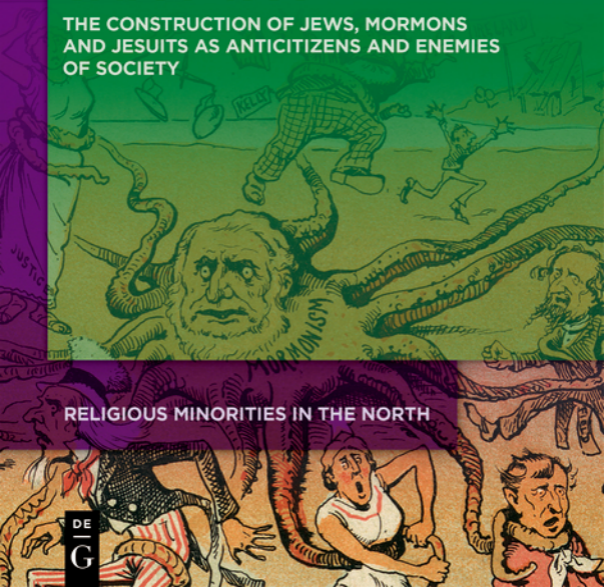


DE GRUYTER

Frode Ulvund

RELIGIOUS OTHERNESS AND NATIONAL IDENTITY IN SCANDINAVIA, C. 1790–1960

THE CONSTRUCTION OF JEWS, MORMONS
AND JESUITS AS ANTICITIZENS AND ENEMIES
OF SOCIETY



RELIGIOUS MINORITIES IN THE NORTH

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Frode Ulvund

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Religious Minorities in the North: History, Politics, and Culture



Edited by
Jonathan Adams
Cordelia Heß
Christhard Hoffmann

Volume 2

Frode Ulvund

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as Anti-Citizens and Enemies of Society

Translated by
Adam King

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The publication of this book has been generously supported by the Bergen Universitetsfond and the Department of Archaeology, History, Cultural Studies and Religion at the University of Bergen.

ISBN 978-3-11-065429-5

e-ISBN (PDF) 978-3-11-065776-0

e-ISBN (EPUB) 978-3-11-065442-4

ISSN 2627-440X

DOI <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110657760>



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Library of Congress Control Number: 2020944933

Bibliographic information published by the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek

The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie; detailed bibliographic data are available on the Internet at <http://dnb.dnb.de>.

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Translated, expanded and revised edition of *Nasjonens antitorgere: Forestillinger om religiøse minoriteter som samfunnsfiender i Norge, ca. 1814–1964*. Oslo: Cappelen Damm Akademisk 2017. © Cappelen Damm AS, Oslo 2017

The book is published open access at www.degruyter.com.

Cover image: “How long will this destructive monster be allowed to live?”, cartoon by Frederick Opper, published in Puck vol. 14, no. 362 (13 February 1884). Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

Printing and binding: CPI books GmbH, Leck

www.degruyter.com

Acknowledgements

This volume is based on my former publication in Norwegian, *Nasjonens antiborgere: Forestillinger om religiøse minoriteter som samfunnsfiender i Norge, ca. 1814–1964* (Cappelen Damm Akademisk, 2017). The original study was considerably revised and extended, as the perspectives and topics of discussion shifted from a Norwegian to a broader Scandinavian point of view.

The author wishes to thank the Bergen Universitetsfond and the Department of Archaeology, History, Cultural Studies and Religion at the University of Bergen for their generous support in financing this Open Access publication.

I would also like to thank the editors of this series, Jonathan Adams, Cordelia Heß, and Christhard Hoffmann, for including this book in the series. My special gratitude goes to Christhard Hoffmann for his encouragement and motivation over the years, in this and other projects. Adam King has translated the original and new parts of the text into English, and a special thank you goes to him for the pleasant cooperation and the careful translation. Finally, I wish to thank my anonymous peer reviewer for useful comments to this volume.

In preparing this volume for publication, I would also like to express my heartfelt appreciation to Robert Forke, Julia Sjöberg, Antonia Mittelbach, and Laura Burlon at De Gruyter.

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1 Religiously foreign and nationally undesirable

“Truly! Neither Jews nor Jesuits, with all their Cunning combined, could accomplish as much Evil as the Mormons if they gained a real Foothold in the Country.”¹ The quotation is taken from an impassioned reader’s contribution to the Norwegian newspaper *Morgenbladet* in 1852, and illustrates this book’s theme – namely how religious minorities and groups originating beyond Scandinavia were portrayed as enemies of society throughout the region from the 1790s until after the mid-1900s. This will be explored by examining precisely how, at different times, Jews, Mormons and Jesuits were viewed as a moral, political and national threat to Scandinavian society and state. In different periods, each group was regarded as foreign, dangerous and undesirable. Key questions are who gave voice to the notion that these minorities were socially harmful, what constituted the danger, and the extent to which ideas about social perils had an impact on state religious policy. An overarching question is what all this has to say about the definition of national self-identity in Scandinavia.

A common feature for all Scandinavian countries was the dominant position of the Evangelical Lutheran Church until long into the 20th century. It was the state church in each country and had been endowed with a legal religious monopoly up until the Dissenter Act in Norway in 1845, the Constitution of 1849 in Denmark, and the Dissenter Act of 1860 in Sweden. Even though the hegemonic position of the established churches came to be contested – especially by Christian dissenters who worked to promote the legality of religious pluralism – religious practice throughout Scandinavia was more or less uniform under the stewardship of each country’s state-appointed clergy during the period covered by this book.

In the Swedish Constitution of 1772, religious unity was explicitly regarded as the “strongest foundation for a legal, harmonious and lasting government.”² It therefore resolved that the king of the country, officials and subjects would be

1 *Morgenbladet* no. 324, 11 November 1852. The correspondent signed off as “T.M.L.”: “Sandelig! Hverken Jøderne eller Jesuiterne med al deres Snuhed tilsammenlagt ville kunne udrette saa meget Ondt som Mormonerne, hvis de skulle faa rigtig Fodfeste her i Landet.”

2 Wikisource: Regerings-Form 1772, 21 August 1772, § 1. [https://sv.wikisource.org/wiki/Regeringsform_1772, accessed 24 October 2016]. Authors translation of “kraftigaste grundvalen til et lofligt, samdrägtigt och varaktigt Regimente.” See also Per-Olov Ahrén, “Religionsfriheten och RF § 16,” *Svensk Tidskrift* (1956): 453 ff. Ingun Montgomery, “Den svenska religionspolitiken,” in *Reformationens konsolidering i de nordiska länderna 1540–1610*, ed. Ingmar Brohed (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1990), 127 ff. Patrik Winton, “Enighetens befrämjande och fäderneslandets föröran: religion och politik under frihetstiden,” *Sjuttonhundratalet* (2006/2007).

faithful to the religion of the state church, just as every Swedish Constitution since 1634 had done. While the Constitution of 1809 did indeed declare religious freedom, at the same time it made it illegal to withdraw from the state church.³ As a consequence, only immigrants with a background in a religion other than that of the Evangelical Lutheran state were permitted to practise a divergent faith. In addition came the Jewish minority, who had been allowed to settle in certain Swedish cities in the 1780s. In practice, then, Swedish subjects continued to be subject to a strict religious regime without appreciable liberty until the Religious Freedom Act of 1951.

Particularly from the 1850s onwards, demands for genuine freedom of religion were formulated in the Swedish public sphere both as an expression of general political liberalism, and by emergent revival movements that found the legal framework detrimental to their activities.⁴ A prominent and controversial lawsuit pending in the Swedish judicial system in the same decade stirred international attention and growing debate on Swedish religious policy.⁵ Six Swedish women were sentenced to banishment for having converted to Catholicism, and in the end were set on a vessel out of the country in the summer of 1858. On his own initiative, King Oscar I (1799–1859) raised the issue of religious freedom at the highest level when he made mention of the case during his royal address of 1856. The king, French-born and himself originally Catholic, was also married to the Catholic Queen Josephine.

In Sweden, a first redoubt fell when the Conventicle Ordinance (the prohibition on congregating – *konventikkelplakaten*) was repealed in 1858. Two years later, a Dissenter Act granted Swedish citizens – subsequent to repeated imposition of admonitions and reprimands, and upon application to the king – permission to leave the state church and join foreign Christian faiths.⁶ This law must also be viewed in relation to an amendment to the Responsibility Act (*Ansvars-*

3 Oscar Hippel, “Religionsfriheten och den sextonde paragrafen regeringsformen: Bidrag til frågans bedömande fram til dissentarlagen år 1860,” in *Teologiska studier: Tillägnade Erik Save på 65-årsdagen den 10 juni 1922 av kolleger og lärjungar* (Uppsala: Almqvist och Wiksells Boktryckeri AB, 1922), 247 ff. Article 16 of the 1809 Constitution: “The king should ... compel or cause to compel no one’s conscience, but protect each one in the free exercise of his religion, so far as he does not disturb the tranquility or general indignation of society.” Quoted here from Ahrén, “Religionsfriheten och RF § 16,” 454.

4 Ahrén, “Religionsfriheten och RF § 16,” 454.

5 Erik Sidenwall, “The Elusiveness of Protestantism: The Last Expatriations for ‘Apostasy’ from the Church of Sweden (1858) in a European Perspective,” *Journal of Religious History*, vol. 31, no. 3 (September 2007); Dahlman, P., *Kyrka och stat i 1860 års svenska religionslagstiftning* (Skelleftea: Artos, 2009), 33 f.

6 Dissenter Act of 1860, § 1. Quoted from Dahlman, P., *Kyrka och stat*, 449.

förordningen) adopted the same year. It still had penal provisions for proselytising activity and the spread of “heretical teachings,” but decriminalised apostasy from the “true faith.”⁷ The act referred to defectors as “apostates” (*avfälling*), which in Swedish provided associations to divisive individuals and subversive undertakings. The Dissenter Act of 1873 did away with the pejorative characterisation of those who withdrew from the state church and opened up for the secession of anyone wishing to join another Christian denomination without having to go through a process of admonition led by the priest.

Debates over the terms for withdrawal from the Swedish state church took place regularly over subsequent decades. However, religious freedom and the unconditional right to leave the state church were only granted to all Swedish citizens, irrespective of religious faith, in 1951.⁸ This was the result of a political process that began with the appointment in 1943 of a Committee on the Dissenter Act that was commissioned to recalibrate religion legislation in closer accordance with the prevailing principles of religious freedom.⁹ Sweden’s ratification of the European Convention on Human Rights, adopted by the Council of Europe in 1950, contributed to bringing the process to a close.¹⁰ It now became formally lawful for members of the Swedish state church to disengage from it without having to register with another Christian congregation. Although the supervision of such membership never occurred after 1860, this meant that it was only now formally permissible for former members of the state church to adhere to an atheistic life stance or a non-Christian religion.

In Denmark, the situation in the years leading up to 1849 was much the same as its Scandinavian neighbours. Prior to the 1840s its legislation had much in common with Norway, which until 1814 was subject to Danish sovereignty. From the 18th century there were a number of precepts regulating the exercise of religion in Denmark and Norway. Christian V’s Danish (1683) and Norwegian (1687) Codes held that the only permissible doctrine in the two countries was that of the Evangelical Lutherans, and featured, for example, the death penalty for “Monks, Jesuits and similar Individuals of the Papist Clergy” encoun-

7 Statens offentliga utredningar [State Public Report] (SOU, 1927–13), *Betänkande med förslag angående vidgad rätt till utträde ur Svenska kyrkan jämte därmed sammanhängande frågor*, 47; Statens offentliga utredningar (SOU, 1964–13), *Religionsfrihet*, 17.

8 Sveriges Riksdag [Swedish Parliament], *Religionsfrihetslag* (1951: 680).

9 Statens offentliga utredningar [State Public Report] (SOU, 1949–20), *Dissenterlagskommittén betänkande med förslag till religionsfrihetslag m.m.*, 1.

10 Victoria Enkvist, *Religionsfrihetens rättsliga ramar* (Uppsala: Lustus förlag, 2013), 71.

tered within the king's realms.¹¹ The Conventicle Ordinance (*Konventikkelforordningen*) of 1741 regulated the right to congregate – essentially for Christians within the state church – in a not dissimilar fashion to that of Sweden. The ordinance did not prohibit religious gatherings – on the contrary, it regarded them as both edifying and useful – but they could only occur under the supervision of the local priest. Private devotionals were lawful as long as no outsiders were invited in. Section 8 of the ordinance also granted a limited right of assembly to individuals who were “sincerely seeking God” under certain conditions, first and foremost that the gathering was small and that it lasted only briefly.

The purpose of the ordinance was, of course, to exercise religious control and to maintain the religious unity of the dual monarchy. As arbiter of the state's norms, the church stood at the nucleus, having at its disposition a rostrum and an apparatus through which the power and authority of the state was sanctioned. A monopoly on confession secured its grip on this flow of information.

By 1745, the authorities saw it necessary to clarify the understanding of religious freedom since “in sundry places in Denmark and Norway, quite a number of the King's native subjects have been led not merely astray, but also towards the corruptions of Separatism, by Adherents and Emissaries of Sects entering the Country here from abroad.”¹² The rescript regulated the activities of foreign religious sects. It provided for the right of residence, but under stringent restrictions and with banishment as possible punishment in case of transgression. Foreign sects without royal permission for the “free Practice of Religion in certain Places in the Country” were to be “wholly and utterly forbidden” and placed

11 Christian V's Norwegian Code (1687), 2–1–1. “On Religion”: The sole legal religion in the King's Realms is that in accordance with the Holy Scripture, the Confessions of the Apostles, the First Council of Nicaea and the Athanasian Creed, the 1530 Augsburg Confession and Luther's small Catechism. Original: “Den Religion skal i Kongens Riger og Lande alleene tilstædis, som overeens kommer med den Hellige Bibelske Skrift, det Apostoliske, Nicæniske og Athanasii Symbolis, og den Uforandrede Aar et tusind fem hundrede og tredive overgigen Augsburgiske Bekiendelse, og Lutheri liden Catechismo;” 6–1–3: “Monks, Jesuits and other Papistical clerics found in the King's Realms are to be sentenced to death.” Original: “Munke, Jesuviter og dislige Papistiske Geistlige Personer maa under deris Livs Fortabelse ikke her i Kongens Riger og Lande lade sig finde, eller opholde.” (Quoted here from http://www.hf.uio.no/iakh/tjenester/kunnskap/samlinger/tingbok/kilder/chr5web/chr5_O2_01.html, accessed 10 August 2017.) Clause 2–1–1 has still not been formally removed from Norwegian law, but repealed in practice as a consequence of the Constitution having higher legal status than civil legislation (principle of *Lex Posterior*).

12 Edict (Rescript) 5 March 1745. Here from Fredrik August Wessel-Berg, *Kongelige Rescripter, Resolutioner, Collegial-Breve for Norge i Tidsrummet 1660–1815*. Første bind. 1660–1746 (Christiania: J.W. Cappelen, 1841), 916 ff.

on the first ship out of the country.¹³ Neither was it lawful to remain in the kingdom for those individuals who “will not abide in all Matters [...] according to the Law of the King [...]”¹⁴

In addition, the rescript allowed for a certain degree of religious freedom, and those who, for reasons of conscience, divorced themselves from the official doctrine would be granted the opportunity to resolve their understanding of religion “pending further notice.” If they arrived at the conclusion that they required further freedom, they would be obliged to seek the approval of the king.¹⁵ In any case, it was established that those who were to be “tolerated for the present time” should “bear the Burden with their fellow Citizens” in all matters and otherwise abide by the King’s precepts regarding marriage, burial and “all other discernible Custom.”¹⁶ In addition, the church ritual and stipulations thereof came with further clarifications concerning the religious monopoly.

In Denmark – as in Sweden – a Jewish minority represented a contrast to the hegemonic Evangelical Lutheran church. It had done so since the 1600s, but its presence was carefully regulated, as it had been almost everywhere in Europe where Jews were tolerated.

A breach in the religious ramparts occurred only when Denmark acquired a new Constitution in 1849, the year after the absolute monarchy was in practice abolished. Although the state church was granted privileges and declared a “National Church,” the Constitution proclaimed religious freedom for all without restriction except in cases where the practice of religion led to public unrest or challenged established custom.¹⁷ This brought Denmark out in front in Scandinavia when it came to endorsing a notion of fundamental religious freedom. Yet even though the Constitution unequivocally codified religious freedom, we will see later that in the initial period there were some hazy interpretations as to quite how broadly the reality of religious freedom ought to be understood.

13 Edict (Rescript) 5 March 1745, § 1.

14 Edict (Rescript) 5 March 1745, § 3.

15 Edict (Rescript) 5 March 1745, § 4.

16 Edict (Rescript) 5 March 1745, § 5.

17 Jens Rasmussen, *Religionstolerance og religionsfrihed: Forudsætninger og Grundloven i 1849* (Odense: Syddansk Universitetsforlag, 2009), 237. The 1849 Constitution of the Kingdom of Denmark: “§ 81. Citizens hold the Right to unite in Society to worship God in the Manner that is consistent with their Beliefs, provided, however, that nothing is taught or undertaken that is contrary to Morality or public Order. § 84. No one may be deprived of the full enjoyment of civil and political rights by Reason of his Creed, or evade the Fulfillment of any ordinary civil Duty.” (Quoted and translated from <http://danmarkshistorien.dk/leksikon-og-kilder/vis/materiale/danmarks-riges-grundlov-af-5-juni-1849-junigrundloven/#indhold7>, accessed 12 October 2018).

In this book, Norway is given special attention. Until 1814, the kingdom was subordinated as a territory within the absolutist and multinational state of the Danish king. A national revolt erupted when Norway was ceded to the Swedish king in January 1814, and a constitutional assembly drafted and adopted the *17th of May Constitution* at Eidsvoll, north of Oslo, that same spring. After a brief period of independence under a Norwegian king, a short war with Sweden ended in union later that year. With minor adaptations, Norway held on to its Constitution, restoring Norway as an independent state in a union with Sweden under a joint king. Unless in violation of the Constitution, legislation from the absolutist period under the Danish king was kept as well, including religious regulations.

Norwegian religious policy during the union with Denmark was strict and indoctrinating. Obtaining independence and a constitution did not change that; quite the contrary. The Constitution of 1814 included a ban on Jews (repealed in 1851), monastic orders (repealed in 1898) and Jesuits (repealed in 1956). Mormons were also declared non-Christian in 1853 by the Supreme Court and denied the status of a lawful faith until freedom of religion was codified in the Constitution in 1964. The constitutional ban on certain religious groups not only restricted the parliament's ability to change religious laws – as constitutional amendments required two-thirds majorities within parliament – but was also a vigorous token of exclusion from the nation. These bans and the enforcement of them – especially when it came to Jews – gave Norway an international reputation in the first half of the 19th century as brutal with regard to religious laws.¹⁸

There was no full, codified freedom of religion in Norway until 1964, and until the beginning of the 20th century, it was by no means a reality. At the Eidsvoll Constitutional Assembly in the spring of 1814, there was agreement on complete religious freedom for all Christians, but for reasons unknown it fell away as the Constitution was being ratified. It was only with the repeal of the Conventicle Ordinance in 1842 and the adoption of the Dissenter Act in 1845 (permission to form Christian religious communities) that an allowance was made for the exercise of religion beyond the confines of the official religion of the state, which eventually came to be known as the state church – but this was only for Christians. Although in the wake of the new Penal Code of 1902 there were no longer penal provisions that provided the legal authority to intervene against unlawful religious practice, in a formal sense it was not until the constitutional amendment of 1964 that everyone – Christians and non-Christians alike – was afforded

¹⁸ Frode Ulvund, *Fridomens grenser 1814–1851: Handhevinga av den norske "jødeparagrafen"* (Oslo: Scandinavian Academic Press, 2014), 14, 196.

the equal right to the free exercise of religion.¹⁹ It was only then that the religious regimentation enshrined in Christian V's Norwegian Code of 1687 ceased to have any formal validity. Freedom of religion was later actively regulated by the Faith Communities Act of 1969.

However, the Constitution did not codify a boundless religious freedom. Both in 1974 and in 1980, the Supreme Court ruled that “the Constitution's provision on the right to the free exercise of religion has not been intended to warrant an unrestricted religious freedom that would grant citizens the right to refuse to fulfil a social obligation.”²⁰ These cases concerned individuals belonging to the Jehovah's Witnesses who refused to perform compulsory civilian national service as a substitute for military service, and demonstrated that the right to the exercise of religion was still dependent on compliance with the laws of the land.

The Norwegian state's religious policy in the period following 1814 can be divided into phases with their own distinctive features.²¹ A first phase, up until 1845, was characterised by strict religious regimentation. Religious communities beyond the Evangelical Lutheran state church were tolerated only to a very minor degree. After 1845, Christian religious communities were not placed on an equal footing with the state church, but tolerated and therefore permitted with restrictions. From the second half of the 19th century, religious communities that were not subject to the Dissenter Act were also increasingly tolerated – in the sense that the authorities more often than not refrained from intervening in illegal religious practices.

After the Penal Code entered into force in 1905, intervention against unauthorised religious practices could no longer be grounded in any legal authority, thus ushering in a *de facto* religious freedom. This led to great dissatisfaction among many in political and ecclesiastical circles, and soon provoked attempts to enact special legislation on religion to protect the state church and its doc-

19 Indeed, Norway ratified the European Convention on Human Rights in 1951, which established the free practice of religion, with no other exceptions besides the continued exclusion of Jesuits (see Ulrik Sverdrup-Thygeson, *Grunnlovens forbud mot jesuitter og munkeordener: Religionsfrihet og grunnlovskonservatisme 1814–1956* (MA thesis, University of Oslo, 2009), 90 f.), but this was not incorporated into Norwegian law until 1999.

20 *Norsk Retstidende*, no. 44 (1974): 688 and *Norsk Retstidende*, no. 1 (1980): 537 ff. In the latter case, the first judge to cast his legal opinion referred to the wording of restrictions on religious freedom from 1974.

21 See Frode Ulvund, “‘Til vern og fremme for religionen’: Religion, politikk og rett etter 1814,” in *Mellom gammelt og nytt: Kristendom i Norge på 1800- og 1900-tallet*, ed. Knut Dørum and Helje S. Sødal (Bergen: Fagbokforlaget, 2016).

trine. Although this never led anywhere, there were examples of the application of other laws and instruments to prevent undesirable religious influence. The denial of visas for Mormons in the post-World War I era is one such example; another is the attempt to refuse foreign religious communities a license to purchase property.

Religious communities outside the state church never constituted large groups in any of the Scandinavian societies during the period addressed in this book. Though all the countries were greatly influenced by lay Christian movements, most of these remained within the established church. At the beginning of the 1970s, 95 per cent of the Swedish population were still members of the state church.²² The same was true of Denmark, where over 90 per cent of the population were members of the Danish national church until the latter half of the 1980s.²³ In Norway, only two to three per cent of the population stood apart until after World War II; as late as 1970, 94 per cent of the population were members of the state church.²⁴ Evangelical Lutheranism, within the confines of state church systems, thus held an almost ubiquitous grip on the religious life of the Scandinavian people throughout the period.

In 1875, a quarter of a century after the prohibition on Jews was lifted, there were still only 25 Jews registered in Norway. By 1910 the figure had surpassed a thousand, but as late as the 1930s there were less than 1500 Jews in the country.²⁵ According to the 1865 census, Mormons were the largest group outside the state church, with just over a thousand members.²⁶ Their growth stagnated, however, and between 1875 and 1930 the number remained stable at around 500.²⁷ As Catholics, Jesuits did not form their own religious community, and

22 *Svenska kyrkans medlemsutveckling år 1972–2015*. Svenska kyrkan (<https://www.svenska.kyrkan.se/default.aspx?id=1470789>, accessed 11 October 2018).

23 Danmarks statistik [Statistics Denmark], *65 år i tal. Danmark siden 2. verdenskrig* (København, 2014), 21; Danmarks statistik, *Dansk kultur- og mediestatistik 1980–1992* (København, 1993), table 14.4, 183. Among Danish citizens, the proportion that were members of the established church first dropped below 90% during the 1990s.

24 In 1960 the figure was 96%. Statistisk sentralbyrå [Statistics Norway], *Folketelling 1960*. Hefte VIII. Tabell 1. Personer utenfor statskirken etter trossamfunn. Bygder og byer fylkesvis; Statistisk sentralbyrå (1974). *NOS A 679. Folke- og bolig telling 1970*. Hefte I (Oslo, 1974), 73.

25 Det Statistiske Centralbyrå [Statistics Norway], NOS VII. 192. *Folketellingen i Norge 1930: Trossamfund* (Oslo: Aschehoug, 1932), Tabell 1. Folkemengden i Norge 1875–1930 fordelt etter trossamfund.

26 Det Statistiske Centralbyrå [Statistics Norway]. *Statistisk aarbog for Kongeriget Norge*. Første Aargang. 1880 (Kristiania, 1881), tabell 9:17.

27 Det Statistiske Centralbyrå [Statistics Norway], NOS VII. 192. *Folketellingen i Norge 1930: Trossamfund* (Oslo: Aschehoug, 1932), Tabell 1. Folkemengden i Norge 1875–1930 fordelt etter trossamfund.

were moreover banned until 1956. Nor did the Roman Catholic Church collectively constitute a major group. It experienced gradual growth from the time it was permitted in Norway in 1843, but in 1930 it still had fewer than three thousand members from a population approaching three million.²⁸ In 1920, when more than 99 per cent of Swedes were members of the state church, the most significant groups outside it were Baptists (7,265), the Jewish community (6,469), Methodists (5,452) and Catholics (3,425). Other faith communities all had fewer than three hundred members.²⁹ In Denmark in the same period, the Catholic Church was clearly the largest among the two per cent who stood apart from the state church (22,137). Behind them came those of no faith at all (12,744), Baptists (6,989), the Jewish community (5,947), and Methodists (4,858).³⁰

Although religious pluralism must be said to have constituted a marginal feature in Scandinavia due to such complete domination by the established churches, certain religious minorities nevertheless came under the spotlight, branded as a menace to society and viewed as an undesirable problem. This was the case in Sweden and Norway for almost the entire period until full religious freedom was introduced in the 1950s and 1960s, and in Denmark especially until the end of the 19th century. Some religious groups were portrayed as dangerous by key individual authorities within the church, in parts of the state apparatus, and by a variety of other actors in public debate. In that “false” religions and sects stirred religious confusion, and led apostates away from the state churches and towards eternal spiritual damnation, they were in part described as a religious threat. But as Christian-liberal ideas gained a foothold in the 19th century, the tool of religious coercion became problematic and controversial.

At the same time, religious communities outside the state churches were in many cases portrayed as *politically* dangerous. This was justified by allegations against their lack of loyalty to the state and its laws, their aspirations towards theocracy, and the charge that some religious communities represented a morality that was corrosive to state and society. A number of religions were seen as pretexts for political programs with agendas that, both politically and morally, were of a disruptive nature. Many leading figures in the clergy and religious policy thus depicted them as dangerous societal foes. It was far more credible to oppose religious deviation from the state church as harmful to political and social mores

²⁸ Det Statistiske Centralbyrå [Statistics Norway], NOS VII. 192. *Folketellingen i Norge 1930: Trossamfund* (Oslo: Aschehoug, 1932), Tabell 1. Folkemengden i Norge 1875–1930 fordelt efter trossamfund.

²⁹ SOU 1927–13, 63.

³⁰ SOU 1927–13, 426.

than as a spiritual threat. In Denmark, which established freedom of religion in the Constitution as early as 1849, such notions were less prominent from the second half of the 19th century and religious groups were therefore construed less as a political or national peril, although Mormons in particular were also regarded as a problem there until the first two decades of the 20th century.

During this period, a number of different religious groups with origins beyond the borders of Scandinavia were perceived as representing a political challenge. In Norway, Quakers quickly came into conflict with the church and the government after the Napoleonic Wars, when the first converts returned from English captivity. This triggered both political and legal investigations into their religious practices.³¹ Before the Norwegian Dissenter Act was passed in 1845, certain Quakers were granted individual permits to practise their religion, albeit within a very strict framework. They were nevertheless still distrusted and disliked, and seen by some as representatives of “wild, unlawful Republicanism or even Anarchy,” as the pastor of Skjold parish in western Norway referred to them in 1827.³² This was mainly due to their pronounced pacifism and unwillingness to take oaths, and within the clerical order probably also to their outspokenness on matters of theology.

In northern Norway, the spread of Laestadianism in the mid-1800s challenged not only the state church, but also national unity and control. Laestadianism had strong ethnic associations and was closely linked to the Sami indigenous population and Kven immigrants from Finland. Hostile images were formed not only portraying Laestadians as religiously problematic, but also linking them to a security and ethnic threat to the nation.³³ It was within this context that Laestadianism was understood to be instrumental to a proactive Finnish nationalism in the northern regions, and therefore perceived as a “Finnish danger.”³⁴

In this book, I will discuss three other foreign religious groups or minorities: Jews, Mormons, and Jesuits. For periods in the era from around 1790 until about the middle of the 20th century, all were regarded as a particular danger by po-

31 Frode Ulvund, “‘Grundlovens Taushed’: Høgsterett og religionsfridomen mellom Grunnlova og dissentarlova,” *Teologisk Tidsskrift*, no. 4 (2014).

32 Letter from pastor Thomas Swensen in Skjold to senior rector Paul Knutsen in Jelsa, quoted here from Andreas Seierstad, *Kyrkjeleg reformarbeid i Norig i nittande hundreaaret* (Bergen, 1923), 340.

33 Rolf Inge Larsen, *Religion og fiendebilder – læstadianismen, statskirken og kvenene 1870–1940* (PhD diss., University of Tromsø, 2012).

34 Einar Niemi and Knut Einar Eriksen, *Den finske fare: Sikkerhetsproblemer og minoritetspolitikk i nord 1860–1940* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1981), 52f.

litical and clerical-theological authorities and institutions – and, for that matter, by wider society. What they also had in common was that they came into conflict with the Scandinavian authorities in different ways. This was especially true in Norway, partly due to constitutional prohibitions. In Sweden, and in Denmark too until the beginning of the 20th century, confrontations with and political and legal persecution of adherents of other creeds occurred from time to time, including banishments and restrictions on entry.

It is crucial to set out who perceived these groups as dangerous, and why this happened. As for the consequences of these notions for the minorities themselves, this book will confine itself to a discussion of the various authorities' overarching religious policies. There will be a focus on how hegemonic images of religious "others" were constructed and gained political significance in social debate, and not on a discussion of the validity of these notions or a demonstration of attempts to create counter-representations. The ways in which these minorities saw themselves, and the everyday experiences or perceptions they gained by being considered dangerous, will not, therefore, be a major theme here.

Notions of the political and societal hazards posed by these religious minorities had many parallels, and objections to one minority could just as well be used against another. The quote from the newspaper *Morgenbladet* that opens this chapter illustrates an assertion of danger while simultaneously linking these groups together. The idea that religious minorities such as Jews, Mormons and Jesuits constituted a real threat towards society was founded on a master narrative in which religious "Others" were represented as foreign and cosmopolitan powers. Dutch historian Krijn Thijs defines such a narrative as "an ideal typical 'narrative frame' whose pattern is repeated, reproduced and confirmed by highly diverse historical practices."³⁵ This was very much the case for the religious groups discussed in this book.

In many ways, these notions also sprang from the same well, and it will be essential to show the extent to which there was continuity in the descriptions of danger when the various minorities were being mentioned. One example is the notion that Jews, Jesuits, and Mormons all formed a "state within the state" and therefore threatened the sovereignty of the political powers.

These representations – like the minorities themselves – were distinctly transnational. Descriptions of religious "others" were strongly influenced by

³⁵ Krijn Thijs, "The Metaphor of the Master: 'Narrative Hierarchy' in National Historical Cultures of Europe," in *The Contested Nation: Ethnicity, Class, Religion and Gender in National Histories*, ed. Stefan Berger and Chris Lorenz Basingstoke: (Palgrave MacMillan, 2008), 68.

conceptions and circumstances beyond the individual countries. Assertions of political peril circulated within and between various intellectual and public spheres.³⁶ Being imported and applied, they yielded little to national frontiers. As such, these ideas typically appear to be relatively stable in form, while at the same time the ways in which they were employed can be characterised both by dynamism and a great capacity to be transferred into actualised “threats.”

It is impossible to understand how ideas of religious pluralism as a political danger could typify the governments and societies of Scandinavia during this era without being familiar with the European history of these conceptions from the period prior. Conceptions about these groups must, therefore, be placed into a historical context, not least by tracing their European and Scandinavian roots in the period leading up to the end of the 18th century. Likewise, being acquainted with the history of toleration and the concept of it in the preceding period is imperative to understanding the legitimacy of exclusion, especially as it was expressed by the founding fathers of the Norwegian Constitution at Eidsvoll, and in the Swedish Riksdag. A discussion of the perception of religious aberration as a social peril in Scandinavia from the late 18th century onwards is therefore inconceivable if one does not illuminate the international and historical contexts of these religious policies and notions. Accordingly, representations that were active in Scandinavia ought also to be seen against their international backdrops. This also implies demonstrating that religious freedom in the West at the beginning of the 19th century was, in reality, an abstraction, and that dissenting religious practices were not ordinarily enshrined in rights, but in reluctant permissions. There was also a common belief among intellectual elites and authorities in the West that political threats would more easily justify an absence of toleration than religious objections could.

In the first part of the 19th century, Jews were generally disliked and mistrusted in all the Scandinavian countries. Yet this nevertheless resulted in religious policy taking divergent courses: segregation in Sweden, assimilation in Denmark, and exclusion in Norway. The view of Jews as a political danger – regardless of the choice of direction – was in large part a shared notion. In this book the Norwegian prohibition on Jews from 1814 to 1851, in particular, will be illuminated in its continental and Scandinavian context. The ban must be understood in light of claims that because they were morally corrupt, politically

³⁶ See Pierre-Yves Saunier, *Transnational History* (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2013) for a theoretical discussion of transnationalism. This book is inspired by his usage of concepts such as *circulation*, *circuit* and *connectors* to describe and explain how ideas, notions and attitudes move across national borders.

disloyal, and hostile towards any non-Jewish nation, Jews were unsuitable citizens of Christian states. Such representations were central prior to 1814, during what was called the Jewish emancipation, and in the years that followed, but were less pronounced in public remarks on the Jews, especially among government officials, from the 1840s onwards.

The first missionaries from the Mormon Church in Utah (The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints) arrived in Denmark and Sweden in 1850, and in Norway in 1851 – the same year that the Norwegian ban on Jews was lifted. They rapidly came into conflict with the church and government, and unleashed great passion among the general public. The Norwegian Supreme Court declared them non-Christians in 1853, and in the same year the Norwegian government denied them the protections of the Dissenter Act for reasons both political and religious. This occurred in contrast to Jews, whose religious practice was regulated by the Dissenter Act in 1851, even though they were not Christians.

Mormons were portrayed as communists and, in Norway, as kindred Thranites (from the workers movement led by Marcus Thrane around 1850), in addition to being referred to as the Mohammedans of the West, said to harbour ambitions towards theocracy. From the 1860s, Mormons were for the greater part tacitly tolerated by Scandinavian authorities for fear that legal persecution would make martyrs of them. Yet they were long referred to as “enemies of the social order,” and the doctrine of polygamy in particular inspired lengthy accusations that they were engaged in the white slave trade of Scandinavian girls. In the interwar period, attempts were made to keep them out of Scandinavia by denying them visas. As late as 1955 their approval as Christians was rejected in Norway, thereby denying them the protections of the Dissenter Act. In 1896, Japanese citizens were granted free religious practice in Norway by means of a treaty agreement. This drew attention to the fact that there was still an absence of universal religious freedom for non-Christians in Norway in the late 1800s.³⁷ At the same time – along with the treatment of the Jews in 1851 – this demonstrated that the prohibition on non-Christian religious practice was nonetheless not grounded in principle, and that the staunch rejection of Mormons was not, therefore, mere happenstance, but highly intentional.

³⁷ *Stortingsforhandlingar*. Del 2b. Sth. Prp. No 107 (1896). [Records of the Proceedings of the Norwegian Parliament (Storting). Part 2b. Proposition to ratify The Treaty of Amity, Trade and Shipping (“Venskabs-, Handels- og Søfartstraktat”) between Norway/Sweden and Japan (1896)], Article I. The treaty did not specify to which religion(s) this applied. In this period, Shintoism was the state religion and, along with Buddhism, dominated among Japanese citizens, but the Japanese Constitution of 1868 had codified free religious practice for all its citizens.

The perception of Mormons in Scandinavia should be seen against an American context, and in how the view of the religion there was characterised by an investment in the ideal of religious freedom. This contributed towards anti-Mormonism in the United States being couched in political-moral terms rather than religious ones, and the promotion of robust countermeasures being rooted in an alleged political danger to the American republic. A question here is to what extent this influenced how Mormons were represented in Scandinavia.

A ban on Jesuits (monks ordained in the Catholic order of the Society of Jesus) was also written into the Norwegian Constitution in 1814, and the reasoning behind it had clear points of contact with the prohibition of Jews. The Jesuits were referred to as a state within the state throughout the 18th century, with a lack of loyalty towards secular authorities to the benefit of a supranational papacy. They, too, were alleged to have designs on theocracy. While the Norwegian prohibition of Jews was abolished in 1851, the Jesuit ban would remain in force until 1956. In Denmark and Sweden, however, Jesuits established themselves in the 1870s and 1880s respectively. The long contours in the representation of the Jesuits' political threat will be outlined here, but engaging with representations of this group when the constitutional ban was addressed in the Norwegian parliament in 1897, in 1925 and in 1956 will be of particular importance.

The Norwegian debate on the Jesuits ought to be examined up against similar debates outside the country, especially in Sweden. In the 1920s, the "Catholic danger" became an important public issue in Sweden, and within ecclesiastical circles this was also elevated to a Scandinavian arena.³⁸ In the same decade, an attempt to lift the ban in the Norwegian Constitution failed. This renders it natural to investigate whether these debates influenced each other or bore similar features. The last major anti-Catholic discussions in the Swedish Riksdag took place as late as 1961, five years after the repeal of the Jesuit clause in Norway, during the debate on whether Belgian Carmelite nuns ought to be allowed to establish a convent in the country.

Although these notions of Jews, Mormons, and Jesuits belonged to a transnational mindset, and were expressions of stereotypes that flowed freely across borders, the application of them was clearly also an expression of religious nationalism in which religious affiliation constituted a significant factor in the for-

38 Yvonne Maria See Werner, "'The Catholic Danger': The Changing Patterns of Swedish Anti-Catholicism – 1850–1965," in *European Anti-Catholicism in a Comparative and Transnational Perspective*, ed. Yvonne M. Werner and Jonas Harvard, J. European Studies no. 31 (Amsterdam-New York: Rodopi, 2013), 135ff.

mation of national identity.³⁹ One of this book's points of departure is an understanding that borderland mechanisms are pivotal for group identity by defining the boundaries between exclusion and inclusion. The idea that collective identity is not so much defined by the characteristics of what a group contains (such as culture) as it is by self-perceived boundaries was developed by the Norwegian social anthropologist Fredrik Barth several decades ago.⁴⁰ Barth discussed the importance of boundary-making and boundary maintenance as mechanisms that define ethnic groups. In his seminal work, symbols were instrumental in demarcating differences between groups. The concept has also been applied to nations, and to the construction and maintenance of national identity by stressing the boundaries, and the differences that they make evident. An early example is the US political scientist John Armstrong who, with reference to Barth, emphasised comparison with strangers and exclusion as key elements in group definition and in defining the nation.⁴¹ Another more recent example is Chris Lorenz, who emphasises the relational character of collective identity and the phenomenon of identity construction by negation. *In-groups* are consequently defined in relation to *out-groups*, he argues, and representations of others identify "a difference that makes difference."⁴² Inclusion in a collective, such as a nation, re-

39 See Svein Ivar Angell, *Frå splid til nasjonal integrasjon: Norsk nasjonalisme i mellomkrigstida*. Kult skriftserie no. 29/Nasjonal identitet no. 4 (Oslo: Norges forskningsråd, 1994) for a discussion on religious nationalism in Norway. See also Philip W. Barker, *If God Be For Us: Religious Nationalism in Modern Europe* (PhD diss., University of Colorado, 2005), 21ff for a discussion of concepts.

40 Fredrik Barth, "Introduction," in *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Culture Difference*, ed. Fredrik Barth (Bergen-Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1969), 15ff. Particularly on the basis of the American psychologist Gordon Allport's classic analysis from 1954, an extensive field of social psychological research has developed that has studied similar relationships between different groups in society more generally, and how inner affiliation and identity develop with or without the use of "scapegoat groups" as common external and contrasting enemies. This is often referred to as "ingroup love, outgroup hate." See Gordon W. Allport, *The Nature of Prejudice* (Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley Pub. Co., 1979 [1954]), where, among other things, he discussed how Jews were given a "scapegoating" role. For a discussion of Allport's legacy, see the anthology *On the Nature of Prejudice: Fifty Years After Allport*, eds. John F. Dovidio, Peter Glick and Lurie Rudman (Malden, Mass.: Blackwell Publishing, 2005).

41 John Armstrong, *Nations Before Nationalism* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1982), 5.

42 Chris Lorenz, "Representations of Identity: Ethnicity, Race, Class, Gender and Religion: An Introduction to Conceptual History," in *The Contested Nation: Ethnicity, Class, Religion and Gender in National Histories*, ed. Stefan Berger and Chris Lorenz (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2008), 31.

quires concurrent exclusion, Lorenz explains.⁴³ Stuart Hall has connected this explicitly to representational practices typically understood as “stereotyping,” arguing that “difference” is essential to meaning and that the latter could not exist without the former.⁴⁴

Jews, Mormons, and Jesuits were portrayed to the Scandinavian societies as foreign, and all three minorities also had roots outside of these countries. They were also commonly depicted as representatives of foreign, cosmopolitan powers and thus as unpatriotic entities alien to the nation. Consequently, opposition to them was an expression of exclusion on nationalistic grounds. As excluded “Others,” they enabled inclusion for members of the nation’s in-group, and as stereotyped symbols of otherness, they constituted important instruments in the making and maintenance of the nation’s boundaries.

The discourse that justified the need for national preservation bore transnational traits. In this manner, transnational conceptions contributed towards defining national identity. At the same time, they helped to define what it meant to be a good citizen of the nation by identifying and defining a form of anti-citizen – in contrast to a good citizen. This was important in a period – from the end of the 18th century onwards – when new understandings of the concepts of nation and citizen were being thematised in Europe and as new national communities were being defined and consolidated throughout the 19th and 20th centuries. In this way, Jews, Mormons, and Jesuits all played important nation-building roles by virtue of their outsidersness.

In showing how these religious minorities were perceived in Scandinavia from the end of the 18th century onwards, important historical aspects of the perception of religious otherness in the Scandinavian countries will also be thematised. Common to all the groups was that their existence in all the countries was perceived as a danger to society – with societal upheaval as a potential outcome. Despite the stark warnings and allegations of the serious consequences of allowing and tolerating these minorities, another commonality is that they did not, in the end, provoke social upheaval or pose significant challenges to the state.

On the contrary, Jews and Mormons formed religious communities that were in many ways integrated into an increasingly pluralistic religious society, and the “Jesuit danger” has been absent as a trope in Scandinavian public debate since the 1950s. The representation of the threat posed to society by these groups thus

⁴³ Lorenz, “Representations of Identity,” 25.

⁴⁴ Stuart Hall, “The Spectacle of the ‘Other’,” in *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*, ed. Stuart Hall (London-Thousand Oaks-New Delhi: Sage Publication, 1997), 225, 234 f.

appears to be a moral panic set in motion by an anxious majority society's brush with religious heterodoxy. For this reason the theme of this book is not only of historical relevance, but also of timeliness in a contemporary debate on religious otherness and in the discourse on the threat to society presented by religious pluralism.

2 Tolerating religious pluralism?

Freedom of religion as historical abstraction

At the beginning of the 19th century, freedom of religion was no self-evident matter, and nor had it been in the preceding centuries. Religious doctrines and practices that diverged from the dominant and often state-privileged practice of religion might be tolerated in some places, but parity between religions or religious communities was a rarity.

Until the 1790s, there were no states that practised complete religious freedom. The United States' Constitution was amended in 1791 to prevent the restriction of religious freedom by federal authorities, but it was not binding on the respective states; there, toleration was fickle. The French Revolution brought what had historically been a highly anti-Protestant French state to the forefront when it came to religious freedom, but for a long time, this was an exception. A number of religious communities were tolerated in the Netherlands, but until the establishment of the Batavian Republic in 1795 – in the shadow of the French Revolution and notably under French domination – their freedoms were limited and subordinated to a privileged Calvinist church. In England, Protestant dissenters had received permission to practise their religion in 1689, albeit with restrictions and without being granted full political rights before 1828.¹ Catholics were accorded limited permission for the public exercise of their religion in 1791, but it was not until 1829 that they were given the right to sit in the UK Parliament.² Prior to that, Catholics were for all practical purposes excluded from public life in Britain.

The free practice of religion was, therefore, seldom a constitutional right, but in some cases dispensations were granted by sovereigns or other political powers. As such, the same dispensations could also be rescinded, and certain religious practices could be circumscribed or prohibited at whim. History is replete with just such examples of this.

In places where they were permitted entry, Jews in particular experienced very little in the way of predictable legal conditions. This is exemplified not only by the expulsion of Sephardic Jews from the Iberian Peninsula beginning

¹ Justin Champion, "Toleration and Citizenship in Enlightenment England: John Toland and the Naturalization of the Jews, 1714–1753," in *Toleration in Enlightenment Europe*, ed. Ole Peter Grell and Roy Porter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 133 ff.

² Ursula Henriques, *Religious Toleration in England 1787–1833* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 2007 [1961]), 136 ff.

from the end of the 1400s, but also with states and cities that were relatively accommodating towards Jews. The Prussian capital of Berlin in the 18th century was an example of exactly that.³

One of the best-known examples concerns the Calvinist Protestants in France – the *Huguenots*. They were permitted to practise their religion following the edict issued by King Henry IV (1553–1610) in 1598 as a result of the religious wars of the period. With repetitive formulations of the type “we have permitted,” the edict detailed specifically what the Huguenots were allowed to do, while at the same time, through formulations such as “we expressly forbid,” it also revealed the extent of the permission’s limits. In this way the edict clearly emphasised that the Huguenot’s practice of religion was not a liberty, but an authorisation, an act of benevolence on the part of the monarch. By the end of the 1600s the Huguenots’ permissions were gradually being curtailed, before Louis XIV (1638–1715) abolished the edict entirely in 1685. French Protestants were then given the choice of converting to Catholicism or leaving the country. In 1787, on the eve of the French Revolution and as an act of grace by the French absolute king, the Huguenots were again allowed to practise their religion.

As pointed out by historians Ole Peter Grell and Roy Porter in the anthology *Toleration in Enlightenment Europe*, in the Western world of the 18th century religious toleration was at best partial, and where granted often contested and subject to reversal.⁴ Religious politics during *L’Ancien Régime* – another name for Europe’s pre-revolutionary and more or less feudal and autocratic society – was based on dispensations, acts of grace issued by obliging sovereigns or other powers in positions to do so. Religious aberration could thus be tolerated, but not treated on an equal footing with the dominant or state religion. Religious persecution was therefore not necessarily controversial, and the idea of discriminating against or excluding religious groups could be viewed as an entirely legitimate policy.

Tolerance and toleration

The concepts of *tolerance* and *toleration* require clarification. In the English language, the two terms are distinguishable. Both have roots in the Latin *tolerantia*. *Tolerance* is usually defined by individual characteristics and virtues, as the four

³ For the changing legal status of Jews in Germany, see Moses Elon, *The Pity of it All: A Portrait of Jews in Germany 1743–1933* (London: Penguin, 2004).

⁴ Ole Peter Grell and Roy Porter, eds., *Toleration in Enlightenment Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 1.

cardinal virtues were understood from antiquity. Prudence, justice, temperance and courage were all virtues that characterised an individual's fundamentally positive and appealing qualities. Similarly, *tolerance* is understood as a virtue – in moral terms, a positively charged inherent trait: an inclination or ability to be tolerant. *Toleration* is not a question of virtues, but rather of enduring something – i.e. a practice – one actually dislikes.⁵ This also implies that the noun *toleration* can be repurposed as a verb: to tolerate.

In Scandinavian languages and in a number of central European languages, there is no distinction between the nouns *tolerance* and *toleration*. This leads to a loss of nuance, since the English concept of *toleration* is thus something other than the more general Scandinavian *toleranse*. Religious politics is about practising toleration, or perhaps intolerance, in a pragmatic political context. Central to this book's theme, therefore, is how *toleration* has been practised by authorities at different levels, and what has shaped the boundaries of what could be tolerated.

Until the mid-18th century, *toleration* as a concept of action (*Handlungsbegriff* in German) was primarily applicable to the field of church politics, and concerned questions about permitting aberrant religious practices and teachings. According to church historian Gerhard Besier, it was not until after the century's midpoint that the term began to be applied to forms of freedom of conscience other than the religious.⁶ As such, toleration was for a long period closely tied to the religious sphere and a politico-religious discourse.

The literature discussing the concept of toleration is extensive, but there is an intersubjective consensus that the term comprises certain components.⁷ That which is to be tolerated must first give rise to an aversion, something that is disliked and to which one has clear and deeply held objections. Toleration is not, therefore, equivalent to indifference or passivity.

American philosopher Andrew Jason Cohen has discussed the term in several of his works. He underscores that neither is toleration an equal of pluralism in the form of enthusiastic endorsement of difference.⁸ Toleration does not apply to

⁵ See for example Michael Walzer, *On Toleration* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997), 8 ff.

⁶ Gerhard Besier, "XI. 'Toleranz' als religionspolitischer Begriff im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert," in *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe: Historisches Lexikon zur politisch-sozialen Sprache in Deutschland*. Bind 6, ed. Otto Brunner, Werner Conze and Reinhart Koselleck (Stuttgart, Klett-Cotta, 1990), Chapter "Toleranz," 495 ff.

⁷ See Preston King, *Toleration* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1976). Rainer Forst, *Toleration in Conflict: Past and Present* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 17 ff.

⁸ Andrew Jason Cohen, "What Toleration Is," *Ethics*, vol. 115, no. 1 (October 2004): 74 ff.

that in which one has no involvement, yet nevertheless encourages or holds a positive view of. Nor is toleration necessarily the same as non-intervention. One can attempt to convince someone to change a practice one dislikes, yet permit or accept the practice after the attempt has failed.

Cohen therefore distinguishes between relativism and toleration. Toleration requires an acknowledgment or appreciation of one's own indulgence of an aversion, not an understanding that others' views or practices are "as good" as one's own. Toleration, then, primarily concerns self-restraint towards aversion.

At the same time, this displeasure must be tolerated voluntarily and not as a result of external coercion. Toleration is therefore the discretionary permitting of something to which one has an aversion. It is further noted that the boundaries of what is being tolerated are under continuous evaluation and are therefore also subject to change. Toleration can thus be rendered invalid, and a previously tolerated religious practice or doctrine can become considered intolerable, or vice versa.

In the sense that those who are tolerated are in a subordinate and vulnerable position in a hierarchy dominated by those who tolerate them, toleration thus emerges as being closely associated with hegemony and the exercise of power. This connection also allows Jürgen Habermas, for example, to define *tolerance* as a form of individual political virtue, while he reserves *toleration* for the legal permission granted by the state to practise a religion that deviates from the state's own.⁹ The individual's ability to tolerate (*tolerance*) is a virtue, while the practice of *toleration* is politics.

In such a power-oriented context, therefore, toleration and persecution are not polar opposites, but two different aspects of the same issue. In his work *The Rights of Man* from 1792, the British radical and political philosopher Thomas Paine (1737–1809) defined toleration as intolerance in disguise, concluding that both were markers of despotism. The French Constitution had abolished and renounced both toleration and intolerance as well as establishing universal human rights, he explained, continuing: "Toleration is not the opposite of Intolerance, but is the counterfeit of it. Both are despotisms."¹⁰ While one bestowed upon itself the right to grant freedom of conscience, the other conferred the right to deny it. One represented the pope with fire and flaming torches, the other the pope selling indulgences. One was church and state, the other church and commerce.

⁹ Jürgen Habermas, "Religious Tolerance: The Pacemaker for Cultural Rights," *Philosophy*, vol. 79, no. 307 (January 2004): 5.

¹⁰ Thomas Paine, *Thomas Paine Reader*, eds. M. Foot and I. Kamnick (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1987), 231f.

Both toleration and persecution concern the dislike of something, but represent different reactions to the same aversion. Persecution is an attempt to eradicate or actively combat something one dislikes, while toleration is to withstand or endure suffering. One tolerates, for example, a religion in the same way one tolerates pain. And as with pain, toleration could also have its outer limit, a threshold beyond which the suffering became too great to endure.

Toleration therefore provides a framework for the exercise of religion. However, as long as it is only an expression of temporary dispensations, it does not provide a framework for religious *freedom*. Since it is granted as a form of favour by a hegemonic power and can be withdrawn at any time, it is, in the best case, a provisional religious freedom.

Toleration is not, therefore, a marker of parity or equality between religions or religious communities. In the first instance, this requires a clear constitutional codification of religious freedom and a balanced framework for the practice of religion. Then it becomes a *liberty*, and not merely a permitted – tolerated – activity. Only then will what German philosopher Rainer Forst describes as toleration's *concept of permission* be supplanted by a *concept of respect*, and freedom of religion established as a civil liberty.¹¹

The practice of toleration

Freedom of religion as an idea is often linked to the Enlightenment era, and especially to canonical texts by John Locke (1632–1704) and Pierre Bayle (1647–1706), and later also Voltaire (1694–1778) and Moses Mendelssohn (1729–1786). Their ideas have traditionally been contrasted with the religious despotism and brutal persecutions of earlier periods – especially the Middle Ages – with their foundations in Catholicism, and inquisitions and burnings at the stake as their “pinnacle.”

The American John Rawls, one of the most distinguished theorists within political philosophy in the latter part of the 20th century, implied that the growing practice of religious toleration was a necessary forerunner of modern liberalism: “The historical origin of political liberalism is the Reformation and its aftermath, with the long controversies over religious toleration in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.”¹²

¹¹ Forst, *Toleration in Conflict*, 26 ff.

¹² John Rawls, *Political Liberalism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), xxvi.

Religious toleration emerged as the midwife of an individualism that increasingly challenged the corporations and hierarchy of the time, and toleration was thus portrayed as a historical imperative for the emergence of individual rights and modern democracy.

Not just the influential book by Henry Kamen, *The Rise of Toleration* from the 1960s, but also the far more recent and widely read *How the Idea of Religious Toleration Came to the West* (2003) by Perez Zagorin, begin from just such a teleologically oriented narrative.¹³ For them, the Middle Ages were characterised by the Catholic Church's sanctioning and practice of religious persecution, including as a result the papist inquisition and the killing of countless Christians whom the Church declared to be heretics. The Reformation did not improve matters. On the contrary, the Protestant denominations and states were no less intolerant of "heretics" than the Catholic Church had been. According to Zagorin, it was the long and terrible history of Christianity's inhumanity in the face of religious pluralism that caused Voltaire to declare Christianity the most intolerant of all religions.¹⁴

Zagorin writes that the evolution of religious toleration from the Enlightenment onwards has been long and complicated, but nevertheless fully characterised by a steady strengthening of the idea in Western consciousness, and by an ever-increasing recognition that toleration was a right for all individuals and religions. In his argument he refers to the fact that that toleration's gradual emergence and realisation in the body of laws and institutions was part of the Western evolution towards "political freedom, democracy, and – in the widest, least doctrinaire sense – toward a liberal society protective of individual rights."¹⁵

American historian Jeffrey Collins argues that when it comes to liberalism, such a linear view essentially passes down an origin myth. In a historiographical review of recent research literature, he points to anachronistic problems in the narrative as well as to the use of religious toleration as a measure of the status of individual civil rights being questionable.¹⁶ The traditionally strong link between toleration and freedom of religion is criticised as presentist: It maintains an understanding of the concept of toleration that is based upon a modern and liberal context in which toleration is associated with liberties, and not with power or despotism.

¹³ Henry Kamen, *The Rise of Toleration* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1967); Perez Zagorin, *How the Idea of Toleration came to the West* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003).

¹⁴ Zagorin, *How the Idea of Toleration*, 2f.

¹⁵ Zagorin, *How the Idea of Toleration*, 299f.

¹⁶ Jeffrey R. Collins, "Redeeming the Enlightenment: New Histories of Religious Toleration," *The Journal of Modern History*, vol. 81, no. 3 (September 2009): 610.

Collins shows how, in recent decades, greater emphasis has been placed on distinguishing between toleration as an idea and a practice, and also that toleration was practised in different ways and at different levels throughout the Middle Ages and up to the Enlightenment. The Reformation and the subsequent Age of Enlightenment, he argues, do not thus mark as great a dividing line in the emergence of a “civilised” and tolerant society as has often been portrayed.

Historian István Bejczy explains that the modern understanding of the concept of toleration is a product of recent times, especially of the Enlightenment.¹⁷ By way of conceptual historical analysis, he shows how the concept of *tolerantia* has shifted meaning in the period from antiquity to the modern age. While the classical and early Christian understanding of *tolerantia* emphasised the individual’s endurance of affliction, in the Middle Ages the term was also given a social and political substance. In that period it stood for the indulgence of evil or harmful people (the immoral; heretics; heathens), exercised by people with power. Such forbearance was not an expression of benevolence or respect, but a calculated practice – a policy – whereby the permitting of sin was effected in order to prevent an even greater wrong or peril. Jews and Muslims could be tolerated to establish order; prostitutes could be tolerated to avoid rape and homosexuality. The benefits and pitfalls of tolerating were assessed alongside each other, and if the advantages were perceived to outweigh the disadvantages or the reluctance, toleration could be the outcome – yet those being tolerated provoked aversion all the same.

As a social and political concept, *tolerantia* was borrowed from the individual sphere, and both object and subject of toleration – the tolerated and those who tolerated – became collectivities. Thus, in many languages the term also gained a double meaning, both as a virtue and as a practice. The tolerated were groups of people who appeared to be an affliction on or danger to society, and the tolerating parties were no longer individuals, but institutions that exercised power on behalf of society. *Tolerantia*, in the sense of *toleration*, was therefore associated in the Middle Ages with political restraint characterised by the absence of – or, at least, restraint in the use of – disciplinary and corrective means of coercion on the part of the executive powers, since such an absence was politically opportune.¹⁸

Because toleration was about regulating hatred and not about respect or freedom, in the Middle Ages and for centuries to come this gave the term a det-

¹⁷ István Bejczy, “Tolerantia: A Medieval Concept,” *Journal of the History of Ideas*, vol. 58, no. 3 (July 1997): 365.

¹⁸ Bejczy, “Tolerantia,” 368.

rimental and derogatory resonance. Being intolerant was thus not necessarily viewed as a negative trait – rather the contrary, since toleration was associated with opportunism. In 1691, for example, French bishop Jacques Bossuet could proudly proclaim that Catholicism was the least tolerant of all religions and confessions, and as such was implicitly the least opportunistic.¹⁹

In the same year that Bejczys published his article, the anthology *Beyond the Persecuting Society*, edited by Cary Nederman and John Laursen, was also released. Here, Nederman argued that if medieval Christianity did not provide the framework for a fully open society evaluated on what she calls “post-Enlightenment standards,” neither did it represent a closed and monolithic “persecuting society,” as the period has often been portrayed.²⁰ A central thesis for the anthology is that toleration was present both as an idea and as a practice in the Middle Ages and in early modern times, and thus long before the Age of Enlightenment.

In *Divided by Faith. Religious Conflict and the Practice of Toleration in Early Modern Europe*, Benjamin Kaplan also confronted what he described as the myth of how toleration and liberalism emerged – that is, the story of how the idea of toleration was first formulated by the important and visionary Enlightenment thinkers, and later sustained and institutionalised by a few progressive sovereigns who had been enlightened by reason.²¹ Just as Norbert Elias presented his grand theory of the civilisation process as a change in mentality that initially took root in the elite and gradually spread to the masses, toleration’s narrative has a similar linear evolution from persecution to toleration: first with a breakthrough among an elite, then with a dissemination to the general populace. Kaplan criticises this narrative as a product and heritage of the Enlightenment era and shows how toleration was practised by most people in their communities long before the Enlightenment. People of different religions or denominations largely lived their daily lives alongside one another – resorting neither to violence nor to persecution.

Local investigations, which shift the focus from central government legislation and policy to practices across a variety of urban and rural communities, substantiate Kaplan’s portrayal of peaceful coexistence across religious divides

¹⁹ Alexandra Walsham, *Charitable Hatred: Tolerance and Intolerance in England, 1500–1700* (New York: Manchester University Press, 2006), 5.

²⁰ Cary J. Nederman, “Introduction: Discourse and Contexts of Tolerance in Medieval Europe,” in *Beyond the Persecuting Society: Religious Toleration Before the Enlightenment*, ed. John C. Laursen and Cary J. Nederman (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997), 23.

²¹ Benjamin Kaplan, *Divided by Faith: Religious Conflict and the Practice of Toleration in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007), 7.

in several places. This happened not least because social order in the local community was in most people's interests.²² Thus, to a great extent, everyday toleration as a practice is also a social phenomenon, not just a political one.

In recent times it is not just the narrative of the lack of toleration before the Enlightenment that has encountered academic resistance among historians. Master narratives about the growth of toleration – from persecution to toleration and freedom – have also been contested and nuanced. This is particularly true of the representations of the Netherlands and America as the birthplaces and ports of refuge of religious freedom in a world that, in pre-revolutionary times, was otherwise encircled by religious regimentation and intolerance.

The Netherlands and religious segregation

The image of the Netherlands as a model of religious toleration arose in the aftermath of the split from Catholic Spain. In the Utrecht agreement of 1579, the rebel provinces agreed that every individual had the right to choose his or her own faith, and that no one should be persecuted on the basis of religion. In religious terms, especially in the 1600s, the provinces emerged as pluralistic societies, with the presence of Catholics, Lutherans, Calvinists, Arminianists, Anabaptists, Arianists, Quakers, Mennonites, Socinians, Jews and Turks, to name a few. For many, including Sephardic Jews (also referred to as *conversos* – converts) from the Iberian Peninsula and Huguenots from France, the Netherlands became a sanctuary.

Despite the 1579 agreement, the Dutch Republic became a primarily Calvinist state. Although not formally established as state church, the Calvinist Church (the Reformed Church) was closely linked to the Dutch state and referred to as the public church. The Calvinists were granted extensive ecclesiastical and civil privileges. The state funded the Calvinist Church and its pastors, and membership of the church was a requirement in order to enter government office and public posts in the country.²³

Other denominations were tolerated to a greater or lesser degree, but with differing restrictions. Historian Ronnie Po-Chia Hsia characterises the Dutch Re-

²² See Walsham, *Charitable Hatred*, for a thorough discussion of how toleration was practised on a daily basis in the local community.

²³ Ernestine van der Wall, "Toleration and Enlightenment in the Dutch Republic," in Ole Peter Grell and Roy Porter, *Toleration in Enlightenment Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 115.

public as a confessionally pluralistic society with an intolerant official Calvinist Church that discriminated against Catholics, but one that was nevertheless distinguished by pragmatic religious toleration.²⁴ According to Hsia, a strong civil state, especially in the province of Holland, was able to maintain the peace between a hegemonic Calvinist Church and other religious communities; religious pluralism was not based on individual rights and parity between religions, but on a “pillarised” society.

In sociological research, the concept of *pillarisation* (*verzuiling*) has been used, particularly since the 1960s, to describe Dutch society as being divided into four vertical pillars: one Protestant, one Catholic, one liberal and one socialist.²⁵ These emerged almost as parallel societies with their own norms, practices, and public spheres relating to social discipline and key functions such as teaching, poor relief and care, and with little in the way of contact between pillars. In historical analyses, pillarisation is used as an analytical approach to describe the division of several separate religious communities, strictly overseen by civil authorities.²⁶ As such, Dutch religious toleration has not historically been a project promoting integration, but has rather given rise to separate and distinctive social groupings or milieus.

In addition to such signs of the forming of corporations and the segregation of those denominations that lay beyond the privileged church, there were major local differences. Notions about the Netherlands are often derived from Amsterdam and to some extent the province of Holland. It was here that toleration stood firmest. Sephardic Jews mainly settled in Amsterdam, and the Jewish environment was less common beyond the commercial hub that the city became. The individual provinces had considerable latitude and regional authorities exercised varying degrees of toleration. The Reformed Church had a greater outlet for repressive attitudes in places such as Utrecht, Zwolle, Arnhem, Deventer and Nijmegen, cities in which the guilds had far more appreciable political influence than in Amsterdam.²⁷ While Lutherans were allowed to build churches in Am-

24 Ronnie Po-Chia Hsia, “Introduction,” in *Calvinism and Religious Toleration in the Dutch Golden Age*, ed. Ronnie P.-C. Hsia and Henk van Nierop (Cambridge University Press, 2002), 2.

25 Arendt Lijphart, *The Politics of Accommodation: Pluralism and Democracy in the Netherlands* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1968).

26 Hsia, “Introduction,” 3 ff. The concept of the “pillar society” in the context of history of religion was first employed by S. Groenveld in *Huisgenoten de geloofs: Was de samenleving in de Republiek der Verenigde Nederlanden verzuild?* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2002).

27 Maarten Praak, “The Politics of Intolerance: Citizenship and Religion in the Dutch Republic (Seventeenth to Eighteenth Centuries),” in *Calvinism and Religious Toleration in the Dutch Golden Age*, ed. Ronnie P.-C. Hsia and Henk van Nierop (Cambridge University Press, 2002).

sterdam, until the 1790s it was difficult for their fellow worshipers in Leeuwarden to gain permission to practise religion in private. The province of Holland permitted Catholic priests in 1730, while they were banned in the province of Friesland until 1776.²⁸ However, there are cases of toleration being procured via the bribing of local officials, even in regions or periods with little formal toleration.²⁹

From the mid-1700s, grievances against restrictions on religious practice resulted not only in demands for increased toleration, but also for equality in religious matters. Such demands were met with considerable resistance. However, when revolutionary France invaded the Dutch Republic in 1795 and greatly contributed to the establishment of the Batavian Republic (1795–1806), the Calvinist Church's privileges were abolished; religious equality was introduced in the years 1795–1796. This was later codified in the constitutional laws of 1798 onwards. Religious freedom was thus instituted as a result of external compulsion.

Agonising American pluralism

Colonial North America was also pluralistic in the religious sense, and for many immigrants it was the very lack of toleration in Europe that acted as a driving force to emigrate across the Atlantic. However, as with the provinces and cities in the Netherlands, there were broad local variations in toleration's scope. The respective colonies were dominated by a variety of religious groups and denominations that were not necessarily inclined to tolerate aberrant religious practices. The colonies of New England, for example, were characterised by Puritans, Pennsylvania was dominated by Quakers, while Maryland was a Catholic enclave.

According to historian James Hutson, by the 1600s Massachusetts authorities had arrested and deported – or threatened to deport – members of just about every religious persuasion.³⁰ Both Virginia and Massachusetts established deportation for Quakers, with the death penalty for those who returned. It was

28 Joke Spaans, "Religious Policies in the Seventeenth-Century Dutch Republic," in *Calvinism and Religious Toleration in the Dutch Golden Age*, ed. Ronnie P.-C. Hsia and Henk van Nierop (Cambridge University Press, 2002), 85.

29 Christine Kooi, "Paying Off the Sheriff: Strategies of Catholic Toleration in Golden Age Holland," in *Calvinism and Religious Toleration in the Dutch Golden Age*, ed. Ronnie P.-C. Hsia and Henk van Nierop (Cambridge University Press, 2002).

30 James H. Hutson, *Church and the State in America: The First Two Centuries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 16 f.

for this reason that in Boston between 1659 and 1661, four Quakers were hanged.³¹

The Anglican Church was the official church in several colonies, especially in the south. In New England, the state churches were Congregational. It was not until the beginning of the 19th century that church and state were separated in all states, a process that was rounded out by Massachusetts's abolition of ties between the two as late as 1833.

In pluralistic America, Protestantism dominated completely, and the largely absent Catholicism was especially disliked and subjected to limited toleration and its adherents had their civil rights curtailed. Every year until the 1780s, Bostonians demonstrated their abhorrence of Catholicism and the pope on "Pope's Day." This was a tradition brought over from England as a reminder of the 1605 Gunpowder Plot, an event that was perceived as a plot to assassinate the English king initiated by the pope. Grotesque dummies of the pope were paraded contemptuously through the streets of Boston before finally being set on fire. In its report of the celebration in 1765, the *Massachusetts Gazette* explained that the mock-ups represented "the Pope, Devil, and several other Effigies signifying Tyranny, Oppression, Slavery."³²

By the 1730s, most dissenter groups had gained the permission to private religious practice in the majority of the colonies, but were not accorded equal status. In many places, tolerated dissenters were excluded from civilian and military public service, and from attending universities.³³ In colonial Virginia, dissenters had to apply for permission to give expression to their religious doctrines, and in Massachusetts, Quakers, Anglicans, and Baptists were put through something approximating a trail by fire in order to obtain official approval. Historian Chris Beneke writes that smaller, marginalised denominations experienced direct persecution in America all the way up to the final third of the 18th century.³⁴

In practice this continued until the end of the 19th century, and anti-Catholicism and anti-Mormonism in particular provoked both popular and institutional

³¹ Hutson, *Church and the State*, 17.

³² *Massachusetts Gazette* 7 November 1765. Quoted here from <http://www.celebrateboston.com/intolerance/popes-day-1765.htm>, accessed 25 August 2016.

³³ Chris Beneke, *Beyond Toleration: The Religious Origins of American Pluralism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 6.

³⁴ Beneke, *Beyond Toleration*, 6.



Figure 2.1: “Extraordinary verses on Pope-night. or, A commemoration of the fifth of November, giving a history of the attempt, made by the Papishes, to blow up King and Parliament, A.D. 1588.” The sixth verse in this mockery: “See I how He Shakes his tot’ring Head And knocks his palsy Knees; A Proof He is the Scarlet Whore, And got the soul Disease.” This pamphlet portrays the annual anti-Catholic parades in Boston on 5 November, in which effigies of the pope were carried around in the streets before they were set on fire. The parades ended after the independence in 1776, partly because the US was seeking support from Catholic France. The pamphlet seems to confuse the events of the Spanish Armada in 1588 and Guy Fawkes’ (1570–1606) attempt to blow up the English parliament in 1605.

resistance and strife.³⁵ This was in part intertwined with ethnic prejudice, especially against economically underprivileged Irish immigrants.³⁶

From the 1760s, the practice of politically granted toleration was gradually supplanted by principles of equality and religious freedom. An illustrative change can be observed with the federal founding fathers George Mason (1725–1792) and James Madison (1751–1836) in 1776, as Virginia was preparing a new constitution. Mason first proposed that the state should ensure “the fullest toleration in the exercise of religion.” However, on the suggestion of Madison,

³⁵ J. Spencer Fluhman, *‘A Peculiar People’: Anti-Mormonism and the Making of Religion in Nineteenth-Century America* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2012).

³⁶ Owen Stanwood, “Catholics, Protestants, and the Clash of Civilizations in Early America,” in *The First Prejudice: Religious Tolerance and Intolerance in Early America*, ed. Chris Beneke and Christopher S. Grenda. Early American Studies (Philadelphia, US: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), 219. See also W. Paul Reeve, *Religion of a Different Color: Race and the Mormon Struggle for Whiteness* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015).

who perceived toleration as mere dispensations for hierarchical subordinates and dissenting religions, “fullest toleration” was replaced by “free exercise of religion.”³⁷ In Virginia from then on, the free exercise of religion was no longer a permission, but declared a liberty.

The federal Constitution of 1787, for which Madison was a key draftsman, and its amendment in 1791, outlawed discrimination on religious grounds in federal appointments and also introduced a prohibition on the establishment of a federal state church. This was, however, only binding on the federation, and state practice remained varied. Yet, with the exception of Connecticut, every state constitution contained wording regarding religious liberty by the end of the 1780s, although in some states these were limited to Christians or Protestants, and often appeared in the form of preambles that other legislation would, in practice, curtail. Some states also had limited civil rights for religious groups other than Protestants.³⁸ As late as the 1840s, five states still had restrictions on political rights for Jews. The last two states to lift the requirement to belong to a Protestant Confession in order to access political rights were North Carolina in 1868, and New Hampshire in 1877.³⁹

This gradual codification of religious liberties was a clear expression of American society investing in the idea of religious freedom. But it was not necessarily an expression of the practice of this idea, nor of pluralism being perceived as something positive or enriching. There is reason to believe that the notion of religious freedom was a necessity in the formation of a nation that, from the outset, harboured such great religious differences. The depth of an individual’s virtue of tolerance was put to the test, and political authorities at various levels were challenged in their practice of toleration.

An illustrative example is the 4th of July parade in Philadelphia in 1788. Here, 17 priests from a range of denominations – including Catholic priests and Jewish rabbis – walked arm in arm, four in each row. This was starkly sym-

37 Chris Beneke, “The ‘Catholic Spirit Prevailing in Our Country’: America’s Moderate Religious Revolution,” in *The First Prejudice: Religious Tolerance and Intolerance in Early America*, ed. Chris Beneke and Christopher S. Grenda. Early American Studies (Philadelphia, US: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), 267.

38 J.K. Wilson, “Religion Under the State Constitutions, 1776–1800,” *Journal of Church and State*, vol. 32, no. 4 (1990): 760 f.

39 Beneke, “The ‘Catholic Spirit,’” 284. See also Rafael Medoff, *Jewish Americans and Political Participation: A Reference Handbook* (Santa Barbara-Denver-Oxford: ABC-Clío, 2002), 76; Stanley F. Chyet, “The Political Rights of the Jews in the United States: 1776–1840,” *American Jewish Archives Journal*, vol. 10, no. 1 (1958); David Sorkin, “Is American Jewry Exceptional?: Comparing Jewish Emancipation in Europe and America,” *American Jewish History*, vol. 96, no. 3 (September 2010).

bolic and intended to demonstrate and promote harmony, as well as peaceful co-existence, across religious divides. Founding Father Benjamin Rush later remarked that it was intended to emphasise that federal offices and posts were open to all, regardless of religion.⁴⁰ At the same time, however, Rush stressed that this ecumenical episode did not come into being without putting a great deal of strain on the toleration muscle: “Pains were taken to connect Ministers of the most dissimilar religious principles together,” he explained.⁴¹ It was unpleasant to walk hand in hand, but these torments had to be endured for a higher cause – the common good.

Historian David Sehat claims that American religious freedom throughout the 19th century is a myth created by a need to construct an American identity.⁴² He argues that since the United States built its politics upon a Christian morality, the separation between state and religion is a fallacy. The state church was replaced by a binding Christian state morality. Sehat believes that the image of 19th-century America as a state with a singular degree of religious freedom is also a false notion, pointing out the legal and social discrimination against Catholics, Jews, Mormons, and atheists in the judiciary – including the federal Supreme Court – all the way up to the 1920s.⁴³

Religion and politics

This brief sweep over the conditions for religious toleration and religious freedom in the West in the centuries up to the early 1800s hints at how complex the two have been, both as an idea and as a practice. Freedom of religion was more or less an abstraction, and most often implicitly restricted to certain religious communities, primarily Christians. Toleration was more widespread, but an expression of reluctance and aversion all the same, and was closely linked to religious persecution and to secular and religious power structures.

When it came to what tools should or could be used in the face of religious aversion, there were different points of view. For many it was legitimate to put the instruments of state power to use by denying residence or religious practice to certain groups. It could be accomplished by persecuting those who violated this in various ways, by putting a stop to their religious practice, as well as im-

⁴⁰ Beneke, *Beyond Toleration*, 4.

⁴¹ Beneke, *Beyond Toleration*, 5.

⁴² David Sehat, *The Myth of American Religious Freedom*. Updated Edition (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 7.

⁴³ Sehat, *The Myth of American Religious Freedom*, 8.

prisoning, deporting or punishing them. Due to the understanding that one's own doctrines were true and that others stood for false doctrines and heresy, a characteristic even of pluralistic societies was a widespread belief that the right to free religious practice ought to be confined to one's own religion. As such, one could argue for one's own right to religious practice in regions where a religious community constituted a minority, while toleration for other confessions could be highly restricted in regions where the same religious community was hegemonic.

But religious coercion could also be looked upon as undesirable, either on Christian-liberal grounds, upon which compulsion was considered to run contrary to Christian values, or because coercion, by creating martyrs that emboldened dissenters rather than combatted them, was perceived to be counterproductive. Coercive means could also be considered illegitimate for secular and liberal reasons in which religion was considered private and therefore not something that political authorities ought to restrict. Rooted in liberal ideas, more and more people therefore began to view religious freedom as a human right. This perspective built in strength, notably from the end of the 18th century.

Theological arguments could be put forward against permitting dissenting religions, especially in religiously homogeneous states. To protect citizens from religious apostasy was to protect their souls from eternal damnation and doom. However, the most vital criterion in determining which religions and religious practices could not be tolerated was above all a political-moral assessment of whether they were in conflict with the laws of the land or the prevailing mores and morals of the state and society. Such religious communities were widely perceived as a danger to the state and to society's very existence, and were therefore labelled as undesirable, and frequently as something that ought to be fought back.

There was, of course, also an additional political dimension here. Monarchical absolutism was closely connected to the practice of religion, and naturally, religion and the doctrines of the state church was one and the same; in the case of Denmark-Norway and Sweden, this was the Evangelical Lutheran religion, built on the Augsburg Confession of 1530. Christian V's Danish and Norwegian Codes (1683 and 1687 respectively) stated that within the dual monarchy, only this was a lawful religion. The absolute monarch's *Lex Regia* stated not only that the king and his descendants would confess it, but also that religious unity among the people was desirable.⁴⁴

⁴⁴ Christian V's Norwegian Code of 1687, 2-1-1. *Lex Regia* of 1665, Article I. It can also be argued that the desire for religious unity has parallels with expectations for linguistic unity of

The state was given the role of protector of the religion, while the religion was to support the state and sovereign.⁴⁵ For some state theorists during the period of absolute monarchy, it was precisely the safeguarding of the religion that was the state's most important objective. Through Professor (later Bishop) Erik Pontoppidan's (1698–1764) explanation from 1737, for example, it was impressed upon young confirmands in Denmark-Norway that subjects were to honour and obey authority.⁴⁶ Being loyal and obedient to the king entailed being a good Christian, and vice versa. Norwegian historian Øystein Rian has drawn a particularly strong connection between king and God in the sermon. According to him, the message was that if one opposed the king, it would be impossible to be considered a Christian with any prospect of salvation: "Allegiance and obedience to him were an absolute requirement."⁴⁷

At the same time, being a good Christian was also seen as a prerequisite for being qualified for inclusion in the polity, both religiously and civically. The mandatory affirmation of baptism through confirmation was a condition for access to both rights and obligations, such as entering into marriage, military service and the swearing of oaths. Belonging to the state religion was not only a condition of being a member of a religious community, but a legally warranted requirement in order to be regarded as a competent, responsible and authoritative member of society in general.⁴⁸

Churches – and their pulpits – were vital to the absolute monarchy's propaganda apparatus and were key to the state's social and political control. Religious pluralism not only weakened the monarchy's strict disciplinarian hold on the population, but also provided fertile ground for conflicts internal to the

more recent times, in the sense that mastery of the local language is viewed as a condition for citizenship and participation in the national community. In the same way as the use of forcible means to achieve religious unity was legitimate under absolutism, the demand for mastery of the language is essentially viewed as a legitimate use by the state of forcible means in more recent times.

⁴⁵ See Øystein Rian, *Sensuren i Danmark-Norge: Vilkårerne for offentlige ytringer 1536–1814* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 2014); Øystein Lydik Idsø Viken, *Frygte Gud og ære Kongen: preikestolen som politisk instrument i Noreg 1720–1814*. PhD dissertation (Oslo: University of Oslo, 2014); Berge Furre, "Hans Nielsen Hauge – stats- og samfunnsfiende," in *Moralsk og moderne?: Trekk av den kristne moraltradisjon i Norge fra 1814 til i dag*, ed. Svein Aage Christoffersen (Oslo: Ad notam Gyldendal, 1999); Per Kristian Aschim, "Religion og stat i statsteoretisk litteratur i Danmark-Norge før 1814," *Historisk Tidsskrift*, vol. 94, no. 4 (2015): 593.

⁴⁶ Quoted here from Furre, "Hans Nielsen Hauge," 82.

⁴⁷ Rian, *Sensuren i Danmark-Norge*, 630.

⁴⁸ Arne Bugge Amundsen, "Fromme Borgeres Vindskibelighed og Dyd," in *Konfirmasjonen i går og i dag: Festskrift til 250-års jubileet 13. Januar 1986*, ed. Brynjar Haraldsø (Oslo: Verbum, 1986), 244.

populace and between the people and the sovereign. This was also addressed in state theory literature as early as the 17th century. Political philosopher Samuel Pufendorf (1632–1694) pointed out that since pluralism often led to unrest, a singular state religion was considered “the greatest Happiness of a Government.” For Pufendorf, religious unity was advantageous, but all the same no proviso for the avoidance of domestic turmoil.⁴⁹ In Sweden, too, ever since the first part of the 17th century, religious unity had been explicitly considered as the most important foundation of a harmonious and lasting system of government.⁵⁰

It was such notions that the Norwegian “constitutional father” Wilhelm Friemann Koren Christie (1778–1849) was depending on when, at Eidsvoll in 1814, he proposed to confine religious freedom to Christians alone. The state ought not to anticipate any benefit from permitting non-Christian public worship unhindered; “on the contrary, great Danger thereof may be feared.” Charlatans could, “under the Disguise of Sanctity and religious Fervour, simply help themselves to the People’s Wealth and lure them towards Vices, Rebellion against the Authorities of the Country, etc.,” Christie proffered.⁵¹ And perhaps this, too, was the explanation for the adopted wording on religious freedom for Christians vanishing entirely when the time came to ratify the Constitution.⁵²

It was commonplace in the 1600s and 1700s to regard religious heterodoxy as a threat, and it was chiefly this that set the stage for religious policy in religiously homogeneous states. Scandinavia itself stood out as a religiously homogeneous region of Europe, alongside the Iberian Peninsula, Italy and central Russia.

It is a crucial point that even those voices that argued most eagerly for religious toleration – such as Locke at the beginning of the Enlightenment, and subsequently Rousseau (*Du contrat social*, 1762) and Voltaire (*Traité sur la tolérance*, 1763) – did not do so without reservation.⁵³ Religious freedom had its boundary

49 Samuel Pufendorf, *Of the Nature and Qualification of Religion, In Reference to Civil Society*. Translated from the Original (London:, 1698), 130. See also p. 14. The work was published in Latin in 1687 (“the greatest Happiness of a Government”).

50 Winton, “Enighetens befrämjande,” 5 ff.

51 Eli Fure, *Eidsvoll 1814: Hvordan Grunnloven ble til* (Oslo: Dreyers forlag, 1989), 129.

52 Berge Furre, “Kva skjedde med religionsfridomen på Eidsvoll 1814?,” in *Rettssteori og rettsliv: Festskrift til Carsten Smith til 70-årsdagen 13. juli 2002*, ed. Peter Lødrup et al. (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 2002). Furre first put forward this point of view on the Norwegian Broadcasting Corporation radio programme P2-Akadiemiet in 1993.

53 Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *The Social Contract & Discourses* (London-Toronto: J.M. Dent & Sons, 1920 [1761]), 121: “There is therefore a purely civil profession of faith of which the Sovereign should fix the articles, not exactly as religious dogmas, but as social sentiments without which a man cannot be a good citizen or a faithful subject. While it can compel no one to believe

line, and not all could be tolerated. This was especially true when aberrant religions were understood to represent a kind of peril to society and the state. This also received support in Danish-Norwegian political philosophy of the late 18th century.⁵⁴

Common to Jews, Mormons and Jesuits was the allegation that they represented a disloyal and untrustworthy state within the state, one that conspired via immoral means to a kind of theocratic project that would cause social and political upheaval. It is here, too, that the essence of their alleged political danger lies. For that reason, in what follows I will look more closely at how the concept of “state within the state” proliferated and eventually became central not only to the argument for denying religious freedom to Jews, Mormons and Jesuits, but also to why these groups could not be tolerated.

them, it can banish from the State whoever does not believe them—it can banish him, not for impiety, but as an anti-social being, incapable of truly loving the laws and justice, and of sacrificing, at need, his life to his duty. If any one, after publicly recognising these dogmas, behaves as if he does not believe them, let him be punished by death: he has committed the worst of all crimes, that of lying before the law.”; Voltaire, *The Works of M. de Voltaire: A treatise on toleration*, vol. 34 (London, 1764); Chap XVIII. The only Cases in which Non-Toleration makes Part of the Human Law (p. 214): “For a government not to have a right to punish men for their errors, it is necessary that those errors should not be crimes; and they are crimes only when they disturb the public tranquility; which they do whenever they inspire enthusiasm: it is necessary therefore that men should begin by laying aside enthusiasm, in order to deserve toleration.”

⁵⁴ See Aschim, “Religion og stat,” for a good discussion of the points of view of state theorists such as Christian Fabricius (1745–1808), Lauritz Nørregaard (1745–1804), Johan Friedrich Wilhelm Schlegel (1765–1836) and Anders Sandøe Ørsted (1778–1860).

3 The fear of states within the state

John Locke and untrustworthy citizens

The Englishman John Locke (1632–1704) wrote perhaps the most influential treatise in defence of toleration, and has also been seen as an early standard-bearer for religious freedom. *A Letter Concerning Toleration* was published in 1689, written, typically enough, in exile in the Netherlands after fleeing the Catholic King James II (1633–1701) and in the shadows of the ban on Protestantism imposed in France four years earlier. His opinion was that the Christian faith could not be promoted or defended through violence or coercion. He argued for a distinction between church and state and for widespread religious toleration: “I esteem that toleration to be the chief characteristic mark of the true church.”¹ Conviction, not persecution, was the way to redeem souls.

But at the same time, for Locke there were also limits to how far such toleration could go. If religions were immoral or represented a danger to the state, they could not be tolerated: “No opinions contrary to human society, or to those moral rules which are necessary to the preservation of civil society, are to be tolerated by the magistrate.”² The same was true for religious communities that attributed their patronage to and served a foreign power. Here he used Muslims as an example:

It is ridiculous for any one to profess himself to be a mahometan only in religion, but in every thing else a faithful subject to a christian magistrate, whilst at the same time he acknowledges himself bound to yield blind obedience to the mufti of Constantinople; who himself is entirely obedient to the Ottoman emperor, and frames the feigned oracles of that religion according to his pleasure.³

This reference to the mufti (Muslim jurisconsult) of Constantinople has been read as an image of a far more present and current institution – the pope in Rome – even though Locke mentioned neither the pope nor Catholicism in this treatise.⁴ But the work must be interpreted in light of something he wrote earlier. In a letter

1 John Locke, “A Letter Concerning Toleration, being a Translation of Epistola de Tolerantia,” in *The Works of John Locke in Nine Volumes*, 12th edn., vol. 5, no. 5 (London: Rivington, 1824 [1685]).

2 Locke, “A Letter Concerning Toleration,” 45.

3 Locke, “A Letter Concerning Toleration,” 47.

4 See for example David J. Lorenzo, “Tradition and Prudence in Locke’s Exception to Toleration,” *American Journal of Political Science*, vol. 47, no. 2 (2003) and Jeremy Waldron, *God, Locke, and Equality: Christian Foundations in Locke’s Political Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 218.

dating as far back as 1659 – to Henry Stubbe (1632–1676), the physician and social commentator who had great sympathy for toleration, – he articulated clear views on Catholics:⁵

The only scruple I have is how the liberty you grant the Papists can consist with the security of the nation (the end of government), since I cannot see how they can at the same time obey two different authorities carrying on contrary interest, especially where that which is destructive to ours is backed with an opinion of infallibility and holiness supposed by them to be immediately derived from God [...].⁶

In *An Essay Concerning Toleration*, written in 1687 but first published in the 1820s, he reiterated the same explicit charges against Catholics and was clear that “papists” ought not to be tolerated in society. This was primarily because Catholic states themselves denied toleration to other religious communities.⁷ That which does not tolerate, does not itself deserve to be tolerated. But most important was the political rationale, because Catholics were

[...] irreconcilable enemys of whose fidelity you can never be securd, whilst they owe a blinde obedience to an infalible pope, who has the keys of their consciences tied to his girdle, & can upon occasion dispense with all their oaths promises & the obligations they have to their prince espetically being an heritick & arme them to the disturbance of the government I think they ought not to enjoy the benefit of toleration.⁸

It was thus through their alleged loyalty to the pope in Rome, and not to the states in which they resided, that Catholics rendered themselves politically untrustworthy citizens. In addition to religious communities loyal to foreign powers, neither would Locke tolerate atheists. Because they could not invoke a divine guarantor for their words, their swearing of oaths lacked credibility. This made them unreliable, and as such they could not be accepted as citizens.

5 Nabil Matar, “Introduction: The ‘Copernican Revolution’ of Henry Stubbe,” in *Henry Stubbe and the Beginnings of Islam: The Originall & Progress of Mahometanism*, ed. Nabil Matar (Columbia University Press, 2013).

6 John Locke, “Letter to S.H.,” in *The Political Writings of John Locke*, ed. David Wootton (New York: Penguin, 1993), 138.

7 Philip Milton and J.R. Milton (eds), *The Clarendon Edition of the Works of John Locke: An Essay Concerning Toleration: And Other Writings on Law and Politics, 1667–1683* (Oxford University Press, 2006). Quoted here from Oxford Scholarly Editions Online: 290, linje 18 ff. (<http://www.oxfordscholarlyeditions.com/view/10.1093/actrade/9780199575732.book.1/actrade-9780199575732-div2-27>, accessed 2 August 2016).

8 Milton and Milton, *The Clarendon Edition of the Works of John Locke*, 291, line 5 ff.

The American colony of Carolina's Constitution of 1669 is associated with John Locke, and he is regarded as its central draftsman. The Constitution was characterised by religious toleration, but also illustrates the era's hierarchical understanding of religions and permissions for religious practices:

[...] Jews, heathens, and other dissenters from the purity of Christian religion may not be scared and kept at a distance from it, but, by having an opportunity of acquainting themselves with the truth and reasonableness of its doctrines, and the peaceableness and inoffensiveness of its professors, may, by good use and persuasion, and all those convincing methods of gentleness and meekness, suitable to the rules and design of the gospel, be won ever to embrace and unfeignedly receive the truth; therefore, any seven or more persons agreeing in any religion, shall constitute a church or profession, to which they shall give some name, to distinguish it from others.⁹

There was no doubt here that Christian faiths took precedence and were understood to represent a truth, and that the Christian majority had an obligation to attempt to persuade adherents of other faiths. Although the presence of atheists and non-Christians was tolerated, the Constitution placed restrictions on their right to organise. A prerequisite to organising was above all that they believed in God, that they were law-abiding, and that members of religious communities swore the oath in an acceptable manner. They also had to avoid irreverent or rebellious ways of speaking in any mention of the public authorities or political affairs concerning the colony.¹⁰ Toleration went a long way in the colony, but the thresholds for it were – in keeping with Locke – grounded in politics, not religion.

Samuel Pufendorf – agitation or disobedience?

Locke's contemporary, political philosopher Samuel Pufendorf, had a view of toleration that shared features with his own. Pufendorf's writings must also be read in light of the events in France after 1685. This applied particularly to *De habitu religionis christianae ad vitam civilem* (*Of the Nature and Qualification of Religion in Relation to Civil Life*) from 1687.

His point of departure was a secular one. The state was not founded for the sake of religion; its sole purpose was to ensure the security of its citizens. Reli-

⁹ The Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina: 1 March 1669, Article 97. Quoted here from The Avalon Project. Documents in Law, History and Diplomacy, Yale Law School. Lillian Goldman Law Library (https://avalon.law.yale.edu/17th_century/nc05.asp, accessed 20 July 2020).

¹⁰ The Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina: March 1, 1669, Article 100 and 103.

gion was therefore an individual responsibility, while the responsibility of the state was to respect the right to the free exercise of religion. Pufendorf was negative towards the policy against the Huguenots in 1685, believing that the French king had overstepped the boundaries of his authority. He was therefore sympathetic to the opinion that rebellion against the monarch was in some cases legitimate. At the same time, as with Locke, Pufendorf was clear that there were limits to toleration. Those who wished to be tolerated within a state were obliged to live in peace and tranquillity, and, as “good citizens,” they would not be able not to preach doctrines that incited agitation or insubordination towards civil authorities.¹¹ This was particularly important if such agitators were contemporaneously dependent on a foreign power.¹²

Pufendorf addressed the theme of a “state within the state” as early as 1667 in *De statu imperii Germanici* (*The Present State of Germany*), which was banned by the pope as anti-Catholic. The text was a critical assessment of the Holy Roman Empire. In it, Pufendorf referred to Catholic priests and monks as constituting a burden to the state since they were dependent on a sovereign who was not only installed beyond the bounds of the kingdom, but who was also its enduring enemy. Both of these amounted to a danger of becoming a state within the state, or “statum in media Republica,” as he wrote in Latin.¹³

Locke and Pufendorf represented a moderate school of Enlightenment thinking, even when it came to toleration.¹⁴ As a representative of radical Enlightenment thought, their contemporary Pierre Bayle (1646–1706) went much further. He was a Protestant Huguenot in exile in the Netherlands, and argued for a toleration that was far more radical. It was not only Christians that had to be tolerated, but also Jews, Muslims and atheists.

11 Pufendorf, *Of the Nature and Qualification of Religion*, 135.

12 Pufendorf, *Of the Nature and Qualification of Religion*, 143.

13 Samuel Pufendorf, [psevd. Severini de Monzambano]. *De Statu Imperii Germanici*. Geneva, 1668, 133. For the translation, see Samuel Pufendorf, [De statu Imperii Germanici. English] *The present state of Germany*/Samuel Pufendorf; translated by Edmund Bohun, 1696 in *Natural Law and Enlightenment Classics*, ed. Knud Haakonssen (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 2007), 205.

14 Jonathan Israel, *Radical Enlightenment: Philosophy and the Making of Modernity 1650–1750* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001) and Marlies Galenkamp, “Locke and Bayle on religious toleration,” *Erasmus Law Review*, vol. 5, no. 1 (2012): 79 ff.

Ludvig Holberg – good people, bad citizens?

It was the moderate line that received the greatest philosophical support throughout the 18th century, and the Danish-Norwegian professor and historian Ludvig Holberg (1684–1754) was clearly inspired by its representatives. Holberg held a prominent position among the general public of the Danish-Norwegian dual monarchy, and played a significant role in conveying new ideas and currents of thought to Scandinavia from abroad. Holberg referred to Locke's draft constitution for the colony of Carolina as a model of the policy of toleration, and his own reasoning largely follows Locke and Pufendorf.¹⁵ His method also consisted largely of compilation – that is, the reproduction of other writings, often without reference to sources.¹⁶

Holberg argued that conversion could not be accomplished by force. This would only lead to a semblance of conversion. It was as impossible to conquer heretics with “Whip and Cane” as it was to storm a fortress with syllogisms. This was, Holberg wrote, because “it is not the heretic Person's Body that should be converted, but his Mind, which no Lash and Cane can bring into subjection.”¹⁷ One cannot force people to believe; only to say that they do believe.

Holberg distinguished between religious heretics and religious fanatics.¹⁸ While heretics could be persuaded by the word, fanatics had what they referred to as “Conscience and Divine Inspiration” instead of “Scripture, History, and natural Reason” as the foundation of their religious understanding. Religious fanatics, or “the illuminated” as he also called them, were the least liked of the sects, and “of all sects, those least convenient to live amongst in Societies. The illuminated People can be good People, but will never make good Citizens,”¹⁹ in par-

15 See Brian Kjær Olesen, *Monarchism, Religion, and Moral Philosophy: Ludvig Holberg and the Early Northern Enlightenment* (PhD diss., European University Institute, 2016). See also the anthology E. Vinje and J.M. Sejersted, eds., *Ludvig Holbergs naturrett* (Oslo: Gyldendal Akademisk, 2012).

16 Kristoffer Schmidt, *Ludvig Holbergs Heltehistorier-mellem moralfilosofi og historie* (PhD diss., University of Copenhagen, 2014), 36. Holberg's method of compilation is also discussed in Knud Haakonssen and Sebastian Olden Jørgensen, *Ludvig Holberg (1684–1754): Learning and Literature in the Nordic Enlightenment* (London: Routledge, 2017). For his use of Pufendorf, see especially Knud Haakonssen, “Holberg's Law of Nature and Nations,” in Haakonssen and Olden Jørgensen, *Ludvig Holberg (1684–1754): Learning and Literature in the Nordic Enlightenment* (London: Routledge, 2017), 59 ff.

17 Ludvig Holberg, *Moralske Tanker: deelte udi 2 Tomos*, Tom 1, Libr I. Epigr. 81 (Kjøbenhavn, 1744), 76.

18 Referred to by Holberg as “en Fanaticus” in the singular.

19 Ludvig Holberg, *Moralske Tanker*, 81.

ticular due to their deficient loyalty to the secular authorities, and their willingness to set government regulations to one side: “Since no one who refuses to subscribe to Society’s Laws without conditionalities can be incorporated into a Society.”²⁰

Willingness to obey God before people was well and good, but for Holberg the problem was that fanatics mistook God’s will for their own. They confused “Conscience with Weakness of Mind, divine Inspiration with the Vapours, Constancy with Obstinacy, Fear of God with Melancholy.”²¹ Sects who stood in opposition to the principle of obedience to the government, and thereby favoured their own conscience as law and guide before that of the state, were not to be tolerated. Nor ought they to be tolerated due to their fervour in demanding that the consciences of others align with their own.

Holberg cited Quakers and Anabaptists as specific examples of fanatics; the former due to their pacifism, the latter for their resistance to the death penalty. But he devoted most space to Catholics, and especially Jesuits. Similarly to Locke, he employed allegations that the Catholic Church was itself intolerant of “all other Christian Sects” and that because they “seek to propagate, by all evil Means, their Opinions in those Places they enjoy the Freedom to remain,” the absence of toleration was warranted. Holberg further pointed to the morality of the Jesuits as disqualifying: “Those who maintain it a Virtue to put a Father to death in order to bring the Son under Obedience to the Pope, cannot protest against Harshness when their Citizenship is denied.”²² Here he stressed perhaps the most stereotypical idea surrounding the Jesuits – that the end justified the means.

Like Locke, Holberg was dismissive of atheists. Theoretical atheists, those who doubted the existence of God but who otherwise led an orderly life, could be tolerated. However, practising atheists, those who led a “depraved and ungodly Lifestyle” and therefore harboured neither hope for divine reward nor fear of divine punishment, could not be tolerated since they helped to “undermine the Foundations of civil Society.”²³ In addition, in his *Jødiske Historie* [Jewish History] from 1742, he denied that Jews could be “good Subjects,” primarily because they were awaiting a new “Master” to bring “the Jewish dominion to the apex of the highest of glories.”²⁴

20 Ludvig Holberg, *Epistler*. Tom. IV. Epistola CCCIII (Kjøbenhavn, 1749), 17 f.

21 Ludvig Holberg, *Moralske Tanker*, 81.

22 Ludvig Holberg, *Moralske Tanker*, 83f.

23 Ludvig Holberg, *Moralske Tanker*, 84ff.

24 Ludvig Holberg, *Jødiske Historie*. Tom. II (Kjøbenhavn, 1742), 439.

With Holberg, the stipulation for being tolerated was thus being regarded as a good citizen, that one's religious practices or dogmas did not lead one in opposition to the laws of the state, and thereby that one would be considered disloyal. It was the political danger of dissenting sects that was a decisive condition for an absence of toleration, not individuals' religious damnation. A few years later, Holberg therefore grew receptive to the idea that Jews could be tolerated, as was actually the case in Denmark, even though theologically they were regarded as the "principal Enemies of Christendom" and far more heretic than, for example, Catholics.²⁵ Jews could now be tolerated, according to Holberg, but obviously not integrated as good citizens and granted civil rights. In the 1750s this was extended also to encompass Muslims, because no one – regardless of religion – ought to be held to be "an unworthy Member of a Society" as long as he conducted himself as an honest subject and as a "virtuous Citizen."²⁶

In his memoirs from 1743, Holberg pointed out that those who were excluded from the "Beneficence of Toleration" were only "those who laud Principles that oppose secular power."²⁷ In 1748, this political peril was exemplified by the Huguenots. Here, in contrast to Pufendorf, who viewed the Huguenot's agitations as legitimate, Holberg used them as an example of what could not be tolerated in a state. What could be stranger, Holberg wrote, than seeing a third or a quarter of the nation's subjects have certain cities, fortifications and soldiers at their disposal, their own parliaments and assemblies independent of the central power, and standing in union with nations that could be the enemies of the realm? Holberg expressed great sympathy for French attempts at centralisation in the 1600s that ended with the revocation of the Edict of Nantes (regarding Huguenots) in 1685. The edict had contributed towards "establishing an Independent State in the midst of the Kingdom," and it was the consequences of this that had motivated the Crown to "overthrow this malformed Establishment, of which grievous effects have been seen, and with which the Kingdom could not endure."²⁸

²⁵ Ludvig Holberg, *Moralske Tanker*, 84.

²⁶ Ludvig Holberg, *BARON LUD. HOLBERGS Epistler, Befattende Adskillige historiske, politiske, metaphysiske, moralske, philosophiske, Item Skiemtsomme Materier*. Tomus V. Epistola 450 (Kjøbenhavn, 1754), 138 f.

²⁷ Ludvig Holberg, *Tredje levnedsbrev* (Kjøbenhavn, 1743), 66. (http://holbergsskrifter.dk/holberg-public/view?docId=levnedsbreve%2FAdVir3_overs.page, accessed 18 October 2018).

²⁸ Ludvig Holberg, *Ludvig Holbergs Epistler, Befattende Adskillige historiske, politiske, metaphysiske, moralske, philosophiske, Item Skiemtsomme Materier*, Deelte udi 2de Tomer. Tomus I. Epistel X (Kjøbenhavn, 1748), 54 f.



Figure 3.1: Richard Rowlands (c. 1550–1640) was baptised a Protestant, but later converted to Catholicism. In 1587, he published *Theatrum Crudelitatum haereticorum nostri temporis* (Theatre of the Cruelties of the Heretics of Our Time). It was a collection of grotesque copperplate engravings which were intended to depict crimes committed by heretics, primarily Huguenots, towards Catholics. The engravings were accompanied by detailed descriptions of the scenes in Latin and thus provided vivid portrayals of the Huguenots as dangerous and beyond state control. The book was republished in French several times from the 1880s onwards.

Ludvig Holberg was important in the Scandinavian context since he reflected a European intellectual discussion about the limits of toleration. In this way, he helped to establish a framework for how this was discussed, especially among the Danish-Norwegian public and in the union’s political bodies.

“State within the state” as anti-republican slogan

Locke never used the term “state within the state,” unlike Pufendorf and Holberg, both of whom can be said to have used variants of it. However, what all of them had in common was that they took exception to circumstances that later came to characterise the term. To be a good citizen was to be loyal to secular authorities. Naturally, this also meant submitting to secular laws and provisions.

Ideally, there was no room for parallel sovereignties within the state, with different assemblages of power and legal systems and with their own demands for obedience, in conflict with the interests of the sovereign. No corporation or institution ought to be able to lay claim to power or assert sovereignty in contradiction of the state’s prerogatives or exclusive rights. This gradually became of particular importance as strong central powers emerged throughout the 1600s and sovereignty was monopolised in state institutions – whether in republican, constitutional or absolutist forms. The state was understood to be sovereign and entirely independent of other authorities and power structures in society.

As historian Jacob Katz has shown in a classic portrayal of the history of the term “state within the state,” there were also such factors as those to which the German Baron Jakob Friedrich von Bielfeld (1717–1779) referred in the first known definition of the term from 1760 (formulated in Latin as *status in statu*).²⁹ Bielfeld also pointed out how dangerous it was for a sovereign state to permit other bodies, whether secular or ecclesiastical, any exercise of judicial or other power over parts of the population. This was to be reserved for the sovereign alone.³⁰

The term was used regularly from the 1760s to describe the concessions granted to the Huguenots through the Edict of Nantes in 1598. In addition to being permitted to practise their religion, they also won control over the civil and military authority of their key cities, and along with this, in practice, a transfer of sovereignty.

However, the fact that the term was known and used in a relevant way long before Bielfeld defined it is evident from several French sources. Both Huguenots, Jansenists and Jesuits were associated or referred to as “estat dans l’estat” (state within the state) in French texts from the 17th century.³¹

29 Jacob Katz, “A State Within a State, the History of an Anti-Semitic Slogan,” in Jacob Katz, *Emancipation and Assimilation: Studies in Modern Jewish History* (Farnborough: Gregg International Publishers, 1972).

30 Baron de Bielfeld, *Institutions politiques*. I (The Hague, 1760), 29 f. Quoted here from Katz, “A State within a State,” 48.

31 Gaspard Froment, *Advertissement povr les vniversitez de france, contre les iesvites* (Paris, 1624), 3. (<https://play.google.com/books/reader?id=t4p8bgq-QnYC&printsec=frontcover&output=reader&hl=no&pg=GBS.PA3>, accessed 12 October 2016), Léonard de Marandé, *Inconveniens d’Estat procedans du Jansenisme avec la refutation du mars francois de Monsieur Jansenius* (Paris, 1654), 109 [<http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k9601116s>, accessed 12 October 2016]. See also Arthur Herman, “Protestant Churches in a Catholic Kingdom: Political Assemblies in the Thought of Philippe Duplessis-Mornay,” *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, vol. 21, no. 4 (Winter 1990).

In particular, the Nantes edict inspired an abundance of anti-Huguenot tracts on the Catholic side. This literature initiated “republicanism” as a politically charged term by associating it with anarchy, where the term “state within the state” was also in use.³² In the earliest example from 1612, accusations that the Huguenots wished to diminish the authority of the king and create “a state within the state” were substantiated by descriptions of garrisons, standing armies and separate political assemblies.³³ This was followed up with descriptions of Huguenotic intrigue rooted in regional political assemblies and allegations that the Huguenots’ rebellious nature was deliberately disguised in a Protestant political discourse emphasising devotion and loyalty to the Crown.³⁴

From 1596 on, Maximilien de Béthune (1560 – 1641), later known as the Duke of Sully, was central in King Henry IV’s council. Henry had been a Protestant before converting to Catholicism in order to assume the French crown, and Béthune was also a Protestant. He became an effective architect of the King’s centralisation plans, not least through a reform of the tax system. In this context, regional parliaments were vital. He wrote his memoirs, which are certainly not recognised as historically correct in every respect, in the period after his retirement in 1611. The first two volumes were published in the 1640s while he was still alive, the latter two posthumously in the 1660s. In them, Béthune recalled a meeting with the congregation of Huguenotic Rouen in 1596. The Huguenots were willing to reform, but wanted to retain half of the tax revenues for themselves. Béthune described how the King’s financial council received the proposal with indignation and anger, and that they claimed it would involve the formation of “vn Estat dans l’Estat” and the creation of two Crowns. He also explained that the king himself initially concurred with this understanding.³⁵

In the spirit of the expression, France’s strongman of the mid-1620s, Cardinal Richelieu (1585 – 1642), argued for the repeal of the Nantes edict. The same can be said of his views on the Jesuits, but he never used the term directly.³⁶ Nor did

32 Arthur Herman, “The Huguenot Republic and Antirepublicanism in Seventeenth-Century France,” *Journal of the History of Ideas*, vol. 53, no. 2 (Apr.–Jun. 1992), 250 ff.; Jeffrey K. Sawyer, *Printed Poison. Pamphlet Propaganda, Faction Politics, and the Public Sphere in Early Seventeenth-Century France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 116 ff.

33 *Le Magot Genevois: Descouuert és Arrests du Synode national des Ministres reformez tenu à Priuas, l’an mil six cens douze* (1612): 97. (<http://cdm15999.contentdm.oclc.org/cdm/ref/collection/FrenchPolPa/id/32044>, accessed 12 October 2016), *Œuvres complètes de Théodore Agrippa d’Aubigné*, vol. 2 (Paris: A. Lemerre, 1877), 74 (Le Caducee ou L’Angee de Paix, datert 1612).

34 Herman, “The Huguenot Republic,” 265.

35 Maximilien de Béthune Sully, *Memoires Ov Oeconomies Royales D’Estat, Domestiques, Politiques Et Militaires De Henry Le Grand*; Vol. 1, No. 2. (Paris: Billaine, 1663), 803.

36 Katz, “A State Within a State,” 51f.

Louis XIV ever use the term as a justification for revoking the Huguenots’ religious licence – but others did.

In Elie Benoist’s (1640 – 1728) multi-volume presentation of the history of the edict between 1693 and 1695, i.e. a few years after its repeal, the term (“Etat dans l’Etat”) was used several times. He referred to grievances from earlier in the century that the religion of the Huguenots had led to factionalism, that they desired a state within the state, and that they could elude ordinary legislation through special privileges.³⁷ Himself a Huguenot pastor in France prior to the repeal, Benoist wrote his history in Dutch exile.³⁸ In it, he also lambasted the notion that the Huguenots “formed a state within the state, with their own cities, own laws and own interests, politically at odds with the good of the kingdom.”³⁹ Instead, he argued that the Huguenots’ armed opposition to central power was a legitimate use of the right to rebellion, as had Pufendorf.⁴⁰ His account is therefore an example of the fact that Huguenots themselves perceived claims of their constituting a state within the state as a central justification for the revocation of the edict, but also that these claims were rejected as baseless.

In his diary, the Duke of Saint-Simon, Louis de Rouvroy (1675 – 1755), asserted that claims of the existence of a state within the state were the grounds for the repeal of the edict. Three decades after its revocation (in 1716), he used the term explicitly as a description of the Huguenot’s structure, but also to explain the king’s motivation for the retraction. He explained that after 1598, the Huguenots had established a republican form of government with their own garrisons, troops, authorities, diplomats, and courts that even convicted Catholics, “in short, constituting a state within a state (un État dans un État)” that was willing to take up arms against the French king, and that was therefore enormously dangerous to the state.⁴¹ Furthermore, the duke explained that the king’s advisers

37 Elie Benoist, *Histoire de l’Edit de Nantes, contenant les choses les plus remarquables qui se sont passées en France avant & après sa publication, à l’occasion de la diversité des religions : et principalement les contraventions, inexecutions, chicanes, artifices, violences, & autres injustices, que les reformez se plaignent d’y avoir souffertes, jusques à l’Edit de révocation, en octobre 1685. Avec ce qui a suivi ce nouvel Edit jusques à présents*. Tome premier (Delft, 1693), 134 and 301. (https://play.google.com/store/books/details?id=bHG_vzj1iu0C&rdid=book-bHG_vzj1iu0C&rdot=1, accessed 12 October 2016).

38 Charles Johnston, “Elie Benoist, Historian of the Edict of Nantes,” *Church History*, vol. 55, no. 4 (December 1986).

39 Elie Benoist, *Histoire de L’Edit de Nantes*, Tome Second (Delft, 1693), Preface.

40 Benoist, *Histoire de L’Edit de Nantes*. Tome Second, Preface. See also Johnston, “Elie Benoist,” 479.

41 Duc Saint-Simon, *Mémoires complets et authentiques du duc de Saint-Simon sur le siècle de Louis XIV et la régence*. Tome Quatorzième. (Paris, 1829), 156. From author’s translation into Nor-

had portrayed the Huguenots “in the darkest of colours; as a state within the state” that undermined the king’s sovereignty, an argument that, according to the duke, must therefore have motivated the king to repeal the Nantes edict.⁴²

The term was also used in completely different contexts; among other things, the major trading companies were understood to constitute states within the state. In the French *Dictionnaire Universel* from 1701, the trading companies were mentioned under the term “Compagnie” with an elaboration that they declared war and settled peace, dispatched ambassadors, equipped fleets and armed forces, all completely independently of the state. According to the lexicon, the companies were “a state within the state, and a republic within the republic.”⁴³

There is no doubt that in the examples from the 17th century, the term was used with a modern lexical meaning and encompassed the definition provided by Bielfeld in the 1760s. For a long time, however, there were only scattered examples, and the term cannot be said to have had any impact as a political slogan. Indeed, it was absent in a number of pamphlets and publications in connection with the repeal of the Edict of Nantes, in a case where one might expect that it would have been deliberately put to use.

“State within the state” as anti-feudal slogan

Katz has shown how the term quickly acquired broad usage among the public in the 1760s, and how it emerged precisely as a political slogan, used in an agitational sense due to the associations it evidently provided. The usage of the term “state within the state” rapidly became a habitual means to characterise a number of institutions that were perceived to be encroaching on the domains of the sovereign. Soon this came to apply to Jesuits, who were being excluded from many countries at around the same time. In 1773, the pope disbanded the order – an act, according to Katz, that was generally justified at the time by

wegian. See also Geoffrey Adams, *The Huguenots and French Opinion 1685–1787: The Enlightenment debate on toleration* (Waterloo, ONT: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 1991), 39.

⁴² Duc Saint-Simon, *Mémoires de Mr. le duc de S. Simon ou l’observateur véridique, sur le règne de Louis XIV et sur les premières époques des règnes suivans*. Seconde Edition. Tome Premier (London, 1789), 161. From author’s translation into Norwegian.

⁴³ Antoine Furetière, *Dictionnaire Universel: Contenant généralement tous les Mots François tant vieux que modernes, & les Termes des Sciences Et Des Arts ...*(Leers, 1701), “Compagnie.” From author’s translation into Norwegian.

the allegation that they constituted a state within the state.⁴⁴ Freemasons were also quickly identified as an example of this.

It is not unreasonable to assume that the term’s breakthrough in the 1760s may be related to it being decoupled from its anti-republican origins and adapted as an anti-feudal and anti-corporative slogan directed towards supporters of the absolute monarchy and aristocracy. In the history of the concept, *state* is also closely linked to *estate*, and until the 19th century the term could be used both for power structures in the modern sense of state and as a reference to privileged social groups (*estates*).⁴⁵ “State within the state” could thus also be definitively understood as an estate in conflict for sovereignty against the monarchy (estate within the state).

The Age of Enlightenment was characterised by the focus on the individual, and corporative structures thus came under pressure. The pre-revolutionary society of estates had been founded precisely on various corporations and collective privileges, rights, and obligations. In many cases, these were corporations with a high degree of autonomy, and the guilds can often be identified as the classic example of the society of estates’ corporate institution. The Encyclopédistes in France argued for the state’s exclusive right to sovereignty, and in their publications criticised all manner of corporations that interfered with individual freedoms, with or without the blessing of the state.⁴⁶ It was not merely Jesuits and Freemasons, but also a range of other associations, that held key positions in pre-revolutionary Europe.

Republicanism was viewed as the antithesis of the monarchical political system, and in particular to absolutism and the principle that power should be manifested in one person.⁴⁷ We shall see that in the latter part of the 18th century, “state within the state” became an essentially derogatory way of branding anti-republicanism or structures that were understood to be in conflict with the principles of sovereignty of the people. As such, the application of the term was reversed: From being a slogan of anti-republicans in support of the French sov-

⁴⁴ Katz, “A State Within a State,” 53.

⁴⁵ Werner Conze and Reinhart Koselleck, “Staat und Souveränität,” I–III in *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe: Historisches Lexikon Zur Politisch-sozialen Sprache in Deutschland*, vol. 6, ed. Otto Brunner, Werner Conze and Reinhart Koselleck (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1990); Reinhart Koselleck, “A Response to Comments on the Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe,” in *The Meanings of Historical Terms and Concepts: New Studies on Begriffsgeschichte*, ed. Detlef Junker et al. Occasional Paper no. 15 (Washington DC: German Historical Institute, 1996), 65.

⁴⁶ Katz, “A State Within a State,” 52f

⁴⁷ Herman, “The Huguenot Republic,” 249 ff.

reign and his monarchy, it grew into an anti-feudal slogan aimed at the foundations of the monarchy.

In the wake of the French Revolution, the concept became first and foremost an anti-Semitic slogan, and perhaps the most potent and animated remonstrance to granting civil rights to Jews. This was almost a by-product of the symbolic use of Jews as a state within the state in order to bolster descriptions of other states within the state – the church, the military and, in particular, the aristocracy – all of which had initially been designated as more problematic.

The historian Jonathan Karp has discussed how the concept and the understanding of it legitimised the aggressive attack on the aristocracy during the French Revolution, and precisely how the binding of it to Jews became a rhetorical expedient, part of an arsenal of arguments hurled at the aristocracy to underscore its useless and parasitic nature.⁴⁸ Emmanuel-Joseph Sieyès (1748–1836) issued perhaps the most influential pamphlet during the French Revolution. *What is the Third Estate? (Qu'est-ce que le tiers-état?)* was published in the opening stages of the revolution, in January 1789, and reappeared later the same year in new and greatly expanded editions. This occurred at a point when the aristocracy still had a certain grip on the rebellion against the French monarch. At the same time, however, antagonisms between the estates had now escalated. It had been decided the previous summer that the Estates General would be convened for the first time since 1614. At that time, the assembly reflected the society of the estates, and was divided according to estate, where each estate had one vote.

The political consensus among the bourgeoisie and aristocracy, anchored in shared incriminations against royal despotism, was destroyed in the autumn of 1788 when the aristocratic parliament in Paris agreed to uphold the structure from 1614. This allowed the privileged estates – the nobility and the clergy – to be able to control the assembly. The rest of the population, referred to as the Third Estate, could thus be outmanoeuvred. The journalist Mallet du Pan (1749–1800) described the mood in January 1789. The debate was no longer characterised by discourses on king, despotism and constitution, he explained. Now it was “war between the Third Estate and the other two orders.”⁴⁹

In fierce terms, Sieyès’s attacked the aristocracy’s corporative grip on society in general, and the Estates General in particular. He argued that the Third Estate not only represented the people, but that it constituted a “complete nation.” The

⁴⁸ Jonathan Karp, *The Politics of Jewish Commerce: Economic Thought and Emancipation in Europe, 1638–1848* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 135 ff

⁴⁹ Quoted here from Georges Lefebvre, *The French Revolution: From Its Origins to 1793* (New York: Routledge & K. Paul, 1962), 98.

Third Estate was therefore synonymous with the nation. The aristocracy, on the other hand, stood apart from it – or rather, constituted a nation within the nation. His rationale was especially grounded in an understanding, or assertion, of what productivity and utility really were.⁵⁰ The Third Estate did all the real work in society, and stood for everything that was useful, while the aristocracy as an estate radiated in its own idleness, surrounded by a productive society. And not only that: the unproductive estates almost conspired to control resources they themselves had not contributed towards creating. It rendered them foreigners to the nation: “Such a class, surely, is foreign to the nation because of its *idleness*.”⁵¹

The aristocracy was foreign to the nation both because its power was illegitimate to the people and because the aristocrats had private self-interest, not the common good, as their aim. As such they were a burden, a parasitic organism corroding the nation. A nation, explained Sieyès, was an association of people under one law and represented by the same legislative assembly. The aristocracy, with its civil and political privileges, singled itself out from the people and the nation. This, Sieyès continued, therefore rendered the aristocracy a people apart within the nation – a state within the state: “It is truly *imperium in imperio*.”⁵²

Sieyès’s representation of the aristocracy had two natural outcomes. Either the privileged estate, motivated by a new and more social interest, ensured their own regeneration as useful citizens among the Third Estate through habituation to productive activity, or so had to be denied its continued existence as a state within the state and consequently expelled from society. The choice was between assimilation and exclusion. In practical terms, this was reflected in the self-proclaimed transformation of the Third Estate within the Estates General into a constituent assembly in the summer of 1789. They perceived themselves as representatives of a complete nation and demanded that the other two estates join them. In August of the same year, the National Assembly abolished core parts of the nobility’s old privileges, thus staking out the regeneration of the nobility and its assimilation into the Third Estate as a response to Sieyès’s alternatives.

In Germany, Sieyès had an attentive reader in Johan Gottlieb Fichte (1762–1814). In his apologia for the French Revolution of 1793, *Beitrag zur Berichtigung der Urtheile des Publikums über die französische Revolution* [Contribution to the

50 Karp, *The Politics of Jewish Commerce*, 136.

51 Quoted here from Oliver W. Lembcke and Florian Weber, *Emmanuel Joseph Sieyès: The Essential Political Writings* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 47. See also Karp, *The Politics of Jewish Commerce*, 140.

52 Lembcke and Weber, *Emmanuel Joseph Sieyès*, 47; Karp, *The Politics of Jewish Commerce*, 143.



Figure 3.2: “We have to hope that the game will end soon: the author in the countryside.” The clergy and nobility carried by the Third Estate. A French cartoon from 1789. In his influential pamphlet *What is the Third Estate*, Emmanuel-Joseph Sieyès argued that the nobility was foreign to the nation on account of its parasitic idleness, and that a regeneration and an inurement to productive work was necessary in order to avoid exclusion from the nation. Sieyès, and later Fichte, thus depicted the nobility in accordance with an anti-citizenship.

Rectification of the Public’s Judgment of the French Revolution], he spent three of three hundred pages discussing Jews. He was not the first to label Jews as representatives of a state within the state, but to a considerable extent these few pages facilitated the association of the term with Jews in particular.

Fichte supervised the translation of Sieyès’s polemic into German, and in many ways his own apologia was based upon it. Unlike Sieyès, however, Fichte was receptive to the idea that secession from the state, with the consequent for-

mation of a state within the state, could be a legitimate outcome of a revision of the social contract.⁵³ This was in keeping with the traditional right to rebellion and in line with Pufendorf, but he made sharp distinctions between legitimate and illegitimate states within the state. The definition of an illegitimate state within the state was first and foremost the extent to which members of associations were subject to their own jurisdictions, constitutions and normative codes, and especially if this gave them a kind of special privilege to discredit other groups in society without legal consequence. That being the case, this would be an expression of corporative despotism.⁵⁴

For Fichte, the nobility was a despotic corporation that represented a danger to the common good. It was an estate that maintained and defended special interests and a distinctive morality, and was therefore “a dangerous state within the state,” also understood in his time as an “estate within the state.”⁵⁵ He also cited the church, the guilds and the military as specific examples of such states within the state: “All of these are states within the state that not only have distinct interests, but interests that come in direct conflict with the interests of all other citizens.”⁵⁶

Taken as a whole, it was a broad attack on the structures of *L’Ancien Regime*, and like Sieyès, he struck out vigorously at the aristocracy as beneficiaries of a greedy and gluttonous regime governed by self-interest.

But where Sieyès posited the Third Estate – and thus the bourgeoisie – as a productive and socially useful contrast to the parasitic aristocracy, Fichte primarily criticised the aristocracy’s dominant position as property owners. In this regard, Jews were described as supporters of an aristocratic hegemony by exercising commercial functions on their behalf. In a later publication, *Der geschlossene Handelsstaat* [The Closed Commercial State] from 1800, the aristocracy was portrayed as masters of private property and the free market. Fichte thus branded the aristocracy not only as an unproductive class or group, but also associated it with an emergent capitalism with obvious negative connotations. Like Sieyès, Fichte also expressed disapproval of greed and selfishness, and of how self-in-

53 Karp, *The Politics of Jewish Commerce*, 153.

54 Karp, *The Politics of Jewish Commerce*, 155.

55 Johann Gottfried Fichte, *Beitrag zur Berichtigung der Urtheile des Publikums über die französische Revolution*. Erster Theil (1793), 195 (“so erhält dieser Stand ein abgesondertes Interesse, und eine abgesonderte Moral, und wird ein gefährlicher Staat im Staate”).

56 Fichte, *Beitrag zur Berichtigung*, 196 (“Alle dieses sind ja Staaten im Staate, die nicht nur ein abgesondertes, sondern ein allen übrigen Bürgern entgegengesetztes Interesse haben”).

terest and the moral and commercial activities of certain groups came into conflict with the common good.⁵⁷

Nobles and Jews as “parasitic twins”

Fichte associated Jews with the aristocracy, and both groups became representatives of what was unproductive and parasitic in society. Jonathan Karp maintains that the original coupling of market forces and an aristocratic regime eventually created space for romantically oriented economists and historians to decouple the nobility from such negative feudal traits, imposing associations exclusively on Jews as practitioners of a harmful and selfish capitalism.⁵⁸ As such, Jews assumed the role of the aristocracy as the main representatives of parasitic capitalism.

In the next chapter, we will examine the portrayal of Jews in more detail, and how Jews were collectively described as a political danger, as a state within the state, and therefore as unsuitable citizens of the states in which they resided. In this way, the question of toleration, assimilation or exclusion was actualised to the greatest degree. In the Norwegian context, this was especially true at Eidsvoll in 1814 and in the subsequent period. In the Swedish parliament, too, demands for the exclusion and limitation of the alleged Jewish danger to the Swedish nation received great support.

Vivid anti-Jewish stereotypes existed in all the Scandinavian countries. In public opinion, a range of long-established accusations were hurled at Jews, but political arguments about their deficient qualities as citizens, in particular, were raised in new ways. Objections against giving Jews right of entry or liberties were powerful and widespread. However, around 1814 the three Scandinavian countries chose different political responses. Norway opted to exclude Jews, Denmark attempted to assimilate them, while Sweden decided to continue a policy of segregation introduced in the 1780s. It was only in the 1830s, and especially in the 1840s, that descriptions of political danger lost their leverage as a legitimate and broadly recognised principal objection against the toleration of Jews in Christian states.

⁵⁷ See also Isaac Nakhimovsky, *The Closed Commercial State: Perpetual Peace and Commercial Society from Rousseau to Fichte* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011), 9.

⁵⁸ Karp, *The Politics of Jewish Commerce*, 153.

4 Unfit as citizens? – the Jewish danger c. 1790 – 1851

Eidsvoll 1814

The Constitutional Assembly at Eidsvoll codified the exclusion of Jews from Norway in 1814. This was no incidental whim. Preceding legislation also contained a general ban on Jews, but there were exceptions for those with letters of safe conduct and for Sephardic Jews. This was in keeping with Danish-Norwegian law. These exceptions ceased to apply in 1814, and in addition its codification in the Constitution now made the absolute prohibition more difficult to repeal.

In his draft constitution, drawn up on the basis of public opinion in the county of Oppland, district recorder Lauritz Weidemann (1775–1856) explained that Jews had always been unruly and deceitful, and that as well as harbouring the hope of rising again as a nation, their religion had coaxed them towards “Intrigues and the formation of a State within the State.” The security of the country, his draft continued, therefore demanded a total exclusion of Jews.¹ According to co-representative Valentin Sibbern’s (1779–1853) diary, Professor Georg Sverdrup (1770–1850), on behalf of the constitutional committee, is also said to have given grounds for the exclusion of Jews by stating that they had “always wanted to become a State within the State.”²

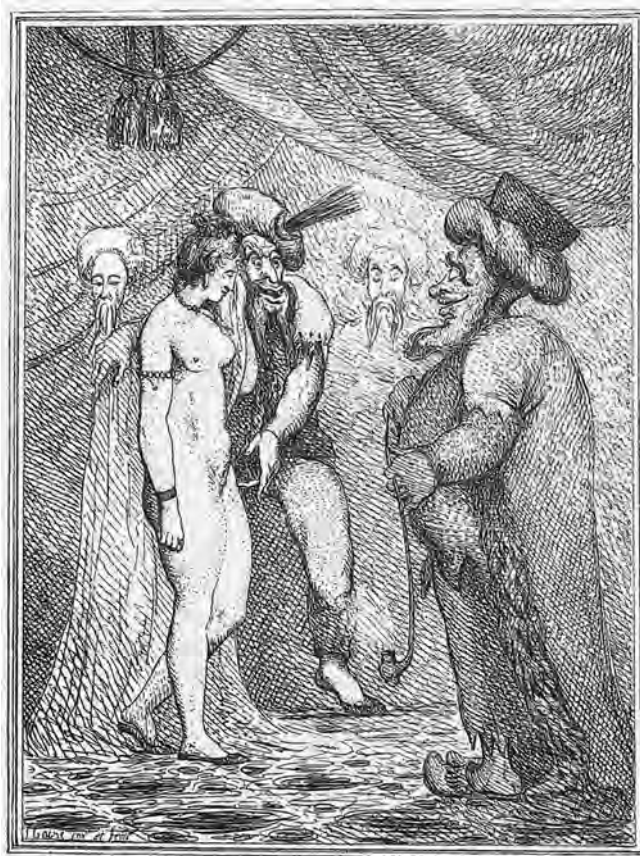
The term, which twenty-five years earlier was used only seldom and sporadically to refer to Jews, was established in the Norwegian debate at Eidsvoll as a self-evident description of their relationship to states in which they resided. The refrain was elevated to a kind of historical truth, with enduring explanatory validity. Jews had “always” been a state within the state, and thus a political danger to the society of the state.

It was not coincidental that Jews were associated with the term during this period and thus also constructed as being politically dangerous. It was also no coincidence that these notions were active at Eidsvoll, especially, as the Norwegian historian of ideas Håkon Harket has shown, as far as constitutional draftsmen Christian Magnus Falsen (1782–1830), Nicolai Wergeland (1780–1848) and Georg Sverdrup were concerned.³

1 Tycho Jæger, *Riksforsamlingens forhandlinger: 3. del Grundlovsutkast* (Kristiania, 1916), 148.

2 Michael Birkeland, *V.C.W. Sibberns Dagbog paa Eidsvold. Udgivet af M. Birkeland* (Kristiania: P.T. Mallings bogtrykkeri, 1870), 16.

3 Håkon Harket, *Paragrafen: Eidsvoll 1814* (Oslo: Dreyer forlag, 2014).



62. Ein jüdischer Händler mit Christenfleisch
Englische Karikatur. 18. Jahrhundert

Figure 4.1: A Jewish trader offering “Christian Meat.” An English cartoon from the 18th century.

The period between 1780 and 1814 has been characterised as the first phase of a process of Jewish emancipation in Europe. It is impossible to understand the notions about Jews and the policies to which they were subjected in Scandinavia and generally throughout Europe around 1814 without looking more closely at representations that were activated particularly during this first period of emancipation.

Whether Jews ought to be recognised as citizens in line with others was a question that was raised in a variety of ways. The German Christian von Dohm’s (1751–1820) *Über die bürgerliche Verbesserung der Juden* [On the Civil Im-

provement of the Jews] from 1781 initiated a debate about their place in society. Around the same time, special legislation and restrictions specifically targeting Jews were relaxed or repealed in a number of states. Austria, Sweden, France, Holland, Prussia and Denmark, among others, trimmed back all special restrictions against Jews in the period 1782–1814. But the process was top-heavy and driven by central government, and often against the wishes of broader public opinion.⁴ The emancipation process actualised and highlighted the discussion on Jewish rights and their suitability as citizens of non-Jewish states.

This provoked a number of writings for and against the Jews, in Scandinavia culminating in the years around 1814, when what came to be known as Jewish literary feuds broke out in all three countries. Both Denmark’s Jewish feud in 1813 and that of Sweden in 1815 largely stemmed from frustrations over the economic problems of the time. The Napoleonic Wars, the continental blockade and crop failure created financial difficulties, and in Denmark-Norway this also resulted in state bankruptcy in 1813. In Sweden the post-war crisis led to many bankruptcies in 1815, several of which involved Jewish businesses. It helped to enflame Sweden’s Jewish literary feud, which broke out that same year.

Norway’s Jewish literary feud was far from as extensive and intense as in neighbouring countries. In fact, it was first and foremost an exchange of views with strong feelings between two individuals. Christian Magnus Falsen, one of the founding fathers at Eidsvoll who was key to the conception of the “Jewish Article” in 1814, was forced to defend his position at Eidsvoll when, in 1817, former Jew Heinrich Martin Glogau from Bergen challenged him to do so.

“The Jew” as anti-citizen

In the 18th century there were around two million Jews in Europe, and half of them lived in regions of Poland. Both culturally and with regard to the legal positions under which they lived, there was an important distinction between Ashkenazi and Sephardic Jews. In Germanic and Eastern European areas, Jews were referred to as Ashkenazi, while Sephardic Jews – also referred to as Portuguese Jews – originated in the Iberian Peninsula. After their expulsion from there in the late 1400s, they scattered around the Mediterranean and to certain cities in north-western Europe.

At the centre of the Jewish religion are the Torah and the Talmud, the latter of which formed a central point of objection to the inclusion of Jews during the

⁴ Ulvund, *Fridomens grenser 1814–1851*, 63 ff.



Figure 4.2: “How a headless Jew in Krahwinkel trades.” Colour etching from between 1815 and 1820 implying that Jews acted headless when confronted by a figure of authority. The cartoon also evokes associations with Fichte’s decapitation metaphor.

emancipation debates. The Torah is the Bible’s Pentateuch and contains key parts of Jewish laws and rules on how religion should be practised and life should be lived. The Talmud consists in part of oral religious laws from the period after Moses that are said to have been written down around 200 AD.⁵ This section is called Mishnah. The second part of the Talmud consists of rabbinic discussions, interpretations and religious judgments from subsequent centuries that acquired the status of authoritative texts. This eventually grew into a highly comprehensive and complex collection of texts, and the interpretation of them became a crucial part of rabbinical activities.

It was in the Ashkenazi areas of the east that Jews lived most traditionally and most segregated. Poland in particular became a Jewish Orthodox centre

⁵ Nicholas De Lange, *An Introduction to Judaism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 45 ff.

that exported traditionalist rabbis to regions of the west. Within Jewish communities, especially among the Ashkenazi in the west, a modernisation process took place from the late 18th century in which Moses Mendelsohn, a philosopher of the German-Jewish Enlightenment, played a pivotal role.⁶ The process, often referred to as the Haskalah, placed greater emphasis on secular education in particular. This contributed to the secularising of the Jewish way of life, which provoked tensions between Jewish enlightenment thinking and Jewish orthodoxy. These two directions formed the basis of an argument respectively for and against the provision of civil rights to Jews.

In the period around 1814, the term “state within the state” had thus long been what Jacob Katz called an anti-Jewish slogan, one that was associated to a significant extent with Jews and Jews’ relations with the civil societies in which they lived. According to Katz, this was a reaction to the emancipation process from the 1780s onwards and the debates that followed it. This process had led Jews from the marginalised fringes of society to potentially becoming a part of it, from being considered a nation more or less outside the state to being able to become a state *within* the state.⁷

Christian dissociation from Jews goes far back in time. The Jesus movement was still a Jewish phenomenon in its early stages, and its disciples and earliest scriptures must also be regarded as Jewish, not Christian. Initially there was no pronounced distinction between Jews and Christians. Instead, there was a distinction between Jews and non-Jews, where the Judeo-Messianic (later understood as Christian) movement could incorporate non-Jews through baptism.⁸ In the research literature there are differing views on exactly when a clear distinction between the Jesus movement and Judaism developed – whether it was in the latter half of the first century, or in the century that followed – but from at least the second century, Christians were gradually being understood as something other than Jews, and the practice of Jewish rituals was gradually seen as incompatible with being a Christian.⁹ This alienation of what was Jewish

⁶ See for example Elon, *The Pity of it All*, 33ff. and 66.

⁷ Katz, “A State Within a State,” 61.

⁸ Anders Runesson, *Divine Wrath and Salvation in Matthew: The Narrative World of the First Gospel* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2016), 5ff.

⁹ See Magnus Zetterholm, “Separationen mellan judendom och kristendom,” *Patristica Nordica Annuaia*, vol. 30 (2015) for a presentation of the research literature surrounding the early establishment of Christianity. See also Anders Runesson, “The Rise of Normative Judaism and Christianity: The Role of Politics in the Formation of ‘Religion’ in Late Antiquity,” *Patristica Nordica Annuaia*, vol. 30 (2015).

within the Primitive Church must be viewed in the light of a hegemonic struggle in which a non-Jewish identity slowly supplanted the Jewish one. This would have long-term historical consequences, and not least be important in the debates of the emancipation period.¹⁰

Such alienation was the point of departure for Zygmunt Bauman in his influential book from 1989, *Modernity and Holocaust*. He argued that the fictional “Jew” acquired great – almost timeless – significance as a contrasting spectre within Christianity, irrespective of experience with actual Jews. Through its constant challenging and rejection of the “certainty” of the Christian faith, the abstract “Jew” played a central role in Christian self-identity. According to Bauman, Christianity could not reproduce itself and its dominion without maintaining and reinforcing an alienation of the Jews. Christianity – not Judaism – was the conqueror of and heir to Israel. Theoretically speaking, it was only through opposition to Judaism that Christians could understand the legitimacy of Christianity’s existence.¹¹

With this alienation, the “Jew” was understood as a prototype of nonconformity, heterodoxy, anomaly and aberration. According to Bauman, the “Jew” as such demonstrated the frightening consequences of overstepping boundaries, of not sticking to the flock, and of an absence of unconditional loyalty. The conceptual Jew, he wrote, carried a message: “alternative to this order here and now is not another order, but chaos and devastation.”¹² At the same time, according to Bauman, the stubborn Jewish rejection of Christianity was explained as deliberate obstinacy, evil intention, or moral turpitude. In this way, the moral qualities of the Jew were disparaged.

The German-Norwegian historian Christhard Hoffmann has also argued that Judaism has frequently been identified and judged as the antithesis to Christians’ own ideal, and he traces this practice back to Christianity’s earliest period.¹³ Based on the texts of the apostles – first and foremost Paul – Hoffmann argues

10 Anders Runesson elaborated upon this in a research interview at *Forskning.no* 12 January 2017. (<http://forskning.no/2017/01/bibelsk-misfortaing-har-skapt-jodeforlding/produsert-og-fi-nansiert-av/universitetet-i-oslo>, accessed 23 May 2017).

11 Zygmunt Bauman, *Modernity and Holocaust* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1989), 37 ff. See also David J. Wertheim, ed., *The Jew as Legitimation: Jewish-Gentile Relations Beyond Antisemitism and Philosemitism* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017). Several contributions to the anthology demonstrate which function Jews and Jewishness has had in the legitimation of key non-Jewish values, with examples from the classical period up to contemporary national populism.

12 Bauman, *Modernity and Holocaust*, 39.

13 Christhard Hoffmann, “Das Judentum als Antithese: Zur Tradition eines kulturellen Wertungsmusters,” in *Antisemitismus in Deutschland: Zur Aktualität eines Vorurteils*, ed. Wolfgang Benz (München: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 1995), 25 ff.

that a Christian self-understanding was defined early on in antithetical contrast to a Jewish one. This was achieved by setting faith up against law, spirit against letter, universalism against particularism, and a God of love against a vengeful, Old Testament God. According to Hoffmann, this was supplemented in the Age of Enlightenment by superstition as a contrast to reason, by church against state, domination by the priesthood against secular culture, tradition against progress, and the diaspora as a contrast to the nation. As a result of the emancipation debates, this developed in Germany into images of Jews and Judaism as a contrast to Germans and Germanness.¹⁴ Likewise, the German historian Renate Best has similarly argued that while France were the outer arche-enemy, the Jewish community represented an inner enemy and a counterpart (Gegenbild) to the German people around 1800.¹⁵

The American historian Gary Kates has argued that the debate surrounding Jewish emancipation during the French Revolution was first and foremost a debate about what it meant to be French more than a debate about Jews. By discussing the civil rights of the Jews, one could define a French identity and core features of a secular state.¹⁶ On the basis of Kates, his compatriot Ronald Schechter has similarly argued that in France the “Jew” became a discursive approach to defining the concept of the citizen in the period before and during the revolution. He asserted that revolutionary France understood the concept of the citizen not primarily as a matter of individual rights, but rather of moral qualities. Here, the Jew was constructed as an *anti-citizen*, a sort of definition of what a good citizen was *not*. When defining the Jew, the citizen was understood as a person who valued and practised altruism rather than selfishness, who displayed courage and valour before cowardice, who stood for productive utility over passive indolence, and scrupulous candour rather than undue secrecy.¹⁷ Although Jews were a marginal group in French society, the great interest in them was anything but a marginal matter. The discussion about Jews, as Schechter sees it, was thereby not so

14 Hoffmann, “Das Judentum als Antithese,” 34.

15 Renate Best, “Juden und Feindbilder in der gesellschaftlichen Konstruktion einer Deutschen Nation (1781–1804),” in *Nation und Religion in der Deutschen Geschichte*, ed. Heinz-Gerhard Haupt and Dieter Langewiesche (Frankfurt/New York: Campus Verlag, 2001), 211f.

16 Gary Kates, “Jews into Frenchmen: Nationality and Representation in Revolutionary France,” *Social Research*, vol. 56, no. 1 (1989): 223 and 231. Also published in Ferenc Fehér, ed., *The French Revolution and the Birth of Modernity* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1990), 109.

17 Ronald Schechter, *Obstinate Hebrews: Representations of Jews in France, 1715–1815* (Berkeley, US: University of California Press, 2003): 101.

much about the possibility of them acquiring civil rights as about the concept of citizenship in general.

At the time, explicit notions that Jews were in an antithetical position to most Europeans were not unfamiliar. The German *Oekonomische Encyclopädie, oder allgemeines System der Staats- Stadt-Haus- u. Landwirtschaft* [Economic Encyclopaedia, or General System of Agriculture, Domestic, and State Economy], published by Johann Georg Krünitz, referred to Jews and Asians in the 1780s as Europeans' moral "polar opposites":

They came from Asia, which has always been, and still is, with its customs, practices, and ways of living, Europe's moral opposite, and which has been faithful to the religion of its ancestors throughout affliction and torture, even to the death.¹⁸

This perception of Jews makes it relevant to view the discourse around Jewishness within the context of what the Palestinian-American literary scholar Edward Said referred to as orientalism.¹⁹ This happened both through the "Jew" being seen as an Oriental, but also by the fact that which was Jewish – in the same way as that which was Oriental in general – was constructed as an exotic, outdated and uncivilised contrast to European civilisation. In the same way that colonialism – understood as Western intervention in non-European territories in order to cultivate "uncivilised" cultures, among other things – became a natural consequence of orientalism's construction of "the Other," the Jewish emancipation – and the debates about it – has been interpreted as a form of internal colonialism in response to the presence of an orientalised "other" at the heart of Europe.²⁰ This internal colonialism would also transform that which were seen as despotic and uncivilised cultural and religious practices, primarily through processes of assimilation.

18 Johann Georg Krünitz, *Oekonomische Encyclopädie, allgemeines System der Staats- Stadt-Haus- u. Landwirtschaft*, vol. 31 (Berlin: Pauli, 1784), 296, s.v. 'Jude'. ("Sie kamen aus Asien, welches immer und noch jetzt der moralische Antipode Europens ist, mit ihren Sitten, Gebräuchen und Lebensart zu uns, und unter Drangsal und Marter blieben sie der Religion ihrer Väter selbst bis zum Tode getreu.")

19 Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1978).

20 For a good discussion of the Jewish question in Denmark in the first part of the 19th century in light of orientalism and colonialism, see Kristoffer Kaae Kjærgaard, *Opfindelsen af jødiskhed, 1813–1849: Semitisk diskurs og produktionen af jødiskhed som andethet* (PhD diss., Roskilde University, 2013), 27 ff. Kjærgaard uses theories of orientalism and colonialism on a selection of literature concerning Jews in the period between the Jewish literary feud in 1813 and the Constitution in 1849.



Figure 4.3: “King Jerry treating his Jewish Subjects with Westphalia Venison.” Napoleon established the Kingdom of Westphalia in 1807 and installed his brother Jérôme Bonaparte (1784–1860) as monarch. Jerome removed Jewish restrictions in the newly established kingdom the following year. This satirical print from September 1807 is a mockery in which Jérôme (“Jerry”) is serving his Jewish subjects pork disguised as venison.

In the sense that representations of the “Jew” became useful in an anti-aristocratic discourse to substantiate allegations of anti-citizenship, Fichte’s text can also be interpreted in such an antithetical context. By turning Jews into anti-theses – into anti-citizens – they acquired an essential and defining function that explains the great attention and antipathy directed at what was, after all, a marginal population.

“State within the state” as anti-Jewish slogan

Nevertheless, by the mid-1790s the concept of “state within the state” had forcefully penetrated the sphere of debate surrounding Jews as a political threat. This was true in France both before and after the revolution, in German Protestant states where reform-oriented Jews could also emerge in public life, and in Jewish Orthodox heartlands to the east where most of Europe’s Jews lived. Everywhere,

the question of whether, and possibly how, the Jewish anti-citizen could be reborn as a citizen was raised and debated. At this early stage, Denmark-Norway was no exception. On the contrary, allegations of the existence of a Jewish state within the state, even in enlightenment-oriented Jewish circles in Copenhagen around 1795, pressed on. This would form the basis for attempts to reform the Jewish community.

The first known claims that Jews represented a state within the state stem from 1779. In the years 1777–1778, several thousand borrowers in the French region of Alsace had refused to repay their loans to Jewish lenders. Among other acts, receipts were falsified in order to avoid repayment, and several debtors were sentenced to strict punishment for forgery. François Hell (1731–1794) was a local official in Alsace and in 1779 anonymously published *Observations d'un Alsacien sur l'affaire présente des Juifs d'Alsace* [Observations of an Alsatian on the Present Quarrels of the Jews in Alsace]. In it the forgeries were not only excused, but even applauded as an act of self-defence against the lenders' avarice.²¹ Concerning the Jews in this region, Hell continued: "There is a nation within the nation; they are a small state within a larger state, one that powerfully protects its own subjects."²²

The understanding that Jews were not only foreign, but a distinctive category of foreigner, was active in Germany before Fichte. One example is Lutheran pastor Johann Heinrich Schulz (1739–1823) in Halle, a town known as an early centre of pietism. In 1784 he discussed the political implications of the Jewish question on the basis of the Jews' distinctive traits. The basis of his argument was that a Jewish notion of being God's chosen people made them look upon all other peoples with scorn and contempt. This figment of the imagination was a misanthropic belief since it was dismissive of all other peoples. If such notions were maintained, he explained, no other nation could ever trust the Jews.²³

Why then, Schultz asked himself and his readers, did the Jews insist on remaining a people segregated from society, refusing to associate with peoples who were unable to trace their roots back to Abraham? Why did they want to be a distinctive state within the state?²⁴ As long as this was the case, he asked rhetorically, would it not be brazenly incautious of true citizens to permit the

²¹ Schechter, *Obstinate Hebrews*, 67 ff.

²² Quoted here from Katz, "A State Within a State," 56: ("C'est une nation dans la nation; c'est dans un grand Etat un petit Etat, puissant, qui sait protéger son sujet").

²³ Johann Heinrich Schulz, *Betrachtungen über Theologie und Religion überhaupt und über die jüdische Insonderheit*, Zweite unveränderte Auflage (Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1786 [1784]), 221.

²⁴ Schulz, *Betrachtungen über Theologie und Religion*, 222 (Why "wollen sie einen besondern Staat im Staate ausmachen?").

Jews this, thereby putting their own security entirely at risk? The suspicion surrounding hostile Jewish separatism rendered them politically suspect to *true* citizens, and as such, Jews were also revealed to be disqualified as citizens of the state.

When Johan Gottlieb Fichte and the reform-oriented Jewish philosopher Lazarus Bendavid (1762–1832) both proposed the beheading of Jews in 1793, it was a grotesque but symbolic image of the need for assimilation.²⁵ If the Jews were to be incorporated as citizens, their heads would need replacing with new ones. In this way, a Jewish mentality and frame of mind would be eradicated and substituted with a political habitus that was better disposed towards the state.

For Fichte, the Jews were first and foremost an example of a state within the state, characterised by internalised norms that were detrimental to the common good and the notion that the Jews’ selfish mindset might inflict other evils with impunity.²⁶ Thus, the Jewish example was employed as a symbol of degeneration and to give rhetorical leverage to notions of the aristocracy’s correspondingly useless and corporative position, as well as its need for regeneration.

But although he spent only a few pages of his major work on Jews, it was these very representations that would have the most significant reception history, especially when Germany’s Jewish literary feud broke out in 1803.²⁷ Fichte played a vital role as the initial accusations that Jews represented a state within the state became a plain generalisation, not only in that Jews were actually politically dangerous to the contemporary state, but that they had always been, and, therefore, would always – implicitly – remain so. This universal historical branding of the Jews was also supported in German periodicals and by the poet Friedrich Schiller (1759–1805), who as early as 1789 had described the Jewish diaspora in ancient Egypt as a state within the state necessitating their exclusion from the right to Egyptian citizenship.²⁸

25 See Sven-Erik Rose, “Lazarus Bendavid’s and J.G. Fichte’s Kantian Fantasies of Jewish Decapitation in 1793,” *Jewish Social Studies: History, Culture, Society* 13 (3) (Spring/Summer 2007).

26 Karp, *The Politics of Jewish Commerce*, 154.

27 See Harket, *Paragrafen*, 260 f.

28 *Journal von und für Deutschland* (1790), 290 (“[...] in dem Staat wo sie geduldet wird einen heimlichen Staat unter sich zu bilden”). *Monatschrift von und für Mecklenburg* (1791): “The Jewish people always constitute a state within a state.” (Katz, “A State Within a State,” 58); Friedrich Schiller, *Die Sendung Moses* (without publication year [1789]). Archiv-Edition, 7. (<https://archive.org/details/Schiller-Friedrich-Die-Sendung-Moses>, accessed 19 December 2016). Håkon Harket discusses Schiller’s significance to the antisemitic corpus (Harket, *Paragrafen*, 183 ff.).

As Fichte portrayed it, Jewish morality was based on self-interest and, as a consequence, Jews were rendered useless citizens, sequestered from the rest of society. According to Fichte, this was a trait they shared in common with the aristocracy. But the Jews also distinguished themselves from other states within the state of the time. They were scattered throughout Europe, constituting a powerful and hostile “Staat” – understood as a corporation – that was on a perpetual war footing against all others, and which consequently brought great injury upon other citizens.²⁹

For Fichte, the worst of it was not that the Jews constituted a secluded and tightly bound state, but that this “state” was founded on a hatred of humanity. He based this on Jewish invocations of their history in antiquity, a perception of their own superiority, as well as an understanding that all peoples were descendants of those who had banished them from their historical homeland. In Fichte’s eyes, this alleged hatred found expression in self-imposed segregation. This detachment was rooted in rights and obligations in a number of areas that distinguished Judaism from other religions and made it impossible for Jews to attend Christian feasts and festivities.

For Fichte, Jews, due to their moral and religious anomaly, were a willing instrument that could perform commercial and financial functions on behalf of the aristocracy. They were consequently incorporated into and protected by a despotic regime of nobles that permitted Jewish profiteering from the rest of the population.³⁰ In this way, Jews were also allowed to circumvent sacred laws unpunished, such as the law of property upon which not even an absolute sovereign had the right to infringe. Did this not recall, Fichte asked rhetorically, a “Staat im State”?³¹ As a group, the Jews constituted a state that was stronger and more intimately bound than all other states, and one that excluded all non-Jews. Granting civil rights to Jews in established states would only mean that all other citizens would come entirely under their heel.

Again we see the notion that Jews were not only useless, but directly dangerous citizens of the state. Only one form of regeneration – decapitation, in Fichte’s words – could rectify this. As such, the ultimatum that could be inferred from Sieyès towards the French aristocracy – regeneration or exclusion – also became

²⁹ Fichte, *Beitrag zur Berichtigung*, 188f.

³⁰ Fichte, *Beitrag zur Berichtigung*, 188f and Karp, *The Politics of Jewish Commerce*, 156.

³¹ Fichte, *Beitrag zur Berichtigung*, 190.

a kind of mantra when civil rights for Jews were debated in salons, ministries and writings throughout the 1790s.³²

Such ideas were shared by Ernst Traugott von Kortum (1742–1811). He was initially in the Polish, then the Austrian civil service. From 1784 he was acting governor of Lemberg, at that time capital of Galicia, now a city in Ukraine named Lviv. In 1795, von Kortum published a book discussing the influence of Jews and Judaism on civil prosperity, a manuscript that by his own account had been left untouched for some time before its publication.³³ He called attention to his experience in Galicia, an area he referred to as a Jewish Canaan in Europe, as particularly relevant. He pointed out that of a population of over three million, 200,000 were Jews. In his own city of Lemberg alone, every third of the city’s 36,000 souls was Jewish. Galicia was a part of the heartlands of what were called Polish, or ultra-Orthodox (Hasidic) Jews. Through their organisation into *shtetls* (Jewish communities in villages and town boroughs), Jewish communities characterised these areas in a completely different way than in German states, or indeed in Scandinavian countries for that matter. For him, it was precisely his Galician experiences that lent power to his own reasoning.³⁴

In the book, von Kortum portrayed an *esprit de corps* among Jews, a strong inner sense of group belonging and solidarity. This was the result of Jewish “fancies” about theocracy, which in turn had led to the isolation and cultivation of a national pride shored up by misanthropy towards non-Jews.³⁵ Despite the fact that Jews lived in scattered communities, this had bound them together into a kind of civil society of their own. The foundation of this community was the Mosaic politico-religious constitution, bolstered by their historical accounts of the kingdom’s destruction and the experience of again being in exile and in a form of captivity. And, like most prisoners, Jews would retain neither loyalty towards their prison guards, nor ties to any fatherland.³⁶

The Jews had to be viewed in a non-religious context, von Kortum explained, since the Jewish teachings had to be regarded for what he believed they really were, namely political laws.³⁷ Here he travelled far down the same road as Im-

32 A key contribution in this was the speech Henri Gregoire (1750–1831) held at *Société royale des Sciences et des Arts* in Metz in 1788, where he proposed a need for Jewish regeneration. Henri Grégoire, *Essai sur la régénération physique, morale et politique des Juifs* (Metz, 1789).

33 Ernst Traugott von Kortum, *Über Judenthum und Juden, hauptsächlich in Rücksicht ihres Einflusses auf bürgerlichen Wolstand* (Nürnberg, 1795), 3.

34 von Kortum, *Über Judenthum und Juden*, 110f.

35 von Kortum, *Über Judenthum und Juden*, 50.

36 von Kortum, *Über Judenthum und Juden*, 49.

37 von Kortum, *Über Judenthum und Juden*, 30.

manuel Kant (1724–1804), from whom he also included a longer quote in a footnote. In 1793, Kant stated that the Mosaic Law formed not the basis of a religion, but rather of a state constitution. According to Kant, the fact that the Mosaic state constitution laid the basis for theocracy as a form of governance, with rabbis as rulers, did not change the secular foundation of the Mosaic state constitution.³⁸

Von Kortum spent a good deal of time portraying Jews as not only economically useless to a state, but also their businesses as being nothing but detrimental to society. Here, too, there was an isolated Jewish esprit de corps that was highlighted as problematic. As Jacob Katz has pointed out, in a time that was still characterised by mercantilist thought, the accumulation of assets in Jewish hands was understood as assets lost for the state, precisely because the Jews were not regarded as part of the state.³⁹

As long as a Jew did not forget that he was a Jew, the *esprit de corps* would persist, “and its toxic consequences for the welfare of all non-Jewish citizens would manifest themselves.”⁴⁰ The danger was naturally greatest in regions where the number of Jews was considerable – as in his own Galicia – and in such places, Jews also constituted “a state within the state.” At the same time von Kortum contrasted the fate of the Jews with the Jesuits. When the “wretched” Jesuits were understood as a state in the state, they were criminalised and rooted out of the society of the state. But no one conducted an impartial investigation into whether the Jewish state within the state was as bad, if not worse, than the Jesuits, he wrote.

It was true, von Kortum acknowledged, that Jesuits occasionally opposed the power and legislation of the monarch, but the same was true of Jews with regard to the Mosaic Law and the rabbis’ precepts. But Jesuits nevertheless displayed devotion to the monarchs and could be useful in a variety of ways, at least where they were met with good will. They were particularly well known for their schools, which maintained a high academic standard. The Jews, on the other hand, could not be associated with a benefit to the state in any way, he stated.

38 Immanuel Kant, *Die Religion innerhalb der Grenzen der blossen Vernunft*. Hrsg. und mit einer Einleitung sowie einem Personen- und Sach-register versehen von Karl Vorländer (Leipzig: Leipzig F. Meiner, 1922 [1793]), 145.

39 See Jacob Katz, *From Prejudice to Destruction: Anti-Semitism, 1700–1933* (Harvard University Press, 1980), 61f. for a discussion of von Kortum’s view on Jewish economic activity.

40 von Kortum, *Über Judentum und Juden*, 51 (“und seine giftigen Wirkungen auf das Wohl aller nicht jüdischen Staatsbürger äussern”).

The Jesuits never opposed the sovereign’s right to issue and enforce laws in his own country, he continued, as long as their own privileges were not infringed upon. The Jews, on the other hand, had so many of their own laws governing police and ceremonies that it would be difficult for the sovereign to formulate legislation that was not in any way contrary to Jewish law. No action was too small or insignificant to the Jew that there was no rabbinic regulation governing it. The Jews were quite simply regulated “from head to toe” by thousands of regulations, he argued.⁴¹

As soon as a contradiction between secular and Mosaic law arose, the Jew believed that he had to obey God before people. There was therefore no room for civil legislation next to rabbinic law without conflicts arising and Jews crying foul. The Mosaic Law, and all its rabbinic regulations, simply created too many obstacles for the Jew to approach his fellow humans as citizens.⁴²

Only a stamping out of the notion of being a divinely chosen people, the abolition of separatism, and amalgamation with Christian inhabitants could change this. In other words, the Jews had to stop being so Jewish in their minds; a conclusion that had clear parallels with Fichte’s symbolic beheading. Therefore, until their Jewishness was rooted out, they were – according to von Kortum – entirely unsuitable as citizens.

His anti-Jewish views were, of course, coloured by his association with an ultra-Orthodox region such as Galicia. Precisely because Hasidic Jews were established in number there, von Kortum had little faith that they could be incorporated as citizens in his region. It was only in countries completely devoid of Jews in the first place that he could imagine this happening – but only by way of the Jews’ unconditional submission to the state, and not to the Mosaic Law. Assumption of the same rights also required compliance with the same obligations.⁴³

How influential such ideas were, were demonstrated by the Prussian government when they rejected Jewish appeal for civic equality in 1798. As long as the Jewish Nation continued to separate themselves from other Citizens of the state, not only “by speculative Religious Beliefs,” but also “by practical Laws, Culture, Customs and Constitutions,” by nurturing “a certain National Hatred” of non-Jewish citizens, and “as long as they form a State within the State due to their inner Constitution and Hierarchy,” it was out of the question to change the

⁴¹ von Kortum, *Über Judenthum und Juden*, 54 (“von Kopf bis zu den Füßen”).

⁴² von Kortum, *Über Judenthum und Juden*, 44.

⁴³ von Kortum, *Über Judenthum und Juden*, 241.



Moses in den Binsen

Galante englische Karikatur von G. M. Woodward. 1799

Figure 4.4: “Moses in the Rush.” An English cartoon by George Moutard Woodward (1760–1809) dated 1799. There are numerous examples of stereotypical depictions of lax Jewish sexual morality ever since the first centuries. Cf. Susanna Drake, *Slandering the Jew: Sexuality and Difference in Early Christian Texts* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013). Portrayals of Jews as lascivious and unreliable predators, especially targeting Christian women, were stereotypes also applied to Mormons and Jesuits, and contributed to the labelling of these groups as concerned with self-interest and lust.

laws, the government argued.⁴⁴ From the mid-1790s onwards, similar considerations were prevalent in Denmark when the state initiated an attempt to reform the Jewish society and its relationship to the Danish state.

⁴⁴ Decision of the Ministry of State to the Elders of the Jewish community dated 2 April 1798: “Solange daher dieselbe (Jewish Nation) fortfährt sich nicht blos durch spekulative Religions-Meynung, sondern durch praktische Grundsätze, Sitten, Gebräuche und Verfassungen von den übrigen Staats-Einwohnern abzusondern u. einen gewissen National-Hass gegen letztere zu nähren; so lange sie vermöge ihrer inneren Constitution u. Hierarchie gleichsam einen besondern Staat im Staate bildet.” Here quoted from Best, *Juden und Judenbilder*, 199.

The fear of Jewish separatism in Denmark-Norway

In the same year that von Kortum's book was published, the question of Jewish autonomy and Jews' relationship to the absolute monarch's laws was taken up with full force in Denmark. In Denmark-Norway, the first Jews settled in the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein. As many other sovereigns, King Christian IV saw Jews as an economic resource that could strengthen the kingdom. In 1620, Sephardic Jews settled in Glückstadt outside Hamburg and practised their religion there. The city was founded in 1617 and was intended to be an economic competitor to Hamburg. In 1630, these Jews were granted the right to travel within both Denmark and Norway in order to trade. Jews were also able to establish themselves in Altona, and the city soon acquired a significant settlement of Jews. Here, the congregation formed a community alongside the Jewish congregation in nearby Hamburg.

At the same time, Jews were also allowed, upon application, to settle in some Danish cities. The most important city was Copenhagen, but they could also apply for a permit to settle in some provincial towns. The Danish historian Per Katz has an overview of permits granted in the period 1670–1700, and of a total of 30 permits, 17 were granted for Copenhagen, seven for Fredericia, and the remaining six for Ribe, Nakskov, Århus, Nyborg and Odense, in addition to 26 permits for Altona/Glückstadt.⁴⁵ None of the settlement permits applied to cities in Norway. The restrictive approach to where Jews were permitted settlement is demonstrated in the rejection of applications to reside in cities such as Aalborg and Helsingør.⁴⁶

Christian V's Danish and Norwegian Codes from the 1680s continued a strict regime against Jews, with requirements for letters of safe conduct and a fine of 1000 rix-dollars for offenders. From 1726 there was a requirement that, in addition to letters of safe conduct, non-Sephardic Jews wishing to settle in Denmark also had to have capital of at least 1000 rix-dollars at their disposal.⁴⁷ In addition, any Jewish applicants had to establish a home or enterprise in order to remain. From 1736 there was also a requirement for all new Jews to pay 100 rix-dollars as a one-off fee. The proceeds of this would go to pay police officers who

⁴⁵ Per Katz, *Jøderne i Danmark i det 17. århundrede* (København: Selskabet for dansk jødisk historie, 1981), 33ff. See also Oskar Mendelsohn, *Jødenes historie i Norge gjennom 300 år*, vol. 1 (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1969), 103 and annex p. 111f.

⁴⁶ Katz, *Jøderne i Danmark*, 103.

⁴⁷ Bent Blüdnikow and Harald Jørgensen, "Den lange vandring til borgerlig ligestilling i 1814," in *Indenfor murene: Jødisk liv i Danmark 1684–1984*, ed. Harald Jørgensen (København: Reitzel, 1984), 28.

were to monitor the Jewish community and possibly arrest Jews found without legal residence permits. In this way, only Jews who could provide the kingdom with resources were given the right to settle there. Jews who received residence permits had to acquire a trade licence similar to Burghers, but could not be admitted into any of the guilds. In 1748 it was made clear that the right to residence was restricted to the city in which the letters of safe conduct and trade licences applied. When moving to other cities, a new letter of safe conduct had to be issued, in addition to the trade licence having to be applied for once more. As such, the Jewish presence in Denmark was strictly regulated and controlled.

The application of the regulations fluctuated between periods of stricter and more liberal enforcement.⁴⁸ In some cases, fines could be quashed when the offender could not afford to pay, and the authorities could instead settle for deportation. In the 1780s, Jews who were not able to pay fines could be sentenced to forced labour. Towards the end of the 1780s, the Copenhagen chief of police claimed that the city had been inundated with foreign Jews, and by 1789 he was reported to have arrested as many as three hundred in a raid against illegal Jews.⁴⁹

Unlike in Norway, the number of Jews in the Danish part of the twin kingdoms was on the increase in the latter half of the 18th century. By 1784, the number of Jewish families in Copenhagen is said to have reached around 250.⁵⁰ The census of 1787 showed that there were 380 Jewish families in Denmark, which together constituted around 1600 individuals.⁵¹

In the Jewish congregation in Copenhagen in the 1790s, there had been conflicts between a reform-minded circle, influenced by Moses Mendelssohn's enlightenment philosophy, and a more orthodox direction that regarded the preservation of original rituals and ceremonies as existential to the Jewish community. In the great city fire in the summer of 1795, the synagogue burned down. The Jewish congregation's board of representatives resigned, and the new one became dominated by conservative Jews.

On the encouragement of prominent reformist Jew Moses Fürst, who was also Moses Mendelssohn's brother-in-law, the Danish chancellery set up an official commission that same year.⁵² The commission had five members, including two Jews, Jeremias Henriques and Nathan Levin Meyer. Its mandate was a rad-

48 Mendelssohn, *Jødenes historie i Norge*, 40 ff.

49 Blüdnikow and Jørgensen, "Den lange vandring," 38.

50 Carl Brun, *København. Tredie Del* (København, 1901), 628.

51 Blüdnikow and Jørgensen, "Den lange vandring," 72.

52 Martin Schwarz Lausten, *Oplysning i kirke og synagoge: Forholdet mellem kristne og jøder i den danske Oplysningstid (1760–1814)* (København: Akademisk forlag, 2002), 89 ff.

ical reform of Jewish society and its relationship to the Danish state. This work resulted in a number of pamphlets that dealt precisely with the extent to which the Jewish community was isolated from that of the Danes. In these publications, and in direct communications with the commission, it became clear that notions of political separatism and of the Jews forming a state within the state had gained a powerful position in Denmark. This also applied to reform-minded Jews.

Although the proposal presented by the commission was quickly abandoned due to great opposition from the Jewish community, it formed the basis for the Danish state's view of Jews as citizens, and for the policy that ended in March 1814 with the so-called *Letter of Freedom* [Frihedsbrevet], which granted Jews equal status with Danish citizens in the economic sphere and provided them the status of passive citizens in other respects.

Two lengthier pamphlets played a major role in the commission's own reform proposals. They were formulated by the Jews Gottleb Euchel and Wulf Lazarus Wallich, and were also submitted to the commission. Both Euchel and Wallich belonged to the reform-oriented wing of the Jewish community and were part of the Danish Haskalah (Jewish enlightenment movement). Both used the term "state within the state" in their descriptions of the reality of the Jewish community in Denmark.

Wallich subscribed to a Dohmian tradition by seeing an "improvement" in the Jews – "in Respect of both their moral and political Condition" – as an absolutely necessary precondition to them becoming good citizens.⁵³ In Denmark, gracious kings had granted Jews certain privileges in the form of exceptions to secular laws and jurisdiction because it was perceived as impossible to try all possible cases under the laws of a Christian state. According to Wallich, this had created "a Kind of Autonomy in the midst of a consummately arranged State, and in many Things [the Jews] constitute a State within the State."⁵⁴

The problem was first and foremost the rabbis' grip on Jewish society, because their "Dominion is despotic almost everywhere, and an almost insurmountable Wall against the Spread of Enlightenment."⁵⁵ He pointed out that the rabbis were delegated a "terrible Power to tyrannise, not only in Religion and Conscience, but even in civil Matters."⁵⁶

53 Wulf Lazarus Wallich, *Forslag til Forbedring i den Jødiske Menigheds Forfatning i Kiøbenhavn* (Kiøbenhavn, 1795), 6.

54 Wallich, *Forslag til Forbedring*, 21.

55 Wallich, *Forslag til Forbedring*, 11.

56 Wallich, *Forslag til Forbedring*, 12.

Wallich exemplified this latter point with the rabbis' jurisdiction and right to impose fines on members of the community, their possible recourse to coercive means in order to collect such fines (such as refusing burial), their influence on the election of representatives, and the use of "laboured Rabbinic Language" when writing wills, among other things. This made interpretation difficult for anyone other than rabbis. Furthermore, there was no public control over how the rabbis managed the community's income. All of this, Wallich argued, allowed the chief rabbi and the Elders of the congregation to persecute and harm anyone who disobeyed them, effectively muzzling opposition.

Although the "constitution" of the Jews caused "pernicious" harm, it was still not an "incurable" evil. It was a matter of taking the evil by the root – and the root was the might of the rabbis with all their Talmudic rules, prescriptions and prohibitions, which Wallich believed were archaic and no longer valid outside their original ancient context. A common civil society was not possible as long as the laws of the state did not apply to all and as long as Jewish laws and institutions could come into conflict with other legislation. The Jewish congregation would have to cast off the rabbinical dominion and instead obey the "gentle Wardship of the Fatherland," as "good and patriotic Citizens" in line with the other citizens of the state.

Wallich submitted several reform proposals to the commission. He wanted to introduce rules for the election of representatives that would make it difficult to self-recruit within orthodox and rabbi-dominated circles; he wanted to introduce Danish or German as the language of the administration; and he would prohibit the recruitment of Polish teachers as long as the Polish Jews "themselves were not provided with greater Enlightenment."⁵⁷ In addition, Wallich hoped that the term "Jewish nation" would be replaced by "Jewish congregation."⁵⁸ The latter, of course, was to emphasise that the distinction between Jews and other Danes was a question of attachment to different faith communities, not to different nations. It would also help to limit the influence and authority of rabbis and the Elders to religious matters, and no longer to civil matters.

Wallich's pamphlet provoked further publications both for and against reform. Many of these writings were reviewed in the journal *Kjøbenhavnske Lærde Efterretninger*, and these assumed the character of contributions to the matter in their own right. It was, one critic wrote, a duty for every government to oppose states within the state. As such, it ought not to be permitted for any church or association to evade the supreme power that should be common to

⁵⁷ Wallich, *Forslag til Forbedring*, 40.

⁵⁸ Wallich, *Forslag til Forbedring*, 26.

each and every citizen of the state. If a society within the state was permitted to let superiors (in congregations) “exercise arbitrary Power against the Members of Society,” it was not only obscene to the sovereign monarch, but “perilous to Security in general and to that of the Individual.”

Laws, the critic continued, “should be equal for all citizens, this is the most important Principle for proper State Governance.”⁵⁹ As such, the reviewer also displayed great sympathy for Wallich and the writings supporting him, and corresponding antipathy towards objections. Accordingly, he endorsed the government’s attempt to make Jews “useful Citizens and worthy of the Access to all civil Rights, just like their fellow Christian Citizens.”⁶⁰

Gottlieb Euchel (1767–1830) was born in Copenhagen, but received his education in the Jewish religion in Aizpute (Hasenput) in present-day Latvia, and in secular subjects later in Königsberg and Berlin, before returning to the Danish capital in 1779 and becoming a wholesaler.⁶¹ His brother Isaac Euchel has been called one of the architects of German Judaism’s enlightenment (Haskalah).⁶² By his own account, Euchel was urged by a member of the commission to submit a reform proposal. He did so both as a pro memoria to the commission and as an entreaty to the king. Both were printed in the periodical *Minerva* in 1796. Euchel wholeheartedly agreed with the views expressed in Wallich’s writings. Both *Kjøbenhavnske Lærde Efterretninger* and *Minerva* were among the key enlightenment journals of the time, and were supported through state patronage in the form of exemption from postal fees. This rendered the distribution of the periodicals free within the dual monarchy, and they were also read in Norwegian cities.⁶³ Both were therefore important to the Danish-Norwegian public sphere in the late Enlightenment period.

In his address to the king, Euchel stated that the Jews in Denmark, and especially those in Copenhagen, constituted a state within the state “because they have had their separate Jurisdiction in Matrimony, Wills, Probate, Inheritance and Guardianship, according to their own Arab-Palestinian, Babylonian-Polish

59 *Kjøbenhavnske Lærde Efterretninger for Aaret 1796*, no. 1 (1796): 6.

60 *Kjøbenhavnske Lærde Efterretninger for Aaret 1796*, no. 1 (1796): 2.

61 Josef Fischer, “Gottlieb Euchel,” in *Dansk Biografisk Leksikon*, 3rd edn. (Gyldendal, 1979–84). (<http://denstoredanske.dk/index.php?sideId=289276>, accessed 20 December 2016).

62 Andreas Kennecke, *Isaac Abraham Euchel: Architect der Haskala* (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2007).

63 See Håkon Evju, Håkon (2014). “‘Skrivefrihedens Rigsdag’: Patriotisme, trykkefrihet og politisk deltakelse under det sene eneveldet,” in *Politisk kompetanse: Grunnlovas borgar 1814–2014*, ed. Nils Rune Langeland (Oslo: Pax forlag, 2014), 153.

Laws.”⁶⁴ He argued that the Jewish regulations were not written in stone, but that they were largely oral traditions, written down over an extensive period of time. The Talmud reflected a theological debate rather than authoritative laws from the age of Moses, and was “invented by the tyrannical Clergy.”⁶⁵ On the basis of the Talmud and all its precepts, the rabbis had usurped the courts of law for themselves, Euchel continued. They prosecuted on the basis of an inadequate and contradictory legal code; they alone constituted the lower and upper courts; they themselves interrogated all witnesses and independently passed their own personal judgments. “And this little Despot, in whose Hand so many important Things are administered” was entirely exempt from public scrutiny when it came to competence and aptitude.

Euchel concluded his petition to the king with the hope that the Jews of Denmark would be judged according to the laws of the country, in line with Danish citizens, and that “the fanatical Jews, who would rather be judged according to Jewish Laws, must most likely be deported to Arabia or Palestine along with their Clergy.”⁶⁶ Euchel thereby turned the ultimatum regarding regeneration or exclusion, which Sieyès had directed at the French aristocracy a few years earlier, towards his fellow Danish Jews.

He elaborated on this in his pro memoria to the commission, primarily by forwarding specific proposals for reform that largely followed Wallich’s program. The aim was to crush the alleged rabbinical power and “see my Brothers of Jewish Faith united with my Brothers of Christian Faith, as good Citizens of a good State.”⁶⁷

When the Commission delivered its recommendation in August 1796, it closely followed Wallich and Euchel’s conjectures and specific proposals for reform, almost to the letter. The first part dealt with the duties and rights of the Jews as citizens of the state. No one could be a Danish citizen while at the same time being exempt from fulfilling his obligations to the law. In some cases, the Jews had retained Jewish regulations as their guidelines, even though these were contrary to Danish laws. Even worse, in the commission’s eyes, was

⁶⁴ Gottlieb Euchel, “Til Kongen!,” *Minerva*, no. I (1796): 61.

⁶⁵ Euchel, “Til Kongen!,” 64.

⁶⁶ Euchel, “Til Kongen!,” 69.

⁶⁷ Gottlieb Euchel, “P.M. til den kongel. Commission om Jødernes Forfatnings Forbedring,” in *Minerva*, no. I (1796): 48.

that the courts had also accepted this.⁶⁸ This circumstance had to be unequivocally resolved, and the commission continued:

Nothing, according to our Conviction, can be said to be more peculiar than the Jews constituting a State within the State; the Laws invoked show too how contrary such Clauses are to the explicit Commands of our Law. [...] The distinct Legislation and Authority of the Jews has contributed to the Jews regarding themselves as a sequestered People, and their fellow Christian Citizens have treated them as Strangers in their common Fatherland, accordingly distinguishing Citizens from fellow Citizens, and teaching them to hate, despise and persecute each other.⁶⁹

In concrete terms, Jews were to be obliged to abide by Danish laws, and it would invariably be forbidden to invoke Jewish law or to be judged according to it. Furthermore, the congregation's protocols were to be led in Danish, and state control over the election of representatives was to be introduced.

The fact that Wallich and Euchel achieved support for their proposals aroused strong objections among the Jewish congregation. A number of conservative-minded members mobilised and a total of 167 of them signed a protest that the community's leaders (the board of representatives) submitted against the proposal.⁷⁰ In it the commission's members were renounced as being incompetent to assess Jewish matters. The same was true of Portuguese-Jewish member Jeremias Henriques, whom they declared a non-Jew based on his understanding of Jewish teachings. The community also lamented that Wallich in particular had had such a great influence on the outcome, and more than hinted that his motive was vindictiveness provoked by a personal conflict with the congregation.

The leadership of the congregation denied that the Jews constituted a state within the state. If that was the case, there were many states in the state, such as Denmark, Norway and the duchies – all of which had their own laws. The same was true of the military when soldiers were punished differently from civilians, or when guild rights were granted, or the 'Dutch' town of Amager. There, a group of Dutchmen had been granted the right to settle as early as the 16th century,

68 Kommissjonen, *Allerunderdanigst Forestilling om en Anordning for Jøderne i Kiøbenhavn, indgiven af den for de jødiske Antiggender nedsatte Kommission* (Kiøbenhavn: A. Soldins Forlag, 1796), 1f.

69 Kommissjonen, *Allerunderdanigst Forestilling*, 2f.

70 Rigsarkivet (Danish National Archives), Danske Kancelli 2. departement. 1800–1848. Registrantsager. I16. Udtagne sager 1814 373 b – 1814 374 a, Pro Memoria, representantene for den jødiske menighed, dateret 24. 8. 1796. [Memo from the Representatives of the Jewish Community, dated 24 August 1796].

with extraterritorial status in some areas not being abolished until the years following 1814.

They also vehemently rejected the reform proposals, which they believed would upheave the Jewish religion. To be a Jew was a practice in itself. Living by Jewish precepts and ceremonies was the very definition of being a Jew. There were no exceptions here, they explained, branding those who did not comply as bad Jews.

When the commission used the phrase “state within the state,” it was done, according to the community’s representatives, partly against better judgement and partly to give grievances against Jewish society “a Substance they did not deserve.” They were clearly aware that the term had now acquired an alluring and propagandising power within anti-Jewish discourse.

The opposition within the Jewish congregation was probably decisive for the proposal being put to rest. It was only when Napoleon convened an assembly of Jewish notables in 1806 and what was known as the *Sanhedrin* the following year that the assimilation proposals were again taken up with force. Even then, political fear was crucial. In addition, a new element had entered the stage, namely the fear that the Danish Jews would not only form a state for themselves, evading Danish law, but that they would come directly under Napoleon’s political influence. Suspicions of loyalty to an abstract Jewish state were supplemented with suspicions of a possible loyalty to a highly specific, powerful and present state.

Demands for assimilation in France

The Sanhedrin was the highest court in ancient Israel, and the Jews’ highest religious authority and interpreter of religious precepts. It was dissolved in practice when the Romans destroyed the Second Temple in 70 AD. Napoleon’s invocation of the court can be interpreted as an expression of scepticism towards the Jews’ political loyalty, but was also understood as a high-level political manoeuvre.

Sephardic Jews had been granted civil rights in France in January 1790, while the Ashkenazi Jews in the northeast had to wait until 1791. Jews were discussed on many occasions during these years, and although all Jews were eventually granted the same rights as other Frenchmen, it was a precondition that they lived according to the obligations imposed on all citizens of the country by the Constitution. There was no lack of objections and characterisations of the Jews’ alleged separatism as a problem. Count Stanislas Clermont-Tonnerre’s (1757–1792) famous speech in the National Assembly at the end of 1789 clearly illustrates this:

We must refuse everything to the Jews as a nation and accord everything to Jews as individuals. We must withdraw recognition from their judges; they should only have our judges. We must refuse legal protection to the maintenance of the so-called laws of their Judaic organization; they should not be allowed to form in the state either a political body or an order. They must be citizens individually. But, some will say to me, they do not want to be citizens. Well then! If they do not want to be citizens, they should say so, and then we should banish them. It is repugnant to have in the state an association of non-citizens, and a nation within the nation.⁷¹

According to Gary Kates, it was the very accusations that the Jews were a separate nation, distinct from the French, that caused the issue of Jewish civil rights to be postponed and then only granted in September 1791.⁷² It was not, therefore, unexpected that the question of Jewish loyalty came up again under Napoleon.

For many, especially those outside France, the French emperor represented the emancipation of the Jews. He opened the gates of ghettos in Italy, and granted Jews civil rights in states under his control. But he was sceptical towards them all the same. In 1801 he stated that the Jews constituted a nation within the nation and a sequestered sect. Nevertheless, on that occasion he believed that for the time being the Jewish question could be left alone.⁷³

Particularly in the regions bordering the German states, there was great dissatisfaction with Jews in the early 1800s. They had abused their newly acquired status as citizens, it was alleged, and plundered the rest of the local population with their usurious loans. They had still not become French, but were seen as a secluded nation that had no moral scruples against enriching themselves at the expense of others. It was in order to oblige such accusations, among other reasons, that Napoleon not only imposed a temporary moratorium on Jewish lending, but also called an assembly of Jewish notables in 1806. A total of 111 representatives from the Jewish communities on French territory were posed twelve questions exclusively to test their moral and patriotic dispositions. Did Jews consider Frenchmen as their brothers, or as strangers? Did they remain loyal to the laws of the country (*Code Civil*), and were they willing to defend France? How were rabbis appointed, and how far did their authority extend to other Jews? What were their opinions on usury, and did they have regulations governing their conduct towards non-Jewish Frenchmen?

71 Lynn Hunt, ed., *The French Revolution and Human Rights: A Brief Documentary History* (Boston/New York: Bedford/St. Martin's, 1996), 86–88.

72 Kates, "Jews into Frenchmen," 226 ff.

73 Håkon Harket, "Frankrike: Napoleonstiden," in *Jødehat: Antisemittismens historie fra antikken til I dag*, ed. Trond Berg Eriksen, Håkon Harket and Einhart Lorentz (Oslo: Cappelen Damm, 2005), 173.

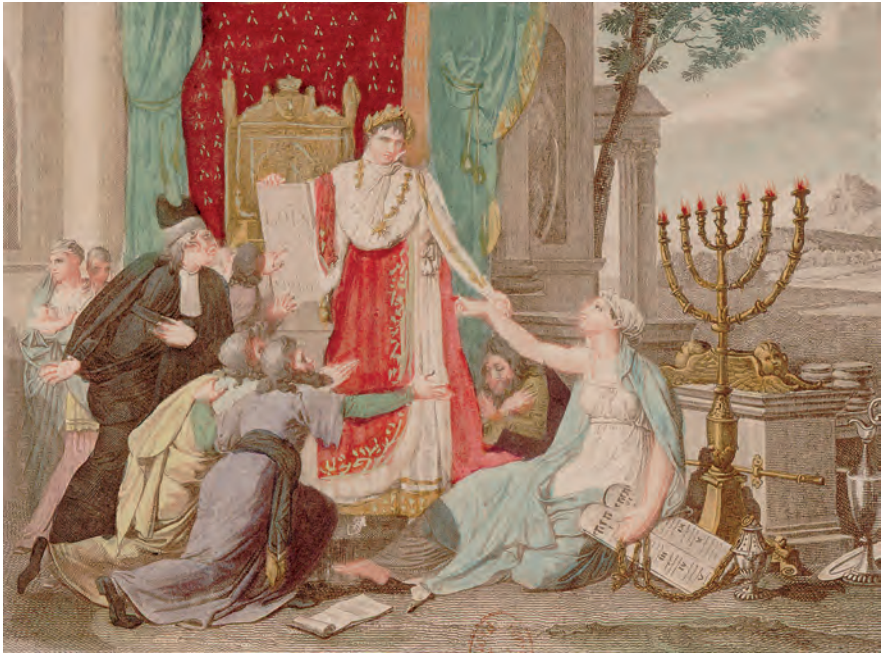


Figure 4.5: “Napoleon the great restores the cult of the Israelites on 30 May 1806.” On this date, Napoléon Bonaparte invited prominent Jews and rabbis to convene in order to answer a number of questions on whether Jewish religion and practice was in any way incompatible to being loyal French citizens. Print by Louis François Couché (1782–1849).

Napoleon was provided with the answers he had hoped for. The congregation affirmed the patriotism of the Jews and that Jewish laws and precepts were subordinate to French law. In order to grant this the status of Jewish tenet and doctrine with a religious authority in line with the Talmud, Napoleon decided that a Sanhedrin should be summoned.

By invoking the ancient name of the supreme Jewish court, the assembly naturally acquired great symbolic significance. By allowing a Sanhedrin to sanction political and judicial assimilation as a Jewish precept, an attempt was being made to make this binding on all Jews as part of mandatory Jewish practice. Thus, the outcome of the Sanhedrin can ostensibly be interpreted as a kind of proclamation of the breakthrough of the policy of assimilation, and the concluding of the Jews’ voluntary inclusion into French society, in line with other citizens.

It was not quite so simple. The mere convening of a special Jewish assembly kindled notions of separation from French society. The “Infamous Decree” that

Napoleon adopted the following year acquired even greater significance. It reintroduced several special restrictions against the Jews, both in terms of the right to settlement and Jewish activities in trade and lending. Napoleon demanded that Jews be assimilated as individuals, but it was as a collective that the emperor denied them treatment equal to other French subjects. This rendered them far more than a religious minority within the French nation. In practice, they were still seen as a distinct group or nation, separate from others, and were treated as such.

Napoleon's Trojan Jews?

The invitation to the Sanhedrin was extended to the Jewish community throughout Europe, and was formulated in four languages to be announced in each and every European synagogue. This sparked a fear that Napoleon wished to broaden his political power by way of Jewish networks. In Habsburg regions, rabbis were denied permission to attend. In Sweden, prominent Jews in Stockholm were interrogated by the authorities and it was made clear that they would be expelled from the country if they participated in France.⁷⁴ The country also introduced an immigration ban on new Jews in response to Napoleon's initiative.⁷⁵ Participation from beyond regions under French political or military control was thus insignificant.⁷⁶

But the events in France and the widespread view among Jews of Napoleon as their liberator created enthusiasm in several cities, not least in Hamburg and its Holsteinian twin, Altona. Both the senate of the free state of Hamburg and the absolutist regime in Copenhagen feared the influence Napoleon would have if the Jews of Hamburg-Altona came under his sway under the aegis of the Sanhedrin.

⁷⁴ Henrik Edgren, "Societal Change, Economic Decline and National Identity: The Debate about Jews in Sweden in the Early Nineteenth Century," in *The Exclusion of Jews in the Norwegian Constitution of 1814: Origins-Contexts-Consequences*, ed. Christhard Hoffmann. Studien zum Antisemitismus in Europa, vol. 10 (Berlin: Metropol, 2016), 126.

⁷⁵ Simon Aberstén, "1815 års judefäjd i Sverige," *Tidsskrift for jødisk historie og litteratur*, vol. 2, no. 2 (1920): 74.

⁷⁶ Adolf Kober, "The French Revolution and the Jews in Germany," *Jewish Social Studies*, vol. 7 (October 1945): 320.

The senate feared that a separate Jewish state, dependent on a foreign head of state, would arise within the free state.⁷⁷ Together with the neighbouring town of Wandsbek, Altona and Hamburg formed a single Ashkenazi community. They were subject to the same jurisdiction and were led by a chief rabbi residing in Altona. He, along with the Elders, had jurisdiction not only in strict religious matters, but also, according to custom, in civil matters. Most Jews lived in Hamburg, but Altona dominated the congregation. When chief rabbis were to be elected, the city had 17 of a total of 28 delegates.⁷⁸ This created an intermingling between the Jews of Altona, who were the subjects of the Danish king, and Jews who had the right of residence in the German free state of Hamburg. The fact that the Danish government had such great influence over Jews in Altona's major neighbouring city naturally worried the senate in Hamburg far more than it did the Danish authorities. Nevertheless, the fear of Napoleon was greater than that for the Danish monarchy.

According to the Danish historian Axel Linvald, the news of the Sanhedrin and the idea that the Jews of Altona would establish ties with French brothers in faith and, worse still, would receive instructions and orders from foreign powers, put Crown Prince Frederick VI "in the most violent Temper."⁷⁹ Ever since the coup of 1784, the crown prince had served as acting regent and, from 1808, was also king in name. It was possibly a letter from Professor Frederik Münter (1761–1830), later to become the Bishop of Zealand, that provoked his exasperation. In the late summer of 1806, the professor travelled in order to study German school systems and to learn more about rumours of Napoleon's ambition to bring the Catholic Church and Protestant denominations together. In Germany, a Jewish literary feud had broken out a few years earlier. In particular, Karl Wilhelm Friedrich Grattenauer's rabid warning regarding granting civil rights to Jews due to their plans for world domination received a great deal of attention.⁸⁰ His book was published in several editions and created an enormous literary debate, triggering Prussian censorship measures that same year.⁸¹ Münter thus came to

77 Axel Linvald, "Af jødernes frigørelseshistorie: Den danske regering og jøderne omkring det 19. Aarhundredes Begyndelse," *Tidsskrift for Jødisk Historie og Literatur*, vol. 3, no. 6 (1925): 348.

78 Linvald, "Af jødernes frigørelseshistorie," 353.

79 Linvald, "Af jødernes frigørelseshistorie," 348.

80 Karl Wilhelm Friedrich Grattenauer, *Wider die Juden: Ein Wort der Warnung an alle unsere christliche Mitbürger* (Berlin, 1803). On page 52 he wrote: "Vergeblich ist jede Hoffnung, dass sich der verderbliche, der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft höchst gefährliche, allen Völkern feindselige Geist des Judenthums je ändern, und in einen freundlichen wohlthätigen Genius der Menschheit verwandeln wird."

81 Jonathan M. Hess, *Germans, Jews and the Claims of Modernity* (New Haven, Conn: Yale University Press, 2002), 173 ff.

states that had already mobilised great suspicion towards the loyalty and fitness of Jews as citizens.

During the trip he also learned about Napoleon's plans to convene the Jews. In his report to the crown prince, Münter embellished the Sanhedrin as a kind of Trojan horse that would render a state within the state upon all the nations of Europe, and not least give Napoleon decisive influence over these Jewish states.⁸²

The idea of a permanent Sanhedrin under the leadership of a patriarch, located in Paris and dependent on the French emperor, represented a great political peril, thought Münter: "No State can therefore, in my Conviction, be indifferent to this new Device, which Napoleon's far-reaching Spirit has conceived to draw the whole of Europe into the Vortex of Despotism."⁸³ This would be dangerous not least since Napoleon, by way of international Judaism, would gain control over much of the monetary system of the whole of Europe.

The perturbed crown prince sent Münter to Altona that autumn. Together with the mayor of the city, he was ordered to pose the city's chief rabbi four inquisitorial questions in order to clarify the congregation's view of developments in France.

The first three dealt with what the congregation knew about the summons to the Sanhedrin, whether they were formally invited, and whether they had been in contact with the congregation in Copenhagen in connection with the invitation. The fourth question was the pivotal one; namely the degree to which the congregation considered itself bound by decisions that were to be voted on at the Sanhedrin, or by any patriarch who might be appointed there.⁸⁴

This course of action was obviously an active countermove to Napoleon's initiative earlier that year, and Frederick VI, with the same satisfactory answers, coupled Jewish loyalty to the Oldenburg state. In a separate letter to the crown prince, Münter explained that Jews in Altona were following events in Paris with great interest, and that within the congregation there were beliefs that the Sanhedrin could eventually have significance for and influence over Jews beyond France.⁸⁵

In Copenhagen, the fear of such a Jewish state within the state – under the influence of foreign powers – gave momentum to the old plans from the mid-1790s regarding the assimilation of Danish Jews. The commission's proposal

⁸² Lausten, *Oplysning i kirke og synagoge*, 314.

⁸³ Quoted here from Lausten, *Oplysning i kirke og synagoge*, 315.

⁸⁴ Linvald, "Af jødernes frigørelseshistorie," 351

⁸⁵ Lausten, *Oplysning i kirke og synagoge*, 319.

from 1796 was again brought up. Frederick VI had also previously shown a willingness to liberalise special Jewish restrictions, both in Denmark and in the duchies. In the latter he encountered great local resistance among citizens, local authorities and within the German chancellery in Copenhagen, but in Denmark a number of appeasements had been introduced in preceding years.⁸⁶ Nevertheless, the great question of civil rights remained.

In 1804, Frederik Julius Kaas (1758–1827) became head of the Danish chancellery. In the years 1795–1802 he had been prefect of Akershus (Oslo) diocese in Norway and he again became an acting prefect and a member of the Norwegian government commission, which was delegated power from the monarchy during the Napoleonic Wars in the period 1809–1810. Correspondence with the crown prince shows that in the summer of 1806 he was keen to prepare a proposal for reforms concerning “the Jewish Nation” in Denmark.⁸⁷

The following spring, a bill concerning “which Rights and which Obligations” were to be granted to adherents of the Jewish religion was drafted by Kaas and sent on to the crown prince.⁸⁸ Here he explained that it was precisely circumstances in France that had motivated him to “give the Jews a more firm and civil Standing in the State.”

According to Kaas, Jews’ relations with other citizens and with state institutions were not the best or the “most advantageous,” and key to his rationale was a Jewish separatism that dragged parts of the king’s subjects into a jurisdiction that was beyond the king’s control. To Kaas, the Jews were a group within the state who had self-interest, not the state’s well-being, at heart:

It is not satisfactory that they, and especially the Rabbis, always attempt to evade obeying his Majesty’s Law under the pretext that they are, when it comes to religious ceremonies and civil acts, in contradiction with Mosaic Law. But just as the chief Rabbi (who is not even elected or confirmed by the King for his Office) usurps an expanding Dominion in civil Affairs, as well as in the administration of Estates, Marriage, and their Dissolution etc, the Jews acknowledge the Rabbi’s Authority in these affairs, and obey him more willingly than they do the King’s Law; consequently, the Jewish community constitutes a separate Party within the State which incessantly merely has its own individual interests at heart.⁸⁹

86 See Linvald, “Af jødernes frigørelshistorie.”

87 Rigsarkivet (Danish National Archives). Kongehuset, Frederik 6., konge. 1784–1839. Breve fra forskellige. 76. Kaas-Müller, Letter from Kaas, dated 30 August 1806.

88 Rigsarkivet (Danish National Archives). Kongehuset, Frederik 6., konge. 1784–1839. Breve fra forskellige. 76. Kaas-Müller, Letter from Kaas, dated 11 April 1806.

89 Rigsarkivet (Danish National Archives). Kongehuset, Frederik 6., konge. 1784–1839. Breve fra forskellige. 76. Kaas-Müller, Letter from Kaas, dated 11 April 1806.

The 1807 proposal must have largely corresponded with the commission's draft from 1796, with the not insignificant difference that it would now apply to the whole of Denmark, and not merely Copenhagen.⁹⁰ The crown prince also feared the consequences of the circumstances in France, especially the idea of civil rights without assimilation: "To grant the Jews the benefits they fancy in France, I believe, must be considered so dangerous that they cannot be tolerated at all," he wrote back to Kaas.⁹¹

With the English bombardment of Copenhagen in August 1807, Denmark-Norway was again drawn into the European wars, and both Crown Prince Frederick (king from 1808) and Kaas were occupied with quite different tasks. It was only when the author Thomas Thaarup (1749–1821) ignited Denmark's Jewish feud in 1813 with his Danish edition of *Moses und Jesus* (1803), Friedrich Buchholz's (1768–1843) anti-Jewish tract from Germany's Jewish feud, that the proposals for assimilation were implemented in the form of law.

Denmark's Jewish literary feud of 1813

A couple of years before the feud broke out, Konrad Schmidt-Phiseldek (1770–1832) had already raised the question of whether Jews could be tolerated as guests, residents or citizens of a Christian state, and if so, what rights they could be granted.⁹² The German-born lawyer, director of the Danish Riksbank (National Bank) from 1813, felt the question had to be answered by deciding what rights resident members of a foreign nation could be granted, "even though they refuse to be included and amalgamated with the People, which in its Totality constitutes the civil Society or the State by Way of a common Law."⁹³ An orthodox Jew had no home "except in the Promised Land," and knew no other homeland than this. He therefore regarded no one else as a compatriot "except those who, like him, are the offspring of Abraham. These are his Brothers, and the only Kinship he accepts [...]"⁹⁴

This starting point obviously had repercussions for how he assessed the civil rights of Jews. Indeed, he believed that Jews could be tolerated as *guests*, which

⁹⁰ Linvald, "Af jødernes frigørelshistorie," 408 ff. discusses this.

⁹¹ The crown prince in a letter to Kaas, dated 14 April 1807. Quoted here from Linvald, "Af jødernes frigørelshistorie," 407.

⁹² Konrad Schmidt-Phiseldek, *Om Jøderne, betragtede som Gjæster, Indbyggere, og Borgere i Christne Stater*, in *Det Kongelige Videnskabers Selskabs Skrifter* (København, 1809–10[1811]).

⁹³ Schmidt-Phiseldek, *Om Jøderne*, 4 f.

⁹⁴ Schmidt-Phiseldek, *Om Jøderne*, 6.



Figure 4.6: “Moses erecting the Brazen Serpent in the Desert.” A depiction of Moses with an erection almost out of control in the shape of a copper snake, and with women in the background fleeing to *Baal* at Mount Peor. In the Bible, the latter framed a story of Jewish men’s sexual excesses with non-Jewish women. Cartoon from *British Mercury*, 1787.

is to say they could visit Denmark as long as, for the security of the state, they were “under special regulations, or more concisely, are subject to Police Control and Supervision.” But because they were not citizens, they could not demand to be treated according to the general laws of the state – “for the law is assigned for the Citizens.”⁹⁵ The status of *resident* bestowed the right to settle. It granted right of residence, and permission to conduct economic activities for that matter, but not civil rights and as a result not status as a member of the state either. Schmidt-Phiseldek also stated that Jews could be tolerated as residents. But there was one key condition: Resident Jews had to cease being “Talmudists” and stop professing the “Teachings, Traditions, and Statutes”⁹⁶ that were enshrined in rabbinic precepts. Judaism had to be purified of everything that was perceived as rabbinical superstition and anything that put distance between itself and the country’s other inhabitants.

But for Schmidt-Phiseldek, Jews were unfit to be citizens. This was primarily because of their steadfast Jewish identity and the fact that Jews held fast to the

⁹⁵ Schmidt-Phiseldek, *Om Jøderne*, 9.

⁹⁶ Schmidt-Phiseldek, *Om Jøderne*, 32.

idea of being a nation of their own. This made it difficult to trust them. Jews could not, therefore, be granted access to civil rights, public office or military service.⁹⁷

Denmark's Jewish literary feud, which broke out in 1813, was a fierce clash of pamphlets, with weighty, extensive tracts both for and against Jews in general and the idea of granting them civil rights in particular. In his somewhat loose translation of Buchholz, Thomas Thaarup contributed with his own comprehensive foreword. There he laid out some terms for including Jews in the state.⁹⁸

It was a question, he wrote, of whether the Jews had rejected their religious principles or not, whether these were still being promoted in Jewish schools, in synagogues, and in Jewish writings. In particular, what had to be abolished was "the Idea of a National God who loves the Jewish Nation exclusively; the Promises of a World Dominion grounded in the Subjugation and Destruction of all Nations; Exemption from the Fulfilment of ordinary moral Obligations towards Non-Jews," along with the Jews' alleged misanthropic disposition towards all non-Jews.⁹⁹ They ought to become economically useful and to promote the "the Good of the state" and they had to contribute to the defence of the country. But Thaarup had little faith in this. "On the contrary," he wrote, "it seems that Self-Interest, Cruelty, and Idleness are the Traits of the nation since its very Origin."¹⁰⁰

In his preface, Buchholz himself wrote that the state's principal purpose was "a vigorous National Existence" and that all state power was founded upon the industriousness of its citizens. Whatever hindered this industriousness therefore weakened the strength of the state and undermined its purpose.¹⁰¹ The Jews were culpable of this, something Buchholz believed proven by their history from ancient times. For Buchholz the historical interpretation of the origins of the Mosa-

⁹⁷ Schmidt-Phiseldek, *Om Jøderne*, 42.

⁹⁸ See for example Håkon Harket and Iwan M. D'Aprile, "Constitutional Discourse and Anti-Judaism: Friedrich Buchholz and Christian Magnus Falsen," in *The Exclusion of Jews in the Norwegian Constitution of 1814: Origins – Context – Consequences*, ed. Christhard Hoffmann (Berlin: Metropol, 2016) for a discussion of how Thaarup adapted Buchholz's text for the Danish edition.

⁹⁹ Thomas Thaarup, "Fortale," in *Moses og Jesus eller om Jødernes og de Christnes intellektuelle og moralske Forhold, en historisk-politisk Afhandling af Friderich Buchholz, oversat med en Forendring af Thomas Thaarup* (Kjøbenhavn: Fr. Brummer, 1813), II–III.

¹⁰⁰ Thaarup, "Fortale," III.

¹⁰¹ Friderich Buchholz, *Moses og Jesus eller om Jødernes og de Christnes intellektuelle og moralske Forhold, en historisk-politisk Afhandling af Friderich Buchholz, oversat med en Forendring af Thomas Thaarup* (Kjøbenhavn: Fr. Brummer, 1813 [1803]), III.

ic Law was imperative because “without being aware of the past, one rarely comprehends anything of the present.”¹⁰²

Not only had Moses created a despotic theocracy that built on notions of being “Destiny’s favoured People,” but experiences both earlier and later – during slavery in Egypt and in captivity in Babylon – had also meant that Jews could not be “implanted among another People without making the Work of the Government more troublesome.” There was no “imaginable Association between them and the other Citizens, and whatever Position the Government may take, it will always be disappointed in its Expectation [...]”¹⁰³ In Buchholz’s conception, everything in the Jewish state was given “a religious Inclination” and the purpose of their countless ceremonies was to cultivate the idea of an invisible national god: “There was no Church in the State, but State in the Church, or more precisely, there was no real State to consider since the Church was Everything.”¹⁰⁴ In Moses’s political project, isolation and distancing oneself from non-Jewish communities became a religious duty.

To this was added that the Jews were selfish money traders who, in league with each other, aimed to acquire control of finance and national industry. As such, Jews would have entire nations in their power, using this to pursue “an Interest other than the supreme National Interest, which is a powerful National Existence.”¹⁰⁵ While Christians loved money for the pursuit of life, the Jews loved life for the pursuit of money. If one took a Jew’s money from him, one took “his Everything. From that Moment on, Life has no Value for him.”¹⁰⁶ Buchholz thereby concluded that the juncture at which the state and Jews had shared interests would never be reached, “since they would always remain a State within the State, and treat the nation in which they live in the same Way as the Romans treated the whole of the then-known world.”¹⁰⁷ The Jewish habitus was thus incompatible with Christian societies, and thereby not only incompatible with political membership of the state, but a direct threat to the society of the state.

Thaarup’s publishing of Buchholz thus triggered a Jewish literary feud both for and against the rights of Jews. The Danish theologian Otto Horrebow (1769 – 1823) pursued it further by asking rhetorically if the Jews disrupted the state because they themselves “are a State within the State, one that remains in close

102 Buchholz, *Moses og Jesus*, 12. A good and comprehensive discussion of Buchholz can be found in Harket, *Paragrafen*, 265 ff.

103 Buchholz, *Moses og Jesus*, 64.

104 Buchholz, *Moses og Jesus*, 40.

105 Buchholz, *Moses og Jesus*, 182.

106 Buchholz, *Moses og Jesus*, 211.

107 Buchholz, *Moses og Jesus*, 225.

Contact with the Jews throughout the wider World [...]” The answer was “yes,” and this was explained by their common descent and faith and their “haggling Spirit”; unless they aligned more closely with the government’s “Designs and wise Measures” than they had done previously, they would become “a corrosive Cancer in the Backbone of the State.”¹⁰⁸

Such notions were not left unchallenged, and several authors attacked them as the product of an ignorance of history and learning. This applied to allegations of subversive theocratic ambitions and to the Jews’ self-interest.¹⁰⁹ Even the leadership of the Jewish congregation got involved here since political questions had been raised about the Jewish community’s “genuine Civility, and about the Usefulness or Harmfulness of our Citizenship to the State.”¹¹⁰ The congregation rebuffed any particularly Jewish blame for the financial problems of the period, and emphasised its natural and loyal place in Danish society: “Our Congregation is no State within the State; we have one and the same Government. Let us not forget, fellow Citizens, that in no civil Society should we, or dare we, sequester ourselves from the Whole [...]”¹¹¹

Nevertheless, it was the anti-Jewish notions that had the greatest impact and thus gained a hegemonic position in Danish public life. In prominent circles of the men at the Norwegian Constitutional Assembly at Eidsvoll the following year, this cannot have gone unnoticed.

108 Otto Horrebow, *Jødernes Krønike. Et Tidsskrift*, no. 9 (1813), 130.

109 The most important writings were published in three volumes in 1813 (Buchholtz, Friedrich, Thomas Thaarup, J. H. Bärens, Jens Kragh Høst, August Ferdinand Lueder, Otto Horrebow, Immanuel Wallich, Joh Werfel, Peter Villaume, Niels Th Bruun, Federico, A. Petersen, F. E. Petersen, Thom. Cph Bruun, G. Wilhelmsen, P. Blicher Olsen, Eynarson, P. Olsen, C. Christensen, L. Jensen, S. Lorentzen, Christian Bastholm, D. Nathan David, Gottleb Euchel, Balthasar Münter, C. Friderichsen, O. H. Hvidberg. [Skriverne i Jødefejden], Bd. 1–3. 1813), and have been digitalised by Det kongelige bibliotek (Royal Danish Library) in Copenhagen (https://soeg.kb.dk/permalink/45KBDK_KGL/1pioq0f/alma99121980892105763, accessed 14 August 2020).

110 *Repræsentanterne for den jødiske Menighed i Kjøbenhavn til deres Medborgere af den christne Troe, i Anledning af H... H. Herr Confessionarius og Ridder, Dr. C. Bastholms i Dagen indrykkede, særskilt aftrykte, og ved Boghandler Brummer paa Østergade gratis uddeelte Tanker og Spørgsmaal* (København: Johan Rudolph Thiele, 1813), 5. The pamphlet was without a publishing year, but was dated 12 July 1813. It was a reaction to Christian Bastholm’s accusations against Jews in connection with the financial unrest put forward in the newspaper *Dagen*.

111 *Repræsentanterne for den jødiske Menighed*, 4.

The 1814 Letter of Freedom – Danish Assimilation Policy

Beyond expediting the process that led to *Frihedsbrevet* [the Letter of Freedom] in 1814, the Jewish feud of 1813 did not appear to have influenced the government's attitude to and policy towards Jews. In August 1813, a bill was proposed by the Danish chancellery. The chancellery stated that the restrictions on the rights of the Jews led to their exclusion from "civil Society" and that this "could have nothing but harmful consequences for the State" because it hindered the progress of the Jews in culture and enlightenment.¹¹² Furthermore, it was pointed out that the various reforms – which had been motivated not only by a desire for justice, but also by "State Wisdom" – had sought to "form those Jews who were born here in the Country into competent and industrious citizens." Particular mention was made of the establishment of a school for Jewish youth in Copenhagen. These reforms had not been without effect, but nevertheless

the Fact that in many Cases the Jews have considered the Mosaic Law and rabbinical Precepts as their Guide [had] contributed to them considering themselves as a sequestered People, and that their Christian fellow Citizens have treated them as Strangers in their common Country of Birth. Citizens have thus become distinguished from fellow Citizens, Subjects of the same King have from their Youth thus become habituated to hating, despising and persecuting each other, and it has thus resulted that the Jews have in a Way formed a State within the State. – These Rabbinic Precepts, which are sometimes even upheld by the Courts, notwithstanding that they contravene the civil Code, have even been the Cause of the greatest Injustices among the Jews themselves.¹¹³

The chancellery's arguments are strikingly similar to those the commission put forward in 1796, and the wording suggests that the report was at hand when the bill was being drafted. The chancellery provided specific examples of what they meant by injustice, including when it came to inheritance and marriage. There were no royal permissions to be found laying the basis for such exceptions to the provisions of ordinary Danish law. If that had been the case, in the opinion of the chancellery, "the Principles of correct State Governance" would have called for such permissions to be revoked.

112 Rigsarkivet (Danish National Archives), Danske Kancelli 2. departement. 1800–1848. Registrantsager. I16. Udtagne sager 1814 373 b – 1814 374 a, Leg: Koncepter etc. til Anordningen 29/3 1814. [Proposal dated 18 August 1813].

113 Rigsarkivet (Danish National Archives), Danske Kancelli 2. departement. 1800–1848. Registrantsager. I16. Udtagne sager 1814 373 b – 1814 374 a, Leg: Koncepter etc. til Anordningen 29/3 1814, Innstilling dateret 18. 8. 1813. [Proposal dated 18 August 1813].

The Letter of Freedom of 29 March 1814 granted all Jews who were born in Denmark, or who were recipients of a royal letter of safe conduct, the same right to make a living for themselves as other citizens in the country. The condition was that they submit to existing legislation and respect the prohibition on “inserting themselves under the Mosaic Law or the so-called Rabbinic Precepts and Statutes.”¹¹⁴ Autonomous institutions were wound up and the rabbis’ shuttered domination of the Jewish community would be greatly weakened. All legal or financial documents had to be written in Danish or German, and the Danish authorities would have control over Jewish children’s education. The congregation’s elections were also closely regulated, and the priesthood was subject to the control of the king. Here, essentially, what was being established by law as the policy of the absolute monarch were Wallich and Euchel’s proposals from 1795–1796. The Jewish environment was to be actively Danicised.

The Letter of Freedom granted Jews citizenship as passive citizens. It did not confer civil rights, and Jews still had to take the humiliating *more judaïco*, the peculiar judicial oath demanded of them. The very title of the Letter of Freedom was itself formulated as a royal instruction to Jewish subjects rather than as a right: “What Professors of the Mosaic Religion residing in the Kingdom of Denmark must observe.” It was only with the Danish Constitution of 1849 that Danish Jews were granted civil rights as active citizens.

Norway and the abstract Jew

Self-reinforcing notions of the political danger of Jews can be traced from the 1770s and right up to the opening of the Eidsvoll Assembly in April 1814, not only in anti-Jewish tracts but also deep into ministerial corridors and royal chambers. The same claims were reproduced in different contexts and soon emerged as established truths: the Mosaic state constitution formed the basis for a political program aimed at world domination. Tyrannised by the might of rabbinical theocracy, the Jews sidestepped the secular legislation to which every other inhabitant of the state was subject and formed a state within the state, which, in its consistently separatist character, undermined state sovereignty. They were, moreover, characterised as selfish and self-serving, and their cosmopolitan grip on the monetary system was portrayed as an instrument of eco-

¹¹⁴ Frihedsbrevet [Letter of Freedom] 29 March 1814, § 1. Here quoted from <http://danmarkshistorien.dk/leksikon-og-kilder/vis/materiale/det-joediske-frihedsbrev-af-29-marts-1814/>, accessed 4 January 2017.

conomic exploitation and political coercion. The morality of the Jews was antithetical to a proper civic moral code, rendering the Jews not only useless, but also dangerous, citizens of the state.

Håkon Harket's point-by-point presentation of the arguments advanced against Jews at Eidsvoll highlights how starkly these political contradictions must have stood among key Norwegian representatives that spring: Jews could never become good citizens – they would always remain a state within the state; the Jewish people had always been insubordinate and the hope of rising once again as a state had led them towards intrigues and to forming a state within the state; the Jews had proved detrimental to any state that had permitted them entry – they did not feel bound by national statehood, and they would never allow themselves to be assimilated. Thus the lessons of history, both the near and the far, emerged as key evidence accentuating the threat of Judaism. But it was not for religious reasons that the Jews were dangerous: on the contrary, it was for political ones. National security therefore required their total exclusion.¹¹⁵

As a consequence, the reasoning that persuaded a clear majority at Eidsvoll was based on central and transnational notions that to some degree had long traditions in European majority societies, but were especially articulated and politicised in response to a process of emancipation in Europe in the late Enlightenment era.

It was in accordance with these notions that Christian Magnus Falsen expounded upon the exclusion of Jews in his polemics against the converted Jew Heinrich Glogau in 1817, and it was here that the former leading delegate at Eidsvoll articulated his understanding of Jews and reasons why they posed a danger to the country most explicitly.

In the autumn of 1814, Falsen had moved to Bergen as county governor for Nordre Bergenhus. In the west coast city he established the journal *Den norske Tilskuer* alongside Jonas Rein (a co-delegate in 1814) and Herman Foss (later a parliamentary representative) in the spring of 1817. The journal would carry both original contributions and translated texts, “aiming to enlighten the Nature of representative forms of Government in General and our Constitution in Particular.”¹¹⁶

At the end of September 1817, Falsen received a letter in which Glogau enquired as to “the Basis, the Reasoning and the Meaning of the final Part of the Provision in the Constitution's 2nd paragraph” (“Jews are still excluded from

115 Harket, *Paragrafen*, 112f.

116 Announcement for the journal in *Den norske Rigstidende*, 19 November 1816.

the Kingdom”).¹¹⁷ It is unclear whether it was as a private individual or as editor of the journal that Falsen was being addressed, but he was in any case given permission by Glogau to publish the letter, along with his own reply. He and the co-editors had “considered the Topic here to be so interesting that we do not think the Communication of these Writings will be disagreeable to the Readers.”¹¹⁸ The letter led to a Norwegian variant of Denmark’s and Sweden’s Jewish literary feuds.

In his letter to Falsen, Glogau, as a former Israelite, explained how indignant he was to his very core over this paragraph. In his response, Falsen made known his reasons for persisting with it, reasons he also believed lay behind the majority’s motivation for adopting it. Here, he subscribes directly to the discourse of the time about the political danger of the Jews. Falsen was well read, in particular in German anti-Jewish literature, and he also referred to this in order to elaborate on his reasoning. Håkon Harket has demonstrated Falsen’s admiration for and close reading of Buchholz, who may in particular have been one of Falsen’s pivotal introductions to an ideology that was well established when *Moses und Jesus* was published in 1803. Falsen himself had studied Moses and the history of ancient Israel, and it was there that he, like many others, unearthed historical arguments against the Jews in his own era.¹¹⁹ In 1817, he believed that Jews would never become good citizens of any state that was not governed by Jews. There could be righteous people even among Jews, but

on the other hand, I believe that a Religion that does nothing but express Hate and Disdain against anyone who does not profess it, forces the Jew, so to speak, into a constant Opposition to whomever does not venerate Judaism. He lives in an incessant State of Feud with every Nation that takes him in, and his Religion itself renders it his Duty to work towards [the nation’s] destruction.¹²⁰

Falsen thus relayed the view that Jews had a religious duty not only to stand in opposition to, but also to undermine nations other than the Jewish state. He further explained that the Jewish faith could not “be in harmony with our State Constitution” and that the exclusion had only “ensured our own Security.” He

117 *Den norske Tilskuer*, no. 41–42 (1817): 320. The discussion of the debate between Glogau and Falsen is based to a great extent on Ulvund, *Frihedens grenser 1814–1951*, 176 ff.

118 *Den norske Tilskuer*, no. 41–42 (1817): 320.

119 Håkon Harket has shown how Falsen described the Jew’s national character in his manuscript *Moses, eller Hebræerne til deres Tilbagekomst til Canaan*. Harket, *Paragrafen*, 346 ff.

120 *Den norske Tilskuer*, no. 41–42 (1817): 324.

concluded by stating that he found the exclusion “wholly necessary for the Success of the state.”¹²¹

Naturally enough, Glogau was not satisfied with the answer, and his reply was published in the subsequent issue of *Den norske Tilskuer*. He concluded that it was not “as a Human Being that you wish to degrade the Jew, only as a Jew, as a faithful Adherent of a Religion whose Words You find contrary to everything, especially this Country’s Form of Government.”¹²² Glogau clearly expressed that the treatment of Jews was incompatible with “the spirit of a pure Christian-Evangelical Faith” and drew support from his godfather, the “great, immortal, blessed [Bishop Johan Nordahl] Brun.” In implicit contrast to Falsen, the bishop had understood that the spirit of the evangelical faith was tolerance – “Reason’s divine Daughter.” Glogau concluded by stating that he did not accept the arguments used to justify Article 2 of the Constitution, but at the same time was careful to stress that he himself heeded and honoured the laws of the land.

Falsen withheld from further polemics, instead choosing to bring the matter to a close by printing an excerpt from one of the most significant anti-Jewish texts of the time, namely professor of philosophy Jakob Fries’s review of professor of history Friedrich Rühs’s essay *Über die Ansprüche der Juden auf das deutsche Bürgerrecht* [On Jewish Claims to Citizenship], published in Berlin in 1816.¹²³ Fries went even further in his review than Rühs did. For Fries, it was a prerequisite in order to remain in German territories that Jews not only converted to Christianity and culturally assimilated into German society, but that they were also excluded from activities related to finance and trade.¹²⁴

For his part, Falsen must have thought that some of Fries’s passages were too extreme. As Håkon Harket has shown, Falsen omitted significant portions of Fries’s text in *Den norske Tilskuer*, including this part of the Danish translation:

The most important main Point in this case is this alone: That this caste is eradicated from Beginning to End, since it is evidently the most dangerous among all secret and political Societies and States within the State. What can be more perishable than a Fellowship that plies such dangerous Actions and furthermore conspires across the Earth by way of its internally inherited Covenant, its politically ordained Constitution grounded in its

¹²¹ *Den norske Tilskuer*, no. 41–42 (1817): 335f.

¹²² *Den norske Tilskuer*, no. 43–44 (1817): 357.

¹²³ In Danish: *Om Jødernes Fordring paa Borgerret, eller bør Jødemne gives Borgerrett i christne Stater og i saa Fald under hvilke Betingelser?* (Steen, 1816).

¹²⁴ Richard S. Levy, ed., *Antisemitism: A Historical Encyclopedia of Prejudice and Persecution* (Santa Barbara: ABC-Clío, 2005), 248ff.

own Religion, its Hatred towards all Outsiders prescribed by the Religion itself, and the Repeal of all the Laws of Justice and Morality against them?¹²⁵

It is unclear how concretely Fries imagined such an eradication, whether it was meant physically or, as Fichte did, mentally. But there is reason to believe that this is precisely what prompted Falsen to omit the paragraph, since he must essentially have supported Fries's description of reality on other points. There was also no lack of anti-Jewish invective in the parts Falsen allowed into print in his rejoinder to Glogau:

But for the rest of the People, this Caste [the Jews] is now the most harmful of all; for it lives without Effort on the Work of Others, furnishing productive Works in no material or spiritual Respect, thus clustering tightly around the Lives of others, debilitating them just like a Creeper or Leech.¹²⁶

By publishing Fries, Falsen also activated notions of the Jews' financial harm that are starkly reminiscent of Sieyès's and Fichte's depictions of the idle uselessness and parasitic character of the aristocracy a generation earlier. Falsen had even embellished this a few years previously. In 1811, Norges Vel (the Royal Norwegian Society for Development) announced a competition "wherein the true and beneficial Spirit of Commerce is differentiated from the harmful and the false, especially with Regard to Norway." Falsen won with a contribution he called *Om den sande og falske Handelsaand* [On the True and False Spirit of Commerce].¹²⁷ It was designed as a lecture and dated 1812. Where or whether it was ever delivered is not known, but the historian Jacob S. Worm-Müller considers that it may have been so under the auspices of Norges Vel.¹²⁸ What characterised the "illegitimate merchant," also referred to as "the Plague on the Land," was an absence of patriotism and altruism and that he was motivated by the goal of "practising usury" and "self-enrichment." This breed of merchant was "a Country's worst Scourge, any Proposal for their Extermination would be welcome!"¹²⁹ He was not referring to Jews here, but given his depictions of Jews

125 Jakob Friedrich Fries, *Om den Fare vor Velfærd og Karakter udsættes for ved Jøderne* (Kjøbenhavn, 1816), 24. Quoted here from Harket, *Paragrafen*, 374.

126 *Den norske Tilskuer*, no. 43–44 (1817): 346.

127 Bård Frydenlund, *Stormannen Peder Anker: En biografi* (Oslo: Aschehoug, 2009), 190 f.

128 The lecture is published in Christian Magnus Falsen, "Hvori adskiller den sande og gavnlige Handelsaand sig fra den falske og skadelige, især med Hensyn paa Norge," (Norwegian) *Historisk Tidsskrift*, vol. 34 (1946–48): 437 ff. with a brief introduction by Jacob S. Worm-Müller.

129 Bergen University Library (UBB). Manuscript Collection. MS 45, Christian Magnus Falsen: *Om den sande og falske Handelsaand. Et foredrag holdt 1812*, folio 27.

elsewhere, it is not unreasonable to suppose that he also attributed to them such qualities from which the country would derive no benefit.

The year after the wrangle with Glogau, Falsen published an annotated version of the Constitution in *Norges Grundlov, gjennemgaaet i Spørgsmaal og Svar* [The Norwegian Constitution, reviewed in Questions and Answers] (1818). The fourth question in the book dealt with religion and why neither Jews, Jesuits nor monks could reside in the country. Here he first stated that it was useful for states “to have only one prevailing Religion”; several “prevailing” religions could pose a threat to the state.¹³⁰ But, he argued, the state ought not to “restrict religious freedom more than is necessary.” It was sufficient – in addition to shutting out particularly dangerous groups such as Jews, Jesuits and monks – to reserve state governance and officialdom to professors of the Evangelical Lutheran religion. In practice, therefore, he closely adhered to the views that Christie articulated at Eidsvoll as he warned against free religious practice for all.

According to Falsen, it was the duty of the king to ensure “that the Clergy, just like any other Corporation, does not form a State within the State and endanger civil Peace and Order [...]”¹³¹ It is not stated whether he envisaged free religious practice as a right or as permits that could be granted upon application, but these were general points of view that gained broad support among the state theorists of the period.

Falsen’s reasoning for claiming that Jews were a particular threat was partly a repetition of the arguments he used in the debate with Glogau and in his essay on the false spirit of commerce:

As far as concerns the Jews, it is almost an Impossibility to imagine that they could ever become good Citizens in any State where Jews do not govern. Their laws, indeed their very religion, set them apart from other People so starkly that they would always seek to form their Society of their own in which they are abided, and to avoid complying with the Law of the State in which they enjoy protection. In addition, among the Majority of Adherents of the Jewish Religion, Fraud and Underhandedness are such common Traits that it certainly cannot be called an unnecessary Precaution to keep them out of a Nation of Commerce such as Norway.¹³²

By 1813, the new Bishop of Bergen, Claus Pavels, had read Thaarup’s translation of Buchholz, a book in which he found much to impugn at that time. In his diary,

130 Christian Magnus Falsen, *Norges Grundlov, gjennemgaaet i Spørgsmaal og Svar* (Bergen, 1818), 8.

131 Falsen, *Norges Grundlov*, 28.

132 Falsen, *Norges Grundlov*, 8.

he nevertheless expressed support for Falsen in his clash with Glogau: “In my Opinion, Falsen’s Reply is an excellent one.”¹³³

The editor of *Det Norske Nationalblad*, published in Oslo, had also read the debate in *Den norske Tilskuer*. The newspaper recommended it to its readers, not least because the exclusionary clause “was too often disapproved of by the Well-to-Do due to misplaced Charity.”¹³⁴ Furthermore, the newspaper stated that the Jews were unsuitable as citizens of every state, “so that in our view it must be regarded as a national Fortune that we might free ourselves from them without Injustice.”¹³⁵ *Det Norske Nationalblad* was considered as oppositionist to the government and was published by Hans Hielm, but his older brother, the lawyer and politician Jonas Anton Hielm, is regarded as its actual editor.¹³⁶

With the hegemonic notions of Jews alive in the consciousnesses of contemporary stakeholders, it is no wonder that even among the proponents of toleration there was widespread scepticism about permitting Jews entry, not to mention granting them civil rights. For many of those who had read Locke’s, Pufendorf’s or Holberg’s claims to toleration with goodwill, the Jews must have stood out as a prime example of the infringement of its natural and necessary limits. In so doing, they likely did not even perceive such exclusions as illiberal, but rather as legitimate measures against what they considered to be obvious threats to society. Neither did the period’s practice of toleration up to 1814 render a policy of exclusion particularly controversial or illegitimate. This was, as we have seen in previous chapters, particularly the case when intolerance befell groups that were thought to pose a political danger.

Although Jews were an abstract category in the Norwegian context, the “Jewish question” was given a prominent place at Eidsvoll. Advocates for the ban on Jews heard dissenting voices both in and beyond the National Assembly. But sympathisers with the Jews were in the minority. The political arguments against Jews were the focus of attention during this period, and subsequently. They were

133 Ludvig Daae, *Claus Pavels’s Dagbøger for Aarene 1817–1822, Udgivne for den norske historiske Forening. 1ste Bind 1817–1819* (Christiania, 1899), 222 and 237.

134 *Det Norske Nationalblad*, 9 December 1817, 173. The wording also recalled Schmidt-Phiseldék, who explained that Jews’ rights could not be determined “according to a misguided Charity and Humanity’s excessive Pretensions” (“efter en misforstaaet Menneskekjærlighed og Humanitets vidtdrevne Pretensioner”) (Martin Schwarz Lausten, *Frie jøder?: Forholdet mellem kristne og jøder i Danmark fra Frihedsbrevet 1814 til Grundloven 1849*, III. Række 10 i Kirkehistoriske studier (København, Anis, 2005), 23).

135 *Det Norske Nationalblad*, 9 December 1817, 173.

136 Yngve Skjæveland, “Jonas Anton Hielm,” in *Store Norske Leksikon* (http://snl.no/.nbl_biografi/Jonas_Anton_Hielm/utdypning, accessed 10 January 2017).

also supplemented by views that were motivated by private economic interests rather than by politics. Among the merchants along the coast, the fear of being commercially outstripped was as strong as the fear of the impact of Jewish activity on the state finances, or the political consequences of states within the state.¹³⁷ The witch-hunt for Jews that took place within parts of the Bergen bourgeoisie towards the end of 1814 pointed to fears about the establishment of a competitive community in the city with links to an international Jewish network.¹³⁸

The young men in Bergen who were suspected of being Jews in that year all had ties to Glogau or Edvard Hambro (1782–1865), another former Jew who had converted to Christianity and settled in Bergen a few years earlier. Both were making money in economically difficult times. Glogau also maintained close ties to the Jewish community in Hamburg, where his family – his father, who was referred to as a “pious Jew,” and Jewish half-siblings – were living. Glogau contributed to the family’s upkeep, and paid for his half-brother’s schooling.¹³⁹ He travelled there every year, and it was among Hamburg’s Jewish community that he found his new wife after becoming a widower in 1819. Both she and her sister converted to Christianity just before leaving for Bergen. It is hardly surprising that members of Bergen’s bourgeoisie, with its close economic and social ties to anti-Jewish cities such as Bremen and other Hanseatic cities, were sceptical towards the establishment of a Jewish-influenced community in the city, and acted on that basis.¹⁴⁰

The new Norwegian state’s strict enforcement of the paragraph in the first years after 1814 testifies not only to a continued high level of awareness about a potential Jewish presence, but also to a willingness to invest significant resources in keeping them out. Jews were to be refused to “sneak into” the country at all costs, as Minister of Police Christian Diriks (1775–1837) demanded of subordinate authorities in early 1815.¹⁴¹

In 1819, the semi-official newspaper *Den Norske Rigstidende* carried uncontested claims that the Jews in Frankfurt had revived their inclination to the rab-

137 Ulvund, *Fridomens grenser 1814–1851*, 148 ff.

138 Ulvund, *Fridomens grenser 1814–1851*, 159 ff.

139 Renate Hauschild-Thiessen, “Die Familie Glogau und ihre Buchhandlungen,” *Tiedenkicker. Hamburgische Geschichtsblätter. Verein für Hamburgische Geschichte*, no. 5 (2014): 23 ff. Her most important source is the autobiography of Glogau’s half-brother (Lazarus Moses Glogau), translated to English by his descendants in the USA. The autobiography remains unpublished, but a copy was made available to the author through Renate Hauschild-Thiessen.

140 Ulvund, *Fridomens grenser 1814–1851*, 159.

141 Ulvund, *Fridomens grenser 1814–1851*, 147.

binical rule. Here, “the Spirit of Darkness and Talmudic Superstition” had once again begun to emerge. The Talmud – this “inexhaustible Source of Fanaticism and Superstition” had been fetched out of the “Repositories” and provided as a teaching guide in a newly established Talmud school. The teachers here were referred to as “Jewish Jesuits and Disseminators of Darkness,” with an association to the Jesuits’ renowned schools as well as the social peril of their notorious morals. Reform-minded Jews were challenged to resist this “Talmudification,” but in this they were not afforded much confidence since their thoughts centred only around making money and “enjoying Life.” The excerpt concluded polemically: “It is not possible to account for the Grounds upon which they continue to demand the benefits of full Citizenship.”¹⁴²

From the end of the decade, however, the pronounced fear of Jews in Norway abated. From then until the 1830s, when paragraph 2 was again brought up for debate, there are very few examples of Jews or Jewish prohibitions being openly discussed. The rigorous enforcement of the clause was also relaxed. The authorities – represented by the Storting, the government and the king – deliberately chose to ignore the Constitution in 1822 when they tacitly allowed Jewish bankers to come to the capital to negotiate with the government itself on the matter of state loans.¹⁴³ Fear of state bankruptcy and loss of independence led to a pragmatic enforcement of the ban. Eventually the old regulations concerning letters of safe conduct were also reinstated and practised more and more liberally, despite the fact that in 1814 and in subsequent years there was no doubt that the prohibition was to be interpreted absolutely and without exception. The government had explicitly communicated this to Dutch authorities in 1816.¹⁴⁴

The fear of Christian heterodoxy

Soon there were other religious groups that came to the attention of, and were zealously monitored and persecuted by, the Norwegian authorities. The Hauge movement and the Quakers were both perceived as political threats, and questions were raised as to whether their supporters qualified as full citizens of the state. Thus, both before and after 1814, the fear of Protestant heterodoxy had much in common with the fear of other religious aberrations, and eventually the branches of the state’s handling of Protestant challenges to the established

142 *Den Norske Rigstidende*, 5 March 1819.

143 Ulvund, *Fridomens grenser 1814–1851*, 199ff.

144 Ulvund, *Fridomens grenser 1814–1851*, 172.

church also had consequences for how other religious communities were dealt with.

Even before 1814, Hans Nielsen Hauge (1771–1824) had challenged priests from the state church's monopoly on preaching. The clergy in particular regarded him as a dangerous fanatic, and he was arrested several times for violating the Conventicle Observance. In 1804 a commission was set up to investigate his activities. This was provoked by a letter the Bishop of Kristiansand, Peder Hansen (1746–1810), had sent to the chancellor in Copenhagen. The bishop had issued a *Skrivelse til Geistligheden i Christiansands Stift om Fanatismen* [Missive on Fanaticism to the Clergy in the Diocese of Christiansand] the previous year, a text dealing with fanaticism in general and Hauge's activities in particular. In his letter to the central authorities in Copenhagen, he alluded to the danger that Hauge represented with the idea that he was hindering useful and productive enterprise in the population, and in particular that with "the Distrust these Zealots scatter against the State's prime Authorities and the teaching Class, he perhaps risks falling into line with the Muhammadan Abdul Vechab."¹⁴⁵

Vechab referred to the strictly puritanical Islamic movement of Wahhabism – also known as Salafism – established by the Arab theologian Muhammad ibn Abd al-Wahhab (1703–1791) in the 1740s.¹⁴⁶ Ibn Abd Al-Wahhab then entered into a religious-political concord with Muhammad ibn Saud (–1765) – the founder of the Saud dynasty in Saudi Arabia – establishing the movement as the state religion in those regions conquered by the Saudis. In the West, Ibn Abd al-Wahhab was therefore regarded as a rebel with theocratic ambitions. In 1803–1804, the political heir to the Saud dynasty – Abd al-Aziz ibn Muhammad ibn Saud (–1803), often referred to in the West as Abdul Vechab – attacked and occupied the holy cities of Mecca and Medina, which were under Ottoman suzerainty.

In practice, Vechab was a term that defined a fanatical, rebellious, deceptive and violent tradition. It was as illegitimate in a European and absolutist context as it was in the Ottoman Empire. The reference to Vechab therefore made sense to the authorities in Copenhagen.

The contemporary hegemonic image of Wahhabism was a result of the movement's political and ideological threat to the Ottoman Empire and anti-Wahhab-

145 Letter dated 24 April 1804. Quoted here from Hallvard G. Heggveit, *Den norske Kirke i det nittende Aarhundrede: Et Bidrag til dens Historie*. B. 1. Haugianismens Tid. Første Halvdel, 1796–1820 (Christiania: Cammermeyer, 1905–11), 314.

146 Frode Ulvund, "Wahhabisme som skremmebilde i Skandinavia rundt 1800: Hans Nielsen Hauge i lys av osmansk anti-wahhabisme," (Norwegian) *Historisk tidsskrift* no. 2 (2018), (https://www.idunn.no/ht/2018/02/wahhabisme_som_skremmebilde_i_skandinavia_rundt_1800)

ist notions formed within an Ottoman context. Conceptions of Wahhabism circulated within a European-Oriental information network of newspapers, of which the Scandinavian public was also a part. In this way, spectres of Ottoman anti-Wahhabism could be more or less refashioned in Scandinavia and activated as effective representations of Hauge in a Lutheran religious-political context.¹⁴⁷

The Copenhagen authorities obviously shared the fear of the consequences that Hauge's attack on religious unity might have. In the autumn of 1804 they issued a warrant for his arrest. One of the constant driving forces in the persecution of Hauge was Frederik Julius Kaas, who closely followed the Norwegian lay preacher from various posts within the state apparatus. As leader of the Danish chancellery, it was he who initiated the lengthy process against him in 1804. This was the same man who concurrently also feared the consequences of a Jewish "state within the state" in Denmark.¹⁴⁸

The rationale for the arrest warrant was Hauge's "insulting Expressions against the Clergy in General and, moreover, [that he has] sought to impart Principles to the Commoners that are as detrimental to any Individual as they are to the State and the common Good."¹⁴⁹ Statements were also obtained from local authorities around the country. These strengthened the chancellery's view that "under the Pretext of divine Intent" he was spreading "fanatical Principles" and misleading the unenlightened peasantry into "Distrust of the Instruments of the State in General, and the clerical Estate in particular."¹⁵⁰

When a prosecution against Hauge was finally prepared in 1809, one of the charges was that he had "sought to form a separate civil Society within the State" for his own benefit and that this "had yielded many harmful Consequences."¹⁵¹

Apostasy from the correct state-church faith was explained as an outcome of zealotry and fanaticism. For the authorities, the irrational rejection of clerical authority and doctrines were thus pathologised as madness. Frederik Julius Bech (1758–1822) was Bishop of Oslo from 1805 to 1822. His tract *Raad og Advarsel imod Svermerie og dets bedrøvelige Virkninger* [Advice and Warning against Zealotry and its deplorable Effects] from 1802 was a direct reaction to Hauge's

147 Ulvund, "Wahhabisme som skremmebilde."

148 On Kaas's role in the case against Hauge, see Dag Kullerud, *Hans Nielsen Hauge: Mannen som vekket Norge* (Oslo: Aschehoug, 1996), 116 ff.

149 Circular 30 October 1804. Quoted here from Heggtveit, *Den norske Kirke*, 318.

150 National Archives Norway (RA), Justisdepartementet, Kommisjon i saken mot Hans Nielsen Hauge 1804, D/L0002: Hans Nielsen Hagues sak [The legal case against Hans Nielsen Hauge], 1805–1808, 2–3.

151 Kullerud, *Hans Nielsen Hauge*, 305.

preaching. In it, the support for him was explained as an illness: “I have called this Evil a Disease, and that is what it is, unfortunately! a Disease of the wickedest Kind. [...] They are not sick by Will, it is the Mind that the Infection has attacked.”¹⁵² For the individual, the prognosis for such a disease was poor – this was, after all, a question of eternal damnation. But although the salvation of souls was sufficient motivation to combat deviant religions, Bech also highlighted the political danger:

The Scripture decrees Order in civil Society, and Obedience towards Law and Authority. The Zealot, on the other hand, defies Law and Authority, and abuses the well-known Idiom: “One ought to obey God before Man.” [...] To set oneself in opposition to the Commands of the Authorities is to set oneself in opposition to the Commands of God.¹⁵³

As such, to disobey the king was to disobey God. The understanding of religious homogeneity as a social bond can hardly be more clearly formulated.

With labels such as “Zealots” and “Fanatics,” allegations of financial fraud and the seduction of the public into religious delusion, and associations with Islam and theocracy, the reactions of the priesthood and the authorities to Hauge had many parallels to how Mormonism would be received in the 1850s. As we shall see in a later chapter, this, too, was orientalist and its adherents pathologised as irrational victims of seduction.

After 1814, it was Quakers in particular who would soon challenge both the state administration and the judiciary on the question of the scope of religious freedom in Norway. The adoption on 4 May 1814 of paragraph 2, which contained a formulation on religious freedom for Christians, and the subsequent editing that excised it before the Constitution was signed, left broad space for interpretation. Did Christians have religious freedom, or did they not?¹⁵⁴

The Quakers were few in number, but represented a particular challenge because their religious practices were in many cases contrary to applicable Norwegian law. One thing was the statutory requirement for baptism and confirmation for all Norwegians, something by which Quakers refused to abide. Another was the practice of burying the dead in unconsecrated ground and without the man-

152 Frederik Julius Bech, *Raad og Advarsel imod Sværmerie og dets bedrøvelige Virkninger* (Trondhiem: Willum Stephansen, 1802), 4.

153 Bech, *Raad og Advarsel*, 31.

154 See Frode Ulvund, “‘Grundlovens Taushed’: Høgsterett og religionsfridomen mellom Grunnlova og dissentarlova,” *Teologisk Tidsskrift*, no. 4 (2014) and Frode Ulvund, “Ein viljelaus spegel?,” in *Lovens spel: Høgsterett 200 år*, ed. Frode Ulvund and Jørn Øyrehaugen Sunde (Bergen: Fagbokforlaget, 2015).

datory ecclesiastical ceremonies; besides this, they had distinctive marriage rituals devoid of religious sacraments. In addition, they refused to swear oaths and perform military service. The former points were a question of religious obligation, while the latter were an evasion of civic duty. Dean of the diocese of Oslo, Nicolai Lumholtz (1729–1819), regarded the Quakers as a dangerous sect and demanded that their religious practices lead to prosecution and expulsion. Bishop Bech initially concurred, demanding that the Quakers follow the church ritual if they were to remain in the country.

The government established a special commission to assess the stipulations of the Quakers' beliefs. The majority, including Bishop Bech, was open to allowing the exercise of foreign religions in Norway, but this would nevertheless not apply to Quakers. The basis of this was first and foremost political since their demand to avoid military service was contrary to the Constitution, and the failure to swear oaths was unacceptable. The commission advocated strict regulations if the Quakers were still to be allowed to practise. They should be allowed to settle only in certain cities – and then under monitoring. There, they would be granted exceptions to the church ritual, and avoid military service and the swearing of oaths. Proselytising (attempts at conversion) would be strictly forbidden.¹⁵⁵ The proposal is reminiscent of the way Jewish minorities were treated in Sweden and Denmark.

Minister of Church Affairs Niels Treschow (1751–1833) proposed a motion in the Storting in accordance with the commission's minority, while at the same time proposing eternal banishment of Quakers who attempted to propagate their religion. In 1818, the proposal received support in the parliamentary standing committee considering it in the Storting (which included Georg Sverdrup, a prominent member of the Constitutional Assembly, as a member), with two important exceptions. To prevent young men from joining the Quakers in order to dodge military service, the committee proposed raising the minimum age for approval as a Quaker from 25 to 30 years. In addition it proposed that Quakers could not be considered active citizens and that they should therefore neither be eligible for public office, nor have the right to vote for the Storting. However, in the Odelsting (the chamber that first discussed law proposals in the Storting) the proposition was rejected by a narrow majority.

The lack of legal regulation towards the Quakers' religious practices therefore led to several legal confrontations in the period up until the 1845 Dissenter Act solved many of the most difficult challenges. In a case against a Quaker in Oslo in 1821, the court did not directly address the scope of paragraph 2 in its

¹⁵⁵ Seierstad, *Kyrkjeleg reformarbeid*, 224 ff.

verdict, but stated that “foreign believers” were obliged to follow the laws and regulations of the country. Anything else would grant deviant faiths more extensive rights than the favoured religion, and failure to comply with the adopted regulations could establish conditions favourable to the forming of a state within the state.¹⁵⁶ Such opinions prompted the priest of Skjold parish in Western Norway to refer to Quakers as representatives of “wild, unlawful Republicanism or even Anarchy” in 1827.¹⁵⁷ In 1837, a slender majority in the Supreme Court advocated convicting a Quaker who refused to be confirmed. He declared himself a Quaker, but lacked royal approval. The court feared, among other things, the detrimental consequences that might arise if individuals could “evade ordinary civil duties” by declaring themselves Quakers.¹⁵⁸

In this way, objections to the Quakers’ free exercise of religion had clear parallels with central arguments against the Jews gaining entry to the kingdom. Both minorities could be considered unqualified to be active citizens of the state. The limits of toleration could be found wherever the sovereignty of the state was infringed upon. Both when it came to Hauge and to an even greater extent the Quakers, it was not necessarily the leaders’ political ambitions that the authorities feared, but rather the political consequences of their religious practices.

There were dissenting voices against strict religious policies even under the absolute monarchy. Bishop of Bergen Johan Nordahl Brun (1745 – 1816), for example, interpreted freedom of religion to be far reaching from the end of the 18th century.¹⁵⁹ After 1814, resistance to religious coercion gradually increased. When Treschow set up the Quaker commission in 1817, he emphasised that experience had at all times shown that neither the state nor the religion were served by an “ardent and rigorous approach to such Sects [as the Quakers].”¹⁶⁰ Rather, coercion and oppression created martyrs and acted contrary to their intent. Although after 1814 it was initially forbidden to practise any religion other than that of the state, there was a certain space for religious aberration through

156 Ivar Arctander, *Statsmonopoler: Tilblivelsen av grunnlovens § 101 og paragrafens betydning som vern mot statsmonopoler* (Oslo: Aschehoug, 1928), 96 f.

157 Letter from priest Thomas Swensen in Skjold to senior rector Paul Knutsen in Jelsa, here from Seierstad, *Kyrkjeleg reformarbeid*, 340.

158 National Archives Norway (RA), RA/S-1002/E/Eb/L0052, voteringsprotokoll 1837–1838, 107/1837 (7 December 1837), Bulls votum [Bull’s legal opinion].

159 Daniel Thrap, “Bidrag til Biskop Johan Nordahl Bruns Karakteristik,” *Theologisk Tidsskrift for den Evangelisk-lutherske Kirke i Norge*, vol. 9 (1866): 481 ff.

160 National Archives Norway (RA), RA/S-1003/D/Da/L0008, Regjeringsinnstilling no. 1881 [Government Proposal No. 1881], 1817.

royal dispensations. The requirement was that the practice of religion had to align with the other rules of the kingdom with regard to marriage, burial and “all other outward Custom.”¹⁶¹ In 1817, Treschow also pointed to the need for control and approval of divergent religious practices in order to prevent obstinacy and the evasion of social obligations through the donning of the “Mask of Religion.”¹⁶²

Especially from the 1830s, a Christian-liberal mindset gained a strong foothold both in Norwegian public life and in the Storting. This contributed decisively towards the legalisation of religious practice outside the framework of the state church in the 1840s, first with the repeal of the Conventicle Observance in 1842 and later with the adoption of the Dissenter Act in 1845. Jens Lauritz Arup (1793–1874) was a pastor in Drammen, and from 1846 Bishop of Kristiania, and one of the foremost proponents of a view that the state had a duty to promote religion and morality, but only by spiritual means.¹⁶³ He was by no means alone in this, and this rejection of religious coercion was supported by the university’s Faculty of Theology. The pressure against the narrow religious laws came first from a Christian opposition – partly Haugians and partly Quakers – but also gradually from the state church’s own clergy.

Jews as political danger in Denmark after 1814

After independence in 1814, therefore, it was not Jews, but the range of Christian religious freedoms and rights of assembly within and beyond the framework of the state church that received most attention in Norway. Things were different in neighbouring countries. There, the Jewish question persisted in public almost throughout the period. After the Jewish feud in 1813 and the Letter of Freedom in 1814, a fresh, but smaller-scale Jewish feud broke out in Denmark in 1817. At its core was Schmidt-Phiseldek, who again published a pamphlet discussing the suitability of the Jews as citizens (*Om den jødiske Nations hidtil værende forhold til det christne Borgersamfund og dets Omdannelse i Fremtiden* [On the Jewish Nation’s Present Relationship to Christian Civil Society, and its Transformation in the Future]).¹⁶⁴ Again he portrayed the Jews as foreigners and as

¹⁶¹ Ulvund, “Til vern og fremme for religionen,” 25 ff.

¹⁶² National Archives Norway (RA), RA/S-1003/D/Da/L0008, Regjeringsinnstilling no. 1881 [Government Proposal No. 1881], 1817.

¹⁶³ Bjørn R. Stensby, *Religionsfrihetens gjennombrudd i Norge: Et søkelys på den religionspolitiske kamp i 1830 og -40-årene* (MA Thesis, University of Oslo, 1996), 56.

¹⁶⁴ Lausten, *Frie jøder?*, 22.

unwilling to adapt, as harbouring hatred for others and characterised by religious haughtiness. Along with other anti-Jewish accusations, this was intended to demonstrate that Jews were still unfit to be incorporated into the state.¹⁶⁵ The book was also important in 1842 as the Faculty of Theology in Oslo considered whether the Jewish faith was an obstacle for the repeal of the Norwegian ban on Jews.

When riots broke out against Jews in some German cities in 1819, this also spread to Denmark, and Copenhagen, especially, was shaken. There, Jewish property was destroyed and Jews were physically attacked. The government took forceful action and altogether 48 people were subsequently prosecuted.¹⁶⁶ Anti-Jewish riots also occurred in Denmark after the July revolution of 1830. As in 1819, unrest spread from Hamburg, where anti-Jewish slogans were followed up by physical attacks. In Copenhagen there was less turmoil than in 1819, but placards proclaiming “Down with the Jews” were posted, windows were smashed, and some Jews were assaulted.¹⁶⁷

The Letter of Freedom provided the framework for Jewish conditions in Denmark until the Constitution of 1849 granted equal status to all citizens, regardless of religion. However, the decree of 1814 had not put Jews on an equal footing to other citizens. It was first and foremost as economic citizens that they were equals, not as citizens with political rights. In the Letter of Freedom, there was no mention of Jews as citizens. Under the absolute monarchy, of course, formal political influence was limited, and there was no national assembly. The concept of citizenship did not yet include the term “active citizen” as it was defined in the French Constitution of 1791. However, although formal influence on legislation was not relevant under the monarchy, the lack of political recognition of Jews after 1814 was expressed, among other things, by lack of access to government office and to positions at the University.

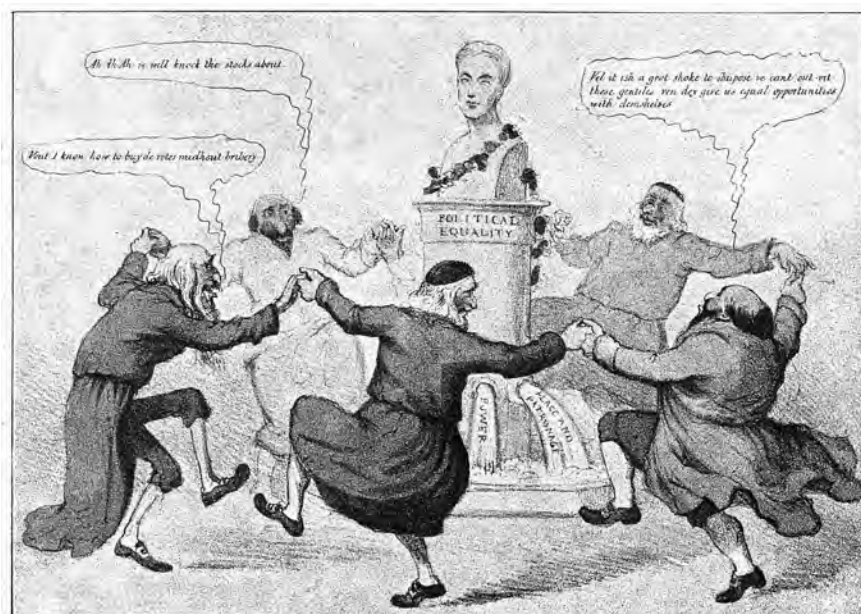
The question of making Jews active citizens became current in Denmark in 1832, when the king proposed establishing a total of four consultative estate assemblies – two for the duchies and two for Denmark itself. Initially, the need for such assemblies was to be considered by an assembly of notables consisting of 35 men. In his ordinance, the king had proposed limiting voting rights and eligibility to Christians.¹⁶⁸ Eleven of the 35 representatives voted to accompany the king on this point, and the debates clearly demonstrated that old notions

165 Here from Lausten, *Frie jøder?*, 23f.

166 Ulvund, *Fridomens grenser 1814–1851*, 75.

167 Bent Blüdnikow, “Jødeuroen i København 1830,” *Historie/Jyske Samlinger*, no. 14 (1981): 634.

168 Lausten, *Frie jøder?*, 320.



120. Englische Karikatur auf die Emanzipation der Juden. Um 1845

Figure 4.7: The dance around the civil rights. English cartoon from c. 1845. One of them declares in caricatured English: “Vel it ish a goot shoke to shupose ve cant out vit these gentiles ven dey give us equal opportunities with demshelves.”

about Jews still applied. It was argued that Jews stood apart from the Danish community, that they had interests incompatible with “the true doctrine of the pure Christian state,” and that only Christians were the king’s “true subjects.”¹⁶⁹ The Bishop of Viborg believed that Jews who were true to their doctrine “had nothing in common with Denmark. They regard themselves as Exiles in a foreign Land and do not possess the Temperament of the Fatherland.”¹⁷⁰

There were also latent anti-Jewish attitudes within academia and the civil service. Professor of law Johan Frederik Wilhelm Schlegel particularly distinguished himself. He had been the academic mentor of many Norwegian officials in the period before the first Norwegian university was founded in Oslo in 1811, and later continued to teach Danish students.¹⁷¹ He justified his opposition to the

¹⁶⁹ Lausten, *Frie jøder?*, 324.

¹⁷⁰ Lausten, *Frie jøder?*, 324.

¹⁷¹ See the anthology Ola Mestad, ed., *Frihetens forskole: Professor Schlegel og eidsvollsmennenes læretid i København* (Oslo: Pax forlag, 2014).

election of Jews with traditional claims that Jews wanted to “form a State within the State everywhere.”¹⁷² Although in 1834 the assembly of notables was in favour of granting Jews both the right to vote and the right to be elected into public office, when the monarchy formally established the assemblies they were only granted the former.

The consultative assemblies gathered for the first time in 1835, and the question of Jews’ right to public office came up again at both the consultative assembly for Jutland and for Funen/Zealand at the second gathering in 1838. This time, too, allegations were put forward that Jews constituted a state within the state and that their loyalty lay with international Jewry. The Bishop of Viborg and the prefect of Aarhus grounded the lack of eligibility for public office in claims that the Jews were not Danish. On the contrary, history had shown that they never renounced their Jewish nationality, but remained a nation, a people for themselves, and therefore would always “remain the wandering children of Israel.”¹⁷³

The consultative assembly in Roskilde also discussed the issue in depth, and here too Jewish loyalty was a key counter-argument. Nevertheless, in Roskilde an extremely slender majority (32 of 62) intervened to ask the king to grant Jews the right to vote, reasoned in part on the fact that that Jews no longer considered themselves a nation, but regarded Denmark as their fatherland and the king as their true national patriarch.¹⁷⁴ Thus it is correct to conclude that there was great opposition to civil equality in the Danish consultative assemblies, and political equality between Jewish Danish citizens and other citizens was first introduced with the Constitution of 1849.

Neither was there any dearth of claims regarding Danish Jews’ lack of Danishness during the constitutional debates, expressed by the Bishop of Zealand, Jacob Peter Mynster (1775–1854), among others. He argued against giving Jews full political rights at the constitutional assembly since there was, according to him, a distinction between Jews and Danes. The Jews were a people apart who “simply [did not] integrate with the people among whom they settle and live.”¹⁷⁵ He was not alone in the assembly; professor of law and later Prime Minister Anders Sandøe Ørsted (1778–1860) was of the same opinion. For several key stakeholders in Danish society in the mid-1800s, there was no clear case for granting citizenship to Danish Jews.

172 Lausten, *Frie jøder?*, 324.

173 Lausten, *Frie jøder?*, 324.

174 Lausten, *Frie jøder?*, 361.

175 Here from Rasmussen, *Religionstolerance og religionsfrihed*, 228.

Swedish segregation policy

As with most other countries, Sweden had had a highly restrictive attitude towards Jews and others who professed religions other than the official one.¹⁷⁶ As previously mentioned, the demand for religious unity was strong. The 1770s nevertheless marked a dividing line in the official Swedish policy against Jews. From the middle of the decade, the free harbour in Marstrand outside Gothenburg was home to a small community of Jews. At the same time, the first Jews were allowed to settle in certain other regions of Sweden.

Ethnologist Ingvar Svanberg and historian Mattias Tydén explain the restrictive attitude towards Jews with a general scepticism concerning Jews in public opinion and within the Swedish church.¹⁷⁷ Stereotypes about Jews were vivid and mistrust was intense. Attitudes were also negative among the Swedish merchant class, and both the guilds and the bourgeoisie opposed Jewish interests in general for fear of the competition they were perceived to represent.¹⁷⁸

They explain the relaxing of the policy towards Jews in the same way as similar policies elsewhere. There were financial considerations – primarily hopes of greater access to Jewish capital – that contributed to the authorities allowing Jews to remain. They point out that a driving force behind the policy was the secretary of state for trade and finance. When the question of religious freedom was addressed in the Swedish parliament in 1778–1779, it was supported by all the estates apart from the clergy. The outcome was two toleration edicts, one that applied to Catholics in 1781, and another that applied to Jews in 1782. The latter was referred to as the *Jewish regulation*.

The Jewish regulation opened up for the presence of Jews, but was simultaneously restrictive, albeit not as onerous as the corresponding edict in Austria around the same period. Svanberg and Tydén claim that this was a compromise between authorities that wanted liberalisation and a public opinion, and a church that was sceptical towards Jews. In order to be allowed to settle in Sweden, Jewish applicants had to have capital of at least 2000 Swedish rix-dollars. Settlement was only lawful in the cities of Stockholm, Norrköping, Karlskrona and Gothenburg, and it was also only in these cities that Jews could engage in economic activities. They were expected to be involved primarily in trade, and

¹⁷⁶ See Ulvund, *Fridomens grenser 1814–1851*.

¹⁷⁷ Ingvar Svanberg and Mattias Tydén, *Tusen år av invandring: En svensk kulturhistoria* (Stockholm: Dialogos förlag, 2005), 184.

¹⁷⁸ Svanberg and Tydén, *Tusen år av invandring*, 187.

in this sphere they were granted equal status with Swedish citizens.¹⁷⁹ On the other hand, the right to engage in crafts was restricted. There were various types of fine mechanical production in which Jews in particular were allowed to participate, such as jewel polishing, lens polishing and the manufacture of technical instruments. So-called ‘beggar Jews’ were explicitly prohibited from immigrating to Sweden. Jews also had no opportunity to assume office or political duties.

Although the Jewish regulations of 1782 opened up for Jewish immigration and settlement in some Swedish cities, the presence of Jews was long limited. There is reported to have been only 785 Jews in Sweden in 1815, most of them in the major cities of Stockholm and Gothenburg.

In Sweden, there was a regular flow of anti-Jewish texts after the 1809 coup d’état. The new Constitution gave the bourgeoisie their own chamber in the parliament, which was organised by estate. The Swedish historian Hugo Valentin argues that the coup d’état was of contrasting significance for Jews in Sweden.¹⁸⁰ On the one hand the coup represented a liberal turn in the attitude of the Swedish *government* towards Jews, which resulted in the naturalisation of some Jews from 1811 onwards;¹⁸¹ on the other, in the wake of the coup the Constitution led to the *bourgeoisie* gaining greater influence – and, according to Valentin, the bourgeoisie was hostile towards Jews. He asserts that between 1809 and 1840 barely a parliamentary term passed without the bourgeoisie attempting to act against the rights of the Jews. In 1812, for example, demands were made by the parliament’s bourgeoisie for strict enforcement of the Jewish regulation. The problem was the “harm petty traders of the Jewish nation inflicted upon [Swedish] merchants when interloping and wayfaring in the kingdom.”¹⁸² The granting of full citizenship to some Jews from 1811 onwards also stirred disgruntlement and triggered protests among the bourgeoisie.¹⁸³

In 1815, a public Jewish feud broke out in Sweden. Among other things, Thaarup’s expanded Danish edition of Buchholz was translated into Swedish and published in two parts under the title *Lurifaxiana*.¹⁸⁴ The anti-Jewish proposals that had been submitted in parliament were also published.

179 Anna Brismark and Pia Lundqvist, “En del av den borgerliga gemenskapen?: Judiska entreprenörer och deras nätverk i det tidiga 1800-talets Göteborg,” *Heimen* vol. 49, no. 2 (2012): 113.

180 Hugo Valentin, *Judarnas historia i Sverige* (Stockholm: Bonnier, 1924), 283.

181 Valentin, *Judarnas historia i Sverige*, 282.

182 Aberstén, “1815 års judefäjd i Sverige,” 75.

183 Valentin, *Judarnas historia i Sverige*, 282f.

184 *Lurifaxiana* consisted of two lesser writings. The first part (32 pages) bore the title “Lurifaxiana [Slyboots], or something on the principles of the Jews, and their happy and sad fate in

An important contributor to the pamphlets was lawyer and baron Ludvig Boye (1794–1861), who was also a member of the parliament. It was there in 1815 that he claimed that “the Jews in general are not only not useful but, on the contrary, truly harmful to Sweden.”¹⁸⁵ Central to this view was the claim that the Jews restricted themselves to the import of luxury goods. But he also laid out other objections: The Jews constituted “a nation within the nation” – they would only marry each other, they inherited from each other, and they lived and died as “strangers to everything concerning our common good.” He further claimed that their religion commanded them “to consider as Brothers merely the members of their own tribe,” and that they had notions of rising once again as a state.¹⁸⁶ The interests of the Jews therefore diverged from the general interests of the country. Many pamphlets were published anonymously and reproduced claims of political disloyalty and an absence of patriotism. One pamphlet declared that the well-being of the state was a prerequisite for the well-being of the citizen, and that this was an understanding embraced by the true citizen. Due to his inability to promote the welfare of the state, however, the Jew became the citizen’s polar opposite:

Could such feelings that are nurtured by the free citizen never emerge in a Jew? Why? The citizen has only one Country and one King, while the Jews constitute a Cosmopolitan Society and are members of all or no country, and obey all sovereigns and Governments – or none at all.¹⁸⁷

Another anonymous publication, *Opartiska politiska tankar för och emot judarna, bevis att de utgöra en stat i staten* [Impartial Political Thoughts For and Against the Jews, Evidence that they Constitute a State within the State], concluded that the Jews most certainly did constitute a state within the state. As a means of enabling Swedish Jews to live as freely as possible in the country, the author suggested that Jewish parents be given the option of raising their children as Christians, or else sending them out of the country when they reached 15 years of

France, Spain and Portugal”; the second (24 pages) was entitled “Present relationship between Jews and Christians in intellectual and moral terms.” Both were published anonymously in Stockholm in 1815.

185 Contribution in the Riksdag 17 April 1815, published in Ludvig Boye, *Försvars-Skrifter af Revisions-Secreteraren Friherre Ludvig Boye emot Öfver-Directeuren C.A. Grevesmöhlen*. Andra Häftet (Stockholm: Fr. Cederborgh & Co, 1815), 46.

186 Boye, *Försvars-Skrifter*, 47 f.

187 *Viva-rop För Grevesmöhlen, Pålman och Judarne* (Stockholm: Carl Nyberg, 1815), 13.

age.¹⁸⁸ In the long run, such a form of coercive Christianity would “dejewicise” and assimilate the Jews.

In the Riksdag the same year, a proposal that “hereinafter Jews should not be permitted entry to the kingdom” received a majority in three of the estates. Only the nobility rejected the proposal. It was thus passed by parliament, and the king’s veto alone prevented it from becoming law.¹⁸⁹ The proposal was first launched in parliament by the merchant Gustaf Stabeck (1778–1831). To begin with he demanded changes to the Jewish regulation. His reasoning was partly rooted in the useless activity he claimed Jews performed through the import of unnecessary luxury goods and a lack of involvement in Swedish exports. But the representative also pointed to the Norwegian policy against Jews and the prohibition in the new Norwegian Constitution, and exploited alleged Norwegian experiences as an argument: “Our new compatriots the Norwegians, who had the occasion to experience their [the Jews’] negative influence on Denmark’s economic situation, have apparently denied all of them access.”¹⁹⁰ His claim is dubious. In Norway, experience with Jews was greatly limited. In order to remedy the alleged Jewish inconvenience, Stabeck proposed prohibitions on immigration and that those who had already arrived in the country would have to confine themselves to manufacturing activities and export trade. He also suggested that the Norwegian ban on Jews ought to be introduced in Sweden “in order to more firmly link the Nordic union,” a proposal that was raised in the Riksdag several times in the following decades, according to Hugo Valentin.¹⁹¹

The scepticism towards Jews in Sweden was particularly grounded in the economy. Jews were engaged in useless economic activities and were a plague on the Swedish business community, it was claimed. But, as we have seen, political objections were clearly ever-present.

King Charles XIV John revised the Jewish regulation in 1838, but without involving the Riksdag. Legally, he put Mosaic professors on an equal footing with other residents from dissenting religions, a measure that also included the free right to settle anywhere in the kingdom. The decision sparked intense opposition and fury against both Jews and the king. Charles XIV John was referred to as “the

188 *Opertiska politiska tankar för och emot judarna, bevis att de utgöra en stat i staten, samt undersökning huru de skola, så fritt och gladt som möjligt, kunna hysas och dväljas i ett land, utan förfång och skada för andra undersåtare* (Stockholm: Carl Delén, 1815), 30. The work is attributed to Grevesmöhlen, but Simon Aberstén asserts that this is unfounded. Aberstén, “1815 års judefäjd i Sverige,” 97.

189 Aberstén, “1815 års judefäjd i Sverige,” 91.

190 Aberstén, “1815 års judefäjd i Sverige,” 77.

191 Valentin, *Judarnas historia i Sverige*, 287.

King of the Swedes, the Norwegians, the Goths, the Wends and of Judea,” just as Frederick VI had been contemptuously referred to in 1819 as “King of the Jews” during the riots at that time.¹⁹² Even before the provision, the bourgeoisie of Gothenburg and Stockholm had expressed their great scepticism. The Jews lacked patriotism for the fatherland and any integration with the Swedish people was hopeless, not least because the Jews’ future goal was the restoration of the ancient Israeli homeland.¹⁹³ Just a few months after the decision, the stark opposition to liberalisation led to a clarification that removed the right to free settlement. Opponents of the Jews thus got a key point reversed.

In 1841, a proposal to introduce an immigration ban on Jews and to reverse Charles XIV John’s repeal of the Jewish regulation gained a majority from all the estates apart from the nobility. Again, it was the king’s veto that prevented this from taking legal form. In the argument prior to the vote, political objections to Jews were still very much alive.

Anders Magnus Brinck (1794–1861) was elected to the chamber of the bourgeois estate from Stockholm and belonged to the Riksdag’s liberal wing. In the *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon* [Swedish Biographical Lexicon] of 1926 he was described as “a man of decidedly fair and moderate disposition” who was of great repute among the bourgeoisie.¹⁹⁴ As parliament debated the Jewish question in 1840, he could not comprehend that there was any human right that obliged a nation, morally or politically, to allow a foreign tribe to “constitute itself as a State within the State.”¹⁹⁵ On the contrary, universal human rights and the progress of mankind were precisely about “annihilating those States within the State” that emerged when “the era of barbarity and vulgarity arose.” To allow this was not only unjust politics, but also demonstrated a lack of “State Wisdom” since “the struggles of the era obviously are directed at repealing privileges that, through Corporations and Estates, are destructive to the citizens of the Country.” In this way the liberal paradox, the same as that which confronted the founding fathers at Eidsvoll, hove into view. An illiberal attitude towards Jews was the upshot of a liberally motivated showdown with the estate society’s feudal corporations. Around 1840, such a clash was more pervasive in the far more deeply estate-dominated Sweden than in Norway during the same period.

192 Valentin, *Judarnas historia i Sverige*, 368.

193 Valentin, *Judarnas historia i Sverige*, 357.

194 P.O. Granström, “Anders Magnus Brinck,” in *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon* (1926). (<https://sok.riksarkivet.se/sbl/artikel/16951>, accessed 6 January 2017).

195 *Protocoll, hållna hos välloflige Borgare-Ståndet vid Lagtima Riksdagen i Stockholm, År 1840. Första bandet* (Stockholm: Bredberg, 1840), 512. [Minutes of the Estate of Burghers]

The Jewish question was a matter only of politics, not of theology, Brinck explained. He believed that Jews in Sweden still constituted a distinct and foreign people. Christian foreigners quickly became Swedish when they were incorporated into society. Jews, on the other hand, would remain a people apart as long as they adhered to the Mosaic faith: “always Jewish, never Swedish,” he stated. For Brinck, the Mosaic faith was an exclusive religion, characterised by national isolation, selfishness, and hostility towards other peoples.¹⁹⁶

The discussions in Sweden captured the public interest in Norway, not least because the lifting of the Jewish ban was now on the political agenda in the Storting. The Norwegian newspaper *Morgenbladet* thus provided a lengthier reproduction of Brinck’s reasoning for a stringent policy against Jews.¹⁹⁷

Hugo Valentin claims that up until the abolition of the Jewish regulation, the Jewish question in Sweden was characterised by friction between the liberal policy of the government towards Jews and anti-Jewish attitudes among the broader strata of society. There was a particular antagonism between Jews and the Swedish bourgeoisie, he believed.¹⁹⁸ Although the Swedish government under Charles XIV John tried to dismantle special restrictions against Jews, the Jewish regulation long remained the very foundation of Swedish policy towards Jews. The attitudes of the Riksdag led to segregation being left untouched as the political cornerstone. Considering the immediate reversal of the right to free settlement in 1838, this description of the situation remains valid until the latter half of the 19th century.

Towards a Christian-liberal discourse

Thus, Jews were still being actively represented as a political threat in Danish public debate at the end of the 1830s, and in that of Sweden in the years around 1840. This was the case even among key officials, especially in Denmark. There was no lack of counter-representations, and there is no doubt that the archetypal anti-Jewish notions from the first phase of the emancipation period were about to lose their hegemonic support. At the consultative assembly in Roskilde in 1838, this was also hinted at; while a committee majority within the assembly considered it just that Jews were denied the right to vote when the consultative assemblies were finally established in 1834, now it was concluded that because

¹⁹⁶ *Protocoll, hållna hos välloflige Borgare-Ståndet vid Lagtima Riksdagen i Stockholm, År 1840. Första bandet* (Stockholm: Bredberg, 1840), 514f. [Minutes of the Estate of Burghers].

¹⁹⁷ *Morgenbladet*, 17 April 1840.

¹⁹⁸ Valentin, *Judarnas historia i Sverige*, 322ff.

“the greater Part of the resident Professors of the Mosaic Faith [had] cast off so much of their previous Nationality, in all probability they could and should be counted among the Citizens of the Country.”¹⁹⁹ Here they were describing a major change that was reported to have occurred within a matter of only four years.

In the same period, the process of lifting the constitutional Jewish ban was initiated in Norway. In three parliaments (1842, 1845 and 1848) there was a majority for removing the exclusion from the Constitution. It was not, however, until 1851 that the majority became sufficiently large for a constitutional amendment (approval of two-thirds of the assembly). During this period, the Jewish problem thus surfaced again in the public sphere. This raises the question of how Jews were now being portrayed in Norwegian discussions on the topic. Were they still perceived as a threat to society?

In 1839, when Henrik Wergeland (1808–1845), the Norwegian poet, theologian, and (from 1840) director general of the National Archives, submitted his written appeal to revoke the Norwegian prohibition on Jews to the Storting, the rationale was distinctly Christian-liberal. Such a repeal was a matter of morality, of love for humanity and justice, and of removing intolerant and illiberal excrescences from a liberal Constitution. These were sufficient reasons for Wergeland. The traditional grounds for excluding Jews were discussed at the same time, but were rejected as outdated and as a product of prejudice.

Wergeland himself stated that the Jews’ faith had contributed to their forming “a civic society of their own” and that this had contributed both to the Christians’ hatred of them and to objections to Jewish civil liberties.²⁰⁰ As long as they fulfilled their civic duties, how Jews arranged their internal affairs was nobody’s concern. He referred to the Quakers as examples of religiously motivated exceptions to the legislation in Norway. Wergeland gathered historical evidence that Jews could be good citizens. Nations that had taken Jews in had no reason to regret their liberality, he explained, but rather reaped the benefits of their fairness.²⁰¹

199 *Tidende for Forhandlingerne ved Provindsialstænderne for Sjællands, Fyens og Lollands-Falsters Stifter samt for Island og Færøerne*. 2den Række. 1838 (Kjøbenhavn og Roeskilde: Brødrene Berling, 1839), N.20. Sagen angaaende Kammerraad Drewsens Forslag om Mosaisternes Valgbarhed til Stænderforsamlingerne: [Minutes of the Estate Assembly of Zealand, Funen and Lolland-Falster], 571.

200 Proposal for the Repeal of Article 2 of the Constitution, final Clause, dated June 1839. Published in Henrik Wergeland, *Indlæg i Jødesagen, til Understøttelse for Forslaget om Ophævelse af Norges Grundlovs § 2, sidste Passus* (Kristiania: Malling, 1841), 9.

201 Wergeland, *Indlæg i Jødesagen*, 5.

Wergeland's proposal was formally submitted by Representative Søren Anton Wilhelm Sørensen (1793–1853), and the Storting decided to consider it in the subsequent assembly (1842). Wergeland prepared his case through a thorough reasoning of the proposal, published as *Indlegg i Jødesagen* [Contribution to the Case of the Jews] in 1841. Here, too, he spent a great deal of time discussing the political suitability of the Jews as citizens. He rebutted claims that Jews were a separate nationality. Two thousand years ago they were, but now no more.²⁰² The Mosaic Law was not a political instrument or a tool for state governance, but had a religious function. The Jews would surrender their civil autonomy if they were only granted civil rights. He derived substance for his argument that Jews were loyal to the laws of the state from the answers that Napoleon's Sanhedrin had declared to be Jewish doctrines.²⁰³

The Storting's constitutional committee benefited greatly from this and other writings Wergeland set forth, but also did a thorough job of its own, including obtaining statements from a variety of sources.

The legislative preparations and the debates in the Storting showed that notions of the Jewish political threat were no longer hegemonic in 1842. The subject was taken up by many, but rejected by most as no longer relevant. The opposition was now rather motivated by fear of undesirables and – for Christian merchants – unfair rivalry for trade, and by formal legal objections. The latter particularly concerned the prohibition belonging to the founding principles of the Constitution, and, pursuant to paragraph 112, could not therefore be changed. But it was also about the relationship between the Constitution and the Civil Code. It was almost hypocritical to remove the prohibition in the Constitution as long as the proscriptions on Jews in Christian V's Norwegian Code were still in force. In addition, several opponents claimed that public opinion was not yet ripe for such a revision and that it should therefore be put on hold.

Although the exchange and trade committees in the largest cities emphasised how detrimental Jewish competition and commercial morality would be for Norwegian business, it was especially among these that politically inclined objections continued to be activated as an additional argument against the repeal. The exchange committee in Drammen split down the middle. One half was of the opinion that Jews were undesirable as citizens. They could not be trusted to be good citizens primarily because they lacked consideration for the common good of society. They only thought of short-term financial gain and

202 Wergeland, *Indlæg i Jødesagen*, 27.

203 Wergeland, *Indlæg i Jødesagen*, 36.

“wanted to form a State within the State.”²⁰⁴ There was no elaboration upon what they meant by the latter, but the phrase was obviously seen as a standard argument with self-evident validity and rhetorical heft.

The Bergen exchange committee, of which Eidsvoll founding father Fredrik Meltzer (1779–1855) was one of four members, did not make use of the term, but argued that Jews would not make Norway their homeland. As long as the Jew did not commingle with other peoples, and as long as he considered his proper homeland to be beyond Europe, he would use any potential opportunity to extract assets from the country.²⁰⁵ In Trondheim, too, the exchange committee raised political objections. Jews were “still less suited to absolute Emancipation,” and the committee had no faith that Jews who would apply to Norway “would be able to break free from the great political People to the Extent that they would become better Citizens than Jews in General.”²⁰⁶

The Supreme Court was consulted, but considered only whether the ban belonged to those parts of the Constitution that could not be changed, i.e. the founding principles, and not the prohibition itself. The Faculty of Theology, on the other hand, debated whether there was anything in the Jewish faith and morals that set the religion in opposition to the laws and institutions of the country. In that case, they explained, the state had the right to exclude them. And in that event, they continued, it would not be the state that excluded them, but the Jews who would exclude themselves from the state. Still, as the faculty assessed the matter there were no such contradictions between Judaism and state law. The Old Testament provided no reason to believe that Jews could not fulfil every civil obligation that the laws of a Christian state might impose on them.²⁰⁷

However, the faculty found it incumbent to stress that in addition to the Old Testament, a large number of Jews, namely the “Rabbanites or Talmudists,” also made use of the Talmud and other rabbinical writings in their doctrines. In these there were “Commandments and Teachings that, if heeded, placed the Jew in decided Contradiction to the legal and moral Order of our State.” The faculty pro-

204 Exchange committee in Drammen. Reproduced here from *Granskeren*, no. 20–21 (16 April 1842): 88. The originals of the exchange and trade committees statements are held in the Storting’s Archive, attachment SEP 362, 1848 and are also available as facsimiles on the Storting’s web pages: <https://www.stortinget.no/no/Stortinget-og-demokratiet/Historikk/Historisk-dokumentasjon/Jodeparagrafen/Kronologi/1842/>, accessed 10 August 2017.

205 Exchange committee in Bergen. Reproduced here from *Granskeren*, no. 20–21 (16 April 1842): 91.

206 Exchange committee in Trondheim. Reproduced here from *Granskeren*, no. 20–21 (16 April 1842): 92.

207 Opinion of the Faculty of Theology, sourced here from *Granskeren*, no. 20–21 (16 April 1842): 86f.

vided some examples of this, taken from Schmidt-Phiseldek's writings of 1817 (*Om den jødiske Nations hidtilværende Forhold til det christne Borgersamfund og dets Omdannelse i Fremtiden* [On the Jewish Nation's Present Relationship to Christian Civil Society, and its Transformation in the Future]). This included, among other things, the credibility of Jews in the swearing of oaths and testimonies, and their alleged contempt towards and demands for isolation against all non-Jews. As such, the faculty did not dismiss descriptions that were promulgated as valid during the Scandinavian Jewish feuds around 1814.

The faculty did, however, reject the relevance of rabbinic scriptures to 1840s Judaism. They believed most Jews no longer recognised rabbinic scriptures as doctrines, or at least no longer lived by them. Here the faculty referred to the argument regarding Jewish suffrage at the Roskilde consultative assembly in 1838. The assembly there had used the royally approved textbook on the Mosaic faith as its basis when it determined that Danish Jews no longer considered themselves a nation and no longer followed Talmudic teachings that might render them unfit to enjoy full civil liberties.²⁰⁸

There was, however, a distrustful scepticism behind the faculty's assessments. If Jews were to gain access to the country, there was reason to be cautious. They were not to be granted any exemptions from civil obligations, and Jews who immigrated should also be required to pledge that they would submit to the country's "Morality and legal Order."²⁰⁹ It is not known whether the faculty were familiar with von Kortum's book from 1795, but in this demand at least it settled along the same lines as him.

The Storting's constitutional committee was in close proximity to the Faculty of Theology in its assessments, apart from the demand for pledges. Even though the Talmud contained formulations hostile to Christians, there were also many statements there with the "opposite Tendency," the committee argued. The hostility thus had to be understood as the ill will of some rabbis who had been provoked by Christian persecution.²¹⁰ The committee did not believe that the problematic parts of the Talmud were applicable to Jews any longer, which they discerned was demonstrated by Jewish religious teaching. However, examples

208 Opinion of the Faculty of Theology, sourced here from *Granskeren*, no. 20–21 (16 April 1842): 87.

209 Opinion of the Faculty of Theology, sourced here from *Granskeren*, no. 20–21 (16 April 1842): 88.

210 Report of the Constitutional Committee *Stortingsforhandlinger*. Del 9. Konstitusjonskomiteens innstilling til endring i Grunnlovens § 2 (1842), 281. [Records of the Proceedings of the Norwegian Parliament (Storting). Part 9. Recommendation from the standing Constitutional Committee regarding amendments to article 2 in the Constitution (1842)].

from history were the strongest arguments for repudiating that Jews and the Jewish religion were maliciously antagonistic towards Christians. In countries where Jews were afforded dignified treatment, they had shown themselves to be “good Citizens and good People.” And the committee continued with examples from several countries: “Everywhere there is reputable Evidence of the Jews’ civic Spirit, of their faithful Compliance with civic Obligations and their Charity towards Jews and Christians alike, which must erase any Notion of hostile Disposition.”²¹¹

The proposal received a majority of votes, but not one large enough to be able to expunge the ban from the Constitution. Farmers in Southern and Western Norway, especially, contributed towards this.²¹² Relatively few of them are referred to in the debate on the paragraph, and their motives are therefore obscured in the shadows of history.

The hegemonic representations of the emancipation period were thus confronted in the Norwegian debate on paragraph 2 in the 1840s, but on the whole were rejected as irrelevant and, rather, met with counter-representations. Notions about the Jews’ deficient qualities as citizens were seen as exaggerated, and, in any case, as a relic of the past.

In the same way that Jewish history, from slavery in Egypt up to the emancipation era, served as a reservoir of examples to substantiate insurmountable contradictions between Jews and Christians – between selfishness, disloyalty, and separatism on the one hand, and public spiritedness, patriotism, and respect for the law on the other – recent history played an opposing role in the 1840s. Now, experiences in countries where Jews lived were used as evidence that they were indeed good, loyal citizens. Especially where Jews had been granted civil rights, the perception of many was now that they were of use to society. Thus, any moral failure of Jews in the past was explained as the consequence of oppression and persecution, and not as inherently Jewish attributes. In this way, threads in the view of Jews in Norway in the 1840s could be traced back to Dohm’s understanding in the 1780s.

The ban on Jews came up four times in the Storting before it was finally repealed. The political arguments for banning them grew less legitimate in the Storting debates, and were heard less frequently. Ole Gabriel Ueland (1799–1870) and Theis Lundegaard (1774–1856), both farmers from southwestern Norway, stressed their scepticism of Jewish loyalty in 1845 by claiming that experi-

²¹¹ Report of the Constitutional Committee. *Stortingsforhandlinger*. Del 9. Konstitusjonskomiteens innstilling til endring i Grunnlovens § 2 (1842), 281. [Records of the Proceedings of the Norwegian Parliament (Storting). Part 9. Recommendation from the standing Constitutional Committee regarding amendments to article 2 in the Constitution (1842)].

²¹² Stensby, *Religionsfrihetens gjennombrudd i Norge*, 123.

ence had taught people to distance themselves from those they could not live alongside in peace.²¹³ But these two were exceptions in the debate, and they were robustly challenged.²¹⁴ Some representatives continued to take refuge behind the masses, arguing that as long as public opinion was not ripe for receiving Jews as their brothers and fellow citizens, the repeal ought to be postponed.²¹⁵ Interestingly enough, the Jews were also portrayed as “the people of the law,” a people who were therefore especially suited to compliance with the rules and laws of the state. It was a strong counter-representation to accusations of their lack of resolve to abide by the laws of the king.²¹⁶

After 1851, no distinction was made between Jews and adherents of other religions outside the state church in Norway. Indeed, it became necessary to amend the legislation concerning the oath that had to be sworn in order to obtain citizenship or voting rights.²¹⁷ Adjustments were also required with regard to marriages in which one party belonged to the state church and the other to a dissenting congregation, Christian or Jewish.

It was still only professors of the Evangelical Lutheran state religion who had full political rights. Until 1878, they alone were allowed to hold public office.²¹⁸ This was regulated by Article 93 of the Constitution: “Only Norwegian

213 *Storthings-Efterretninger*. 1836–1854, udgivne efter offentlig Foranstaltning. 2. Forhandlingerne paa tiende ordentlige Storting 1842 og ellefte ordentlige Storting 1845 (Christiania: Jacob Dybwads Forlag, 1893), 539. [Unofficial Records of the Proceedings of the Norwegian Parliament (Storting). Parliamentary debates 1836–1854, including debates in 1842 and 1845]. Lundegaard was also a representative at the Constitutional Assembly in 1814.

214 Sørensen demanded that Ueland produce evidence of the Jews’ lack of peacefulness. To the contrary, he believed that the Jews had shown themselves to be “as good Citizens as the Country’s own Children” when the Jews were treated well. (*Storthings-Efterretninger*, 1836–1854 vol. 2 (1842), 539. As late as 1851 the Jews’ ethics were used as an argument against granting them rights. (Ytteborg in *Storthings-Efterretninger*. 1836–1854, udgivne efter offentlig Foranstaltning. 3. Forhandlingerne paa tolvte ordentlige Storting 1848 og trettende ordentlige Storting 1851 (Christiania: Jacob Dybwads Forlag, 1904), 842).

215 See for example Representative Carl Andreas Fougstad (1806–1871) in 1848. *Storthings-Efterretninger*, 1836–1854. vol 3 (1851), 463.

216 Representative Hans Holmboe (1798–1868) addressed this in 1848: “Everyone knew that while our Religion made us the People of the Gospel, the Jews were the People of the Law, and for that Reason one could know with Certainty that in their Actions they would not offend the civil Order.” *Storthings-Efterretninger*, 1836–1854 vol. 3 (1848), 465. He repeated this in 1851. *Storthings-Efterretninger*, 1836–1854 vol. 3 (1851), 840.

217 Resolusjon [Royal Resolution] 22 December 1853 adapted the oath for Jewish citizens. The Marriage Act 22 June 1863.

218 Public officers (embetsmenn) were appointed by the king and represented the intellectual and political elite in Norway.

Citizens who profess the Evangelical Lutheran Religion, have pledged Faith to the Constitution and the King, and who speak the Nation's Language, must be appointed to Offices of State.” But this was not a reflection of anti-Jewish policy as much as a pro-Evangelical Lutheran one. Other religious dissenters, including Jews and Christians who were not members of the state church, were excluded. In addition, there was also a requirement that they had to have been born as Norwegians or resided in the kingdom for at least ten years. This exclusion of Norwegians of dissenting religious faith was discontinued in 1878 for all officials except judges and ministers.²¹⁹ In the early part of the 20th century the obligation for teachers to profess faith was also curtailed.²²⁰ As such, religious freedom was still an expression of toleration, not an equal right for all, not even for all Christians.

A European transition

There is no doubt that the 'Jewish question' went through some distinct discursive phases in relatively few decades. From the 1780s on, the emancipation process triggered a discursive struggle in which Jews were on the one hand portrayed as politically unfit to be citizens, and on the other as potential citizens if they were “improved.” This was a nationally oriented discourse that seemed intensely exclusionary, despite the fact that restrictions on Jews were dismantled in some areas. This was at a time when for many, toleration was not perceived as the counterpart of intolerance, but as two aspects of the same attitude. Choosing exclusion over toleration was neither particularly controversial nor an abnormal product of the same aversion, especially to what was known as Talmudic Judaism.

Representations that associated Jews with terms such as *state within the state*, as well as political and social separatism – and thus as a potential danger to state sovereignty, at the very least – received broad support in Scandinavia. It was a hegemonic representation across all levels of society, including within the administration, political authorities and, indeed, among reform-minded Jews. It

219 Norges offentlige utredning (NOU) 1975:30. *Stat og kirke* (Oslo: Kirke- og undervisningsdepartementet, 1975), 15. [Official Norwegian Reports] In 1892 the obligation to profess faith also ceased to apply for judges, and from 1919 for cabinet ministers too, with the condition that half the government had to be Evangelical Lutheran.

220 NOU 1975:30, 15. Teachers' obligation to profess faith was adjusted somewhat in 1915 and 1917; thereafter only school management, school inspectors, and teachers of religious studies had to be members of the state church.



geb. von Carl Heugger

**Habts Acht! Nehmt euch zusam Hascheln! mer kumen zu gehen vor unsern
Kummandanten sein Haus! Regimentstremler! schlog ein! trum! bum! trum!**

Wiener Karikatur auf die Emanzipation der Juden. 1848

Figure 4.8: Jews were set on an equal civil and political footing with other citizens in a number of states in the aftermath of the 1848 revolutions. This is an Austrian cartoon from the same year passing on old allegations that Jews will exploit civil and political emancipation in order to gain profits and promote self-interest, in a detrimental manner to the society at large.

was precisely such understandings that prompted central authorities towards a more active Jewish assimilation policy.

From the end of the 1830s, the Jewish question again entered a new discursive phase. Now the assessment of Jews in Norway was not primarily a matter of economic danger or political appropriateness, but a discussion that was conducted within a Christian-liberal discourse. It was un-Christian to shut them out; it was illiberal and intolerant, and it testified to a lack of charity for one's neighbour. If the state was meant to be founded upon an Evangelical Lutheran religion, the prohibition on Jews would have to be jettisoned. One could not both fulfil one's moral obligations as a true Christian and at the same time support the ban on Jews.



Figure 4.9: “Repulsed but not discouraged.” Satirical print from 1830 of a Jew trying to enter the Parliament when admission of Jews was discussed and rejected. “Pray let me in! I am sure I shall / Behave myself, as well as some, / whom you have admitted.” Jews were not electable to the British parliament until 1858.

This change in Norway in the 1840s had its parallels in many other European states, such as in neighbouring Scandinavian countries and in German states, and led to a new emancipation phase for Jews towards the end of the decade. Jewish rights were discussed in the national assemblies of all three Scandinavian countries. In Sweden, the national assembly demonstrated a strong resolve to exclude as late as 1841, and the same can be said of the Jutland consultative assembly in 1838. There was also a marked desire in the eastern Denmark consultative assembly to maintain the restriction on Jewish rights. In both the Swedish parliament and in the Danish assemblies, the conceptions of the emancipation era were still vivid and active, and had the power to mobilise anti-Jewish opposition.

The 1840s, however, constituted an important dividing line. Restrictions on Jews were again stripped back towards the end of the decade. From 1842 there was a majority in the Norwegian parliament for the repeal of the Jewish ban. In Sweden, 1841 was the last year the Riksdag suggested further restrictions on Jews. In Denmark, Jews were given fully equal status with other Danish citi-

zens in the Constitution of 1849. The revolutions in a number of European states in 1848 in particular triggered far more liberal policies in many countries.

Not only were restrictions directed especially against Jews again scaled back, but this time political opposition was also far weaker than in the initial phase. It was also typical that this did not happen as part of a “Jewish policy,” but often as an outcome of a general liberalisation that thus came to include Jews too. The notions of Jews as a political peril no longer comprised a clear and common foundation when the enlightened public in Scandinavia debated Jews and their rights as citizens. Of course, they did not vanish entirely, as demonstrated in the Danish Constitutional assembly in 1849, but were to some extent driven to the outer fringes of society.

It was from there that they would later come creeping back – especially in the interwar period – again to be activated in a variety of ways, including among the supposedly enlightened public in Scandinavia.²²¹ The Jewish communities in Denmark and Norway experienced the Holocaust very differently, which in recent years has raised a discussion whether Jews were still considered to be the alien “Other” in Norway during World War II. Even though both countries were occupied and strictly controlled by the Nazi-regime, a majority of the Norwegian Jews were killed while most of the Danish Jews were rescued as a result of an organised evacuation to neutral Sweden. There are a number of reasons for this, including timing of arrests, but some historians have argued that Jews were less integrated in the Norwegian society compared to the Danish. As a consequence, Norwegian Jews, it is argued, were to a lesser degree considered part of the national community than their Danish co-religionists, which allegedly di-

221 On portrayals of Jews in Norway after 1851, see for example Kristine Værnes Anthonisen, *Noen hovedtrekk ved antisemittismen i Norge 1814–1945: med særlig vekt på kirkens holdning* (Diss., The Free Faculty of Theology, 1979); Karl Egil Johansen, “Fordomar og fiendskap – samkjensle og solidaritet: jødane og Israel i norsk kristenliv,” (Norwegian) *Historisk tidsskrift*, vol. 83, no. 4 (2004); Kjetil Braut Simonsen, “*Den store jødebevægelse*.”: *Antisemittiske bilder av jøden i bondeavisene Nationen og Namdalen, 1920–1925* (MA thesis, University of Oslo, 2009); Øivind Kopperud, “Jøden som kulturell konstruksjon i Den norske kirke 1814–1920,” in *Forestillinger om jøder – aspekter ved konstruksjonen av en minoritet 1814–1940*, ed. V. Moe and Ø. Kopperud (Oslo: Unipub, 2011); Andreas Snildal, *An Anti-Semitic Slaughter Law?: The Origins of the Norwegian Prohibition of Jewish Religious Slaughter c. 1890–1930* (PhD Diss., University of Oslo, 2014); Lars Lien, “...Pressen kan kun skrive ondt om jøderne”: *Jøden som kulturell konstruksjon i norsk dags- og vittighetspresse 1905–1925* (PhD diss., University of Oslo, 2015); Bjarte Bruland, *Holocaust i Norge: Registering, deportasjon, tilitetgjørelse* (Oslo: Dreyer forlag, 2017).

minished the efforts within the general public and the Resistance movement to save Jews.²²²

The master narrative of religious otherness as a peril and a danger to the nation, and as an attribute quality disqualifying its bearers from inclusion in civic rights, did not evaporate after the 1840s, however. It found new expressions as typical notions about Jews were assigned to a new religious minority. From the 1840s and 1850s, when the first Mormon missionaries began operating in Europe – in Scandinavia from 1850, it was they who were now portrayed as a theocratic and moral danger, as religious and economic impostors, and referred to as a socially disruptive state within the state. Notions that were no longer generally legitimate to use in reference to Jews were instead projected onto a new religious “peril.”

Exclusion and intolerance were to a far lesser degree considered a legitimate instrument in the state’s politico-religious toolkit compared to the period around 1814. In the 1850s, the historically robust position of religious coercion among political authorities was supplanted by hegemonic Christian liberalism. In Denmark, this was even protected as a right by the Constitution’s codification of religious freedom. How, then, could alleged religious dangers to society be met in Scandinavia?

222 Therkel Stræde, “The ‘Jewish Feud’ in Denmark 1813,” in *The Exclusion of Jews in the Norwegian Constitution of 1814*, ed. Christhard Hoffmann, 120; Einhart Lorenz, “Antisemitische Judenbilder und die norwegische Haltung zur Deportation,” *Jahrbuch für Antisemitismusforschung* vol. 16 (2007): 234. The Norwegian Holocaust has been widely discussed in Norway the last few years, in the aftermath of especially two books with very different approach: Bruland, *Holocaust i Norge*, and Marte Michelet, *Hva visste Hjemmefronten?* (Oslo: Gyldendal, 2018). For an overview of the discussion, see Christhard Hoffmann, “A Marginal Phenomenon?: Historical Research on Antisemitism in Norway, 1814–1945,” in *Antisemitism in the North: History and State of Research*, ed. Jonathan Adams and Cordelia Heß. Series Religious Minorities in the North, vol. 1 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2020), 167 ff. and Øystein Sørensen og Kjetil Braut Simonsen, eds., *Historie og moral: Nazismen, jødene og hjemmefronten* (Oslo: Dreyer, 2020).

5 Islam's sensuous sibling? – the Mormon danger c. 1850 – 1955

A turbulent encounter

“Mormons ought not to be tolerated in Norway,” declared the headline above a piece in the Norwegian newspaper *Morgenbladet* towards the end of 1852. The religion was branded as fabrication and fable. The lower classes were simple minded and superstitious, and therefore defenceless prey in the hands of zealots and religious charlatans. The harm that Jesuits and monastic orders might bring about – in the 1850s both groups were still barred by the Constitution – would be “Child’s play” in comparison to the Mormons. The threat posed by the Mormons was not merely to the salvation of the gullible, but also definitively political:

It is well known that these Mormons are not simply a Party of religious heretics, but far more a political Party that is hostile towards all other People, now even towards the religiously tolerant American Union; and now do we wish to look on in Indifference as this hostile Element is implanted among the common Population of Norway?¹

The anonymous contributor further associated an antagonistic Mormonism with Islam. He considered the two as perilous doctrines, particularly because he believed that both were founded upon sensuality and a devotion to carnal desires, and concluded by stating that the Mormons ought to be incorporated into the Constitution’s exclusionary paragraph.

The day after the Odelsting, the chamber that first considers proposals for laws in the parliament (Storting), undertook on 10 September 1851 to abolish the provision in Christian V’s Norwegian Code of 1687 barring Jews without letters of safe conduct, the first missionary from The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, also called the Mormon Church, arrived in Norway by way of Denmark.² It would be the beginning of a long-lasting and to some extent

1 *Morgenbladet*, 10 December 1852. Contribution by “Theologus.”

2 The Church prefers the full name *The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, and in certain contexts “Mormon” is perceived as derogatory by the Mormons themselves. Until 2018, the Church expressed that the use of the term “Mormon” was unproblematic in a number of contexts, however, and even used it itself (this was stated in their style-guide web-page, which is now revised: <https://newsroom.churchofjesuschrist.org/style-guide>). Following an alleged divine revelation, the church’s president Russel M. Nelson issued an official statement 16 August 2018, urging people to avoid the term “mormon” and initiated name changes within the Church. For instance, the famous Mormon Tabernacle Choir changed the name to The Tabernacle Choir.

irreconcilable conflict between a persistent and outspoken religious community on the one hand, and a religious majority society and Norwegian government on the other. The same was true of the other Scandinavian nations after the first missionaries from the Mormon Church arrived in 1850.

The Scandinavian Mission in Copenhagen had been established by the Americans Erastus Snow (1818–1888) and George Parker Dykes (1814–1888) alongside the Dane Peter O. Hansen (1818–1894) and the Swede John Forsgren (1816–1890). The latter two had converted to Mormonism in the United States. According to historian Jørgen Wurtz Sørensen, the Danish capital was chosen because the religious freedoms manifested within the country's Constitution furnished them with expectations of being able to operate without obstruction.³ Forsgren was soon sent onwards to his country of origin in Sweden, while Dykes left for Aalborg. With the exception of immigrants from Norway already in the United States, it was in this Norwegian-Danish city that the first Norwegians were converted, and it was from here too that the first missionaries traveled to Norway in the autumn of 1851.⁴

John Forsgren went to Gävle, north of Stockholm, and his own family were among the first Swedish converts in the summer of 1850. He quickly gained a following, and soon attracted the attention of the authorities. He was arrested and deported via Stockholm shortly thereafter.⁵ In Copenhagen it was particularly among the Baptists that the missionaries operated, and it was from among these that the first were baptised as Mormons.

Whereas in 1814 Jews were an abstraction in the Norwegian context, and largely remained so until the middle of the 19th century, after 1851 the Mormons were a highly tangible and present group throughout Scandinavia. Not only did they cross national borders; they also pursued hugely enterprising missionary activities that were perceived by many contemporaries as neither humble nor meek. On the contrary, the Mormons were felt to be insistent and religiously ar-

In the academic sphere, the term “mormon” is widespread, and reflected in terms like “mormon history studies” and institutionalised in *Journal of Mormon History* and the Mormon History Association. Because it is not practical to use the full name in the discussion, and because the Church was spoken of in these terms in the period being dealt with, the term “Mormon” will also be used here.

3 Jørgen Wurtz Sørensen, “Vilkaarlig voldsomhed: Mormonforfølgelser i Danmark i 1850erne,” *Historie/Jyske samlinger*, new series 17 (1987): 56.

4 Gerald M. Haslam, *The Norwegian Experience with Mormonism, 1842–1920* (PhD diss., Brigham Young University, 1981), 58. Later published as G.M. Haslam, *Clash of Cultures: The Norwegian Experience with Mormonism, 1842–1920* (New York: Peter Lang, 1984), 58.

5 A. Dean Wengreen, *A History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints in Sweden, 1850–1905* (PhD diss., Brigham Young University, 1968), 44.

rogant. This was in stark contrast to the Jewish community's traditional abstinence from proselytising and missionarying throughout Europe. This assertiveness immediately generated powerful countermoves from the dominant religious denomination and the state institutions that supported it, and in all countries there were incidences of arrests and prosecutions. Even mob violence was quite common, especially in Denmark, but certainly not exclusively there.⁶ The 1850s, in particular, represented a period of persecution, hostility and increasing anti-Mormon agitation in all of Scandinavia.⁷

The Mormons were nevertheless rather successful. In the period between 1850 and 1905, about 47,000 Scandinavians converted. Among them, around 30,000 emigrated to the Mormon *Zion* in Utah.⁸ Half of these converts were Danish, while 36 per cent were Swedish and 14 per cent Norwegian.⁹ In Norway, more than 2,500 had converted by the end of the 1860s, a majority of them women.¹⁰ As a result the national census of 1865 registered 1,038 Mormons in the country, constituting the largest religious group outside the state church.¹¹ After England, Scandinavia became the most important region for the Mormon mission in Europe.

A common Mormon missionary activity was to approach potential converts, often among the poor and dispossessed, within their domestic spheres. Mormon tracts were published in Scandinavia beginning in 1850; publication figures soon reached enormous numbers. By 1881 the total circulation of Mormon literature (tracts, periodicals and books) had reached 1,840,750 in Danish/Norwegian and 275,600 in Swedish.¹² Among these, the fortnightly periodical *Skandinaviens Stjerne* [Star of Scandinavia] was the most prominent channel for information from the Mormons, with an average circulation of 1,500 copies. In plain and accessible language, the missionaries were clearly relaying a convincing message. In 1956, the Dutch-American historian William Mulder discussed the image of

6 Sørensen, "Vilkaarlig voldsomhed," provides detailed examples of mob violence against Mormon missionaries in Denmark in the 1850s.

7 See William Mulder, "Mormons from Scandinavia, 1850–1900: A Shepherded Migration," *Pacific Historical Review*, vol. 23, no. 3 (August 1954); William Mulder, "Image of Zion: Mormonism as an American influence in Scandinavia," *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, vol. 43, no. 1 (June 1956) for studies of the emigration of Scandinavian Mormons.

8 Mulder, "Mormons from Scandinavia," 227.

9 William Mulder, *Homeward to Zion: The Mormon Migration from Scandinavia* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1957), 107.

10 Haslam, *The Norwegian Experience with Mormonism*, table 2: 148.

11 *Statistisk aarbog for Kongeriget Norge. Første Aargang*, 1880 (Kristiania, 1881), table 9: 17. [Statistics Norway].

12 Mulder, "Image of Zion," 24.

Zion among Scandinavian converts and explained the relative success of Mormon missionary activities as being due to their zealous proselyting efforts, which managed to convey a persuasive image of *Zion*.¹³ To Mulder, their success was due to the ability to portray *Zion*, the common term for Utah after the great exodus in 1846–1847, as the Promised Land, a depiction filled with connotations of religious glory and explicit imagery of material progress. In a similar assessment, Helge Seljaas concluded that many Scandinavians who left for Utah were convinced they were joining “a Utopian movement, dedicated to the creation of a society of righteousness, equality, and plenty.”¹⁴ The theologian Eilert Sundt (1817–1875), renowned for his extensive and pioneering sociological studies, also commented upon the persuasiveness of the Mormons whenever they approached the lower classes.¹⁵

By the mid-19th century, Scandinavia was marked by revivalist movements. In Norway, the priest Gustav Adolph Lammers (1802–1878) and professor Gisle Johnson (1822–1894) contributed to a great extent to such revivals, and Lammers gradually abandoned the established church and formed the first congregation of dissenters. Johnson, on the other hand, became a bridge-builder between the clergy of the state church and a laymen’s movement, particularly through his role as academic mentor of pastors destined for the state church. Methodist and Baptist missionaries were also energetic and quite quickly established their own congregations. This led many of the clergy to perceive the religious waters as unsettled after the middle of the century, and that fearsome fishermen were scouting the shores of the state church.

In Denmark the Baptists in particular had made great progress outside the established church, while Grundtvigianism created a revival-like engagement within its framework, as the Moravians and “the strong Jutlanders” (“de stærke jyder”) to a certain extent also did. In Sweden the strict religious laws made it difficult for religious groupings beyond the state church to find fertile ground, but religious minorities – first and foremost the Baptists, who discretely established themselves in the 1850s – contributed towards hastening the process that led to the liberalisation of Sweden’s religious policy.¹⁶ It is also correct to say that laymen’s dissent put the Swedish state church under pressure in the same way as in neighbouring countries. To the north, state church pastor Lars

¹³ Mulder, “Image of Zion,” 19.

¹⁴ Helge Seljaas, “Scandinavian Mormons and their ‘Zion,’” *Scandinavian Studies*, vol. 60, no. 4 (August 1988): 445.

¹⁵ *Morgenbladet*, no. 65 (6 March 1855) and no. 66 (7 March 1855).

¹⁶ Oloph Bexell, “Folkväckelsens och kyrkoförnyelsens tid,” in *Sveriges Kyrkohistoria*, vol. 7 (Stockholm: Verbum, 2003), 41f; Dahlman, *Kyrka och stat*, 372.

Levi Læstadius (1800–1861) formed a revivalist movement in the 1840s known as *Laestadianism*. The lay preacher Carl Olof Rosenius's (1816–1868) activities in the 1840s also acquired great spiritual significance.¹⁷ Both of them were influenced by what was known as the New Reader Movement, which provided the framework for energetic revivals; Rosenius was also influenced by Methodism.

Not all the revivalist movements challenged the established churches; some remained within them. Still, revivalism not only contributed towards strengthening religious life in general, but also towards notions that more liberal legal frameworks for religious practice were desirable. However, Mormonism was widely considered to be too alien and too remote from mainstream Lutheranism to be accepted as a legitimate revivalist movement.

Even though the Mormon missionaries first arrived in Scandinavia in 1850, the public had not been oblivious to their existence. Newspaper reports commented on the phenomenon, and the events related to the origins and growth of Mormonism. In addition, Scandinavian emigrants had come into contact with Mormons, and some had also converted. Clearly, reference to these matters must have been reported in letters sent back to family and friends. The main sources for these early depictions of Mormons in Scandinavia were reprints from American papers and tracts, and thus it is no surprise that the image conveyed was similar to that constructed in America. But accounts of Mormonism with Scandinavians as first-hand sources also depicted similarly derogatory images. A few months before the news of the prophet Joseph Smith's death, *Morgenbladet* published a letter from a Norwegian emigrant.¹⁸ In order to discourage other Norwegians from emigrating, the letter, written in Milwaukee and dated January 1844, described America's numerous ills. One of these was Mormonism, "the most miserable sect imaginable" and an abominable and ridiculous religion that had lured Norwegian emigrants into its fold.

The same concern was conveyed by Johannes W. C. Dietrichson (1815–1883). He was a Norwegian pastor travelling among Norwegian emigrants in America in the period 1844–1850.¹⁹ In Fox River, Illinois, Dietrichson came upon a community with many Norwegian-born Mormon converts. He described a bewildered society marked by devilment and lunacy caused by Mormonism. Dietrichson explained that he confronted local Mormon leaders and their "false teachings," de-

¹⁷ Anders Jarlert, "Romantikkens och liberalismens tid," in *Sveriges Kyrkohistoria*, vol. 6 (Stockholm: Verbum, 2001), 96 ff, 152 ff.

¹⁸ *Morgenbladet*, no. 149 (28 May 1844).

¹⁹ *Morgenbladet* published a letter from him in 1845; the following year he published the account of his travels as a book.

picting the local Elders as furious and irrational.²⁰ The book elaborated extensively on Mormonism because, as he wrote, many Norwegians had converted and there were plans to send Mormon missionaries to Norway. After a presentation of Mormon history and its teachings, Dietrichson wrote: “This is what I have heard about this second Mahumed’s false teachings, which have duped so many.”²¹

Despite Dietrichson’s theological background, his portrayal of Mormonism was not framed solely within a religious discourse. Rather, Mormonism was simply dismissed as a fraud and its adherents as deluded. There was nothing so insane, he continued, that fallen human souls could not be fooled into. With his mysterious, solemn talk, Smith was portrayed as a person with the ability to beguile gullible, ignorant people into believing lies in “powerful delusions.”²² Though Smith was described as a cynical fraud with ambitious political plans, the zeal of the Elders in the local community was explained in terms that sounded medical. Their incoherent talk was a result of a “spirit of confusion,” exemplified by speaking in tongues performed with terrible grimaces and trembling of lips, and Mormon practices were described as “craziness.” In his discussions of Mormonism, Dietrichson did not perceive the new religion as being in confrontation to or conflict with the theology of the dominant Evangelical Lutheran Church, but rather as a hoax that exploited impressionable souls for some devious, non-religious purpose.

Mormonism’s transformation from being an occidental abstraction to a domestic “problem” did not change the hegemonic descriptions of Mormonism in Scandinavia, though the discourse of Mormonism was more often than not also framed within religious terms.

Within a year after the arrival of missionaries, the alarm had spread to clerical and secular authorities in a series of Norwegian coastal towns, from Bergen to Fredrikstad. This soon resulted in imprisonment and convictions for unlawful religious activity.²³ The missioning soon became a “Mormon problem” that would have to be dealt with by central political authorities. The threat that the Mormon missionaries were seen to represent would have to be opposed. This

²⁰ *Morgenbladet*, no. 214 (2 August 1845).

²¹ Johannes W.C. Dietrichson, *Reise blant de norske Emigranter i “De forenede nordamerikanske Fristater”* (Stavanger: Kielland, 1846), 100.

²² Dietrichson, *Reise blant de norske Emigranter*, 100.

²³ See for example Haslam, *The Norwegian Experience with Mormonism*, and Knut Rygnestad, *Dissentarspørsmålet i Noreg frå 1845 til 1891: Lovgjeving og administrativ praksis* (Oslo: Lutherstiftelsens forlag, 1955), 345 ff.



Figure 5.1: “A Desperate Attempt to Solve the Mormon Question.” How four American cartoonists envisioned the life of Mormons and the “Mormon Question.” Both the oriental harem and the octopus with the many far-reaching tentacles were common representation of Mormons. Illustrations by Bernhard Gillam (1856–1896), Frederick Burr Opper (1857–1937), Joseph Ferdinand Keppler (1838–1894) and Friedrich Graetz (1840–1913). Cartoon from *Puck* (13 February, 1884).

danger was in part portrayed as religious due to their “false” religion, which was driving Norwegians away from the Evangelical Lutheran “truth” and towards spiritual damnation. The shepherds of the Lutheran clergy had religious charge of their flock. Those who were converted to Mormonism were viewed as naive and errant victims, and as lambs vulnerable to beasts of prey dressed in sheep’s clothing. The Mormon religion was, however, first and foremost depicted as a fraud in which religious feelings, ceremonies, and modes of expression were abused to achieve other, more worldly aims.²⁴

The Mormons were, therefore, publicly depicted – including in numerous pamphlets, books, and administrative writings – not only as the emissaries of

²⁴ See Frode Ulvund, “Travelling Images and Projected Representations: Perceptions of Mormonism in Norway in the Middle of the 19th Century,” *Scandinavian Journal of History*, no. 2 (2016), for an analysis of the depictions of Mormons in Norway around the mid-19th century.

the devil and as a danger to religion, but even more as a moral and political peril. Although many missionaries were Scandinavian emigrants who were returning as Mormons, they were often associated with Jews, Muslims, Jesuits and communists. In this way, notions about these groups in Norwegian society were also mobilised and projected onto Mormons. Deceptive intentions, theocratic despotism, political disloyalty and the undermining of the state – as well as the immoral carnality of the Orient – were stereotyped traits that this orientalisation also attributed to the Mormons.

By the close of 1853, several branches of the Norwegian government and its institutions were forced to come to a decision on the religious practices of the Mormons. This applied to both clerical and secular authorities at the local, regional and central levels, and drew in the government, the Supreme Court and the university.

In Denmark, the activities of the missionaries not only triggered outrage and anti-Mormon agitation in the public sphere, but also contributed to discussions about how the Constitution's wording on religious freedom ought to be understood. After 1849, a lack of civil legislation on the practice of religious freedom created space for a variety of interpretations and differing local practices by the police and authorities – at the national level too, for that matter. A private bill on religious freedom, related particularly to the marriage contract, was raised in the first parliamentary assembly of 1850 and came up for debate at the end of the year.²⁵ It aroused widespread comment. In Aalborg, this was mobilised by the sending of a letter of protest to the Folketing (the second chamber of parliament) demanding a provisional rejection or postponement of the bill precisely on the grounds of the recent Mormon activity in the city.²⁶ The bill also motivated the Bishop of Zealand, Jacob Peter Mynster, to publish a discursive pamphlet on the Constitution's provisions towards religious freedom.²⁷

He argued that as long as no law was adopted to regulate freedom of religion, older provisions regulating rights and obligations within the religious sphere (such as marriage) were still to be regarded as valid.²⁸ The bishop was of the opinion that marriage, in particular, was an especially vital foundation for the preservation of society's order and morality.

²⁵ Rasmussen, *Religionstolerance og religionsfrihed*, 243.

²⁶ *Aalborg Amtstidende*, 21 December 1850. Here from Jørgen W. Schmidt, *En dansk mormonbiografi 1837–1984* (Forlaget Moroni ApS, 1984), 1.

²⁷ Jacob Peter Mynster, *Grundlovens Bestemmelser med Hensyn til kirkelige Forhold i Danmark* (Kjøbenhavn, 1850).

²⁸ Mynster, *Grundlovens Bestemmelser*, 11.

The inclination of various sects to introduce “loose, even licentious, principles” made it doubly necessary to exercise vigilance here. Freedom of religion could be restricted so that no religious movement would threaten the peace and security of the state. He considered Catholicism as a particular danger here. It had renewed its “State of war” against Danish society and was backed by a “mighty Hierarchy, widespread in innumerable branches, of the powerful and tireless influence of Jesuitism [...]”²⁹ Mynster, however, harboured less fear about Catholicism’s ability to capture Danish hearts. On the other hand he called attention to Mormonism, which “has recently sent emissaries to the Country.” On the basis of articles in *Tidskrift for Svenska Kyrkan* [Journal of the Swedish Church], he portrayed Mormonism as a fraudulent religion, a secular political project sustained by military forces and violent “Danites” displaying blind obedience to their leaders, and especially to the commands of the prophet.³⁰

The ways in which the arrival of Mormonism truly put an understanding of Danish religious freedom at risk were revealed three years after Mynster’s pamphlet. At that time, and under pressure from the clergy of the state church, the parliament (Rigsdagen) began discussing draft legislation aimed at banning Mormonism in Denmark.³¹

Absolutely key to the assessment of Mormonism in all Scandinavian countries were conceptions of Mormonism and its leaders drawn from the religion’s history in the United States, and the conflict taking place between the Mormon religious community and secular US authorities.

The American context

The Mormon religion originated in the state of New York in the 1820s, a period when this particular region was characterised by powerful religious revivals of a charismatic nature.³² The religion’s founder, Joseph Smith (1805 – 1844), claimed

²⁹ Mynster, *Grundlovens Bestemmelser*, 15.

³⁰ Mynster, *Grundlovens Bestemmelser*, 22.

³¹ Julie K. Allen, *Danish, But Not Lutheran: The Impact of Mormonism on Danish Cultural Identity, 1850–1920* (Salt Lake City: The University of Utah Press, 2017), 68.

³² For a clear account of the history of the Mormons in the USA, see Matthew Bowman, *The Mormon People: The Making of an American Faith* (Westminster: Random House, 2012). An older standard work is Leonard Arrington, and Davis Bitton, *The Mormon Experience: A History of the Latter-day Saint* (New York: Knopf, 1979). A standard work on “The Second Great Awakening,” the great revival period in the USA circa 1790–1850, is Whitney Cross, *The Burned-Over District: The Social and Intellectual History of Enthusiastic Religion in Western New York, 1800–1850* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1951). The region in which Joseph Smith grew up was part

that following a revelation he was guided to buried golden plates bearing inscriptions. In the Mormon narrative, he is portrayed as a prophet who, with divine help, was able to decode the legends. This became the sacred Book of Mormon. It tells the tale of an Israeli people who abandoned the Middle East and settled in America around 600 BCE. There, the group split into two nations that soon came into conflict – and in the end more or less obliterated one another. After the crucifixion, Jesus revealed himself among these American Israelites. The last military leader of one of the groups, by the name of Mormon, was given the responsibility of preserving history, and this would go on to be completed by his son Moroni. The golden plates that Smith is reported to have found were said to have been written by these two.

In 1830, following alleged divine instruction and on the basis of the Book of Mormon, Smith formed the religious community The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Central to the theology was a rejection of the Holy Trinity, since Mormons considered God, Jesus, and the Holy Spirit to be separate entities. The first two were also regarded as physical beings, and like them, all human beings had the potential to become like God, a religious advancement especially possible for devotees who had gathered in Zion. Mormonism rejects sacraments that are crucial to several Christian faiths, not least in the state church. A prominent example is the christening of children. In addition to giving the Book of Mormon equal status to the Bible, the doctrine encouraged continual revelation. First Smith and later his successors as prophets regularly claimed to have received divine revelations that granted revisions and adaptations to the religion's doctrines and tenets a religious authority.

Joseph Smith first established a community in Kirtland in the US state of Ohio, but identified Jackson County in Missouri as a future Zion and the site of Jesus's coming. Mormon communities were in part based along the principles of communalism, and were able to acquire control over significant local property and resources.³³ Soon confrontations arose between the Mormons and their non-Mormon neighbours. Some of these altercations were also violent. They were partly triggered by religious conflicts, but also by fear of Mormon communities' political and economic power.³⁴ Chief grievances were allegations that the Mor-

of what was called the “burned-over district,” an area (the western part of New York state) that was particularly characterised by this revival, especially in the 1820s.

³³ For a discussion on communalism, see for example Matthew J. Grow and Bradley Kime, “Mormon Communalism and Millennialism in Trans-Atlantic Context,” in *Protestant Communalism in the Trans-Atlantic World, 1650–1850*, ed. Philip Lockley, The series Christianities in the Trans-Atlantic World, 1500–1800 (London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2016).

³⁴ Bowman, *The Mormon People*, 32ff.

mons formed segregated and exclusive theocratic communities. Many non-Mormons perceived that they were being driven away by the growing Mormon communities, which they claimed displayed loyalty to their religious leaders before the secular authorities, and which bolstered their political and economic strength militarily by means of an armed brigade.

Smith's contention that the Mormons would inherit Missouri after the return of Jesus provoked the state's landowners, as did the Mormons' intense opposition to slavery. Communities of this religious group could economically dominate local markets. The Mormons were viewed as politically coordinated, as a monolithic electorate capable of taking over a position of political leadership at the local and regional level. In 1844, Joseph Smith even stood as presidential candidate.

A direct, armed conflict with Missouri state authorities prompted the state governor to issue an "extermination order." This purge led to the Mormons establishing a new centre with theocratic ambitions in the city of Nauvoo, Illinois. Here history repeated itself, and this time clashes with neighbouring communities resulted in Smith being killed in prison by a mob in 1844. This occurred after he was arrested for destroying a printing press that was publishing stories of polygamy among Mormon leaders.³⁵

Brigham Young (1801–1877), Smith's successor as prophet and the new religious leader of the Mormons, spearheaded an exodus to the west. In 1847, the Mormons settled in the desert west of the Rocky Mountains, at that time formally part of Mexico. As a result of the warfare between the United States and its southern neighbour, this area became part of the United States, organised as the territory of Utah in 1850, and Brigham Young became its first governor. Fresh and prolonged confrontations were triggered by federal attempts to incorporate the territory politically and legally more closely into the Union. In 1852, the Mormon Church of Utah confirmed that polygamy was an official doctrine, dramatically exacerbating the relationship between the federal government and Mormon-controlled Utah.

In 1856, the Republican Party declared slavery and polygamy as "the twin relics of barbarism," putting the fight against both at the top of the agenda. An armed conflict broke out between Mormon-controlled Utah and the federal government in 1857–58, becoming known as "The Utah War" and "The Mormon War." A significant proportion of the US Army was sent west, and federal forces

³⁵ For a comprehensive study on the Mormon theocratic project in Nauvoo, and the conflicts arising from it, see Benjamin E. Park, *Kingdom of Nauvoo: The Rise and Fall of a Religious Empire on the American Frontier* (New York: Liveright, 2020).



Figure 5.2: “Last Public Address Of Lieutenant General Joseph Smith,” painting by John Hafén (1856–1910), 1888. Smith was not only portrayed as a religious prophet, but also as a political leader commanding his own Militia (the Nauvoo Legion). John Hafén was a Mormon and the painting is an example of how this was also the understanding among Mormons. As a result of a federal order, the Nauvoo Legion was dissolved in 1887, the year before Hafén painted the motif.

occupied the territory. Although Young was subsequently replaced as governor, tensions and stark antagonisms remained an essential element in the relationship between Utah and the federal government.

It was only when the Church in Salt Lake City officially departed from polygamy as a doctrine in 1890 that granting Utah the status of a state came up for consideration. This change in doctrine occurred after the United States Supreme Court confirmed the legality of making polygamy a federal crime. It was furthermore decided that polygamists could be deprived of such political rights as the right to vote and eligibility for public office and jury service. To avoid having to

prove that marriage had taken place, concubinage (cohabitation) was also prohibited.³⁶ This initiated a legal offensive against polygamists and Mormon leaders, and was vital for the adoption of federal authority and legislation in Utah.

Anti-Mormon representations in the United States

American society was characterised by religious pluralism, yet was completely dominated by Protestant confessionality. Although the regime of the state church was abolished in all states at the beginning of the 1830s, Christian values and Christian morality formed the basis for the state's policy making. Unwelcome religions – especially non-Protestant ones – were obstructed in a variety of ways. This long applied to Catholicism, and from the 1830s to Mormonism as well.³⁷

The obstruction of religious communities in the United States in the 19th century was not unproblematic (see Chapter 2). As a consequence of pluralism, the emphasis on religious freedom was a necessary factor in the building of an American nation, and the authorities were protective of religious freedom as a concept.³⁸ It therefore became important to shape an image of the United States as a land of religious freedom. The battle against non-Protestants could be legitimised as *nativism* – the favouring and protection of peoples and cultures that were perceived as particularly American, which in practice would mean white Protestants.³⁹ This also had implications for the way the Mormon religion was portrayed in the majority society.

During the 19th century, typical descriptions of Mormonism went through a variety of phases. In its early decades it was often portrayed as a religious deception, and its founders as religious frauds. As such, Mormonism was not recognised as an authentic religion. Throughout the second half of the 19th century it was regarded as a religion, but construed as a strange sect that put emphasis on norms and values that could be labelled as un-American and un-Christian.⁴⁰

³⁶ Sarah Barringer Gordon, *The Mormon Question: Polygamy and Constitutional Conflict in Nineteenth-Century America* (Chapel Hill and London: The University of North Carolina, 2002).

³⁷ Philip Jenkins, *The New Anti-Catholicism: The Last Acceptable Prejudice* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).

³⁸ See Ulvund, "Travelling Images and Projected Representations."

³⁹ A standard work on nativism is Ray Allen Billington, *The Protestant Crusade, 1800–1860: A Study of the Origins of American Nativism* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1938).

⁴⁰ Fluhman, 'A Peculiar People', 8.

In a seminal work on Mormon representations, the American literary scholar and religious historian Terryl Givens has concluded that an American investment in the notion of religious freedom had a major impact on how the Mormons could be portrayed. Since the exercise of religious oppression was illegitimate, a non-religious discourse had to be grounded in a Protestant defence against an emergent non-Protestant religion. The persecution of Mormonism, therefore, had to be removed from the sphere of religion and secularised.⁴¹ Instead of portraying the “Mormon peril” as religious, it was depicted as a threat to the institutions and core societal values of America. This led to Mormons being represented as fanatical and as a socio-political danger, and consequently oppression and persecution could be justified rather as legitimate controls on a danger threatening the upheaval of society, and not as sanctimonious hypocrisy and opposition to a deviant religion. In the abundant research literature on anti-Mormonism in the United States, it is these very interpretations that are consistently put to use.⁴²

Mormon self-representations undoubtedly contributed towards alienation, particularly by way of its active association to Judaism. Theologically, visions of a Zion, a future gathering place for righteous devotees, were crucial. After the migration to Utah in the late 1840s, *exodus* also became part of the Mormon self-narrative.⁴³ The narrative of being a chosen group with its own covenant with God, the use of the term *gentiles* to refer to individuals outside the religion – a practice with clear Jewish parallels – as well as deliberate segregation from the non-Mormon environment, all helped create a kind of Jewish and Old Testament self-image and a connection to an ancient culture of the Orient. The doctrine of polygamy, of course, had the same effect.

41 Terryl Givens, *The Viper on the Hearth: Mormons, Myths, and the Construction of Heresy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 18f.

42 In addition to Givens, key literature here is Fluhman, ‘A Peculiar People’; Richard Francaviglia, “Like the Hajis of Meccah and Jerusalem: Orientalism and the Mormon Experience,” in *Leonard J. Arrington Mormon History Lecture Series*, no. 17 (Logan: Utah State University Press, 2001); Gordon, *The Mormon Question*; W. Paul Reeve, *Religion of a Different Color: Race and the Mormon Struggle for Whiteness* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015); Christine Talbot, *A Foreign Kingdom: Mormons and Polygamy in American Political Culture* (Urbana, Chicago, and Springfield: University of Illinois Press, 2013); Christine Talbot, “‘Turkey Is in Our Midst’: Orientalism and Contagion in Nineteenth Century Anti-Mormonism,” *Journal of Law & Family Studies*, vol. 8, no. 1 (2006).

43 See Mulder, “Mormons from Scandinavia”; Mulder, “Image of Zion,” and Seljaas, “Scandinavian Mormons and their ‘Zion,’” for the meaning of “Zion” in the Mormon emigration from Scandinavia.

This association with the Orient quickly led to a link between Mormonism and Islam. Such orientalisation was activated early and often, and was undoubtedly effective.⁴⁴ In the United States at that time, as in Europe, Islam was seen as a kind of archetype of political tyranny that concealed its intentions behind a veil of religious piety.⁴⁵ The parallels that could be drawn between Mormonism and Islam were therefore seductive. Both were understood as theocratic projects in which religious conversion was fanatically fought for by the sword, and both were also understood as religious deceptions based on sensualism and moral debauchery in the form of polygamy, the latter embodied in the sultan's harem. And, as with Islam, Mormonism was conceived of as a hierarchical organisation with violent tendencies, politically and militarily led by a self-proclaimed and despotic prophet. As early as the 1830s, Smith, and then Brigham Young, was therefore often referred to as the Mohammed of the West – or “Yankee Mahomet” – and Mormons as American Mohammedans.⁴⁶

Both Islam and Mormonism were viewed at the time as barbaric ways of organising society, and were associated with societies more “primitive” than that of America.⁴⁷ Particularly after the mid-1800s, this developed into a quasi-ethnification of Mormons, where their physiognomy was illustrated with clear parallels to traditional depictions of Jews and Orientals.⁴⁸ Since Mormonism was portrayed as un-American and ethnically associated with the Orient, the fight against it could be legitimised as patriotism and the protection of the values of the republic. The Mormons have this outsidership, this notion of being a nation both peculiar and foreign – sometimes perceived as being on the outside of, and at other times as a menacing syndicate within the greater nation – in common with Jews in Europe both before and during the period of Jewish emancipation from the 1780s. For both groups, this was also a vital part of their own self-identification and a strategy to preserve their identity and religious beliefs and practices towards a majority society.

The political perception of the threat was to a certain extent material. Especially in local communities – before the migration to the west – there were fears

44 See for example Francaviglia, “Like the Hajis of Meccah and Jerusalem” and Talbot, ““Turkey Is in Our Midst.””

45 Fluhman, ‘*A Peculiar People*’, 38.

46 J. Spencer Fluhman, “An ‘American Mahomet’: Joseph Smith, Muhammad, and the Problem of Prophets in Antebellum America,” *Journal of Mormon History*, vol. 34, no. 3 (Summer 2008): 24.

47 An inspiring account of the western view of the Orient, and how these were constituted, is of course Said, *Orientalism*.

48 Reeve, *Religion of a Different Color*, 16.



Figure 5.3: The Edmunds Act was passed in 1882, named after senator George F. Edmunds (1828–1919) who introduced the bill. As a result, polygamy (including common-law cohabitation), was declared a federal crime. In addition, polygamists were disenfranchised and consequently disqualified as active citizens. In this cartoon, the bill – personified in the figure of Edmunds – is associated with a medieval crusade against an oriental foe. The headgear has the inscription “Mormon Bluebeard.” *Bluebeard* was a mythical figure from a 17th-century French fairy-tale, portrayed as a ruthless and brutal beast molesting and killing captured women. Front page cartoon from the satirical journal *The Judge* (9 January, 1886).

that Mormons would seize power in established political institutions and rule them according to theocratic ideals in which non-Mormons would be suppressed or displaced. By assigning utopian and communalist associations to Mormon communities, they were contrasted in economic and political terms with the American emphasis on individualism, economic liberalism, private capitalism, and private property rights. This enabled notions of communist ideologies in direct conflict with the spirit of the Constitution.

In addition, there was a fear that the institution of the American family would disintegrate as a result of the spread of “Mormon morality.” This fear was only intensified after the establishment of Mormon hegemony in Utah. Here, of course, the doctrine of polygamy was most important, since Christian monogamy was widely recognised and held up as a fundamental social institu-

tion.⁴⁹ Polygamy therefore became the crux of the conflict between Utah and the federal government all the way up until the church itself departed from the doctrine in 1890.

When the first Mormon missionaries arrived in the European continent and Scandinavia around 1850, they found that their reputations had preceded them. In the 1830s and increasingly throughout the 1840s, American descriptions of Mormons were disseminated in European media. To begin with the phenomenon was viewed with astonishment, as exotic tales from the Wild West. It was only when abstract Mormons turned into actual missionaries that prejudicial descriptions came to dominate. The European discourse on the Mormons from then on built on the many anti-Mormon representations already introduced by the American press.⁵⁰ Until far into the 1900s, the dominant notions of Mormons in Europe were a transnational, North Atlantic commonality, even though policies towards them varied somewhat.⁵¹

Are Mormons Christian?

A central question in Norway after 1851 was whether Mormons could demand protection under the Dissenter Act passed in 1845. Its opening paragraph gave Christians the right to free public religious practice within the “Bounds of the Law and Decency,” and the right to form their own congregations.⁵² When the missionaries applied for permission to hold religious meetings, and eventually to form communities, there were therefore two central criteria they had to fulfil:

⁴⁹ See in particular Gordon, *The Mormon Question*, and Talbot, *A Foreign Kingdom*, for a broad account of this conflict, and the argument for the idea that Mormon polygamy was not viewed solely as a violation of, but also a subversive threat to the US Constitution.

⁵⁰ Ulvund, “Travelling Images and Projected Representations,” 214ff.

⁵¹ See Wengreen, *A History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints in Sweden*; Marius A. Christensen, *History of the Danish Mission of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints 1850–1964* (MA thesis, Brigham Young University, 1966), Sørensen, “Vilkaarlig voldsomhed”; Kim Östman, *The Introduction of Mormonism to Finnish Society, 1840–1900* (Åbo: Åbo University Press, 2010.) for discussions on Mormon missionaries meetings with authorities and the public in Sweden, Denmark and Finland. For Germany, see Michael Mitchell, *The Mormons in Wilhelmine Germany, 1870–1914: Making a Place for an Unwanted American Religion in a Changing German Society* (MA thesis, Brigham Young University, 1994) and Kurt Widmer, *Unter Zions Panier: Mormonism and Its Interaction with Germany and Its People 1840–1990* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2013). Anti-Mormonism seems to have been least pronounced in Great Britain, where the first missionaries arrived as early as the 1830s. See Matthew Lyman Rasmussen, *Mormonism and the Making of a British Zion* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2016).

⁵² *Departements-Tidende*, no. 6 (1853): 83.

They had to be perceived as Christian, and they had to practise their faith in a morally acceptable way. There were divided opinions on the first question, even though the Mormons themselves had a clear Christian identity. When it came to morality, there was a broad understanding that this was not only detrimental, but a direct menace to society.

When, in 1852, the Ministry of Church Affairs was consulted as to whether the Mormons would be able to carry on their missionary activities unhindered, it sought advice from the Faculty of Theology at the country's only university. Were the Mormons Christian? The faculty was of the opinion that the law ought to be interpreted broadly and did not believe that the Mormon doctrine infringed the "Bounds of Decency and the Law." Minister of Church Affairs Hans Riddervold (1795–1876) was sceptical since the faculty had based its assessment primarily on the Book of Mormon and not the revelations that Smith later claimed to have received. The ministry therefore requested a revised opinion, addressing the country's bishops at the same time. The faculty again arrived at the same conclusion, though it emphasised that Mormonism was "an obvious Offspring of the Spirit of Falsehood," and that among those who declared themselves Christians, the doctrine stood farthest from the truth.⁵³

A majority of bishops, three out of five, also took a similar stance, arguing that Mormons should be allowed to practise their religion on the basis of the Dissenter Act. Foremost among the minority was the former champion of religious freedom, Bishop of Oslo Jens Arup. He placed emphasis on the Mormons' divergent historical foundations, and that they therefore not only attached importance to a different sacred text than Christians did, but also believed in continual prophetic revelations. The following year Riddervold sided with the minority of the bishops, being of the opinion that Mormon theology deviated so fundamentally from that of the Evangelical Lutherans that Mormons could not be accepted as Christians, and therefore could not assume the protections of the Dissenter Act.

One specific case in 1853 led to the Supreme Court having to take a position as well. While the Faculty of Theology used legal arguments for the inclusion of Mormons – such as the law's preliminary work and alleged broad intent, and its subsequent enforcement – the Supreme Court came to the opposite conclusion based on theological arguments. Where the lower courts of law had based their arguments on Mormonism having a Christian core and concluded that it should therefore be permitted, the Supreme Court employed Bishop Arup's and the Ministry of Church Affairs' views in its discussion of Mormon theology.

⁵³ *Departements-Tidende*, no. 6 (1853): 85.

They concluded that the Mormons could not be considered Christians, and were not therefore protected by the Dissenter Act.⁵⁴ The Supreme Court therefore confirmed that the imposition of fines on Mormon missionaries for illegal religious activities was permissible – and consequently in accordance with Norwegian law.

The Norwegian authorities' lack of recognition of the Mormons was thereby primarily rooted in theological argument. It was as non-Christians, and not as a societal threat, that they could not be given legal approval. Throughout the period up to the mid-20th century, it was the Supreme Court's conclusion that laid the formal grounds for the refusal to recognise them as an approved religious community in Norway.

Yet, denying a religious group the right to practise their religion publicly was not without controversy. Christian-liberal views remained firm, and for many within and beyond the church there was little desire to combat religious threats with any weapon other than the spiritual. Thus, in Norway – as in the United States – it was far more legitimate, and far less controversial, to fight an unfamiliar religion by holding up its practitioners as political agitators and as representatives of a morality that presented a social peril. This was certainly the case in Norway until well into the 20th century.

“extremely dangerous for the State and civil Society”

Ever since their arrival in Scandinavia, the Mormons had attracted a great deal of attention in the public space. Although there were those who demurred, in the main this kind of attention promoted anti-Mormon opinions. They were attacked on theological grounds and not least branded as non-Christian. Central to the rhetoric against them, however, were assertions that they were not only religiously strays who had misinterpreted the Bible (just as the Quakers, for example, were portrayed), but also that they were deliberately camouflaging a politically motivated deceit in trustworthy religious expression.

The notion that the Mormon Church had designs on theocracy seemed to have been prevalent in Scandinavia from the very beginning. We have seen the Norwegian pastor Johannes Dietrichson conveying this to a Norwegian audience as early as the mid-1840s. In the Swedish church periodical (*Tidskrift för Svenska Kyrkan*) to which Danish bishop Jacob Peter Mynster referred as he warned against Mormonism, Mormon communities were said in 1850 to be “military des-

⁵⁴ *Norsk Retstidende*, no. 46 (1853): 734 ff.

potism” and akin to a “religious empire”, with the prophet as “the Mahomet of the West.”⁵⁵ In Bergen, pastor Sven Borchmann Hersleb Walnum (1816–1889) was alarmed by the first Mormon missionaries. He warned against them in *Søndagsblad for Lutherske Christne* in 1852, and published his concerns in book form later that year.⁵⁶ He, too, characterised Mormon society as a “Papacy in its very worst Form.”⁵⁷ He found evidence of this by quoting a letter federal officials in Utah had sent to the US president the year before.

In it they stated that they would be forced to leave office due to acts of lawlessness and the hostile atmosphere that Governor Brigham Young had channelled towards them. The Mormon Church, they continued, “overshadows and supervises its Members’ Opinions, Actions, Property, and yes! even their Lives.” The Church had assumed legislative and judicial authority over the territory and had established and commanded its own armed forces.⁵⁸ It took control of and sold public land, levied tithes and taxes on its inhabitants, and put its own currency into circulation – and spearheading all of this was the prophet.

Such descriptions were followed up in a series of newspaper and journal articles throughout the winter of 1852–1853.⁵⁹ The weekly magazine *For Fattig og Riig* was published in great numbers by the priest and educator Honoratius Halting (1819–1886). It was subtitled “A Sunday Magazine for Edifying Entertainment” and aimed specifically at the common people. In the autumn of 1852, Halting explained to his readers that the Mormon Church was “a most highly developed Priesthood” that tyrannised its subjects in matters both spiritual and worldly, its goal being to establish “an earthly kingdom of Christ with great plans for world domination,” one in which power would be concentrated in the “Hands of the despotic Prophet.”⁶⁰

In the spring of 1852, several Norwegian newspapers also announced that revolution had erupted in the “Mormon State of Utah.” The Mormons had not only armed and fortified themselves; they had also issued a declaration of independence in which they proclaimed that they would form an independent republic. The report continued with a description of the antagonisms between the Mormons and the federal authorities, and not least of how the religious minority’s

55 “Tildragelser i Kyrkan,” *Tidskrift för Svenska Kyrkan* (1850): 255.

56 *Søndagsblad for Lutherske Christne*, no. 30, no. 31 and no. 32 (1852).

57 Svend B.H. Walnum, *Om Mormonerne* (Bergen: Beyers Forlag, 1852), 18.

58 Walnum, *Om Mormonerne*, 35f.

59 See Haslam, *The Norwegian Experience with Mormonism*, and Johnnie Glad, *The Mission of Mormonism in Norway 1851–1920: A Study and Analysis of the Reception Process* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2006), for catalogues of anti-Mormon articles and publications.

60 *For Fattig og Riig*, no. 45 (1852): 358f.

allegedly hateful disposition towards secular authorities: “The Citizens unreservedly express their Hatred of the Union Government and take Measures to oppose the Interference of any external Authority.”⁶¹ Norwegian newspaper readers must have had a clear conception of political ambitions towards theocracy among the Mormons.

The Danish-Norwegian agronomist Caspar Holten Jensenius (1821–1902) was actively involved in the fight against Mormonism, and in 1855 he published a cautionary pamphlet that was embraced by the clerical order. In it he presented the missionary activity of the Mormons as a political project to recruit subjects to the Mormon state. The objective was to lure people over to Utah so that the Mormon state could “grow strong in worldly Power and Dominion.”⁶² For Jensenius, therefore, the Mormons were first and foremost politically dangerous to the American state, not that of Norway. Similar writings warning against Mormonism were published in neighbouring countries. A Danish example is Emil Christiani's (1817–1901) *En liden Modgift mod Mormonernes falske Lærdomme, til Brug for Menigmand* [A Little Antidote to the False Teachings of the Mormons, for Use by the Common Man], published in Randers in 1857. This was an extended version of the warnings he had conveyed in *Randers Avis*. In addition to questioning the theology of Mormonism, he branded the denomination a political project motivated by financial gain, but camouflaged in the “Skin of Piety.”⁶³

Such descriptions of the Mormon Church's theocratic aspirations were built upon American depictions of the faith community. In itself it is no surprise that such sensational narratives found their way, through articles, contributions and pamphlets, into the Scandinavian press. In that respect the exotic representations of the American Mormon cause in the preceding couple of decades prepared the ground well.

Nevertheless, these were notions whose impact was felt far beyond concerned and literate individuals. It became a description of a reality that was also accepted by actors with great influence over the shaping of Norwegian religious policy. This included, among others, the Faculty of Theology in its statement to the Ministry of Church Affairs in the autumn of 1852. Here, the faculty vouched for the description of the Mormon Church's political ambitions:

⁶¹ *Morgenbladet*, no. 93 (2 April 1852); *Trondhjems borgerlige Realskoles alene-privilegerede Adressecontours-Efterretninger*, 6 April 1852.

⁶² Caspar Holten Jensenius, *Kort Begreb om den egentlige Mormonisme* (Christiania, 1855), 9.

⁶³ Emil Christiani, *En liden Modgift mod Mormonernes falske Lærdomme, til Brug for Menigmand* (Randers: Lars Jacobsens Forlag, 1857), 6.

Another Question is whether or not Mormonism, quite apart from its great religious Delusion and Peril, contains in its Principles and its Inclination what may prove to be extremely dangerous to the State and civil Society as such. To this end, the Faculty must express that according to the information it has been able to acquire about the Sect, and according to its Fate in the North American States – where, as is well known, the Freedom of Religion prevails to its fullest extent – it is assumed that its Inclination is similar to that of the Anabaptists in the Reformation era: the establishment of a hierarchical, clerical-secular Kingdom, a State within the State; just as the Book of Mormon would appear to be fictitious, indeed the Party in its Entirety can be said to have been founded to this End. It is thus probably excessive to indicate that they will merely keep their Promise and follow their Doctrine of Obedience to the Authorities, until that time they have acquired Power to such an Extent that they venture to cast off the mask of Humility and Submissiveness that they teach. In addition, it is hardly without Reason that the Sect is accused of acclaiming the Permissibility of Polygamy. On the whole, the Character of this Sect is considered to be of such a Nature that one can put scant Trust in what it promises and assures.⁶⁴

Among the professors of theology there was thus little doubt that the Mormons had both the ambition and potential to become a socially subversive state within the state. In modern-day terminology, that made the Mormons into suspect fifth columnists.

In his statement, the Bishop of Oslo also raised the politically dangerous aspects of the Mormons. Although no teachings had yet been proposed in Scandinavia to contradict the Christian “concept of decency,” experiences gleaned from the United States were worrisome. If not all that was said about the religious community was untrue, the members there behaved in a quite different manner than they did in Europe. In America, the bishop explained, they defied both law and authority and exhibited “a great deal of immorality,” especially with regard to matrimony and the Sixth Commandment’s instruction not to break the covenant of marriage.⁶⁵

The Ministry of Church Affairs fully endorsed these allegations of the Mormons’ “reprehensible Tendencies” for the society of the state, drawing evidence for this from recent history – that is, the American conflict between Mormon and non-Mormon communities.⁶⁶ In this way, representations of Mormon morality were activated with associations to indecency and prurience, and thus also as a corrupting poison crumbling the Christian-moral foundation of the state. The Mormons’ social morals were therefore branded as a social peril and an erosion

⁶⁴ National Archives Norway (RA), RA/S-1040/E/E05/L001. Mormonpakken. Justisdepartementet 2. sivilkontor C. Opinion of the Faculty of Theology, dated 14 October 1852.

⁶⁵ *Departements-Tidende*, no. 6 (Christiania, Schibsted, 1853): 91.

⁶⁶ *Departements-Tidende*, no. 6 (Christiania, Schibsted, 1853): 95 f.

of the state. It was not without reason that Caspar Jensenius introduced his anti-Mormon pamphlet with a portrait of Joseph Smith and the morally damning subtitle: “He called himself the Prophet of Jehovah and was a Libertine. He preached Virtue and mocked God.”⁶⁷

Like the Faculty of Theology, the Ministry of Church Affairs doubted the honesty of the Mormons when they submitted their teachings. This was particularly true on the issue of whether polygamy was a doctrine or not. The parallels to the scepticism of certain authorities and the majority community towards the credibility of the Jews during the era of emancipation are striking. Jews were also accused of speaking with a forked tongue, and suspicions were directed at their declarations of loyalty to the state and dissociation from certain interpretations of the Talmud in particular. Later we will see that as late as the 1950s this doubtlessly also applied to Jesuits.

Communism and sibling of Islam?

Associations to Mohammad and Islam were essential tools in substantiating the images of Mormonism as a theocracy. In the mid-1800s, Scandinavian societies, just as in the United States, must have had widespread and highly explicit notions of Islam as an instrument for despotic hierarchy. Many of the anti-Mormon representations not only activated associations to Islam, but linked the two religions closely by way of comparisons that were, in part, systematic.

In the series of articles on Mormons in *For Fattig og Riig* in 1852, Smith was compared several times with Mohammad, as the Swedish *Tidskrift for Svenska Kyrkan* had also done a couple of years earlier. This was no coincidence, explained the periodical, because it believed the similarity to be striking. Both Smith and Mohammad had an incredible craving for the fantastic, both had founded religions after assertions of revelation, both “stole” from the Bible, both combined spiritual and worldly power, both “loved Polygamy” and promised their followers a carnal paradise, and both “would spread their Doctrines by Fire and Sword.”⁶⁸ The series of articles was taken from Frederik Hammerich's (1809–1877) Danish pamphlet from the same year (*Kort Udsigt over Mormonernes Historie og Lærdømme* [Brief Overview of the History and Teachings of the Mormons]), published by Foreningen for Luthersk Folkeoplysning [the Lu-

⁶⁷ Jensenius, *Kort Begreb om den egentlige Mormonisme*, endpaper.

⁶⁸ *For Fattig og Riig*, no. 46 (1852): 362.

theran Association for Public Education]. The year before, another Danish priest, Ludvig Daniel Hass (1808–1881), had written similar things and called Mormonism “America’s Muhammadanism.”⁶⁹ This linking of Mormonism and Islam was thus widespread throughout Scandinavia.

Comparisons between Mormonism and Islam helped towards making the threat palpable – and perhaps more terrifying. It not only contributed, therefore, towards legitimising restrictions upon and monitoring of Mormon activities, but also demands to ban them. There were several such cautionary submissions during the winter of 1852–1853. Mormons ought not be allowed to set foot on Norwegian soil, a contributor to *Morgenbladet* asserted in the new year of 1853. This was in part due to their religious peril and in part to their “political Plans.” There was no doubt, he contended, that the Mormons “in Similarity with the Mohammedans of the seventh, eighth, and ninth Centuries, use their Religion as an Instrument of Politics, and seem in our Times to possess the same youthful Power of Propagation as during the days of the Arabian Caliphs.”⁷⁰ The contributor from the introduction to this chapter also mobilised a fear of the danger of Islam: “Whatever has happened in the South can happen in the North, whatever Islam accomplished yonder, its closely related Sibling, Mormon, can accomplish here.”⁷¹

Such comparisons were less widespread among government officials, but could also be found there. In his legal opinion as the Supreme Court was considering whether the Mormons were Christians in 1853, Frederik Platou (1811–1891) posited that the Mormons’ doctrines and dogmas were as far removed from Christianity as those of the Mohammedans.⁷² In his pastoral letter to the priests in Akershus diocese, Bishop Jens Arup concluded that Mormonism was a delusion related “on the one Hand with Communism, on the other with Muhammadanism.”⁷³

During the 1850s, attempts were made to combat Mormonism by a variety of means. Imprisonment and legal measures were of little effect. The same can be said of the anti-Mormon warnings in newspapers, periodicals and books, published among others by associations founded specifically for the purpose of com-

69 Ludvig Daniel Hass, *Mormonernes Lærdomme, Oprindelse og Fremgang* (Kjøbenhavn: Boghandler F. H. Eides Forlag, 1851), 13. The pamphlet was an excerpt from *Søndagsblad til Opbyggelse og Oplysning*.

70 D.L. Krogh in *Morgenbladet*, no. 18 (18 January 1853).

71 Theologus in *Morgenbladet*, no. 48 (17 February 1853).

72 National Archives Norway (RA), RA/S-1002/E/Eb/L0091, Voteringsprotokoll 1853–1854, Platous legal opinion, fol. 116.

73 Jens L. Arup, *Til Christiania Stifts Geistlighed fra J.L. Arup, Biskop* (Christiania, 1859), 10.

bating Mormonism.⁷⁴ Lutheran priests and others – such as the agronomist Jensenius and the educator Ole Vig (1824–1857) – had met Mormon missionaries for public and well-attended debates on several occasions. The missionaries had performed well in them, not least because they spoke in a simple and intelligible language while the men of the state church argued in theological and scientific terms.⁷⁵ Pastor Eilert Sundt (1817–1875) played a role in these debates in Norway, taking to task newspaper reports claiming that the Mormons had done poorly. On the contrary, Sundt spoke of them as skilled and shrewd in their rebuttals.⁷⁶ For Sundt it was precisely the Mormon missionaries' house visits, and their ability to come into contact with the common people in everyday life in order to convey, in plain and simple language, their thoughts on sin and conversion, that was the most decisive reason behind their relative success.⁷⁷

The arrival of the first missionaries to Scandinavia also took place shortly after 1848, the year of revolution, and – as the American historian Gerald Haslam has pointed out – for Norway's part, in the midst of the climax of the Thrane movement.⁷⁸ Along with several other individuals, Marcus Thrane had been arrested just in 1851, in the aftermath of the so-called Lilletinget – the movement's national assembly – which, the authorities feared, was an arena for revolutionary activity and agitation. The first Norwegian labour movement clearly showed that many were receptive to ideas that confronted authority, not least when combined with demands for political, social and economic equality. In the 1850s, Mormon missionaries succeeded in making clear counter-representations and conveyed an image of Mormonism as communalist and egalitarian that obviously achieved support in lower social strata. It helped reinforce the fear of the Mormons in leading social circles.

Bishop Arup was not the first to link the Mormon peril to that of the communists, or – more explicitly – the Thrane movement. Christian Birch Reichenwald (1814–1891) was county governor of Østfold and had to deal with Mormon challenges early on. In a letter to the Ministry of Justice in 1852, he claimed that the

74 In Trondheim, for example, such an association was founded in 1856 by the name “Foreningen for den indre Mission i Trondhjem” [Association for the Home Mission in Trondheim] with its task to disseminate tracts that would provide information on the lives and teachings of the Mormons (*Trondhjems Adressavis*, 21 April 1925).

75 See for example Arup, *Til Christiania Stifts Geistlighed*, 25 ff. where he warns against engaging in public discussion with sects, referring in particular to public debates with Mormons. He also warned against this in his visitation report for 1855 (See Haslam, *A Clash of Cultures*, note 25: 226 f.).

76 *Morgenbladet*, no. 65 (6 March 1855) and no. 66 (7 March 1855).

77 *Morgenbladet*, no. 66 (7 March 1855).

78 Haslam, *The Norwegian Experience with Mormonism*, 99.

Mormons were “just as much ‘Sørflateners’ as they are, after all, thorough ‘Thranites.’”⁷⁹ In 1843, Ole Sørflaten (1803–1889) was sentenced to forced labour for preaching a religious creed that has been called libertinism, and that was said to have triggered ecstatic and sexual debauchery.⁸⁰ Arup himself explained in a visitation report to the Ministry of Church Affairs in 1855 that political aberration often went hand-in-hand with religious transgression, and continued: “There is no little Agreement between Communism and Mormonism; And it’s no wonder, therefore, that this is attracting Adherents.”⁸¹

In his pastoral letter four years later, he explained that it was difficult to combat “what creeps around in Hiding and in the Shadows,” and hinted that Mormonism and communism not only had common ideological roots, but that both practised secretive political intrigues. Communism, “this evil Seed” that had been introduced from abroad, found overly receptive soil in Norway.⁸² This, according to Arup, was a sign of how much “Unwholesomeness and Depravity” there was in the existing social order, but was also emblematic of the lack of religious enlightenment and divine presence in the hearts of the people.

At the time, many felt that it was irrational that such religious “fanaticisms” were gaining a foothold, and therefore explained it in medical terms. In the same way that Quakers and Laestadians could be said to be victims of “enthusiasm” and other contemporary characteristics of what were called religious mental disorders, conversion to Mormonism could also be pathologised and thus explained away.⁸³ Pathologisation was associated with prevention against contagion and the need for treatment, and helped to politicise Mormonism as a societal problem rather than a religious one. Such medical associations increased the understanding that compulsory intervention might be both necessary and appropriate. The outbreak of cholera epidemics in Bergen in 1848–1849 and in Oslo in 1853 and the legitimacy of coercive measures in this regard naturally gave the pathologisation of religious aberrations, and the fight against them, increased rhetorical clout.

⁷⁹ Haslam, *The Norwegian Experience with Mormonism*, note 52: 127.

⁸⁰ “Ole Sørflaten,” in *Store norske leksikon*. (https://snl.no/Ole_S%C3%B8rflaten, accessed 30 January 2017). See also Tore Pryser, *Gesellar, rebellar og svermarar: Om “farlege folk” rundt 1850* (Oslo: Samlaget, 1982).

⁸¹ Arup in a letter to the Ministry of Church Affairs, dated 14 April 1855. Here from Haslam, *The Norwegian Experience with Mormonism*, note 42, 126.

⁸² Arup, *Til Christiania Stifts Geistlighed*, 7.

⁸³ Ulvund, “Travelling Images and Projected Representations,” 221 ff. See also Astri Andresen, “In the Wake of the Kautokeino Event: Changing Perceptions of Insanity and the Sámi 1852–1965,” *Acta Borealia*, vol. 2, no. 2 (2007) for an account of which role religious madness played in the understanding of the Kautokeino rebellion in 1852.

When the question of Mormon religious freedom was raised in Norway after the 1850s, references to theology in order to deny legal approval were mobilised to a lesser extent. The Supreme Court's opinion in 1853 had killed the issue. Portrayals that associated the Mormons with Islam and communism were still intact and active. Now, however, particular emphasis was placed on Mormonism's threat to core moral values. Mormon morals were portrayed as socially disruptive and therefore an enemy of a civil-Christian social order. This rendered it out of the question to grant the Mormons exceptions to the Dissenter Act's requirement to be Christian, contrary to what the Jews were accorded in 1851.

Immoral enemies of the social order

The adoption of the Dissenter Act in Norway in 1845 put the relationship between the state and the church back on the agenda. The same can be said of the Danish Constitution's introduction of the right to religious freedom, and the later Swedish dissenter laws of the 1860s and 1870s. This was a question of the Constitution of the state church and prospective self-governance, and in that sense, the scope of religious freedom. In Norway, one result of this was the Church Commission, which was appointed in 1859. Over the course of at least a decade, it addressed a number of issues concerning ecclesiastical reform. One centred on how non-Christians ought to be treated. These were primarily practical issues related to marriage, baptisms, funerals and schooling.⁸⁴ The presence of the Mormons had triggered the need to address this. Five of the commission's nine members were clergymen, and the work was led by the Bishop of Oslo, Jens Arup, who had previously conveyed clear views on Mormonism. By 1862, the commission had concluded its recommendations on non-Christians.

The Church Commission promoted the fundamental opinion that religious freedom could only encompass religious communities that did not defy the basic values on which society was founded. On the Mormons, the commission was explicit that their family policy posed one such material threat. Not only was polygamy illegal, but monogamy was “the primary condition for an orderly, decent Family life and a Child's healthy upbringing, and to preach Polygamy is therefore directly to attack one of the Cornerstones of Society.”⁸⁵ Because Mor-

84 Kirkekommissjonen av 1859, “Motiveret Udkast til Lov angaaende dem, der ikke bekjende sig til den christelige Religion,” in *Motiverede Lovudkast afgivne af den ved kongelig Resolution af 27de Januar 1859 til Drøftelse af forskjellige kirkelige Anliggender nedsatte Commission* (Christiania: Malling, 1862), 67.

85 Kirkekommissjonen av 1859, “Motiveret Udkast,” 69f.

mons attacked “the moral Principles of the State, they undermine its very Foundations and thereby prove themselves Enemies of Society to the Extent that it is the Duty of the State to impede their spread with all its Might.”⁸⁶ The commission would therefore not recognise Mormonism or grant it any formal approval.

The Mormon “peril” was thus considered a particular threat against social morality. This was presumably also an argument for which it was easier to garner support than the more prolix and fantastical portrayals of Mormon designs on theocracy. From the 1860s onwards, therefore, it was mainly moral objections that recurred in discussions on “the Mormon problem.” A number of books and pamphlets, several of them written as testimonies of apostate women recounting their escapes from Mormonism’s violence, were clear that Mormonism was not only a contaminant of social morality, but also that the missionarying and emigration to Utah were organised with a view to enslaving the converts – both financially and sexually.

In Archdeacon Peter Andreas Jensen’s (1812–1867) Norwegian textbook, slightly older schoolchildren and their parents could read headmaster Volrath Vogt’s history of the church. There it was written that not only was it a right, but also a duty, for a Mormon to take several wives – because only women married to Mormons could gain a share of paradise. And, the textbook continued, “The Mormon Paradise is, like that of the Mohammedans, full of carnal Pleasures.”⁸⁷ The book was controversial, but became central to the new schools established by the School Act of 1860, and it was issued in six major editions until 1882.⁸⁸ In its first decade alone, 250,000 copies of the book were printed and distributed to schools.⁸⁹

When the Mormons’ latest application to be allowed to practise was rejected in 1883, the majority of the Church Committee in the Storting similarly emphasised their teachings on marriage.⁹⁰ The committee pointed to Mormon efforts to convince women in particular to emigrate to Utah “in order to be introduced there to Misery and Disgrace,” and continued: “The teaching this religious soci-

86 Kirkekommissjonen av 1859, “Motiveret Udkast,” 70.

87 Peter Andreas Jensen, *Læsebog for Folkeskolen og Folkehjemmet*. Udgiven efter offentlig Foranstaltning. Tredie Skoletrin. Stykke 217. Troens Kamp i det 19de Aarhundrede (Kristiania: J.W. Cappelen Forlag, 1863), 250.

88 Sigurd Aa Aarnes, “P A Jensen,” in *Norsk biografisk leksikon*. (https://nbl.snl.no/P_A_Jensen, accessed 1 February 2017).

89 Hans-Jørgen Dokka, *Fra allmueskole til folkeskole* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1967), 249.

90 *Stortingsforhandlinger*. Del 6. Indst. O. II. (1883), 19. [Records of the Proceedings of the Norwegian Parliament (Storting). Part 6. Recommendation No. O. II. from the standing Church Committee regarding Document 24/1883 on granting the Church of the Latter-day Saints religious freedom in Norway (1883)].



Figure 5.4: “‘The Twin Relic of Barbarism.’ – The Wolves and the Lambs – Arrival of Scandinavian Converts in Charge of Mormon Missionaries, at Castle Garden, en Route for Salt Lake City,” published in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* (15 December, 1883). The newspaper wrote: “Robust and accustomed to hardships and privations, with no ambition beyond the satisfaction of the demands of the physical nature, they are just the sort of recruits needed for the reinforcement of the polygamous abomination.”

ety advocates is a straightforward Denial of the moral Foundation upon which the Society of the State is built, degrades the Dignity of Marriage, disrupts Family life and debases Women.”⁹¹ For the majority of the committee there was no question of granting such a religious community the right to practise legally. To do so would be to legalise indecent and socially disruptive propaganda.

There was extensive discussion surrounding the Mormons in the Storting. Chairman of the Church Committee, pastor, and later Minister of Church Affairs Jakob Sverdrup (1845–1899) stated that the Mormon doctrine was immoral, so-

⁹¹ *Stortingsforhandling*. Del 6. Indst. O. II. (1883), 19. [Records of the Proceedings of the Norwegian Parliament (Storting). Part 6. Recommendation No. O. II. from the standing Church Committee regarding Document 24/1883 on granting the Church of the Latter-day Saints religious freedom in Norway (1883)].

cially destructive and impossible to “permit or tolerate in a civilised Country.”⁹² Mormonism was “Carnality dressed as Religion,” and society had the right to protect itself from “socially disruptive” forces that upheld “socially perilous” practices. That this was the case with the Mormons was, according to Sverdrup, widely acknowledged.⁹³

The conflict between Utah and the federal United States was also addressed. Even among those who were disposed towards lending legitimacy to the Mormons, there was little disagreement about the description of the American reality. Hagbard Berner (1839–1920), along with Ole Jacob Sparre (1831–1889), had tabled the proposal in the Storting on behalf of the Mormons. He stated that the federal conflict with Utah was not a question of religious antagonisms, but rather that “the Mormons, under their powerful Leader Brigham Young, established a genuine Church State, a worldly religious Community, a new papal State.”⁹⁴ However, these conflicts were typically American, and not least because the Gathering in Utah was of such importance to the Mormons that they would not pose a similar problem in Norway. Therefore, principles of religious freedom had to take precedence over aversions to a particular religion.

When, in 1891, the Storting’s Church Committee considered the Mormons’ religious freedom, a minority also raised moral objections to its polygamy. The minority argued in liberal terms that the new Dissenter Act ought not to be restricted to Christians, but should include anyone with “religious Views” diverging from those of the state church. The exception, however, was the Mormons, “for as long as they advocate Polygamy; Society cannot permit such a Party free religious Practice, but this is for moral, not religious Reasons.”⁹⁵

In the Church Commission’s recommendation in 1862 – as later for the committee majority in 1883 and the Church Committee’s minority in 1891 – it was not the extent to which Mormon theology could be considered Christian or not that

92 *Stortingsforhandling*. Stortingstidende. Forhandling i Odelstinget (1883), 602. [Records of the Proceedings of the Norwegian Parliament (Storting). Parliamentary debate in the chamber Odelstinget (1883)].

93 *Stortingsforhandling*. Stortingstidende. Forhandling i Odelstinget (1883), 608. [Records of the Proceedings of the Norwegian Parliament (Storting). Parliamentary debate in the chamber Odelstinget (1883)].

94 *Stortingsforhandling*. Stortingstidende. Forhandling i Odelstinget (1883), 610. [Records of the Proceedings of the Norwegian Parliament (Storting). Parliamentary debate in the chamber Odelstinget (1883)].

95 *Stortingsforhandling*. Del 6. Indst. O. V. (1891), 4 f. [Records of the Proceedings of the Norwegian Parliament (Storting). Part 6. Recommendation No. O. V. from the standing Church Committee regarding proposition 8/1891 on a new Dissenter Act (1891)]. The minority consisted of repr. Hjelmsstad, Horst and Ullmann.

was decisive, but the danger to social morality they perceived in the religious community through its teachings.

It was not only the practice of polygamy that was punishable by Norwegian law; merely the preaching of a religious dogma of polygamy was intolerable and sufficient reason to deny legal approval. An example of how broadly such views were embraced is Søren Jaabæk (1814–1894). He himself was seen as anti-Christian and godless by many in his day, but in the spirit of ecumenism he explained in 1874 that tolerated faiths “[can] certainly include Christians, Jews, Mohammedans and Followers of Confucius,” but on the contrary the state could “not approve of the morally corrupting Divine Doctrine, such as Jesuits [and] Mormons.”⁹⁶

The protection of the traditional family as an institution was paramount to other matters, and stood in the way of the decriminalisation of Mormon religious practice. Consequently, there was great support for the idea that Christian core values constituted a fundamental system of norms for a civilised state, and that this legitimised restrictions on religious freedom.⁹⁷ Combating threats against the state's norms was not considered an infringement of religious freedom, but an absolutely necessary and legitimate protection of the state.

Images of immorality in Utah were circulated in a number of anti-Mormon pamphlets during these decades, both in Scandinavia and in other European countries. Both Julie Ingerø's *Et Aar i Utah eller en Dames Reise til Mormonstaden, hendes Ophold der og Flugt derfra* [A Year in Utah, or a Woman's Journey to the Mormon State, her Stay and Escape from there] from 1868 and Andreas Mortensen's *Fra mit Besøg blandt Mormonere* [From My Visit Among the Mormons] from 1887 were popular portraits of Mormonism that emphasised immorality and social peril. Both were also examples of the church in Utah continuing to be represented as a secular, politico-economic and totalitarian despotism.

Ingerø published her pamphlet following a lecture tour in Norway and Denmark about the Mormons “odious Practice” in Utah, and it stood as testimony from one of the “errant” women. She describes her journey from Oslo to Utah, her stay there and how she eventually managed to escape from alleged slavery and indecency. The pamphlet was discussed in Norwegian newspapers when it was published, including with reference to a review that recommended it “as useful Reading for that Portion of the Population with which the Mormons seek especially to ingratiate themselves.”⁹⁸ As testimony, the pamphlet gained

⁹⁶ *Folketidende*, no. 47 (1874).

⁹⁷ See Ulvund, “Til vern og fremme.”

⁹⁸ *Bergens Adressecontours Efterretninger*, 21 February 1868; *Aftenposten*, 10 February 1868.

noteworthy credibility at its time, and the reviewer thought it carried “the Mark of Truth” and provided a “faithful Picture of the disgraceful Treatment to which the Unfortunate are subject.” The author characterised the Mormons as “an organised Gang as cunning as the Jesuits, whose entire Objective is to exploit and, most often, exterminate its prosperous Victims, as well as increase its Labour Force and its physical Strength by means of the weak-willed Beasts of Burden from the poorer Classes.”⁹⁹

The lure was a veil of religion that was thrown off when the victims were finally introduced to “the glory of Zion,” “or to put it correctly: they became the Rulers’ defenceless Slaves.”¹⁰⁰ She described Utah as a totalitarian state in which the priesthood held all the power and used every means to suppress opposition, including the use of death squads (“angels of death”). The Mormon community was portrayed as starkly segregated from the rest of American society, and antagonisms as being constructed by leading Mormons in order to reinforce the image of a chosen people in conflict with a satanic and hostile outside world. Therefore, a hatred of the outside world and everything that was not Mormon was also being deliberately stoked.¹⁰¹ According to Ingerøe, this attitude contributed to the act of killing non-Mormons not being considered murder, and that of stealing from non-Mormons was not theft, but rather a sacred “Blessing.”¹⁰²

In this self-image, the Mormons had to triumph or cease to exist, she explained. Unless the people were deceived, Brigham Young’s dominion was doomed, “and even more vividly than for the Disciples of Loyola, the thought

99 Julie Ingerøe, *Et Aar i Utah, eller En Dames Reise til Mormonstaten, hendes Ophold der og Flugt derfra* (Kjøbenhavn, 1868), 3. Ingerøe arrived in Utah in 1864 as part of the William B. Preston Company, travelling from Nebraska via Wyoming. Their arrival was described in *Salt Lake Daily Telegraph*, 16 September 1864: “Capt. [William B.] Preston’s train arrived yesterday forenoon. There were forty-nine church wagons and nine others of private individuals; three hundred and seventy-eight persons—chiefly Danes and Swedes, left the Missouri river, of which number, five children, four women, and one man had died on the plains, and four children were born during the seventy days journey. Seven oxen died on the down journey and eleven died on the return. Capt. Preston looked well, considered that he had had a favorable trip, and the company seemed composed of very substantial, sober, good people.” They arrived in Salt Lake City on 15 September 1864, and an entry in the Perpetual Emigration Fund’s register suggests that she was living in Provo, Utah at the end of 1864. (<https://history.churchofjesuschrist.org/overlandtravel/pioneers/31483/julia-f-ingerod>, accessed 12 November 2019).

100 Ingerøe, *Et Aar i Utah*, 4.

101 Ingerøe, *Et Aar i Utah*, 32.

102 Ingerøe, *Et Aar i Utah*, 5.

‘that the End justifies every Means’ is vivid to them.”¹⁰³ The fight against Mormonism was no infringement of religious freedom, she continued, because

a Sect in which Fornication, rampant Carnality at every Turn, Transgressions of every sacred Commandment, Deception, Theft, and Murder are the Agenda and Custom, cannot be called a Religious Community unless one would also call those who subscribe to evil Temptations Adherents of the Religion of Satan.¹⁰⁴

Julie Ingerøe's daughter also converted to Mormonism in Scandinavia, but died in Chicago in 1866 on her way to Utah, a message her mother received in San Francisco after her escape.¹⁰⁵ In the pamphlet she describes how struck with grief she was at the news, but that she also thanked God for “having been so merciful to spare the poor Child the Abominations and Sufferings of Mormonism, and in its stead prepared her for eternal Joy.”¹⁰⁶

Andreas Mortensen (1849–1904) was pastor to Norwegian seamen in New York. He paid a visit to Utah in the mid-1880s before returning to his homeland. The travelogue was published in Norway shortly thereafter. In it he began by comparing Mormonism to a leviathan “who has a Plethora of Tentacles several Fathoms long.” The monster took cover among the mountains of Utah while “its immense Tentacles reach around the entire Earth, as thousands are drawn into its encircling Arms and held with a Grasp so firm that never again will there be Deliverance.”¹⁰⁷ This was a representation of Mormonism that was often visualised in American cartoon caricatures.

Mortensen stated that the church in Utah had opened “the Floodgates to Carnality” wide open with its doctrine of polygamy, a practice that destroyed women’s “finest and noblest Emotions” and which, in a Christian society, one otherwise only witnessed when “Heresy, Wickedness and the deadly Poison of the

103 Ingerøe, *Et Aar i Utah*, 5.

104 Ingerøe, *Et Aar i Utah*, 7.

105 Julie Ingerøe is the same person as Julie Frederikke Ring, married to Johannes Ingerø. Together they had the child Christiane Johanne Frederikke Ingerø, confirmed at Eidsberg in Norway in 1856. (Digitalarkivet.no, ministerial book for Trøgstad parish 1855–1864, confirmation 10 May 1856). The daughter died in Chicago in 1866, when her mother was staying in San Francisco and going by the name Julia Ingerøe, née Ring. (announcement in *Morgenbladet* 12 July 1866). In the book she writes of her daughter's death: “In California [San Fransisco], before traveling to Denmark, I learned that a close Relative, a very young Girl of my Blood who had tied her Destiny to a Mormon Priest, had died en Route to Utah.” (Ingerøe, *Et Aar i Utah*, 44).

106 Ingerøe, *Et Aar i Utah*, 44.

107 Andreas Mortensen, *Fra mit Besøg blant Mormonerne* (Kristiania: P.T. Mallings Boghandels Forlag, 1887), 4f.

World-Spirit” had been at work for a long time.¹⁰⁸ In addition to moral corruption, he conveyed a picture of the church as a fraud motivated by materialism. It was

nothing but a colossal political and commercial Machine through which some few have Power over the Life and Wealth of their Adherents, by constantly threatening them with Horrors of Excommunication and Damnation, by Promises of carnal Pleasures in this World and a Mohammodan Paradise after Death, if only they are faithful.¹⁰⁹

The goal of this “machine” was nothing less than world domination by forcing every government on Earth to submit to the priesthood in Utah.¹¹⁰ Mortensen also spent a good deal of time describing a church with the will to use all means – not least violent ones – to advance its cause. The violence was directed at external enemies, federal authorities and others perceived as a threat, but also against their own followers in order to instil discipline and counteract defection. As with Ingerøe, the so-called “angels of death” and the use of them in the elimination of opposition, acquired a central position in the portrayal.

Both Ingerøe and Mortensen travelled around giving lectures on their views on Mormonism, and their books were read in Norway’s neighbouring countries. Ingerøe published her short book in Copenhagen, and both she and Mortensen had their own Swedish editions printed (respectively as *Ett år i Utah eller ett Fruentimmers resa til mormonstaten, hennes vistelse der och flykt derifrån* and *Mormonernas hemligheter*) the same year that the original versions were published. The books were issued in ever-new versions and editions, and both authors became important contemporary opinion makers.

Within this genre, Balduin Möllhausen (1825–1905) can also be mentioned. He was one of Germany’s most successful authors of popular novels. After travels to the United States, he wrote a couple of “Mormon novels,” including *Das Mormonmädchen* [The Mormon Maiden] (1864). In it he described how a Swedish girl had been tricked by Mormon missionaries into emigrating to Utah only to encounter a “terrible destiny” that included polygamous marriage.¹¹¹ The book

108 Mortensen, *Fra mit Besøg blant Mormonerne*, 175 ff.

109 Mortensen, *Fra mit Besøg blant Mormonerne*, 232.

110 Mortensen, *Fra mit Besøg blant Mormonerne*, 259.

111 Sarah Reed, *Mormonism in Nineteenth-Century German Literature: Nation, Family, and Religion on the Frontiers of America and Europe* (PhD dissertation, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2018), 97 ff, 128 ff. The book was serialised in newspapers in all the Scandinavian countries. In Sweden the tale was given the title *Mormondufvan* [The Mormon Dove]; see *Nya Dagligt Allehandan*, 25 November 1864. In the Swedish translation of the novel, the young woman is Norwegian, not Swedish (Reed, *Mormonism in Nineteenth-Century German Literature*, 168).

was published in several German editions and was also widely distributed throughout all the countries of Scandinavia. Although he did not pass himself off as a documentarian, rather writing popular novels and serials, his narratives helped reinforce and cement notions of Utah as a fanatical theocracy and Mormonism as an immoral deception. A sequel, *Der Fanatiker* [The Fanatic], also addressed sinister Mormonism with a story set both in Utah and in Norway.¹¹²

The popularised representations of Mormonism helped to build upon ideas that formed the framework of the political debate, and lent both a moral and a political legitimacy to the policy of not granting them recognition. In this way they worked together to form a hegemonic image of Mormonism in the established public eye.

Up until 1905, Norwegian authorities had the authority to intervene against Mormon missionaries and their religious practices, but this occurred only to a very minor degree. In Oslo especially, Mormon activity was both extensive and overt, but it took place with the authorities' tacit consent.¹¹³ The periodical for the Mormon mission in Europe, *Millennial Star*, wrote in 1885 that Saints had no right to preach or pray in meetings, administer the sacrament or baptise in Sweden and Norway. But the law in this matter was not strenuously enforced, they explained, and the work of the Elders were looked upon with great toleration. In fact, because Elders had been expelled with authority in the Danish "Foreigners' Act," the periodical claimed that more freedom was experienced in Sweden and Norway than in Denmark, even though "the form and theory of government are more liberal" there.¹¹⁴ This policy was not so much a question of religious freedom as of calculated opportunism. Keeping silent on Mormonism was seen as more effective than attempting to bring it to its knees. Thus, direct confrontations between the authorities and Mormons were the exception in Norway, at least from the 1860s.

In the United States, the uncompromising fronts also softened to a significant extent from the 1890s onwards, and in 1896, after the Mormons of Utah had formally distanced themselves from polygamy, the territory was incorporated as a federal state. It was especially after the swearing-in of Reed Smoot (1862–

112 Reed, *Mormonism in Nineteenth-Century German Literature*, 154ff. See also Robert Lee Warthen, *Mormon Stereotypes in Nineteenth Century German Literature: The Fiction of Amalie Schoppe and Balduin Möllhausen* (MA thesis, Brigham Young University, 1983), 100 ff.

113 National Archives Norway (RA), RA/S-1040/E/E05/L001, Mormonpakken, leg 1887–1915. See the police chiefs' declaration in 1900 (collated in JPD 0313C1906) and letters from Kristiania brev fra Kristiania police headquarters dated 22 November 1880 and November 1880 (JPD 1552C87).

114 *Millennial Star*, 26 October 1885, 680.

1941) as senator in 1907 that the relationship between the religious community and the rest of America harmonised. In 1903, Smoot was elected to the Senate from Utah, but was rejected because he was an apostle (leader) of the Mormon Church at the same time. Following pressure from Protestant denominations, the Senate set up a commission to assess Smoot and whether a leader of the Mormon Church was fit to be a senator. There followed a comprehensive hearing that distrustfully took a number of aspects of Mormonism and its relationship to American values and institutions to task. It was only in 1907 that Smoot was approved. This represented a turning point in the relationship of federal institutions with the Mormon Church, and the American public lost interest in the “Mormon problem” from then onwards.¹¹⁵

Smoot was half-Norwegian and his mother, according to Norwegian newspapers, was Anna Kristina Mauritzen, born to poor parents in Fredrikstad.¹¹⁶ In the members’ bulletin of Nordmands-forbundet, an organisation for Norwegians abroad, Reed was referred to four years after his approval as the humble servant of the Mormon Church in Washington. The basis for the description was that he had taken an “unpatriotic and treasonous oath” to the religious community.¹¹⁷

Around 1880, American authorities were actively seeking to sway European states into countering the emigration of newly converted Mormons to the United States. The US minister (ambassador) in Stockholm communicated official American wishes to prevent “Mormon agents [...] from recruiting adherents” with ideas of emigrating, and stressed the United States’ intention to use “the entire rigour of the law” against those who engaged in polygamous marriages.¹¹⁸ The American’s request to warn the Norwegian people against Mormonism was passed on by the Foreign Minister of Sweden-Norway to the Norwegian government, which in turn notified local authorities of the same.¹¹⁹ In his reply, the Swedish-Norwegian Foreign Minister emphasised that the two kingdoms shared common interests with the United States in the matter, and further explained

115 Kathleen Flake, *The Politics of American Religious Identity: The Seating of Senator Reed Smoot, Mormon Apostle* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2004).

116 *Dagbladet*, 16 September 1916; *Aftenposten*, 27 April 1921.

117 J.A Jacobsen, “Mormonerne og deres mission: En advarsel,” in *Nordmands-forbundet*, 4de Aargang (Kristiania, 1911), 393.

118 National Archives Norway (RA), RA/S-1040/E/E05/L0001. Trossamfunn: Mormonpakken. JPD. 2. sivilkontor C. Gjenpart af en Skrivelse fra Udenrigs-departementet til den Norske Statsraads-Afdeling, dateret Stockholm den 14de Januar 1880 [Duplicate of a Missive from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to the Norwegian Council of State, dated Stockholm the 14 January 1880].

119 National Archives Norway (RA), RA/S-1040/E/E05/L0001. Trossamfunn: Mormonpakken. JPD. 2. sivilkontor C. Letter from the Council of State in Stockholm to the government of Norway, dated 22 January 1880, indicating that US authorities wish to combat Mormon emigration.



Figure 5.5: “The Real Objection to Smoot.” Satirical print by Udo Kepler in *Puck* (April 27, 1904). The bearded man represents the Mormon Hierarchy and carries a coat with typical anti-Mormon accusations suggesting why the Senate hesitated to approve the election of Reed Smoot: “Polygamy, Mormon Rebellion, Resistance to Federal Authority, Blood Atonement, Murder of Apostates, [and] Mountain Meadow Massacre.”

that he had asked authorities in the two kingdoms to protect the population against fallacious promises made by “Mormon agents.”¹²⁰ In this way the tumultuous relationship of the United States government with the Mormon Church became a vital part of the Scandinavian government’s basis for combating the religious community’s activities.

This shifted from around 1900, and US authorities put increasing pressure on European countries seeking to limit the rights of American Mormons. This also happened in Scandinavian countries on several occasions, particularly in connection with the denial of visas for Mormon missionaries after World War I.

The Mormons and “the white slave trade”

Scandinavia’s significance as a mission field is clearly evident in the Church’s own statistics. In 1901, the United States was still the most important area for their activity, and in that year 985 missionaries were serving in various parts of the church’s homeland. In Europe at the time, most missionaries were in the United Kingdom (275), with Scandinavia not far behind (171).¹²¹ In Germany there were 80 missionaries, while countries such as the Netherlands and Switzerland both had fewer than 40 missionaries. In addition, more than 130 missionaries were working in the Pacific, primarily in Samoa, Hawaii, New Zealand and Australia.

At the beginning of the 20th century the fear of Mormon activity again grew in Scandinavia, and calls to actively combat it were advanced from several quarters, especially in Sweden and Norway. The same was true in Germany, where Prussia and other states took up coercive means such as deportations to protect society against the Mormon “invasion.” As a result, a Prussian decree of 1853 banishing Mormons was confirmed in 1902, and deportations were effected beginning the following year.¹²²

¹²⁰ Mr. Stevens to Mr. Evarts, 9 March 1880. (<https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1880/d589>, accessed 13 September 2019).

¹²¹ Thomas G. Alexander, *Mormonism in Transition: A History of the latter-Day Saints, 1890–1930* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1996), 217.

¹²² Widmer, *Unter Zions Panier*, 307 ff. Mitchell, *The Mormons in Wilhelmine Germany*, 116 ff. Mitchell reprinted the Banishment Decrees of 1853 (p. 203) and 1902 (p. 210). The banishment decree was repealed by German Federal Minister of the Interior of the Weimar Republic in 1922 (Mitchell, *The Mormons in Wilhelmine Germany*, 178).

Missionary activities, often referred to as “propaganda,” were perceived to be on the increase after the turn of the century, and not without reason. The number of missionaries increased immensely, as did the publication and distribution of Mormon writings. In Norway, the distribution of tracts increased from 16,000 copies in 1896 to 200,000 in 1907, further growing to a formidable 480,000 in 1910.¹²³ At the same time, the number of home visits increased, from between 17,000 and 76,000 each year between 1896 and 1905 to over 200,000 in 1911. In total, Mormons visited almost 1.75 million homes in the two decades after 1896.¹²⁴

In Sweden, too, missionary activity was extensive. In 1905 the country was marked off as its own separate mission area, and somewhere between 60 and 80 missionaries visited around 160,000 homes each year until World War I.¹²⁵ The extent of this was spoken of with concern in the Swedish public arena. Pastor P. E. Åslev was perhaps the most prominent anti-Mormon voice in Sweden from the turn of the century. In 1910 he claimed that in the two-and-a-half years from 1905, more than 300,000 Swedish homes were visited and over half a million tracts were distributed.¹²⁶

The missionaries must have been able to create potent counter-representations through their work, in meetings, home visits and in their many publications. In the decade 1900 – 1910 alone more than 1,400 Norwegians were baptised as Mormons in Norway, and in Sweden about 1,000 Lutherans were reported to have converted between 1905 and 1914.¹²⁷ The 1910 census registered that more than 8,300 Utahans were born in Denmark. A further 7,200 were born in Sweden and 2,300 in Norway.¹²⁸ This was a peak year for both Sweden and Norway, while the figures for Danish-born Utahans were slightly higher in 1890 and 1900 (9,000 and 9,100 respectively). That was why the religious com-

123 Haslam, *The Norwegian Experience with Mormonism*, table 4, 163. The figures are calculated on the basis of statistics in the journal of the Mormon Church, *Skandinaviens Stjerne*.

124 Haslam, *The Norwegian Experience with Mormonism*, table 4, 163.

125 Carl E. Johansson, *History of the Swedish Mission of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints 1905 – 1973* (MA thesis, Brigham Young University, 1973), 8.

126 Emigrationsutredningen, *Bilaga III. Mormonvärningen* (Stockholm: P.A. Norstedt & Söner, 1910), II Pastor P.E. Åslev's statement, 21.

127 Haslam, *The Norwegian Experience with Mormonism*, table 1, 147; Johansson, *History of the Swedish Mission*, 8.

128 Department of Commerce and Labor. Statistical Abstract of the United States 1912, vol. 35 (Washington 1913), No. 35. Foreign-born population in 1910, distributed according to country of birth (p. 62). Figures were reported in newspapers, but presented as level of immigration in the decade 1900–1910 only. *Randers Amtsavis og Adressecontours Efterretninger*, 30 August 1912.

munity received its greatest support in Norway since its early period.¹²⁹ It concerned many both inside and outside Lutheran denominations.

In the early 1900s, the dominant conceptions about Mormons from the preceding decades were still vivid and effective. One example was the members’ bulletin of the Nordmands-forbundet. The newsletter was published in Oslo, and in 1911, with Carl Joachim Hambro (1885–1964) as editor, it conveyed a robust warning from a Norwegian American. He described the Mormon Church as the most dangerous politico-religious community in the world, a despotic tyranny with major financial and political power in the United States. There they had formed “a state within the state” that was hostile to the wider nation, the downfall of which was being planned.¹³⁰ It was an echo of the previous century’s catalogue of incriminations.

Nevertheless, the demands for government measures to counteract the Mormons were justified in particular in the defence of traditional values and of a moral society in the struggle against forces of social dissolution. They may also have been related to the establishment in Norway of a breakaway branch – *Den Gjenorganiserte Jesu Kristi Kirke av Siste Dagers Hellige* [The Reorganised Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints] – which applied for the right to religious freedom on several occasions from 1902. This raised the question of recognition once again.

As for the moral peril, “the white slave trade” in young women was now activated as a central descriptor of the mission’s true purpose in both Sweden and Norway, and to an extent in Denmark too. From around the turn of the century, this was a demonising and highly effective allegation.

The fear of the “white slave trade” was widespread in Europe from the latter half of the 19th century, and regular international congresses were held to discuss the problem and propose countermeasures. Scandinavian participants also attended. The Norwegian city court judge Anders Færden (1860–1939) received a state grant for his participation at a congress in London in 1899. There he met with the prominent women’s rights advocate Nico Hambro (1861–1926) on behalf of *De norske sedelighedsforeningers centralstyre* [The Central Board of Norwegian Morality Associations].¹³¹ One outcome of the congress was the establishment of national committees, and soon a *Nationalkomité til Bek-*

129 According to Carl M. Hagberg, the highest number of members (until 1928) was 1,547 persons in 1906. In 1926 the number was 1,400, which fell to 984 two years later. Carl M. Hagberg, *Den Norske Missions Historie* (Oslo, 1928), 60.

130 Jacobsen, “Mormonerne og deres mission,” 394.

131 *Departements-Tidende* (Christiania: Schibsted, 1899): 382.

Aftenposten 3/6 1910
nr. 3/9.

Mormonismens Triumfer i Norge.



Altfor mange "Preiker".
Et Fotografi, som man helst ikke saa offentliggjort.

Mormonmissionærer i Kristiania og Omegn.

En høist uhyggelig Missionsvirksomhed, som bringer store Resultater, drives her i Kristiania og udover Landet. Det er Mormonerne, eller som de nyder at kalde sig "De sidste Dages Hellige", som, uhindret af verdslige eller kirkelige Myndigheder, gjør en Propaganda for sin Lære, der krones med sørgeligt Held.

Mormonerne har sit Hovedkvarter i Osterhousgaden i Kristiania, hvor de for 7 Aar siden reiste sit Tempel, og hvor de nu har sin faste Borg og Tilflugt.

De hyderst foretagsomme Mormoner sender fra sit forjættede Land Utah stadig Missionærer udover Verden — ifjor drog saaledes 2067 aasted fra Utah — og de har et særlig godt Nie til Scandinavien. I Norge og Danmark er for Diebtidtet 132 Mormonmissionærer i Arbejde, og deraf virker mindst Halvparten i Norge.

Subriker: om Husbesøg hos ikke hellige Familier, Traktatuddeling, Abonnement paa "Scandinaviens Sferne", Møder og Andagter. Ugerapporten sendes til Mormoniskietens herværende Præsident Søren Jensen eller — naar han er fraværende — til Vicepræsidenten Sørensen, af ham til Styret i Kjøbenhavn og derfra til Utah.

Mormonerne sparer ikke paa gode Løfter, naar det gjelder at fange Sjæle, og forespeiler baade en trygget økonomisk Eksistens herne og Salighed hijsiet.

De lægger som besjendt særlig an paa at vinde Kvinderne og agiterer paa alle Maader for at trække dem til sig. "Kvinden er", udtrykte en Læser sig nylig paa et Møde, "Guds stjerneflekkede Skabning". Og denne stjerne Skabning gjælder det da at frelse.

Imidlertid kan, efter Mormonernes Lære, Kvinderne ikke blive salige uden gennem Ektekab — nemlig Ektekab med en Mormon. Og skal Ektekabet

Figure 5.6: "The Triumphs of Mormonism in Norway." The Norwegian newspaper *Aftenposten* provided an alarming article in 1910 on the activities of Mormon missionaries: "It is the Mormons, or 'The Latter-day Holy' as they like to call themselves, who, unhindered by secular or religious authorities, propagate their teachings, are crowned with such tragic success." Newspaper clipping from *Aftenposten* 3 June 1910, archived by the Ministry of Justice.

jæmpelse af den hvide Slavehandel [National Committee to Combat the White Slave Trade] was set up.¹³²

Although depictions of the white slave trade encompassed more than Mormon proselytism, it was precisely the Mormons who were quickly identified as a present and rapidly growing threat to Scandinavian girls. Mormon missionary activity in the early 1900s was referred to in Norway as a “veritable Invasion” by newspapers, clergymen and the Ministry of Church Affairs.¹³³ The authorities received requests from a number of groups in civil society with petitions to intervene. In 1904 both the Association of Priests in Oslo and Dissenteringet (the organisation of Norwegian dissenter groups) asked for the provisions of the law to be enforced against the Mormons.¹³⁴ The Association of Priests emphasised that they justified their concerns on moral grounds, not religious. This was especially true of the Mormons’ doctrine of polygamy, which was deemed to be “in opposition to our social order,” and the association concluded that it was a fact that Norwegian women had been recruited into polygamy in Utah.¹³⁵

The position of the dissenters appeared somewhat paradoxical, both because the members themselves represented religious communities outside the state church and because the following year the union supported a change in the Dissenter Act that would grant the right of free religious practice to all, including the Mormons.¹³⁶ The Morality Association was concerned about Mormon missionary activity and was allocated funds from the state budget to actively

132 See reports by Færden and Hambro from the conference in *Moral: Tidsskrift for arbeidet til fremme af Sedelighed* (Kristiania, 1899), 146 ff. and 166 ff. There is also a great deal of material on “the white slave trade” in the National Archives of Norway (Riksarkivet): National Archives Norway (RA), RA/S-1037/M/L0084, Foranstaltn. til bekjæmpelse av den hvite slavehandel og utuktige publikasjoner I, 1906–1912 og National Archives Norway (RA), RA/S-1037/M/L0085, Foranstaltn. til bekjæmpelse av den hvite slavehandel og utuktige publikasjoner II, 1913–1922.

133 National Archives Norway (RA), RA/S-1007/ /D/Dc/L0239/0007. Memorandum in the Ministry of Church Affairs with the title “On the Mormons,” assumed to be from 1904: “In recent times a new invasion of missionaries from Utah appears to have taken place.” In a letter to the Ministry of Justice, the Ministry of Church Affairs repeated the statement on the “invasion” 4 January 1905. The Bishop of Tromsø to the Ministry of Church Affairs 22 February 1906: “On the basis of everything that is being reported from different Localities in the Diocese, a formal Invasion by this religiously and socially pernicious Society is now occurring.”

134 National Archives Norway (RA), RA/S-1007/ /D/Dc/L0239/0007/Mormonerne, see letter from JD til KD, dated 11 November 1905 for the historical account (KD A 4609/05).

135 National Archives Norway (RA), RA/S-1040/E/E05/L0001/Mormonerpakken, 2. sivilkontor C. Trossamfunn-mormonerpakken 1889–1915, Letter from Kristiania Association of Priests to the Ministry of Church Affairs, dated 22 February 1904, JPDJo53C05.

136 Ingunn Folkestad Breistein, “*Har staten bedre borgere?*”: *Dissenternes kamp for religiøs frihet 1891–1869* (Trondheim: Tapir Akademisk Forlag, 2003), 167 f.

counter it. The association's members linked the missionary activities intimately to the white slave trade, and submitted written petitions to the authorities to intervene more vigorously. The young women were heading for a sad fate when they entered under the power of the Church of Utah, they explained, adding that the Church demanded unconditional obedience and that attempts to escape its clutches could be "mortally dangerous."¹³⁷ In 1904, the conservative daily *Ørebladet* wrote about the Mormon "Invasion" and explained that

It is undisputed that last year 500 Norwegian Girls were brought to America by Mormon Agents – only to encounter a grievous fate. The Central Board [of the Morality Association] points out that when the "white slave trade" is to be combated, the traffic in question should also be combated by virtue of existing legislation and in certain cases by the improvement thereof.¹³⁸

Several bishops, including those in Trondheim, Tromsø and Oslo, conveyed the disquiet within the established church. Their concerns were now particularly directed at the Mormons' alleged white slave trade, first and foremost with the tricking of women into sexual slavery in Utah. In 1905 these anxieties and the opinion of the Ministry of Church Affairs led to the Ministry of Justice conducting confidential investigations through the chiefs of police of the major cities. It was inquired as to whether Mormon activity had increased, if it posed any danger, or was taking place in a sensational or scandalous way. The police chiefs repudiated this, and the Ministry of Justice therefore found no reason to take extraordinary measures.¹³⁹

In Sweden, too, the link between the activities of the Mormon missionaries and the white slave trade was explicit.¹⁴⁰ In 1903, a Swedish committee for the fight against the white slave trade (*Föreningen Vaksamhet*) was established. Four years later the committee brought it to the attention of the Swedish Ministry of Civil Affairs that some 70 male and "many" female missionaries were "system-

137 National Archives Norway (RA), RA/S-1040/E/E05/L0001/Mormonerpakken, 2. sivilkontor C. Trossamfunn-mormonerpakken 1889–1915, Letter from the Central Board of Norwegian Morality Associations to the Ministry of Justice, dated 2 February 1904, Jno. 696C04.

138 *Ørebladet*, 22 March 1904.

139 National Archives Norway (RA), RA/S-1007/ /D/Dc/L0239/0007/Mormonerne, see letter from Ministry of Justice to Ministry of Church Affairs, dated 11 November 1905 for the historical account (KD A 4609/05). The reports can be found in National Archives Norway (RA), RA/S-1040/E/E05/L0001/Mormonerpakken, 2. sivilkontor C. Trossamfunn-mormonerpakken 1889–1915.

140 The description of Sweden is based on Frode Ulvund, "Eit angrep på nasjonen?": Mormonisme, konspirasjonsteoriar og moralsk panikk i Noreg og Sverige, 1900–1914," *Arr* 3 (2019): 6ff.

atically recruiting” for emigration to Utah, especially among young women.¹⁴¹ In its enquiry the committee stated that in just nine months in 1905, more than 500 women had been sent from Sweden to Utah, and believed that these women faced a difficult future. To hamper this exodus, the committee asked that emigration among converted Mormons, and their fate in Utah, be investigated.

In the same year, the Swedish authorities established an Emigration Committee with a mandate to examine what challenges the great emigration entailed. Particularly after the turn of the century, concerns were raised about the demographic consequences for the nation of the emigration of young people from Sweden, and a separate national association against emigration was formed.¹⁴² Föreningen Vaksamhet’s missives formed a crucial premise for the committee’s work. Three years later, and following the Emigration Committee’s close attention to the Norwegian debates and initiatives to restrict Mormon activities, they issued a separate report with a particular eye on the Mormon mission.¹⁴³

The committee reproduced the discussion of the history of the Mormon Church from Lundin’s *Kyrkahistoria för hemmet* [History of the Church for the Home] from 1908.¹⁴⁴ Here, the Church was referred to as “demonic distortions of Christian communities,” with most of the classic stereotypes present. The prophet was portrayed as harbouring ambitions of becoming a worldly regent with his own military platoons whose aim was to become president of the United States. His practice of polygamy “calls to mind, as in much else, [...] Mohammed.” Utahan society was described as a despotic theocracy that employed “angels of death” against its opponents. The Mormon missionaries were referred to as “veritable wolves in sheep’s clothing” scouring Europe for young women. “Scandinavia and not least Sweden has proved to be an extremely favourable market for their handsome business, which is almost comparable to the ‘white slave trade’, but nevertheless it is permitted to continue quite undisturbed by our authorities.”¹⁴⁵

141 Emigrationsutredningen, *Mormonvärfningen*, 2.

142 Anna Lindkvist, *Jorden åt folket: Nationalföreningen mot emigrationen 1907–1925*. I Skrifter från institutionen för historiska studier, Umeå universitet No. 19 (Umeå: Umeå University, 2007).

143 The Swedish emigration committee also wrote to Norwegian authorities and asked to be advised on the legal proposals directed towards the Mormons drawn up by the Ministry of Church Affairs (National Archives Norway (RA), RA/S/1007/D/Dc/LO239/0007, *Mormonerne*, Letter from the Royal Swedish Mission in Kristiania to the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, dated 4 December 1908).

144 Carl Fredrik Lundin, *Kyrkahistoria för hemmet* (Stockholm: Norstedt, 1908).

145 Emigrationsutredningen, *Mormonvärfningen*, 9.

When it came to the Mormon Church of the day, the committee built upon the portrayal of pastor P. E. Åslev. He depicted the Church as having the most draconian and profane of intentions. The purpose of Mormon propaganda was “to acquire ever greater political influence,” “ultimately to expedite a global empire,” “to accumulate money,” “to keep its members in penury and great subjugation, and in dependence on the rich priesthood.”¹⁴⁶

The missionaries' methods were characterised as almost “Jesuit” – it was of no importance how conversions came about, only that people were converted. The Mormon leadership in Utah were cunning liars and thieves with morally debauched lives. As had been normal in any mention of Jews and Jesuits, Åslev described the Mormons as untrustworthy and morally ambivalent: “They wear the cloak of piety, which shrouds the Mormon beast dwelling in their hearts.”¹⁴⁷ The roving agents of Mormonism were attempting to “ensnare women,” and back in Utah they boasted of “their shameful actions against women.”¹⁴⁸ According to Åslev, the missionaries were working like bees to win proselytes, and Åslev asked rhetorically how long they would be left untroubled to spread their “weeds, undermine our Christian faith and our family life, and recruit emigrants for Utah?”¹⁴⁹

For Åslev, the Mormons were not just a moral hazard to certain girls and to society's moral foundations. The Mormons also represented a danger to the Swedish nation, and he used a rhetoric of war metaphors to evoke an attack on Sweden. Swedish society, he fulminated, could no longer ignore such a well-organised attack from an alien arch-enemy to the Christian faith. The enemy had already captured thousands and taken them to foreign lands, where they were debased. Åslev hoped that the reawakening he had registered in “our beloved fatherland” gave reason to believe that “true friends of the fatherland” would no longer tolerate the activity of the Mormons. Mormonism could not be branded as unpatriotic in any starker terms, and, the struggle against Mormonism could hardly be more clearly linked to national patriotism and the defence of the fatherland.

Åslev also discussed possible countermeasures. Fines and imprisonment would only create martyrs, he believed. The only effective approach was to ban-

146 Emigrationsutredningen, *Mormonvärfningen*, 10 (II Pastor P.E. Åslev's statement).

147 Emigrationsutredningen, *Mormonvärfningen*, 13.

148 Emigrationsutredningen, *Mormonvärfningen*, 18.

149 Emigrationsutredningen, *Mormonvärfningen*, 21.

ish “the whole hydra,” such as had been done in Germany (Prussia).¹⁵⁰ If that were not possible, priests should be engaged to travel the country in order to warn against and expose the “lies” of the Mormon agents.¹⁵¹

The emigration enquiry concluded that the Mormons were conducting extensive, vigorous, and highly organised propaganda in Sweden, and that the purpose of the mission was fraudulent. Government measures were therefore desirable in order to spare innocent victims from disappointment and, on occasion, ruin. Since the Mormons were not protected by the Dissenter Act of 1873, the investigators believed that the *Ansvarsförordningen* of 1869 (a law that prohibited the dissemination of heretical teachings) could be employed. They also supported Åslev’s proposal for the expulsion of missionaries on the basis that their activity was founded on fraud, and finally recommended that Åslev receive support to conduct home missioning in the fight against Mormonism.¹⁵²

In the Scandinavian public arenas, “Mormon propaganda” was consistently described as a growing scandal that ought to be beaten back. In Trondheim in February 1911, the newspaper *Dagsposten* carried the following front-page announcement: “The Mormon plague. What can be done to rid us of it?”¹⁵³ The impression of peril was reinforced by sensational popular literature such as Rudolf Muus’ *Mormonernes Pigefangst* [The Mormons’ Hunt for Girls] from 1906, and from the following year by silent films depicting a shocking human traffic in young women. In Denmark, the Nordisk Film Kompagni produced a series of silent films about the role of the Mormons in the white slave trade that were also shown in Norwegian cinemas: *Den hvide slavinde* [The White Slave Girl] (1907), *Den hvide slavehandel* [The White Slave Trade] (1910), *Den hvide slavehandels sidste offer* [The White Slave Trade’s Latest Victim] (1910) and *Mormonens offer* [A Victim of the Mormons] (1911). The latter was about a girl who was forced to follow a Mormon priest to Utah to join his harem as his wife, and the film’s print program repeated classic anti-Mormon claims before ending with a warning against Mormonism to the film’s viewers.¹⁵⁴ The influence of such films is

150 A *hydra* was a sea monster from Greek mythology. It lived in water and had at least eight heads. For each head that was chopped off, two new ones grew. The monster had poisonous blood and caused death wherever it went.

151 Emigrationsutredningen, *Mormonvärfrningen*, 21.

152 Emigrationsutredningen, *Mormonvärfrningen*, 54 f.

153 *Dagsposten*, 8 February 1911.

154 Wikipedia (https://da.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mormonens_offer, accessed 24 August 2015). The film programme is available on the webpage of the Danish Film Institute (Det danske filminstitut) about the film: (<http://www.dfi.dk/faktaofilm/film/da/20932.aspx?id=20932>, accessed 3 February 2017).

demonstrated by a Mormon Elder serving in Haugesund in Western Norway. In a report he explained: “Some agitation against the ‘Mormons’ has grown out of the presentation of the moving picture drama, ‘A Victim of the Mormons.’”¹⁵⁵ The Elders took advantage of the sensation, and on each night of the performance they distributed tracts and advertised for a meeting planned a few days later, “to answer the libels in play.” The Elder claimed that the meeting was a success, packed with a large audience, and many were heard to exclaim that “[t]he Mormons cannot be as bad a people as represented after all.” Although Mormon missionaries thus used the opportunity to convey counter-representations of Mormonism, popular culture preserved the public image of young converted women as victims of lascivious polygamists.

The notion that the Mormons represented a moral peril, enticing and seducing young women into a terrible fate characterised by fornication and indecency, remained a central objection in granting them legal approval. In 1908 the priest of Jakob's parish in Oslo explained that the Mormons were conducting extensive activities “chiefly among young Girls with the intent to cause them to emigrate to Utah,” and the priest went even further by claiming that “their precise intention in persuading the young Girls to emigrate was [Polygamy].”¹⁵⁶ The letter was forwarded to the Ministry of Church Affairs by his bishop in Oslo, who believed that moves had to be made against “the Mormons’ blatant Propaganda, whose Purpose in Reality is to entice Men and especially Women to emigrate to the Mormon State.”¹⁵⁷ In 1910, *Fredrikstad Tilskuer* described how Mormons deliberately tried to seduce young women by using missionaries of handsome appearance.¹⁵⁸ In the same year the newspaper *17. Mai* believed that the “beautiful young girls” that the Mormons sought out never reached Utah, but along the way fell victim to

155 Lawrence C. Monson, letter to the editor, 15 February 1912, Improvement Era, June 1912, 745. Here quoted from Alexander L. Baugh, “Defending Mormonism: The Scandinavian Mission Presidency of Andrew Jenson, 1909–12,” in *Go Ye into All the World: The Growth & Development of Mormon Missionary Work*, ed. Reid L. Nielson and Fred E. Woods (Provo, UT: Religious Studies Center, 2012), footnote 26. Available at https://rsc.byu.edu/archived/go-ye-all-world/missionary-work-europe-and-africa/20-defending-mormonism-scandanavian#_ednref26, accessed 11 June 2019.

156 National Archives Norway (RA), RA/S-1007/D/Dc/L0239/0007/Mormonerne, Letter to the dean of the Diocese of Kristiania from the priest of Jakob's parish, dated 25 May 1906 (KD A 3323/1908).

157 National Archives Norway (RA), RA/S-1007/D/Dc/L0239/0007/Mormonerne, Letter to the dean of the Diocese of Kristiania from the priest of Jakob's parish, dated 25 May 1906 (KD A 3323/1908).

158 *Fredrikstad Tilskuer*, 7 June 1910.

Hjem for ældre damer.
== The fest ==
 afholdes torsdag 12te d. kl. 6 1/2 i Ynglingeforeningens sal.
Sang. Musik. Bortlodning.
 — Entre 0.50. —

VERDENSTEATRET



1100 Mtr! Mormonens Offer 1100 Mtr!
 80 Afdelinger. 80 Afdelinger.

Et Drama om Kjærlighed og sekterisk Fanatisme
 Den kvindelige Titelrolle, Nina Gram,
 udføres af Clara Wieth
 den kjendte Fremstillende af Hovedrollerne
 „Ved Fængslets Port“ „Ungdom“ o. fl. Films-Dra
 Som Mormonpræsten Andrew Larsson optræder

V. Psilander.

Dette spændende og virkningsfulde Nutids-Skuespil,
 som belyser den af „de sidste Dages Hellige“
 iværksatte hensynløse Propaganda, er en af
Filmskunstens store Verdens-Succes'er.
 Nyeste Ugerevy No. 135.

**Diakonisse-
 * basaren ***
 fortsættes i Sommerveitens bedehus
 imorgen kl. 5. Oplæsning af skole-
 inspektar Svensen kl. 7. Andet

Emissær Erlandsen
 taler i Itens Bedehus Onsdag Af-
 ten Kl. 8.

Missionsprest Nikolaisen
 taler i Bakkestrandens Bedehus
 Onsdag Aften Kl. 8. Bidrag i
 Bøsseerne.

Figure 5.7: *Mormonens offer* (Victim of the Mormon) was a Danish silent movie from 1911 in which the plot was the abduction of a woman to Utah in order to be included in a Mormon harem. The movie was very popular in Scandinavia. This advertising for the movie is from the cinema "Verdensteatret" (World Theatre) in Trondheim, Norway. *Trondhjems Adresseavis* (10 September 1911).

white slave traders.¹⁵⁹ These concerns were communicated by the Ministry of Church Affairs to the Ministry of Justice in an attempt to initiate legal action.¹⁶⁰

In both 1911 and 1912, anti-Mormonism in Norway was promoted on speaking tours. The Norwegian-American Jørgen Jansen-Fuhr (1878–1930) travelled the country in the spring and summer of 1911 and held meetings whose message was fornication and polygamy among the Mormons.¹⁶¹ Prior to this Jansen-Fuhr had also travelled in the United States, including Salt Lake City. According to the Mormon periodical *Skandinaviens Stjerne*, which consistently refuted and delegitimised touring anti-Mormons, he was given a hospitable reception and had never expressed anything during his stay that suggested he would return as a convinced anti-Mormon agitator.¹⁶²

The missionary Leroy Larsen (1887–1962) noted in his diary in 1912 that the majority of the people he met in his work in Northern Norway were amiably disposed towards him, but that some refused to have anything to do with him. He attributed this to Jansen-Fuhr's tour, while suggesting that his lectures also led to increased interest in the missionaries: "Jonson Fuhr had been thru Sulitelmia [Sulitjelma] last year and held two or three lectures there against us, but the majority of people wanted to hear our side and many asked us if we werent going to hold meetings."¹⁶³

159 *17. Mai*, 4 June 1910.

160 National Archives Norway (RA), RA/S-1007/D/Dc/L0239/0007/Mormonerne, Draft of a letter from the Ministry of Church Affairs (MoCA) to the Ministry of Justice (MoJ), dated June 1910, in which MoCA asks MoJ to ensure that the police investigate the issue of whether Mormon agents in Norway are agents for the white slave trade. The letter was never sent: "Following a conference with the Director General, the cutting has been handed over to Bureau Manager Flock in the Ministry of Justice today, whom I have telephoned about the issue 11.11.10 W." Also National Archives Norway (RA), RA/S-1007/D/Dc/L0239/0007/Mormonerne, memo dated 2 September 1910 in which a MoCA staff member proposes that the MoJ "is made aware that indications have emerged in various newspapers that Mormon preachers are perhaps involved in 'the white Slave trade.'"

161 *Trondhjems Adresseavis*, 6 June 1911. According to the minutes, Jansen-Fuhr is said to have concluded: "The speaker terminated his lecture with the words that King Haakon had said to him during an audience a couple of days ago: 'I hope that all will join the movement against the Mormons that has arisen in England'." See also Glad, *The Mission of Mormonism in Norway*, 381 ff.

162 *Skandinaviens Stjerne*, no. 15 (1 August 1911): 235 ff. The periodical also wrote that Jansen-Fuhr was invited to give lectures and that on one occasion Professor John A. Widtsøe acted as an interpreter into English.

163 Brigham Young University, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, MSS SC 2866. Leroy Laurits Larsen missionary diary, entry 16 June 1912.

In the spring of the following year, Norwegian pastor Karl Schreiner (1865–1947) held lectures on Mormonism and had them printed by the Morality Association. He was a chaplain of Vestre Aker and closely associated with the Free Faculty of Theology (Menighetsfakultet), a private and conservative school of theology. Schreiner referred to Mormonism as an immoral “bohemian religion,” arguing that Mormons could rightly be described as practitioners of the white slave trade: “It is publicly known that the Elders’ harems continue to be recruited with Norwegian and Danish girls.”¹⁶⁴ Polygamy was, according to Schreiner, not merely a doctrine, but was still being practised in secret.

At that time a wave of anti-Mormonism had swept through several European countries based on many of the same accusations. In the spring of 1911 Mormonism became a topic in the British House of Commons, in particular with reference to the exclusionary policy of the Germans as a model.¹⁶⁵ During the first half of 1911, an American apostate of Danish heritage, Hans Peter Freece (Friis, 1879–1959) and his wife Blanche Stewart-Freece, were traveling Britain and Europe as an envoy of the Interdenominational Council of Women for Christian and Patriotic Service in New York, agitating against Mormonism. The Council had also presented the earliest opposition to Smoot’s seat in the Senate a few

164 Karl Schreiner, *Mormonerne og deres lære: Foredrag holdt i Calmeyergatens missionshus 26. mars 1912* (Kristiania: De norske sedelighetsforeningers centralstyre, 2012), 15.

165 The question was addressed several times in the House of Commons during the spring of 1911. In a meeting on 6 March, Mr. Arnold Ward MP “asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, whether the attention of the Government has been called to the growing activity in this country of Mormon missionaries from the United States; whether he has any official information showing that young English girls are being induced to emigrate to Utah; and, if so, whether the Government propose to take any steps to safeguard English homes from this danger?” (Hansard, HC Deb (6 March 1911) vol. 22, col. 811. (<https://hansard.parliament.uk/Commons/1911-03-06/debates/738c2c93-76d4-421c-a9cf-5fbcc2a45287/MormonMissionaries>, accessed 17 December 2018). On 8 May, Mr. Houston MP “asked the Home Secretary whether he has yet received any reply from the British Ambassador at Berlin as to the expulsion of Mormon missionaries from Germany; if so, will he state the nature of the reply; if the German Government have so dealt with Mormon missionaries in Germany, does he propose to adopt similar measures in Great Britain; or, if not, whether he will introduce legislation prohibiting Mormon propaganda in Great Britain, and the nature of such legislation?” (Hansard, HC Deb (8 May 1911) vol. 25, col. 858. (<https://hansard.parliament.uk/Commons/1911-05-08/debates/4e0e961a-6b7c-42c9-9437-afd578d24f31/OralAnswersToQuestions>, accessed 17 December 2018). See also Malcolm R. Thorp, “‘The Mormon Peril’: The Crusade against the Saints in Britain, 1910–1914,” *Journal of Mormon History*, vol. 2 (1975): 82ff; Malcom R. Thorp, “The British Government and the Mormon Question 1910–1922,” *Journal of Church and State*, 2 (1979). The discussion of the moral panic in 1911 is based in part on Ulvund, “Eit angrep på nasjonen?”

years earlier, declaring a war on Mormonism in 1905.¹⁶⁶ In 1908 they wrote to the Norwegian king, urging him to endorse anti-Mormon legislation in Norway.¹⁶⁷ Freece soon gained a reputation for being the foremost instigator of the virulent anti-Mormonism sweeping across northern Europe that year, and was described as the direct impetus behind the debates in the House of Commons. In February, the *New York Times* carried the headline “War on Mormons is Waged in Britain” above an article commenting on Freece’s activities there.¹⁶⁸ In Freece’s description of the Mormon Church, he emphasised depictions of the enslavement of white females, polygamous marriages, and the economic exploitation of the adherents by Church leaders.

Besides Freece’s inflammatory speeches and political initiatives towards government and parliament, increased missionary activities in the preceding years explain the enormous outbreak of anti-Mormonism, more fierce than ever before in the case of Britain.¹⁶⁹ As an example, the Archdeacon of Liverpool argued in 1911 that “the Mormon creed is immoral in its essence and disastrous to the highest interest of the home, of womanhood, and of children,” and stated that Mormonism was nothing less than a threat to British civilisation.¹⁷⁰

In Germany, the prohibition on Mormons had also been actualised shortly before, and in 1910, 21 Mormon missionaries were expelled and transported across the border. The *Washington Post* referenced the incident, explaining German authorities’ claims that missionaries from the Mormon Church had broken the ban at times after 1902 and had therefore been arrested and deported.¹⁷¹

166 Joan Smyth Iversen, *The Antipolygamy Controversy in U.S. Womens’s Movements, 1880–1925: A Debate on the American Home* (New York: Routledge, 1997), 216; Alexander, *Mormonism in Transition*, 241.

167 Glad, *The Mission of Mormonism in Norway*, 383.

168 *New York Times*, 5 February 1911: “War on Mormons is Waged in Britain. Mr. Freece Located 100 Meeting Places and 325 Proselytizing Elders. SEEKS AID OF PARLIAMENT. Wants Bill Passed Prohibiting Such Activities – Bishop of Liverpool and Several M.P.’s Support Movement.”

169 Rasmussen, *Mormonism and the Making of a British Zion*, 131ff; Thorp, “‘The Mormon Peril’,” 70 ff.

170 *Manchester Guardian*, 20 April 1911. Here quoted from Thorp, “‘The Mormon Peril’,” 72.

171 *Washington Post*, 23 June 1910. “The status of the Mormons in Germany was taken up in exchanges between the foreign office and the American embassy in 1903, when the government took the position that the teachings of the missionaries were subversive of morality. It was then arranged with the Mormon superintendent, through the American embassy, that all Mormon missionaries should withdraw from the country within a month, transferring the middle European headquarter from Berlin to Switzerland. Subsequently 140 foreign leaders departed, leaving the German societies, with a total membership of 8,000, in the care of German pastors. The authorities state that in recent years the Mormons have disregarded the understanding of 1903, and from time to time individual missionaries have been apprehended and expelled. In such in-

The Netherlands, Switzerland and Hungary can be added to the list of countries in which the “Mormon Peril” raised widespread concern during this period.¹⁷² In all these countries, concrete measures were implemented, or at the very least calls for the protection of society against Mormonism were voiced in public and within their political systems. In this landscape, the Scandinavian countries were no exception.¹⁷³

Naturally, the Scandinavian public and their national governments were far from oblivious to the international campaigns against the Mormons.¹⁷⁴ The debates in the House of Commons, and Winston Churchill’s investigations (as Home Secretary) into Mormon activities in Britain and on the continent were conveyed through Scandinavian newspapers. The Norwegian newspaper *Bergens Tidende* printed a letter from their correspondent in London stating that the matter had caused a ferocious uproar in Britain, and he concluded that “The whole of Salt Lake City appears to be a modern harem, a thousand times worse than anything Turkish.”¹⁷⁵ The paper also later printed an article written by Freece in which he described economic exploitation of proselytes.¹⁷⁶ *Morgenbladet*, also a Norwegian paper, explained that the most serious allegation towards the Mormon missionary activities was their proselytising efforts among “young, beautiful girls with the intention of sending them to Utah, where they are then to be incorporated into the Elders’ Harem.”¹⁷⁷

In Scandinavian newspapers, the apostate Freece was described as a primary instigator of the international anti-Mormon propaganda of the day; “There’s just one big, current name in England at the moment: Hans P. Freece, the man who started the global agitation against Mormonism.”¹⁷⁸ A newspaper explained that he was a daily visitor at the British Home Office, and claimed that the bishops competed in helping him in his efforts. The paper concluded

stances they did not apply to the American embassy for relief nor make a protest against expulsion.”

172 Alexander, *Mormonism in Transition*, 229.

173 Alexander, *Mormonism in Transition*, 226 ff.

174 See also Glad, *The Mission of Mormonism in Norway*, 393 ff.

175 *Bergens Tidende*, 8 April 1911.

176 *Bergens Tidende*, 29 April 1911. This article was also printed in Danish newspapers (*Middelfart Venstreblad*, 6 April 1911).

177 *Morgenbladet*, 22 April 1911.

178 *Bergens Tidende*, 23 April 1911; *Fredrikstad Tilskuer*, 27 April 1911; *Middelfart Venstreblad*, 19 April 1911; *Aarhus Amtstidende*, 19 April 1911. The newspaper *Berlingske Tidende* (Copenhagen) carried an extensive interview with Freece written by a Marius L. Yde, reprinted in other Scandinavian newspapers. The Swedish paper *Dagens Nyheter* (20 April 1911) also described him as the instigator of that year’s anti-Mormon agitation.

that “It is important to unite all forces against Mormonism, which plagues England and the Nordic countries like a nightmare.”¹⁷⁹

Freece also went on a lecture tour of Denmark, even meeting with the Danish Minister of Church Affairs, Jacob Appel (1866–1931).¹⁸⁰ According to Freece, when Appel was told how polygamy was practised unhindered in Utah, he replied that Freece should “not ask us as a government to take drastic measures to help your reforms, but go back and reform your own people, who are surely in need of it.”¹⁸¹ Andrew Jenson, the president of the Mormon Church in Denmark and Norway, spoke out against Freece in *Skandinaviens Stjerne* in ways Freece could not accept.¹⁸² He sued him for libel, and Jenson was forced to pay a 400 kroner fine.¹⁸³

With reference to Freece and his statistics on female converts in Britain, a Norwegian paper wrote that it ought to be taken as a warning by the authorities: “For long enough we have closed our Eyes to the socially destructive Mormon Activity in our Country.”¹⁸⁴ There is no doubt that the widespread anti-Mormon hostility in a number of European countries was boosted by the American envoy, and he acted as a conduit driving derogatory representations of Mormonism present in America into Europe.

The disquiet about Mormon missionary activity reached the Storting the year after the House of Commons debate. Chaplain Johan Fredrik Gjesdahl (1857–1944) represented the Conservatives in Bergen and later became leader of the Norwegian Association of Priests. In an interpellation, he asked what the government would do to prevent Mormon propaganda. He made reference to the national ecclesiastical assembly, which earlier that year had sent a similar request to the government to combat “the growing Mormon propaganda infringing the

179 *Bergens Tidende*, 23 April 1911.

180 Alexander, *Mormonism in Transition*, 229. The newspaper *Fredrikstad Tilskuer* wrote that he planned to go to Denmark, Norway, and possibly also Sweden and Finland. He travelled in Denmark during the summer of 1911, but I have not found sources confirming that he travelled in Norway or Sweden, even though a Swedish newspaper claimed he travelled there (*Dagens Nyheter*, 30 December 1911). On Freece's meeting with Appel, see *Skive Folkeblad*, 14 June 1911.

181 Blanche K Stewart-Freece and Hans P. Freece, *How Mormons Recruit Abroad: A Bridged Report of Investigations Prosecuted Abroad During 1911 for 'The Interdenominational Council of Women for Christian and Patriotic Service'* (1911), 23. (The book is available from <https://catalog.hathi-trust.org/Record/006016971>, accessed 19 December 2018.)

182 *Skandinaviens Stjerne*, no. 14 (15 July 1911): 216 ff: “Hans Peter Freece. Lidt om Mormonernes frækkeste Bagvasker” [Hans Peter Freece: The Mormons's most impudent slanderer].

183 *Jyllandsposten*, 23 July 1912; *Korsør Avis*, 27 August 1912 printed an interview with Mormons once the verdict was final.

184 *Fredrikstad Tilskuer*, 7 April 1911.

moral principles of the laws of the state.”¹⁸⁵ The chaplain even asked how much evil “many of these girls, who have been caught in the clutches of Mormon agents, are being subjected to!” and argued strongly for the need to intervene since “the Mormons have principles that run counter to the moral principles of the state.”¹⁸⁶ As long as the state itself considered the task of promoting and contributing towards the “Christian and moral upbringing” of the people as its own, it could not take an indifferent stance to activities working against this. Both the Ministers of Church Affairs and of Justice responded, and although they agreed with the view that the Mormons represented a “harmful doctrine,” the Minister of Justice in particular was reluctant to take legal action against them.¹⁸⁷

In a written submission to the Norwegian Emigration Committee in 1913, Minister of Church Affairs Edvard Liljedahl (1845–1924) expressed concerns about the Mormons’ motives for encouraging young women to emigrate to Utah, and asked the committee to initiate a tightening of the law.¹⁸⁸ As late as the 1920s, three decades after the Mormon Church in Utah had prohibited polygamy, the white slave trade was being used as a central justification for the denial of Mormon religious freedom. Bishop Wilhelm Bøckman (1851–1926) of Nidaros explained in 1922:

I know of nothing to which the characteristic is more appropriate than that given by the Apostle Paul in his 2nd Letter to Timothy 3.6: ‘For of this sort are they which creep into houses, and lead captive silly women laden with sins, led away with divers lusts’. The Mor-

185 *Stortingsforhandlinger*. Del 7b. Stortingstidende (1912), 2718. [Records of the Proceedings of the Norwegian Parliament (Storting). Part 7b. Parliamentary debate (1912)].

186 *Stortingsforhandlinger*. Del 7b. Stortingstidende (1912), 2721 and 2725. [Records of the Proceedings of the Norwegian Parliament (Storting). Part 7b. Parliamentary debate (1912)].

187 Minister of Church Affairs Liljedahl: “with regard to the maliciousness of the Mormon propaganda, I can endorse Pastor Gjesdahl’s descriptions, which has also found full support in this country “ (*Stortingsforhandlinger*. Del 7b. Stortingstidende (1912), 2722. [Records of the Proceedings of the Norwegian Parliament (Storting). Part 7b. Parliamentary debate (1912)]) and Minister of Justice Stang: “There is naturally no difference of opinion anywhere regarding the maliciousness of the Mormons’ propaganda.” (*Stortingsforhandlinger*. Del 7b. Stortingstidende (1912), 2722. [Records of the Proceedings of the Norwegian Parliament (Storting). Part 7b. Parliamentary debate (1912)]).

188 National Archives Norway (RA), RA/S-1007/D/Dc/L0239/0007/Mormonerne, letter from MoCA to the Emigration Committee dated 14 January 1913. The consultative statement was later published in the Emigration Committee’s report in 1921. *Stortingsforhandlinger*. Del 3. Oth.prp 24, Indstilling II fra Utvandringskomiteen (1921), 239 ff. [Records of the Proceedings of the Norwegian Parliament (Storting). Part 3. Report from the Committee on Emigration enclosed with proposition 24 (Bill) regarding amendments to the law on emigration (1921)].

mon missionaries prefer to sneak into the kitchen and mostly address Women. In spite of all that being said, I have no doubt that the deepest intent of their propaganda is to carry women over to Utah.¹⁸⁹

In the same year that Mormonism was held up as a societal problem in the Norwegian parliament, there was also a petition in the Swedish parliament. In the preceding years, Swedish-American denominations and Pastor Åslev had both worked for measures against the Mormons, including proposals for deportation. As in Norway, anti-Mormon activities flourished through vituperation in the press, within the clerical association and at the Swedish general church meeting. Demands for deportation were common, and in some cases were also enforced. The Mormon Church in Sweden appealed to the Swedish king to repeal the ruling, and asked the government for a hearing in which they could defend themselves. In early 1911, the new Elder of the Mormons in Sweden was granted an audience with the king in order to refute these accusations.¹⁹⁰

Nevertheless, several Elders were expelled in the autumn of 1911 and given 48 hours to leave Sweden on account of spreading “teachings corruptive to the nation,” while others were suggested banished by local authorities.¹⁹¹ Two of these missionaries, Gustaf Larson and Hyrum Edwin Hanson, asked the US government for help. They stated that they had broken no law of the land, but had only been preaching the Gospel of Christ. The move to deport them had been made without giving them a formal trial, both explained in two separate letters to the US minister in Stockholm. They believed as US citizens they were entitled to the protection of the United States government and requested help in restoring their rights in Sweden.¹⁹² In October that year, both Mormons and non-Mormons who had attended meetings with Mormons furnished the US Legation with cer-

189 National Archives Norway (RA), RA/S-1007/D/Dd/L0203/0013/Mormonerne kristne, Letter from the Bishop of Nidaros to MoCA dated 10 November 1922 (KD 5283–A22).

190 Johansson, *History of the Swedish Mission*, 15.

191 Johansson, *History of the Swedish Mission*, 14. For expulsions, see, among other examples, the Norwegian newspaper *Fredrikstad Tilskuer* (4 November 1911), which mentioned the expulsion of four Mormon missionaries from Jemtland and Västerbotten and praised the Swedish authorities because “such semi-pagan propaganda is only to the detriment of people and countries.” The arrest, interrogation and deportation of Mormon missionaries received a great deal of attention in Swedish newspapers at the time. See for example *Stockholms-Tidningen* 1 November 1911; 4 November 1911; 16 November 1911; 21 November 1911 regarding the expulsion cases in Stockholm, Falun and Eskilstuna, and *Dagens Nyheter*, 8 October 1911 and *Göteborgs Aftonblad*, 9 October 1911 regarding an expulsion case in Gothenburg.

192 LDS Church History Library. MS 12130. Letter from Gustaf Larson to US Minister to Sweden, dated 17 September 1911; Letter from Hyrum Edwin Hanson to US Minister to Sweden, dated 22 September 1911.

tificates declaring that the banished missionaries had not advocated polygamy or exhorted anyone to emigrate.¹⁹³

In 1912, the government persuaded the Riksdag to allocate 8,000 kroner to the fight against Mormonism. The funds were principally used to send Åslev around the country. The Riksdag discussed countermeasures every year until 1915, with Mormon morality (polygamy) and the consequences of emigration for women remaining core concerns the entire time.¹⁹⁴ In 1915, the Riksdag refused to grant further funds, not because opposition to the Mormons had diminished, but because Åslev was perceived as controversial and because the results of his cautionary undertakings against the missionaries were clearly failing to have any effect.¹⁹⁵

There are examples of critical voices speaking against these descriptions. They also emerged in the Riksdag in 1915. In Norway, particularly the police, who with the consent of political authorities deliberately ignored illegal religious practice, gave the Mormons’ peaceful conduct as the reason for their lack of intervention. In fact, as far back as 1880 the Oslo chief of police had expressed that Mormons were known for their “industriousness, temperance and honesty.”¹⁹⁶ In 1904 the chief of police of the same city repeated these descriptions, adding that Mormons were law-abiding and “on the whole decent people,” the likes of whom he would like to see more of.¹⁹⁷ These comments were not made in public, but were expressed in internal correspondence with the Ministry of Justice.

In public in both Sweden and Norway, therefore, there was a widespread notion that Mormon teachings were socially perilous and immoral, and this also preoccupied the political system. In Denmark after the turn of the century, anti-Mormonism was certainly widespread at times, but did not trigger similar levels of scrutiny from authorities or debates in the National Assembly concerning demands for action.

The Mormon doctrine was consistently characterised in Scandinavia as running contrary to fundamentally Christian ethical principles, especially when it

193 LDS Church History Library. MS 12130. Certificates from people in Östersund (25 October 1911), Sundsvall (27 October 1911), Hernösand (27 October 1911).

194 Johansson, *History of the Swedish Mission*, 44.

195 Riksdagens Protokoll. Första kammarens protokoll nr 34 (1915) [Records of Proceedings from the Swedish Parliament (Riksdagen). Protocol of the First Chamber, No. 34 (1915)].

196 National Archives Norway (RA), RA/S-1040/E/E05/L001, Mormonpakken, leg 1887–1915. The police chiefs’ declarations in 1900 (collated in JPD 0313C1906) and letters from Kristiania police headquarters dated 22 November, 1880 and November 1880 (JPD 1552C87).

197 National Archives Norway (RA), RA/S-1040/E/E05/L001, Mormonpakken, leg 1887–1915. Confidential letter from the police chief of Kristiania, dated 14 December 1904.

came to the preservation and protection of the traditional institution of the family as a cornerstone of state and society. In addition, the allegations about the white slave trade may have played a further national role. It has been argued that the reaction against Norwegian girls who fraternised with German soldiers (the girls were derogatorily labelled as “tyskerjenter” [Germans’ girls] in Norwegian) during and after World War II ought partly to be understood as a nationalisation of women’s sexuality. Female sexuality – and thus reproduction – was a national asset, and “unpatriotic” sexual relations were therefore seen as a violation of national honour.¹⁹⁸ Through the connection to the white slave trade, Mormon missionary activity and subsequent emigration may have been perceived as a kind of foreign sexual occupation of national “property.” Unlike the *tyskerjenter*, who were accused of national sexual treason, the female converts were looked upon as naive victims of sexual predators dressed as pious lambs.

In spite of frequent demands to intervene in the religious activities of the Mormons, and, if necessary, to tighten legislation towards them, it was difficult to make a breakthrough.¹⁹⁹ Here, a contradiction can be traced between traditional and secular approaches to the relationship between religion and politics, a contradiction that was also evident in the government and civil service at this time. The Ministry of Church Affairs made several attempts to combat Mormonism through legal action and regulation, but was repeatedly rejected by the Ministry of Justice.

The attempt at special anti-Mormon legislation

In both 1905 and 1906 the Ministry of Church Affairs in Norway made efforts to buttress the treatment of the Mormons through either criminal prosecution or police intervention to put a stop to their activities.²⁰⁰ The Ministry of Justice no lon-

198 See for example Dag Ellingsen, Anette Warring and Inga D. Björnsdóttir, *Kvinner, krig og kjærlighet* (Oslo: Cappelen forlag, 1995), 121.

199 One example is *Fredrikstad Tilskuer* from 7 June 1910, which in particular describes the Mormons’ seduction of young women by making use of missionaries of handsome appearance, concluding: “The intense propaganda of the Mormons encounters no Obstacles. The Norwegian Government has erected no Barriers, the Norwegian Church has made no overall Effort to combat the Progress of Mormonism. And while from an ecclesiastical and religious Level the salvation of Heathens’ Souls is continually contemplated, little or nothing is being done here at home to save Souls who fall under the Mormon’s Power.”

200 National Archives Norway (RA), RA/S-1007/D/Dc/L0239/0007/Mormonerne, letters from MoCA to MoJ dated 4 January 1905 and 20 January 1906. Reply from MoJ 11 November 1905.

ger believed there was a legal basis to intercede, and was furthermore not as convinced that the Mormon missionaries represented the danger that was being alleged. Here there was a clear divergence of opinion between the two ministries – both in terms of the description of the reality, and not least in the willingness to use legal and other coercive means against the activity of the Mormons.

In 1908, the Ministry of Church Affairs itself chose to draft a bill that would specifically target the Mormons' religious practice and mission. In a letter to each and every bishop, Minister of Church Affairs Karl Seip (1850–1909) explained that in the next parliament he would propose the legislation that he considered necessary to stop Mormon propaganda, "which is provoking outrage in broad circles, and is also said to be causing worldly misfortune to many of them [who have converted]."²⁰¹ The letter contained a draft wording of the bill in which the Mormons were "forbidden any public religious practice, and, accordingly, Discussion or Assembly, here in the kingdom, both amongst themselves and with others." The police would be extended the right to forestall and break up any gathering, and all participants could be prosecuted. It would furthermore be forbidden for Mormons to conduct any type of activity, whether public or private, with a view to conversion. As sanctioned by Seip, suggested fines and, upon repeat offending, long custodial sentences. Foreign Mormons would be deported.

The draft was generally well received within the established church. The Bishop of Oslo approved of the need to take action against "such a dangerous social evil with gravity and force" and concluded by saying that "for the purpose of society, every serious man must find it imperative to put an end to the veiled propaganda of the Mormons, both in its private forms and its appearance in public."²⁰²

The Bishop of Tromsø also supported the bill, but not for fear of religious propaganda. Legal provisions and instruments of power had always been both ineffectual and detrimental against these sorts, he said. However, as a means of "stopping the trafficking that goes by the name of 'the white slave trade,'" the proposal could be defended.²⁰³ He furthermore envisaged challenges in formulating legal provisions that would prove effective, and therefore suggested

201 National Archives Norway (RA), RA/S-1007/D/Dc/L0239/0007/Mormonerne, Letter from MoCA to all bishops dated 19 December 1908.

202 National Archives Norway (RA), RA/S-1007/D/Dc/L0239/0007/Mormonerne, reply from the Bishop of Oslo dated 22 November 1908.

203 National Archives Norway (RA), RA/S-1007/D/Dc/L0239/0007/Mormonerne, reply from the Bishop of Tromsø dated 18 January 1909.

that the best method might be “a general prohibition against Mormon residence in the kingdom.” That, he admitted, would probably be “draconian, but it would be perhaps as appropriate against the Mormons as against the Jesuits [...]” This was a view also shared by Pastor Karl Schreiner. In his lectures and writings he argued that dealing with the Jesuits was like reckoning with children compared to the Mormons and their instruments of immorality. He therefore argued for the expulsion of the Mormons from Norway.²⁰⁴

An exception among the bishops was the theologically conservative Christen Brun (1846 – 1917) in Hamar. He asserted religious freedom as a principle for non-Christians too, including Mormons. He found the Mormons' activities “reprehensible,” but they ought to be opposed with ever-greater Christian education. This education was evidently poor, he wrote, as long as Mormons were able to “ensnare young girls, who have attended our public schools and been confirmed in our Church, in their nets.”²⁰⁵

The Ministry of Justice strongly opposed the bill. The reasoning for this was in principle that the protection of a select religious community (the state church) by way of “combating dissenting religious opinions and the propagation thereof” with punishment and police action was no task for the state.²⁰⁶ Its criticism of the Ministry of Church Affairs was outright: “In particular, in respect of principle the imposition of penalties on the members of specially singled-out religious communities without indication of unbiased criteria strikes the Ministry to be an objectionable arrangement.”

Unless they employed “improper means, or their lives or activities otherwise pose a serious danger in moral or social respects,” the Ministry of Justice believed there was no basis for intervention against the Mormons. They referred back to the confidential reports from the chiefs of police in 1904 in which Mormon activity was said not to be scandalous or to pose any danger. Finally, the Ministry of Justice slaughtered procedural aspects of the draft since decisions on the question of guilt were to be made upon the “inflexible judgments of theologically educated men,” not only because it violated applicable principles of

204 Karl Schreiner, *Mormonerne: Hvem er de? Hvad vil de?* (Kristiania: De norske sedelighetsforeningers centralstyre, 1911), 12 and Schreiner, *Mormonerne og deres lære*, 16. Schreiner's tracts were highly recommended by Karl Vold, professor in theology at The Free Faculty of Theology (Menighetsfakultetet).

205 National Archives Norway (RA), RA/S-1007/D/Dc/L0239/0007/Mormonerne, reply from the Bishop of Hamar dated 18 January 1909.

206 National Archives Norway (RA), RA/S-1007/D/Dc/L0239/0007/Mormonerne, letter from Ministry of Justice to Ministry of Church Affairs dated 9 August 1910 (KD 2408 A10).

criminal law, but also because it was quite simply an “objectionable arrangement.”

Thus, the two ministries not only expressed different fundamental views on what the state’s duties were and which coercive measures the state could employ, but also based these on rather divergent depictions of the reality of the social peril posed by Mormonism. The Ministry of Church Affairs represented tradition by defending a hegemonic Christian social morality in which the family was particularly sacrosanct, but also by spearheading the use of coercive means in the religious domain – and thereby coupling religion to politics. For its part, the Ministry of Justice promoted secular reasoning by being so clear that the struggle against religious dissent was no task for the state, and that any such struggle that might be won by coercive means would be even less so. Instead, the Ministry of Justice proposed that the provisions of the Dissenter Law on the framework for the exercise of religion could be used, if necessary, against the activity of the Mormons.

In this way, the Ministry of Justice torpedoed the proposal for special legislation targeting the Mormons, at the same time as the legal vacuum subsequent to 1905 remained unresolved. It is in this context that a bill proposed by Professor Absalon Taranger (1858–1930) – a legal historian and church politician – must be understood. He was a member of the second Church Commission, which was set up in 1908 and laid out its position in 1911. In his draft he set conditions of morality as the basis for restricting the free practice of religion, as the 1859 Church Commission had done: “Followers of a religion, the ethics of which are contrary to the moral principles asserted by the laws of the state, are granted no access to the public practice of religion.”²⁰⁷ For Taranger, undesirable religious dogmas were also sufficient grounds to restrict religious freedom, which was not conditional on illegal or harmful practices. In so doing, the second Church Commission helped legitimise restrictions on religious freedom precisely when the interests of the state were perceived to be under threat.

Mormon travel restrictions in Scandinavia and US diplomacy

The debates of 1912 in the Storting in Norway and the Riksdag in Sweden came in the wake of the international anti-Mormon sentiment to which Freece had contributed, and the connection that was made on both sides of the Scandinavian

²⁰⁷ Kirkekommissionen av 1908, *Indstilling angaaende den norske kirkes organisation* (1911), 456.

peninsula between missionary activity and the white slave trade in the form of emigration to Utah. The debates, however, were also reactions to growing activity by Mormon missionaries in both countries and the perception that Mormonism represented a highly specific and present threat.

Demands for measures in the Scandinavian countries were understood as a national defence against an almost invasive enemy that was abducting the property of the nation – by cutting limb upon limb from the great body of society, as Åslev put it.²⁰⁸ In 1914, Swedish members of parliament submitted proposals to expel “Mormon agents” from the country and pass laws that would curtail their activities. This was justified, among other things, by a portrayal of polygamy and theocracy in the Mormon Church. Parliamentarian Arvid Lindeman, Prime Minister of Sweden in the years 1906–1911 and leader of the Conservative Party, accounted for the deportation requests:

In fact, history does not know of any “church state” with stricter church authority than the Mormon state. Once within the church state, in its consistent enforcement of the smallest details, the authority and power of the priesthood over the whole life and mindset of the faithful far surpasses the dominion of the papal Curia or the power exercised by the infamous Inquisition of Spain, or the reign of Calvinism in Geneva and the Congregationalists in Scotland. And since the Mormons themselves have implemented the most absolute compulsion of conscience known to history, it seems undeniably peculiar that those of them with a predilection for our country invoke the principles of the most unrestricted religious freedom.²⁰⁹

In addition to international awareness of the “Mormon problem” at this time, the debate in Norway in 1912 must also be understood as a consequence of the fact that coercive measures had ceased to apply after the entry into force of the new Penal Code in 1905, as well as the divergence in views within the government and civil service of just how legitimate coercive measures against religion really were. These contradictions were also commented upon in the Storting by Representative Gjesdahl. The Ministry of Justice was not, however, unwilling to combat Mormonism, and later even stated that it was detrimental.²¹⁰ In 1915, Minister of

208 Emigrationsutredningen, *Mormonvärfningen*, 21.

209 Riksdagens Protokoll. Motioner i Andra kammaren. Nr. 233 (1914), 7. Av herr Lindman, om skrivelse till Jungle. Maj:t angående utvisande av utländska mormonagenter m. M. [Records of Proceedings from the Swedish Parliament (Riksdagen). Motion to the Second Chamber, No. 233 (1914)].

210 National Archives Norway (RA), RA/S-1007/D/Dd/LO203/0013/Mormonerne kristne, Duplicate of communication from 7 May 1922 from Ministry of Justice to Ministry of Foreign Affairs (KD 5283/22 and KD 5047 A22). In a letter to MoFA, the MoJ writes that the reason the Mormons were refused visas was the objections coming from the Storting in 1912 and that “their religious

Justice Lars Abrahamsen (1855–1921) issued a directive enforcing the provisions of the Dissenter Act, as well as Article 141 of the Penal Code concerning duping people into emigrating. He further pointed out the potential to expel Mormons contained within the Immigration Act of 1901.²¹¹ The Ministry of Justice also proposed expanding the Dissenter Act to apply to Mormons, the easier to control their activities, but this was dismissed as undesirable, presumably because it entailed de facto recognition.

Neither was the matter laid to rest at the Ministry of Church Affairs; on the contrary, radical proposals were submitted internally following pressure from several quarters. In 1917, a memorandum was prepared in the Ministry of Church Affairs proposing an expansion of Article 2 of the Constitution, as the Bishop of Tromsø had done in 1909. The memorandum opened with a rhetorical question on whether the Norwegian state should intervene against the Mormons, or whether it should tolerate “its socially divisive activity.”²¹² Amending the Dissenter Act was “Humbug.” On the other hand, general expulsion was a possible solution, but then, according to the memo, a constitutional amendment would be necessary: “And I go so far as to propose an amendment of §2 of the Constitution so that ‘Jesuits and Mormons shall not be tolerated.’”

A constitutional prohibition was – not unexpectedly – never dealt with in reality, and neither was the general expulsion of Mormons. Mormons, on the other hand, were actively prevented from entering Scandinavia after World War I. In all countries, visa regulations were used to deny them entry, although the number of missionaries had fallen sharply as a result of the war. The same was true of the United Kingdom, too, where Mormons had difficulty obtaining visas after the war.²¹³ The religious community withdrew all its missionaries from the warring nations, and in neutral countries the numbers dropped too. In 1913 there were 145 missionaries in Scandinavia; two years later this had fallen to 37.²¹⁴ No new missionaries were sent during the war subsequent to 1916,

practice is depicted as detrimental from every quarter.” The letter concludes with a warning against the danger of the Mormons’ activity, “the detriment of which is thus far undoubted.”

211 National Archives Norway (RA), RA/S-1007/D/Dc/L0239/0007/Mormonerne, Circular dated 14 September 1915.

212 National Archives Norway (RA), RA/S-1007/ /D/Dc/L0239/0007. The memorandum is not registered and is only signed with the initials “S.Ø.” Gerald Haslam suspects that the author is the jurist Sigurd Østrem, who he refers to as a “KUD lawyer” (Ministry of Church Affairs and Education lawyer). Haslam, *The Norwegian Experience with Mormonism*, note 73, 242.

213 Thorp, “The British Government and the Mormon Question,” 313 ff.

214 Thomas, “Apostolic Diplomacy,” 132.

and by the end of 1918 there were only 15 “Elders from Zion” operating in all of Scandinavia.

Before the new Norwegian Passport Act of 1917 came into force, border controls were limited and occasional. The Passport Act re-introduced the passport requirement (travel documents were compulsory up until 1860) and resulted in increased checks through visa regulations, among other means. In this way, an outer protection against undesirable individuals was established, in addition to that established domestically, which was based on attendance and inspections at police stations, and the possibility of deportation. United States citizens now needed a visa to enter Norway, and in practice this had to be approved by the Central Passport Bureau in Oslo. It was a tool deliberately employed to prevent Mormon missionaries from crossing the border. In 1922, the Central Passport Bureau stated that the denial of visas for Mormons was enforced as a rule.²¹⁵ This was an instrument used by the Norwegian state towards a number of undesirable groups at this time, such as Jews, Gypsies and the Roma.²¹⁶ The separation of the Danish-Norwegian mission in 1920 was partly justified by the Mormon Church on “the difficult Passport Conditions, which are putting great Obstacles in the Way of the Mission President’s Travels between the two Countries.”²¹⁷

The normalisation of the relationship between the Church and federal America is manifestly demonstrated in the government’s protection of Mormon missionaries abroad. This had international repercussions and contributed greatly towards a more lenient attitude towards missionaries in Europe. The US State Department applied diplomatic pressure on several European countries in order to persuade governments to repeal visa regulations directed specifically against Mormon missionaries. Such pressure was not completely new. Though US authorities encouraged foreign governments to suppress Mormon activities abroad until the mid-1880s, the 1890s represented a change. In 1895, the State Department declared that Mormon missionaries should have the same impartial protection as other US citizens in the defence of their just and lawful rights, as long as they observed civil law and did not preach or practise any doctrine violating law or morality.²¹⁸

215 National Archives Norway (RA), RA/S-1007/D/Dd/L0203/0013/Mormonerne kristne, Letter from the Ministry of Justice to the Ministry of Church Affairs dated 25 October 1922 (KD 5047 A22).

216 Sigurd Rødsten, “Rom i arkivet,” *Kirke og kultur* no. 3 (2013) and Per Ole Johansen, “I forkant av jødeforfølgelser,” in *På siden av rettsoppgjøret*, ed. Per Ole Johansen (Oslo: Unipub, 2006).

217 *Skandinaviens Stjerne*, no. 5 (1 March 1920).

218 Protection of Mormon Missionaries. Mr Risley to Mr. Sherman, dated 4 June 1897. Inclosure: Mr Uhl to Mr. Doly, dated Washington 25 June 1895. (https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1897/pg_124, accessed 17 September 2019).

The US Legation in Denmark acted on behalf of two Mormon missionaries (Charles C. Rönnow (1865–1945) and Thomas P. Jensen (1856–1952)), both of whom were the subject of deportation orders, as early as 1900. The US minister then confirmed that Mormon missionaries were protected, and expressed that the United States government would “accord them [Mormon citizens] the same impartial protection it does to other American citizens.”²¹⁹ The legation was unable to convince the Danish government that Mormon tenets were no longer in violation of Danish law or the moral foundation of the country, but did achieve a deferment. Similarly, in 1903 Reed Smoot and George Sutherland (1862–1942) – the latter a Utah congressman (and from 1905 US Senator) – had initiated an attempt by the US State Department to persuade German authorities to stop the removal of Mormon missionaries from Prussia after the ban of 1902.²²⁰

During the crisis of 1911, the US minister in Stockholm facilitated a meeting between Mormon Elders and the king.²²¹ The Swedish missionaries’ request for an official hearing at which the Church could defend itself was rejected by the Swedish government. They already had all the information they needed, they stated. As a consequence of the Swedish stance, Senator Reed Smoot approached the Secretary of State in 1912 asking him to urge Swedish authorities to cooperate with the Church in a joint effort to illuminate any of the allegations.²²²

In Norway, the US government attempted to influence Norwegian authorities into recognising the Reorganised Mormon Church as Christian in 1915.²²³ This may have been a result of correspondence from the US Legation in Oslo the year before. The legation had deemed it necessary to inform the Secretary of State of the anti-Mormon agitation in Norwegian newspapers, and presented translated copies of such news articles. The legation anticipated it would lead

219 Mr. Swenson to Mr. Hay, 29 March 1900. (<https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1900/d534>, accessed 13 September 2019).

220 Widmer, *Unter Zions Panier*, 324. The initiative took place in 1903, two years before Sutherland (a non-Mormon) also was elected as Senator from Utah.

221 LDS Church History Library. MS 12130. Letter from the Minister in Sweden to The Secretary of State, dated 12 August 1912.

222 LDS Church History Library. MS 12130. Letter from Senator Reed Smoot to the Secretary of State, dated 8 July 1912.

223 LDS Church History Library. MS 12130. Letter from Department of State to Diplomatic Bureau, dated 30 June 1915, with instructions to the US Minister in Oslo to take up the matter with Norwegian Foreign Office. Confirmed in National Archives Norway (RA), RA/S-1007/D/Dd/LO203/0013/Mormonerne kristne, letter from MoJ to MoCA dated 27 April 1916 (KD1812 A16). In the letter the MoJ refers to MoFA’s receipt of a letter from the US Legation enquiring as to whether the Reorganised Mormon Church was viewed as an organisation of Christian dissenters.

the government to take action towards the expulsion of Mormons, as had happened in Sweden a few years earlier.²²⁴

The Swedish policy of denying missionary visas was introduced in 1920. The consulates in Montreal, New York, Chicago and Minneapolis were instructed by the Swedish Foreign Office to reject the approval of visas for Mormon “agents” traveling to or through Sweden without special permission.²²⁵ In 1921, Senator Smoot again petitioned the Secretary of State in order to obtain support from the US government against travel restrictions. Smoot explained that European governments had requested that US citizens return to the United States after the outbreak of World War I on account of food shortages. The denial of visas for Mormon missionaries after the war had been “very embarrassing and burdensome to the work of the Church,” Smoot stated, urging the Secretary of State to rectify the situation.²²⁶

In response to the Secretary of State, the US minister in Sweden explained that the Swedish government had “recently assumed an unfriendly attitude towards the missionaries of the Mormon Church in Sweden and has to date ordered the expulsion of 4 of the 11 American missionaries here.”²²⁷ According to the minister, the matter had been discussed in the Crown Council and the “Government on this point was firm.” The Swedish Minister for Foreign Affairs, Count Herman Wrangel (1857–1934), argued that the presence of Mormons in the country was unwelcome because they were proselytising and holding public services despite a lack of formal recognition, in contravention of the Swedish Dissenter Act of 1873. As a result, Wrangel explained that Mormon missionaries would not be granted visas, and missionaries present in the country would be denied visa renewals. Unless they left the country willingly, formal deportation orders would be issued.²²⁸ Although such measures were in fact taken, as a result of intervention by the US minister at least one missionary was allowed an extension as long as he “abstain from all preaching and propaganda on behalf of the

224 LDS Church History Library. MS 12130. U.S. State Department correspondence regarding Mormons and Mormonism, 1910–1940. Correspondance from Minister Schmedeman to Secretary of State, 25 September 1915.

225 Johansson, *History of the Swedish Mission*, 54.

226 Senator Reed Smoot to the Secretary of State, 24 March 1921. (<https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1924v01/d189>, accessed 11 September 2019).

227 The Minister in Sweden (Morris) to the Secretary of State, 2 April 1921. (<https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1924v01/d190>, accessed 11 September 2019).

228 The Minister in Sweden (Morris) to the Secretary of State, 9 April 1921. (<https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1924v01/d195>, accessed 11 September 2019).

Mormon Church during his stay in Sweden.”²²⁹ The rejection of visas was thus grounded in religious objections rather than practical obstacles such as shortages of housing and food.

The Norwegian Foreign Office explained that the Ministry of Justice was “firmly convinced that they [missionaries] are undesirable and the police are satisfied that they lead young girls astray and that conversion efforts are centered upon them.”²³⁰ There were no general instructions for diplomatic or consular officers to deny visas to Mormon missionaries, the Foreign Office replied to the US minister, but the Central Passport Bureau would refuse “the majority of such requests.”²³¹ The Foreign Office also claimed that if Mormon missionaries were granted visas, it would be a *de facto* official recognition of their right to practise their religion in Norway.²³²

The requirement for Norwegian-born US citizens to apply for visas was abolished in 1922. As a consequence, a substantial and important group of missionaries were from then on allowed entry.²³³ Others were still denied, as was also the case in neighbouring countries.

In the summer of 1923, Smoot and John A. Widtsoe (1872–1952) – both Apostles in the Mormon Church in Utah – embarked on a Scandinavian tour in an attempt to persuade governments to repeal travel restrictions. Smoot wrote in his diary: “It was decided [by the Church] that Dr Widtsoe and myself go to Norway, Sweden and Denmark and try and secure the repeal of the law in each of these countries prohibiting Mormon missionaries from entering those countries.”²³⁴

As a US Senator, and with the support of US diplomats in Scandinavia, Smoot and the Norwegian-born Widtsoe were able to meet high-level officials

229 The Minister in Sweden (Bliss) to the Secretary of State, 3 January 1924. (<https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1924v01/d207>, accessed 11 September 2019).

230 The Minister in Norway (Schmedeman) to the Secretary of State, 9 April 1921. (<https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1924v01/d196>, accessed 17 September 2019).

231 The Minister in Norway (Schmedeman) to the Secretary of State. 28 May 1921. (<https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1924v01/d202>, accessed 17 September 2019).

232 LDS Church History Library. MS 12130. Copy of letter from The Norwegian Foreign Office to the US minister, dated Kristiania 24 May 1921. Enclosed with a correspondence from the Minister to Secretary of State, dated 28 May 1921.

233 National Archives Norway (RA), RA/S-1007/D/Dd/L0203/0013/Mormonerne kristne, Letter from Ministry of Justice to the Ministry of Church Affairs dated 25 October 1922 (KD 5047 A22).

234 Brigham Young University, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, MSS 1187 Box 2, Reed Smoot Journals, 7 June 1923. Widtsoe was born in Norway in 1872, but emigrated with his mother in 1883. In 1923 he became an Apostle in the Church.

in all the Scandinavian countries.²³⁵ Local newspapers reporting on their visit to Scandinavia made no mention of their efforts to change the visa regulations. Rather, Smoot was presented as chairman of the Finance Committee in the Senate, and his visit was described as semi-official on behalf of the US government in order to retrieve information about state finances in European countries indebted to the United States in the aftermath of World War I.²³⁶ However, Smoot's diary substantiated the fact that the agenda in Scandinavia was clearly to influence visa policy, and that they were traveling as ambassadors of the Church rather than of the US government.

As both the Danish Foreign Minister and Minister of Church Affairs were out of town, the two met with the director general of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Count Eduard Reventlow (1883 – 1963). Despite the Danish constitutional protection of religious freedom and its more obliging attitude towards religious otherness compared to other parts of Scandinavia, Mormon missionaries had, according to Smoot, experienced difficulties in obtaining visas in Denmark too. According to the US minister, the Danish policy was to grant visas to a limited number of missionaries. In 1920, four out of seven applications were granted, and the US minister in Copenhagen gathered in 1921 that the main opponent to their admission was the Minister of Church Affairs.²³⁷ Smoot told the count that he had come all the way from the United States to get “conditions changed” and gave him a lecture on the history of Mormon polygamy.²³⁸

Reventlow expressed that he saw no reason why Mormons should be treated differently than members of other churches, and promised to dispatch the question to the Minister of Church Affairs, whom he confirmed was a driving force in the opposition against Mormons.²³⁹ According to Smoot, the count stated that the Lutheran Church's hold on the people of Scandinavia seemed to be loosening and that “this is at the bottom of the objection to allowing Elders to enter the Scandinavian Countries.”²⁴⁰ The count therefore suggested that the Church call

235 John C. Thomas has described the travels of Smoot and Widtsoe in Scandinavia in detail. John C. Thomas, “Apostolic Diplomacy: The 1923 European Mission of Senator Reed Smoot and Professor John A. Widtsoe,” *Journal of Mormon History*, vol. 28, no. 1 (2002).

236 As an example, see the Norwegian newspaper *Aftenposten*, 28 July 1923.

237 The Minister in Denmark (Grew) to the Secretary of State, 3 May 1921. (<https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1924v01/d201>, accessed 19 September 2019).

238 Brigham Young University, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, MSS 1187 Box 2, Reed Smoot Journals, 20 July 1923.

239 Brigham Young University, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, MSS 1187 Box 2, Reed Smoot Journals, 20 July 1923.

240 Brigham Young University, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, MSS 1187 Box 2, Reed Smoot Journals, 20 July 1923.

the Elders arriving from abroad something other than “missionaries,” obviously because the term was considered provocative and inspired hostile sentiments among Danish Lutherans.

In Stockholm, Smoot and Widtsoe discovered that the visas for all the missionaries there had expired and that Swedish authorities had refused to extend them. Smoot concluded that they were in the country in violation of Swedish law.²⁴¹ He raised concerns that if he pressed too hard for a change in Swedish policy, it might trigger the expulsion or imprisonment of those missionaries, but in any case regarded the present situation as intolerable. They had conversations with Prime Minister Ernst Trygger (1857–1943), as well as Lutheran Archbishop Nathan Söderblom (1866–1931). Smoot explained the current situation in Utah in detail and found both to be genuinely attentive. They were also both invited to Utah in order to personally examine the situation. Although the Americans were cordially received, the Swedish position on the matter did not change immediately. In December 1923, the US minister in Sweden again protested fiercely against the visa regulations, describing them as “discrimination against my compatriots for which no satisfactory explanation has been made.”²⁴² In early 1924 the minister conveyed persistent Swedish concerns about the Mormons and noted that the Swedish legation in Washington and the Swedish consulate in San Francisco had been instructed to conduct new investigations into the activities and standing of the Mormon Church.²⁴³

In Norway, they met with King Haakon VII (1872–1957), the Minister of Foreign Affairs and the Minister of Education and Religion, calling for the same treatment for Mormon missionaries as for others coming to Norway. As in Sweden, the US minister added diplomatic weight to the Mormon requests during the meeting by lending support to Smoot’s statements.²⁴⁴

241 Brigham Young University, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, MSS 1187 Box 2, Reed Smoot Journals, 22 July 1923.

242 Johansson, *History of the Swedish Mission*, 56.

243 The Minister in Sweden (Bliss) to the Secretary of State, 3 January 1924. (<https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1924v01/d207>, accessed 18 September 2019).

244 Brigham Young University, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, MSS 1187 Box 2, Reed Smoot Journals, 27 July 1923. The US Legation in Oslo again addressed the Norwegian Minister of Foreign Affairs at the end of August 1923: “I have the honor to inform Your Excellency that Mormon Missionaries holding passports issued to them as citizens of the United States have been refused visas by Norwegian Consular officers on account of their religion.” The Legation ended by requesting that the minister “bring this matter to the attention of the appropriate authorities to the end that instructions may be issued for the granting of visas to Mormons desiring to enter Norway.” (National Archives Norway (RA), RA/S/1007/D/Dd/L0203/0013, Mormonerne kristne?, letter dated 29 August 1923).

Within a few years, the practical outcome of Smoot and Widtsoe's travels and the US diplomatic efforts was a more lenient application of visa regulations throughout all of Scandinavia. In Denmark, Reventlow explained to the US minister in 1924 that as long as no "shipload were to come at once," Mormon missionaries would not face any problems.²⁴⁵ In the summer of the same year the Swedish government yielded to US pressure as the Swedish Minister of Foreign Affairs pledged the US minister that "[h]ereafter visas for Mormons will be subject to the same regulations as applied to all foreigners."²⁴⁶

The Norwegian Bishops' Conference of 1923 was against the removal of the visa requirement on the grounds that visa were not being denied for religious reasons but "for the sake of public morals," a view the Ministry of Church Affairs also fully endorsed.²⁴⁷ Since many Mormon missionaries were Norwegian-born emigrants – and thus no longer needed visas – the enforcement of visas for other Mormon missionaries was considered to be ineffective, and also problematic for Norway's relationship with the United States.

In the autumn of 1923, in the wake of Smoot's and Widtsoe's meetings with the king and the Norwegian government, the Norwegian Ministry of Justice also decided that all special restrictions for Mormons should be lifted.²⁴⁸ However, in certain cases this did not stop some missionaries from experiencing discrimination by the Norwegian authorities for another couple of years, both in terms of entry and the purchase of property, nor did it prevent representatives of the Norwegian clergy from proposing bans on entry.²⁴⁹ In 1924, the US Legation in Oslo

245 The Minister in Denmark (Prince) to the Secretary of State, 6 February 1924. (<https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1924v01/d208>, accessed 19 September 2019).

246 The Minister in Sweden (Bliss) to the Secretary of State. 7 June 1924. (<https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1924v01/d209>, accessed 19 September 2019).

247 National Archives Norway (RA), RA/S-1007/D/Dd/L0203/0013/Mormonerne kristne, Statement of the Bishop's Conference 1923 and National Archives Norway (RA), RA/S-1007/D/Dd/L0203/0013/Mormonerne kristne, letter from MoCA to MoJ, dated 2 July 1923 (KD 2358 A23).

248 National Archives Norway (RA), RA/S-1007/D/Dd/L0203/0013/Mormonerne kristne, Letter from Ministry of Justice to Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Jno. 3009–23-F). Copy to MoCA with Jno. 4143 A3okt1923. The change in Norwegian visa policy was commented upon by Smoot in January 1924. LDS Church History Library. MS 12130. Correspondence from Reed Smoot to Under Secretary of State, dated 19 January 1924.

249 The Bishop of Bergen, for example, proposed a ban on entry when the Jesus Christ Church of Latter-day Saints applied for a permit to purchase properties in 1925. Referred to in a letter dated 27 May 1927 from the Ministry of Justice to the Ministry of Commerce (National Archives Norway (RA), RA/S-3212/1/D/Dd/L0037/0004, 56. Mormoner). John C. Thomas claimed that the US Legation in Oslo pressed the Norwegian authorities to have the question of obtaining visas "finally settled" in October 1925. Thomas, "Apostolic Diplomacy," 163. Thomas also writes

protested that immigration police were refusing visas to missionaries on their own initiative, in violation of official Norwegian policy.²⁵⁰ The following year, Smoot himself met with the Norwegian legation in Washington in order to facilitate the Mormon Church's freedom to acquire property in Norway. He wrote in his diary that the Norwegian minister in Washington had been "nasty," demanding that Smoot present a resolution from Christian Churches stating that the Mormons were Christian.²⁵¹ It was not until 1927 that such licences for buying properties were granted.²⁵²

Although discussions concerning the removal of restrictions were begun in Norway before Smoot and Widtsoe's travels, there is every reason to believe that their undertakings, with the active support of the US authorities, were important in easing the restrictions and improving the relationship between the Mormon Church and the Scandinavian authorities. In 1928, Widtsoe himself stated that the Church was no longer subject to direct persecution.²⁵³ Nevertheless, as late as the latter half of the 1940s, the question of refusing Mormon visas was again being raised by Norwegian authorities.

From emigration to integration in Denmark?

In the 1850s, Mormonism and its assertive missionaries were regarded as the primary threat to Danish Lutheranism in general and the Lutheran Church in particular, much in line with the other Scandinavian countries. Newspaper articles and pamphlets labelled the American faith as both fraudulent and foreign, and constructed it as a political and, even more so, as a moral danger to Danish so-

that Smoot met with the Norwegian minister in Washington in 1924 in order to discuss visa difficulties (p. 163).

250 LDS Church History Library. MS 12130. Correspondence from the Legation of the United States of America to Reed Smoot, dated 17 November 1924.

251 Brigham Young University, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, MSS 1187 Box 2, Reed Smoot Journals, 3 November 1925. The Norwegian Minister was Helmer Bryn (1865–1933), a high-profile civil servant in the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Diplomatic Corps for decades.

252 National Archives Norway (RA), RA/S-1007D/Dc/L0239/0007, Mormonerne, Duplicate of letter from the Royal Norwegian Legation in Washington to the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, dated 10 November 1925. LDS Church History Library. MS 12130. Correspondence from the US Legation to Secretary of State, dated 15 December 1927.

253 John A. Widtsoe to Danish newspaper, republished in *Bergens Tidende*, 16 August 1928: "Nowadays our Church is the object of direct persecution like never before, but of course they are combating us in many places and use such weapons as accusations of polygamy against us."

ciety.²⁵⁴ The American professor of comparative literature Julie K. Allen has argued that Mormons were initially given the role of the “Other” in Denmark. She leans towards theories claiming that culture and cultural identity, both individual and collective, are constantly shifting. The process of identity construction, she continues, requires the presence of difference as a means of demarcating the shape and limits of one’s own identity, by contrasting it with what it is not.²⁵⁵

To Allen, the Constitution of 1849, by uncoupling Danish identity with the Lutheran faith, was pivotal, a turning point. Combined with social upheavals and military threats to the multinational state’s border to the south, culminating in wars with Prussia and German states over the province of Schleswig, this promoted a flux in Danish identity and the need for a contrasting “Other.” Later on, Mormonism was associated with moral corruption (polygamy) and emigration. Both were contrasted with being Danish, and the inclination of converted Mormons to seek Zion in Utah suggested the impossibility of becoming Mormon and at the same time remaining Danish.

As late as 1900 the question of polygamy and ideas that missionaries exhorted adherents to emigrate had aroused concern within the Danish government and prompted attempts at expulsion. The Danish Ministry of Justice explained the banishment of two Mormon missionaries in 1900 by questioning the reliability of the 1890 manifesto in defining Mormon theology:

(...) even if polygamy is no longer practiced in Utah, after its admission as a State, it does not follow that it is no longer a constituent part of the Mormon creed, in which case the Danish Government must be considered justified in using the means at its disposal to combat the dissemination of this doctrine, even though the permissibility of polygamy be not openly taught; that it must be presumed that the tenets of Mormonism are still of such nature that its missionaries will continue to entice to emigration in a manner injurious to the Danish State, and that the banishment is in accordance with the previous practice of the Danish Government in dealing with this question.²⁵⁶

Over the years, however, Allen argues that Mormonism embodied a possibility that it was possible to leave Lutheranism and remain Danish.

254 For a catalogue of anti-Mormon newspaper articles, tracts and books in Denmark after 1850, see Schmidt, *En dansk mormonbibliografi*.

255 Allen, *Danish, But Not Lutheran*, 11. She refers to scholars such as literary historian Stephen Greenblatt and sociologist Stuart Hall.

256 Mr. Swenson to Mr. Hay, 29 March 1900. Subinclsoure: The Minister of Justice to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, 24 January 1900. (<https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1900/d534>, accessed 13 September 2019).

Allen describes stages in how Danish society dealt with Mormonism. At first, it was characterised foremost by rejection wherein the hegemonic discourse on Mormonism constructed it as foreign.²⁵⁷ By the beginning of the 20th century this had given way to mockery, which instead of inciting fear, rather poked fun at Mormons, especially in popular culture such as in movies and at the theatre.²⁵⁸ Finally, increased familiarity and falling Mormon emigration contributed to acceptance and a mutual rapprochement.

By the mid-1920s, Allen argues, “the Danish state and Mormonism achieved a calm, mutually accepting relationship.”²⁵⁹ Allen partly explains this as a consequence of constitutionally protected religious freedom and a separation between Lutheranism and national identity. But she also assigns this to Danish experiences with Mormons. As an increasing share of Mormons remained in Denmark and were perceived as productive and respectable Danes, representations of Mormons came to rely on a counter-discourse calling into question some aspects of traditional anti-Mormon imagery.

Allen stresses that derogatory depictions of Mormon otherness far from disappeared. This point is clearly demonstrated in Danish newspapers, which produced not only a substantial interest in the missionary activities of Mormons, but were also inclined to convey depictions of Mormons as a political and especially a moral danger. As an example, a newspaper in Jutland wrote it was necessary to declare “To Arms!” to combat “these more than dubious ‘Citizens.’” The Mormons considered themselves exclusively as members of the Mormon community and regarded other citizens as enemies of their Church. As a consequence, the paper continued, it was not only legitimate, but meritorious for Mormons, to fight against these enemies of the Church with all possible means.²⁶⁰ Such questioning of Mormons’ citizenship resembled similar depictions of both Jews and Jesuits as morally disqualified citizens.

Allegations of Mormon involvement in white slavery were raised in Denmark as well. For instance, the chairman of the Danish Committee for the Prevention of the White Slave Trade, Axel Liljefalk (1848–1915), claimed in 1911 that Mormons were transporting hundreds of young Danish women to America as white slaves.²⁶¹ The white slave trade was also pivotal in the anti-Mormon propaganda conveyed by Danish silent movies and rallies around 1910 as part of the

257 Allen, *Danish, But Not Lutheran*, 2, 132.

258 Allen, *Danish, But Not Lutheran*, 182.

259 Allen, *Danish, But Not Lutheran*, 15.

260 *Veje Amts Folkeblad*, 1 May 1911.

261 Richard L. Jensen, “Mr. Samuelson Goes to Copenhagen: The First Mormon Member of a National Parliament,” *Journal of Mormon History*, vol 39, 2 (2013): 2f.

international anti-Mormon campaign instigated by agitators such as Hans P. Freece. But such allegations were not as prominent in Denmark compared to other Scandinavian countries, and demands for heavy-handed measures against Mormon missionaries were not raised in the Danish parliament as they were in Sweden and Norway, even though demands for government interventions were raised in public, also with reference to similar debates in Norway.²⁶² In 1912, Menighedskonventet (the Church Convention), an ecumenical gathering of priests and lay people in Denmark, petitioned the Minister of Church Affairs as well as the Minister of Justice, urging them to combat “Mormon agents.” The latter, according to newspaper reports, promised to support the agitation against Mormons with “all available weapons.”²⁶³ The Danish Committee for the Prevention of the White Slave Trade also appealed to the government in order to sway them to ban the activities of Mormon missionaries.²⁶⁴

The same year, member of parliament Frederik Samuelsen (1865–1929) enquired into the correctness of rumours suggesting that the Minister of Church Affairs, Jakob Appel, was exploring possibilities of cooperation with Swedish and Norwegian governments for a concerted initiative to expel Mormon missionaries. The minister denied any negotiations with other countries on this matter.²⁶⁵ The newspaper *Fyns Stiftstidende* relayed Archdeacon Hans Lützhøft's (1857–1943) frustration that while the parliaments of Norway and Sweden had attacked Mormonism, the question was raised by a Mormon defending the Church in the Danish Folketing. It is a striking thing, he expressed, that no one in the Danish Folketing, with priests, teachers and academics among the representatives, spoke out against the extremely harmful Mormon propaganda, especially since the Mormon politician represented such a challenging voice in such an important institution.²⁶⁶

According to Allen, Mormon rejection of national identity through emigration was replaced by a Mormon integration into Danish society. Allen's analysis is probably grasping a key feature of how previously threatening expressions of religious pluralism were absorbed into a wider culture. It suggests that the timing of such acceptance and integration occurred somewhat earlier in Denmark than

262 *Den til Forsendelse med de Kongelige Brevposter privilegerede Berlingske Politiske og Avertisementstidende (Berlingske Tidende)*, 28 August 1912: “Mormon-Faren” (“The Mormon Danger”).

263 *Viborg Stifts Folkeblad*, 20 December 1912.

264 *Thisted Amtstavis*, 21 August 1912.

265 *Folketingets Forhandlinger*, 1912–13 (Proceedings of the Folketing) (n.p., 1913), cols. 625–26, 22 October 1912; *Folketingets Forhandlinger*, 1912–13, col. 777, 23 October 1912. Here quoted from Jensen, “Mr. Samuelsen Goes to Copenhagen,” 5, 7.

266 *Fyns Stiftstidende*, 11 November 1912.

in Sweden and Norway. Though virulent anti-Mormonism emerged in the public sphere in all the Scandinavian countries, the legitimacy of promoting measures against Mormons within the Swedish and Norwegian political and governmental system until after World War I supports this. As I will address in the next chapter, the level of anti-Catholicism in Norway and Sweden in the 1920s compared to Denmark also suggests the same.

For instance, the Danish inclusion of Catholics and Mormons in political offices and positions would have been inconceivable in Sweden or Norway. In 1909, Denmark briefly had a Catholic Prime Minister. Three years earlier, the Mormon social democrat Frederik Samuelson had been elected to the Danish parliament from a constituency in Aarhus, and four years later he was re-elected. Beyond Utah, Samuelson was the first Mormon in the world to be elected to parliament.²⁶⁷ With some exceptions, this was generally reported in Danish newspapers without derogatory sensationalism regarding Samuelson or Mormonism in general. The Danish pastor to the Church of St. John, H. O. Frimodt Møller (1871–1934), a renowned anti-Mormon, actively combated his election, claiming that Mormonism was unconstitutional and ought not to be tolerated in Denmark.²⁶⁸ His opinion was conveyed in the conservative paper *Vårt Land*, along with other articles hostile to Mormonism. But the same paper carried an interview with a social democratic candidate running in a neighbouring constituency, an interview that was reprinted in a number of Danish papers.²⁶⁹ Samuelson's social democrat colleague made a point of contrasting Danish Mormons with abstract American Mormonism. There were many unsavoury men among the American Mormon agents coming to Denmark, he explained, and also among those who emigrated to Utah, but the Mormons who chose to stay in Denmark had proven themselves decent and respectable. Nevertheless, the interview demonstrates how Mormonism was accepted, but still regarded as an oddity. Samuelson's fellow party member could not understand how he, "who is otherwise a normal person in every sense," could embrace Mormonism. "Aarhus," he concluded, claiming that this was a widely held opinion in the city, "simply couldn't understand him in his choice."

Thus, in the early 20th century "abnormal" religious otherness was not a quality disqualifying individuals from legitimate Danish citizenship. That is almost astounding when Smoot's qualification to serve as Senator was not yet set-

²⁶⁷ Allen, *Danish, But Not Lutheran*, 232.

²⁶⁸ *Folkebladet Sydjylland*, 23 October 1906.

²⁶⁹ *Aalborg Amtstidende*, 24 October 1906.

tled at this time, with all the allegations Smoot's hearings produced of Mormons' inability to remain loyal to anything else but the Mormon hierarchy.

By the mid-1920s, complaints about Mormon missionaries and Mormonism, and calls for stern measures to combat them, also grew less common in Sweden and Norway. The persistent allegations that missionaries exhorted converts to emigrate or tricked people into emigrating lost their force. An important reason was the US Emergency Quota Act of 1921 (which was confirmed by the Immigration Act of 1924), and the subsequent decline in general as well as Mormon emigration from Scandinavia.²⁷⁰ It is also possible that with the decline in total emigration, the spectre of emigration lost its threatening power, regardless of the level of emigration among Mormons. Similarly, allegations of white slavery must have lost their validity as so many proselytes remained in Scandinavia, evidently without entering into polygamous marriages or becoming victims of lascivious Elders. Thus, emigration levels as well as US diplomatic pressure are both important factors in understanding the changes in attitudes and in state policy with regard to Mormonism throughout Scandinavia.

However, less derogatory publicity did not result in approval, and they were still not granted official recognition or the formal right to practise their religion freely until 1951 in Sweden and 1964 in Norway.²⁷¹ In fact, there were still objections being voiced against the Mormons in the 1950s, especially among the ecclesiastical orders.

Towards the 1950s: Immoral pirates

In 1925, the Mormon Church in Norway applied for permission to purchase properties in Drammen, Bergen and Trondheim. In its assessment the government chose to ask the bishops for advice. The Bishop of Oslo argued strongly against such concessions, since Mormonism was “so damaging in religious, moral and social terms.” The Bishop of Bergen concluded likewise, emphasising that the Mormon doctrine was contrary to Christian morality and Norwegian law. So

²⁷⁰ *Skandinaviens Stjerne* for instance recorded that 70 proselytes emigrated from Norway in 1910, while the figures in 1925 and 1926 were respectively 11 and 26. *Skandinaviens Stjerne*, no. 3 (1 February 1910): 47, no. 4 (15 February 1926): 57; no. 4 (15 February 1927): 58. The average number of emigrants per year in the decade 1905–1914 was 55. Haslam, *The Norwegian Experience with Mormonism*, 148, table 2.

²⁷¹ The Swedish Religious Freedom Act (Religionsfrihetslag (1951:680)) was passed in 1951, but came into effect from 1952.

did the Bishop of Trondheim, who believed the Mormons still to practise polygamy in secret.²⁷² Morality thus became the most crucial argument against allowing concessions on the purchase of property, a transaction that from the outset lay beyond the spheres of religion and religious law. The Ministry of Justice therefore permitted such acquisitions.

In contrast to the Ministry of Justice's secular attitude, the Ministry of Church Affairs emphasised Christian morality as the basis for its religious policy. Such emphasis was also explicitly conveyed by the Bishop of Stavanger in a written submission to the proposal to amend the Dissenter Act in 1931. The bill opened up for free religious practice, including for all non-Christians, which the bishop opposed. He explained that Jews and Unitarians could be permitted "because their morals do not run contrary to Christianity"; but since the Norwegian state and Norwegian law were based on Christian principles, pagan communities would violate the foundations of the state.²⁷³ He further indicated that Christian morality and the Christian religion were so closely linked that a violation of the former necessarily entailed a violation of the latter.

When the Reorganised Church of Jesus Christ again applied for legal approval in 1932, it was a unanimous episcopate, Faculty of Theology, Free Faculty of Theology and Theological Seminary that spoke up against it.²⁷⁴ They based their argumentation primarily on theological grounds, in which the Mormon view of revelation (the Book of Mormon and revelations by way of the prophet) in particular disqualified them from being considered as Christians, and consequently also from protection under the Dissenter Act.

But a few of the bishops again activated the impression of non-religious danger. One was the Bishop of Bergen, Andreas Fleischer (1878–1957). He referred to Mormonism as "the most typical example of religious fraud and humbug that there is," and believed that giving them legal approval served no "benefit to so-

272 National Archives Norway (RA), RA/S-3212/1/D/Dd/L0037/0004, Mormoner, Jpd. Mappe "Re: Sanctioning the acquisition of real estate by the Mormons." Draft of letter from the Ministry of Justice to the Ministry of Commerce, dated 27 May 1927.

273 Letter from Bishop J.C. Pettersen to Ministry of Church Affairs, dated 8 October 1931. Quoted here from Breistein, "*Har staten bedre borgere?*," 247.

274 National Archives Norway (RA), RA/S-1007/D/Dd/L0203/0013. Mormonerne. Letter from the Faculty of Theology to the Ministry of Church Affairs, dated 14 June 1922. In 1922 Professor Andreas Brandrud argued on behalf of the Faculty of Theology to consider the Reorganised Mormons as Christians, also claiming that according to "every judgement, they place importance on loyalty towards authority and existing social systems, and in the documents available to me I have not been able to find anything contrary to ordinary law and honour." This was an assessment about which the faculty had its doubts in 1932. In addition, Brandrud was a key intermediary of notions about Jesuits in Norway from the 1890s onwards.

ciety”; on the contrary, it would “work towards spiritual and moral disintegration.”²⁷⁵ The other was the Bishop of Agder, James Maroni (1873 – 1957). He declared that the Supreme Court ought to hear the matter again if it “really” was the case that the doctrine had changed so significantly “that their activities no longer pose religious and social dangers.”²⁷⁶

An application from the Mormons to hold open-air meetings in the vicinity of Bergen in the summer of 1936 was strongly advised against by the Ministry of Church Affairs. The reason was that its teachings “can have no beneficial influence either in Christian or in moral respects.”²⁷⁷ Again, the Ministry of Justice pointed to a lack of legal authority to deny the Mormons the exercise of their religious activities, and did not oppose such meetings.²⁷⁸

By the end of the interwar period, therefore, much was the same as it always had been. Mormonism triggered an aversion, especially among clergy and secular authorities, primarily on the basis of a morality that was alleged to be socially dangerous. At the same time, the Mormons were tacitly tolerated, partly out of opportunism and partly because there were different views on how suitable it was to use coercive means. Here, there were obvious tensions between the legal and ecclesiastical fields of the civil service. United States authorities' protectiveness towards missionaries must also have been played a role. The interest in Mormons, both as a menace to society and as a phenomenon, faded significantly from the close of the 1920s, and in contrast to earlier in the century, they were much less of a public topic.

However, there were some exceptions. In May 1946 the mission president in Norway was informed by the government that he and other missionaries had been denied permission to remain in the country.²⁷⁹ The question of allowing missionaries from the Latter-day Saints and Jehovah's Witnesses had been discussed among the Norwegian bishops, who advised against such permissions. The prominent Bishop of Oslo, Eivind Berggrav (1884 – 1959), stated that mission-

275 National Archives Norway (RA), RA/S-1007/D/Dd/L0203/0013/Mormonerne kristne, Letter from the Bishop of Bergen to MoCA, dated 14 December 1932 (KD J5611 A1932). The rest of the statements can be found in the same package.

276 National Archives Norway (RA), RA/S-1007/D/Dd/L0203/0013. (KD, Kontor for kirke og geistlighet A). Er mormonerne kristent dissentersamfunn? Statement from the Bishop of Agder, dated 16 December 1932.

277 National Archives Norway (RA), RA/S-1007/D/Dd/L0203/0013/Mormonerne kristne, reply from MoCA to MoJ, dated 17 June 1936 (KD 2918 A36).

278 National Archives Norway (RA), RA/S-1007/D/Dd/L0203/0013/Mormonerne kristne, letter from MoJ to the police chief of Hordaland, dated 29 June 1936 (JD 2623P36).

279 LDS Church History Library. MS7377. Excerpts from the historical record of the Norwegian Mission, 1949.

aries should be kept out because they were dividing the people, and he labelled both Mormons and Jehovah's Witnesses as "rabble-rousers" in America.²⁸⁰ The Ministry of Church Affairs also advised against, but the Ministry of Justice concluded otherwise and granted entry as a rule.²⁸¹

The year after, a case of eight Mormon missionaries arriving without proper visas stirred some public attention. Major newspapers carried headlines that the Mormons had "sneaked" into the country. The daily *Dagbladet* wrote that the Central Passport Bureau had requested that the missionaries leave the country, but said that the missionaries refused. According to the paper, the missionaries stated that the only way to enter Norway was by "sneaking into the country."²⁸²

When the Mormon Church in Norway again applied for recognition in the 1950s, the Bishops' Conference maintained that its members could not be considered Christians. A majority of the bishops was nevertheless open to protecting them under the Dissenter Act, on a par with Jews and Unitarians.²⁸³ However, this view had no political impact, and the Mormons remained beyond the Dissenter Act's protections. The decision became public towards the end of 1955, and in *Arbeiderbladet*, Eivind Berggrav distinguished between Protestants and pirates as he justified his unsympathetic point of view: "I do not believe that it is necessary for a society – be it civil or clerical – to grant pirates, on the basis of putative liberalism, the opportunity to raise hell."²⁸⁴ The Mormons thus had their outsider status affirmed at the highest level among both ecclesiastical and political authorities and stakeholders.

Imported American fears and innate stereotypes

The policy towards Mormons in both Norway and Sweden until the second half of the 20th century can be said to be characterised by one of hesitant tolerance, but not approval. They were legally persecuted in the first years after their arrival

280 *Dagbladet*, 14 February 1947; Breistein, "Har staten bedre borgere?," 296 ("almost like agitators").

281 *Stjørdalens Blad*, 31 August 1946.

282 *Dagbladet*, 14 February 1947. *Aftenposten*, 14 February 1947 carried a similar article.

283 National Archives Norway (RA), RA/S-1007/D/Dd/L0203/0013. (KD, Kontor for kirke og geistlighet A). Er mormonerne kristent dissenter-samfunn? Transcript of the minutes of the Bishops Conference 1954. KD.A Jno. 7156.

284 *Arbeiderbladet*, 10 December 1955. Berggrav maintained the term "pirate" in a reader's contribution to *Arbeiderbladet*, 19 January 1956: "Such a characteristic [pirate] stands or falls on whether it strikes at something essential. I maintain it."

in 1850, and later on they were at times also officially warned against and obstructed, but they were rarely denied the exercise of their religion. After the Norwegian and Swedish authorities departed from the practice of refusing Mormon visas, in 1923 and 1924 respectively, there was little active obstruction or any other form of hindrance.²⁸⁵ However, even though they were tolerated, Mormon religious communities received neither legal approval, nor, for instance, the protection of the respective countries' dissenter laws. It was not until the Swedish Religious Freedom Act of 1951, and the Norwegian Constitution's positive provisions on religious freedom of 1964, that the Mormons had the formal right to free public religious practice in the two countries. It was not only a rights-based (in Norway, constitutionally based) *equality* of religious freedom that was difficult until the 1950s and 1960s, but – when it came to the Mormons – also the question of legal approval. Religious *toleration*, on the other hand, was the prevailing influence on the religious policies of both countries from the second half of the 19th century, in practice also towards the Mormons. Legal prosecution was rare, especially after the 1880s, although in Sweden there were still some examples of missionaries being deported or prohibited from holding meetings.²⁸⁶

All the way up to 1950s, the formal basis for not legalising Mormon religious practice in Norway was the Supreme Court's 1853 declaration of them as non-Christian. This can be characterised as a form of straw-man argument. As non-Christians, Jews had been protected by the Dissenter Act since 1851, and this later also applied to Unitarians. On several occasions the question of including all non-Christians in the Dissenter Act was raised and dismissed. Thus, it was not politically desirable to give all non-Christians such protection, and the fear of legitimising Mormon activity weighed especially heavily. Neither was the Mormon Church approved as a Christian community in Sweden. The Dissenter Act of 1873 required those who left the state church to join a Christian denomination. Consequently, there was a formal prohibition against converting to Mormonism until the 1950s.

In Sweden, the definition of Christianity also played a role. In 1902 the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints applied to be considered as Christian in Sweden in order to practise their religion lawfully. On the basis of a statement from the Stockholm chapter of the Swedish Church, the authorities denied them approval. The Governor held that the Mormons' use of "Christian" was an empty term with no roots in reality. As such, Mormonism did not fulfil the conditions of

²⁸⁵ For Sweden's part, see Johansson, *History of the Swedish Mission*, 57.

²⁸⁶ Ulvund, "Til vern og fremme," 42; Emigrationsutredningen, *Mormonvårfrøingen*, 25 (Redogørelse utarbetad af Fil. Kandidat Karl Åmark).

the Dissenter Act and did not therefore belong in a Christian state. But the problem continued. Mormon immorality in the form of polygamy was a particular danger: "Since this would contribute to the dissolution of the decency of marriage, which is one of the most important foundations of both the family and society, from the point of view of society, legalisation of the sect in our country is to be dissuaded in the strongest terms." This was almost an echo of the Norwegian Church Commission's report on Mormonism from 1862. Not only was its social morality dangerous, but the Governor also feared that through legalisation the religious community would form "a state within the state, and lead to a presidential regime of terror similar that of Brigham Young in Utah."²⁸⁷

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints was feared for two principal reasons. First, it was seen as a religious deception that had worldly goals of political and economic power. It was portrayed as a despotic worldly kingdom, a state within the state that was willing to use all means at its disposal. The sword and the spirit went hand in hand in these portrayals, and treachery, deception, and financial fraud against non-Mormons was not only legitimate, but also deserved. The Church was disloyal to secular authorities and laws, and aimed rather to gain supremacy over governments in authority and status. To reinforce such notions of political ambition camouflaged behind the mask of religion, members were represented as Muslim, Jesuit, and Jewish. Orientalisation was a convenient and effective tactic, not least because Mormon self-representations also actively played on and mobilised associations to the Orient.²⁸⁸

The second main objection grew out of a discourse on social morality. Some portrayed Mormon morality as the worst of Jesuit, Jewish, and Islamic morality. It was looked upon as Jesuit because Mormons, and especially their theocratic leadership, were portrayed as uninhibited empire builders for whom the ends justified the means. Their morality was also presented as Jewish by portraying Mormons as a sequestered people who considered themselves to be chosen possessors of a divine covenant, who maintained their identity through segregation and an intense hatred towards all non-Mormons, and therefore saw neither the murder nor the defrauding of non-Mormons as immoral.

²⁸⁷ Emigrationsutredningen, *Mormonvärfningen*, 26. Quoted from the chapter's (City of Stockholm consistory) letter dated 20 May 1902. The Governor of Stockholm endorsed the contents of the letter on 16 June of the same year.

²⁸⁸ An early analysis of the connecting of Mormons and Islam is by the renowned German Jewish historian Eduard Meyer, *Ursprung und Geschichte der Mormonen: Mit Exkursen über die Anfänge des Islam und Christentums* (Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1912). His premise was that Mormonism's aim was the creation of a theocratic faith community that would first rule over America, then the entire world. Meyer, *Ursprung*, 88.

Mormonism was associated with an alleged carnality in Islam. Smith (and subsequent Mormon prophets) and Mohammad were all portrayed as carnal libertines who practised an indecent and socially disruptive morality, especially in the form of polygamous practices. The gathering of devotees in Zion was therefore presented as a cunning plan – not only to recruit financial slaves to the Mormon state of Utah, but also to trick young women into sexual slavery in Mormon harems. This was a morality that was considered to be in direct conflict with the very moral principles of the state. In this way, Mormonism was understood as a domestic danger, a snake in society's grass, one that eroded the moral foundations of the state and which was therefore also socially disruptive and politically dangerous.

Although Mormon self-representations were clearly effective where missionaries were active, and there were dissenting non-Mormon voices that were more positive, the hegemonic representations of Mormonism in Norway and Sweden were strongly negatively charged.²⁸⁹ They were also to some extent tenacious. As late as 1955, a Norwegian priest linked the Mormons to the “the Jesuits' tactical manoeuvres” and portrayed the Mormon Church as a violent and totalitarian oppressor.²⁹⁰ In Denmark, however, we have seen counter-representations of previously nuanced hegemonic notions of Mormonism, rendering claims about the political danger of Mormonism less credible, especially after the turn of the century.

The dominant representations in Sweden and Norway were obviously the products of projection. It was not the activity either of the Mormon missionaries or of its religious communities in the two countries that formed the basis for these hegemonic depictions. On the contrary, missionaries were often spoken of as well mannered with an upstanding and faultless outward conduct, and with a message that could easily be mistaken for the Lutheran rhetoric of penance and remission of sins. For some Protestant priests, this was interpreted as an approach that was both deliberate and disguised, an attempt to keep dogmas and teachings concealed until arrival in Utah. Nor were Mormons condemned for failing to stay within the “bounds of decency” that the Dissenter Act imposed on Christian dissenters. On the contrary, police officers for a num-

289 One example of dissenting voices is Professor Andreas Brandrud, who wanted to recognise Mormons as Christians in 1922 and also provided Mormons with a positive recommendation. The Faculty of Theology endorsed his recommendation for approval. (National Archives Norway (RA), RA/S-1007/D/Dd/L0203/0013. Mormonerne. Letter from the Faculty of Theology to the Ministry of Church Affairs, dated 14 June 1922).

290 *Arbeiderbladet*, 3 August 1955. Op-ed by priest and cultural journalist Sverre Riisøen. The piece provoked a lengthier polemic for and against the Mormon Church.

ber of years claimed that Mormon activity was neither sensational nor scandalous.

It was therefore not national experiences that triggered Norwegian or Swedish anti-Mormonism. On the other hand, transnational portrayals resonated in established stereotypes and conceptions of religious otherness. In Scandinavia, these inherent notions were also the result of constructed transnational abstractions. The Mormons played a central role in the conspiracy-oriented master narrative that was already constructed and reproduced in other contexts.

Since the American representations of Mormons had such clear parallels to established stereotypical representations of Jews, Jesuits and Islam, it facilitated the construction of effective and identifiable Scandinavian conceptions of Mormons. Although opinions about the missionaries' activities in Scandinavia – and especially in Norway and Sweden – were strong, the notions underlying them were not based on Scandinavian experience, but on importations and projections. Thus, after 1851, aversions to Mormons in Norway had much in common with the aversions attached to Jews before the ban on them was lifted. Both were triggered by imported ideas.

Right up until the interwar period, Mormons in Scandinavia were labelled as not only foreign and unpatriotic, but also as direct forces of social dissolution. In both Sweden and Norway, and for a long time in Denmark too, these representations made it difficult, if not impossible, to be Mormon and at the same time be regarded as good citizens of their respective nations.

In Norway, Mormons were regularly represented as Jesuits, and Mormon morality as worse than that of the Jesuits. This demonstrates that the mobilisation of Jesuit images was believed to have polemical power. From the end of the 19th century, attempts were made to remove the prohibition on Jesuits from the Norwegian Constitution. Were the same images of Jesuits equally effective in those debates?

6 A moral threat to society? – the Jesuit danger 1814 – 1961

A father and his “Jesuitism”

From 1928 onwards, Heinrich Roos (1904–1977) was a Jesuit father in Copenhagen. He was German-born, but had acquired Danish citizenship. Ever since the Jesuits had been expelled from Bismarck’s Germany in the early 1870s, Jesuit schools in Denmark had taught in both German and Danish. Many Germans sought to attend Danish Jesuit schools, especially during the period when the order’s institutions were banned in Germany. Roos taught at the school in Copenhagen, in addition to holding a position as philologist at the city’s university.¹

In February 1954, the Theological Association in Norway applied to the Ministry of Justice on behalf of Roos for an exemption from the constitutional ban on Jesuits. They wanted him to visit the country to present a lecture on the work and teachings of the Jesuits.² The issue of the exclusion of the Jesuits had been raised in connection with the government’s ratification of the European Convention on Human Rights in 1951. Norway had expressed reservations about the clause on religious freedom because of the ban on Jesuits, which, at an international level, was problematic and controversial. In 1952, therefore, the government forwarded a proposal to repeal this last exclusionary provision from the Constitution.

It was in this context that Father Roos applied to come to Norway – but he was turned down. Giving his reasoning, Minister of Justice Kai Birger Knudsen (1903–1977) in Oscar Torp’s (1893–1958) Labour Party government explained that it was not possible to grant an exemption from such a categorical constitutional provision.³ However, the paragraph had lain dormant for a long time, and a number of Jesuits had previously visited the country openly, including Roos himself.⁴ The Theological Association explained that on this occasion they had applied for the exemption on the advice of law professor Frede Castberg (1893–1977), an expert on constitutional law and a Norwegian member of the

1 *Arbeiderbladet* carried a lengthier interview with Roos across two editions at the end of January 1954: *Arbeiderbladet*, 29 January 1954 and 30 January 1954.

2 *Stortingsforhandlingar*. Del 7b. Stortingsstidende (1955), 2593 ff. [Records of the Proceedings of the Norwegian Parliament (Storting). Part 7b. Parliamentary debate (1955)].

3 *Arbeiderbladet*, 3 March 1954.

4 *Dagbladet*, 11 October 1955. *Dagbladet*, 14 October 1955.



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28. januar 1954
Nr. 24 — 16. årgang

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STRATOS

FOLKETEATERBYGNINGEN

Molotov vil ha møte om nedrusting

De fire utenriksministrene fjerdte møte, som i likhet med de foregående var preget av taler til en bred tilføyelighet, endte med at Molotov la fram et forslag om en internasjonal nedrustingskonferanse i løpet av 1954. Konferansen skulle sammankalles av de fire store stormakter sammen med 15-20 andre, men også stater utenfor FFA — altså ikke — skulle være med. Molotovs forslag skal drøttes på møtet i dag. For de fire store går det fram at Tsjekkoslovakieret vil uttrykkelig være å være på Molotovs forslag, at det må bli ferdig i Kina og Indu-China før det kan bli tale om noen så radikale forslag.

KALD LUFT STRØMMER FRA SIBIR

33 gr. på Tynset

De var en til at det er så kaldt som mange folk har sagt, og den forteller å komme ut av bunn på et kaldt side bakke. Tynset var med 33 grader, som betyr med sine 33 ballonger i går omkretset av alle vinterens vindstærker.

«Hvis det er kaldt så er det kaldt», sa Molotov i sin tale om nedrusting, som ble holdt på et møte i Kina og Indu-China før det kan bli tale om noen så radikale forslag.

Proposisjon om 18 måneder vil komme i februar

I en melding som i går offentlig ble sendt av Folkemotet ble det sagt at den vil komme i februar.

«Folkemotet vil i går offentlig bli sendt til de fire store stormakter og de 15-20 andre, men også stater utenfor FFA — altså ikke — skulle være med. Molotovs forslag skal drøttes på møtet i dag. For de fire store går det fram at Tsjekkoslovakieret vil uttrykkelig være å være på Molotovs forslag, at det må bli ferdig i Kina og Indu-China før det kan bli tale om noen så radikale forslag.»

Møte hos meglingsmannen om busskonflikten mandag

Møtet hos meglingsmannen om busskonflikten mandag vil bli holdt på et møte i Kina og Indu-China før det kan bli tale om noen så radikale forslag.

Første utførlige Jesuitt-intervju i Norge: ARBEIDERBLADET BESØKER DANSK JESUITTKOLLEGIUM

Fra vår utsendte medarbeider, Bjørn Gabrielsen

Jesuitene har i den senere tid vært utsatt for kraftige angrep i norsk presse. Arbeiderbladet har derfor, for første gang i norsk pressehistorie, besøkt et jesuittkollegium for å forelegge påstøtterne kritikk med ordene, og å dees om til et materiale som den. Vi holder oss til ordene forbi i dag, og går ikke inn på historiske spørsmål. I første artikkel fortelles om jesuittordenens formål, medlemmets utvalgte og utdannelse og deres filosofi. Videre fortelles om de beste åndelige produkt og om utvalgte medlemmers egne konkrete livsfilosofier.

I siste artikkel, som kommer i morgen, går vi nærmere inn på en rekke av de konkrete anklagene som har vært rettet mot jesuitene. Vi forteller også om deres virksomhet i Danmark, den drives delvis med full statstøtte.



Filmsanger som Faruks etterfølger

«Hvis det er kaldt så er det kaldt», sa Molotov i sin tale om nedrusting, som ble holdt på et møte i Kina og Indu-China før det kan bli tale om noen så radikale forslag.

Sildefangsten på ett døgn er verd nær 12 millioner

Muligheter for å 4 millioner hvalkiter ble påsett i natt

Figure 6.1: The Jesuit father Heinrich Roos twice applied for a dispensation from the Constitution's ban on Jesuits in the 1950s. At first, he was rejected (1954), but the following year he received an entry permit on the condition, among other things, that he would not promote "Jesuit teachings" during his stay. Roos found the conditions untenable and cancelled the visit. Arbeiderbladet (29 January 1954) published a lengthy interview with Roos in connection with his first application.

European Commission on Human Rights.⁵ Not surprisingly, the refusal caused a stir, and it ought not to be ruled out that the application was a contribution to the debate and intended to provoke principled assessments at government level. A further application was sent to the government the following year. Now it was the association Catholic Forum in Oslo that wished to invite Father Roos, on this occasion to hold a lecture on Søren Kierkegaard and Catholicism. The reply was drawn out, and a month and a half after the application was received by the government, the matter was taken up as an interpellation in the Storting. Minis-

5 Nordisk Tidende, 18 April 1954.

ter of Justice Jens Kristian Hauge (1915–2006) responded that this time, Roos would be granted an exemption. He justified the government’s decision by the fact that the father would not be discussing Jesuits, but rather presenting a scientific lecture in his capacity as Kierkegaard researcher. However, the minister continued, the precondition was that the lecture would not contain “propaganda in support of Jesuitism” and that Roos would leave the country as soon as possible afterwards.⁶ In the official response to the Catholic Forum and Roos, it was stressed that there was to be no “propagandising in favour of Jesuitism” and that Roos would also have to report to the police both upon arrival and prior to his departure from the country.⁷ These stipulations were an affront to Father Roos, and he cancelled his planned tour of Norway in protest.⁸

It is not known whether anyone other than Roos applied for an exemption from the Jesuit ban as long as the provision was in effect. The first application in 1954 was rejected at that time because the topic of the lecture was Jesuits, and one condition for granting the application in 1955 was the refusal to “propagandise” for Jesuit teachings and “Jesuitism.”

The Minister of Justice’s use of the term “Jesuitism” in the Storting in this context is what is most interesting here. For one thing, it indicates his understanding and that of the government that the Jesuit order represented a separate *ism*, a particular ideology or doctrine that distinguished it from Catholicism more generally. Not only did the government reason that the Jesuits held a distinctive position within Catholicism, but also that their actions and activities were products of this (Jesuit)ism.

Second, the concept was heavily value-laden and had a profoundly derogatory and disdainful meaning, both for Catholics and Protestants. The usage of the term therefore suggests that central political authorities, even after the mid-1900s, acknowledged or at least legitimised a negative image of “Jesuitism” and had an understanding that it was a type of *ism* that was unwelcome. This naturally raises the question of which understanding of “Jesuitism” was implied in the 1950s and in the period prior, leading to the Jesuits being banned and excluded for periods of time from a number of states, both Protestant and Catholic.

⁶ *Stortingsforhandling*. Del 7b. Stortingstidende (1955), 2594. [Records of the Proceedings of the Norwegian Parliament (Storting). Part 7b. Parliamentary debate (1955)].

⁷ *Arbeiderbladet*, 2 November 1955.

⁸ *Nordisk Tidende*, 24 November 1955.

The soldiers of the papistic Counter-Reformation

The Jesuit order – or *Societas Jesu*, as it is formally known – was founded by the Basque Ignatius Loyola (1491–1556) in 1534. Six years later, the order was granted the endorsement of Pope Paul III (1468–1549). It differed from the established monastic orders, such as the Dominicans and Franciscans, in that it was not associated with any monastery, nor was it subordinate to local bishops. Instead the Jesuits were directly subservient to the pope and were to be made available to him and used wherever he saw fit. In particular, they were to be assigned missionary work and teaching duties, and within a relatively short time they became a global organisation with operations spanning from the Far East to the Americas.

The order accumulated opponents at an early stage, both within the Catholic Church and in Protestant countries.⁹ In Protestant regions they were accused of aggressive activity in support of Catholicism and not least of being agents in the service of the Counter-Reformation. Loyola himself helped establish an image of the Jesuits as an organisation of an almost military nature. There was an absolute requirement for hierarchical subordination, expressed by way of *perinde ac cadaver* – to obey loyally in the manner of a corpse. This “cadaver obedience” was also coupled to the pope by the order’s requirement of obedience to him.¹⁰

In the Scandinavian context, the Jesuit Lauritz Nielsen (1538–1622), referred to as “Kloster-Lasse” (Convent-Lasse), is especially well known as an active force for Catholicism in the Nordic missionary field from the 1570s onwards.¹¹ He worked partly undercover and helped to maintain certain underground Catholic operations in the Nordic countries. There was a growing suspicion and stigmatising of Jesuits in this period, and Denmark-Norway was no exception. From the beginning of the 17th century, not only active Jesuits, but also all those who were associated with and suspected of being Jesuits in disguise, were perceived as problematic. In 1604, it was therefore prohibited to employ anyone

⁹ For a concise historical account of the Jesuits, see John W. O’Malley, *The Jesuits: A History from Ignatius to the Present* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2014). For a more comprehensive account, see Christopher Hollis, *A History of the Jesuits* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1968).

¹⁰ Róisín Healy, *The Jesuit Specter in Imperial Germany*. Studies in Central European Histories no. 28 (Boston-Leiden: Brill, 2003): 25.

¹¹ See Oskar Garstein, *Rome and the Counter-Reformation in Scandinavia*, vol. 1 (1539–1583) (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1963), 40 ff. and Oskar Garstein, *Klosterlasse: stormfuglen som ville gjenerobre Norden for katolisismen* (Oslo: Thorleif Dahls kulturbibliotek, 1998).

in Danish-Norwegian churches or schools who had studied at a Jesuit educational institution abroad.

Norwegian-born Kort Aslaksson (1564–1624) was a professor of theology at the University of Copenhagen from 1607. In 1622 he published the church history *Theologiske oc Historiske Beskriffuelse Om den Reformerede Religion, Ved D. Martin Luther* [Theological and Historical Description of the Reformed Religion, By D. Martin Luther] – first in Latin, then in Danish later the same year. This was an early example of literary anti-Jesuitism in the Danish-Norwegian context. The book painted descriptions of the Jesuits as schemers and slayers of kings who acted immorally in order to achieve their goals. By 1606, Kloster-Lasse had come to Copenhagen and not only offered the king religious services, but also applied for travel papers to Norway and for permission to distribute his books throughout the kingdom. As a member of the University’s consistory (academic leadership), Aslaksson was present when Kloster-Lasse was ordered out of the country after being informed that his requests had been refused. In the book, he rounded off his presentation of the meeting with Kloster-Lasse by referring to Jesuits as “Robbers / Kingslayers / and every bottomless puddle of evil.”¹² A few pages later, with reference to Jesuit involvement in the English Gunpowder Plot of 1605, he elaborated on his intense aversion to the Jesuits in vigorous terms:

O murder / O worse than Turkish pillage / I do not think that even the hellish First Acheron itself could have imagined it more gruesome! But from where do all these Regicides originate? Dear, from where? / except from the pernicious Jesuits. How long will you Jesuit Murderers / deny all divinity / bashfulness / decency and honour / feeding on the blood of innocent Lutherans? For how long will you King slayers hide and conceal yourself behind the most holy name of Jesus / and not shame yourself from the shrewd / with betrayal and deceit attempts of Kings and Rulers life / who are installed by God / for your benefit / and that not without the enormous harm and loss for kingdom and subjects? For how long will you submit your disciples to such poison / that one freely and unobstructed may murder and kill Lutheran Kings / Rulers and others of the Lutheran Religion? For how long will you with great promises / great gifts and endowments / lure / incite / urge / them to commit such horrific murderous actions? You refuse to prevail upon Gods command / Thou shalt not kill? The most holy name of Jesus / which you and your scum / as a robbery from the Church / usurp / does that not move you at all? Are you not at all prevailed upon all the innocent Lutheran blood / shed by you and your dregs in abundance / and for

¹² Cort Aslaksson, *Theologiske oc Historiske Beskriffuelse Om den Reformerede Religion, Ved D. Martin Luther* (Kiøbenhaffn Hoff, 1622), unpaginated, below point F iij. See also Oskar Garstein, *Cort Aslaksson: Studier over dansk-norsk universitets- og lærdomshistorie omkring år 1600* (Oslo: Lutherstiftelsens forlag, 1953), for Aslaksson’s role at the university and a thorough analysis of his history of the Church.

what Heaven cries for revenge and punishment? When / O when shall such evil vultures be stopped? What is the straw that will break the camel's back?¹³

He concluded by asking when King Christian IV (1577–1648) would hunt such king slayers and “Cockatrices” from the realm. The reply came swiftly, and in 1624 the death penalty was introduced for “all Papist Monks, Jesuits, presbyteres seculares [Catholic priests] and other such clerics” who were discovered in the dual monarchy.¹⁴ From now onwards, Jesuits were specifically mentioned as being excluded, and the provision on the death penalty remained in force until the new Norwegian Penal Code was adopted in 1842. Thereafter, the death penalty for Jesuits was commuted into a lifetime of hard labour.

Throughout the 1600s, anti-Jesuitism bloomed through clear objections to the order's activities, eventually also in the form of voluminous and effective anti-Jesuit publications that were translated into several languages.¹⁵ This contributed greatly to a range of transnational patterns and stereotypes in depictions of Jesuits, and not least to establishing a widely recognised consensus as to the meaning of “Jesuit morality.”

Among this rich variety of literature, the most influential were *Monita secreta*, which was published in Kraków in 1614, and French Jansenist Blaise Pascal's (1623–1662) *Lettres provinciales*, published in the 1650s.¹⁶ The former is believed to be a forgery, and feigned to be the Jesuits' secret instructions, not unlike the later faking of *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, which, similarly, was produced in order to discredit Jews.¹⁷ The instructions described how Jesuits ought to be able to use any means to acquire economic advantage, in addition to power and influence over sovereigns. Pascal's letters were also fictions under the pretence of being written by a Jesuit. Central to both of these works was a starkly derogatory portrayal of Jesuits and their morals.

Two doctrines in particular have been construed as examples of Jesuit morality: *probabilism* and *reservatio mentalis*. The first presupposed that it was permissible to adopt an action if it could be substantiated to be morally acceptable,

13 Aslaksson, *Theologiske oc Historiske Beskriffuelse*, unpaginated, below point VIII.

14 Forordning [Ordinance], 28 February 1624.

15 Antoine Arnauld, *Théologie morale des Jésuites extraite fidèlement de leurs livres* (1643) and Antoine Arnauld, *De la Fréquente Communion* (1643).

16 O'Malley, *The Jesuits*, 70 ff. See also Geoffrey Cubitt, *The Jesuit Myth: Conspiracy Theory and Politics in Nineteenth-Century France* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 13.

17 Hollis, *A History of the Jesuits*, 94.

even though the contrasting action was even more likely to be morally correct.¹⁸ What was decisive was whether a religious authority had at one time or another approved of the first act as being a moral one. The second doctrine opened up for the possibility that it might be morally correct to obscure reality. One example was in the context of confession, where telling the truth could be a breach of the duty of confidentiality. Both doctrines were actively employed by anti-Jesuits in order to portray adherents as mendacious and untrustworthy.

Thus, from the 1600s, the typical anti-Jesuit notions were well established: The Jesuits were politically disloyal to secular authorities and were willing to promote their worldly goals by immoral means. It was eventually understood to be a Jesuit maxim that the end justified the means, although this was never expressed by the order itself. In this there lay not only an assertion that the Jesuits were active as political plotters and manipulators – especially as the confessors of kings – but also that they legitimised and practised political violence, including the assassination of sovereigns when it was expedient, and a contention that lying was permissible, even under oath, if this promoted the cause of the order.¹⁹

In this way, there emerged a perception of the Jesuits as a religious weapon in the Counter-Reformation, developing into a principal understanding of the Jesuits as an instrument of the pope for political and economic influence in the moulding of both Protestant and Catholic nations. Therefore, Jesuits were often portrayed – perhaps especially in Catholic regions – as having a voracity for gold. The latter was an important reason why the order had many opponents in Catholic countries during a period when state centralisation and consolidation created tensions between the political ambitions of Catholic sovereigns and the political authority of the pope.

A Jesuitical state within the state?

From the end of the 1750s, power struggles within the Catholic Church and Catholic countries led to the Jesuit order being excluded from a number of states, first

18 John Harty, “Probabilism,” in *The Catholic Encyclopedia* (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1911). (<http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/12441a.htm>, accessed 17 February 2017).

19 Harro Höpfl, *Jesuit Political Thought: The Society of Jesus and the State, c. 1540–1630* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 7. See also Hollis, *A History of the Jesuits*; Cubitt, *The Jesuit Myth*; Steven Luckert, *Jesuits, Freemasons, Illuminati, and Jacobins: Conspiracy Theories, Secret Societies, and Politics in the Late Eighteenth-Century Germany* (PhD diss., State University of New York, 1993).

in Portugal (1759), then in important states such as France (1764) and Spain (1767), before the order was suppressed by pope Clement XIV (1705–1774) altogether in 1773. The Age of Enlightenment's aversion to corporations, and its anti-clerical struggle against alleged irrationality and illegitimate authorities contributed, not unexpectedly, to increased anti-Jesuitism. In Spain and Portugal in particular, there was a perception that the Jesuits' activities in Paraguay had created a republic that was evading the control of secular colonial powers.²⁰ In France, the Encyclopédistes hurled their accusations at everything they perceived as irrational, including the Jesuits. And, as Jacob Katz has shown, claims that they constituted a state within the state with aspirations of forming their own empire were deliberately used against them in the French campaign to exclude them.²¹

The controversial relationship of the Jesuits to European states, and contemporary hegemonic notions of Jesuits, were also familiar to Scandinavians and were actively conveyed to the reading public. The official *Stockholm Post-Tidningar* and *Kjöbenhavnske Danske Post-Tidender* gave extensive coverage to the prohibitions against Jesuits in Catholic countries from the late 1750s. In 1786, the Norwegian provincial newspaper *Trondhjems Adresse-Contoires Efterretninger* carried a longer series of articles on the Jesuits. The order's history and activities were presented to its readers across nine issues. The source of the texts is not clear, but they bear a close resemblance to the world history written by French abbot Claude-François-Xavier Millot (1726–1785). This was published in Danish beginning from the 1780s, but the volume that specifically discusses Jesuits was not published until 1790. The Trondheim newspaper must therefore have made use of editions in other languages.²² Millot was a former Jesuit and, rather unsurprisingly, in his work the Jesuits were represented in accordance with the conventions of the age.

²⁰ O'Malley, *The Jesuits*, 73.

²¹ Katz, "A State Within a State," 53.

²² *Trondhjems allene Kongelige privilegerede Adresse-Contoires Ugentlig Udgivende Efterretninger* (hereafter TAE), no. 5, 14, 15, 16, 19, 20, 22, 23 and 24 (1786). Claude François Xavier Millot's world history was published in French (*Éléments d'histoire générale ancienne et moderne*) in the years 1772–1783. These were translated and published in Danish from 1781 as *Abbed Millots Verdens-historie*. The first volumes were available in Trondheim's reading association in 1784. (*Fortegnelse paa de i Aaret 1784 til Trondhjems Læseselskab forskrevne Bøger, som ere staaende paa den borgerlige Skoles Bibliothek* (Trondhjem, 1784), 5. The Danish edition of the volume that discusses the Jesuits in Paraguay was first published in 1790, but earlier editions in French, German and English were available: Claude-François-Xavier Millot, *Abbed Millots Verdens-historie*, vol. 11 (Kjöbenhavn: Gyldendal, 1790), 216 ff. Millot also discusses the Jesuits' expulsion from Spain, in the Danish edition, in Claude-François-Xavier Millot, *Abbed Millots Verdens-historie*, vol. 13 (Kjöbenhavn: Gyldendal, 1791), 170 ff.

Alongside the abbot, the newspaper admired the Jesuits' ability to come into power and fortune, and they were described as shrewd and cunning. In many instances they ruled the most important courts in Europe and interfered in all manner of issues, playing a part in "every State ruse and every Revolution."²³ They worked to extend the power of a domineering pope, and sought in the most zealous way to make the clergy independent of secular authority. And, according to their tenets, it was an obligation "to oppose a Sovereign who is an Enemy of the Roman Faith, which bejewels the most hideous and blackest of Vices, and aims to tear asunder all Obligations between Subjects and Ruler."²⁴ The case of Paraguay was brought out in order to substantiate claims about their political ambitions. There, the order sought to establish an independent and militarily potent realm that was to be completely subjugated to the Jesuits; this realm was to be the starting point for the ultimate goal, namely dominion over the whole of South America.²⁵

The motivation behind their political influence was presented as economic gain. To attain their goals, the Jesuits adhered to a moral system based on a "most yielding Morality" that justified their mistakes and tolerated their imperfections, and which took "into its Protection every Deed and Act that the boldest and most cunning Politics might wish to undertake."²⁶ The Trondheim newspaper also noted the rigorous insistence on discipline, explaining that it was the duty of every member to put the order's interests before everyone else's. This "Spirit of Obligation to the Order," the newspaper continued, was "the Jesuits' characteristic Principle and the Key to their political Constitution and to their peculiar Opinions and Relationships."²⁷

The broad spectrum of anti-Jesuit notions actively expressed by the abbot and Trondheim newspaper is likely also important to understanding why the prominent "constitutional father" Wilhelm Koren Christie tabled the proposal to add the Jesuits to the Norwegian Constitution's catalogue of outcasts in the spring of 1814, and why this received such wide support.

While the constitutional committee in 1814 proposed that the Jews be banned as early as in its founding principles, it was only as the assembly was discussing the final wording of Article 2 on 4 May that Christie submitted the proposal concerning the Jesuits. He was generally sceptical of the notion that the

²³ TAE, no. 20 (1786).

²⁴ TAE, no. 22 (1786).

²⁵ TAE, no. 23, 24 (1786).

²⁶ TAE, no. 22 (1786).

²⁷ TAE, no. 20 (1786).

state should relinquish its control over the religion of its subjects. “No significant Benefit” for the state could be expected if those other than Christians were granted the right to the free exercise of religion. On the contrary, there were grounds to fear great harm. “Beneath the Veil of Sanctity and religious Zeal,” the charlatan could swindle fortunes for himself and lure others towards vice, not least “Rebelliousness towards the Nation’s Authorities.”²⁸

Christie also pointed out that the free exercise of religion for all could become perilous to societal morals if “human Sacrifice, Idolatry, Bigamy, and such-like” could be lawfully practised. In addition, he feared that Jesuits could freely enter the country, and so suggested that they ought to be positively excluded, in line with the Jews. The reason – according to fellow representative Sibbern’s journal – was political, and analogous to the rationale for excluding Jews.²⁹ They posed a political danger to the state. According to Thomas Bryn (1782–1827), who also participated at the constitutional assembly at Eidsvoll, Christie’s motivation was also that Jesuits (and monks) were “as dangerous to the Religion as they are to the State.”³⁰

The Jesuit order was re-established by the Holy See in August 1814. This attracted the attention of the Norwegian press, and soon “Jesuitism” began to be addressed again. In a supplement to one of its issues, the semi-official *Den Norske Rigstidende* published longer extracts from foreign articles on the Jesuits in 1816. Here, all the old stereotypes were in place, not least emphasising that with its re-establishment, the order still held true to its morals and objectives.³¹ As an example of how these notions circulated across borders, mention can be made of the Norwegian *Rigstidende*’s reproduction of the Danish *Nyeste Skilderie af Kjøbenhavn*, which in turn cited Thuringian *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung*’s review of an 1815 publication of anti-Jesuit character.³² Here, Jesuitism was por-

28 Arnet Olafsen, *Riksforsamlingens forhandlinger: 1ste del. Protokoller med bilag og tillæg* (Kristiania: Grøndahl & Søns Boktrykkeri, 1914), 180 f.

29 Valentin C.W. Sibbern, *V.C.W. Sibberns dagbog paa Eidsvold fra 10de april til 17de mai 1814* (Kristiania: P.T. Mallings, 1870), 23.

30 Letter from Thomas Bryn to parish priest S. G. Abel in Lauritz L. Bryn, *Eidsvoldsmannen Thomas Bryn: Et omriss av hans liv og virke, med noen opplysninger om hans forfedre og etterkommere* (Tønsberg: E. Bryn, 1968), 89.

31 *Den Norske Rigstidende*, no. 22, 14 March 1816 with republication of the article from the Swedish *Almänna Journalen*.

32 *Den Norske Rigstidende*, no. 31, 17 April 1816. The writing under review was Karl Heinrich von Lang, *Reverendi in Christo patris Jacobi Marelli S.J. amores e scriniis provinciae Superioris Germaniae Monachii nuper apertis brevi libello expositi* (München, 1815), and the review was originally published in *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung*, no. 4 (Januar 1816).

trayed as an immoral tyranny, inter alia with reference to Pascal's *Lettres provinciales* and to the Jesuit Constitution of 1762.

That same autumn, *Rigstidende* again borrowed from the Danish periodical and related how swiftly the Jesuit order had regained its power in Rome. By way of a wide-ranging network, it had already acquired power and control for itself. "This was the Jesuits' secret Police, which, as a private Institution, ranked higher than the State. Religious Fanaticism and partisan Interests obeyed this State within the State."³³

On this basis, it is no wonder that Christian Magnus Falsen – who also had an important role in the prohibition of the Jews in 1814 – expressed satisfaction with the Norwegian exclusion of Jesuits in his annotated version of the Constitution from 1818. He still found that the principle of Jesuit morality was "that all Means are permissible and good when the End is good."³⁴ For Falsen, this was sufficient reason to shut them out, especially since, according to him, the order worked in the interests of the papacy rather than in the interests of national governments.

Thus, notions of the Jesuits in the period around 1814, as in the case of Jews, were characterised by a thriving transnationality. Ideas that they were politically dangerous in a variety of ways to secular state societies were in constant circulation across borders, even during the period when they had been formally suppressed by the pope. Not only did they corrupt good and – for the well-being of the state – necessary social morals, it was claimed; they also stood in direct opposition to secular authorities and were politically disloyal. In this period, they appeared to a broad public sphere as cosmopolitan and immoral anti-citizens of every nation, as did the Jews. In Scandinavia, these these notions were persistent, and played a significant role in public and parliamentary discussions. That was especially the case in Sweden and Norway, and peaked in the latter country whenever the Jesuit ban was brought up for discussion, all the way up to 1956.

Catholicism and religious nationalism

Anti-Jesuitism was often connected with anti-Catholicism and was fuelled by the same suspicion of Catholic ambitions to steer the Protestant churches back to the "mother church." This was a sentiment common to many Protestant regions and

³³ *Den Norske Rigstidende*, no. 77, 25 September 1816.

³⁴ Falsen, *Den norske Grundlov*, 9.

was an expression of the fact that Catholicism was considered as both a religious and a political peril. This fear formed the basis for anti-Catholic legislation in a number of Protestant states, as well as in Catholic countries in which anti-Clericalism in different shapes played important roles.

A particular example is British anti-Catholicism, and especially the fear that Catholicism would become instrumental in Irish nationalism. In the early 1800s, the British Lord Chancellor in Ireland argued against allowing Catholics to sit in parliament until they had freed themselves from the control of the priests and the Catholic hierarchy.³⁵ The arguments against giving Catholics full civil rights thus recalled the corresponding debates about Jews around Europe. Suspicions of a lack of political loyalty among Catholics in general, and among Irish Catholics in particular, gave longevity to objections against relaxing British legislation and aroused a general scepticism towards Catholics throughout the 19th century.³⁶

In both Sweden and Denmark, Catholicism was thematised in a political context around the mid-1800s. In the 1840s the confrontation was between the Danish state and the Roman Catholic Church, a conflict that also involved Protestant states in northern Germany. The background to this was Pope Gregory XVI's (1765–1846) hastened mission strategy for the Nordic countries. A separate mission was established with its own bishop, who had a residence in Hamburg, and the mission would cover the North German states and Denmark. In 1840, Belgian Jesuit and conservative ultramontanist Johannes Th. Laurent (1804–1884) was appointed *Vicarius Apostolicus* (bishop) for the mission.³⁷ This triggered strong objections both in Denmark and the Protestant states of northern Germany, partly because Laurent had previously been involved in clerical-political disputes in Prussia.³⁸ The government of Prussia considered the Catholic requirement for the offspring of mixed marriages to be raised as Catholics as interference in the affairs of the state. The Bishop of Zealand, Jacob Peter Mynster, objected strongly to what he perceived as a dangerous missionary offensive,

35 Lord Redesdale, Lord Chancellor of Ireland, in a letter from 1803. Retrieved here from Ursula Henriques, *Religious Toleration*, 142.

36 For instance, just after his terms as Prime Minister of Great Britain, William Gladstone wrote a cautionary pamphlet against Catholicism following the pope's decree on infallibility in 1870. It was, he wrote, impossible to be Catholic "without renouncing [one's] moral and mental freedom, and placing [one's] civil loyalty and duty at the mercy of another." William Gladstone, *The Vatican Decrees in Their Bearing on Civil Allegiance: A Political Expostulation* (London: John Murray, 1874), 12.

37 Rasmussen, *Religionstolerance og religionsfrihed*, 120 ff.

38 Rasmussen, *Religionstolerance og religionsfrihed*, 121.

the aim of which was the expansion of the power of the pope, and during the constitutional debates of 1849 he referred to Laurent as “a Catholic Fanatic.”³⁹ It was in particular from the Danish professor of theology, Henrik Nicolai Clausen (1793–1877), that he acquired his understanding of Catholicism.

In 1825, Clausen had published a discursive book on Protestantism and Catholicism (*Catholicismens og Protestantismens Kirkeforfatning, Lære og Ritus* [Catholicism’s and Protestantism’s Church Constitutions, Doctrines and Rites]). The Catholic Church was referred to as a “political Institution, with hierarchical Authority under a theocratic Sovereign with complete legislative, judicial and executive Powers.”⁴⁰ The Roman Catholic Church was accused of being on hostile terms with the state and, according to Clausen, Catholicism’s regime resulted in the Church not only always being a state within the state, but also a state against the state. Catholic subjects might well be obedient to the governments of their respective countries, but “this has to be subordinated to their greater Obedience to the Pope, and vanishes as soon as the two collide.”⁴¹

The Danish chancellery recommended against granting Laurent access to Denmark, and after additional pressure from German states, the mission was placed under the Bishop of Osnabrück. This was acceptable to Prussia, among others. In 1841, Bishop Mynster of Zealand nevertheless came to the conclusion that the Danish government could not grant approval to bishops who were committed by oath to the Holy See and who were thereby the “Subject of a foreign State.”⁴² If the Bishop of Osnabrück was to be approved, he would have to be denied visitation or direct contact with Catholic churches in Denmark. The government followed Mynster’s approach and accepted the mission’s bishop under Mynster’s conditions.

Catholicism was also politicised as a peril to the state at the constitutional assembly of 1848–1849, especially by conservative members. Bishop Mynster stated that Jesuitism was ever present and that the “Roman Hierarchy is a very considerable Power, which, through its many Branches, extends far and wide.”⁴³ It was the idea of granting Catholics access to public office that was regarded by many, including Bishop Mynster, as being impermissible. Giving access to persons who, in ecclesiastical circumstances, acknowledged themselves to be subordinated to an authority “that is quite beyond the State, and which can

³⁹ Rasmussen, *Religionstolerance og religionsfrihed*, 126, 229.

⁴⁰ Henrik Nicolai Clausen, *Catholicismens og Protestantismens Kirkeforfatning, Lære og Ritus* (Kjøbenhavn, 1825), 194.

⁴¹ Clausen, *Catholicismens og Protestantismens*, 196.

⁴² Here from Rasmussen, *Religionstolerance og religionsfrihed*, 126.

⁴³ *Beretning Om Forhandlingerne paa Rigsdagen*. Andet Bind (Kjøbenhavn, 1849), 1600.

command of them whatever it wants,” was dangerous. He therefore wanted to limit political rights to individuals of Evangelical Lutheran faith, and was supported in this by key jurist, and later prime minister, Anders Sandøe Ørsted.⁴⁴

The proposal did not receive a majority (35 votes in favour, 85 votes against); the debate did, however, demonstrate how great the suspicion towards Catholics' qualification as fellow citizens still was. No delegates referred to Catholics and Catholicism in positive terms, and in debates the word “Jesuit” was activated as an insult through associations with “fraud” and “hypocrisy.”⁴⁵ For example, a proposal to inscribe the ban on Jesuits and monks into the Constitution, as in Norway, received astoundingly broad support (37 in favour, 79 against).⁴⁶

In Bishop Mynster's book on the Danish Constitution and the practical scope of religious freedom, it was Catholicism, alongside Mormonism, that he warned especially against. According to him, the Roman Catholic Church had renewed its “state of war” with Denmark. Catholicism was dangerous because its powerful and widely branched hierarchy was backed by “Jesuitism's mighty and relentless Influence.”⁴⁷ The state could not remain indifferent to the fact that a large proportion of its citizens was subject to a foreign and independent power [the Holy See] and was duty-bound to unconditional obedience to its commands. In the 1870s and early 1880s – following the Vatican Council's dogma regarding papal infallibility – Mynster's successor in the diocese of Zealand, Hans Lassen Martensen (1808–1884), reiterated warnings against Catholicism and Jesuit propaganda, which were casting their “fishing Nets around the Lands.”⁴⁸ This was not only for reasons of theology, but also due to its alleged foreignness and character as a secular state founded on values that stood in contrast to Protestantism's concepts of rights and freedom.⁴⁹

In Sweden from the 1840s up to the Non-Conformist Acts of 1860 and 1873, debates on religious freedom contributed to the thematising of Catholicism more generally, and of Jesuits in particular. According to Swedish historian Yvonne Maria Werner, it was precisely because of anti-Catholic attitudes in the Riksdag

44 *Beretning Om Forhandlingerne paa Rigsdagen* (1849), 5443f. *Aalborg Stiftstidende og Adresseavis*, 7 May 1849.

45 Jes F. Møller and U. Østergaard, “Lutheran Orthodoxy and Anti-Catholicism in Denmark 1536–2011,” in *European Anti-Catholicism in a Comparative and Transnational Perspective*, ed. Yvonne M. Werner and Jonas Harvard. European Studies no. 31 (Amsterdam-New York: Rodopi, 2013), 180.

46 *Beretning Om Forhandlingerne paa Rigsdagen* (1849), 2555 and 3095.

47 Mynster, *Grundlovens Bestemmelser*, 14f.

48 Hans Lassen Martensen, *Katholicisme og Protestantisme: Et Leilighedsskrift* (Kjøbenhavn: Gyldedalske Boghandel, 1874), 2.

49 Møller and Østergaard, “Lutheran Orthodoxy,” 181.

that the liberalisation of religious laws was pushed back.⁵⁰ The clergy, especially, painted a picture of Catholicism as a threat to Swedish culture and the social order. During the debates there were warnings against Jesuit infiltration and Catholic missionarying, specifically that aimed at society's lower strata. Werner argues that several of the Dissenter Acts' restrictions on members beyond the state church were motivated by the Catholic "peril," not only obvious cases such as the ban on monasteries, but also the need to uphold a Lutheran monopoly on education and the school system.⁵¹

As a member of the Riksdag in 1891, former Foreign Minister Oscar Björnstjerna (1819–1905) requested that the Swedish government propose an amendment to the Dissenter Act aimed specifically at Catholics. He wanted to legislate for a ban on priests demanding pledges in advance of wedlock that children of mixed marriages would be raised in a particular religion. This was the practice among Catholic priests in marriages between Catholics and Protestants. Björnstjerna argued that Catholic activity and influence was growing throughout Europe, including in Protestant regions, and as a result he was following Catholic missionary activity in Sweden with concern and disquiet. The Catholic priests' practices would eventually lead to a significant proportion of Swedes being Catholic, he explained, and the country would face the same problems as other countries in which Catholics had grown numerous "and where the papacy constitutes a power within the state."⁵² For the faithful Catholic, he went on, the dictates of the pope had more validity than those of the king: "For every Swede who does not profess the Roman doctrine and looks on with repugnance as an Italian prelate captures the leading position in our country, this ought to constitute a serious warning."⁵³ Through its alleged subordination to a foreign power, Catholicism was thus branded not only as politically problematic, but also as downright un-Swedish and thereby unpatriotic. Björnstjerna's

50 Yvonne Maria Werner, "'The Catholic Danger': The Changing Patterns of Swedish Anti-Catholicism – 1850–1965," in *European Anti-Catholicism in a Comparative and Transnational Perspective*, ed. Yvonne M. Werner and Jonas Harvard, European Studies no. 31 (Amsterdam-New York: Rodopi, 2013), 138.

51 Yvonne Maria Werner, *Världsvid men främmande: Den katolske kyrkan i Sverige 1873–1929* (Uppsala: Katolske bokförlaget, 1996), 35.

52 Riksdagens Protokoll. Motioner i Första kammaren (1891). Nr. 49, 2. Af herr Björnstjerna, om förebyggande af samvetstväng från vigselförrättares eller själasörjares sida med, hänsyn till den lära, hvori barn, födda uti äktenskap mellan olika trosbekännare, skola uppfostras. [Records of Proceedings from the Swedish Parliament (Riksdagen). Motion to the First Chamber, No. 49 (1891)].

53 Riksdagens Protokoll. Motioner i Första kammaren (1891). Nr. 49, 2. [Records of Proceedings from the Swedish Parliament (Riksdagen). Motion to the First Chamber, No. 49 (1891)].

request was adopted by both chambers of the Riksdag the following year. The government's legislative process was prolonged and thorough, and it was not until 1898 that a definitive proposal was submitted to parliament. It stumbled when the proposal only received a majority in the first chamber.⁵⁴ Anti-Catholic arguments were wielded even during the debate, including by the Minister of Justice, who explained in reference to Catholic practices that it was intolerable for priests from foreign religious communities to act in defiance of the laws of the state.

In Norway in the period after 1814, however, there was less a fear of Catholics than of dissenting Protestant groups. Nor did the establishment by royal licence of a Catholic congregation in Oslo in 1843, two years before the Dissenter Act afforded all Christians the opportunity to do the same, provoke particular resistance or fear from Lutheran quarters.⁵⁵

Until the latter part of the 19th century, the Jesuit question was not discussed in Norway to any significant extent.⁵⁶ This set Norway apart from its Scandinavian neighbours. Yet, the establishment of the Catholic Church in Norway triggered certain suspicions regarding whether Jesuits were concealing themselves in the ranks of Catholic priests and missionaries. The first Catholic pastor in Oslo, Gottfried Ignatius Montz (1813–1868), had to go out in public and declare that the rumours that he was actually a Jesuit were false.⁵⁷

The Catholic Church established a North Pole mission in 1855 with the northern town of Alta in Norway as its base and Arctic regions as its mission field. This soon prompted suspicions that it was the Jesuits who lay behind it. The station was led by Russian noble convert Paul Maria Stefan Djunkowski (1821–1870). He had previously been a Jesuit, but had been relieved of his vows in 1853. Local authorities, the Ministry of Justice, and not least the Swedish-Norwegian envoy in Paris all had strong suspicions that Djunkowski, especially, was still a Jesuit, but this could not be confirmed. The prefect in Tromsø pointed out that their pro-

54 Werner, *Världsvid men främmande*, 41 ff.

55 Bernt Eidsvig, "Den katolske kirke vender tilbake," in *Den katolske kirke i Norge: Fra kristningen til i dag*, ed. John Willem Gran, Erik Gunnes and Lars Roar Langslet (Oslo: Aschehoug, 1993), 166.

56 In the Storting in 1836, parish priest and later bishop Jens Lauritz Arup voiced his concern that priests' lack of control over gatherings of travelling preachers could be dangerous, and in particular pointed out the danger of increased "papist and Jesuit Propaganda, the present Eager-ness and Power of which can hardly be evaluated as being low, and which now, as before, can cast its Eye on Norway and use an unchecked teaching Authority in order to gain Entry to the Kingdom." (*Stortingsforhandlingene*. Del 2. Forhandlingene i April måned (1836), 492. [Records of the Proceedings of the Norwegian Parliament (Storting). Part 2. Parliamentary debate in April (1836).

57 *Nordlyset*, 26 July 1844.

clamations of not being Jesuits were dubious: “According to the Statutes of the Order, if the person in question is a Jesuit he is not only entitled but also obliged to deny his Status and to conceal it with the greatest Diligence, such that the purpose of the religion or Order can be achieved.”⁵⁸ The mission station and the Russian Djunkowski were closely monitored by the authorities, but this was probably provoked as much by fear of Russian interference in the northern provinces as by fear of the Jesuits.

Although the prohibition on Jesuits was not discussed to any appreciable extent, notions of “Jesuitism” were still alive and vivid in Norway too. There was little representation of Jesuits, but they – along with notions of “Jesuitism” – were mobilised in order to represent other groups. Jesuitism and its different variants acquired their own semantic meanings, decoupled from Jesuit monks specifically.

Both as a noun and as an adjective, the word was constructed with strongly pejorative associations and as a term of abuse that could be hurled at all potential opponents. There are a number of examples of the term being used in a variety of contexts that had nothing to do with Jesuits or Catholicism: “Jesuitical dishonesty,” “Jesuitical ambiguity,” “Jesuitical tricks” and “Jesuitical mindset” were all terms used to characterise Protestant opponents in the 1830s and 1840s.⁵⁹ In 1841, the well-known editor of Norway’s *Morgenbladet*, Adolf Bredo Stabell (1807–1865), sued his counterpart at *Christiansandsposten* for libel. He had been called a spy, an informant, and someone who hailed “the Tenet of Jesuitism, the End justifies the Means.”⁶⁰ He was not the only one to resent being attributed “Jesuitical” traits.

As an expletive, the Jesuits were also included in dictionaries as a lexical term. The Danish dictionary of foreign words by Ludvig Meyer (1780–1854) acquired important standing in the Danish and Norwegian cultural world. In 1837, it defined *Jesuitisimus* as “the Doctrine of Loyola, its Tenets and Spirit; Pretence, Hypocrisy, Sanctimony, Intrigue.”⁶¹ In the same vein, *Jesuitism* was de-

58 Karl Kjelstrup, *Norvegia catholica: moderkirkens gjenreisning i Norge: et tilbakeblikk i anledning av 100-årsminnet for opprettelsen av St. Olavs menighet i Oslo, 1843–1943* (Oslo: Apostoliske vikariat, 1942), 96: Kjelstrup was quoting letters from prefect Motzfeldt in Tromsø to the Ministry of Justice, dated 8 July 1856.

59 *Morgenbladet*, 3 September 1838. *Morgenbladet*, 27 May 1836. *Christiansandsposten*, 20 May 1841.

60 *Morgenbladet*, 2 December 1841 and *Christiansandsposten*, 25 November 1841.

61 Ludvig Meyer, *Kortfattet Lexikon over fremmede, i det danske Skrift- og Omegns-Sprog forekommende Ord, Konststudtryk og Talemaader tilligemed de i danske Skrifter mest brugelige, fremmede Ordforkortelser* (Kiøbenhavn: Brummerske Boghandels Forlag, 1837), s.v. “Jesuit.” Other-

finned in Mauritz Hansen's (1794–1842) posthumously updated 1851 Norwegian dictionary of foreign words: “The Doctrine and Spirit of the Jesuits; Hypocrisy, Pretence.”⁶² Even in recent Norwegian dictionaries (*Norsk Riksmålsordbok*) the word has retained its abstract meaning and characterises “a person who has the intent to use morally reprehensible means and (esp.) pretence in order to achieve a purpose.”⁶³ Similarly, the dictionary mentions *Jesuitry* (*jesuitteri*) and the adjective *Jesuitical* (*jesuitisk*) in the sense of “Jesuitic appearance or conduct.” Here the dictionaries reflect that the use of the term has had an enduring history beyond its specific context.

Images of Jesuits were notably mobilised in representations of the Mormons from the 1850s onwards, and along with notions of Islam they were clearly regarded as fitting and effective ways of branding undesirable religious practices. The fact that Mormons were represented as Jesuits shows in itself how engrained these notions must have been among public participants in the politico-religious discourse.

From the 1880s there was some increase in interest in and discussion of Catholicism in Norway, but it was not until the 1890s that the Jesuits' access to the kingdom was brought up for debate.⁶⁴ Not surprisingly, this contributed to increased discussion of Jesuits and “Jesuitism,” and of Catholicism too for that matter. The constitutional proposals were partly based on a Christian-liberal initiative within the free-church movement that was politically rooted in the national-liberal party Venstre, and partly on a desire from Catholic quarters.

In 1891, Norway adopted a new Dissenter Act, which many free-church groups were still dissatisfied with.⁶⁵ In 1892, Baptist and Venstre party member Hans Andersen (1829–1901) therefore proposed to amend Article 2 of the Constitution so that religious freedom for all was positively inscribed. As a consequence, he also proposed the removal of the two remaining exclusionary provi-

wise see Tor Guttu, “Ordbokssituasjonen omkring 1905,” *Språknytt*, no. 1–2 (2005) on the publishing history of Norwegian dictionaries.

⁶² Mauritz Chr. Hansen, *Fremmed-Ordbog, eller Forklaring over de i det norske Skrift- og Omgangs-Sprog almindeligst forekommende fremmede Ord og Talemaader: Andet betydeligt forøgede og forbedrede Oplag. Udigvet av A. Autenrieth* (Christiania: Chr. Tønsbergs forlag, 1851), s.v. “Jesuit.” Hansen published the first edition in the same year that he died: Mauritz C. Hansen, *Fremmed-Ordbog eller Forklaring over de i det norske Skrift- og Omgangs-Sprog almindeligst forekommende fremmede Ord og Talemaader* (Christiania: Guldberg & Dzwonkowski, 1842). “Jesuit” was not a term in the first edition.

⁶³ *Norsk Riksmålsordbok*, vol. 2 (Oslo: Kunnskapsforlaget, 1983), s.v. “jesuitt.”

⁶⁴ Bernt Oftestad, “Jesuittparagraf og antikatolisisme: Debatt om og endring av Grunnlovens § 2,” *Teologisk tidsskrift* no. 4 (2014): 413.

⁶⁵ Breistein, “*Har staten bedre borgere?*,” 90 ff.

sions (Jesuits and monastic orders).⁶⁶ In an alternative constitutional proposal, three representatives from Venstre – among them Viggo Ullmann (1848–1910), a prominent public figure who in 1893 became party leader – backed the lifting of the exclusion of Jesuits and monks, or, otherwise, only retaining the exclusion of Jesuits. According to Ullmann, it was at the request of the Catholics that he was tabling the proposal.⁶⁷ During the parliamentary hearing in 1897, there was a constitutional majority to repeal the ban on monks, but not on Jesuits (63 voted in favour of repeal, 48 against). Neither was there a constitutional majority to introduce a positive provision on religious freedom for all, which had largely been justified among the minority by an understanding that this was already an established interpretation.⁶⁸

The period around 1890 marked a dividing line in the history of the Catholic Church in Norway. In 1892 the country became its own Catholic see; its first Catholic bishop since the Middle Ages would be the Luxembourger Olaf Fallize (1844–1933). He had taken over as pastor in 1887 and was regarded as immensely faithful to the pope (an “ultramontanist”).⁶⁹ Under his leadership, the Catholic Church became hugely active in Norway. Many speakers were invited from abroad, and there was major interest in these meetings. A series of lectures by Father Dominikus Scheer (1830–1907) in Oslo and Trondheim in 1890 and 1891 is reported to have been particularly well attended, and according to church historian Bernt Oftestad, helped to spark an intense debate about Catholicism in ecclesiastical theological circles.⁷⁰ Several new Catholic mission stations and congregations were established in Norway throughout the 1890s, and by the end of the century membership had doubled to two thousand.

The constitutional proposals were dealt with in an atmosphere characterised both by growing anti-Catholicism and growing anti-Jesuitism in Protestant Europe. That was triggered by “Romanisation” of the Catholic Church and spread

66 *Stortingsforhandlinger*. Del 5. Dokument 124 (1892), proposal 1 and 2. [Records of the Proceedings of the Norwegian Parliament (Storting). Part 5. Document 124 regarding amendments to the Constitution (1892)]. In addition a proposal to include the ban on Freemasons in Article 2 was put forward, but this never came to fruition.

67 *Stortingsforhandlinger*. Del 7a. Stortingstidende (1897), 854. [Records of the Proceedings of the Norwegian Parliament (Storting). Part 7b. Parliamentary debate (1897)].

68 *Stortingsforhandlinger*. Del 7a. Stortingstidende (1897), 862. [Records of the Proceedings of the Norwegian Parliament (Storting). Part 7b. Parliamentary debate (1897)].

69 Kjelstrup, *Norvegia catholica*, 159; Eidsvig, “Den katolske kirke,” 241.

70 Oftestad, “Jesuitparagraf og antikatolisisme,” 413. See also Eidsvig, “Den katolske kirke,” endnote 272 at p. 506 and Den katolske kirke, “Dominikanernes tilbakekomst til Norge,” (http://www.katolsk.no/tro/tema/historie/artikler/a_op_1, accessed 22 February 2017).

3749. — LE CONCILE SELON BASILE

(H. 237 millim.; L. 207)

(1869). — 2^e Etat.

(Cat. H. D. 3342 — 2 états décrits).

Figure 6.2: “The Vatican Council according to Basile.” The Vatican Council of 1869–70 declared the infallibility of the Pope. This cartoon by Honoré Daumier (1808–1879) from 1869 suggests that the papal list of errors of heresy from 1864 (*Syllabus Errorum*) was more important as a moral guideline to Catholics (and especially Jesuits) than the Gospels. Like the papal document *Quanta Cura* from the same year, it was an anti-liberal and anti-modern document, and among other things condemned freedom of religion and freedom of conscience to be contrary to Catholic teachings. The figure *Basile* was a scheming Jesuit and music teacher in the opera *The Barber of Seville* (and *Figaro’s Wedding*). Cf. Lisa Dittrich, *Antiklerikalismus in Europa: Öffentlichkeit und Säkularisierung in Frankreich, Spanien und Deutschland (1848–1914)* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2014), 440.

of ultramonatism in the 19th century.⁷¹ In 1870, papal infallibility was adopted as the doctrine of the Catholic Church. It strengthened the pope's supremacy and hierarchical authority, but at the same time increased the tension between universalism and nationalism within the church. In post-unification Germany, Bismarck laid the basis of a strategy of realpolitik that has been given the pithy appellation *Kulturkampf*. It was a generally anti-Catholic policy, one that resulted, among other things, in the banning of Jesuit institutions in the German Empire in 1872.⁷² The importance of Protestantism in German national identity during this period is described well by the German-American historian Helmut Walser Smith, and especially Catholicism became to many an obvious antipode to the German nation. Smith quoted the liberal German Historian, Heinrich Karl Ludolf von Sybel (1817–1895), who in 1880 claimed that Catholics were not merely a religious minority, but rather “a military organised corporation, which in Germany contains more than 30,000 agents sworn to absolute obedience.”⁷³ It was implied, of course, that the obedience of Catholic clerics was not to the a modernising and protestant German nation state, but rather to the Catholic Church and the bulwark of backwardsness it was depicted as.

The American historian Michael B. Gross has argued against an understanding of the *Kulturkampf* as Bismarck's project alone, in which the chancellor offered Catholics as targets for liberal hostilities. Rather, he traces the groundwork for the *Kulturkampf* to the decades before Bismarck and to what he refers to as a liberal obsession with Catholicism ever since the Revolutions of 1848, and which developed alongside and as a response to a Catholic revival in the 1850s and 1860s.⁷⁴ The *Kulturkampf* was therefore, he argues, not a liberal “accident,” but an integral part of German liberalism in the second half of the 19th century, and a culmination of liberal demands for a modern Germany.⁷⁵ Anti-Catholicism (and anti-clericalism) became powerful means to reorient a liberal vision for German society, and represented to liberals an imagined “Other.” To liberals, Gross asserts, Jesuits, monks, nuns, priests, and Catholics were agents of dogma, su-

71 Christopher Clark, “The New Catholicism and the European Culture Wars,” in *Culture Wars: Secular-Catholic Conflict in Nineteenth-Century Europe*, ed. Christopher Clark and Wolfram Kaiser (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 18ff.

72 See Healy, *The Jesuit Specter*, 51ff.

73 Heinrich von Sybel, “Klerikale Politik im 19 Jahrhundert,” in Sybel, *Kleine Schriften* (Stuttgart, 1880), vol 3, 450. Here quoted from Helmut Walser Smith, *German Nationalism and Religious Conflict: Culture, Ideology, Politics, 1870–1914* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), 38.

74 Michael B. Gross, *The War against Catholicism: Liberalism and the Anti-Catholic Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Germany* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2005), 11.

75 Gross, *The War against Catholicism*, 22.

3856. — UNE INVASION REMPLACE L'AUTRE.

(H. 242 millim ; L. 177)



UNE INVASION REMPLACE L'AUTRE.

(1871). — 2^e Etat.

(Cat. H. D. 3466 -- 2 états décrits).

Figure 6.3: “One invasion follows another.” Prussia crushed France in 1870–71 and captured Paris. The Germans retreated from the capital late in the winter 1871. Honoré Daumier suggests here that a Jesuit army took advantage of the retreat by their own (implicitly equally foreign and hostile) invasion of French society.

perstition, stupidity, subservience, intolerance, and irrationalism. This contrasted a bourgeois ideology with emphasis on industrialisation, capitalist free-market economics, individualism, rationalism, masculinity, and freedom.⁷⁶

In this perspective, there are obvious parallels to the liberal paradox prevalent when Jews were represented during the first Emancipation period around 1800. Judaism, with its association with a state within the state, was also frequently considered antithetical to a modern, rational society of individuals and citizens within a nation state. Consequently, exclusion of Jews from the national and political body, as demonstrated in the otherwise rather liberal Norwegian Constitution of 1814, was not necessarily considered an illiberal anomaly, but as a protection of liberal ideas rooted in Enlightenment principles.

In Germany, the restoration of the Jesuit order was not permitted until 1917, partly as an initiative to raise war morale among German Catholics.⁷⁷ Throughout the period, a debate continued that demonstrated the transnational nature of Jesuit and Catholic stereotypes, a debate that to a large extent was framed within a discourse of liberalism, or at least of liberal concepts like individualism and freedom of conscience which also became key concepts in a Protestant self definition.

In the introduction to the anthology *Culture Wars: Secular-Catholic Conflict in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (2003), Christopher Clark and Wolfram Kaiser argue that not only were European Catholics' mobilisation around a papal agenda in the second part of the 19th Century a transnational phenomenon, but so was also the case for the liberal and anticlerical forces combatting it.⁷⁸ Rather than speaking of a *Kulturkampf* limited to Germany, they find it justifiable to speak of wider European culture wars, which also includes countries in which Catholicism was hegemonic, but where universalism and ultramonanism was contested. In a separate chapter in that anthology, Wolfram Kaiser has emphasised the transnational character of anti-clericalism in the second half of the 19th century, in which the cunning Jesuit were still an important topos, and how it thrived in in a transnational public sphere where events and conflicts were transmitted by booming media and its networks.⁷⁹ Scandinavia fitted well into this pattern of

⁷⁶ Gross, *The War against Catholicism*, 294f.

⁷⁷ Healy, *The Jesuit Specter*, 212ff.

⁷⁸ Christopher Clark and Wolfram Kaiser, "Introduction," in *Culture Wars: Secular-Catholic Conflict in Nineteenth-Century Europe*, ed. Christopher Clark and Wolfram Kaiser (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 3.

⁷⁹ Wolfram Kaiser, "'Clericalism – that is our enemy'. European Anticlericalism and the Culture Wars," in *Culture Wars: Secular-Catholic Conflict in Nineteenth-Century Europe*, ed. Christopher Clark and Wolfram Kaiser (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 64 ff.



Figure 6.4: Anti-Catholicism had much in common with anti-Mormonism. Both stigmatised the respective religions as foreign threats to American freedom. This is explicitly represented in this cartoon which carries the title: “Religious liberty is guaranteed: but can we allow foreign reptiles to crawl all over US?” Unpublished and undated cartoon by Thomas Nast (1840–1902).

“culture wars” and the discourses they were framed within elsewhere. By the end of the century, this was most evident for Norway and Sweden.

For instance, children in Norwegian schools were exposed to unequivocal prejudice against the Jesuits for decades. In Anders Tollefsen’s (1849–1916) textbook on church history for primary schools from 1891, one could read of the Jesuits:

They sacrificed everything to support and propagate the might of the pope, and, if possible, eradicate the Protestant doctrine, and in order to achieve this goal, they were not too discriminating in their methods. Their motto was: “The end justifies the means,” and with this principle they defended rebellion, perjury and murder. [...] To this day the Jesuits continue their corrupt activities, albeit more secretly and with greater caution.⁸⁰

The textbook was published in four editions in the years between 1890 and 1895. Such references must have necessarily influenced notions of Jesuits in broad

⁸⁰ Anders Tollefsen, *Lærebog i kirkehistorie for folkeskolen*. Omarbejdet udgave (Kristiania: Aschehoug, 1891), 47.

swathes of the population, something the pedagogue and folk high-school teacher Viggo Ullmann pointed out the year before he proposed repealing the ban: “At School we were taught that they [the Jesuits] were appalling People who deserved to be expelled from Kingdom and Country [...]”⁸¹

Foreign notions of Jesuitism continued to be imported and were disseminated in a way that helped to bolster traditional anti-Jesuit stereotypes. In 1891, the German writer Otto von Corvin’s (1812–1886) malicious attacks on Catholicism and Jesuitism were translated and published in Norwegian.⁸² *Pfaffenspiegel*, as the book was called in German, was originally published in Prussia in 1845, and by 1860 had reached a print run of 1.6 million copies. Two years later, the Norwegian newspaper *Aftenposten* carried a positive report of former Jesuit Count Paul von Hoensbroch’s (1852–1923) “revelations” in *Preussische Jahrbücher*. Here, Jesuitism was labelled as an indoctrinating teaching that demanded total submission to the brethren of the order and thereby rooted out all individualism. According to the newspaper report, Hoensbroch was able to establish that Jesuitism was anti-patriotic. With its entire worldwide “System of Levelling,” Jesuitism suppressed and “indeed to a certain degree annihilates legitimate national Sentiment and Patriotism. Faithful, devoted Love for the Fatherland is an Emotion for which Jesuitism’s Regime has no place.”⁸³

When it came to the Norwegian debate about the Jesuit ban throughout the entire period up to the 1950s, the church historian Andreas Brandrud’s (1868–1957) book on *Kloster-Lasse* probably had the greatest impact. Brandrud graduated in 1892 with a degree in theology and was a professor of church history at the University of Oslo from 1897.⁸⁴ The theme of *Kloster-Lasse* was the Catholic Counter-Reformation, and the Jesuits naturally received top billing in the account. Here, Jesuit morality was generalised and rejected as abhorrent: “In reality, the moral principles of the Jesuit casuists entail a denial or a nullification of

81 The statement occurred during a speech at Kristiania Arbeidersamfunn [Kristiania Worker’s Society] in connection with the promotion of peace (fredssaken). Here according to an account in *Dagbladet*, 2 February 1891.

82 Otto von Corvin, *Pavespeilet: historiske mindesmærker over fanatismens i den romersk-katholske kirke* (Kristiania: O. Huseby, 1891).

83 *Aftenposten*, 28 April 1893. *Aftenposten* republished the account of “Mein Austritt aus dem Jesuiterorden” [My Exit from the Jesuit order] from *Preussische Jahrbücher* from a “Berlin newspaper.” Helmut Walser Smith describes Hoensbroch as “the best known antiultramontane publicist in Germany” (Smith, *German Nationalism*, 128).

84 “Andreas Brandrud,” in *Norsk biografisk leksikon*. (https://nbl.snl.no/Andreas_Brandrud, accessed 21 February 2017).

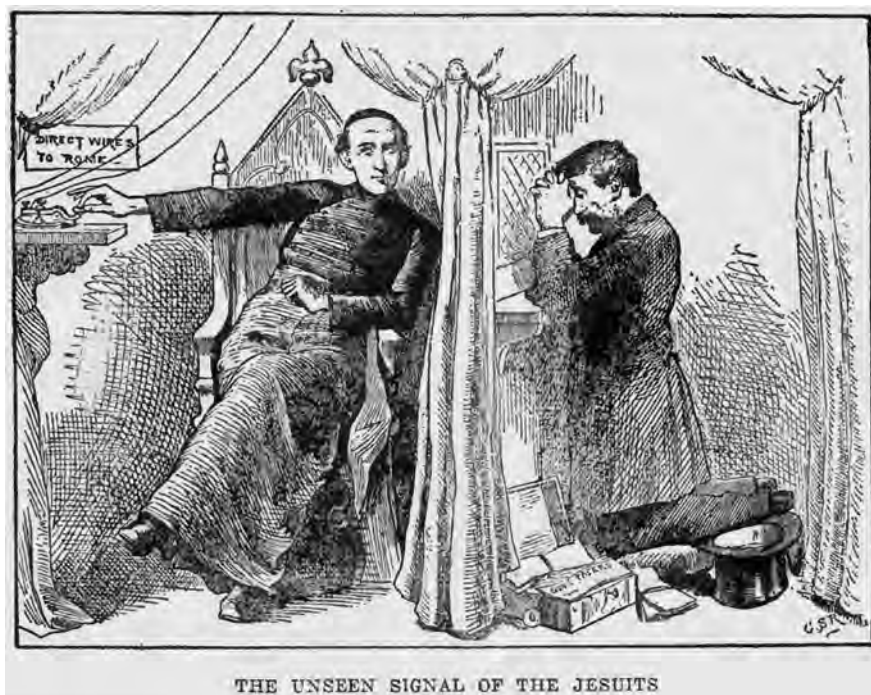


Figure 6.5: “The Unseen Signal of Jesuits.” The notion that Jesuits were disloyal to local secular authorities and that they passed on secret information concerning state affairs received in confessions, is old. American cartoon by Charles Stanley Reinhart (1844–1896) from 1873.

both Christian and human ethics.”⁸⁵ Morality could not exist without the freedom and responsibility of the individual, and the Jesuits’ alleged cadaver obedience led to the precise opposite. And there was no doubt, Brandrud argued, that Jesuit moral theologians taught that the end justified the means – something he spent much time substantiating with citations.

In his depiction of Jesuitism, he relied heavily on the Swiss cultural historian Otto Henne am Rhyn (1828–1914), who had published *Die Jesuiten, deren Geschichte, Verfassung, Moral, Politik, Religion und Wissenschaft* [The Jesuits, their History, Constitution, Ethics, Politics, Religion and Science] in Leipzig in the 1880s. The book was published in several editions, latterly as a newly reworked version in 1894 that was widely available in Scandinavian bookstores and pro-

⁸⁵ Andreas Brandrud, *Klosterlasse: Et bidrag til den jesuitiske propagandas historie i Norden* (Kristiania: Th. Steens Forlagsexpedition, 1895), 18.

cured for libraries.⁸⁶ In Brandrud, large parts of the anti-Jesuit arsenal were summoned up – both the Jesuits’ suspicious handling of the truth, and their willingness to commit regicide. He also explained that Jesuitism supported the idea of popular sovereignty – not on the basis of liberal thought, but because worldly rulers such as princes and kings were the enemies of the papacy. Papal authority was strengthened by depriving worldly sovereigns of their powers. According to Brandrud, the papacy considered that it was “simpler to preserve its authority over the unwitting masses than over the power-hungry and headstrong sovereigns.”⁸⁷ At the same time, the Jesuits’ traditional influence over those same rulers was underlined through the role they assumed as confessors. This gave them not only insight into the “most intimate political secrets” of Catholic sovereigns, but also control over their consciences. Through both these means, Jesuit confessors acquired political influence.⁸⁸

Another authority in Brandrud was the aforementioned Hoensbroch. Brandrud referred to him to substantiate his own conclusion that the Jesuit order, in the “truest sense,” was an international society in which national sentiment and love for one’s country were suppressed.⁸⁹

In the Storting there was a large, silent minority with a centre of gravity within Høyre, the party of the conservatives, that blocked the majority’s desire to repeal the ban on the Jesuits. The assembly’s overall motivation therefore seems to be as obscure as when the prohibitions were adopted in 1814. But the arguments of those who took the floor are markedly reminiscent of the discourse about Jews around 1814. The lines of reasoning being promoted were mainly national and historical. The conservative Christian Schweigaard (1838 – 1899) pointed out that monks’ orders were a “foreign Plant, and a Plant whose widespread Propagation I do not believe is of benefit to our Society.”⁹⁰ Apart from the monastic order being unpatriotic, he did not elaborate on what the problem otherwise consisted of. His fellow party member in the conservatives, Christopher Knudsen (1843 – 1915), resident chaplain in Drammen and later briefly Minister of Church Affairs from 1905, was also keen to avoid the importation of

86 Otto Henne am Rhyn, *Die Jesuiten, deren Geschichte, Verfassung, Moral, Politik, Religion und Wissenschaft* (Leipzig: M. Spohr, 1894). *Fredrikshalds Tilskuer*, 7 March 1895 conveyed, for example, that this book was among the local library’s most important additions of 1894.

87 Brandrud, *Klosterlasse*, 32.

88 Brandrud, *Klosterlasse*, 49 f.

89 Brandrud, *Klosterlasse*, 34.

90 *Stortingsforhandlinger*. Del 7a. Stortingstidende (1897), 854. [Records of the Proceedings of the Norwegian Parliament (Storting). Part 7b. Parliamentary debate (1897)].

undesirable elements.⁹¹ Opposition was thus expressed through a national rather than a religious discourse, and branding monks and Jesuits as un-Norwegian was itself considered by some representatives to be sufficient grounds to persevere with the ban. The nation and its members ought to be protected from unpatriotic agents of undesirable values.

As part of a nation-building process that was particularly important in the period leading up to the dissolution of the Swedish-Norwegian union in 1905, the debate surrounding the access of monks and Jesuits to the kingdom was therefore also a question of who belonged to the Norwegian national community.⁹² The domestic Catholic Church was clearly wary of this, and practised a deliberate “Norwegianising” of Catholicism, both through the usage of language and national symbols and by invoking the roots of the Norwegian Catholic Church stretching back to the Middle Ages.⁹³ Especially the High Middle Ages, which was deemed a Golden Age for the Norwegian Atlantic Empire – which included Greenland, Iceland, the Faroes, Orkneys, Shetlands, as well as territories later lost to Sweden, was of great importance to Norwegian nationalism in the 19th century.

In Norwegian history, nationalism and the national-liberal tradition were primarily anchored in the political movement associated with the party Venstre (“Left”). However, as the Norwegian historian Alf Kaartvedt has pointed out, there was also a nationalist tradition within conservatism and its base in the party Høyre (“Right”).⁹⁴ On the question of admitting the Jesuits, Høyre could appeal to a conservatively oriented nationalism and appear to be mindful of the homeland without it taking the form of criticism against the union with Sweden and the monarchical-conservative form of government.

As we have seen also with the Jewish question from the beginning of the 19th century, *history* was mobilised as a substantial justification for exclusion and the unsuitability as citizens of those who were excluded. At the Storting in 1897, this was true both of pastor and Høyre member Carl Julius Arnesen (1847–1929) and of chaplain Christopher Knudsen. Arnesen advocated for the ex-

91 *Stortingsforhandlinger*. Del 7a. Stortingstidende (1897), 856. [Records of the Proceedings of the Norwegian Parliament (Storting). Part 7b. Parliamentary debate (1897)].

92 Tone Slotsvik, “Alt for Norge. Ikke ogsaa for katoliker?": *Den katolske minoriteten i Norge 1905–1930* (MA thesis, University of Bergen, 2009), 30.

93 Slotsvik, “Alt for Norge,” 36.

94 Alf Kaartvedt, “Drømmen om borgerlig samling, 1884–1918,” vol. 1 in *Høyres historie* (Oslo: Cappelen forlag, 1984), 207. See also Helge Danielsen, “Nasjonalisme i Høyre før 1905?,” in *Jakten på det norske: Perspektiver på utviklingen av en norsk nasjonal identitet på 1800-tallet*, ed. Øystein Sørensen (Oslo: Ad notam Gyldendal, 1998).

tension of religious freedom as far as “Considerations for the Security of the State allow.” There was clearly a boundary line when it came to the Jesuits: “History has established that it is not particularly reassuring to permit them entry since this is not only a Question of spiritual Interests and the Community of the Church, but is also applicable to the State and its Laws, at least in my Interpretation.”⁹⁵ Knudsen was open to repealing the constitutional ban on Jesuits, but it would in that case have to be introduced as separate legislation. However, he continued, it was not for religious reasons that he wished to stop them from entering: “It is not because the Jesuits have a different Form of Faith and Worship, and it is not because they are a different religious Community; it is because their Doctrine and their History shows that in Matters other than the purely religious and ecclesiastical, they have proved to be rather dangerous People.”⁹⁶ And because it was evident that the Jesuits not only represented an immoral doctrine, but also actively conducted themselves in accordance with their principles, they should, according to Knudsen, continue to be excluded.

None of the advocates of the Jesuit ban in the Storting mobilised the arsenal of stereotypes that they must have known were familiar to the public. In all likelihood, this was not necessary. The hegemonic representations of Jesuits were present and clear – both for those who had studied Brandrud’s publications and those who had simply read school textbooks. It would be difficult for any active attempts to create counter-representations, especially from within the Catholic Church, to rectify this. As previously mentioned, *Jesuitism* as a term lived a life of its own with a usage that far exceeded reference to actual Jesuits. Viggo Ullmann used it himself as he argued that there was no more reason to exclude Catholic Jesuits than there was to do the same to “Jesuit Protestants.”⁹⁷ As an adjective, the word acquired a position in the Norwegian language precisely because it provided such unambiguous associations, and could thus be activated as an insulting characterisation of Protestants as well.

When the question of the Jesuits came up again in the 1920s, the situation had changed. Now it had obviously become necessary to reiterate the catalogue of allegations, even in the Storting. The debate now took place in a public arena in which the Jesuit issue had become searingly controversial throughout the Scandinavian peninsula.

⁹⁵ *Stortingsforhandlinger*. Del 7a. Stortingstidende (1897), 859. [Records of the Proceedings of the Norwegian Parliament (Storting). Part 7b. Parliamentary debate (1897)].

⁹⁶ *Stortingsforhandlinger*. Del 7a. Stortingstidende (1897), 856. [Records of the Proceedings of the Norwegian Parliament (Storting). Part 7b. Parliamentary debate (1897)].

⁹⁷ *Stortingsforhandlinger*. Del 7a. Stortingstidende (1897), 854. [Records of the Proceedings of the Norwegian Parliament (Storting). Part 7b. Parliamentary debate (1897)].

Scandinavian anti-Jesuitism in the 1920s

In March 1921 it was announced that the Danish Jesuit Alois Menzinger (1876–1941) had been invited to hold a lecture at the Norwegian Students' Union on the Catholic Church's position on modern theology. "It will be rather strange to see how our authorities respond to this announcement," wrote *Morgenbladet* on the occasion.⁹⁸ According to the newspaper's "authoritative" sources, there was no doubt that, constitutionally, Jesuits could not set foot on Norwegian soil. Still, the Jesuit was not prevented from entering the country or from giving his lecture. Neither did a report to the police from the engineer, lay preacher and vigorous anti-Catholic writer Albert Hiorth (1876–1949), nor newspaper articles about the case, prompt the authorities to take action.⁹⁹

The visit was nevertheless far from ignored in ministerial corridors. As a consequence of the Menzinger case, the Ministry of Justice wanted a repeal of the Jesuit paragraph rather than attempting to enforce the ban. On the basis of the case's topicality, the Ministry of Justice involved the Ministry of Church Affairs in May of the same year.¹⁰⁰ The nation's bishops, the Faculty of Theology at the university, and the private and conservative Free Faculty of Theology (Menighetsfakultetet) were enquired about the matter. Four out of six bishops recommended the ban's repeal, and with one exception the board of professors at the Faculty of Theology did likewise. The Free Faculty of Theology, on the other hand, was unanimously opposed to the proposal.

A proposition to amend the paragraph was therefore made in 1923 and accepted for hearing in 1925. However, in contrast to 1897, this time a large majority in the Storting wished to uphold the ban. The episcopate had also switched its opinion as the matter was being heard, primarily due to changes in personnel. Public life was swamped with anti-Catholic writings and contributions demon-

⁹⁸ *Morgenbladet*, 2 March 1921.

⁹⁹ The visit was well covered by the Norwegian press in general. *Social-Demokraten* printed an ironic petition to Prime Minister Otto B. Halvorsen (1872–1923) with thanks that he "has considered it necessary to disregard the clear words of the Constitution and keep Himself and His people within the bounds of common sense." The backdrop to the "tribute" was another practice, namely the exclusion of people with a background in revolutionary movements and demands for a similarly liberal practice towards revolutionaries as towards Jesuits. (*Social-Demokraten*, 8 March 1921). For biographical information about Albert Hiorth, see Harald Stene Dehlin, *Boken om Albert Hiorth: En norsk Aladdin* (Lutherstiftelsen, 1949).

¹⁰⁰ National Archives Norway (RA), RA/S-1007/D/Dd/L0135/0001. Jesuits' admission to the kingdom. Draft of a letter from MoJ to the Ministry of Education and Church Affairs, dated 25 May 1921.

strating that there was still vitality in old notions about Jesuits, not to mention persistent support and validity for them in broad circles.

The growing fear of Catholicism was not a particularly Norwegian phenomenon; quite the contrary. It characterised almost all of Protestant Europe at this time, and in Norway found sustenance from beyond the country's borders. There were clear parallels to and points of contact with the debate in Sweden. The increased Protestant fear of Catholicism was mainly a consequence of World War I, and was further strengthened by the revolution in Russia.

Not only were there suspicions that the papacy was an accessory to the outbreak of war, as it was claimed that the Holy See was partial to the interests of the Central Powers (especially Catholic Austria-Hungary), but also that it had emerged from the war as the victor – despite the capitulation of those same powers in 1918.¹⁰¹ Three new states dominated by the Roman Catholic Church – namely Lithuania, Poland and Ireland – were created at the expense of post-war Protestant states.¹⁰² Victorious Catholic countries such as Belgium, France and Italy had gained territory. Germany, referred to as the homeland of Protestantism, had been severely weakened in several ways – territorially, military and economic. The Swedish church historian and later bishop, Bengt Wadensjö, has shown how increased Roman Catholic political and ecclesiastical activity in the post-war period reinforced this tendency.¹⁰³ The Catholic-dominated party Zentrum gained an influential position in the Weimar Republic, and similar parties with Catholic roots existed in the Netherlands, Lithuania, Austria and Switzerland. At the same time, Catholic orders were clearly growing in character in Protestant areas. In Germany alone, over seven hundred monasteries were established in the years 1919–1923.¹⁰⁴

101 *Aftenposten*, 4 September 1918 carried an article on “The war and the papacy” in which English suspicions that the papacy had hopes that war would provide the Catholic Church with power over the entire Christian world were in particular conveyed, and that the attack on England was key because the country was perceived as Protestantism “original bulwark.” But, the newspaper wrote, “It would probably be extremely difficult to provide any evidence for the belief that the war was instigated from Rome due to the fact that the ways of the Church are particularly well hidden. But it cannot be denied that the Vatican must be presumed to have an interest in the victory of the central powers.” There were further references to active sabotage in the recruitment to the entente among the Catholic population in Ireland and Canada.

102 Bengt Wadensjö, “Protestantisk samling: Det svenska deltagandet då internationella förbundet till protestantismens värn grundades,” in *Nordisk lutherdom över gränserna: De nordiska kyrkorna i 1900-talets konfesionella samarbete*, ed. Lars Österlin (København: Gad, 1972), 130.

103 Wadensjö, “Protestantisk samling,” 130 ff.

104 Wadensjö, “Protestantisk samling,” 132.

The outcome of this was that the Roman Catholic Church increased its influence in a number of ways in Protestant countries. The increased Catholic missionary activity, referred to as an agenda by Pope Benedict XV (1854–1922) in 1919, was interpreted as a revived Counter-Reformation and – not surprisingly – met with great concern in Protestant states.

While communists often viewed the Catholic Church as a political enemy, the papacy was associated with communism by leading Protestants.¹⁰⁵ Both popedom and communism were perceived to represent a denial of individuality and freedom of thought, a hierarchically ordered system of cadaver obedience, and inadequate space for opposition and criticism. Thus, Catholicism was seen as the antithesis of civic liberalism. Eivind Berggrav, editor of the journal *Kirke og kultur* [Church and Culture] and from 1928 bishop in the Norwegian Church, explained in 1922 that contemporary examples of key communists becoming Catholics were not surprising. “Revolution and papism, too, have generally demonstrated remarkable points of contact in their psychology,” he explained.¹⁰⁶ The world had never seen a “stronger political papacy than Moscow now,” and both, according to Berggrav, were characterised by obedience and subjugation. The road from ruthless communists to ruthless Catholics could therefore be a short one.

Catholicism and communism – both regarded by conservative Lutherans as undermining the liberal state and its emphasis on freedom of thought – had assumed an offensive position in the early 1920s. Both were perceived to be fishing in troubled waters following the chaos of the Great War and the Russian Revolution, and both were therefore quick to be feared.

One result of this fear was the establishment of an international organisation (*Internationaler Verband zur Verteidigung des Protestantismus* [International Protestant League]) in 1923 for the defence of Protestantism in the face of the Roman Catholic Church.¹⁰⁷ Swedish Lutherans played an important role here both at its founding and in subsequent activities. Eventually the organisation received acceptance from more Nordic countries, and would have two principal objectives.

105 Jews were also associated with communism. Professor of theology Sigmund Mowinckel (1884–1965), for example, argued in *Tidens Tegn* in 1924 that communism was a Jewish religious teaching. (Per Ole Johansen, *Oss selv nærmest: Norge og jødene 1914–1943* (Oslo: Gyldendal norsk forlag, 1984), 44.

106 Eivind Berggrav, “Fra kommunisme til katolisisme,” *Kirke og Kultur* (1922): 358.

107 *Internationaler Verband zur Verteidigung des Protestantismus*, established in Berlin. Wadensjø, “Protestantisk samling,” 135. In Germany after the mid-19th century there were already Protestant societies against Catholicism, such as *Allgemeiner Deutscher Protestantenverein* from 1863 and *Der Evangelische Bund* from 1886.

One was to convey the alleged advantages of Protestantism in spiritual, religious and moral matters. The second was to defend Protestantism against attacks, first and foremost from contemporary counter-reformist activities.¹⁰⁸ The Swedish commitment was by no means accidental. As in Norway, certain events in the period after World War I provoked increased anti-Catholicism in the public sphere and within the clergy.

In 1919, a new school policy directive obliged Swedish educators to avoid teachings that could be perceived as injurious attacks on adherents of other beliefs or on contemporary demands for individual freedom of thought.¹⁰⁹ This prompted the Catholic bishop of Sweden, Albert Bitter (1848–1926), to point out what he believed to be erroneous representations of Catholicism in Swedish textbooks. He proposed to set up a committee to review both them and Swedish history books in general. He objected in particular to portrayals of worship of the Virgin Mary, the granting of indulgences, and stereotypes about Jesuit morality.¹¹⁰ The petition was printed in three thousand copies and distributed to Swedish schools.

This triggered a minor anti-Catholic storm in the Swedish press. The suggestion was viewed as a demand that Swedish school teaching should be subject to papal censorship. Theologians went to press claiming that the textbooks' portrayal of Jesuit morality was correct. Among other things, they pointed out that the Jesuits' "probabilism" was as harmful to genuine morality as ultramontanism was to the Church.¹¹¹ A lecturer in ethics at Uppsala University was commissioned to assess the accusations, and the Swedish authorities dropped the case when, for the most part, he rejected the charges. The petition did, however, help to confirm contemporary Protestant concerns about a Catholic counter-reformist offensive in Sweden.

The same was true of a Catholic request in 1922 to abolish the Swedish ban on monasteries, a proposal that also resonated with the politically appointed Committee for Religious Freedom. Individual monks and representatives of the order were tolerated in Sweden, but monasteries were still prohibited. In public, monasteries were portrayed as the Catholic Church's most important battle in-

108 Wadensjö, "Protestantisk samling," 136.

109 Werner, *Världsvind men främmande*, 78 f.

110 Bengt Wadensjö, "Romersk-katolska kyrkan i svensk opinion 1920–1923," *Kyrkohistorisk årsskrift*, vol. 68 (1968): 207.

111 Wadensjö, "Romersk-katolska kyrkan," 208. Stated by the pastor's assistant in Oscar parish, the theology licentiate Nils Algård (1883–1936).

strument, and Catholicism as the enemy of freedom.¹¹² The Swedish ban on monasteries remained in effect until 1951.

Sweden has historically had close ties to the Baltic region, and for a lengthy period the area was also part of a Swedish Baltic Sea empire. After World War I, the Baltic states gained national independence and the Swedish Church assumed an important ecclesiastical role. Among other things, both Estonia's and Latvia's Lutheran bishops were blessed by the Swedish Archbishop, the ecumenical and Nordic-oriented Nathan Söderblom (1866–1931). In religious terms, Latvia, especially, was a divided society. A clear majority of the population were Lutherans, but there was a significant Catholic minority, and in the border areas towards Poland, Catholics constituted the majority. At this time Poland was in a phase of expansion and had annexed Vilnius and eastern parts of present-day Lithuania, among other places. Fearing further Polish expansion, Latvia sought support in the Vatican by yielding to Catholic requests to take over churches in Riga. In 1923, the Lutheran Jacob Church and the Orthodox Alexander Church were handed over to the Catholic Church.

This so-called “church robbery” was not only met with resistance among Protestants in the Baltics, but was also given considerable attention in Sweden.¹¹³ A protest was conveyed through Swedish churches, gathering 228,000 signatures. Not only was the “church robbery” seen as a counter-reformist attack on a sphere of influence of Swedish Church politics; it was also considered a portent of Catholic claims in Sweden. In a newspaper interview, the Swedish Archbishop stated that now was the time to fear Roman Catholic demands to take over medieval churches in Uppsala.¹¹⁴

The climax of the Latvian church case was reached just before Dutch Cardinal Wilhelm van Rossum (1854–1932) visited Sweden on his high-profile visit to the Nordic countries. He first arrived in Denmark in late June 1923, before visiting Iceland and the Faroe Islands. In the latter half of July he came to Bergen and undertook a tour of Norway, before continuing to Sweden in early August. Van Rossum's visit drew considerable attention in both Sweden and Norway. He was referred to as “The Red Pope” because he was considered to be perhaps the most influential of the cardinals, and therefore a power adjacent to “the Black Pope,” who was the general of the Jesuit Order, and “the White Pope,” the pope himself.¹¹⁵

112 Werner, *Världsvid men främmande*, 85 f.

113 Wadensjö, “Romersk-katolska kyrkan,” 217 ff.

114 Wadensjö, “Romersk-katolska kyrkan,” 216.

115 *Aftenposten*, 21 July 1923: “Cardinal van Rossum is one of the most powerful men in the Roman Church. He is the head of the entire worldwide mission of the Roman Catholic Church.

The cardinal's journey was viewed on both sides of the border as part of a Catholic agitation and a planned missionary campaign. He was received kindly and courteously, but with distrust. In Roskilde he was refused permission to hold prayers at the shrine of St. Canute (medieval king and patron saint of Denmark) at Odense Cathedral. In Trondheim, an application to hold a Catholic mass at the shrine of St. Olaf (medieval king and patron saint of Norway) in Nidaros Cathedral was rejected, and a planned St. Olaf's Day visit to Stiklestad was cancelled. As the battleground upon which St. Olaf died, Stiklestad holds a major symbolic position in Norwegian history and represents the formation of the kingdom of Norway. The cardinal was attempting to mobilise the Catholic origins and history of the Nordic churches, and after events in Riga this raised suspicious concerns about whether the Catholic Church would claim back ownership of former Catholic property in the Nordic countries as well.

This distrust also reared its head in Norway. In Nidaros Cathedral's home town, *Trondhjems Adresseavis* wrote about the "church robbery" in Riga after van Rossum's Nordic tour. The headline presented it as a "pawn in Rome's game of church politics," and the newspaper continued: "With this adroit ecclesiastical chess move, Rome has undoubtedly advanced its frontier towards the Baltic Sea in a way that testifies strikingly to its intentions." The starkly symbolic impact of handing over a venerable church, one with historical Swedish memories, was pointed out – not least by it "being won back from the heretics..."¹¹⁶

The Swedish Lund theologians Lars Wollmer (1879–1973) and Magnus Pfannenstill (1858–1940) played an important part when the International Protestant League was established in May 1923. In September of that year, they were instrumental at the *Almänna Svenska Prestforeningen's* [General Association of Swedish Priests] national assembly. There, Pfannenstill appealed to an already latent fear of Catholicism, conjuring up a picture of a pervasive Roman Catholic Church that was secretly increasing its influence. In addition to the recent Swedish and Baltic experiences, the "ravages" of the Counter-Reformation in Germany were also raised and a universal Protestant rally at the supranational level was described as crucial to rescuing Protestantism from a common enemy.¹¹⁷

Pfannenstill and Wollmer made sure that the Association of Swedish Priests joined the international organisation, in addition to establishing a separate na-

Under his leadership there are no less than 94 dioceses, 185 apostolic vicariates – including the vicariates in Norway, Sweden, Denmark and Finland – and 73 apostolic prefectures. It is precisely due to his immense influence that the prefect of the propaganda congregation is popularly called the Red Pope."

116 *Trondhjems Adresseavis*, 14 August 1923.

117 Wadensjø, "Protestantisk samling," 144 f.

tional committee for the combating of Catholicism in Sweden. The purpose of the committee was to monitor Catholic propaganda in Sweden and beyond throughout Scandinavia, to “counteract un-Evangelist endeavours within the Swedish Church” and establish contact with Evangelical churches in other countries in the defence of Protestantism.¹¹⁸

In November 1923, when the Norwegian Minister of Justice proposed the repeal of the Constitution’s ban of Jesuits, currents of anti-Catholicism had therefore been circulating not only internally in Sweden and Norway, but across Nordic and European borders too. A supranational Protestant action group had been founded and closer inter-Scandinavian ties had been formed. From 1920 onwards, summits between Nordic bishops were arranged regularly, and from 1924 joint meetings among Nordic pastor associations were also formalised.¹¹⁹ The Swedish Catholic sceptic, Archbishop Nathan Söderblom, was key to the process of establishing closer Nordic contacts, and these included Lutheran bishops in Estonia and Latvia. As far back as 1910 he called Jesuitism “our civilisation’s most dangerous enemy.”¹²⁰ Jesuitism, with its demands of obedience and untrustworthy insidiousness, represented Christianity shorn of individuality and freedom, he explained. At the joint Nordic episcopal conference in 1924, Catholic propaganda was addressed in several contexts. It was the main topic at one of the afternoon sessions, and after the fact participants depicted these as the most interesting discussions.¹²¹ It is therefore reasonable to suppose that opposition to Jesuits within Norwegian clerical-theological circles was reinforced by both the distinctively Swedish and the more generally European Protestant circulation of anti-Catholic notions.

In February 1924 the contents of Cardinal van Rossum’s travelogue from the Nordic countries came to light, published in Dutch for a Catholic audience.¹²² It attracted huge attention and ignited opposition to Catholics in general, while in Norway it galvanised objections to the most recent constitutional amendment proposal. The travelogue was referred to as a curious work that depicted Protes-

118 Wadensjø, “Protestantisk samling,” 146 f.

119 Jarl Jergmar, “De nordiska biskopsmötena,” in *Nordisk lutherdom över gränserna: De nordiska kyrkorna i 1900-talets konfesionella samarbete*, ed. Lars Österlin (København: Gad, 1972).

120 Nathan Söderblom, *Religionsproblemet inom katolicism och protestantism* (Stockholm, 1910), 3 f. Quoted here from Werner, *Världsvid men främmande*, 129.

121 Interview with Bishop Lunde in *Aftenposten*, 11 September 1924. See also the account in *Luthersk kirketidende* no. 21 (1924): 424 ff. and 434 and Bishop Gleditsch’s report in *Norsk kirkeblad* no. 21 (1924): 465 ff.

122 The excerpt was conveyed in a number of newspapers. *Norsk kirkeblad*, no. 6 (1924) carried a translation of the Norwegian part of von Rossum’s travelogue (22 March 1924, 133 ff.).

tant churches in the Nordic countries in decay and dissolution and with congregations that longed for the mother church. This was perceived as deliberately erroneous, just as the hospitality the Catholic Church had been afforded was construed as admiration for it. Within Catholic sceptic circles in the Nordic countries, the publication, therefore, was confirmation of the Catholic Church's lack of trustworthiness; and "such a grossly incorrect and misleading portrayal" gave reason to recall "the well-known Jesuit maxim, that the end justifies the means."¹²³ The Association of Swedish Priests took action and had a letter of protest against van Rossum's book printed in German newspapers.¹²⁴ Likewise, the Norwegian Association of Priests sent a similar protest to *Evangelischer Pressedienst* in Berlin.¹²⁵ In February 1925, Olaf Moe (1876–1963), a professor at the conservative Free Faculty of Theology, branded the work a "politico-religious diatribe" full of hateful and cutting attacks against the Reformation and Protestantism.¹²⁶ The journal *Luthers Kirketidende* accounted for the great mobilisation in the Storting against the repeal of the Jesuit ban in the summer of the same year by the fact that, among other things, van Rossum's "absurd account" had brought significant harm upon the Catholic cause.¹²⁷

With the proposal to amend the Constitution, Norwegian anti-Catholic discourse was first and foremost characterised by anti-Jesuit notions. However, it was not until 1925 that the debate on Jesuits earned broader engagement. A clerical-theological circle rooted within the Church, the Faculty of Theology at the University, and the Free Faculty of Theology played a key role here, alongside legal historian Absalon Taranger, who was associated with the Free Faculty of Theology that same year.

Professors Christian Ihlen (1868–1958) and Oluf Kolsrud (1885–1945) at the Faculty of Theology were – along with Taranger – the most important advocates of lifting the ban. Both Ihlen and Taranger based their arguments on the fact that the Jesuits had historically had a dubious role. Ihlen concluded that they had previously exploited their standing and influence over sovereigns and statesmen for "violence and oppression against alternative thinkers," but that they could nevertheless not be principally described as a political organisation and agents of the papacy in the present day.¹²⁸

123 *Aftenposten*, 15 March 1924.

124 *Kirke og kultur*, vol. 32 (1925): 73.

125 *Luthersk kirketidende*, no. 6 (21 March 1925), 131–132.

126 *Aftenposten*, 17 February 1925.

127 *Luthersk kirketidende*, no. 16 (8 August 1925): 551.

128 *Aftenposten*, 13 March 1925.

Professor Absalon Taranger followed up the case in March of that year in an article in *Aftenposten* entitled “Jesuit propaganda in the present day.” There he stated that the Catholic Church now considered the time ripe for a final showdown with Wittenberg and the Reformation. He described a determined Catholic missionary campaign to recapture Protestant territories that was taking place both in the open and in secret. As an example of the latter he brought up how, especially in the Netherlands, Jesuits had directed their missionary activities towards children.¹²⁹ In an series of articles in *Aftenposten* on the history of the Jesuit ban, Taranger claimed that the Jesuit order had been a driving and industrious force in the Catholic Church’s politics throughout the 19th and 20th centuries, and that the goal was to concentrate all power in the pope’s hands: “He desires to be the ruler of both the Church and the world.” His power was growing and was also being felt in Norway, he explained. Nevertheless, he supported the ban’s repeal. This was grounded in a principle of religious freedom, but would also serve as a good example. How, for instance, could one set demands on religious freedom in the field of the international mission if one could be accused of a lack of freedom at home?¹³⁰

There were many voices against. *Luthersk kirketidende* [Lutheran Church Times] was affiliated with the Association for the Inner Mission [Indremisjonsforbundet] and came to be dominated by editors with a background from the conservative Free Faculty of Theology. In February 1925, in the midst of the Constitutional Committee’s work on writing its recommendation, the editors took a clear position against lifting the Jesuit ban. This was not for religious reasons, they emphasised, but a distinction had to be made between the religious and the political work of the Roman Catholic Church: “The Jesuits are the political henchmen of this church, and wherever they are allowed to work they are the blindly obedient political organs of the papacy.”¹³¹ And, the journal continued, the politics of the Jesuits was inextricably linked to their ethics. Whatever the Jesuits actually said or did not say about the phrase “the end justifies the means,” it was a fact that

in their blind, slavish discipline to superiors (cadaver obedience), in their defence of silent reservation (*reservatio mentalis*) and in their teaching of “probable” reason (probabilism), they deny the Protestant principle of freedom of conscience and independence in the domain of morality. And it is this that renders them the slavishly obedient political organs of

129 *Aftenposten*, 15 March 1924.

130 *Aftenposten*, 24 March 1925.

131 *Luthersk kirketidende*, no. 4 (21 February 1925): 84.

the papacy, organs that have gained a reputation for ruthlessly pursuing their aims without concerning themselves with the means.¹³²

In April 1925, the journal reiterated its position. It brought out van Rossum's visit and his "tendentious" travelogue as confirmation of a Catholic Counter-Reformation. Furthermore, statements by Pope Pius XI (1857–1939) from December 1922 and May 1923 provided evidence that the Jesuit order was being called to combat Protestantism.¹³³ A pragmatic religious policy thus needed to be employed, not an abstract-theoretical approach based on the principle of religious freedom, the journal argued. Two articles in *Aftenposten* that same spring show that Professor Daniel Andreas Frøvig (1870–1954) at the Free Faculty of Theology must have been the author of *Kirketidende's* argument. Here, under his own name, he repeated more or less verbatim the same arguments from the two editorials.¹³⁴

The conservative periodical *Norsk kirkeblad* [Norwegian Church News] was also prompt in declaring its opposition, demanding in February 1924 that the paragraph remain unchanged. The Jesuits were now, as in earlier times, conducting religious propaganda "for altogether the most aggressive Catholicism we know of."¹³⁵ The case was not a question of religious freedom. An Evangelical Lutheran populace had the right to defend itself against the "religious battle propaganda" spread on the basis of a "Jesuit view of morality with ends and means in mind." In the aftermath of van Rossum's visit and travelogue, the journal warned particularly against "abstract-idealist liberalism" opening the doors to "the most cunning and persistent Catholic reapers of souls – an institution that 'incidentally lacks the word "freedom" in its lexicon', to quote [religious historian Edvard] Lehmann."¹³⁶

The professorial opposition to the Jesuits was supplemented by that of the clergy. The liberal Bishop of Nidaros, Jens Gran Gleditsch (1860–1931), one of the bishops recently appointed since the episcopate had issued its statements in 1921, supported the principle of the statal non-intervention in ecclesiastical matters. He did, however, point out that a "national-liberal" understanding of

132 *Luthersk kirketidende*, no. 4 (21 February 1925): 85.

133 *Luthersk kirketidende*, no. 7 (4 April 1925): 152. This was an editorial response to Professor Olaf Kolsrud's contribution against the journal's first editorial article on the Jesuit ban.

134 *Aftenposten*, 2 April and 4 April 1925.

135 *Norsk kirkeblad*, no. 4 (22 February 1924): 85.

136 *Norsk kirkeblad*, no. 4 (22 February 1924): 86. Edvard Lehmann (1862–1930) was a Danish historian of religion working at universities in Copenhagen, Berlin and Lund. On Lehmann, see Sven S. Hartman. "J Edvard Lehmann," in *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon*, vol. 22 (1977–1979), 444. (<https://sok.riksarkivet.se/sbl/artikel/11137>, accessed 7 May 2017).

the rule of law could no longer be taken for granted. He made mention of looming revolutionary ideas about the radical transformation of the justice system in both fascist and communist moulds, and that in such a context it was perhaps most appropriate not to repeal the Jesuit ban.¹³⁷ Thus, fear of revolution and the room for manoeuvre that the Jesuits might then acquire provided a basis for upholding the ban.

Early in 1925, the Association of Priests of the Norwegian Church also took a clear stand on the ban. In a petition to the Storting, it argued that the Roman Catholic Church was planning a missioning campaign towards the Nordic countries and that the Jesuits had taken a position of leadership here.¹³⁸ Because the Jesuit order was aggressively disposed towards Protestantism, the Association of Priests did not believe that it would be an infringement of religious freedom to shut them out. The petition was signed by Professor Olaf Moe at the Free Faculty of Theology and Bishop Johan Lunde (1866 – 1938), among others, but a driving force seems to have been the association's leader, pastor Johan Fredrik Gjesdahl. As previously described, as a parliamentary representative, he was also instrumental in raising the issue of countermeasures to the Mormons in the Storting in 1912. He was active in debates throughout the spring of 1925 and referred to Catholicism as a "clenched fist against Protestantism." He further pointed out that as long as the Jesuits were tasked with waging an uncompromising war of aggression against Protestant societies, they were, to his mind, undesirable in the country.¹³⁹

When the Constitutional Committee recommended the rejection of the proposal to amend the Constitution at the end of February 1925, Jesuit attributes were not up for discussion. On the contrary, the committee based its opinion on the absence of a pressing need to repeal the ban, as well as the stark reluctance from ecclesiastical quarters. Here they referred specifically to the petition from the Association of Priests, as well as the pronounced standpoints of *Luthersk kirketidende* and *Norsk kirkeblad*.¹⁴⁰

137 *Tidens Tegn*, 27 April 1925.

138 *Stortingsforhandlinger*. Del 6a. Innst. S. nr. 25. Indstilling fra utenriks- og konstitutionskomiteen angaaende St.prp. no. 123. Skrivelse til Utenriks- og konstitusjonskomiteen (1925). [Records of the Proceedings of the Norwegian Parliament (Storting). Recommendation No. 25 from the standing Constitutional and Foreign Affairs Committee regarding proposition 123/1923 on amendments to article 2 in the Constitution (1925)].

139 *Aftenposten*, 1 April 1925.

140 *Stortingsforhandlinger*. Del 6a. Innst. S. nr. 25. Indstilling fra utenriks- og konstitutionskomiteen angaaende St.prp. no. 123. Skrivelse til Utenriks- og konstitusjonskomiteen (1925). [Records of the Proceedings of the Norwegian Parliament (Storting). Recommendation No. 25

With certain exceptions, a clerical-theological establishment thus took a clear point of view on the Jesuit issue in the period before and after the Constitutional Committee's recommendation was made public. It is likely this was decisive for the outcome of the matter at the Storting that summer. There was great public engagement in the run-up to the Storting debate, and the writer and speaker Marta Steinsvik (1877–1950) in particular helped to raise the heat with a populist blend of powerful anti-Semitism and anti-Catholicism.¹⁴¹ But she arrived on the scene when the debate was already marked by intense anti-Catholicism, fuelled not least by clerical-theological sources.¹⁴²

As the recommendation was being discussed at the Storting, the bishops' reasons for supporting the ban were also conveyed.¹⁴³ Three of them had been appointed in 1921. Bishop of Hamar Mikkel Bjønnes-Jacobsen (1863–1941) noted that the Jesuits were not only a religious order, but “to a marked extent an action group” that aimed to lead the country's Protestant citizens towards Catholicism. Bishop Jacob Christian Petersen (1870–1964), in the newly established diocese of Stavanger, backed the priests association's petition, stating that the Jesuits' methods in this religious rivalry were both un-Christian and immoral. He also referred to Norwegian missionaries' experiences with Jesuits in Madagascar, and the Jesuits' willingness there to undermine civilian laws as they saw fit. The Bishop of Trondheim, Jens Gran Gleditsch, concurred with the fear that Jesuits “often exploited their status with sovereigns for violence and oppression.” He pointed again to the danger the Jesuits represented to the civilian rule of law. They upheld a different interpretation of the law and he feared that the Jesuit order would pose a great peril if Norway's law-abiding society ever found itself in crisis as a result of “economic impotence, war or revolution.” He was referring here to the experiences of Latvia after World War I and intimated that there could be property claims on Nidaros Cathedral from the Catholics, some-

from the standing Constitutional and Foreign Affairs Committee regarding proposition 123/1923 on amendments to article 2 in the Constitution (1925)].

141 See for example Øyvind Strømme, *Marta Steinsvik og anti-katolisismen* (MA thesis, University of Bergen, 2015).

142 Steinsvik held many lectures during the winter and spring of 1925, primarily on the “Jewish issue” and opening up for female priests. It was only in an interview in *Aftenposten*, 6 May 1925, that Jesuits were included in her catalogue of accusations. It was reported in the interview that Steinsvik also addressed the Jesuit question in her lectures, but the announcements for these suggest that it must have been thematically inferior.

143 *Stortingsforhandlingar*. Del 7b. Stortingstidende (1925), 2775 ff. [Records of the Proceedings of the Norwegian Parliament (Storting). Part 7b. Parliamentary debate (1925)]. The administrator of the case in the Constitutional Committee, Ove Andersen from Høyre, had gathered new statements from the Bishops on his own initiative, and read out excerpts from these in the Storting.

thing the conservative administrator of the proposition, Ove Andersen (1878–1928), also raised in a concluding address to the debate.¹⁴⁴ Nidaros Cathedral, Norway's main church and the seat of the archbishop during the Catholic era, was undergoing restoration at this time, a work that was set to be completed for the major 900th anniversary of the Battle of Stiklestad in 1930. The cathedral was of great national symbolic importance, and its restoration also marked the restoration of Norwegian national glory as well as the continuation of the golden era of the High Middle Ages.¹⁴⁵

Bishop of Agder Bernt Støylen (1858–1937) had changed his opinion since 1921. Due to the Catholic Church's ongoing missioning, the situation had now been "completely altered," especially since he believed the Jesuits would play a vital role in the Catholic offensive. They ought not to be admitted to the country precisely because the Jesuits themselves did not support religious freedom.

In the Storting debate, many of the traditional representations of Jesuits were again brought up and activated. Brandrud's 1895 book about Kloster-Lasse became a primary source. The same was true of depictions of the conflict between Norwegian missionaries and Jesuits in Madagascar. It attracted considerable attention in Norway in the 1890s, and to many became – both then and later – proof that, with violence and cunning, Jesuits practised immoral principles in which the end justified the means.¹⁴⁶

Key objections in the debate were claims that the Jesuits were not a religious organisation, but a political movement that used religion for political purposes: They posed a danger to democratic representative government; they were an action group; they were going to unleash a stream of agents in order to wage a religious conflict by dishonest means; their founding principle was the maxim "the end justifies the means"; they might act with violence and force in Norway; and,

144 *Stortingsforhandlinger*. Del 7b. Stortingstidende (1925), 2792. [Records of the Proceedings of the Norwegian Parliament (Storting). Part 7b. Parliamentary debate (1925)]. Andersen told the Storting that he had a copy of the concordat between Latvia and the Holy See, "by which concordat the republic has undertaken to assign to the Holy See a cathedral and the land belonging to it. It shows how states may have to find themselves in circumstances, which the Holy See at times arranges, in which it is not easy for states to oppose the claims of the Holy See."

145 Angell, *Frå splid til nasjonal integrasjon*, 93 ff.

146 *Forsvarsord mod missionsprest, sekretær L. Dahles angreb i "Norsk missionstidende" og i "Vestlandsposten"* (Kristiania: St. Olafs trykkeri, 1899); Christian Borchgrevink, *Erindringer fra de første femtiar af Det norske missionselskabs arbeide paa Madagaskar* (Stavanger: Det norske missionselskab, 1917).

in addition, Catholicism and communism represented the same philosophy and employed the same methods.¹⁴⁷

When the time came to vote, the proposal to repeal the Jesuit ban was rejected by an overwhelming majority (99 votes to 33). Since the Jesuits were shut out of the country, Norwegian experience – with the exception of how the events in Madagascar in the late 1800s were interpreted – cannot explain the intense resistance. On the contrary, it has to be understood in light of international political circumstances as well as imported notions and experiences, backed by a reservoir of historical representations that had been activated repeatedly over the centuries and also formed the basis for the inscribing of the Jesuit ban into the Constitution in 1814. The distribution of votes between political parties corroborates this. Only the moderate workers' parties backed the proposal. The Communists and all parties to the right of the Labour Party voted against, with a few individual exceptions.¹⁴⁸

In the 1920s there was a common Swedish-Norwegian understanding of Catholicism and the perils of Jesuitism. Such notions circulated quite freely across borders and were particularly widespread in clerical circles. Key Swedish theologians served as important links between Scandinavian clergy and anti-Catholic currents within Northern European Protestantism.

Although Cardinal van Rossum was refused permission to lead worship at St. Canute's shrine at Odense Cathedral, Denmark seems to have borne fewer traces of anti-Catholicism during this period. At any rate, anti-Catholic statements were not expressed in public contexts in the same way as in its Scandinavian neighbours. Neither did it become problematic even when, for a short period in the autumn of 1909, the country had a Catholic prime minister. In Denmark the free exercise of all religions had been constitutionally warranted since 1849, even for the Jesuit order, which established itself in the 1870s. In the 1920s the Danish clergy gave no indication that this had caused them any misfortune, and Bishop Valdemar Ammundsen (1875–1936) was not of the opinion that there was any Danish desire to impose special restrictions on Jesuits.¹⁴⁹ This

147 *Stortingsforhandlinger*. Del 7b. Stortingstidende (1925). [Records of the Proceedings of the Norwegian Parliament (Storting). Part 7b. Parliamentary debate (1925)]. Statements sought from representatives Hans Seip (p. 2783), Rasmus Olsen Tveterås (p. 2789), N.J. Finne (p. 2790), Ketil Skogen (p. 2791), Sverre Krogh (p. 2791), Carl Joachim Hambro (p. 2793).

148 Sverdrup-Thygeson, *Grunnlovens forbud*, 83.

149 Oluf Kolsrud in *Aftenposten*, 9 May 1925: "In Denmark – states Bishop Ammundsen in a letter to the author of this article – hardly anyone desires exceptional provisions against the Jesuits. This is partly because it goes against the Principle of Freedom of Religion, and partly we have not suffered any disadvantage from them. They have a Church in Copenhagen and one

did not, however, prevent the term “Jesuitism” from being actively put to use in Denmark to mark out opponents on the other side of the divide, thus demonstrating that stereotypical representations of Jesuits were still vivid in the 1920s.¹⁵⁰

The powerful Swedish-Norwegian anti-Jesuitism of the 1920s, like the anti-Mormonism in the same two countries in preceding years, must be understood as an expression of the Lutheran Church’s sense of being under threat. The demise of the state churches’ monopoly on confession in the 19th century had created a religious marketplace. For Christians in Norway, this happened in the 1840s, as we have seen. Sweden repealed its Conventicle Act in 1858. Although it was only the Religious Freedom Act in 1951 that made it permissible for Swedes to become non-Christians – i. e. to leave the Swedish Church without enrolling in any other Christian denomination – subsequent to the Dissenter Act of 1860 they were permitted to change their religious affiliation.¹⁵¹ The market was thus not entirely open, but free enough to offer genuine alternatives to the state church.

To Protestants, the Catholic Church emerged as an offensive entrant into this market, especially after World War I. Allowing Jesuits to establish themselves in this context was seen as giving the Roman Catholic Church a dangerous and competition-distorting missionary weapon.

Protections for religious freedom were weaker in Sweden and Norway than in Denmark, and the practice of intervention and regulation in the field of religious policy was more robust. This may have contributed to a more explicit anti-Catholicism during this period, in the same way that it more easily legitimised demands for measures to be taken against Mormon missionaries. Nevertheless, the Swedish-Norwegian opposition to Catholicism was largely legitimised in rhetoric by way of non-religious arguments. The Jesuits were portrayed as a political action group with a dishonest and un-Christian moral bearing that dis-

in Ordrup; they have had to abandon a Gymnasium in Ordrup for financial Reasons. There do not appear to be essential differences between them and other Catholic Priests; perhaps only that they are on Average a little more competent.” Kolsrud also referred to *Kristeligt Dagblad* in Copenhagen, which also believed that “no Disadvantage had been remarked” with the presence of the Jesuits in Denmark, and which recommended the defenders of the Norwegian state church to learn from this. This was a view that was supported by the Association of Danish Priests, according to Kolsrud.

150 A search of Danish newspapers returns many examples of the use of the term “Jesuitism” (“jesuitisme”) in the Danish public sphere. Media collections of the Royal Danish Library. (<http://www2.statsbiblioteket.dk/mediestream/avis>).

151 Lars-Arne Norborg, *Sveriges historia under 1800- och 1900-talen: Svensk samhällsutveckling 1809–1992* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell Förlag, 1993), 131.

qualified them both as citizens and as residents. They were untrustworthy, cunning, secretive and mendacious – with a loyalty to a supranational hierarchical structure entirely distinct from state control and influence, dubbed as “cadaver obedience.”

Beyond Scandinavian borders, allegations of sexual immorality were raised in a number of anti-Catholic writings.¹⁵² This was less explicitly expressed in Scandinavia, though domestic examples do exist. Allegations of this variety were especially promoted by the frequent debater Marta Steinsvik in Norway.¹⁵³ Celibacy and the nature of monasticism were understood to be in opposition to the Protestant family institution, and various stories of sexual abuse committed by Catholic monks and priests in celibacy were one part of this narrative. These notions had much in common with the way Jews and especially Mormons were represented – as sexually immoral prey. German historian Kurt Widmer argues that portrayals of Jesuits and Mormons were almost identical in Germany in the second half of the 19th century. Among other things, he believes that the image of celibate Jesuits who, driven by sexual fantasies, exploited innocent women, differed little from the way Mormons were portrayed as polygamous envoys of white harems.¹⁵⁴

When “Jesuit morality” rendered Jesuits as unfit citizens, it also contributed to a general disparagement of Catholics’ qualifications as citizens in Protestant states. In addition, the morals and loyalties of Catholics outside the orders were associated with “Jesuitism,” and thus rendered suspect.

The deliberate use of national symbolism by the Catholic Church in Norway to propagate images of its members’ belonging and loyalty to the nation failed to prevent a vigorous religious nationalism, blended with a fear of political revolution, from distancing and branding Jesuits and Catholics as unpatriotic.¹⁵⁵

¹⁵² See Jenkins, *The New Anti-Catholicism*, 43 ff.; Justin Nordstrøm, *Danger on the Doorstep: Anti-Catholicism and American Print Culture in the Progressive Era* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2006); Rene Koller, *A Foreign and Wicked Institution?: The Campaign against Convents in Victorian England* (Eugene, OR: Pickwick Publications, 2011), especially chapter 2.

¹⁵³ See Strømmen, *Marta Steinsvik*, 22 ff. and 63 ff. for Steinsvik.

¹⁵⁴ Widmer, *Unter Zions Panier*, 272.

¹⁵⁵ On the Norwegian Catholic Church’s active use of national symbolism, see Slotsvik, “*Alt for Norge*.”

“Jesuit fascism” in the post-war period

After the decision of the Storting in 1925, the Jesuit issue was kept simmering in Norway through the libel case that Marta Steinsvik brought against the Catholic parish priest Coelestin Riesterer (1858–1938), and the lectures she otherwise held in public. He accused her of being a “factory of lies in the service of hell.” The trial was heard in 1928, the same year that Steinsvik published *Sankt Peters Himmelnøkler* [St. Peter’s Keys to Heaven], a collection of robustly anti-Catholic texts. The book was published in several editions and received a positive reception in clerical-theological circles.

However, the issue of exclusion was only brought up again after Norway’s accession to the European Convention on Human Rights in 1950. As mentioned, this led the Norwegian authorities to initiate the process of repealing the ban on Jesuits. On this occasion, too, the question had come up in the aftermath of a world war, which would similarly influence the debate and depiction of the Roman Catholic Church in general and the Jesuits in particular. In addition to the traditional view that Jesuits had a socially perilous moral bent and the association with communism and fascism that was also raised in the 1920s, Jesuitism was also bracketed with Nazism.¹⁵⁶

The old notions of Jesuit morality undoubtedly made the greatest impact. Jesuits and Jesuitism still triggered aversion in broad swathes of the populace and among key politico-religious actors, and the issue was whether or not the basis for this aversion ought to be tolerated. While in 1925 the outcome of this aversion was a shortfall of toleration for Jesuits, by 1956 a sufficient majority in the Storting agreed to endure them. Although representatives might express disapproval with what they believed the Jesuits stood for, they could reason partly on the basis of the principle of religious freedom, or take a pragmatic approach. The repeal of the ban was understood to be necessary in order to be able to pursue the Human Rights convention. Another pragmatic approach applied to Norwegian missionary activities. Repealing the ban would bestow on it a clear moral authority – in Catholic-dominated colonial areas, for example.

In 1951, a majority in the episcopate voted in favour of repealing the ban. Only the Bishop of Bergen, Ragnvald Indrebø (1891–1984), argued against. He remarked that Jesuit moral principles provided “opportunities to employ extremely dubious measures for politico-religious causes,” with dangerous conse-

¹⁵⁶ In *Sankt Peters Himmelnøkler* (Oslo: Eugen Nielsen, 1928), Marta Steinsvik was preoccupied with establishing a connection between Catholicism in general and Italian fascism.

quences for private and public life.¹⁵⁷ Among several bishops who supported the proposal, however, moral challenges were also addressed, either by endowing Jesuits with an unfavourable morality, or by taking for granted that possible harmful effects would be dealt with in other ways.¹⁵⁸ Two of the bishops – Arne Fjellbu (1890–1962) of Trondheim and Kristian Schjelderup (1894–1980) of Hamar – endorsed the proposal without reservation. The Faculty of Theology considered that “as a precaution against a feared political power,” the prohibition was now obsolete. Only Professor Hans Ording (1884–1952) recorded a reservation that Roman Catholic orders ought to be subject to state control to ensure that their activities were not in conflict with the laws of the land.¹⁵⁹

The professors at the conservative Free Faculty of Theology were divided on whether the Jesuits ought to be tolerated, but agreed that their morals were a menace to society. Both Olaf Moe and Andreas Seierstad (1890–1975) agreed to the ban’s repeal, but remained of the opinion that on the basis of their moral principles, Jesuits represented a specific threat. Ole Hallesby (1879–1961) and Ivar Seierstad (1901–1987), brother of Andreas Seierstad, argued against the notion that the Jesuits had changed since the prohibition came into effect in the Constitution of 1814, and labelled Jesuit morality as socially destructive. Here, Hallesby repeated viewpoints from a pamphlet he had published in 1933 in the wake of the *Steinsvik v. Riesterer* case. He had asserted that Catholics did not regard a deliberate falsehood to be a lie “as long as one is careful at the moment of saying it to believe something other than what is being said, something true, of course.”¹⁶⁰ Hallesby, who had a prominent public position as a preacher and advocator of conservative theology, claimed that Catholic moral theologians did not perceive the swearing of false oaths as being tantamount to perjury. He, along with Ivar Seierstad, believed this still to be the case. Hallesby followed this up with an opinion piece in *Aftenposten* in which he endorsed the policy of the constitutional founding fathers: “Our fathers understood that the Jesuit moral doctrine was a mortal danger to the state.”¹⁶¹

157 *Stortingsforhandling*. Del 2a. St.prp. nr. 202 (1952), 7. [Records of the Proceedings of the Norwegian Parliament (Storting). Part 2a. Proposition to the Storting No. 202 on Constitutional Amendments (1952)].

158 This applied to Bishop Dietrichson of Oslo, Bishop Skard of Tønsberg, Bishop Smemo of Agder, Bishop Marthinussen of Stavanger (who believed that “we [must] dare to take the risk of freedom, even in this case”) and Bishop Krohn Hansen of Hålogaland.

159 *Stortingsforhandling*. Del 2a. St.prp. nr. 202 (1952), 8. [Records of the Proceedings of the Norwegian Parliament (Storting). Part 2a. Proposition to the Storting no. 202 on Constitutional Amendments (1952)].

160 Ole Hallesby, *Katolikken og eden* (Oslo: Lutherstiftelsens forlag, 1933), 11.

161 *Aftenposten*, 8 March 1951.

Olav Valen-Sendstad (1904–1963) was the resident chaplain in Stavanger and held a doctorate in theology. In addition he was a hugely productive author and social debater who held great sway over Christian laypeople. In the early 1950s, together with Fridtjov Birkeli (1906–1983), he was a prominent aid in associating Jesuitism with fascism and Nazism. Birkeli was born to missionary parents in Madagascar, where he later became a missionary priest. After returning to Norway in 1948 he became editor of *Norsk misjonstidende* [Norwegian Mission Times] and contributed to writing the history of the Norwegian Missionary Society in Madagascar. In 1960 he was appointed bishop in the Norwegian Church, becoming its primate in 1968. In an op-ed in the Christian newspaper *Vårt Land* in March 1951, he left nothing to the imagination: “The Jesuits are the papacy’s SS and, just like the stormtroopers, have made an impressive contribution from an ultra-Catholic point of view.”¹⁶² They represented a moral theology that had borne the most terrible fruits and reaped great political consequences. This was such an ill-fated doctrine that it legitimately afforded a people with a democratic system of government the right to “defend themselves for the benefit of true freedom and genuine democracy.” Norway had no reason to permit such “dictatorial tendencies.” Naturally, Birkeli’s background from Madagascar must have played a significant role in these views, and in his piece, he also referred to his experiences from the island of his birth. He published his doctoral dissertation in theology the following year. It dealt with the relationship between missioning and politics in Madagascar when the Norwegian mission was established there in the years after 1860. Here, too, he based his analyses on traditional understandings of the Jesuits’ morality and role as a politico-religious action group.¹⁶³

However, it was Valen-Sendstad who coupled Jesuits and Catholicism most vigorously to totalitarian ideologies. The Norwegian Broadcasting Corporation’s radio programme “Frimodig ytring” [“Bold Expression”] addressed the Jesuit issue in the spring of 1951. Here, both a Catholic father and Valen-Sendstad were each given the chance to hold their own presentations. The lecture was printed as an opinion piece in *Vårt Land* a day later. The real essence of the Jesuit question, he explained, was the order’s position as a “malicious politico-religious action group” in the service of a politico-religious power with “supreme sovereignty” over all peoples – namely the Roman papacy.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶² *Vårt Land*, 15 March 1951.

¹⁶³ Fritjof Birkeli, *Politikk og misjon: De politiske og institusjonelle forhold på Madagaskar og deres betydning for den norske misjons grunnlegging 1861–1875*. Dissertation published by the Egede Institute (Oslo: Gimnes forlag, 1952), 435ff.

¹⁶⁴ *Vårt Land*, 12 April 1951.

“Only two similar phenomena are known in recent times,” he continued, “the Germans’ ideological-political SS and the Gestapo, and the Russian ideological-political commissars and the GPU.” The GPU was the forerunner of the KGB, the Soviet intelligence service. Jesuit-Catholic politics was in close cooperation with feudalist and fascist circles and rulers, and in his own era Valen-Sendstad referred to contemporary Spain as “a Jesuit-fascist dictatorship.” As for Nazi Germany and communist Soviet Union, the goal of the Catholic Church was world domination, and here the Jesuit order was living proof “that the pope represents a global spiritual-political dictatorship.”

Valen-Sendstad wrote many articles on this in the Christian newspaper *Dagen* in which the Roman Catholic Church was referred to as a state within the state that primarily operated politically in collaboration with fascist and totalitarian ideologies.¹⁶⁵ Early in 1954, Valen-Sendstad showed a strong commitment to the ban. Just before Christmas 1953 he sent an open letter to the Storting, which he also got published. It bore the subtitle “Will the Storting Give Jesuit Fascism its Moral Approval?”¹⁶⁶ In January the letter was printed as a series of articles in *Vårt Land*.¹⁶⁷ In it he reiterated his allegations about Jesuitism’s links to fascism: “The political state model of Jesuit fascism was the dictatorial (authoritarian) corporate state under the papacy’s supervision (censorship, pedagogy) and control.” Jesuit fascism’s tactics were “accommodation” (adaptation to local circumstances) and operations disguised to the greatest degree possible by using front organisations of different types, from pure terrorist groups to an array of orders. Furthermore, Jesuit fascism deliberately appealed to nationalism and mobilised antisemitism. An alleged collaboration between the papal church and Hitler’s Germany was accentuated and the crimes of Nazism were explained by contentions that its prominent participants – Hitler, Goebbels, Himmler, Bormann, and others – were Catholics.

The involvement of Valen-Sendstad had its intended effect. The Christian voluntary organisations gathered for their annual meeting in Geilo soon after and approved a petition that the ban should be upheld.¹⁶⁸ In an editorial leader, *Dagen* lent its support to the same. “The historical record” had proven it necessary, they explained: “The three-hundred-year-old ban on Jesuits is quite simply

¹⁶⁵ Olav Valen-Sendstad, *Moskva og Rom: Fjorten epistler om verdenspolitikken og det 20. århundres motrevolusjon* (Bergen: Lunde forlag, 1952).

¹⁶⁶ Olav Valen-Sendstad, *Åpent brev til Norges Storting 1954: Vil Stortinget gi jesuitt-fascismen sin moralske anerkjennelse?* (Bergen: Lunde forlag, 1954).

¹⁶⁷ *Vårt Land*, 12 January, 13 January, and 14 January 1954.

¹⁶⁸ The petition was dated 15 January 1954 and sent to the Storting and published in several newspapers.

our first emergency law, a moral and political safeguard against a powerful international organisation.”¹⁶⁹ The Jesuits committed themselves to unconditional obedience to the pope with the purpose of establishing a “state within the state.” When the consciences of the citizens were bound by a duty to obedience in this way, they could come into conflict with the social order and the rule of law. This would interfere with the welfare of the state. “We do not equate Jesuits with fifth-columnists,” concluded the leader, “but our laws and our history have drawn parallels that we cannot afford to ignore.”

As the Storting undertook the debate in November 1956, an alleged link between Jesuitism and totalitarian ideologies was a key element of Carl Joachim Hambro’s opposition to repealing the paragraph. As a former chairman and parliamentary leader of Høyre with a total of 37 years as parliamentary representative, he was a political heavyweight. For his role as parliamentary president prior to and in exile during the German occupation, he also possessed considerable symbolic capital and moral authority. When the proposal was up for debate in 1925 and in 1956, Hambro had had a seat on the standing Committee for Foreign Affairs and the Constitution, the first committee to consider the proposal on both occasions. He was one of the majority rejecting the proposal in 1925. Back then, he explained that he personally found the ban outdated, but grounded his position in an understanding that there was no popular support for the proposed amendment. In October 1956 he was one of the minority to reject the proposal on the grounds of Jesuit morality. Hambro and the committee minority did not address the link to totalitarian ideologies directly in their minority statement, but did indicate that the order had a militaristic structure with a “totalitarian hierarchy and is led by a general to whom unconditional obedience must be shown.”¹⁷⁰ This, according to the minority, rendered them illegal on the basis of Article 330 of the Penal Code, which dealt with participants in associations that demanded unconditional obedience.¹⁷¹

In November 1956, Hambro was far more explicit. His experience of war had contributed decisively to his rather sympathetic view of the Jesuits in 1925 being

169 *Dagen*, 23 January 1954.

170 *Stortingsforhandlingene*. Del 6a. Innst. S. nr. 224 (1956). [Records of the Proceedings of the Norwegian Parliament (Storting). Part 6. Recommendation no. 224 from the standing Constitutional and Foreign Affairs Committee regarding amendments to article 2 in the Constitution (1956)].

171 The Norwegian Penal Code of 1902, § 330: “Founders or Participants in an Association that is prohibited by Law or whose Purpose is the Perpetration or Encouragement of criminal Acts, or whose Members commit themselves to unconditional Obedience to anyone, are punishable with Fines or Detention or Imprisonment of up to 3 Months.”

supplanted by a clearly negative stance. He now regarded the waging of spiritual battles against dangerous ideologies as banal and hollow sloganeering. This also applied to Jesuitism. “One has to keep in mind,” he continued

that neither Nazism in Germany, nor fascism in Italy, nor Rexism in Belgium, led by Degrelle, the favourite disciple beloved by Catholics, nor Petain’s movement in France, nor Franco’s movement in Spain, none of these movements would have been possible without the support and active co-operation of the Jesuits.¹⁷²

Hambro believed that Hitler’s *Mein Kampf* showed how much he had learned from Jesuitism and how highly he valued its organisation and teachings. He further explained that the close connection between Nazism and Jesuitism had been demonstrated by Bishop Alois Hudal (1885–1963), who had been head of the Austrian-German congregation of Santa Maria dell’Anima in Rome, which was labelled a German-Catholic propaganda institution by Hambro. Hambro made further reference to an opinion piece in *Morgenbladet* by university fellow Tor Aukrust (1921–2007), who alleged a close affinity between the structure of communism and the very structure that Jesuitism had provided to great swathes of the Catholic public. There were similarities between strict Catholicism and strict communism, first and foremost the same demand for obedience. Hambro did not make reference to Valen-Sendstad’s writings as evidence of his claims, but rather to the Luxembourg Catholic Joseph Lortz (1887–1975), in addition to Hudal.¹⁷³ Lortz was a church historian and had been a member of the National Socialist party in Germany. In 1933 he published a book that pointed to the parallels between Catholicism and National Socialism. Still, it is natural to assume that Hambro was influenced by Valen-Sendstad’s discussion of Jesuits.

172 *Stortingsforhandlingler*. Del 7b. Stortingstidende (1956), 2980. [Records of the Proceedings of the Norwegian Parliament (Storting). Part 7b. Parliamentary debate (1956)].

173 Aloysius Hudal, *Die Grundlagen des Nationalsozialismus: Eine ideengeschichtliche Untersuchung* (Leipzig/Vienna, 1937). In the Storting, Hambro referred to Johannes Lortz. He must have confused the name Joseph Lortz. Lortz published a church history that was printed in several editions: Joseph Lortz, *Geschichte der Kirche in ideengeschichtlicher Betrachtung: eine Sinndeutung der christlichen Vergangenheit in Grundzügen* (Münster in Westfl: Aschendorff, 1933). Lortz was also a member of the National Socialist party, and published a book that pointed out the parallels between Catholicism and National Socialism in the same year (Joseph Lortz, *Katholischer Zugang zum Nationalsozialismus, kirchengeschichtlich gesehen* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1933). In the series *Reich und Kirche: eine Schriftenreihe* (Münster: Aschendorff). My thanks to Christhard Hoffmann, who pointed out this case of mistaken identity. On Lortz and his comparison, see Ernst-Wolfgang Böckenförde, “Der deutsche Katholizismus im Jahre 1933,” in *Die Katholische Schuld?: Katholizismus im Dritten Reich – Zwischen Arrangement und Widerstand*, ed. Rainer Bendel (Münster: Lit Verlag, 2004), 208.

These descriptions of Jesuitism and Catholicism, as being oriented towards Nazism and as a precondition for the success of fascist movements, encountered resistance in the Storting debate and were not encouraged by other proponents of the ban. The clearest voices for continued prohibition were the two parliamentary representatives who, alongside Hambro, constituted the minority in the committee proposal: Erling Wikborg (1894–1992) from the Christian Democratic Party and Elisæus Vatnaland (1892–1983) from the Farmers Party. Both primarily appealed to a fear that Jesuit morality could harm the country, and found evidence of this in Brandrud's book from 1895, experiences in Madagascar, and Hallesby's claims of Catholics' deliberate use of falsehood and perjury.

The proposal to remove the Jesuit ban received a clear constitutional majority (111 votes against 31). The parliamentary group from the Christian Democratic Party were united against the proposal and received support from significant minorities in groups from the conservative Høyre and the Farmers Party.¹⁷⁴ Although there were many who shared the minority view of Jesuit morality and openly expressed aversion to "Jesuitism," it was no longer possible to mobilise adequate support for the preservation of the ban. With that, the last constitutional exclusion of a religious group in Norway was relinquished.

In Sweden, a final eruption of anti-Catholicism surfaced in the parliament in conjunction with debates over the law promoting religious freedom in 1951, and discussions about whether Belgian Carmelite sisters should be allowed to establish a cloister in Sweden in 1961.¹⁷⁵ When the general prohibition on cloisters was repealed in 1951 and replaced with regulations through which orders could apply for approval, parliamentarians voiced fears that these Catholic institutions would become instruments of Catholic propaganda. Catholicism was also associated with a reactionary ideology in defiance of the fundamental values of the Swedish democratic society, not least among social democrats. The same arguments were brought to the floor when the parliament discussed the Carmelite application in 1961. As the bicameral Swedish legislative assembly came to different conclusions, the application was rejected by the parliament. However, the Swedish government, with reference to Swedish commitment to the European Convention on Human Rights, granted the Carmelites permission to establish their cloister. Finally, in 1976, the requirement for Catholic orders to apply for permission was repealed.

The debate over cloisters in 1961 represented a final outburst of anti-Catholicism in the Swedish public sphere and within the country's political institu-

¹⁷⁴ Sverdrup-Thygeson, *Grunnlovens forbud*, 126.

¹⁷⁵ Werner, "Den katolske faran", 54 f.

tions. With increasing secularisation in Swedish society and reforms within the Catholic Church during the Second Vatican Council (1962–1965), fears of a Catholic threat receded. Consequently, according to Yvonne Maria Werner, anti-Catholic discourse and imagery lost importance as a contrasting conception in a definition of Swedish national identity.¹⁷⁶

Catholicism and the Roman Church – and especially Jesuitism – thus stand out as tenacious representations of a political and moral threat to the nation in Scandinavia. Such perceptions were most persistent in Sweden and Norway. The idea of Catholics as legitimate citizens was a volatile subject, and suspicions towards their loyalties were widespread. Catholicism, often labelled as “Popery,” was not only constructed as a religious “Other,” but also as an “Other” that was alien and hostile to the nation. In the words of the Danish theology professor Henrik Nicolay Clausen in 1825, the Roman Church was considered not only to represent a state *within* the state, but also to be a state *against* the nation state. That explains why Catholic religious freedom in these countries was restricted in terms of the prohibition of Jesuits (Norway) and cloisters (Sweden) until the second half of the 20th century.

176 Werner, “‘Den katolske faran’,” 56.

7 The nation's anti-citizens: A conclusion

Nation, religion and politics

For different periods from the 1790s onwards, Jews, Mormons and Jesuits stood out as the Scandinavian nations' anti-citizens. By and large in Norway and Sweden, this applied throughout the period covered in this book. It was less pronounced in Denmark from the end of the 1800s, which to a great degree distinguishes the country as an exception compared with most of the rest of Protestant Europe.

They were defined as enemies of society by key players in political and bureaucratic systems, in social institutions such as the church and university, as well as by voluble public debaters. As anti-citizens – the antithesis of good citizens – these groups of political and religious outcasts played an important role in different phases of the Scandinavian nation-building process. As anti-citizens they acquired significance both as the concepts of *the citizen* and *the nation* were reshaped from the late 18th century, and in the subsequent understanding of these concepts. A sharper distinction was drawn between the “we” inside and “the others” on the outside of the national collective. At the same time, the stigmatising attitudes were a consequence of conceptions circulating within and between many countries and across borders. The aversion these groups triggered was pan-European and transatlantic, and its contribution to defining what was Norwegian, Swedish and Danish was therefore very much a product of transnational processes.

When it came to Mormons and Jesuits, the perception of danger must be understood in a religious context. This was part of a religious struggle, a defence to preserve religious hegemony within political bodies. Jews, on the other hand, were scarcely viewed as religious competitors by Christians in Europe from the Middle Ages onwards, nor did they try to win converts. Missioning was completely absent from their religious practices. Rather, Jews themselves could perceive conversion to Judaism as problematic. In many ways, seclusion and isolation must have been a premise on which to avoid the cultural and religious assimilation of the Jews into majority culture during the diaspora.

For Mormons and Jesuits, the situation was different. The Jesuit order emerged after the Reformation and was given a prominent role in the religious struggle between Catholicism and Protestantism. The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints had an active missionary program from its earliest days. Missioning was perhaps its most important activity and, naturally enough for a new religion, also a requirement for growth.

When Mormon missionaries arrived in Scandinavia in the 1850s, there had been a significant degree of liberalisation in the religious domain in Denmark and Norway. In the latter country this was indeed the case only for Christians, but in Denmark it applied in principle to all religions. The Mormons were soon perceived as tenacious and rather immodest actors in these new politico-religious circumstances, and were therefore viewed as a clear challenge to the traditional Lutheran hegemony of the state churches. Catholicism was also seen as a religious rival, as it had been ever since the Reformation. This was pronounced in Denmark around 1850, but especially following World War I, a widespread understanding emerged within Protestant circles that the papacy had initiated a counter-reformist offensive.

From the mid-1800s onwards it became more controversial to resist religious rivals through coercive means. On the basis of constitutional rights and liberal ideology, this became problematic in many European countries, Scandinavia included. There existed a concurrent Christian-liberal philosophy that recognised toleration as a Christian virtue and defined what true Christianity was. This led to strife against “religious aberrations” being largely excised from their religious spheres and politicised as a danger to society. It had become illegitimate to wage religious battles against disfavoured minorities via secular means of compulsion; employing coercive measures against specific non-religious threats to the state and society, however, remained valid.

Jews, Mormons and Jesuits were not alone in being labelled as dangerous to society, yet at times notions of these very groups were exceptionally widespread and explicit, even among many of society’s leading institutions and stakeholders. Such notions can also be said to have been furthered by the state and to have formed the basis of government concern and policy to such an extent that the maintenance of the master narrative of religious otherness can be said to have been state driven. In Norway and Sweden that was the case well into the 20th century.

The notions also had clear commonalities, primarily that the groups harboured conspiratorial and political ambitions that posed a challenge to the sovereignty of the state, that they maintained loyalty to powers or legal systems other than the state in which they resided, and that due to their moral corruption, they represented duplicitous forces of social disruption.

For centralising state powers in the 17th and 18th centuries, the struggle against corporations and the fear of separatism were two sides of the same issue. There was no room for parallel sovereignties within the state, with their unbalanced arrangements of power, their systems of norms and laws, and their own demands for obedience that stood in conflict with the interests of the sovereigns. Thus, everything evocative of “states within the state” was con-

sidered a political peril. As shown in Chapter Three, in such cases intolerance was widely recognised not only as legitimate, but as necessary “State wisdom” (“Statsklogskab”).

In the 18th century, the concept of “state within the state” underwent a transformation. At first it was directed at republicanism, then given a role of an anti-aristocratic idiom, before becoming a slogan aimed particularly at Jews and Judaism towards the end of the century. But the term was also used about the activities both of Jesuits and, later, of Mormons. Common to all these groups was not only that they provoked aversion in many members of the majority society, but that they were also suspected of political subversion and treachery in the service of foreign powers. These were notions of specific dangers and realpolitik triggered by fears of being politically outmanoeuvred by fifth columnists operating within the state's borders. As disloyal violators of the sovereignty of the state, they were not to be tolerated.

Such conceptions therefore helped to construe these groups as anti-citizens who presented a threat to the state and its “genuine” citizens. This paved the way for the establishment of an insidership and an outsidership in which images of “us”/citizens in contrast to “them”/anti-citizens were vitalised. Jews, Mormons and Jesuits were all collectively portrayed in accordance with a concept of anti-citizenry, and thus as groups that could legitimately be excluded from the nation. These perceptions were all expressions of the same master narrative of religious otherness as a threat to the nation and as a quality that disqualified them from genuine citizenship. This must be viewed in light of ongoing modernisation processes and societal transformations – political and social – and the need to create new communities based on new values.

German historian Reinhart Koselleck referred to the period 1750–1850 as *Sattelzeit* (“the saddle period”), a geographical metaphor with reference to distinct saddle-shaped transitions between different forms of terrain. The saddle period marked the central phase in the transition between the *Ancien Régime*'s society of estates and the modern era. The reference to saddles was intended to emphasise the paradigmatic nature of the transition, and included, among other things, new understandings of several key concepts at the same time as new ones emerged.¹ Koselleck's metaphor is relevant in describing a process in which the subjects of sovereign powers were transformed into citizens, a process that also influenced the substance of the concept of the nation. This transfor-

¹ See Reinhart Koselleck, “Einleitung,” in *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe*. Band 1, ed. Otto Bruner, Werner Conze and Reinhart Koselleck (Stuttgart: Ernst Klett, 1972), XV.

mation was first influenced by the debates of the Enlightenment and later gained the French Revolution as an effective catalyst.²

From subject to citizen

As subjects, the primary obligations of the territorial states' populaces lay in the form of financial support and protection of dynastic states (taxation and varying degrees of military service). Rights were mainly tied to groups and corporations, such as tax reductions on the nobility and the burghers' monopoly on craft and trade. With absolute monarchy the dominant state form throughout Europe, political rights were highly restricted and thereby only to a minor extent constitutive of being a subject. Through the *Lex Regia* of 1665, the Danish-Norwegian absolute king was answerable to no human, only God. As subject, one was integrated into a patriarchal social order with an unconditional duty of obedience upwards through the hierarchy. Subjects were primarily categorised through association to an estate and a local jurisdiction, and not to a nation in the modern sense. This was a social order in which there was no natural place for equality and equivalence; quite the contrary.

That was also the understanding of a vast majority of the subjects. Danish historian Ole Feldbæk has underscored precisely this at the point when the Danish elite was beginning to discuss concepts of the citizen and the nation during the Late Enlightenment. The rural population's horizons were still confined to

² Michael Bregnsbo, *Samfundsorden og statsmagt set fra prædikestolen: Danske præsters deltagelse i den offentlige opinionsdannelse vedrørende samfundsordenen og statsmagten 1750–1848, belyst ved trykte prædikener: En politisk-idéhistorisk undersøgelse*. In Danish humanist texts and studies, vol. 15 (København: Museum Tusulanums Forlag, 1997), 151ff. See also Tine Damsholt, *Fædrelandskærlighed og borgerdyd: Patriotisme, nationalisme, kulturhistorie, etnologi, militærhistorie, diskursanalyse* (København: Museum Tusculanum, 2000); Rasmus Glenthøj, *Fælleds kultur – forskellige nationaliteter: De borgerlige elites skabelse af en national identitet i Danmark og Norge 1807–1830* (PhD diss., Syddansk universitet, 2010). Ida Blom, "Hva er en borger?: Nasjon, borgerskap og mobilisering i Norden," *Historisk Tidsskrift*, vol. 92, no. 4 (2013): 513; Pasi Ihalainen and Karin Sennefelt, K. "General Introduction," in *Scandinavia in the Age of Revolution: Nordic Political Cultures, 1740–1820*, ed. Pasi Ihalainen, Michael Bregnsbo, Karin Sennefelt and Patrik Winton (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2011), 2ff; Anne-Hilde Nagel, "Staten og vernet om menneskerettene," in *Folkestyre?: Kritisk søkelys på 1814-demokratiet*, ed. Anne-Hilde Nagel and Ståle Dyrvik (Bergen: Bodoni, 2014); Knut Dørum, *Frå undersått til medborger: Styreform og politisk kultur i Noreg 1660 til 1884* (Oslo: Samlaget, 2016).

the village, the parish, the estate and nearby towns, he explained, continuing: “Any talk that they were citizens of the state and of society ran contrary to the concept of estate according to which they lived, and words like Denmark and fatherland meant nothing to them.”³

The transformation from subject to citizen took place largely within the framework of the nation, or at least the idea that as a citizen, one belonged to a nation. *Nation* was also a frequently used term in the early 18th century, and as Danish historian Rasmus Glenthøj has pointed out, the concept of nation has undergone changes in meaning without necessarily losing its old senses.⁴ The use of the term had long been loose, and could, for example, refer to place of residence, estate, state, or groupings of people such as Germans or Slavs. The common denominator was that nation was understood as a community or fellowship of people bearing certain characteristics.

The term gained political associations early on in that a nation was often understood as a natural or historic political entity – as with older kingdoms such as Norway or Scotland, for example. Claims or expectations of national independence, however, were not necessarily present, and several nations could be united under one sovereign without issue. There was therefore no contradiction between talking of a Norwegian or Danish nation and expressing loyalty to or patriotism towards the unitary and multinational Oldenburg state, in the same way that there was no incongruity in speaking of an English and Scottish nation being united under the royal house of Hanover.

Although one was understood as belonging to a nation, this association was of little practical significance until the end of the 18th century. In response to the dissatisfaction in Denmark-Norway with German influence during the Struensee period of 1770–1772, Christian VII's (1749–1808) regime introduced native citizenship rights (*innfødsrett*) in 1776. This restricted access to public office in “His Majesty's Realms and Lands” to those born within the borders of those realms. This can be interpreted as a form of nationalisation of public office through the exclusion of foreigners. Such lines of demarcation were uncommon in Europe at this time.⁵ However, since everyone born within the multinational unitary state (*helstat*) had equal rights to public office, native citizenship rights were first and foremost an attempt to establish a supranational identity, an iden-

3 Ole Feldbæk, “Fædreland og Infødsret: 1700-tallets danske identitet,” in *Dansk identitetshistorie. 1 Fædreland og modersmål 1536–1789*, ed. Ole Feldbæk (København: C.A. Reitzels Forlag, 1991), 222.

4 Glenthøj, *Fælleds kultur*, 135ff.

5 Glenthøj, *Fælleds kultur*, 45, makes reference to the possible inspiration for native citizenship rights being the English Act of Settlement of 1701.

tity bound to the absolute king and his unitary state more than to nations.⁶ This right can therefore be seen as an expression of the period's emphasis on state patriotism rather than national patriotism.⁷ During that period it was also common to understand the fatherland as the territory of the state as much as that of the nation, and tributes to the dynastic regime of the unitary state king was perceived as a natural expression of love for the fatherland.⁸

Such understandings also found their way into the discourse of natural law and political theories of the state that formed the basis of teaching at the University of Copenhagen. In 1776, jurist and later professor of law Lauritz Nørregaard (1745–1804) published the textbook *Natur- og Folke-Rettens Første Grunde* [The Basic Principles of Nature and the Law of Nations]. Here he discussed the concepts of citizen, subject, state and nation: “All citizens of a state taken together, its governors as well as its subjects, constitute what one calls a People or a Nation. A People or Nation (Gens f. Populus) is thus an Assembly of all those Persons who, as Citizens, constitute a State.”⁹ Nørregaard thus defined the nation as being synonymous with the state, and as such entered into a tradition that identified the fatherland with the state. The fact that Nørregaard was also influenced by a traditional view of estate society was clearly expressed when he defined the corporations of the state as “the various Classes of Citizens of which the state consists.”¹⁰

The nation – essentially synonymous with the state during the Late Enlightenment – was thus composed of citizens. At the same time, during the Late Enlightenment the dynastic state rule of kings with claims of divine authority was challenged by the citizens of the nation with their own claims to the sovereignty of the state. The French Revolution was, of course, an important turning point. Citizen and nation became twin concepts as both grew into expressions of imag-

6 Feldbæk, “Fædreland og Infødsret,” 197 and Ole Feldbæk and Vibeke Winge, “Tyskerfejden 1789–1790: Den første nationale confrontation,” in *Dansk identitetshistorie: 2 Et yndigt Land 1789–1848*, ed. Ole Feldbæk (København: C.A. Reitzels Forlag, 1991), 9 ff.

7 See Odd Arvid Storsveen, “‘Fornuft og Kierlighed til Fædrelandet’: En analyse av norsk patriotisme mellom 1784 og 1801,” in *Norsk patriotisme før 1814*, ed. Odd Arvid Storsveen et al., KULT skriftserie no. 88 (The Research Council of Norway, 1997) for a discussion on the concept of national patriotism and patriotism in general, and Rasmus Glenthøj, *På fædrelandets alter: National identitet og patriotisme hos det danske borgerskab 1807–1814* (København: Museum Tusulanums forlag, 2007), 15 for an account of state patriotism.

8 See Feldbæk, “Fædreland og Infødsret” for a broad discussion on the meaning of the fatherland and the nation as the basis for the growth of a Danish identity.

9 Lauritz Nørregaard, *Natur- og Folke-Rettens Første Grunde* (København: Gyldendals Forlag, 1776), § 519, 305.

10 Nørregaard, *Natur- og Folke-Rettens*, § 529, 311.

ined community and citizenship became a prerequisite for inclusion in the nation.¹¹ With demands for the transference of sovereignty to the populace and its citizens, it also became necessary to clarify what constituted citizenship of the nation.

This development led to a necessary redefinition of the concept of citizen (“borger” in Scandinavian) from primarily bestowing certain economic privileges on burghers (merchants and master craftsmen) to being understood as equal citizens in a nation.¹² According to Danish historian Michael Bregnsbo, in Denmark around 1800 the term *citizen* was still being used both in the sense of burgher of a city, and of citizen of the state. It was, however, the French Revolution and the Danes’ war against Britain after 1800 that particularly helped to promote the latter understanding.¹³ “Citizen of the state”, citizen of the country, or “citizen in the state” were now terms that were heard more and more frequently, explains Bregnsbo, and then not in a context that coupled the concept of the citizen to a city or to a social category, but to a national civil society. An illustration of how far the process had come around the turn of the century was the mention of Crown Prince Frederik as the “Nation’s first Citizen” in 1797 and the king as the “Country’s first Citizen” in 1804.¹⁴ This understanding of the king as a kind of a leader among equal citizens, with its levelling out of the relationship between the monarch and the citizens, stemmed in particular from the first

11 The concept of “imagined communities” was first coined by Benedict Anderson in 1983. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983). In this process, citizens’ identities were decoupled from the city and directed towards the nation. Rasmus Glenthøj argues that “civil society seems to fuse with the fatherland and the native land.” (Glenthøj, *På fædrelandets alter*, 68).

12 An important and thorough discussion of the development of the concept of the citizen, particularly in a German context, can be found in Manfred Riedel, “Bürger, Staatsbürger, Bürgertum,” in *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe*, ed. Otto Brunner, Werner Conze and Reinhart Koselleck. Band 1 (Stuttgart: Ernst Klett, 1972), especially 702ff.

13 Bregnsbo, *Samfundsorden og statsmagt*, 156. Bregnsbo argues that in addition to designating a burgher and a member of society, the term *citizen* was also used to speak of a social class, a middle class between the nobility and the peasantry.

14 Bregnsbo, *Samfundsorden og statsmagt*, 157 and 246. On the meaning of the expression during the French Revolution, see Christian Molbech, “Nogle Ytringer om Aristokratie og Adelstand, Grund-Adel og Fødselsadel, i begges nærværende Stilling og Forhold til Staten,” (Danish) *Historisk Tidsskrift*, Tredie Bind (1842): 246, note. The expression is otherwise familiar from the Roman Empire as a designation of the caesar. (*Princeps*). In a discussion of the Roman republic, Montesquieu also defined the monarch as the state’s first citizen. Charles Montesquieu, *Considerations on the Causes of the Grandeur and Decadence of the Romans* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1882 [1734]), 78. “[...] a monarch – who, being the first citizen of his state [...]”

phase of the French Revolution and was far removed from the traditional patriarchal dichotomisation of sovereigns and subjects.

Thus, the concept of the citizen was given increasing substance that pointed the way towards national citizenship. This raised the question of what separated a (state) citizen from a more traditional subject. In modern civil rights the requirements are usually explicitly expressed in citizenship laws.¹⁵ In this way, Norway passed its first citizenship law in 1888.¹⁶ Earlier in the 19th century, the concept of citizenship was by no means unambiguous, either in the Scandinavian countries or elsewhere.¹⁷ This is, for example, reflected in the first annotated edition of the Norwegian Constitution in 1815, authored by lecturer and later professor of law Henrik Steenbuch (1774–1839). Here he spent over ten pages reasoning for an interpretation of what should be understood by the formulation “Norwegian Citizens” in Article 92.¹⁸

Moral citizenship

In her study of the work of patriotic associations (“patriotiske selskaber”) in the Danish-Norwegian-German unitary state in the period 1769–1814, Danish historian Juliane Engelhardt has captured vital elements in the transformation of the

¹⁵ Rogers Brubaker, *Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1992), 21.

¹⁶ Norwegian Citizenship Act of 21 April 1888.

¹⁷ For a discussion on citizenship rights in Norway, see Einar Niemi, “Del I: 1814–1860,” in *Norsk innvandringshistorie: Bind 2. Nasjonalstatens tid 1814–1940*, ed. Einar Niemi, Jan Eivind Myhre and Knut Kjeldstadli (Oslo: Pax Forlag, 2003) and Jan Eivind Myhre, “Del II: 1860–1901,” in the same. Niemi (pp. 12ff. and especially p. 17) and Myhre (p. 204f.) show here that before the Citizenship Act of 1888 entered into force, citizenship rights were in practice liberally granted after three years of residence in the country (two years after 1863). To be able to vote or hold public office, there was also a requirement to swear an oath to the Constitution.

¹⁸ Henrik Steenbuch, *Bemærkninger over Norges Grundlov af 4de November 1814* (Trondhjem, 1815), 138ff. On page 90, in relation to Article 50 on the right to vote, he concludes that the Constitution’s terms “citizen” (“borger”) and “subject” (“undersått”) have to be understood in the same way: “What is necessary to be called a Norwegian Citizen is not precisely determined anywhere in the Constitution. By comparing each instance of this term in the Constitution, particularly § 92, it seems quite clear that Norwegian Citizen and Norwegian Subject are understood as one and the same.” From page 138 he enters into an in-depth discussion of what is meant by citizen and subject in relation to § 92. (“Til Embeder i Staten maa allene udnævnes de Norske Borgere.” [“Only Norwegian Citizens can be appointed to public offices.”]) He nuances between subject in “the very broadest sense” and subject understood as “the genuine Members of the State,” in which the latter is to be understood as synonymous with citizen.

concept of the citizen.¹⁹ She also points out that the concept shifted in meaning during this period, going from being understood as burghers subject to formal admission criteria to a term for a kind of citizenship defined by less formal indicators such as culture (“dannelse” in Danish, corresponding to the German “Bildung”), education and proper conduct. Citizenship thus became a fellowship based upon certain shared values. According to Engelhardt, this made the boundaries between citizens and non-citizens both less visible and more fluid.²⁰

Among these associations, Engelhardt identified three components in their understanding of patriotism: economic liberalism, the importance of Bildung and the emphasis on a civil rights mentality. Among other things, the latter was an idea of equality in which all members of the state would be treated as citizens with a claim to civil rights. But this was not just a demand on the state. Citizenship was also a question of how one became a good citizen and a good patriot. Here, commitment to the progress and welfare of society – that is, a requirement to be of benefit to the whole and to the fatherland – was central.²¹ According to Engelhardt, the fatherland was primarily understood as the state, and not the individual nations within the Oldenburg unitary state. This ideal of a citizen emphasised that one ought to be productive and put the interests of society before self-interest. Engelhardt perceives this as a criticism both upwards and downwards in the social hierarchy: downwards to the alleged indolence and ignorance of the peasantry; upwards to the luxury and indulgence of the nobility.

This was consistent with Rousseau's claims that individuals who did not feel a deep affection for law and justice, and who were unwilling to sacrifice their lives out of duty if the need arose, were incompetent as members of society.²² Since these persons could not be considered faithful subjects or good citizens, Rousseau believed it legitimate to expel them from the state. At the same time this is also reminiscent of anti-aristocratic (and anti-Jewish) criticism discussed in Chapter Three and the call for the moral regeneration of the aristocracy.

19 Juliane Engelhardt, “Borgerskab og fællesskab: De patriotiske selskaber i den danske helstat 1769–1814,” (Danish) *Historisk Tidsskrift*, vol. 106, no. 1 (2006). She investigated 38 associations in Denmark, 19 in Norway and six in Schleswig and Holstein. The article elaborates on her PhD dissertation, which was published as a book in 2010: Juliane Engelhardt, *Borgerskab og fællesskab: De patriotiske selskaber i den danske helstat 1769–1814* (København: Museum Tusulanums forlag, 2010).

20 Engelhardt, “Borgerskab og fællesskab,” 40.

21 Engelhardt, “Borgerskab og fællesskab,” 48.

22 Rousseau, *The Social Contract*, 121. See also the end of Chapter Two in this book.

However, the patriotic associations did not form a platform for attacks on the absolute monarchy. A distinction was made between *form of state* and *form of government* – a crucial distinction, Engelhardt argues.²³ As long as the citizens were free, the form of state (republic, constitutional, absolute etc.) was secondary. And as long as the exercise of government took place in accordance with the will of the people, and the government ensured freedom and justice and stood as guarantor against despotism and arbitrariness, civil rights were safeguarded. A prerequisite for the monarchy to exercise a form of government that reflected the will of the people was that the citizens were allowed to express their will freely.

In this way, the patriotic associations provide insights into how the concept of the citizen changed during the Late Enlightenment. At the same time, their understanding of the citizen shows that the term gained normative substance. This mattered when the dividing line between citizens and non-citizens was to be drawn, and through this who should be included in the nation and who ought to be excluded.

A common definition of citizenship emphasises that citizens have specific rights as equal individuals, formal-legal categories that render them citizens of the state – state citizens. In his classic text, Thomas H. Marshall divided citizenship into three parts. The first concerned civil rights that would protect individual freedoms: freedom of expression, freedom of religion, property rights and legal protections. The second related to the right to play a part in political decision making, while the third applied to the right to partake in social and economic welfare.²⁴

Marshall tied the breakthrough of each of these three elements to their own centuries: the civil to the 18th, the political to the 19th, and the social to the 20th century.²⁵ With the French Revolution, the distinction between active and passive citizens was introduced, corresponding to the distinction between the civil and political elements of Marshall's concept of citizenship. As an active citizen, one had the right to participate in the shaping of the state's politics. Before universal suffrage in practice made active citizens of all adults, the criteria for who was defined as active were not only important, but also relatively unambiguous. It usually depended on gender, age, financial standing – either in terms of being a property owner or being a taxpayer at a certain level – and length of residence in the country. Being perceived as independent was another criterion, which, for

²³ Engelhardt, "Borgerskab og fællesskab," 56 f.

²⁴ Thomas H. Marshall, *Citizenship and social class and other essays* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1950), 10 f.

²⁵ Marshall, *Citizenship*, 14 ff.

example, excluded household members other than the head of household himself.

But if the distinction between active and passive citizens was unambiguous – albeit elastic over time – the distinction between citizens and non-citizens was not as clear-cut. This concerned who could be included in the nation – either passively or actively. Building upon Marshall, American sociologist William Rogers Brubaker has devised an ideal-typical model of state citizenship – that is, for citizenship in a nation-state.²⁶

According to him, citizenship can be defined with emphasis on *equality* (equal rights and obligations for all citizens), *sacrifice* (willingness to die for the state, or to put the state's interests above one's own), *nation-membership* (a cultural community in the form of language and values, and citizenship depending upon membership of a nation), *democratic* (access to the political system), the *unique* (citizen of only one state, one nation) and *consequential* (citizenship of the state must provide advantages ahead of others, such as access to social benefits). This model allows for normative criteria for membership in a national community within a territorial state, and thus for citizenship of the state. It does not suffice to be born within a defined territory, or to have a particular ethnic or cultural origin, or to demonstrate economic independence. A citizen must also have certain moral qualities. Especially relevant is the demand for the willingness to sacrifice, the willingness to put the interests of society before self-interest.

A distinction can therefore be drawn between a legal-political understanding of citizenship and a moral citizenship. A legal-political understanding assigns citizenship according to certain more or less objective criteria (such as birth, origin, or length of residence in the state), while moral citizenship emphasises normative aspects in which being a “good citizen” is a core requirement.²⁷

Being a good citizen was about having certain virtues and certain moral qualities that qualified oneself for citizenship, as Julie Engelhardt also found. In the same vein, Danish historian Michael Bregnsbo has clearly shown how the pulpit played a vital function in conveying moral requirements to the members of civil society.²⁸ Even in the formative phase of the nation-states, it is fruitful to account for a normative understanding of the concept of citizenship, an awareness that moral citizenship defined who was perceived as beneficial to so-

²⁶ William Rogers Brubaker, “Immigration, Citizenship, and the Nation State in France and Germany: A Comparative Historical Analysis,” *International Sociology*, vol. 5, no. 4 (1990): 380 f.

²⁷ See Willem Schenckel, “The Virtualization of Citizenship,” *Critical Sociology* 36 (2–2010): 268, for a more detailed discussion of the term “moral citizenship.”

²⁸ Bregnsbo, *Samfundsorden og statsmagt*.

ciety and, thereby, who could be included in it and who could not. Compulsory confirmation and the prerequisite of confirmation to acquire certain civil rights can be seen in the same light. The Danish-Norwegian confirmation prayer from 1785 reflected a coupling of religion and good citizens of society in its plea for the profession of faith to bless the subjects of the king and the welfare of the country, which “shall flourish through the Diligence and Virtue of pious Citizens.”²⁹ At an early stage, religious affiliation and religious competency thus became legal requirements in order for one’s moral maturity and suitability as a capable citizen of society to be acknowledged.

The distinction between citizen and non-citizen was assessed in particular on the basis of such moral characteristics. Brubaker illustrated how the terms “foreigner” (*étranger*) and “citizen” were used in just such a context during the French Revolution. In 1795, the revolutionary journalist and politician Jean-Lambert Tallien (1767–1820), then at the peak of his powers, asserted that good morals were sufficient grounds to constitute citizenship: “the only foreigners in France are bad citizens.”³⁰ In the same way, we have seen Sieyès label the nobility as foreigners to the nation. Their alleged character as a useless and parasitic corporation was explained by moral degeneration, and only moral regeneration could save them from lasting exclusion from the nation. We have also seen that both Fichte and Norwegian constitutional “father” Falsen defined the good citizen on the basis of a form of moral citizenship. Both set a self-interested and materialistic capitalism up against productivity and the common good, with the former being a moral disqualification for inclusion in the nation.

It was no coincidence that the role of the Jews as potential citizens was discussed from the 1780s, nor was it by chance that when their suitability as citizens was being discussed and considered, it depended precisely upon such ideas about moral citizenship. Until the beginning of the 19th century, Jews were often referred to as belonging to “the Jewish Nation” and from the outset were therefore defined as being set apart from the nation and any role as citizen.

²⁹ Amundsen, “Fromme Borgeres Vindskibelighed,” 245.

³⁰ Vida Azimi, “L’étranger sous la Révolution,” in *La Révolution et l’ordre juridique privé: Rationalité ou scandale?* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1988), 702. Quoted here from Brubaker, *Citizenship and Nationhood*, 47.

An anti-citizenship in the nation

In this context it can be argued that the concept of *anti-citizen* played an important role. Instead of positively defining good morals, anti-citizens were constructed by defining and emphasising the moral qualities that disqualified them from inclusion in the nation. In this way, membership in the nation, and thus the new concept of the citizen, was defined negatively, much in line with Fredrik Barth and later theorists when they have argued that inclusion at the same time required the exclusion of Others.³¹ For this reason, exclusion played an instrumental role in defining the nation and its “genuine” members. Such a line of thinking can be said to have come to light when Bishop of Kristiansand Mathias Sigwardt (1770 – 1840) and Minister of Church Affairs and former founding father at Eidsvoll, Christian Diriks, took the initiative to banish certain Norwegian Quakers in the 1830s, an idea that was not unfamiliar to certain Supreme Court judges either.³² Alleged to be disloyal and untrustworthy, Quakers were not considered morally deserving members of the Norwegian nation by some key figures.

Christhard Hoffmann has shown (see Chapter Four) the long, historical roots such antithetical notions had when it came to Jews, and the widespread role these played – especially in a German context – beginning in the emancipation period. He argues that these antitheses had a central self-defining function. How “Christian faith”, “secular culture”, or “Germanness” ought ultimately to be understood was more difficult to define positively than negatively. By emphasising the negation – the opposite – the positive definition could remain a loose one.³³ Ronald Schechter believes that Jews in France in the late 18th century had the same function. According to him, they functioned as anti-citizens with moral qualities that were understood as typically un-French.³⁴

It has been claimed that perceptions of Jews maintained much of the same function in Scandinavia long after they were accorded full civil rights. Historians Lars M. Andersson and Lars Bjørndal-Lien have both argued that images of Jews were constructed as caricatures of what it meant to be Swedish and Norwegian

³¹ Cf the first chapter in this book.

³² Seierstad, *Kyrkjeleg reformarbeide*, 249. The proposal to deport Norwegian citizens was rejected by the Ministry of Justice, which maintained that Norwegian citizens could not be banished. On the attitudes of the Supreme Court, see Ulvund, “Grundlovens Taushed’,” 398 ff.

³³ Hoffmann, “Das Judentum als Antithese,” 37.

³⁴ Schechter, *Obstinate Hebrews*, 101. See also Chapter Four of this book.

in the two countries' respective satirical press in the early 1900s.³⁵ Historian Kjetil Braut Simonsen has demonstrated the same when it comes to depictions of Jews in Norwegian agrarian newspapers in the 1920s.³⁶ Under the impression of Norway's great reliance on international capitalism for its industrial growth after 1905, anti-international portrayals of the Jew as a financial cosmopolitan were vitalised. After the Russian Revolution, this was supplemented by scare stories about the "Bolshevik Jew."³⁷ In the 1920s, images of such threats were a powerful presence among sections of the public, especially within a nationally oriented agrarian movement and in conservative anti-communist circles.³⁸

Julie Allen also accounts for the need for contrasting opposites in the creation of a Danish national self-understanding, and in the 1850s, according to her, Mormons represented such a foil. Similarly, Jonas Harvard and Yvonne Maria Werner have argued that Jesuits (Harvard) and Catholicism (Werner) served as contrasting images of a citizen ideal and understanding of identity in Sweden's public debates between the mid-1800s and the mid-1950s.³⁹

In different periods, Jews, Mormons, and Jesuits were all portrayed as unpatriotic anti-citizens due to the political and moral qualities with which they were associated. Each was perceived to harbour hostility to all but their own, in addition to engaging in political subversion, separatism and treachery in an attempt to engender despotic theocracy. This also concerned being devoid of patriotism and of "love for the fatherland." On the basis of these claims, they were portrayed as being of no value to the good of society and the state. They put self-interest before the interests of the community, or "the Good of the Whole", which was a dictum until the first part of the 19th century.

Jews, Mormons and Jesuits were consistently portrayed as deceitful and prone to perfidy. They were alleged to act underhandedly and in secret; they often spoke untruthfully and disguised their actual intentions and doctrines; they did not perceive it as wrong to dupe or deceive persons outside their own groups; on the contrary, this could be viewed as meritorious. Failure to use a rec-

35 Lars M. Andersson, *En jude är en jude är en jude: Representationer av "juden" i svensk skämtpress omkring 1900–1930* (Lund: Nordic Academic Press, 2000), 473 ff. and Lien, "...Pressen kan kun."

36 Simonsen, "Den store jødebevægelse," 111.

37 See Johansen, *Oss selv nærmest* and Simonsen, "Den store jødebevægelse."

38 Simonsen, "Den store jødebevægelse" and Snildal, *An anti-semitic slaughter law?*

39 Jonas Harvard, "Catholicism and the Idea of Public Legitimacy in Sweden," in *European Anti-Catholicism in a Comparative and Transnational Perspective*, ed. Yvonne M. Werner and Jonas Harvard. European Studies no. 31 (Amsterdam-New York: Rodopi, 2013); Y.M. Werner, "Den katolske faran': Antikatolicismen och den svenska nationella identiteten i ett nordiskt perspektiv," *Scandia* 81, nr 1 (2016).

ognised Christian oath, or – in the Jesuits' case – the practice of *reservatio mentalis*, provoked allegations that they were untrustworthy in both contractual and legal contexts. All the way up until the 1950s, we have seen that Jesuits were perceived in Norway as opportunistic perjurers and were thus characterised in keeping with anti-citizenship. Former bishop Eivind Berggrav's 1955 reference to Mormons as "pirates" ravaging Norwegian society plays into the same representation. Piracy was hardly compatible with being a good citizen; on the contrary, it almost epitomised lawlessness and the unequivocal outsider.

While the three groups were portrayed as undependable to the nation, their disciplined and boundless loyalty to external powers was accentuated: Jews to an alleged rabbinic and Talmudic tradition, Mormons to the prophet in Utah and his revelations, and Jesuits to the "Black Pope" – the order's general and leader in Rome, ever faithful to the "White Pope." In all this lay a fundamental understanding that a responsible and independent citizen was a prerequisite for a liberal and democratic system of government. In Northern Europe, these were characteristics tied to Protestant citizens. Jews, Mormons and Jesuits were associated with the opposite.

Although the state church lost its monopoly on confession in Norway with the Dissenter Act of 1845, Christian values remained central to the state's policy making. The same can also be said of Sweden and Denmark. In the latter part of the 19th century the bourgeois nuclear family established itself as a dominant ideal, rooted within the framework of a traditional, Christian ethic of society and marriage.⁴⁰ A good citizen was a Christian citizen. The notion in Scandinavia that the society of the state's community of citizens was also a community of faith was a tenacious one, and endured the longest in Norway and Sweden. Little wonder the hegemonic depictions of the Mormons' carnal and indecent morality, closely coupled to orientalist images of polygamy and the harem, were perceived as a threat to the very pillars of society. Mormons became the inverse of what a good and moral citizen was, an image that lasted well into the 1900s in Scandinavia. The same applies to Jesuits in Norway and Sweden until the 1950s and, in many ways, also to Jews up until the interwar period.

This gives grounds to believe that moral citizenship was a key criterion for defining legitimate membership in the nation long after the early phase of the nation-states in Koselleck's saddle period (1750 – 1850), and after the citizenship laws' more explicit definitions of affiliation. It remained important during the rise of nationalism in Europe in the 19th century, and long played a significant role in nation-building processes in Scandinavia. For Norway's part, this applied

⁴⁰ Ulvund, "Til vern og fremme," 29.

when the independent state and the nation were being established and fortified throughout the 1800s, during the Norwegian-Swedish and domestic political tensions in the run-up to the dissolution of the union, and when Norway was to be consolidated as a free-standing nation-state after the union's dissolution in 1905. The resilience and transferability of these notions ought to be viewed, therefore, in light of their enduring functionality to national self-understanding.

Norwegian historian Svein Ivar Angell has analysed the celebration of the 900th anniversary of the Battle of Stiklestad in 1930. The battle was important to the unification of the Norwegian realm in the Middle Ages, thereafter especially in terms of its symbolism. It also represented the introduction of Christianity to the country. With reference to the celebration, Angell has argued that the Norwegian conception of the nation in the interwar period was a fusion of the religious and the national, and that the national therefore assumed a mythic-religious quality.⁴¹ As the inverse of the essence of Norwegianness – as anti-citizens of the Christian Norwegian nation – the representation of the minorities that are discussed in this book contributed precisely to such a religious nationalism. Early in the 19th century the “Jew” and the “Jesuit” contrasted with the trustworthy and self-sacrificing citizen of the Constitution. Mormons contrasted with the Christian citizen of the middle of the same century. In the 20th century the Jesuit contrasted with the Protestant citizen. Norwegian society after 1814 was soon represented as one of freedom and democracy, with the Constitution and Protestantism as guarantors of both. On the other hand, first Judaism and Jesuitism and later Mormonism and Jesuitism represented despotism and the moral dissolution of society. The same can be said of the prevailing notions of the cosmopolitan “Bolshevik Jew” in the 20th century. As such, these groups were also represented as threats to a liberal, democratic Norwegian society.

Transnational abstractions

As anti-citizens, Jews, Mormons and Jesuits were abstractions in the Norwegian context. Both Jews and Jesuits were excluded during the periods in which they are discussed here, and although there were certain cases of Jews and Jesuits visiting the country illegally, Norwegian experience of them was extremely limited. Even when anti-internationalism, anti-modernism and anti-communism helped to bring antisemitic notions back to life in the first part of the 20th century,

⁴¹ Angell, *Frå splid til nasjonal integrasjon*, 95.

this was based on ideas of an abstract cosmopolitan Judaism, not on experiences with resident Scandinavian Jews.⁴²

Mormons were definitely tangible and present from the 1850s onwards, but the notions of them – and not least descriptions of their theocratic ambitions, violent conflicts, and indecent polygamy – built upon American narratives. It was in the United States that Mormonism was perceived to pose a real moral and political problem in its conflicts with the US federal government. Thus, Norwegian and Swedish notions were based on abstract Mormons and abstract Mormonism, although the missionaries were real. We have seen that this also applied in Denmark and was taken into account to explain how a Mormon could be elected to the Danish National Assembly in 1906, despite the continued suspicion of Mormonism's activities in the United States.

The dominant notions of these groups in Norway were therefore products of their own national experience only to a slight degree; rather, they were the consequences of the transnational circulation of stereotypes and clichés that, to some extent, had taken on a form of universal historical validity. The images of these groups were established as transnational abstractions, abstractions that for the Mormon's part obviously resonated with a master narrative fuelled by present representations of Jesuits, and especially of Jews. Much the same can also be said of Sweden and, in part, of Denmark too.

The images of these groups were passed on along different circuits, to use a concept from Pierre-Yves Saunier's theoretical discussion in *Transnational History*.⁴³ Anti-Jewish notions were disseminated on the continent and were conveyed through writings and debates, with or without the assistance of the state powers. Scandinavian stakeholders were also connected to this circuit and helped to channel notions towards a Norwegian, Swedish and Danish public.⁴⁴ To a great extent, this was a collective Scandinavian public.

Commercial networks had similar functions. Both before and after the constitutional ban on Jews, for example, they could link Norwegian trade interests to Jewish networks without necessarily activating anti-Jewish stereotypes. At the same time, however, notions that characterised commercially oriented urban societies and regions could be disseminated along trade routes. An example of such sociocultural exchange was the close social and economic contact between some Norwegian cities and important Hanseatic centres such as Hamburg and Bremen. Anti-Jewish attitudes were explicit in German Hanseatic cities, with

⁴² Lien, “...*Pressen kan kun*,” 83 ff.

⁴³ Saunier, *Transnational History*, 58 ff.

⁴⁴ See for example Harket, *Paragrafen* and Harket and D'Aprile, “Constitutional Discourse.”

an exclusionary policy towards them well into the 19th century, not least during and after Napoleon's German hegemony.⁴⁵ Around 1814, Bishop of Bergen Johan Nordahl Brun (1745–1816) asserted that the west coast city – which in earlier centuries had been a Hanseatic Office (Kontor) – was still characterised by a Hanseatic habitus, and as such was incorporated into a common North German-Bergen cultural sphere. This may help in explaining why there was many a distrustful eye on possible Jews in Bergen during the first years that the Constitution was in effect, even though the suspicious merchants might not have had intimate knowledge of the anti-Jewish literature flourishing in intellectual circles at the time.⁴⁶

Scandinavia was a vital mission field for the Mormon Church, and the turbulent encounters between Mormons and Lutheran majority societies in the different countries bore many similarities. Scandinavia's own circulation of anti-Mormon notions also sprouted forth, and as we have seen, those involved participated across national borders. Julie Ingerøe's and Andreas Mortensen's cautionary tales, for example, were translated and read in neighbouring countries and were accompanied by many others, both before and after.

This led to common anti-Mormon representations that became hegemonic in the long term throughout the Nordic region. It was in Denmark that these notions were challenged and nuanced earliest, yet in the early 1900s a Danish newspaper was still able to convey this description of Mormonism: "Bring Paganism, Judaism, Muhammadanism, Jesuitism, Protestantism and Devilry together, mix it well, and you get Mormonism."⁴⁷ The newspaper further elaborated: "It takes its Gods from Paganism, its Priesthood from Judaism, its Polygamy for Time and Eternity from Muhammedanism, its Unscrupulousness from Jesuitism, its few Elements of Truth from Protestantism – and its Politics from the Devil him-

45 Ulvund, *Fridomens grenser 1814–1851*, 159 ff. and Frode Ulvund, "The Practise of Exclusion: How Article 2 in the Norwegian Constitution was Administered and Enforced between 1814 and 1851," in *The Exclusion of Jews in the Norwegian Constitution of 1814: Origins – Contexts – Consequences*, ed. Christhard Hoffmann (Berlin: Metropol Verlag, 2016), 152 ff.

46 Ulvund, *Fridomens grenser 1814–1851*, 111 ff. An investigation into correspondence between the Bergen trading houses Harmens and Janson shows that even though their networks were geographically enlarged towards the end of the 18th century, they maintained good contacts, in Bremen and Hamburg especially, around 1800. Michael Allan Jall, "*Mine Herrer og Venner*": *Handelsnettverk i Bergen ca. 1750–1801* (MA thesis, University of Bergen, 2016).

47 *Aalborg Amtstidende*, 30 September, 1903. The newspaper was referring here to what a university college pastor in Zealand had written in the newspaper *Venstres Folkeblad* when Mormon priests had arrived in the area. According to the pastor, assertions about the Mormons were provided by an American priest.

self.”⁴⁸ With the exception of Protestantism, all these foreign religions and isms were bound together and represented as negative and dangerous to society. By taking something of what was implied to be the worst and most dangerous from all these groups, Mormonism was also portrayed as an express peril – and its followers as singularly unsuitable citizens. It was not dissimilar to the view in *Morgenbladet* half a century earlier that was cited at the introduction to this book. This substantiates a picture of these notions' timeless circulation within and across national borders.

In the 1920s, the fight against Catholicism was similarly framed by discussions and notions in transnational networks and organisations. In Chapter Six we saw how anti-Catholicism and Jesuit stereotypes circulated among a Swedish-Norwegian public, where, among other things, meetings of Nordic bishops and priests became organised points of convergence. This was most evident with the founding of the Protestant action group *Internationaler Verband zur Verteidigung des Protestantismus* (International Protestant League) in Berlin in 1923. Here the Swedish Priests Association and Swedish Lutherans played a particularly important role in establishing the organisation. Although the Norwegian Association of Priests only became a member in the 1930s, it had a vital part to play in circulating notions of Catholicism within a larger Northern European Protestant public.

It can thus be argued that transnational processes have contributed significantly to the construction of national self-images. In this transnational flow, Scandinavia has primarily been a region receiving notions that originated beyond the borders of the Scandinavian countries.

At the same time, Judaism, Mormonism and Catholicism were all largely international phenomena and they established their own transnational circuits that conveyed self-representations in opposition to the locally hegemonic ones. Mormons and Jesuits – who both conducted extensive missionary activities – thus challenged the notions of the majority society through their own counter-representations, often disseminated in their own circles. At times, these have obviously been highly effective. Conversions to Mormonism show that they were able to generate effective counter-images, especially among lower social strata in cities, while Catholics in the early 1900s seem to have been able to do the same, especially among an intellectual elite. One example of this is the Norwegian author Sigrid Undset (1882–1949), who converted to Catholicism in 1924, four years before she was awarded the Nobel Prize in Literature.

⁴⁸ *Aalborg Amtstidende*, 30 September 1903.

Timeless notions

As religious minorities have gradually become tolerated and for the most part included in the nation, notions of them as moral and political threats to the nation – as anti-citizens and enemies of society – have faded among key social stakeholders and, in retrospect, subsequently assumed the character of classic moral panic. On 4 May 1964, when the Norwegian Storting positively codified religious freedom in Article 2 of the Constitution, symbolically 150 years to the day after the National Assembly in Eidsvoll originally adopted the paragraph, it occurred in the wake of a unanimous resolution. During the debate, no one argued that the free exercise of religion could have negative or dangerous aspects, be they religious or political.⁴⁹ From the 1960s, the social-moral and political peril that had at one time been attributed to religious minorities and groups, and the concomitant disqualification of them as citizens of the nation, was no longer perceived to exist in either Norway or Sweden – or, at least, the danger was no longer articulated. This was common to clerical-theological circles, political institutions and parties, and the debating public.

But even though the strong aversion to these groups waned and they can be said to have been included in the nation, the notions on which the charges were based did not vanish. When they arrived in Scandinavia in the 1850s, Mormons took over many of the representations of the Jews. In the early 1900s Jews made a return as anti-citizens, not only among a marginalised and populist public, but – at least in Norway's case – also among important conservative media and certain intellectuals. In Sweden and Norway from the 1920s onwards, Jesuits especially were represented as politically and morally dangerous among a political and clerical-theological public. In Norway, a parliamentary majority even confirmed their constitutional exclusion in 1925. Notions of a Jewish threat no longer formed a legitimate basis for an exclusionary policy after its repeal by parliament in 1851. It was never a political issue.⁵⁰ Such conceptions no longer framed a common understanding of reality among leading politico-religious actors. Mormons were denied visas for a period after World War I, but attempts to combat them through special legislation collapsed in political terms. By way of contrast, the political system ranged heavily against the proposal to repeal the ban on Jes-

⁴⁹ *Stortingsforhandlingar*. Del. 7c. Stortingstidende (1963/1964), 2899 ff. [Records of the Proceedings of the Norwegian Parliament (Storting). Part 7c. Parliamentary debate (1963/64)].

⁵⁰ An exception was of course the Quisling-government's reintroduction of the Jewish exclusion in the Constitution during nazi occupation in 1942, but as an illegitimate government, this amendment is not considered a valid constitutional amendment.

uits in the 1920s. After the turn of the century, it was therefore notions of Jesuits that had the greatest impact on practical politics.

But the notions about the various groups shared much in common, and they can be said to have been both vivid and timeless. Both the notions and the accusations that accompanied them could be mobilised and projected as new “enemies of society” were revived and rendered current for a variety of reasons. Even long after the formative phase of the nation-states early in the 1800s, they shaped national self-understandings in Scandinavia by representing anti-citizenship in the nation – a caricature of what it meant to be Norwegian, Swedish and Danish.

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