit* (Chicago: Covenant Press, 1962) 48. Philip J. Anderson notes that already in Sweden, some had expressed their preference for Melancthon's semi-Pelagianism rather than Luther's views of election. Philip J. Anderson, "The Covenant and the American Challenge: Restoring a Dynamic View of Identity and Pluralism," in *Amicus Dei: Essays on Faith and Friendship* (Chicago: Covenant Publications, 1988) 126.

<sup>63</sup> Ernst Newman, *Svensk Högkyrklighet, Lågkyrklighet och frikyrklighet. Kyrkohistoriska studier* (Stockholm: SKD, 1932) 228.

<sup>64</sup> P. P. Waldenström, "Sermon for the Twentieth Sunday after Trinity, 1872, in Glenn P. Anderson, *Covenant Roots: Sources and Affirmations* (Chicago: Covenant Press, 1980) 127–128.

<sup>65</sup> Hale, *Trans-Atlantic Conservative Protestantism*, 123.

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evangelical ministry was a battle fought with spiritual weapons in order to save and care for the greatest number of people possible.<sup>66</sup> Moody thoroughly understood the Biblical revelation that God was on a mission to seek and save lost souls—*masses* and *individuals*. Hence, Moody's favorite sermons were about the lost son and the lost sheep.<sup>67</sup> He reveled in hearing Sankey sing "The Ninety and Nine" with its theme of the Shepherd searching, rescuing, and bringing back the lost sheep to the fold.

More than other Mission Friends, Princell drew on Moody's stories for his sermons and lectures. Regarding conversion and Biblical authority, Princell told the story of a young girl who attended one of Moody's meetings, saying:

It is important to take God's Word as such, and that is exactly what a girl at age 12 or 13 once did in Chicago. She and her mother went and heard Mr. Moody preach on a Sunday evening. Mr. Moody was discussing Pilate's question to the Jews, a question Pilate asked the morning when Jesus died, asking: "What shall I do then with Jesus who is called the Christ?" (Matt. 27:22). Mr. Moody then said: "Young man, what shall you do with Jesus? Young woman, what shall you do with Jesus? Little boy, what shall you do with Jesus? Little girl, what shall you do with Jesus?"

This girl who I just mentioned later told about this incident at a meeting where she said, "And when Mr. Moody spoke the words: 'Little girl, what shall you do with Jesus?' I thought that he was looking right at me. I wanted very much to stay after the meeting and learn how I could receive Jesus but my mother was 'somewhat cross' (as expressed in English) and dragged me out of church with her. She said that we had to go home, and when we got there she put me right to bed. After an hour I began to cry, and when the lamp was extinguished in mother's room, I had nothing to keep me from getting out of bed and falling to my knees. I said to Jesus that I wanted to receive him as my Savior, and asked him to save me from all my sins and to keep me from all sin and evil. I thought that if I believed that he heard me, he would do what I asked him. This was what it meant to receive him."<sup>68</sup>

After Princell explained how this girl believed in God and his Word, he exclaimed: "Oh, I hope that you would do the same as this girl did, if you have not already done so." Princell concluded the story, saying:

But listen now to what else this young girl from Chicago said: "I was sure that Jesus did this, and so I was very happy. I could not do anything else than to go and speak with my mother about it. She merely said that we would go to the meeting the next night. Throughout the day before the meeting, however, mother was very sad. We went to the meeting. I was so happy after Moody's sermon when mother stood up and asked that they would pray for her. And that evening she was saved."<sup>69</sup>

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<sup>66</sup> Kart Jäder, *En Världsväckare. D. L. Moodys livsverk och inflytande* (Stockholm: Harrier, 1937) 14.

<sup>67</sup> Dorsett, *A Passion for Souls*, 398.

<sup>68</sup> J. G. Princell, *Ljus på vägen. En hvarannan månad utkommande tidskrift, innehållande predikningar och kortare stycken till uppbyggelse i tron, kärleken och hoppet* (1901) 224.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*

## God's Love at the Cross

The third common trait that Moody and Swedish Mission Friends shared was an emphasis on God's love at the cross. When Moody preached the need for conversion, he based the sinner's forgiveness on Christ's atoning work. Early in his revival campaigns, he said, "People say we ought to preach up Christ's life and moral character. ... But Christ died for our sins. He didn't say we were to preach His life to save men. Christ's death is what gives us liberty."<sup>70</sup> In 1891, when at Boston, *Österns Weckoblad* reported Moody preaching about Jesus' blood—what it accomplished—saying, "Jesus' blood was precious, that it justifies, atones, cleanses all sin, that it was a means to conquer the devil, etc."<sup>71</sup>

Rather than stressing God's wrath, Moody reminded his listeners that God loved all people and wished none to perish.<sup>72</sup> In one sermon, he emphasized this love saying: "Unconverted people have the misconception that God is their enemy. Permit me to impress deeply in your heart the thought that God hates the sin ... but that he during all this, likewise loves the sinner."<sup>73</sup> While Moody did not hold to a theology that exclusively stressed God as a wrathful judge, neither did he hold a theology that stressed him exclusively as a loving father.<sup>74</sup> He emphasized God's love as central to the atoning sacrifice of Christ on the cross.<sup>75</sup>

The fact that Moody stressed God's love attracted Mission Friends. He preached on God's love at a time when Waldenström was expressing his doctrine of the atonement that emphasized God's love and human responsibility. Ernst Newman commented: "With Moody as with Waldenström, we can observe the transition in time from the weight people felt under the old pessimistic view of sin, to a greater confidence and fearlessness in God's power to save—not merely from the guilt of sin but also from its power."<sup>76</sup> Moody's sermons, "based on God's love and grace," had swept through Sweden "like a breeze of triumphant optimism that brought a spring-like freshness."<sup>77</sup>

The two main views in Moody's day of Christ's death on the cross were the Reformation-evangelical view and the Rationalist-liberal view. The Reformation-evangelical view held that reconciliation was possible through Christ's obedience to death.<sup>78</sup> The Rationalist-liberal view held that God did not demand any atonement because of his eternal love. These views were at ends of a theological continuum with

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<sup>70</sup> W. H. Daniels, *D. L. Moody and His Work* (Hartford, Conn.: American Publishing Co., 1875) 426.

<sup>71</sup> *Österns Weckoblad*, July 15, 1891, 3; *Minneapolis Weckoblad* reported Moody standing at Golgatha in Jerusalem, saying, "Is it not strange to stand in the place where Christ offered himself for our sins." *Minneapolis Weckoblad*, July 18, 1892, 1.

<sup>72</sup> Dorsett, *A Passion for Souls: The Life of D. L. Moody*, 411–412

<sup>73</sup> D. L. Moody, *Stor Glädje*, I (Jönköping: H. Halls Boktryckeri, 1877) 166.

<sup>74</sup> Nathan Söderblom said that Moody preached "a pure evangelical doctrine of salvation through faith in God's grace revealed in the Cross of Christ." Kajsa Ahlstrand, "Nathan Söderblom and American Fundamentalism" in Anders Jarlert, ed., *Arkiv, Fakultet, Kyrka. Festskrift till Ingmar Brohed* (Lund: Lunds Universitets Kyrkohistoriska Arkiv, 2004) 316–317.

<sup>75</sup> John C. Pollock, "D. L. Moody and Revival," in John D. Woodbridge, ed., *Great Leaders of the Christian Church* (Chicago: Moody Press, 1988) 340. Cf. ; Findlay, *Dwight L. Moody: American Evangelist, 1837-1899*, 232–236.

<sup>76</sup> Newman, "Dwight L. Moody och hans inflytande i Sverige," in *Från skilda tider*, 382.

<sup>77</sup> Bexell, *Sveriges kyrkohistoria, 7. Folkväckelse och kyrkoförnyelsens tid*, 158.

<sup>78</sup> Bebbington, *The Dominance of Evangelicalism*, 28.

various degrees between them. At the far end of the Reformation-evangelical was a hyper-Anselmian view that portrayed God as a wrathful judge. Moody and Waldenström both reacted to the hyper-Anselmian view that portrayed God principally as stern and wrathful, preferring a view that emphasized God's love, mercy, and forgiveness, without denying substitution.<sup>79</sup> Thus, Swedish Mission Friends heard similar themes in Waldenström and Moody.<sup>80</sup>

Moody's "love them in" theology dominated his ministry. He had "a unique ability to make the riches of grace desirable to people."<sup>81</sup> While, the Reformed were often considered more legal than Lutherans, in Moody, this was not the case. With him, as with Sankey, God's love to sinners stood in the foreground.<sup>82</sup> Instead of emphasizing "faith" that could easily be misconstrued to be "faith in one's own faith rather than faith in God," Moody placed his listeners "in the presence of a real personality" who stood with open arms "ready to help in the present moment."<sup>83</sup> This emphasis on the personal rather than doctrinal, perhaps more than anything else, explained Moody's unusual ability to bring people to a personal sense of their need, having a similar effect in the sermons of pietist preachers.<sup>84</sup> Here Moody was in a direct line with Zinzendorf, Rosenius, and Fredrik Gabriel Hedberg with their message of "Just come as you are to Christ, and accept the offer which He makes you now."<sup>85</sup>

### Lay Evangelism

A fourth common characteristic that Moody shared with Swedish Mission Friends was lay evangelism. Although Moody became the greatest evangelist of his time, he remained a layman, and maintained his lay-oriented approach to evangelism throughout his life. In the late 1860s at the Chicago YMCA, he recruited lay workers to serve as evangelists and city missionaries. He recruited people like Emma Dryer to launch a deaconess ministry. Moreover, he trained laypeople as Christian workers for his revival campaigns to counsel "anxious souls" in after-meetings. He emphasized training lay evangelists as "gapmen"—young men and women to do evangelistic work that clergy could not or would not do.<sup>86</sup> In this role, "gapmen" did not have to receive seminary education, but simply acquire a basic knowledge of the English Bible, doctrine, and evangelism methods.<sup>87</sup>

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<sup>79</sup> See the discussion in Chapter 7 under the section "Waldenström's Visit with Moody at Northfield."

<sup>80</sup> Newman, "Dwight L. Moody och hans inflytande på fromhetslivet i Finland," in *Protokoll, Fört vid lagtima synodalmötet med prästerskapet i Borgå stift*, 47; Ernst Newman, *Den Waldenströmska försöningläran i historisk belysning* (Stockholm: Svenska Kyrkans Diakonistyrelses Bokförlag, 1932) 244–246, 301–303, 343.

<sup>81</sup> Newman, "Dwight L. Moody och hans inflytande på fromhetslivet i Finland," in *Protokoll, Fört vid lagtima synodalmötet med prästerskapet i Borgå stift*, 47.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.* At points, Schartau and Moody, as well as Franson, did not necessarily disagree about the theology of conversion, but methodology. For Schartau, conversion could happen quickly too.

<sup>86</sup> Gundry, *Love Them In*, 153; Bebbington, "Moody as a Transatlantic Evangelical," in *Mr Moody and the Evangelical Tradition*, George, ed., 81.

<sup>87</sup> Dorsett, *A Passion for Souls*, 265

As for Moody's work as a layman, E. H. Thörnberg observed that—although Moody's "first step as a lay evangelist was uncertain and wavering" and that he "handled the English grammar in a wretched manner"—he soon discovered that he could preach the Bible with success.<sup>88</sup> Thörnberg further noted:

Moody never attained the art of preaching in the higher style—an art that had been imbued with classical and modern literature. His speech was simple; for more than nine-tenths of it was comprised of common, everyday language. However, his sermons were rich in illustrations from the Bible, pictures from nature, and everyday examples of life at home and the shop, on the farm, and in the factory.<sup>89</sup>

With Moody's success as a lay evangelist in the British Isles from 1873 to 1875, Mission Friends in Sweden immediately took interest in him. Although he was untrained and unschooled, he demonstrated how a layman could handle the Bible and evangelize the masses. For leaders of conventicles, colporteurs, and lay evangelists in the tradition of Rosenius—a layman his whole life—Moody was a model who gave credibility to lay ministry, elevated their role and promoted their work.<sup>90</sup> They accepted him as a "hero" layman, and as early as 1874 began distributing his sermons in the form of colporteur tracts. Soon, hundreds of practicing and aspiring evangelists like Skogsbergh wanted to imitate the American revivalist.

Moody always preferred the status of a layman, or even the status of a Sabbath school worker. When he arrived to London in 1875 for his first meeting at Exeter Hall, he was introduced as "The Reverend."<sup>91</sup> He quickly set the record straight, saying to the chairman that he had made a mistake because he was not "The Reverend" at all but simply "a Sabbath school worker."<sup>92</sup> Despite his preference to be known as a layman, Moody respected clergy, which further served to break down the clergy-laity distinction. Moody's popularity as a layman occurred at a time of democratization in Sweden when social and ecclesial boundaries were being redrawn. Moody's appearance as a businessman in a suit rather than a clergyman in frockcoat inspired lay evangelists and colporteurs even more in their non-clerical roles as Christ's ambassadors.

An example of the breakdown of the clergy-laity distinction in America among Free Mission Friends is observed in an article from *Chicago-Bladet* that stated:

In general, the denominations have made so much fuss over the so-called ordination that it has nearly become an article of faith by most Christians, saying that the person who is ordained is a priest, and the person who is not is a layman. ... Before God, this all means nothing. It does not matter if a preacher is "ordained" or not, which is made plain to us when he works through non-ordained preachers like Moody, etc., to bring thousands of souls to salvation. Yes, God works even through women who are not recognized as authorized to preach in most Christian churches.<sup>93</sup>

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<sup>88</sup> E. H. Thörnberg. *Sverige i Amerika, Amerika i Sverige* (Stockholm: Bonnier, 1938) 63.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>90</sup> Bexell, "Kyrkligheten i Svenska Kyrkan," in *Kyrkans liv*, Borgehammar, ed., 125.

<sup>91</sup> Bebbington, "Moody as a Transatlantic Evangelical," in *Mr Moody and the Evangelical Tradition*, George, ed., 81.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>93</sup> *Chicago-Bladet*, Dec. 19, 1893, 1.

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Besides the breakdown of the clergy-laity distinction, there also came a breakdown of traditional roles of men and women in evangelistic work. Moody was eager to mobilize not only laymen, but also laywomen.<sup>94</sup> He was open to Christian women serving and leading “in every activity except preaching and presiding at joint sessions of men and women.”<sup>95</sup> He even felt that women made better missionaries than men.<sup>96</sup> On this pattern, Fredrik Franson recruited women to his Bible and evangelist courses for mission work in China, and encouraged women such as Cathrine Juell and Nelly Hall to preach.<sup>97</sup> Furthermore, while Moody utilized Francis Willard in campaigns to promote Women's Gospel Temperance Work, Josephine Princell organized the Swedish Women's Christian Temperance Union.<sup>98</sup>

John Martenson, who served with Free Mission Friends, functioned much like Fleming H. Revell in Moody's circle, remaining a layman in publishing his whole life. Martenson was active as a leader at the Oak Street Free Mission, Free Mission Friends meetings, Scandinavian Alliance Mission, and Chicago's Swedish Bible Institute. He engaged in discussions on theology, church polity, and organizational policy—sometimes with the same critical commentary that he wrote his *Chicago-Bladet* editorials.

Mission Friends highly esteemed lay preaching, and appreciated Moody's plain diction, vivid descriptions, and use of heart-warming stories, typical of Swedish lay preachers too. Moody loved to tell stories, a skill acquired from speaking to children at his Sunday school in Chicago.<sup>99</sup> He especially enjoyed storytelling about the home and family life. An example from J. G. Princell in *Ljus på vägen* (Light on the Path) highlighted one of Moody's stories about his daughter who was too proud to take her father's hand, but finally learned the lesson that she was only safe when he took hold of her hand firmly.<sup>100</sup>

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<sup>94</sup> Janette Hassey, *No Time for Silence: Evangelical Women in Public Ministry around the Turn of the Century* (Grand Rapids: Academie Books, 1986) 33–36;

<sup>95</sup> Dorsett, *A Passion for Souls*, 254.

<sup>96</sup> Bebbington, “Moody as a Transatlantic Evangelical,” in *Mr Moody and the Evangelical Tradition*, George, ed., 81.

<sup>97</sup> *Chicago-Bladet*, Nov. 8, 1892, 6; Sept. 1, 1896, 1; Gunilla Gunner, *Nelly Hall. Uppburen och ifrågasatt. Predikant och missionär i Europa och USA 1882–1901* (Uppsala: Svenska institutet för missionsforskning, 2003) 175–178. See Fredrik Franson, *Profeterande döttrar: Några ord angående qvinnans ställning till evangelisationsarbete* (Minneapolis: Johnston & Lundquist, 1896) and Fredrik Franson, “Prophesying Daughters,” *Covenant Quarterly* 34, 4 (Nov. 1996) 21–40.

<sup>98</sup> Hassey, *No Time for Silence*, 92–94, 132.

<sup>99</sup> Bebbington, “Moody as a Transatlantic Evangelical,” in *Mr Moody and the Evangelical Tradition*, George, ed., 88.

<sup>100</sup> Princell said, “Often when D. L. Moody would speak about us letting God be all-in-all, or in more exact terms, ‘for him to take us by the hand,’ he told the story of his daughter when she was 5 or 6 years old. At the beginning of a winter she went with her father as he walked to various parts of the city (Chicago). The streets and sidewalks had earlier that day become wet, and at night froze, and became as smooth as ice and quite slippery. As they walked on the sidewalk he reached out his hand for his little girl to take. Just when she said ‘No, I can walk by myself,’ she fell smack down. When she stood up she said, ‘Papa, I will hold your hand a little!’ So she truly held his hand a little—she held on to his little finger as well as so could. However, she soon slipped again, let go of his hand, and fell smack down again. When she got back up on her feet, and with an improved outlook, she said: ‘Daddy, take my hand in yours, and hold onto it!’ And so her father took her little hand, and with his grip firm, they walked along and went quite well.” J. G. Princell, *Ljus på vägen* (1901) 116.

While Moody advocated lay preaching, he placed much importance on preparation of the message. For him, preaching was not to be done spontaneously or haphazardly. Nathan Söderblom, after visiting Moody at his home in Northfield, recalled Moody telling how carefully he prepared messages. Moody said: “When I tell an anecdote, people think it just flies out of my mouth when I stand there. But I prepare beforehand, going word-for-word through the sermon in order to make the greatest impact possible.”<sup>101</sup> Söderblom later gave the example of Moody preaching his well-known sermon from Luke’s Gospel:

We sat there with people from Northfield and the surrounding area, filling the assembly hall to capacity with some three thousand people or more. . . . Some people spoke up and asked Moody if he would preach the sermon on Sunday. He backed away saying, “No, I am taking a break and would like to rest, but I will listen. I do not want to take on anything more except to relax and enjoy God’s free nature.” However, several students joined in asking him to preach on Sunday until it turned into a strong, pressing appeal with some beginning to shout, “Give us your sermon from Luke.” I was perplexed since I did not understand—a sermon from Luke! This was a long and wide text. Up until now, I have never heard a single request for a priest to preach a particular sermon like a crowd requesting a musician to play the Kreuzer Sonata or an actor to recite Faust. But Moody gave in, and on Sunday we heard his sermon. . . . “Luke” meant the fifteenth chapter of Luke, specifically, the parable of the lost son, found only in Luke’s Gospel. And Moody did preach it, although he had given the same sermon untold times before. He could do it, and there was no improvisation. He thought through everything quite well.<sup>102</sup>

When Söderblom asked Moody about his preaching style, he told him that he never spoke extemporaneously, not even during his preaching tours when he had to speak several times a day. He always prepared a well-crafted message, even though speaking to different crowds of listeners.<sup>103</sup> The fact that Moody was never slipshod in his preparation and preaching, drew people to listen to him, gaining respect from laymen and clergy alike.

### Living Faith

A fifth common characteristic that Moody shared with Swedish Mission Friends was living faith and piety. Moody was described as a man who radiated with spiritual life; whose soul was on fire with love and zeal. In *Missions-Wännen*, Otto Högfelt observed that Moody was a “servant of God” who does not get tired and does not lack

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<sup>101</sup> Nathan Söderblom, *Kristenhetens möte i Stockholm* (Stockholm: Svenska Kyrkans Diakonistyrelses Bokförlag, 1926) 184.

<sup>102</sup> Nathan Söderblom, *Sommarminnen* (Stockholm: Svenska Kyrkans Diakonistyrelses Bokförlag, 1941) 97–98.

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*, 98–99; Years after the Northfield conference, Soderblom recalled: “I have heard a lot of sermons since these, and kept notes of many, but I believe well enough that at any moment I would be able to recall to a fair degree what Moody said.” Nathan Söderblom, *Från Upsala till Rock Island. En Predikofärd i nya världen* (Stockholm: Svenska Kyrkans Diakonistyrelses Bokförlag, 1925) 236. Henry Drummond stated: “No greater mistake could be made than to imagine that Mr. Moody does not study for his sermons. On the contrary, he is always studying.” Henry Drummond, “D. L. Moody: A Personal Tribute,” in George, ed., *Mr Moody and the Evangelical Tradition*, 148.



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burning zeal. He burns with zealous love for the salvation of sinners, and that those who confess to be Christians should live in conformity with God's Word, to live a righteous life."<sup>104</sup> Moody's burning love for human beings was "an element that formed his inner personal life, and wrapped his matchless grip around his listeners' hearts."<sup>105</sup>

Moody held to a living faith, similar to the faith long held by Sweden's *läsare* (Readers). He opposed the dead letter of doctrine that did not involve living faith. Stanley N. Gundry describes Moody, saying:

He was opposed to doctrinal correctness that was devoid of Christian compassion. He was opposed to a kind of formalism that lived on in doctrinal formularies. In short, Moody was insistent that adherence to a creed was no substitute for a personal faith in Christ; and the common bond among those who had such a faith in Christ transcended the party spirit that tended to rise out of creedalism.<sup>106</sup>

Thus, Moody gained immediate rapport with Mission Friends who recognized him as a kindred, pietistic spirit. Skogsbergh noted that of all English-speaking evangelists, none was "so beloved and gladly heard as Moody; he was the exemplary evangelist."<sup>107</sup> Therefore, when Skogsbergh listed criteria for a true evangelist, he described Moody saying:

Whether an evangelist, or as we call them, an itinerant preacher, is to benefit the congregation, naturally depends upon what kind of person he is....I believe that a large part of the American evangelists are actually superficial, and that they hold fake revivals that do not yield any real or lasting benefit, and in the end their work is injurious. However, I believe there are a large number of evangelists who have been of tremendous benefit, partly because they have increased the number of believers, and partly because they build up those who already believe. ... For example, we think of Moody and Sankey! Think of the thousands in this country who have received life through faith in God's Son because of these workers of the Lord. Furthermore, consider how the congregations were encouraged wherever these evangelists went.<sup>108</sup>

Moody's ethos of living faith, spiritual vitality, zeal for souls, and humility drew Mission Friends to him, bringing them within his sphere of influence. Henry Drummond observed: "In sheer persuasiveness Moody had few equals, and rugged as his preaching may have seemed to some, there was in it a pathos which few orators have ever reached."<sup>109</sup> It was not unusual that "strong men became pale about the cheeks before

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<sup>104</sup> *Österns Weckoblad*, Apr. 13, 1898, 2.

<sup>105</sup> Newman, "Dwight L. Moody och hans inflytande i Sverige," in *Från skilda tider*, 380.

<sup>106</sup> Stanley N. Gundry, "Demythologizing Moody," in *Mr Moody and the Evangelical Tradition*, George, ed., 16.

<sup>107</sup> E. Aug. Skogsbergh, *Minnen och upplevelser. Under min mer än femtioåriga predikoverksamhet* (Minneapolis: Veckobladets tryckeri, 1923) 214–215.

<sup>108</sup> *Minneapolis Weckoblad*, Feb. 22, 1893, 1. In his autobiography, Skogsbergh listed qualities that an evangelist should have: 1) a burning love for the Savior. ... 2) ...a burning love for souls, which is necessary to win them. 3) Folk sense (common sense) as Moody used to answer when he was asked what was important for a preacher to have if he was to succeed, ... 4) ...the goal of an evangelist to win souls for Christ. Skogsbergh, *Minnen och upplevelser*, 272–273.

<sup>109</sup> Henry Drummond, "D. L. Moody: A Personal Tribute," in *Mr Moody and the Evangelical Tradition*, George, ed., 147.

this robust stranger, whose heart flooded over with love for poor, sinful fellow-human beings.”<sup>110</sup>

Moody not only lived a pious life personally, but called others to a life of holiness and devotion to Christ. His support of temperance societies endeared him to Mission Friends who supported the efforts of people like Robert Baird and Eli Johnson. Furthermore, Moody was concerned about the number of youths “drifting into worldly amusements such as card playing, billiards, theater, etc.”<sup>111</sup> He believed that interest in the gospel and salvation of souls was “choked off by the interest for these worldly amusements.”<sup>112</sup> He was concerned about pastors and denominations that did nothing to curb the tide, and Mission Friends resonated with this concern.<sup>113</sup>

Moody and his revival movement emphasized conviction of sin, surrender of the will, obedience to the Spirit’s leading, and sanctified living in service to God and fellow human beings.<sup>114</sup> Skogsbergh noted that not only did Swedes lament over the spiritual condition of society in Sweden or America, but English-speaking brothers did too, especially Moody, who had “recently in an appeal, urged Christians to pray earnestly everyday for revival.”<sup>115</sup> Moody never ceased to press home that salvation must lead to a radical transformation in character and lifestyle. With his message of “God’s love to humankind” came a strong ethical appeal to living faith and piety.<sup>116</sup>

## Conclusion

An effect of “Moody fever” in Sweden and Swedish-America was the intersection, and at times collision, of American revivalism with Lutheran confessionalism and Swedish pietism. The interplay of Reformed impulses brought resistance from traditional Lutheran clergy and scholars despite common ground such as a high view of Scripture and salvation by grace. On these points, there was acceptance. However, differences over sacraments, creeds, order of grace, church membership, and the role of clergy and laity brought disagreements.

Nevertheless, the interplay of pietistic and Reformed impulses provided a basis for Moody’s activity and influence among Swedish Mission Friends—those “whose eyes had been colored by the Reformed.” Thus, while Moody had his Swedish detractors, he also drew Swedes who shared some common characteristics, beliefs, and convictions. He believed the Bible, and in God’s love and saving grace to convert the “anxious soul” who believed in Christ. For him, whenever sinners believed the gospel, he encouraged them toward a life of piety and witness because he belonged to the tradition of revivalists who

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<sup>110</sup> Newman, “Dwight L. Moody och hans inflytande i Sverige,” in *Från skilda tider*, 379.

<sup>111</sup> *Minneapolis Weckoblad*, Mar. 6, 1897, 1.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>113</sup> *Minneapolis Weckoblad* reported: “With this thought, it is not strange to understand why the Swedish Christian churches in this country hesitate and refuse to unite with these [American] denominations. No, among our churches and preachers who are truly awakened and have the things of God and particularly the salvation of the younger generation in their hearts do not want to see our young Christians drawn into this world’s amusements.” *Minneapolis Weckoblad*, Mar. 6, 1897, 1.

<sup>114</sup> Jäder, *En Världsväckare*, 23.

<sup>115</sup> *Minneapolis Weckoblad*, Aug. 8, 1899, 1.

<sup>116</sup> Newman, “Dwight L. Moody och hans inflytande på fromhetslivet i Finland,” in *Protokoll, Fört vid lagtima synodalmötet med prästerskapet i Borgå stift*, 50, 53

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emphasized instantaneous conversion, separated life, and lay ministry and mission alongside clergy.<sup>117</sup> Karl A. Olsson noted that Moody's American revivalism "gave emotional reinforcement to certain evangelical maxims" such as an emphasis on the Bible as the Word of God, on Jesus Christ as the crucified, dying, and risen Lord, on new birth in Christ and belief in him as the keystone of Christian experience and membership in his church, and on the imperatives of evangelism and mission.<sup>118</sup>

Among the evangelists of his day, Moody was, as Skogsbergh described him, "a prince among them all."<sup>119</sup> Moody's high regard for Biblical authority, his passion for the conversion of souls, his emphasis on God's love at the cross, his example and encouragement to lay workers, and his commitment to living faith, drew Swedish Mission Friends to him with confidence. They viewed Moody as an "ally" and "hero" and found in him a kindred spirit.

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<sup>117</sup> Jäder, *En Världsväckare*, 14–15.

<sup>118</sup> Karl A. Olsson, *Into One Body ... by the Cross*, Vol. II (Chicago: Covenant Press, 1986) 382.

<sup>119</sup> Skogsbergh, *Minnen och upplevelser*, 274.



## Chapter 12

### Distinguishing Marks of Moody's Influence

Moody was not always the originator of his ideal or teachings but popularized them more than anyone else during his time. In describing him and the “new American evangelicalism,” George Marsden notes that his influence was broad and lasting, stating: “Scarcely a leader in American Protestantism in the next generation, it seemed, had not at some time been influenced by Moody.”<sup>1</sup> Moody’s characteristics became elements of the revivalist tradition of the new American evangelicalism that also affected Swedes.

This chapter answers the question: In what ways did Moody shape evangelical identity among Swedish Mission Friends, or what were the identifying marks of his influence? This chapter presents six distinguishing marks, namely: evangelical ecumenism, new premillennialism, after-meetings in mass meetings, independent congregationalism, Bible institutes, and Sankey’s songs. This chapter goes beyond traits that Moody and Mission Friends already held in common, and describes ways he influenced their beliefs, rhetoric, and actions. The effect of his influence on Swedes who adopted his beliefs and methods led to a shift in their evangelical identity as they took on characteristics of Moody and his new American evangelicalism.

Although this chapter acknowledges differences between D. L. Moody, Chicago Avenue Church, Ira D. Sankey, and Moody’s Darbyite following, they were all integrally tied to Moody, and are treated in this chapter as one. Without Moody, these characteristics would not have been evident, or as pronounced as they were, with him.

#### Evangelical Ecumenism—the Alliance Ideal

The first distinguishing mark of Moody’s influence among Swedes was evangelical ecumenism. Moody, more than any person of the nineteenth century, practiced the evangelical-alliance ideal. This was so evident that John Pollock described him as the “grandfather of ecumenism.”<sup>2</sup> Moody’s irenic spirit brought Protestant pastors and churches together in unprecedented numbers for the purpose of evangelizing their cities and communities.<sup>3</sup> Throughout his career, he conducted evangelistic campaigns on

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<sup>1</sup> George M. Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture: The Shaping of Twentieth-Century Evangelicalism 1870–1925* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980) 32–33.

<sup>2</sup> J. C. Pollock, “Dwight L. Moody—Grandfather of Ecumenism,” *Christianity Today* 7 (Nov. 23, 1962) 189–190, cited in Stanley N. Gundry, *Love Them In: The Proclamation Theology of D. L. Moody* (Chicago: Moody Press, 1976) 168.

<sup>3</sup> D. W. Bebbington, “Moody as a Transatlantic Evangelical,” in *Mr Moody and the Evangelical Tradition*, Timothy George, (London and New York: T & T Clark Intl., 2004) 89.

the condition that area pastors and churches would promise their united support of his work.<sup>4</sup> His ecumenism centered on the gospel, and thus meetings were evangelical and non-sectarian, including all churches, except Unitarians and Roman Catholics.<sup>5</sup> While Moody's evangelical ecumenism was not exclusive of similar impulses, it was the greatest practical force of the time.

Although Moody was non-sectarian in his campaigns, he openly expressed his disgust of sectarianism—a prejudice or narrow mindedness in favor of one's own denomination.<sup>6</sup> He decried all forms of a party-spirit and insisted on extending the kingdom of God and not promoting denominations or parties.<sup>7</sup> For example, at the beginning of his campaign in Chicago in 1876, he declared:

Talk not of this sect and that sect, of this party and that party, but solely and exclusively of the great comprehensive cause of Jesus Christ. ... In this ideal brotherhood there should be one faith, one mind, one spirit, and in this city let us starve it out for a season, to actualize this glorious truth. ... Oh, that God may so fill us with His love, and the love of souls, that no thought of minor sectarian parties can come in; that there may be no room for them in our atmosphere whatever; and that the Spirit of God may give us one mind and one spirit here to glorify His holy name.<sup>8</sup>

Occasionally, Moody went beyond his non-sectarian or non-denominational position to express an anti-sectarian sentiment. For example, early in his career, he warned: "I tell you, my friends, these denominational names do not come from on high. They are devices of the evil one."<sup>9</sup> In 1876, he called for a truce to any form of a party-spirit, declaring: "Truce to all sectarianism, that the Lord alone may be exalted: let all denominations for the time being be obliterated and forgotten, and let us bring our united Christian effort to bear upon the one great work of saving perishing souls."<sup>10</sup>

Moody generally communicated, however, that denominations were neither wrong nor avoidable. He believed that his calling was to preach the gospel, a message that did not remove sectarian differences but transcended them.<sup>11</sup> He exhorted all true Christians to unite together in evangelism because of their devotion to the same Lord and

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<sup>4</sup> James F. Findlay, Jr., *Dwight L. Moody: American Evangelist, 1837–1899* (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1969) 195–196.

<sup>5</sup> Thomas E. Corts, "D. L. Moody: Payment on Account," cited in *Mr Moody and the Evangelical Tradition*, George, 71. Later, Moody showed a gesture of friendship to the Roman Catholic Church in Northfield, Mass.; Gundry, *Love Them In*, 171.

<sup>6</sup> E. H. Thörnberg, *Sverige i Amerika, Amerika i Sverige* (Stockholm: Bonnier, 1938) 63. This definition of sect is different than Ernst Troeltsch's classification that a *sect* is a voluntary society comprised of intentional believers committed to holiness—emphasizing law—and united by a common experience of God's grace, living in anticipation of the Kingdom of God. See Ernst Troeltsch, *The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches*, 2 vol., trans. by Olive Wyon (Louisville: Westminster and John Knox Press, 1992).

<sup>7</sup> Gundry, *Love Them In*, 168.

<sup>8</sup> D. L. Moody, *New Sermons*, 644–645, cited in Gundry, *Love Them In*, 169.

<sup>9</sup> "Third Annual Illinois State Christian Convention," *Advance*, II, No. 62 (Nov. 5, 1868) 2, cited in August J. Fry, *D. L. Moody: The Chicago Years 1865–1871* (Amsterdam: Free University Press, 1984) 37.

<sup>10</sup> J. H. Crespi, "Moody and Sankey," *The Southern Review* 19 (January 1876) 195, cited in Thomas E. Corts, "D. L. Moody: Payment on Account," in *Mr Moody and the Evangelical Tradition*, George, ed., 69. Also see Findlay, *Dwight L. Moody*, 412, 420.; Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture*, 33; and E. H. Thörnberg, *Sverige i Amerika*, 63.

<sup>11</sup> Gundry, *Love Them In*, 173.

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gospel, and with this common purpose, a “party-spirit” was incompatible.<sup>12</sup> Nevertheless, Moody’s strong ecumenical and non-sectarian position was often understood by his listeners as anti-denominational.<sup>13</sup> Thus, while some Swedes held to the legitimacy of denominations that cooperated in evangelism, others resisted denominations altogether, preferring to be known simply as Christians, without any denominational label or structure.<sup>14</sup>

Although Moody was not the first or only force of Christian unity, his example encouraged P. P. Waldenström and others to believe that an evangelical alliance was possible. Moreover, Moody’s emphasis on building Christ’s kingdom and not advocating particular denominations inspired Waldenström in his efforts to broaden the theological base of Evangeliska Fosterlands-stiftelsen to include Baptists, Methodists, and Mission Friends who did not hold to all points of the Augsburg Confession.<sup>15</sup> Thus, Moody’s example and message emboldened the new Evangelical Revival in Sweden in the effort to reach beyond confessional Lutheranism.<sup>16</sup> Although this goal was never realized within the EFS, Moody’s example inspired such events as the reorganization of Svenska Evangeliska Alliansen in 1875 and the Stockholm preachers’ meetings that convened from 1876 to 1878.<sup>17</sup>

In America, Swedish immigrant John F. Okerstein, who served as a city missionary of Chicago Avenue Church, adopted Moody’s evangelical ecumenism. Okerstein grieved that Christ’s church appeared “partly as Methodist, Baptist or some similar sect,” and “not recognized as one body with one Father, one faith, one baptism, but rather as something detestable.”<sup>18</sup> Moreover, Okerstein insisted that Christians leave sectarianism before they point out a *partisinne* (party-spirit) in others.<sup>19</sup> In his endeavor toward an evangelical ecumenism, he cooperated with John Martenson in 1880 to establish an independent Swedish mission in Chicago, the Oak Street Free Mission, known today as First Evangelical Free Church of Chicago.<sup>20</sup>

In 1876 when John Martenson was converted to faith, he launched his non-sectarian newspaper *Chicago-Bladet*. Martenson was greatly affected by Moody’s

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<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> N. E. Mockros, “The Context of Doctrine: Americanization of Pietistic Scandinavian Immigrants” (M.A. Thesis, Trinity International University, Deerfield, Illinois, 1998) 34.

<sup>14</sup> Karl A. Olsson, *Into One Body...by the Cross*, Vol. 1 (Chicago: Covenant Press, 1985) 22.

<sup>15</sup> Oloph Bexell, *Sveriges kyrkohistoria, 7. Folkväckelsens och kyrkoförnyelsens tid* (Stockholm: Verbum, 2003) 158.

<sup>16</sup> In addition, books illustrated the spread of Moody’s ecumenical movement. For example, in 1877 Karl Erixon’s *Nya expeditionen* published *Valda predikningar* (Selected Sermons), a collection of sermons by Lutheran and Reformed authors including Martin Luther, D. L. Moody, W. de Talmage, P. P. Waldenström, E. J. Ekman, and others. Bexell, *Sveriges kyrkohistoria, 7. Folkväckelsens och kyrkoförnyelsens tid*, 158. See: Martin Luther, D. L. Moody, W. de Talmage, P. P. Waldenström, E. J. Ekman, et.al., *Valda predikningar* (Stockholm: Nya förlagsexp, 1877).

<sup>17</sup> Clearly, Waldenström was drawn to Moody since he, too, was a man in whom the “life in Christ” superseded dogmas and denominational differences. Karl A. Olsson, *By One Spirit* (Chicago: Covenant Press, 1962) 243.

<sup>18</sup> *Chicago-Bladet*, Nov. 27, 1883, 2.

<sup>19</sup> *Chicago-Bladet*, Dec. 11, 1883, 6.

<sup>20</sup> *Chicago-Bladet*, June 14, 1898, 1. When Okerstein was serving as a missionary with the American Home Missionary Society in Minnesota, he stressed that “love is the only power that can rightly remove disagreements between brothers in the faith.” The meeting was held on May 25, 1898 at Svenska Congregational Templet in Minneapolis, where Princell was also engaged in the discussion.

ecumenical approach to evangelism and took over his rhetoric by calling for Christians, regardless of their denominational name or confession, to cooperate with all of God's people. Martenson radically held that different parties with a sectarian spirit were a hindrance to furthering God's kingdom. Thus, *Chicago-Bladet* was known for publishing polemical articles that decried sectarianism.<sup>21</sup> In 1878, Martenson declared, "Paul strongly emphasized the unity of Christians and sternly rebukes the Corinthians when they name themselves after Paul and Apollos; perhaps it is just as culpable and carnal to call ourselves Baptists, Lutherans, Methodists, Adventists, Ansgarians, and Mission Friends."<sup>22</sup> Martenson held strongly to a non-denominational, even anti-denominational viewpoint.

J. G. Princell was also affected by Moody's evangelical ecumenism. Although Princell was personally acquainted with Moody in Chicago during the late 1860s while serving as president of the Swedish YMCA, he became a Lutheran pastor of the Augustana Synod.<sup>23</sup> As late as the spring of 1876, Princell wrote to Peter Wieselgren deploring the fact that "the sects, the Methodists in particular, were drawing Swedes away from our dear Lutheran church and faith."<sup>24</sup> However, shortly after April 19, 1876, when Moody ended his revival campaign in New York City, Princell became increasingly critical of the Augustana Synod's confessionalism and sectarianism.<sup>25</sup> He disregarded the Galesburg Rule on the premise that not all Lutheran pastors were worthy to proclaim the gospel and not all Lutheran communicants were worthy to preach and receive the Lord's Supper; nor were all non-Lutherans unworthy to preach and receive the Lord's Supper.<sup>26</sup> In the years 1876 and 1877, Princell clearly moved toward Moody's ecumenism, as well as Waldenström's view of the atonement.<sup>27</sup> Soon Princell promoted *osekteriska* (non-sectarian) or *fri* (free) meetings and opposed any formal *sammanslutning* (union) of churches, holding a simple ecclesial view that lacked the structure of a synod or denomination.<sup>28</sup>

Fredrik Franson also adopted Moody's evangelical ecumenism and advanced a

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<sup>21</sup> "Huggorma förgift är under deras läpper," *Chicago-Bladet*, Mar. 16, 1877, 1. The article stated, "The person who reads the March issue of *Augustana* will see the malice and party-spirit that can come from human beings." See also "Åter en ny tidning," *Augustana*, March, 1877, 70–71.

<sup>22</sup> *Chicago-Bladet*, Oct. 11, 1878, in Karl A. Olsson, *Into One Body ...By the Cross*, Vol. 2, 464–465.

<sup>23</sup> In March of 1861, Moody traveled to Princeton, Illinois, to speak at a Sunday-School Convention where he was "thrust into a new role, speaking to Sunday school teachers at a large church." W. H. Daniels stated "This was the beginning of a wide-spread revival in Bureau County," and "it was also the beginning of a new life for Mr. Moody." W. H. Daniels, *D. L. Moody and His Work* (Hartford: American Publishing Co., 1875) 159–161. Princeton was Princell's American hometown, where in 1862, he left to attend the Augustana Synod's school in Chicago. Josephine Princell, *J. G. Princell's levnadsminnen* (Chicago: Josephine Princell, 1916) 12.

<sup>24</sup> Princell to Wieselgren, April 17, 1876 (MS) cited in George M. Stephenson, *The Religious Aspects of Swedish Immigration* (New York: Arno Press, 1969) 275.

<sup>25</sup> Princell, *J. G. Princells levnadsminnen*, 41.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 85; G. Everett Arden, *Augustana Heritage: A History of the Augustana Lutheran Church* (Rock Island: Augustana Press, 1963) 184.

<sup>27</sup> Princell, *J. G. Princells levnadsminnen*, 147–148. In addition to Moody's example, Princell's non-organization view was probably shaped by his personal struggle with the Augustana Synod, Schmucker's American Lutheranism over the Galesburg Rule, and the non-organization view of Mission Friends in Sweden.

<sup>28</sup> *Chicago-Bladet*, Jan. 13, 1885, 8.



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free, evangelical form of Christian life and church organization.<sup>29</sup> He served as a home and foreign missionary of Chicago Avenue Church, and joined Okerstein, Martenson, and Princell in 1881 to hold the Swedish prophetic conference in Chicago, advertised as “an *osekteriskt* (non-sectarian) meeting, mainly for the purpose of gathering God’s children together to search the prophetic portions of God’s Word.”<sup>30</sup> Earlier in Nebraska, Franson helped to establish four churches where “God’s children ... joined together in free congregations with no other Constitution than the New Testament, with no other label than that of the locality or nearest post office.”<sup>31</sup> These churches were comprised of believers who formerly belonged to Baptist, Methodist, Mission Synod, Ansgar Synod, and Augustana Synod churches, but agreed “to discard their party labels and become one under the banner of the cross.”<sup>32</sup> Franson’s non-sectarian emphasis continued in 1890 when he organized the Scandinavian Alliance Mission representing “several denominational groups of evangelical, free churches, independent of denominational control, non-denominational in character, working on an unchangeable principle never to become a church denomination, but welcoming interdenominational cooperation.”<sup>33</sup>

The alliance ideal of Franson, Okerstein, Martenson, and Princell was applied not merely to cooperative, evangelical activities such as the Swedish prophetic conference in 1881, the Bush Hall conference in 1883, and the Boone, Iowa, conference in 1884, but also at the level of the local church. Like Sweden’s Missionsförbundet, they intentionally sought to bring converts together from Baptist, Methodist, and Lutheran churches into free, non-sectarian congregations.<sup>34</sup> Thus, in 1884 when Free Mission Friends initiated cooperation in missionary work among churches, they resolved not to become “like particular sects of the church established by the detestable name *party*.”<sup>35</sup> They determined that when Christians do not belong to any such party and do not possess a *partisinne* (party spirit), they would not be the cause of any schism or be accused of any sectarian activity. Ironically, such a strongly held view was able to turn a group into a sectarian movement.

While Free Mission Friends resisted a formal union altogether, preferring to be known simply as Christians without any denominational label or structure, Mission Friends such as C. A. Björk, F. M. Johnson, and E. A. Skogsbergh, who led the formation of the Mission Covenant in 1885, held to the legitimacy of a formal union. They did not see the formation of the Mission Covenant as contrary to the alliance principle, but rather as an expression of it. Skogsbergh particularly believed that it was not wrong for congregations to join together formally, declaring: “Different denominations of churches supported Brother Moody’s ministry, and God blessed the work to the salvation of many

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<sup>29</sup> O. C. Grauer, *Fifty Wonderful Years: Missionary Service in Foreign Lands* (Chicago: Scandinavian Alliance Mission, 1940) 11; Leroy C. Scheumann, “The Evangelical Ecumenism of the Evangelical Free Church of America” (Th.M. Thesis, Bethel Theological Seminary, Arden Hills, Minnesota, 1985) 30–44.

<sup>30</sup> *Chicago-Bladet*, April 1, 1881, 1.

<sup>31</sup> Edvard P. Torjesen., “A Study of Fredrik Franson: The Development and Impact of His Ecclesiology, Missiology, and Worldwide Evangelism” (Ph.D. Diss., International College, Los Angeles, California, 1984) 107–110.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 111.

<sup>33</sup> Grauer, *Fifty Wonderful Years: Missionary Service in Foreign Lands*, 13, 33.

<sup>34</sup> Ernst Newman, “Dwight L. Moody och hans inflytande i Sverige,” in *Från skilda tider. Studier tillägnade Hjalmar Holmquist* (Stockholm: Svenska Kyrkans Diakonistyrelses Bokförlag, 1938) 395.

<sup>35</sup> “Referat från mötet i Boone, Ia. 14-19 Okt.” *Chicago-Bladet*, Nov. 25, 1884, 4.

souls. Moody would not have had the success he now has if the denominations had not helped him.”<sup>36</sup> Clearly, Skogsbergh stressed the legitimacy of denominations that cooperated with Moody, believing that Christian unity transcended denominations.

On the other hand, Princell challenged Skogsbergh’s understanding and appealed to Moody’s example. For Princell, the issue was not a unity that transcended denominational differences but a unity that came from setting aside denominational barriers—denominations themselves. Thus, he reacted against the formation of the Mission Covenant, viewing it “like all other denominations”—as “human organizations that hinder God’s work on earth.”<sup>37</sup> However, those in the Mission Covenant did not see it as a human denomination but as a means to carry out God’s work through his people.

In addition to Waldenström, Okerstein, Princell, Martenson, Franson, and Skogsbergh, Nathan Söderblom was impacted by Moody’s evangelical ecumenism, certainly in a different direction. Nonetheless, this illustrated Moody’s broad and lasting appeal to Christian unity. Although Söderblom was ordained in the Church of Sweden, and in 1914 was elected Archbishop of Sweden, earlier in life he was active with Mission Friends and with Studentmissionsföreningen (the Student Missionary Union) in Uppsala. For this reason, Ernst Newman described Söderblom as “*den unge missionvännan* (the young mission friend) and YMCA member who among hundreds of young men gathered at Northfield from various parts of the world and confessions.”<sup>38</sup>

Throughout Söderblom’s life, he referred to the impression that Moody had made on him at Northfield.<sup>39</sup> Clearly, Moody’s vision of unity for Christ’s church was the hallmark that most affected the future archbishop. Söderblom commented that he did not know whether Moody was a Presbyterian, or belonged to some other group of the evangelical family. When he learned that Moody was a Congregationalist, he considered all that he had gleaned from him a blessing since he had not known whether he was “a Lutheran or a Baptist or a Presbyterian or an Episcopalian or a Methodist or a Disciple or something else.”<sup>40</sup>

Moody’s Northfield conference in 1890 was a model of evangelical ecumenism which Söderblom drew upon during his international, ecumenical activities such as the Stockholm Conference in 1925 that brought together Anglican, Protestant, and Orthodox Christians, a broader ecumenism than Protestants or evangelicals.<sup>41</sup> In Söderblom’s book *Christian Fellowship* published in 1923, he said:

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<sup>36</sup> *Chicago-Bladet*, May 5, 1885, 1.

<sup>37</sup> *Minneapolis Weckoblad*, July 25, 1894, 1.

<sup>38</sup> Newman, “Dwight L. Moody och hans inflytande i Sverige,” in *Från skilda tider*, 402.

<sup>39</sup> Sven-Erik Brodd, “A Swedish Archbishop between American and German Lutheranism: American Influences on the Ecumenical Strategies of Nathan Söderblom,” in *American Religious Influences in Sweden*, Scott E. Erickson, ed. (*Tro & Tanke*, 1996) 103.

<sup>40</sup> Kajsa Ahlstrand, “Nathan Söderblom and American Fundamentalism” in Anders Jarlert, ed., *Arkiv, Fakultet, Kyrka. Festskrift till Ingmar Brohed* (Lund: Lunds Universitets Kyrkohistoriska Arkiv, 2004) 316. Moody had belonged to Congregational churches but formed Chicago Avenue Church as an independent church with a congregational form of government. He was never ordained or active with Congregationalists as a denomination, and thus did not promote Congregationalists as a denomination.

<sup>41</sup> See Nathan Söderblom, *Kristenhetens möte i Stockholm, augusti nittonhundratjugufem. Historik, aktstycken, grundtankar, personligheter, eftermäle* (Stockholm: Svenska Kyrkans Diakonistyrelses Bokförlag, 1926).

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Consequently the unity of the disciples of Christ does not coincide with any existing body or communion in Christendom, neither the largest nor the smallest, in which a sectarian spirit separates it from others. . . . No organization can be equivalent to the true Church of Christ. Only faith, which sees the invisible with the unclouded eye of truth, is aware that it belongs to one flock which Christ has redeemed and which one day shall be assembled from all peoples and nations.<sup>42</sup>

Clearly, the most impressionable mark of Moody's influence on Söderblom was evangelical ecumenism, or as Söderblom preferred to say "evangelical catholicity."<sup>43</sup> Nevertheless, Söderblom, along with others like John R. Mott, went beyond Moody's alliance ideal to include all expressions of the Christian faith in the widening ecumenical movement.<sup>44</sup> Unlike Moody's *evangelical* ecumenism, the *modern* ecumenical movement that flowed out of the Edinburgh conference of 1910 was inter-denominational, not non-denominational. Rather than calling participants to set aside denominational labels, the modern movement operated on the principle that participants represented denominations. As the ecumenical circle widened, Moody's followers in American fundamentalism such as R. A. Torrey separated from the broader movement, motivated also by the fundamentalist-modernist controversy over the Bible.<sup>45</sup> Certainly, Moody's ecumenism launched a trajectory that took two paths, the broader ecumenism that embraced all of Christendom including Protestant, Roman, and Orthodox churches, and the narrow among evangelicals or fundamentalists.

### **New Premillennialism**

The second distinguishing mark of Moody's influence among Swedes was new premillennialism. Moody was a premillennialist, namely, he believed that Christ would reign on earth for a thousand years following his Second Coming.<sup>46</sup> Moody also held that Christ's return was imminent, and preached an "any-moment, pre-tribulational rapture" of the church.<sup>47</sup> More than any other person of his day, Moody popularized the new

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<sup>42</sup> Nathan Söderblom, *Christian Fellowship or The United Life and Work of Christendom* (New York, Chicago, London, Edinburgh: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1923) 11–15. Söderblom continued: "We ought not, therefore, to say the Church of England, the Church of France, the Church of Sweden, not the Anglican, the Lutheran, the Wesleyan, the Roman, the Greek Church, as if there were several Churches. We ought rather to say the Church in England, in Germany, in Sweden, in Rome, just as the New Testament speaks of the Church in Jerusalem, in Corinth, in Smyrna, in Philadelphia. And while by this we must imply all true believers in that place, we still look toward the time when they shall be more visibly one."

<sup>43</sup> Hans Åkerberg, *Omvändelse och kamp. En empirisk religionspsykologisk undersökning av den unge Nathan Söderbloms religiösa utveckling 1866–1894* (Lund: Studentlitteratur, 1975) 198. Curtis posits: "Söderblom liked to view Martin Luther as the prototype of an evangelical catholic. Luther's was always an essentially ecumenical vision in which sectarian and schismatic tendencies have no abiding and rightful place." Charles J. Curtis, *Söderblom: Ecumenical Pioneer* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1967) 74.

<sup>44</sup> Eric W. Gritsch, *A History of Lutheranism* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2002) 217–221

<sup>45</sup> Kjell O. Lejon, *Till kristendoms försvar. Om John Gresham Machen och hans kamp mot liberalteologin* (Skellefteå: Artos bokförlag, 2002) 62.

<sup>46</sup> D. L. Moody, "Kristi andra tillkommelse," in *Se, Han Kommer! Biblens lära om Kristi andra tillkommelse*, D. L. Moody, Georg Müller, et. al. (Uppsala: J. A. Lindblads förlag, 1893) 21–23.

<sup>47</sup> D. W. Bebbington, "Moody as a Transatlantic Evangelical," in *Mr Moody and the Evangelical Tradition*, George, ed., 84.

premillennial view.<sup>48</sup> His contact with Plymouth Brethren had led him toward this teaching, a form of John Nelson Darby's new premillennialism. This does not imply that Moody was a strict dispensationalist or that he followed Darby at every point.<sup>49</sup> Moody held merely to a moderate form of the new premillennial doctrine, and was careful to avoid a partisan spirit that characterized some dispensationalists.<sup>50</sup>

Moody's sermons contained only general affirmations of new premillennialism, preaching that believers should expect the coming of Christ to be sudden, unexpected, and secret, and that Christ would come to take his bride, the Church, out of the world before the tribulation, which would precede his glorious coming in judgment.<sup>51</sup> Nevertheless, Moody did not present an elaborate scheme or detailed chronology of end-time events like others in his Darbyite following.

Moody's Northfield conferences regularly featured addresses on new premillennialism. At the 1885 conference, he conceded, however, that equally good men held to premillennial as well as postmillennial views.<sup>52</sup> Nonetheless, he stated that he drew comfort personally from the thought of Christ's premillennial return. When Nathaniel West, a former proponent of premillennialism questioned the doctrine of an "any-moment, pre-tribulational rapture" and attacked this view of Christ's return, Moody responded by saying: "When his coming will be, we don't know. The true attitude of every child of God is just to be waiting and watching."<sup>53</sup>

Mission Friends in Sweden like Peter Fjellstedt, Erik Nyström, and P. P. Waldenström held to historic forms of premillennialism taught by early church fathers and revived by Lutheran pietists in Germany and Sweden.<sup>54</sup> For Mission Friends who already held to a premillennial view, the doctrine of Christ's one thousand-year reign on earth after his Second Coming was not new. However, the Darbyite teaching of an "any-moment, pre-tribulational rapture" was new.

In contrast, the traditional Lutheran view known as amillennialism did not hold to a millennium of Christ's reign on earth following his return. Article Seventeen of the

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<sup>48</sup> Derek J. Tidball, *Who Are the Evangelicals? Tracing the Roots of Today's Movements* (London: Marshall Pickering, 1994) 64, 143.

<sup>49</sup> Bebbington, "Moody as a Transatlantic Evangelical," in *Mr Moody and the Evangelical Tradition*, George, ed., 84. Bebbington further remarks that Moody referred to only three dispensations rather than seven espoused by Darbyites.

<sup>50</sup> Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture*, 38.

<sup>51</sup> Stanley N. Gundry, "Demythologizing Moody," in *Mr Moody and the Evangelical Tradition*, George, ed., 23–24; Hans Andreasson, *Liv och rörelse. Svenska missionskyrkans historia och identitet* (Stockholm: Verbum, 2007) 325.

<sup>52</sup> *Christian*, Sept. 17, 1885, 23–24, cited in David W. Bebbington, *The Dominance of Evangelicalism: The Age of Spurgeon and Moody* (Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 2005) 195.

<sup>53</sup> Gundry, "Demythologizing Moody," in *Mr Moody and the Evangelical Tradition*, George, ed., 24–25. Gundry notes that West drew upon the work of Samuel P. Tregelles, a notable Old Testament scholar and leader among the Plymouth Brethren.

<sup>54</sup> Göran Gunner, *När tiden tar slut. Motivförskjutningar i frikyrklig apokalyptisk tolkning av det judiska folket och staten Israel* (Uppsala: Svenska institutet för missionsforskning, 1996) 61–65. Fjellstedt was among the "new line of Biblicism" influenced by J. A. Bengel and J. T. Beck. Anders Jarlert, *Sveriges kyrkohistoria, 6. Romantikens och liberalismens tid* (Stockholm: Verbum, 2001) 114. For Bengel see: Hermann Ehmer, "Johann Albrecht Bengel (1687–1752)" in *The Pietist Theologians: An Introduction to Theology in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, Carter Lindberg, ed. (Malden, Mass.: Blackwell Publishing, 2005) 224–238; and Lawrence W. Snyder, "The Pietist Millennium: Eschatology and the Hope for Spiritual Renewal" (M.A. Thesis, Wheaton College, Wheaton, Illinois, 1985) 21–49.

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Augsburg Confession stated: "at the Consummation of the World, Christ shall appear for judgment and shall raise up all the dead; He shall give to the godly and elect eternal life and everlasting joys, but ungodly men and the devils He shall condemn to be tormented without end."<sup>55</sup> The Confession further stated that Lutherans condemned those who were "now spreading certain Jewish opinions that, before the resurrection of the dead, the godly shall take possession of the kingdom of the world, the ungodly being everywhere suppressed."<sup>56</sup> This statement rejected premillennialism, especially any speculations or theological constructions by those "absorbed in calculations as to time and prophecies relating to the nature of the coming of Christ."<sup>57</sup> However, premillennialism was held by some German and Swedish Lutherans who followed forms of higher and lower pietism.<sup>58</sup>

For Mission Friends who held to premillennialism in its historic form, this was already a point where they disagreed with the Augsburg Confession, at least a more literal interpretation. This was clear at the conference on Last Things held at Uppsala in 1882.<sup>59</sup> In the final session on the millennium, G. Pettersson stated: "I think we all understand what is meant by the thousand-year kingdom. The same idea is found in a number of places in God's Word, though by different names. In Acts 3:20, when Peter says that 'the time comes for God to restore everything,' he is speaking about the thousand-year kingdom."<sup>60</sup> Pettersson further described the millennial kingdom, saying:

We see that in God's Holy Word, particularly in the prophetic portions, that the earth during this time will be a glorious, blessed state, quite opposite from this present time which the Apostle Paul calls "the present evil age." In the coming age, the Lord's faithful, according to the revealed word, will reign with Christ for one thousand years. . . . We shall then with resurrected, glorified bodies be seated with Jesus on his throne and reign with him.<sup>61</sup>

G. S. Blomquist gave his description of the millennial kingdom saying that during this time Satan is bound, namely, "he is in his prison for one thousand years."<sup>62</sup> Franson then described the millennium as a time when "the knowledge of the Lord shall spread over the earth."<sup>63</sup> Franson stated: "Yes, as the first Adam once ruled the earth, so too the second Adam shall rule with his Eve, for when the Lord is revealed, 'we shall be revealed

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<sup>55</sup> Conrad Bergendoff, *The Making and Meaning of the Augsburg Confession* (Rock Island: Augustana Book Concern, 1930) 76.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, 77–78. C. John Weborg notes that Spener and Bengel held that Article 17 "forbade only a false belief in an earthly kingdom of Christ, a millennium that humans would build." Rather, God would build it. C. John Weborg, "Pietism: Theology in Service of the Living toward God," in *The Variety of American Evangelicalism*, Donald W. Dayton and Robert K. Johnston, eds. (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1991) 169.

<sup>58</sup> See Lawrence R. Rast Jr., "Pietism and Mission: Lutheran Millennialism in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries," *Concordia Theological Quarterly* 64, 4 (Oct. 2000) 295–318; and Conrad Emil Lindberg, *Christian Dogmatics and Notes on the History of the Dogma* (Rock Island: Augustana Book Concern, 1922) 528–540.

<sup>59</sup> "Frågor att behandla vid konferensen i Upsala missionhus," *Göteborgs Weckoblad*, June 22, 1882, 3.

<sup>60</sup> *Redogörelse för diskussionen rörande de yttersta tingens vid konferensen i Upsala, den 2–4 Juli, 1882* (Stockholm: A. L. Normans Förlags-Expedition, 1882) 326.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, 326–327.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, 329.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, 331.

with him.’ ... We have often prayed, ‘Thy kingdom come’ but we cannot say yet that the full answer to this prayer has come, but it will come when this glorious time breaks forth.”<sup>64</sup> Franson, was quick to point out, too, the unity among premillennialists despite their differences, saying: “Although we may have various interpretations regarding the order of events that will usher in this glorious time, we nevertheless agree that it will be a blessed time.”<sup>65</sup>

In America, while this teaching was never a major controversy, some pastors of the Augustana Synod were reprimanded for preaching premillennial doctrines.<sup>66</sup> Hugo Söderström notes the reason why premillennialism was rejected, saying: “Since Chiliasm was found among the American revivalists, the Synod had another reason for rejecting it. For the Augustana Synod, although it had close connections with Swedish revivalism, tended to consider American revival movements dangerous for the spiritual life.”<sup>67</sup> Despite this view of the Augustana Synod, Mission Friends who held to premillennialism—either its historic or new premillennial forms—questioned the authority of the Augsburg Confession in light of scripture.<sup>68</sup>

Some preachers within the Mission Covenant like Skogsbergh adopted the new premillennial view.<sup>69</sup> Free Mission Friends such as Franson, Martenson, Princell, August Davis, and Loth Lindquist adopted new premillennialism.<sup>70</sup> One source described how Franson’s view of an “any-moment, pre-tribulational rapture” left a deep impression on Free churches, saying:

Missionary F. Franson’s prominence among them was epochal. His zeal for the salvation of sinners, his ardent prayer life, his fiery exhortations to search the Bible and in particular to study its prophecies, for which he organized the Prophetic Conference on Chicago’s north side in 1881, was a powerful example. All of this came from this one man, sanctified by God, who urged others to follow after him. And he won a multitude of followers within the *fria* (Free) churches. In particular, he possessed a general insight about the question of Jesus’ coming “to take away his bride” or “to rapture his church”; namely, that the Scriptures plainly teach that this will take place before the time called “a day of vengeance of our God,” and “the day of the Lord’s wrath,” the great distress and tribulation associated with the Antichrist.<sup>71</sup>

Moreover, Franson held that Christ’s millennial reign on earth would finally bring God’s church—Christ’s body—into full harmony and cooperation. He declared: “Christ

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<sup>64</sup> Ibid.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid.

<sup>66</sup> Hugo Söderström, *Confession and Cooperation: The Policy of the Augustana Synod in Confessional Matters and the Synod’s Relations with Other Churches up to the Beginning of the Twentieth Century* (Lund: Gleerup Bokförlag, 1973) 144.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid., 145–146.

<sup>68</sup> While Lutheran synods called for a position paper on chiliasm (millennialism), pulpit fellowship, altar fellowship, and secret societies, the General Council only responded to the questions of pulpit and altar fellowship in 1875 in the Galesburg Rule. Gritsch, *A History of Lutheranism*, 192.

<sup>69</sup> Philip J. Anderson, “The Covenant and the American Challenge,” in *Amicus Dei: Essays on Faith and Friendship*, Philip J. Anderson, ed. (Chicago: Covenant Publications, 1988) 130.

<sup>70</sup> Arnold T. Olson, *This We Believe: The Background and Exposition of the Doctrinal Statement of the Evangelical Free Church of America* (Minneapolis: Free Church Publications, 1961) 16.

<sup>71</sup> *Minnesskrift. Utgiven med anledning af Svenska Evangeliska Frikyrkans i Amerika trettioårsjubileum i Rockford, Ill. 10-14 juni, 1914* (Minneapolis: Larson, 1914) 22.

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(the Head) and his church (the body) will then together constitute the perfect humanity—the heavenly ruler over the inhabitants of the earth.”<sup>72</sup> This thought also encouraged Franson in his ecumenical efforts. He continued: “But if it is true that all believers will soon become one, and that they will, in fact, show themselves as a single body—and if it is true that in the end, this divine decree will be realized, should this not only make believers marvel but also lead them to understand and seek every means possible to approach this state whenever and wherever possible?”<sup>73</sup> In his book *Himlauret, eller det profetiska ordet* (The Heavenly Clock, or the Prophetic Word), Franson set forth his conclusions and arguments that the last days were near. Like his scheme from the Chicago Prophetic Conference, he showed how world history would progress until its end.<sup>74</sup>

Franson, more than any other Swede in America and Sweden, promoted the new premillennial view. Although he went beyond Moody's basic premillennial teaching and followed others such as William J. Erdman, George C. Needham, and William E. Blackstone, he drew inspiration from Moody to preach Christ's any-moment, pre-tribulational rapture and thousand-year reign on earth. Franson's sermons and books fanned the eschatological flames among Mission Friends at the end of the nineteenth century, and influenced others such as John Ongman of Örebromissionen in Sweden.<sup>75</sup>

#### **After-Meetings in Mass Evangelism**

The third distinguishing mark of Moody's influence among Swedes was the use of after-meetings in mass evangelism. When Moody finished his evangelistic sermons, he invited those who were burdened with their sins to come to the “inquiry room” for the “after-meeting.”<sup>76</sup> In this meeting, inquirers or seekers of salvation received personal counsel from Christian workers.<sup>77</sup> Even though Moody's meetings were designed to reach large gatherings of people, he focused on “personal work,” stressing that

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<sup>72</sup> *Minneapolis Weckoblad*, Mar. 24, 1896, 1.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.* Franson also saw Jesus' high priestly prayer (“that they may be one”) and Jesus' atoning death on Golgotha (“for the scattered children of God, to bring them together and make them one” John 11:51,52) to have the same goal in view, namely, the unity of believers.

<sup>74</sup> Bexell, *Sveriges kyrkohistoria, 7. Folkväckelsens och kyrkoförnyelsens tid*, 247–248. See Fredrik Franson, *Himlauret, eller det profetiska ordet* (Chicago: Chicago-Bladets förlag, 1898). The chapters of the book were: Judgment Day and How to Prepare for It; Awake! Awaken!; The Conquest of the Earth Begins; The 70 Weeks of Years, The Conquest of the Earth Continues; The Thousand Years; The New Jerusalem; After the Thousand Years; and When Will Christ Come?

<sup>75</sup> Göran Gunner, “Fredrik Franson, American Influences, and Radical Apocalyptic Teachings,” *American Religious Influences in Sweden*, Scott E. Erickson, ed., (*Tro & Tanke* 5, 1996) 149; Bexell, *Sveriges kyrkohistoria, 7. Folkväckelsens och kyrkoförnyelsens tid*, 246. Bexell further notes: “Many readers believed that Christ's return would happen on Easter, 1898. People said goodbye to relatives and friends and clothed themselves in white clothing. It happened that on the eve of Easter they gathered in a church yard in order to witness Christ's return, and along with those who were resurrected from their graves, they too would be snatched up to meet Christ in the air (1 Thes. 4:16, 17).”

<sup>76</sup> William G. McLoughlin, *Modern Revivalism: Charles Finney to Billy Graham* (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1959) 238.

<sup>77</sup> Bebbington, *The Dominance of Evangelicalism*, 46; Bebbington, “Moody as a Transatlantic Evangelical,” in *Mr Moody and the Evangelical Tradition*, George, ed., 82.

evangelistic work began with preaching to the masses but the more important activity was “personal work.”<sup>78</sup>

In order to prepare Christian workers, Moody provided basic training courses for volunteers. He taught them to take time with each person, to listen carefully, to look each seeker in the eye, to explain the gospel from the Bible, to pray with the inquirer, and to encourage new converts to attend a church they trusted.<sup>79</sup> Sometimes Moody would move about during the after-meeting, assisting workers and speaking with inquirers who were hesitant to give their souls to God.

Moody’s use of the after-meeting in mass evangelism was considered his greatest innovation.<sup>80</sup> Although others such as Charles G. Finney had invited sinners to come to the “mourners’ bench,” Moody’s “inquiry room” was new and different.<sup>81</sup> The inquiry room was a quiet and personal setting where “anxious souls” could come for information, counsel, and prayer.<sup>82</sup> Moody did not want people to respond under pressure, but sought genuine conversions. Thus, after-meetings became his trademark and a popular feature of the new American evangelicalism. Lewis A. Drummond notes: “This procedure, or something closely akin to it, became standard for revivalism in America, and in much of the evangelical world beyond as well.”<sup>83</sup> An example of the spread of the after-meeting was when Andrew Murray returned to South Africa where he introduced the after-meeting on Moody’s model and soon encountered resistance from his “more inhibited colleagues in the Dutch Reformed Church.”<sup>84</sup>

In Sweden, Fredrik Franson was the first to introduce after-meetings, where he, too, met resistance. Nonetheless, he believed that after-meetings were a Biblical means for conversion, not simply an American method.<sup>85</sup> Franson considered after-meetings as a way to draw souls to Christ before his imminent return.<sup>86</sup> He proclaimed: “‘The Bridegroom comes!’ is the cry. Are you prepared? And are your relatives prepared to

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<sup>78</sup> Lyle W. Dorsett, “D. L. Moody: More than an Evangelist,” in *Mr Moody and the Evangelical Tradition*, George, ed., 32.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, 33–34.

<sup>80</sup> Gundry, “Demythologizing Moody,” in *Mr Moody and the Evangelical Tradition*, George, ed., 19.

<sup>81</sup> Dorsett, “D. L. Moody: More than an Evangelist,” in *Mr Moody and the Evangelical Tradition*, George, ed., 32. Moody rejected the idea that using right techniques would produce revival.

<sup>82</sup> Stanley N. Gundry, “Demythologizing Moody,” in *Mr Moody and the Evangelical Tradition*, George, ed., 19–20. There is no evidence that Moody had any direct or indirect relationship with Finney, yet Finney lived until 1875.

<sup>83</sup> Lewis A. Drummond, “D. L. Moody and Revivalism,” in *Mr Moody and the Evangelical Tradition*, George, ed., 100–101.

<sup>84</sup> Bebbington, *The Dominance of Evangelicalism*, 50.

<sup>85</sup> Fredrik Franson, *Eftermötöna i skriftens ljus*, trans. from German by Nelly Hall (Karlshamn: Nya Tryckeri Bolaget, 1888) 39. The earliest description of Moody’s after-meeting was given by James Lumsden, *Teologisk tidskrift* (1874) 186; O. C. Grauer noted that Franson was “not an imitator, except as he caught and absorbed the spirit of great men like Dwight L. Moody, Hudson Taylor, George Mueller, and others, who were exceptional in making faith the basis of personal experience and public service.” O. C. Grauer, *Fredrik Franson: Founder of the Scandinavian Alliance Mission of North America* (Chicago: Scandinavian Alliance Mission, n.d.) 9, 218.

<sup>86</sup> Jon P. DePriest notes: “In this adaptation, Franson may have been a bit impatient, employing use of the ‘after-meeting’ but not always at the end of the service.” Jon P. DePriest, “Send the Light: TEAM and the Evangelical Mission, 1890-1975” (Ph.D. Diss., Claremont Graduate University, Claremont, California, 2001) 16.



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meet him? These are questions that this cry calls forth.”<sup>87</sup> For Franson, after-meetings were a means to draw in the net of conversion.

The use of after-meetings by Mission Friends illustrated the shift from the earlier practice where colporteurs distributed literature, and read or spoke at conventicle meetings, to a later practice where lay evangelists gathered masses of people together for revival meetings, followed by an after-meeting.<sup>88</sup> In other words, the conventicle gave way to the large revival service.<sup>89</sup> This shift toward mass evangelism was illustrated in a report in *Missions-Wännen's* in 1894 when Skogsbergh visited Sweden, referring to him as “‘den svenske Moody’ not merely because of his likeness to Moody’s style of preaching but also because he attracted such large crowds of listeners.”<sup>90</sup> Earlier in Minneapolis, Skogsbergh had designed the Swedish Mission Tabernacle with a room behind the pulpit designated for the after-meeting.<sup>91</sup>

Mission Friends in Sweden adopted Moody’s style of preaching too as Charodotes Meurling of Kristdala described preachers of Jönköpings Missionsförening. Meurling said that these preachers “had not been stifled by any preacher-school education that made them imitators of the leading men of these schools.”<sup>92</sup> Rather, he observed: “If the influence occurred, it arose from the same sources, i.e., from Rosenius, Palmberg, and the American revival preacher Moody.”<sup>93</sup> This included the use of after-meetings after Moody’s, and later Franson’s model. Sven Kårbrant notes that Franson brought Moody’s American revivalism to Sweden, a type of Christianity that “complemented the heritage of the Swedish folk revival.”<sup>94</sup> Franson’s preaching on Jesus’ imminent return, holiness, healing, and his use of methods such as the after-meeting and personal soul-winning “passed easily into the revival atmosphere where Helgelseförbundet was born,” and gave a certain direction to the work.<sup>95</sup>

In America, the use of after-meetings by Swedes led *Minneapolis Weckoblad* to publish an article as to their proper use, saying:

During revival times, it is common to hold after-meetings in order to converse with the anxious. This practice is based on the need to apply the evangelical truth personally. In public preaching, it is not always possible to discern the spiritual condition of each soul. But at the after-meeting, the anxious person can express his concerns, doubts, difficulties

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<sup>87</sup> Franson, *Eftermötene i skriftens ljus*, 5.

<sup>88</sup> *Österns Weckoblad*, Sept. 29, 1897, 2; Oct. 20, 1897, 2.

<sup>89</sup> Philip J. Anderson, *A Precious Heritage: A Century of Mission in the Northwest, 1884–1984* (Minneapolis: The Northwest Conference of the Evangelical Covenant Church, 1984) 36.

<sup>90</sup> *Missions-Wännen*, Sept. 12, 1894, 8.

<sup>91</sup> In 1894, when Skogsbergh visited Skövde, after his message and prayer, he led an after-meeting. *Svenska Morgonbladet*, Aug. 1, 1894, 3.

<sup>92</sup> *Minneapolis Weckoblad*, Mar. 16, 1892, 1.

<sup>93</sup> Göran Åberg, *Enhet och frihet: Studier i Jönköpings Missionsförenings historia med särskilt beaktande av organisationens förhållande till Svenska Kyrkan, Evangeliska Fosterlands-stiftelsen och Svenska Missionförbundet* (Lund: CWK Gleerup Bokförlag, 1972) 56.

<sup>94</sup> Sven Kårbrant, ed., *Ett sekel i Herrens tjänst. En jubileumsbok om Helgelseförbundet 1887-1987* (Kumla: HF, 1987) 36.

<sup>95</sup> Moody’s influence was demonstrated in the preaching of Frank Mangs (1897–1994), originally from Yttermark, Finland. Mangs was a revival preacher in Sweden, Norway, Finland and America who read Moody’s works, cited his sermons, and drew inspiration from him posthumously, as well as from Gypsy Smith, A. B. Simpson and R. A. Torrey. See Runar Eldebo, *Den ensamma tron. En studie i Frank Mangs predikan* (Örebro: Libris ; Stockholm: Teologiska högsk., 1997) 55, 61, 173, 250, 307.

as well as receive counsel and information that is necessary. Therefore, after-meetings are both good and Christian. However, it is also necessary that they be conducted in manner that is good and Christian. Many with good intentions and eagerness have failed in their Christian message and spirit by the way they have gone about them. First of all, conversations should show respect. It is not respectful to address a person with the bold authority of a policeman, as if the person were guilty and must give an account for his condition. It is not respectful for a dozen people to hover around when only two people should be engaged in the conversation. Neither should anyone be forced into a spiritual conversation if he is unwilling to talk. When you meet a person like this, it is best to be kind, say a few brief words, and then leave him to God. Avoid debating since it only leads to hardening of the heart. Speak to the anxious with politeness and consideration. Listen in an open and humble manner and do not act rudely or talk down in a condescending manner. . . . It is very inconsiderate to say publicly what has taken place in the personal conversation.<sup>96</sup>

In addition to these instructions, Franson advised that if a preacher was not able to touch the listeners' hearts so that they came to realize their lost condition and desired God's grace, then the preacher should not proceed with an after-meeting since it would yield little if any results. Franson believed that after-meetings were for those already "anxious" about their spiritual condition. However, he believed that it was possible for some who were indifferent during the after-meeting "to become anxious and find peace."<sup>97</sup> While Franson promoted after-meetings, Waldenström resisted the practice, disagreeing with Franson who "in the spirit of Moody from Chicago" went around asking the listeners "if they were saved or wished to yield themselves to God."<sup>98</sup> Waldenström believed that this was foreign to the nature of revival.

### Independent Congregationalism

The fourth distinguishing mark of Moody's influence among Swedes was independent congregationalism. Although Moody's irenic spirit brought Protestant pastors and churches from different denominations together to cooperate in evangelistic meetings, the church that he established—Chicago Avenue Church, known popularly as "Moody's Church"—was an independent, non-sectarian church with a congregational form of government.<sup>99</sup> This church promoted Moody-style evangelism and represented a non-liturgical style of worship and practice.

Chicago Avenue Church began in 1863, when Moody began to raise funds to erect the Illinois Street chapel with a seating capacity for 1,500 people. At the time, he invited city pastors and prominent laymen to discuss the organization of a church for the three hundred adults converted under his ministry.<sup>100</sup> The church began February 28,

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<sup>96</sup> "Om samtal wid eftermöten," *Minneapolis Weckoblad*, Feb. 27, 1889, 3.

<sup>97</sup> Franson, *Eftermötene i skriftens ljus*, 7.

<sup>98</sup> Andreasson, *Liv och rörelse*, 337.

<sup>99</sup> Stanley N. Gundry states: "Moody's statements about the Church must always be seen from the combined perspectives of his personal Congregationalism, his interdenominational evangelism, and the general framework of voluntaristic American denominationalism." Gundry, *Love Them In*, 162.

<sup>100</sup> W. H. Daniels, *D. L. Moody and His Work*, 105; W. H. Daniels, *Guds verk i Amerika och England genom Moody och Sankey* (Stockholm: C.A.V. Lundholm, 1876) 79–80.

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1864, as the Illinois Street Church, organized as a “congregation of believers.”<sup>101</sup> The church increased in number and interest, and soon became one of the most active churches in the city.<sup>102</sup> Although Moody did not establish other congregations, Illinois Street Church—later called the North Side Tabernacle after the Great Chicago Fire, and then Chicago Avenue Church, and after his death renamed Moody Memorial Church—served as a model for other churches in Chicago and around the world.

In the early days, Moody preached Sunday evenings until J. H. Harwood was called as pastor in 1866. Harwood served in this role until 1869 during which time Moody served as a “deacon” although his role was practically that of the pastor.<sup>103</sup> Moody's influence continued even after he left Chicago. Lyle W. Dorsett notes:

Likewise, even though he and Emma made their move from Chicago permanently by 1876, Moody's correspondence makes perfectly clear that he intended to run the church from Northfield or any city where he happened to be preaching. His letters are replete with gratuitous advice about how to manage finances or whom to hire for different positions and with announcements of men he was sending out to preach at the church for a week or two. He also sent directions on how to conduct the Sunday schools, as well as how to “go after the Sweeds [sic] or any foreign parents.”<sup>104</sup>

Moody's spontaneous invitation to Waldenström when visiting Northfield was an example of how Moody arranged for preachers to fill the pulpit at Chicago Avenue Church, although his invitation to Waldenström never materialized.<sup>105</sup>

While Moody's evangelical ecumenism impacted people outside Chicago, those in the Windy City were especially affected by Chicago Avenue Church's non-denominational and congregational form, as well as by its pastors and their new premillennial teaching. Moody commended such preachers as William J. Erdman, George C. Needham, Charles A. Blanchard, and Reuben A. Torrey. Fleming H. Revell—Moody's brother-in-law, publisher, and executive committee member at Chicago Avenue Church—further maintained a voice for Moody and his interests.<sup>106</sup>

The principles of organization and government of Chicago Avenue Church specified that the people of the church were “to be known only as Christians, without reference to any denomination.”<sup>107</sup> It was recognized, however, that all others who held and preached the truth also belonged to Christ, and thus members of Chicago Avenue

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<sup>101</sup> Daniels, *D. L. Moody and His Work*, 106.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*, 112–113.

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*, 106; Daniels, *Guds verk i Amerika och England genom Moody och Sankey*, 80.

<sup>104</sup> Lyle W. Dorsett, *A Passion for Souls: The Life of D. L. Moody* (Chicago: Moody Press, 1997) 272.

<sup>105</sup> P. Waldenström, *Genom Norra Amerikas Förenta Stater* (Chicago: The Mission Friends Publishing Co. Förlag, 1890) 187.

<sup>106</sup> This does not imply that Moody and Fleming H. Revell agreed about everything. Lyle W. Dorsett notes that while leaders of Chicago Avenue Church were, no doubt, grateful for book and hymn royalties toward construction and church expenses, they would have become tired of control by Moody, “however well-meaning,” since he was constantly meddling in the programs and disrupting preaching schedules. Dorsett, *A Passion for Souls*, 272.

<sup>107</sup> Daniels, *D. L. Moody and His Work*, 111. The Swedish version stated: “vara känd såsom kristne utan att bära namn of någon kyrkobekänneelse.” Daniels, *Guds verk i Amerika och England genom Moody och Sankey*, 83.

Church were “free to co-operate and unite with them in carrying out the Lord’s work.”<sup>108</sup> W. H. Daniels noted about Moody’s church:

It is a strictly independent organization, asking no authority of men, but abundantly blessed of the Lord. It endeavours to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace; and, with this end in view, everything which could debar from its fellowship any lover of the Lord Jesus Christ has been carefully excluded from its form of discipline and confession of faith.<sup>109</sup>

Thus, “Moody’s Church” was much like Moody himself, “cosmopolitan, catholic, and free.”<sup>110</sup> The church was an independent, revival church, “taking into membership converts of all the evangelical denominations and of none.”<sup>111</sup> Moody was always interested in its activities, and a member of the church until his death.

Regarding modes of baptism, Moody had his own view but avoided any debate on the subject.<sup>112</sup> With his Congregationalist background, he baptized infants while his wife, Emma, was a Baptist.<sup>113</sup> The solution to the matter of baptism at Chicago Avenue Church was two baptismal fonts—one to sprinkle infants and the other to immerse believers. In his sermons on spiritual birth, Moody warned that this was not to be confused with participating in the ordinances or sacraments.<sup>114</sup> He held that ordinances were good, but not a means of salvation, declaring: “Ordinances and salvation are things apart and have nothing to do with the other.”<sup>115</sup>

Moody affirmed the work of local churches too, holding that the church was “the best institution found under heaven.”<sup>116</sup> He elaborated, saying: “I have always been a member of the church... Christ died in order to redeem the church, and everyone who is faithful to him, ought to support it.”<sup>117</sup> Moody knew that the church was the only institution with the message of eternal life, and viewed the local congregation—more pragmatically than theologically—as a place for believers to engage in Christian work.<sup>118</sup> Thus, Chicago Avenue Church stressed lay-ministry, Moody-style evangelism, and temperance work. Moreover, the church with its non-liturgical style of worship sang from Sankey’s *Gospel Hymns and Sacred Songs*, and emphasized conversion through evangelistic messages and after-meetings. Moreover, the pastors did not wear vestments, removing any clergy-laity distinction between them and the people.

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<sup>108</sup> The Swedish version reads: “*de ock känna sig oförhindrade att sammansluta och förena sig med dem i bedrifvandet af vår gemensamma mästars arbete.*” Daniels, *Guds verk i Amerika och England genom Moody och Sankey*, 84.

<sup>109</sup> Daniels, *D. L. Moody and His Work*, 108; Daniels, *Guds verk i Amerika och England genom Moody och Sankey*, 81.

<sup>110</sup> Daniels, *D. L. Moody and His Work*, 120.

<sup>111</sup> Arthur Percy Fitt, *Moody Still Lives: Word Pictures of D. L. Moody* (New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1936) 80.

<sup>112</sup> Gundry, *Love Them In*, 163.

<sup>113</sup> Dorsett, *A Passion for Souls*, 60, 303, 365.

<sup>114</sup> Gundry, *Love Them In*, 163.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.* About sacraments, like ecclesial and eschatological subjects, Moody held relatively simple, general views without probing them deeply.

<sup>116</sup> *Österns Weckoblad*, May 17, 1892, 3.

<sup>117</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>118</sup> Stan Nussbaum, “D. L. Moody and the Church: A Study of the Ecclesiological Implications of Extra-Ecclesiastical Evangelism” (M.A. Thesis, Trinity Evangelical Divinity School, Deerfield, Ill., 1973) 92–93.

### *Distinguishing Marks of Moody's Influence*

Fredrik Franson joined Chicago Avenue Church in 1878 and remained a member his entire life. In 1880, Franson preached among Swedes in Denver where he founded an independent, evangelical church, adopting the pattern of Chicago Avenue Church and following its articles of faith and bylaws exactly.<sup>119</sup> From there he went to Nebraska where he established several independent or free churches.<sup>120</sup> He believed that executive power was in the hands of each congregation, not in the hands of a denomination or synod.<sup>121</sup> Franson further held that every local church could demonstrate unity with all of Christ's churches through cooperative evangelism.

During the 1870s, a controversy between Mission Friends and the Augustana Synod centered on church membership.<sup>122</sup> The issue was whether the Augustana Synod should take conversion or baptism as a basis for church membership. Lars Paul Esbjörn of the Augustana Synod who originally held that only true Christians should be received as members, held later that the new birth happened at baptism, not through conversion at a mature age. He stated: "I have discarded my old concepts (my Methodistic ideas) and trust the Lord to give growth when the gospel is purely and practically preached," reflecting a more traditional Lutheran view.<sup>123</sup>

While the Augustana Synod held that churches were built on the Augsburg Confession and that baptism was the basis for membership, Mission Friends believed that churches were built on conversion through faith in Christ.<sup>124</sup> In 1876, the controversy between Princell and the Augustana Synod surfaced when Princell tried to reorganize Gustavus Adolphus Lutheran Church in New York City as congregation of believers.<sup>125</sup> This matter, along with Princell's disagreement over the Galesburg Rule and the atonement, forced him to leave the Augustana Synod. He soon opposed sectarianism and denominationalism in favor of local, independent congregations that cooperated with one another in home and foreign missions. Princell, along with Franson and Martenson—pioneers of the Free Mission Friends and later the Swedish Evangelical Free Church of America—held fiercely to the ideal of being united in spirit, not in structure, and stood for local church autonomy and evangelical ecumenism.<sup>126</sup> They believed that the most Biblical form of organization was that of the local church, even though at times they went

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<sup>119</sup> Torjesen, "A Study of Fredrik Franson" 102–103; Arnold T. Olson, *Stumbling Toward Maturity* (Minneapolis: Free Church Press, 1981) 81.

<sup>120</sup> E. A. Halleen, W. B. Hallman, M. G. Nelson, and G. A. Young, *Golden Jubilee: Reminiscences of Our Work Under God, Swedish Evangelical Free Church of the U.S.A., 1884–1934* (Minneapolis: Swedish Evangelical Free Church, 1934) 17.

<sup>121</sup> *Chicago-Bladet*, May 23, 1879, 1. Franson and Free Mission Friends who held to congregationalism were not unlike other groups in America who followed generally the Congregationalist principles of Robert Browne who in 1582 rejected the concept of a state church in favor of the "gathered church" principle, and that the local church should be independent and not subject to bishops or magistrates. Carter Lindberg, *The European Reformations* (Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell Publishers, 1996) 328–329. Like other Congregationalists, the Free insisted on independence but this did not prevent the creation of loose fellowships of independent churches for the purposes of fellowship and cooperative mission.

<sup>122</sup> Söderström, *Confession and Cooperation*, 108. A. Kflefbeck, Sven Gustafsson and P. E. Gustafsson regarded the concept of the church as the dividing factor but W. Bredberg and Ernst Newman held that the debate over the atonement caused the division. See Söderström, *Confession and Cooperation*, 131n.

<sup>123</sup> Eric Norelius, *Historia I*, 180 f., cited in Söderström, *Confession and Cooperation*, 109.

<sup>124</sup> Söderström, *Confession and Cooperation*, 114.

<sup>125</sup> Princell, *J. G. Princells levnadsminnen*, 32–37.

<sup>126</sup> Arnold T. Olson, *The Search for Identity* (Minneapolis: Free Church Press, 1980) 76–77.

to an extreme in their denunciation of ecclesial organization, and in their demand for liberty and a return to the practices of the earliest Christians.<sup>127</sup>

At the conclusion of the Free Mission conference at Boone, Iowa, in 1884, eight declarations were adopted. The first defined the church as “an assembly of converted, born again believers who are baptized in Christ, and who reside and live on this earth, and in particular places.”<sup>128</sup> The second statement called for every local church to adopt a polity that had “the same mission, requirements, obligations for membership, etc. neither more nor less than that of Christ’s Church.”<sup>129</sup> The Free Mission Friends preferred a loose organization that made room for all who believed in Christ and accepted the Bible as the Word of God.<sup>130</sup> Rather than forming a union of churches and societies like the Mission Covenant with an ecclesial view that embraced a body larger than a single congregation, Free Mission Friends preferred a loose association of independent churches, an independent organ, *Chicago-Bladet*, and an independent school, Svenska Bibelinstitutet.<sup>131</sup>

Many of the Swedish Free churches were patterned on the model of Chicago Avenue Church in faith and practice, and stressed lay-ministry and Moody-style evangelism.<sup>132</sup> The *Evangelical Beacon* later reported: “The Evangelical Free Church of America owes much of its evangelistic fervor (directly or indirectly) to the influence of Dwight L. Moody. His methods and his preaching greatly influenced men like Frederick Franson, John G. Princell, John Martenson, and others whom we consider founders of this organization to which most of our readers belong.”<sup>133</sup> In worship, the early Free churches were non-liturgical, non-sacramental, and sang from *Sankey’s Sångers* and Swedish revival songbooks.<sup>134</sup> Regarding baptism, both infant and believer baptism were accepted and practiced. Clearly, the influence of Chicago Avenue Church left the deepest and widest impression on the Free more than any other Swedish immigrant group.

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<sup>127</sup> Princell wrote extensively in *Chicago-Bladet* on Biblical ecclesiology in 1885, far surpassing the simple ecclesial views of Moody. Unfortunately, the substance of Princell’s arguments was overshadowed by his few but divisive words against denominations, synods, and eventually the Covenant.

<sup>128</sup> “Referat från mötet i Boone, Ia. d. 14-19 Okt.” *Chicago-Bladet*, Dec. 23, 1884, 1.

<sup>129</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>130</sup> The Swedish Free Church thus became “very cosmopolitan as to its doctrinal makeup.” E. A. Halleen, “History of the Swedish Free Church of America,” in Erik G. Westman, ed., *The Swedish Element in America* (Chicago: Swedish-American Biographical Society, 1931) 219–220.

<sup>131</sup> The Free Mission Friends’ polity—more atomistic than organic—became increasingly difficult to practice, especially in matters of organization, ordination, and discipline of clergy. This led to formation of a ministerial association in 1894, incorporation as a national body in 1908, and ownership of Svenska Bibelinstitutet in 1910.

<sup>132</sup> Olson, *The Search for Identity*, 94.

<sup>133</sup> *The Evangelical Beacon*, Vol. V, no. 10 (Feb. 11, 1936) 2.

<sup>134</sup> *Chicago-Bladet*, Jan. 5, 1886, 7; Mar. 31, 1891, 7; James Monson, “A Study of the Resources of the Hymnody of the Evangelical Free Church of America Before 1900” (B.D. Thesis, Trinity Theological Seminary, Deerfield, Illinois, 1961) 38.

## **Bible Institutes**

The fifth distinguishing mark of Moody's influence among Swedes was Bible courses and institutes.<sup>135</sup> Moody held training courses for Christian workers, and established schools at Northfield and Chicago. The most influential of these was Chicago Bible Institute, renamed Moody Bible Institute after his death. Moody's courses and institutes became models for other institutions.<sup>136</sup> Chicago Bible Institute particularly became a popular pattern for schools that offered instruction without cost to young men and women in Bible, evangelism, and foreign missions.<sup>137</sup>

Moody's courses and institutes were also models for schools established by Mission Friends in America and Sweden. The first, example is Svenska Bibelinstitutet (Swedish Bible Institute) in Chicago, known today as Trinity International University and Trinity Evangelical Divinity School. In 1897, P. J. Elmquist began a training course to equip Swedish students during a ten-week course. Classes were taught without cost by Elmquist, Princell, and Axel Nordin at the Oak Street Free Mission.<sup>138</sup> The school began as "a Swedish, non-sectarian Bible institute" where doors were open to all young men and women who believed in Jesus and "possessed gifts to go out as preachers, evangelists, and missionaries."<sup>139</sup> In 1910, the school affiliated with the Swedish Evangelical Free Church of America, which had incorporated in 1908.<sup>140</sup> Clearly, the Free followed the pattern of Moody Bible Institute and the American Bible school movement that led the movement toward American fundamentalism.<sup>141</sup>

Fredrik Franson utilized Moody's program for equipping young men and women in the Bible and evangelism. In 1884, he held courses in Västerås, Jönköping, and Malmö, as well as other parts of Sweden. Like Moody, his courses were non-sectarian. According to the model of Jesus and his disciples in Matthew 10, Franson sent students out two-by-two as evangelists, working alongside colporteurs and preachers in Sweden's "free revival."<sup>142</sup> From these courses, Bible schools developed, often in connection with

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<sup>135</sup> Karl Jäder, *En Världsväckare. D. L. Moodys livsverk och inflytande* (Stockholm: Harrier, 1937) 11.

<sup>136</sup> William R. Moody observed: "In further testimony to the practical nature of his ideas as embodied in the Institute, it is only necessary to state that institutions on precisely similar lines have sprung up in various parts of the land. Toronto, Canada, and Glasgow, Scotland, sent representatives to Chicago to study the institution; and now both cities have Bible Institutes after Mr. Moody's model." William R. Moody, *The Life of Dwight L. Moody* (Chicago: Fleming H. Revell, 1900) 346.

<sup>137</sup> George M. Marsden, *The Soul of the American University* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995) 358–359.

<sup>138</sup> H. Wilbert Norton, et. al., *The Diamond Jubilee Story of the Evangelical Free Church of America* (Minneapolis: Free Church Publications, 1959) 152. The Free Church's *Minnesskrift* stated that Svenska Bibelinstitutet informally began with the evangelist- and Bible-courses that were arranged by Franson, Princell, Davis, and Elmquist that lasted for 2 or 3 weeks, beginning in 1891. *Minnesskrift. Utgifven med anledning af Svenska Evangeliska Frikyrkans i Amerika trettioårsjubileum*, 356. In 1898, P. J. Elmquist began a ten-week Bible course at the Oak Street Free Mission with twenty-two students from Swedish Free churches. He was soon joined by Princell who became full-time president of the school. Calvin B. Hanson, *The Trinity Story* (Minneapolis: Free Church Press, 1983) 15–18, and David V. Martin, *Trinity International University, 1897-1997* (Deerfield: Trinity International University, 1998) 28, 31.

<sup>139</sup> *Minnesskrift. Utgifven med anledning af Svenska Evangeliska Frikyrkans i Amerika trettioårsjubileum*, 358.

<sup>140</sup> *Ibid.*, 359.

<sup>141</sup> Lejon, *Till kristendoms försvar*, 52–53.

<sup>142</sup> Bexell, *Sveriges kyrkohistoria, 7. Folkväckelsens och kyrkoförnyelsens tid*, 248.

revival meetings.<sup>143</sup> Men such as C. J. Nyvall, who promoted cooperative work among the “free friends” in Sweden, emphasized the joint responsibility of the preacher schools. In regards to schools in Sweden, Ernst Newman noted: “It was likely that Moody’s influence and the school ministry in Northfield had certainly been significant.”<sup>144</sup>

In 1891, John Ongman (1845-1931) began a short course of study in Örebro. Ongman left Sweden in 1868 for America, just four years after his conversion.<sup>145</sup> He became the founding pastor of First Swedish Baptist Church in St. Paul, Minnesota, and then served as pastor of First Swedish Baptist Church of Chicago.<sup>146</sup> In the Windy City, he adopted many of the characteristics of Anglo-American piety found in Moody and Sankey.<sup>147</sup> Their first major revival campaign was held while Ongman was studying at the Baptist Theological Seminary, from 1875 to 1877.<sup>148</sup> Following graduation, Ongman worked as an evangelist among Swedish Baptists in America, and even preached at Chicago Avenue Church, cooperating with J. F. Okerstein.<sup>149</sup> Ongman returned to Sweden in 1890 where he became pastor of Örebro Baptistförsamling (Baptist Congregation).

One of Ongman’s first initiatives at Örebro was to begin a Bible school, a summer course open to Sunday school teachers and preachers of the gospel, male and female—everyone who sensed a calling to receive instruction. His Bible school began on Moody’s model where men and women were trained for revival work. John Dahlberg commented: “Ongman was a new John the Baptist, ‘a man sent from God.’ Here he had found his purpose in life. The good ideas he gleaned in America, he wanted to put into practice here [in Sweden]. He had observed Moody’s Bible schools ... and decided to begin this [activity] in a simple way here in his own homeland.”<sup>150</sup> In the second year, twelve of Ongman’s thirteen students devoted themselves to preaching the gospel.<sup>151</sup>

Besides Moody’s and Franson’s examples, Ongman admired R. A. Torrey who succeeded Moody as president of Chicago Bible Institute. In 1908, Ongman’s Bible courses led to a new venture when evangelists and students asked him to begin a mission school with a longer program of study to train pastors and missionaries. This school is known today as Örebro Missionskola.

Another educator, originally from Vintrosa parish near Örebro, was Gustav Edwards (1874-1948). Edwards later served as president of the Swedish Bible Institute in Chicago. Born as Gustaf Edvard Larsson, he converted to faith as a young man, and in

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<sup>143</sup> Ibid.; *Chicago-Bladet*, Apr. 23, 1889, 3.

<sup>144</sup> Newman, “Dwight L. Moody och hans inflytande i Sverige,” *Från skilda tider*, 392n.

<sup>145</sup> John Magnusson, *John Ongman. En levnadsteckning* (Örebro: Örebro Missionsförenings förlag, 1932) 32.

<sup>146</sup> Originally, the Sunday school of First Swedish Baptist Church in Chicago was under the direction of Moody’s church. Magnusson, *John Ongman*, 53.

<sup>147</sup> John Dahlberg, “En man sänd av Gud,” in *Ongman-Minnen. Personliga minnen från pastor John Ongmans liv och verksamhet* (Örebro Missionsförenings förlag, 1939) 15–16.

<sup>148</sup> Adolf Olson, *A Centenary History: As Related to the Baptist General Conference of America* (Chicago: Baptist Conference Press, 1952) 407. Ongman studied at the Swedish division of the Baptist Union Theological Seminary, directed by J. A. Edgren, housed at the “old” Chicago University. Magnusson, *John Ongman*, 50–51, 53.

<sup>149</sup> *Chicago-Bladet*, Sept. 17, 1880, 5.

<sup>150</sup> Dahlberg, “En man sänd av Gud,” in *Ongman-Minnen*, 18.

<sup>151</sup> Ibid., 14.



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1898 dedicated himself fully to Christ at an after-meeting.<sup>152</sup> As a boy, he heard Franson preach in his hometown, which left an indelible impression upon him.<sup>153</sup> He attended a Bible and evangelist course in 1901 at Torp in Götabor, and was then commissioned as an evangelist with Helgelseförbundet (Holiness Union).<sup>154</sup> In 1904, he left for Shansi in North China, studying briefly beforehand at China Inland Mission's school in London.

After directing Helgelseförbundet's China mission, Edwards traveled in 1910 to Chicago to study at the Swedish Department of Chicago Theological Seminary with Fridolf Risberg. After graduating, Edwards was ordained by the Swedish Evangelical Free Church, and in addition to serving Lake View Free Church, attended classes at the University of Chicago, Moody Bible Institute, and Wheaton College, graduating from Wheaton in 1916.<sup>155</sup>

Following Princell's death in 1915, Edwards became president of the Swedish Bible Institute, assuming this position in 1916.<sup>156</sup> The Swedish Bible Institute affiliated at this same time with Moody Bible Institute as its Swedish Department. This partnership between the Swedish Evangelical Free Church and Moody Bible Institute clearly demonstrated their affinity.<sup>157</sup> Edwards wrote:

In association with the well-known and widely respected Moody Bible Institute, the Free Church's Bible Institute will also begin its fall term, God willing, on September 4 [1919]. Since the day of salvation is before us, and the Lord of the mission calls both sinners and co-workers, we invite those whom the Lord calls to become fishers of men, and whoever senses being drawn to our school, to come *kostnadsfritt* (free of cost) to receive instruction here and thus prepare for the highest calling in life. The Prince of Peace's business is urgent, and moreover pressing. The harvest field that stretches to the ends of the earth is white unto harvest. There is a crying need for workers. The time is short. The Lord is near. Who will be God's ambassador? Great and unparalleled opportunities await here in connection with Moody Bible Institute. ...A spirit of love characterizes the students who come in and go out to all parts of the earth by the hundreds and thousands. There is also an open opportunity here to participate in Christian service, as well as to hear the world's best and most renowned speakers. Every student, after completing studies in the three-year course, receives a diploma from Moody Bible Institute and a diploma from the Free Church school.<sup>158</sup>

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<sup>152</sup> *Chicago-Bladet*, April 25, 1916, 2.

<sup>153</sup> Karl Linge, *Fredrik Franson. En man sänd av Gud* (Uppsala: J. A. Lindblads förlag, 1951) 38–39. Franson took part in the Torp conferences in 1890, 1897, 1899, and 1900. Kårbrant, ed., *Ett sekel i Herrens tjänst*, 36.

<sup>154</sup> *Trons Segrar*, Oct. 1, 1904, 298; Aug. 1, 1948; Sept. 1, 1948, 325; *Minnen och bilder från Svenska Ev. Frikrykans Predikantförenings verksamhet* (Chicago: Svenska Ev. Frikrykans Predikantförening, 1919) 48.

<sup>155</sup> *Chicago-Bladet*, July 6, 1948, 3.

<sup>156</sup> *Chicago-Bladet*, July 6, 1948, 3; Gene A. Getz, *MBI: The Story of Moody Bible Institute* (Chicago: Moody Press, 1969) 82; The Swedish Department opened with one student, but before the close of the term, six students were enrolled. E. A. Halleen, et al., *Golden Jubilee, Reminiscences of Our Work Under God, Swedish Evangelical Free Church of the U.S.A. 1884–1934* (Minneapolis: Swedish Evangelical Free Church, 1934) 270.

<sup>157</sup> *Chicago-Bladet*, June 15, 1915, 7. A decision was made at that time to call A. L. Wedell in Minneapolis to serve as a professor at the Swedish Department of Moody Bible Institute. Edwards began in 1916 and by 1917 was chosen as a permanent teacher and president. *Chicago-Bladet*, June 12, 1917, 4.

<sup>158</sup> *Chicago-Bladet*, July 15, 1919, 5. See also *Chicago-Bladet*, July 3, 1917, 8; Jan. 1, 1924, 5.

The Swedish Department included regular subjects offered at the institute plus courses in English, Swedish language and literature, New Testament Greek, homiletics in the Swedish language, and history.<sup>159</sup> As the department grew, Anna J. Lindgren (1887-1987), a graduate of Detthowska Seminary in Stockholm, was hired as an associate instructor, and later A. L. Wedell joined the Swedish Department faculty.<sup>160</sup> The joint effort with Moody Bible Institute lasted until 1930 when the Swedish Evangelical Free Church purchased its own property and launched a wider field of educational work.<sup>161</sup>

To a lesser degree, the Mission Covenant school led by Skogsbergh and David Nyvall in Minneapolis, and then Chicago, was influenced by Moody Bible Institute. This influence came largely from Skogsbergh's cooperation and friendship with Moody. The school, known today as North Park University and North Park Theological Seminary, began in the fall of 1894 and has maintained informal contact with Moody Bible Institute through faculty and students.<sup>162</sup>

### Sankey's Songs

The sixth distinguishing mark of Moody's and Sankey's influence among Swedes was Sankey's songs. Certainly, the Moody-Sankey partnership was so closely tied that the influence of each man cannot be separated from the other. Together, their stream of influence flowed in the same directions, phenomena moving in the same circles, affecting Swedes who read Moody's sermons and sang Sankey's songs. Thus, the "Moody and Sankey Gospel Songs" are a further distinguishing mark of Moody's influence among Swedish Mission Friends.<sup>163</sup>

Swedes adopted Sankey's songs, singing them regularly, including such favorites as: "Hållen fästet" (Hold the Fort), "Den förlorade sonen" (The Prodigal Child), "Jag vet en port som öppen står" (The Gate Ajar for Me), "Gå ej förbi mig!" (Pass Me Not!), "Trygg i min Jesu armar" (Safe in the Arms of Jesus), and "De nittionio" (The Ninety and Nine). These gospel songs, written by Sankey and other American gospel-song

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<sup>159</sup> The Moody Bible Institute of Chicago Bulletin, Catalogue Number 1916-17, June, 1916, 34; Getz, *MBI: The Story of Moody Bible Institute*, 100. In addition to the Swedish program, Gustav Edwards taught the course titled "Mission Fields, China." The Moody Bible Institute of Chicago Bulletin, Catalogue Number 1922-23, May-June 1921, 5. Edwards received an honorary doctorate from Wheaton College in 1921 for his contributions as a missionary, mission leader, and author. *Wheaton College Record*, June 15, 1921, 1; *Trons Segrar*, Sept. 1, 1948, 325. His books included: Gustav Edwards, *Bland vyer och vänner i Nordens länder* (Chicago: Författarens förlag, 1928); *Christ Meeting His Church in the Air, or The Lord's Coming* (Chicago: Gustav Edwards, n.d.); *Behold He Cometh* (Chicago: Gustav Edwards, n.d.).

<sup>160</sup> Moody Bible Institute Bulletin, Catalogue Number 1926-27, 4.

<sup>161</sup> A Scandinavian-English course at Moody Bible Institute continued until 1933. The Moody Bible Institute of Chicago: Forty-Fifth Catalogue Issue, Sessions of 1932-1933, 30. The emphasis at Moody Bible Institute reinforced the new premillennial view of the Swedish Evangelical Free Church. The Institute's emphasis on the substitutionary view of the atonement led the Swedish Evangelical Free Church away from the Waldenströmian to the penal-substitutionary view. Arnold T. Olson, *The Significance of Silence* (Minneapolis: Free Church Press, 1981) 157-158.

<sup>162</sup> Olsson, *Into One Body...by the Cross*, Vol. I, 210; Leland H. Carlson, *A History of North Park College: Commemorating the Fiftieth Anniversary 1891-1941* (Chicago: North Park College, 1941) 159, 241. In the early part of the twentieth century, some Covenanters wished that North Park College would become more like Moody Bible Institute in its purpose and curriculum.

<sup>163</sup> M. W. Montgomery, *A Wind from the Holy Spirit in Sweden and Norway* (New York: American Home Missionary Society, 1885) 20; Moody, *The Life of Dwight L. Moody*, 170-181.

## *Distinguishing Marks of Moody's Influence*

writers, were published in songbooks and hymnals in Sweden, as well as songbooks by Swedes in America. Moreover, new songs by Swedish-American composers adopted this style. Moody and Sankey also provided a model for Swedish co-evangelists to preach and sing the gospel, like Skogsbergh, “the Swedish Moody,” and his musician, A. L. Skoog, the “Swedish Sankey.”

Despite any resistance from Lutheran clergy over musical style or Sankey's association with the “Reformed,” *Sankeys sånger* gained popularity among Swedes but especially among Sweden's free congregations such as Missionsförbundet, Methodist, Baptist, and Helgelseförbundet, as well as the Mission Covenant, Free, Baptist, and Augustana congregations in America. As Erik Nyström had hoped when he originally published *Sånger till lammets lof*, his work brought a visible sign of fellowship among the Christians in Sweden and Swedish-America. The greatest acceptance of Sankey's songs, however, was felt among Swedish Mission Friends.

### **Conclusion**

Moody's influence shaped evangelical identity among Swedish Mission Friends in Sweden and America. This influence is demonstrated in distinguishing marks: evangelical ecumenism, new premillennialism, after-meetings in mass evangelism, independent congregationalism, and Bible institutes. The fact that Moody also recognized the value of music in his revival meetings and employed Sankey as his vocalist to sing gospel songs is also a distinguishing mark of the Moody-Sankey duo. These distinguishing marks demonstrate the shaping of new evangelical identity among Swedish Mission Friends in the direction of Moody's new American evangelicalism. Clearly, Swedish Mission Friends shared with Moody common traits such as a commitment to Biblical authority, conversion, God's love at the cross, lay evangelism, and living faith. However, as Mission Friends adopted his ideal, beliefs, and methods, their identity or identities shifted in the direction of Moody's popular American revivalism.<sup>164</sup>

In the pluralistic religious environment of America, Swedish Mission Friends were especially free to experiment with new forms of belief, organization, and method, including those of Moody, Chicago Avenue Church, and Moody's Darbyite following. Thus, their evangelical identity was effectively shaped or reshaped as they adopted his ecumenism, in contrast, for example, to Lutheran sectarianism. Moreover, they adopted new premillennialism in contrast to the amillennial view of the Augsburg Confession or the historic premillennial view of some Swedish pietists. They also adopted after-meetings “to draw in the net” of instantaneous conversion rather than a Lutheran view of *nådans ordning* (order of grace) that was generally understood as a longer process. Some Mission Friends adopted the independent or free congregationalism of Chicago Avenue Church rather than the structure of synods and denominations. They also adopted the model of Chicago Bible Institute to prepare Christian workers or “gapmen” for home and

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<sup>164</sup> This is an example of what Dag Blanck describes as Swedes who “distanced themselves from and developed a markedly different ethnic identity than the rest of Swedish-America, be it religious or secular.” Dag Blanck, “Constructing an Ethnic Identity,” in *The Ethnic Enigma: The Saliency of Ethnicity for European-Origin Groups*, Peter Kivisto, ed. (Philadelphia: The Balch Institute Press, 1989) 149–150.

foreign missions rather than a more formal seminary program to train clergymen in a more structured ecclesial context.

In Sweden, Mission Friends were attracted to Moody as a lay preacher because they too placed greater emphasis on conversion than ordination as a prerequisite for Christian service. For them, Moody was a liberating model of a lay preacher who drew large crowds to hear the gospel. His example and message inspired them in new directions at a time when religious freedom was expanding in Sweden.

While men like P. P. Waldenström and Nathan Söderblom followed Moody's evangelical ecumenism, they did not embrace all other hallmarks.<sup>165</sup> In contrast, Fredrik Franson who returned to Sweden as "Moody's Swedish disciple" gained immediate recognition that opened the door for him to preach and practice Moody's ideal, beliefs and methods. Mainly through Franson, Moody's influence was felt among Mission Friends of Jönköping's Missionsförening known today as Svenska Alliansmissionen, and Örebro Mission as well as Helgelseförbundet, known today as Svenska Evangeliska Frikyrkan.<sup>166</sup>

As Frederick Hale observed, among all Swedes, Free Mission Friends who gathered around *Chicago-Bladet* were mostly influenced by Moody.<sup>167</sup> Their acceptance of his ideal, beliefs and methods was augmented by their favorable attitude toward American revivalism and Americanization. C. V. Bowman commented on the emergence of the *Fria* (Free) in 1876 when Franson, Martenson, and Princell began to promote Moody's ideal, beliefs and methods.<sup>168</sup> The year 1876 was pivotal since this was the year when Moody held his first major revival campaigns in New York City and Chicago, sparking a Swedish-American "Moody fever." Soon afterwards, Franson, Martenson and Princell promoted the establishment of free or independent Swedish churches, while Skogsbergh—a lifelong friend of theirs—joined the Mission Covenant, representing and promoting Moody's ideal, beliefs, and methods among this group of Mission Friends. For the Free who emphasized instantaneous conversion of "anxious souls," their ecclesiology and eschatology based upon Moody's example—or greatly colored by it—adopted a simple ecclesial view of church life, described in the New Testament.

While the early Covenant was connected to Moody, many of the preachers remained closer to Rosenian pietism and interacted with Moody and Anglo-American influences in a more critical manner than the Free.<sup>169</sup> Certainly, without Moody there would not have been the Free. However, without Moody there would still have been a Mission Covenant in America, especially in the Rosenian pietist tradition.

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<sup>165</sup> Scott E. Erickson, "The Nature of American Religious Influences on the Swedish Mission Covenant Church," in *American Religious Influences in Sweden*, Scott E. Erickson, ed. (Tro & Tanke, 1996) 136; Andreasson, *Liv och rörelse*, 337. Franson exercised limited influence among Svenska Missionsförbundet. Sven Lundkvist, *Tron och gärningarna. Svenska Missionsförbundets bakgrund och utveckling till omkring 1970* (Uppsala: Svenska institutet för missionsforskning, 2003) 48.

<sup>166</sup> Göran Åberg, *Sällskap—Samfund. Studier i Svenska alliansmissionens historia fram till 1950-talets mitt* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1980) 267–268; Kårbrant, ed., *Ett sekel i Herrens tjänst*, 15, 35.

<sup>167</sup> Frederick Hale, *Trans-Atlantic Conservative Protestantism in the Evangelical Free and Mission Covenant Traditions* (New York: Arno Press, 1979) 266, 305–306.

<sup>168</sup> C. V. Bowman, *Missionsvännerna i Amerika. En återblick på deras uppkomst och första verksamhetstid* (Minneapolis: Minneapolis Veckoblad Publ. Co., 1907) 215–239.

<sup>169</sup> Anderson, "The Covenant and the American Challenge," in *Amicus Dei: Essays on Faith and Friendship*, Anderson, ed., 130.

### *Distinguishing Marks of Moody's Influence*

In 1938, Erik Brolund observed in his comparisons and studies of Mission Friends that the Free were more open to embrace Anglo-American influences, saying, "It is also appropriate to consider historically the style of American preaching and methods of ministry that were introduced among the Swedes. C. A. Björk, and the particular circle of preachers to which he belonged, were never able to come to terms with this manner of ministry. Yet it remained prevalent among those of the Swedish Free Church."<sup>170</sup> Certainly, Free Mission Friends, more than any other Swedish group, were characterized by marks attributed to Moody's influence.<sup>171</sup> Of course, included in this would be "freer" Covenanters such as E. A. Skogsbergh who followed Moody closely, exhibiting the distinguishing marks as well as maintaining a friendship with the American revivalist for over twenty years.

Dwight L. Moody exercised a wide and lasting influence on the Protestant world, reaching Swedes in Sweden and America, becoming a "hero" revivalist among Swedish Mission Friends in Sweden and America. His revival campaigns made "Mr. Moody" a household name in homes of many Mission Friends. His sermons published in Swedish-language newspapers, books and tracts, led to "Moody fever" in Sweden, the first major American religious influence to sweep the nation. As Mission Friends in Sweden and America adopted his alliance ideal, beliefs, and methods, their evangelical identity shifted in the direction of Moody's new American evangelicalism. Thus, he was not merely the central figure of the revivals in Great Britain and the United States during the late 1800s, but he was "the great and inspiring name to Mission Friends" in Sweden and Swedish America.<sup>172</sup>

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<sup>170</sup> Erik Brolund, *Missionsvännerna: Jämförelse och studier* (Chicago: Mission Friends Publ. Co., 1938) 108. C. V. Bowman compared Björk and Franson, pointing out Franson's emphasis on the millennial kingdom and the end times. In contrast, "Björk was in essence a Lutheran of the Rosenian type." C. V. Bowman, *Carl August Björk. En levnadsteckning* (Chicago: Covenant Book Concern, 1934) 52–56. Mark Granquist observed: "The Free church was influenced more by the conservative Protestantism of the Moody and Darbyite traditions." Mark A. Granquist, "The Swedish Ethnic Denominations in the United States: Their Development and Relationships, 1880-1920" (Ph. D. Thesis, University of Chicago, 1992) 13.

<sup>171</sup> Karl A. Olsson, *By One Spirit* (Chicago: Covenant Press, 1962) 113; Karl A. Olsson, "Similarities and Differences in the Churches of the Federation—America," Theological Conference of the International Federation of Free Evangelical Churches, August 29–September 4, 1971, 14; Karl A. Olsson, *Into One Body...by the Cross*, Vol. 1 (Chicago: Covenant Press, 1985) 31; Scott E. Erickson, *David Nyvall and the Shape of an Immigrant Church: Ethnic, Denominational, and Educational Priorities among Swedes in America* (Uppsala: Uppsala University, 1996) 71, 150, 214.

<sup>172</sup> Bexell, *Sveriges kyrkohistoria, 7. Folkväckelsens och kyrkoförnyelsens tid*, 157.



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D. L. Moody (1837–1899) was the most famous revivalist of the late nineteenth century, and exercised a wide and lasting influence on the Protestant world, touching Swedes in Sweden and America. His influence was felt among Swedes despite the fact that he never visited Sweden or any Scandinavian country, and never spoke a word of the Swedish language. Nevertheless, Swedish Mission Friends viewed him as a “hero,” a champion revivalist who by the power of his personality, piety, and evangelistic success in Great Britain and the United States, gained their attention and respect.

Moody’s early ministry began in Chicago, the largest urban population of Swedes in America. He recognized that when immigrants arrived they needed food, clothing, and the gospel, believing that the church had a responsibility to help them. He was especially concerned about Swedes and Germans, the two largest immigrant groups entering Chicago in the 1870s and 1880s. By 1890, there were 43,000 Swedish-born immigrants living in Chicago and with their American-born children, they numbered 86,000.

Swedish Mission Friends in the United States who adopted Moody’s ideal, beliefs, and methods were shaped by a new religious identity within the context of America’s religious pluralism. Moody’s influence also spread to Sweden, first through his sermons published in newspapers, books, and colporteur tracts, and second through his Swedish and Scandinavian disciples, constituting the first major American religious impulse to sweep across the country.

Dwight Lyman Moody was born in Northfield, Massachusetts, to a family of English heritage. At age seventeen, he left Northfield to work at his uncle’s shoe store in Boston, and was converted to faith through the influence of his Sunday school teacher. In 1856, he moved to Chicago where he developed a successful shoe business, and began a mission Sunday school that met in a beer hall. In 1860, he began full-time work as a city missionary, and his Sunday school became so well attended that even President-elect Abraham Lincoln visited to address the students.

As the mission Sunday school grew to a thousand students and three hundred converted adults, Moody solicited help from evangelical churches to form a new church, an independent, evangelical congregation that organized in 1864. Although Moody had been active in Congregational churches and received assistance from Congregationalists in organizing this church, he was determined to remain free from ecclesial labels and denominationalism. He was an “alliance man,” shaped particularly by the YMCA.

In addition to providing food and clothing to immigrants, Moody offered English classes and distributed copies of Christian foreign-language newspapers including

Swedish. After serving with the Christian Commission across denominational boundaries during the Civil War, in 1865 Moody became president of the Chicago YMCA, leading this non-denominational organization that promoted cooperation among evangelicals, serving in this role for four years. Through his efforts, the YMCA noon-day prayer meetings were attended by a thousand people.

In 1867, Moody traveled to England where he met George Müller in Bristol, the director of the faith-mission to orphans and the poor. Müller was also a member of the Plymouth Brethren, and introduced Moody to their ideal of the simplicity of the early church, setting aside the trappings of the state church of England. Moody was inspired by the Brethren's views of conversion, scripture, lay preaching, and the imminent return of Christ—all tenets he came to profess.

In 1867, Moody met Swedish Mission Friends in Chicago such as Martin Sundin. Mission Friends were drawn to him because of common features they shared, particularly an emphasis on conversion as "the one thing needful." When Mission Friends organized an independent Lutheran mission society, Moody provided a temporary meeting place at his church. One Swedish Lutheran seminarian, J. G. Princell, served as president of the Swedish chapter of the Chicago YMCA. When Mission Friends held a praise service in 1869, they invited him and Moody to speak. Moody's assistance in the form of food, clothing, meeting rooms, and financial aid further drew Mission Friends to the American YMCA leader and preacher. Their friendship and cooperation laid a foundation for Moody's future work among Swedish Mission Friends.

In 1871, after the great fire destroyed much of Chicago including Moody's church, he erected a temporary building for his congregation which also became a relief center to feed and clothe hundreds of immigrants who had lost their homes in the fire. When a large number of Scandinavians attended the meetings at Moody's church, the leaders of the church called John F. Okerstein, a Swedish immigrant, to work among them as a city missionary. In 1873, Moody's church relocated to Chicago Avenue and was named Chicago Avenue Church, located on the east border of Chicago's "Swede Town."

In the summer of 1873, Moody left his full-time work in Chicago—having teamed up with his gospel singer Ira D. Sankey—and began his career as an itinerant evangelist, preaching in Great Britain. Moody and Sankey experienced a phenomenal response with thousands attending their meetings. The American revivalists crossed sectarian or denominational boundaries, working with evangelical clergymen and churches, and leading a revival never seen since the days of Wesley and Whitefield.

When Moody and Sankey completed their two-year tour and returned to America, they were heroes of international fame, extending to Sweden. From news reports in British newspapers and Swedish correspondents in the British Isles, came a stream of reports in Swedish-language newspapers, making Moody and Sankey household names in Sweden. In addition, Moody's sermons were translated into Swedish and published in newspapers, colporteur tracts, and books along with collections of Sankey's songs.

The effects of Moody's revival campaigns in the British Isles and a similar response in the United States impacted Lutheran Missions Friends and Baptists in Sweden, leading to a "Moody fever" that spread throughout the country, reaching its peak in 1876 and 1877. Swedes such as Ebba Karström Ramsay, C. A. V. Lundholm, Karl Erixon, Erik Nyström, Theodor Truvé, P. P. Waldenström, Baron Hans Henric von



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Essen, and E. A. Skogsbergh not only viewed Moody as “hero” revivalist, but longed for a similar movement of revival in Sweden.

Soon, a new wave of Swedish evangelists appeared who employed Moody’s methods such as his use of after-meetings, which were described in Swedish periodicals. In addition, collections of Sankey’s songs were translated into Swedish and sung from cottages to Mission Friends’ meeting halls. In the fall of 1876, Eli Johnson, “an American disciple of Moody” arrived and promoted “gospel temperance work,” advancing “Moody fever” as Johnson spoke of his work with Moody in Chicago.

Repercussions of Moody’s revival campaign in England and America, impacted P. P. Waldenström and his circle of Mission Friends. More than any of his contemporaries, Moody practiced the alliance ideal, an evangelical ecumenism whereby churches of different confessions cooperated in evangelism. Moody’s example of cooperation encouraged Waldenström to broaden Evangeliska Fosterlands-stiftelsen (EFS), a Lutheran confessional mission, to include Baptists, Methodists, and Mission Friends who did not hold to all points of the Augsburg Confession. Sweden’s “Moody fever”, thus, had an immediate effect toward an alliance ideal, especially through the activities of Evangeliska Alliansen, reorganized in 1875, and the Stockholm Preachers’ Meetings from 1876 to 1878. Activities of these two groups resulted in the presentation of two petitions to King Oscar II in an effort to gain greater religious freedoms in Sweden.

With unresolved tensions between the EFS and alliance-oriented Mission Friends, Svenska Missionsförbundet (SMF) formed in 1878. Different views of the atonement, the Lord’s Supper, and the nature of the church led Mission Friends such as E. J. Ekman, Erik Nyström, Andreas Fernholm, C. J. Nyvall, and P. P. Waldenström to establish SMF as a mission society of local mission societies and mission churches “comprised of believers” including Baptists, Methodists, and Lutherans. Waldenström’s repeated references to Moody and his work in Britain and America demonstrated how Moody had become a new “standard-bearer” and shaped the thinking of Mission Friends toward a creedless evangelism and mission work *à la* the Evangelical Alliance ideal.

Efforts by Mission Friends in the direction of the alliance ideal worked to broaden Sweden’s religious landscape and furthered the democratization of Swedish Christianity. Despite misgivings by the directors of the EFS and bishops of the Church of Sweden, alliance-oriented Mission Friends, inspired by Moody’s irenic spirit, established SMF as a new mission society in the direction of a “fellowship-over-confession” *ecclesia*, and away from Lutheran provincialism. This irenic spirit, exemplified in Moody, contributed to the shaping of evangelical identity among Sweden’s Mission Friends.

While “Moody fever” was spreading in Sweden, Moody was at the height of his revival work in America. Many Swedish immigrants who arrived in Chicago at the time had experienced “Moody fever” in Sweden. In 1876, when Moody’s city-wide revival campaign began at the newly-built Chicago Tabernacle, he reached hundreds of Swedes with his message of conversion and attracted Mission Friends to his American revivalism. Because some had read his sermons in Swedish, they were disappointed to learn that he did not speak a word of the language!

In 1876, Moody was surrounded by “Swedish Moodyites” such as John F. Okerstein, Fredrik Franson, E. A. Skogsbergh, and John Martenson. These Swedish immigrants adopted and promoted his ideal, beliefs, and methods, along with hundreds of

Swedes who attended alliance meetings at Chicago Avenue Church. In the years that followed, Okerstein continued as the Swedish city missionary of Moody's church. Franson, "Moody's Swedish disciple," became the first home and foreign missionary sent out from the ranks of Chicago Avenue Church. Skogsbergh, known as the "Swedish Moody," began an independent mission church, the Swedish Mission Tabernacle, and preached at Swedish union meetings at Chicago Avenue Church, as well as traveled throughout Illinois and Minnesota, preaching at revival meetings. In 1877, John Martenson, a newspaper editor who had converted to faith under Moody's and Skogsbergh's ministry, launched *Chicago-Bladet*, a non-sectarian newspaper that featured Moody as its the most published preacher, followed in number by P. P. Waldenström.

Meanwhile, Okerstein's work at Chicago Avenue Church was so successful that tensions surfaced due to the strain of numerical growth. While several Swedes joined the church and comprised a significant part of the congregation, others such as Martenson preferred an independent or free, Swedish mission that adopted Moody's beliefs and methods.

"Swedish Moodyites" began to distinguish themselves from Mission Friends who followed after the tradition of C. O. Rosenius and Lutheran Mission Friends. The "Swedish Moodyites" were "freer" Mission Friends, and followed Moody's American revivalism, and some aspects of Waldenström's Swedish pietism. They soon met resistance from Augustana Lutherans who remained loyal to the Augsburg Confession and opposed American revivalism with its various emphases.

With developments in America and Sweden from 1875 to 1878, divisions widened between Augustana Lutherans devoted to the Augsburg Confession, Mission Friends who followed the tradition of the late Rosenius but increasingly favored non-confessional freedom, and "free" Mission Friends who followed Moody's American revivalism, his Darbyite premillennialism, and Chicago Avenue Church's free congregationalism, marks of Moody's influence.

In 1878, Franson traveled to Salt Lake City, and then to Denver where he founded an independent, evangelical church on the pattern of Moody's church in Chicago. From there he went to Nebraska and from his connection with Victor Rylander at Chicago Avenue Church, worked with Leander Hallgren to establish more evangelical, free churches. Franson also became an advocate of the new premillennialism, adopting the doctrines of the "secret rapture" and "any moment" return of Christ, as well as Moody's techniques such as the use of a gospel singer and "after-meetings."

J. G. Princell who had previously worked with Moody and the Swedish YMCA in Chicago reacted to the Lutheran Church's Galesburg Rule, and moved away from the Augustana Synod's emphasis on Lutheran confessionalism, toward Moody's cooperative evangelism, demonstrated at Moody's New York City campaign and Christian Conventions. When Princell resigned as pastor of Gustavus Adolphus Lutheran Church, he established Bethesda Church in Brooklyn as a non-sectarian, free mission. In 1879, he traveled to Sweden where he visited Waldenström, and spoke at the first annual meeting of Svenska Missionsförbundet, representing "freer" Mission Friends in America. After returning to the United States, Princell came to Knoxville, Illinois, where he succeeded Karl Erixon as president of Ansgar College and Seminary.

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In 1881, Franson joined Princell and Martenson to organize the first Swedish Prophetic Conference held at Chicago Avenue Church and the Swedish Mission Tabernacle in Chicago, with Okerstein and Skogsbergh as hosts, and Karl Erixon and George C. Needham, pastor of Chicago Avenue Church, as two of the speakers. This conference was the first ecumenical meeting of its kind bringing clergy and laymen together from various denominational backgrounds to discuss various subjects on the return of Christ. Like Moody, many of the Mission Friends discovered the doctrine of the Second Coming and made it prominent.

While some Swedes joined Moody's Chicago Avenue Church, others joined Martenson and the new Swedish Free Mission in Chicago. Meanwhile, Martenson, along with Okerstein, established the Swedish Oak Street Free Mission in Chicago, which like Moody's church, was founded as a body of believers known only as Christians and without reference to any denomination. The Swedish Free Mission met in the basement of *Chicago-Bladet*, then at Chicago Avenue Church, and then at Bush Hall, the site of another Swedish ecumenical meeting in 1883. This meeting brought together Mission Friends of the Lutheran Ansgar and Mission synods, Baptists, Methodists, and members of Chicago Avenue Church to discuss questions related to the church, unity, sectarianism, and cooperation in mission. At the end of the conference, another meeting was proposed for the following year. The organizing committee of Princell, Martenson and Hallgren, selected Boone, Iowa, as the conference site.

Princell resisted formal unions that multiplied "ecclesiastical machinery," preferring alliance meetings of the "American brothers." Like Moody, he did not want to be bound by denominationalism in general, let alone one in particular. Princell favored alliance meetings, whether a prophetic conference at New York, or a YMCA meeting at Chicago. Along with other "alliance men" such as Erixon, Martenson and Franson, Princell advocated freedom of local churches as the scriptural means for Christians to work together to further the gospel. However, his extreme zeal for a general, free-mission work, along with harsh criticism and lack of diplomacy, overshot the mark in editorials and articles and alienated rather than unified Mission Friends whom he sought to bring into an alliance.

The failed attempt by Free Mission Friends to transform Ansgar Synod into a non-sectarian, non-confessional fellowship was not unlike Waldenström's attempt, when drawing upon Moody's alliance ideal, to transform the EFS into an umbrella organization for all societies and churches in Sweden. Princell believed that a new mission-work on the order of Svenska Missionsförbundet was possible, although he personally opposed a formal union and incorporation, fearing that the SMF too might become a denomination.

The meeting at Boone, Iowa, in 1884, advanced the agenda for a free-mission work among "all Christians" regardless of "whether they saw things the same way or not." The Mission Friends movement took a different turn, however, from what Princell, Martenson, and Erixon envisioned, when in February 1885 in Chicago, the Swedish Evangelical Mission Covenant was formed as formal a union of churches and societies. For Mission Friends like C. A. Björk, F. M. Johnson, and E. A. Skogsbergh, the Covenant was a proper and necessary means to carry out Christian mission, education, and edification. In this action, the Covenant followed the broad guidelines of Svenska Missionsförbundet that emerged from Waldenström's circle, inspired by Moody's creedless, evangelism, but was more intentional in structure and order.

The formation of the American Covenant sparked a heated debate at Free mission meetings, drawing upon Moody's example for clarity. Meanwhile, Skogsbergh labored with Moody at Minneapolis, hosting revival meetings at the Swedish Mission Tabernacle, while Princell joined the ranks of premillennial speakers at the Second American Bible and Prophetic Conference at the YMCA's Farwell Hall in Chicago.

In the struggle between the Covenant and Free, Waldenström rebuked the Covenant's periodical *Missions-Wännen* and the Free's organ *Chicago-Bladet* for sinning grievously. In 1889, on his first visit to America, Waldenström met with Moody at Northfield, a meeting that demonstrated their mutual respect and admiration for one another. The visit also symbolized the meeting of Swedish pietism and American revivalism, and the Mission Friends' struggle for evangelical identity.

In Scandinavia in the 1880s, Moody's influence expanded from Sweden to Norway, Denmark and Finland. This influence was spread generally through Moody's published works and directly through his Scandinavian disciples. The chief proponent of his ideal, beliefs, and methods was Fredrik Franson who in 1881 embarked on a preaching tour throughout Sweden, gaining acceptance and encountering resistance, due mostly from his Moody-style evangelism. His opposition came chiefly from state churchmen, fearing religious competition and pluralism. Franson's use of mass evangelism and after-meetings, his new premillennial doctrine of Christ's return, his prophetic conference and evangelist courses, and use of a gospel singer and Sankey's songs, all followed Moody's pattern. In Sweden, Franson's work was received mostly by "freer" Mission Friends represented later by Svenska Alliansmissionen, Örebromissionen and Helgelseförbundet, the latter two forming today Evangeliska Frikyrkan.

Moody's influence in other Scandinavian countries followed a similar phenomenon. His published sermons and Scandinavian evangelists reached Norwegians, Danes, and Finns. In Norway, Franson worked with Cathrine Juell and others to establish Det Norske Misjonsforbundet. In Denmark, he built upon the work of N. P. Lang, a Danish disciple of Moody, and prepared the way for the Norwegian Cathrine Juell, and Swedish soloist C. W. Gillén to form Det Danske Misjonforbund. In Finland, Franson cooperated with Constantin Boije who, along with Edvard Björkenheim, led the free mission work represented today in Fria Missionsförbundet. Erik Jansson, also a missionary from Chicago Avenue Church, worked among Finnish Baptists, represented today in Finland's Svenska Baptistsamfund.

Moreover, the breadth of Moody's influence is observed in Nathan Söderblom who in 1890 attended Moody's international student conference at Northfield, Massachusetts. While Söderblom identified with Mission Friends early in his life, his experience with Moody broadened his view of Christian unity, observed especially in Söderblom's ecumenical activity while serving as Archbishop of Sweden. In contrast to Franson who embraced all of Moody's distinguishing marks—and at times exceeded them—Söderblom drew mostly upon Moody's character, missionary zeal, and childlike love, and gained a respect for leaders of various confessions.

In the final decade of Moody's life, Swedish Mission Friends and Moody demonstrated a mutual respect for one another. As Moody's emphasis shifted from mass evangelism campaigns to conferences and schools to train the next generation of Christian workers, Franson followed his lead, holding Bible and evangelist courses to prepare Scandinavian "gapmen." Furthermore, Franson founded the Scandinavian

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Alliance Mission (SAM), a non-sectarian, faith-mission that sent group after group of Scandinavians to go to China in concert with J. Hudson Taylor's China Inland Mission. SAM missionaries were supported mostly by Mission Friends' churches, without regard to affiliation. SAM is known today at The Evangelical Alliance Mission (TEAM).

In 1893, Skogsbergh was invited to participate with Moody in the largest city-wide evangelistic campaign held during the Chicago World's Fair. Skogsbergh's invitation was also of great significance, not only for Swedes in America but also in Sweden where Mission Friends still hoped that Moody would come and preach.

P. J. Elmquist and J. G. Princell began Chicago's Swedish Bible Institute, a non-sectarian, free-mission school to equip Christian workers for service as pastors and missionaries, without cost—hallmarks of Moody's Chicago Bible Institute. The Swedish Bible Institute was the earliest phase of Trinity International University of the Evangelical Free Church. By the time of Moody's death in 1899, distinguishing marks of his influence were evident among Mission Friends in America, represented today in the Evangelical Free Church and the Evangelical Covenant Church.

Moody also had his Swedish detractors, equally a sign of influence, albeit a negative reaction. Moody and his Swedish disciples in Sweden and America met resistance, especially from Lutherans who held to the Augsburg Confession and followed the old-church piety of Henric Schartau, perceiving Moody and Mission Friends as affected by Reformed theology. Thus, an effect of Moody's influence in Sweden and Swedish-America was the intersection, and at times collision, of Lutheran confessionalism and American revivalism, as well as Swedish pietism.

Mission Friends and Moody enjoyed fellowship based on certain common traits. Moody believed in the Bible, and God's love and saving grace to convert sinners who believed in Christ. If a sinner believed the gospel, Moody encouraged the new convert toward living faith, piety, and witness. Moreover, he emphasized "instantaneous conversion" and a "separated life." His high regard for Biblical authority, his desire for the conversion of souls, his emphasis on God's love at the cross, his example and encouragement of lay workers, drew Swedish listeners to him with confidence. They found in Moody a kindred, free spirit.

Besides common traits, Moody's direct and indirect influence shaped evangelical identity or identities among Swedish Mission Friends. This influence is observed in distinguishing marks, namely, evangelical ecumenism, new premillennialism, after-meetings in mass evangelism, independent congregationalism, and Bible institutes. The fact that Moody also recognized the value of music in his revival meetings and employed Sankey as his vocalist to sing gospel songs is a corollary mark of identity. Although these marks were not possessed by every Mission Friend who was influenced by Moody, at least one or more was evident to some degree. The distinguishing marks demonstrate the shaping of new evangelical identity among Swedish Mission Friends in the direction of Moody's new American evangelicalism.

In America's context of religious pluralism—a theological *smörgåsbord*—Swedish Mission Friends were free to experiment with new forms of belief, organization, and method, including those of Moody and Chicago Avenue Church, and adopted a "more democratic Christianity." In Sweden, Mission Friends were attracted to Moody as a lay preacher since they too placed an emphasis on conversion rather than ordination as a prerequisite for Christian service. For them, Moody was a liberating model of a lay

preacher who drew large crowds to hear the gospel. His example and message inspired them in new directions at a time when religious freedom was expanding in Sweden. The adoption of his ideal, beliefs, and methods shifted the identity of Mission Friends in America and Sweden in the direction of Moody's new American evangelicalism.

While men like P. P. Waldenström and Nathan Söderblom followed Moody's evangelical ecumenism, they did possess other distinguishing marks. In contrast, Fredrik Franson who returned to Sweden as "Moody's disciple" gained immediate recognition that opened the door for him to preach or practice all of Moody's ideals, beliefs and methods. Among all Swedes, the Free Mission Friends in America who gathered around *Chicago-Bladet* were most influenced by Moody, despite their excesses at times. Their acceptance of his ideal, beliefs and methods was augmented by their favorable attitude toward American revivalism and Americanization. More than any other Swedish body, Free Mission Friends exhibited these distinguishing marks, while people like Skogsbergh—a personal friend of Moody—and the "freer" Covenanters represented this stream within the Mission Covenant.

Sankey's gospel hymns and songs spread throughout the Protestant world, receiving the widest distribution of any collection of songs at that time. Moody valued the power of gospel songs to complement his sermons and invited Sankey to join him as a co-evangelist "to sing the gospel." Moody's dedication to gospel songs and hymns led him to establish a music program at the Chicago Bible Institute, today called Moody Bible Institute, to prepare future musicians to carry on singing of gospel songs in partnership with evangelists, preachers, and missionaries.

The popularity of Sankey's songs in Great Britain and the United States led musicians such as Erik Nyström, Theodor Truvé, E. A. Skogsbergh, C. Charnquist, and D. S. Sörlin to translate and publish Swedish collections, including songs written by Sankey himself. Sankey's songs were sung in cottages and palaces in Sweden including Mission Friends' meetings in Stockholm and Falköping. There were also sung on emigrant ships across the Atlantic, at Chicago Avenue Church, and at Mission Friend meetings in Illinois and Nebraska. Moreover, Swedish-American songwriters like A. L. Skoog adopted the style of American gospel songs for his new music.

Certainly, the Moody-Sankey partnership was so closely tied that the influence of each man could not be separated from the other. Together, their stream of influence flowed in the same directions, affecting Swedes who read Moody's sermons and sang Sankey's songs. Thus, Sankey's songs were also a distinguishing mark of Moody's influence.

It is acknowledged that influence of religious leaders is impossible to quantify. However, historical documentation in forms of books, colporteur tracts, church minutes, sermons in newspapers, and personal accounts by Swedes, demonstrate influence, an influence that spanned social and religious strata from cottage to castle. In addition, distinguishing marks of identity indicate influence more directly, especially where Swedes adopted values, beliefs, and methods that were not previously held.

Moody was described as the greatest evangelist of the late nineteenth century. By the time of his death in 1899, he had preached the gospel to a larger number of people in a greater number of places than any person who had ever lived. His influence spread throughout the Protestant world including Sweden and Swedish-America.

## Appendix

### Moody's Works in Swedish, 1875-1899 Chronological by First Edition

#### 1875

- Moody, Dwight L. *Andliga föredrag*. Transl. By A. S—g. Stockholm: P. Palmquists aktieb.; printed by A.L. Norman, 1875, 168pp.; 1876, 144 pp.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Den döende röfvaren. Luk. 23:39-43*. Trans. by E. R—y [Ebba Gustavia Ramsay]. Kristinehamn: H. Hall, 1875, 18pp.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Det glada budskapet. Predikan öfver 1 Kor. 15:1,2*. Stockholm: Nya förlagsexp., printed by Nya boktr., 1875, 24pp.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Föredrag, hållna i Amerika*. Stockholm: C.A.V. Lundholm, printed by A.L. Norman, 1875, 76pp.; 1875, 147 pp.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Kristliga föredrag*. Sundswall: S-walls missionsfören.; printed at Uppsala by E.Edquist, 1875. Part 1, 78pp.; Part 2, pp. 81-131.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Lifsord från evangeliska föredrag*. Stockholm: C.A.V. Lundholm; printed by M.W. Wallberg & Co., Norrköping, 1875, 140pp; 2nd ed. 1878.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Tvenne predikningar*. Göteborg: C.A. Stenholm, 1875, 48pp.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Vår herres Jesu Kristi varkunsamhet; Föredrag*. Trans. by E. R—y. Göteborg: Ebba Ramsay, 1875. 16pp. Serie: Minnets Blad, 2

#### 1876

- \_\_\_\_\_. *Arbetar du för Herren? Föredrag*. Stockholm: Nya förlagsexped.; printed by Nya boktr., 1876, 16pp.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Blodet; Föredrag*. Stockholm: P. Palmquist; printed by A.L. Norman, 1876, 27pp.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Blodet: 2 Mos. 12:13*. Stockholm: Ev. Fosterl.-Stift.; printed by A.L. Norman, 1876, 32pp.; 2nd ed. 1876, 30pp., 3rd ed. 1886, 30pp.; 4th ed. 1907.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Den döende röfvaren. Luk. 23:39-43*. Stockholm: Fosterl:s-stift.; printed by A.L. Norman, 1876, 20 pp.; 2nd ed. printed in Kristinehamn by H. Hall, 1876, 17pp.; 3rd ed. A.L. Norman, 1886, 16pp.; 4th ed. 1897.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Den nya födelsen*. Stockholm: Fosterlandsstift.; printed by A.L. Norman, 1876, 20pp.; Umeå: Väckelsbudskap; printed by Larsson, 1931, 29pp., 2nd ed. 1933.

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