
“No More Strangers and Foreigners”: The Dual Focus of the LDS Church Language Program for Scandinavian Immigrants, 1850–1935

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Throughout its history The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints has employed various means to cope with the challenges connected with linguistic plurality. When Mormon converts have left their native lands to gather with the main body of Saints in America, language differences have often impeded their attempts to unite with the larger Church community. This paper examines the LDS Church’s language policy and programs associated with the first major group of minority language speakers to join the main body of the Latter-day Saints—the Scandinavian immigrants who came to Utah between 1850 and 1935. This examination of LDS Church language policies

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and programs developed for the early Scandinavian immigrants may allow contemporary questions regarding the language challenges faced by immigrant converts, as well as the Church's policy toward them, to be seen in a clearer light.¹

Based on historical evidence, it is apparent that the Church's policy has had a dual focus. The first, assimilative in nature, has been on the importance of learning English, the language of the majority. In the Book of Mormon, we find an example of the ancient Church dealing with a similar linguistic challenge when the people of Nephi, led by King Mosiah, discovered the people of Zarahemla, whose "language had become corrupted." To help unify the people, King Mosiah "caused that [the people of Zarahemla] should be taught in his language" (Omni 1:17–18). In contrast, the second focus has been pluralistic yet transitional in nature, allowing minority language speakers to continue using their native tongues in order to cushion their integration into the new environment as they become "no more strangers and foreigners, but fellow citizens in the Kingdom of God" (Eph. 2:19).

In investigating the Church's language policy regarding Scandinavian immigrants to Utah in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, this article first provides a historical overview of the demographics of the migration, followed by a discussion of the Church's support for the Scandinavians' acquisition of English. It concludes with an examination of the actions and policies regarding the Church's tolerant stance toward native-tongue maintenance.

Historical Demographics

In 1850, only thirty-five Scandinavians lived in Utah, making up a scant 0.31 percent of the entire population. During the half century between 1850 and 1905, however, more than 46,000 Scandinavians² converted to the LDS Church as a result of proselytizing activities in Sweden Norway, and Denmark.³ By 1860, the number of Danes in Utah increased to 1,824, accounting for 4.53 percent of the territory's population.⁴ Two decades later, in 1880, Scandinavians made up 8.86 percent of Utah's population. Heeding Church leaders' counsel to gather to Zion in Utah, 25,850 Scandinavians migrated to Utah between 1851 and 1926. Of this total, 13,910 (54 percent) were Danes, 8,503 (33 percent) Swedes, and 3,437 (13 percent) Norwegians (see Fig. 1).⁵

When these Scandinavian immigrants arrived in Utah, they usually went to one of three general areas—Sanpete and Sevier Counties to the south, Cache and Box Elder Counties to the north, and the Salt Lake and Utah County area.⁶ One of the reasons immigrants congregated in these places was because they were actually assigned to settle in certain communities.⁷ This practice set a

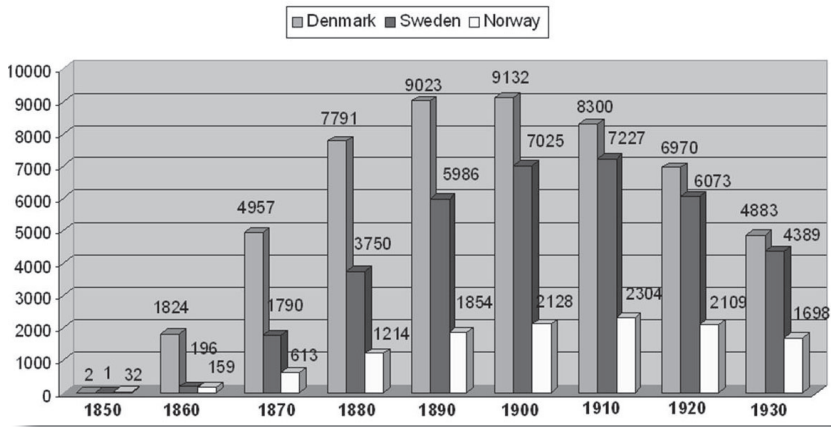


Fig. 1. Utah's Scandinavian population, 1850–1930. Source: “Utah's Foreign-Born Population, 1850–1990,” in Allen Kent Powell, ed., *Utah History Encyclopedia* (Salt Lake City, UT: University of Utah Press, 1994), 272–73. Graphic by Jacob Huckaby.

pattern for Scandinavian migration that later immigrants continued to follow even after Brigham Young's death in 1877, when they were no longer assigned to specific communities. Most followed a classic “chain migration” pattern by choosing to settle in areas populated by those of their same ethnic background, and to be with friends and family members. They naturally went to where they could communicate in a familiar language and interact with those who shared their cultural background.⁸ Consequently, census figures for 1890 show the heaviest concentration of Scandinavians in Utah in Sanpete, Salt Lake, and Cache Counties (see Figs. 2 and 3 for total numbers and percentages). In later decades, however, many Scandinavians moved back to Salt Lake County whence they had been sent before.⁹

Although a large percentage of present-day Utahns descend from these Scandinavian pioneers, they are far removed from the linguistic struggles of their immigrant ancestors. In fact, many believe that soon after their ancestors arrived, they quickly abandoned their native languages and began to speak English (albeit with a Scandinavian accent). The reality, in fact, was just the opposite. Following a long-standing Danish cultural pattern and being eager to adopt the customs and language of their new land and religion,¹⁰ some Scandinavian Saints did abandon their language quickly—or at least they tried to—but many found giving up their native language and culture difficult.¹¹

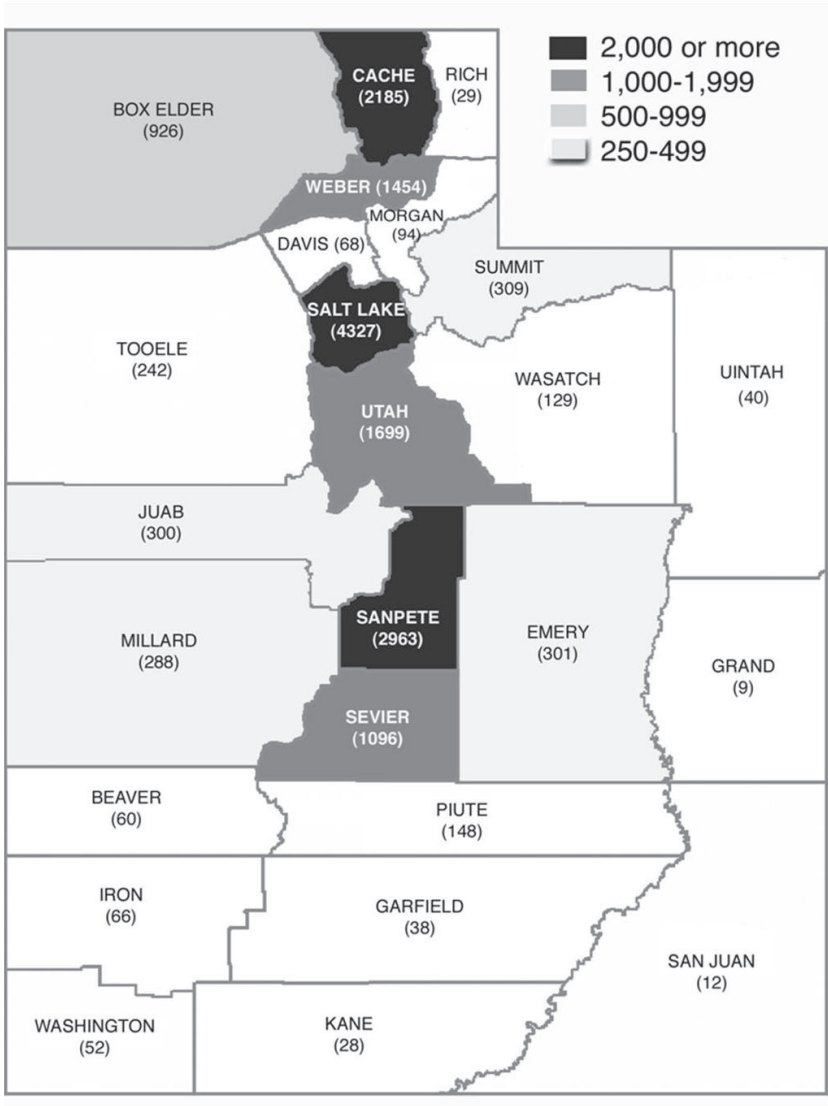


Fig. 2. County population totals of Utah residents born in Denmark, Norway, or Sweden, 1890 U.S. Federal Census. Source: Compiled County-Level statistics from Historical Census Browser with Utah/County-level results for 1890, Geospatial & Statistical Data Center, University of Virginia, see <http://fisher.lib.virginia.edu/collections/stats/histcensus/php/county.php>. Map by Lynn E. Henrichsen and George Bailey.

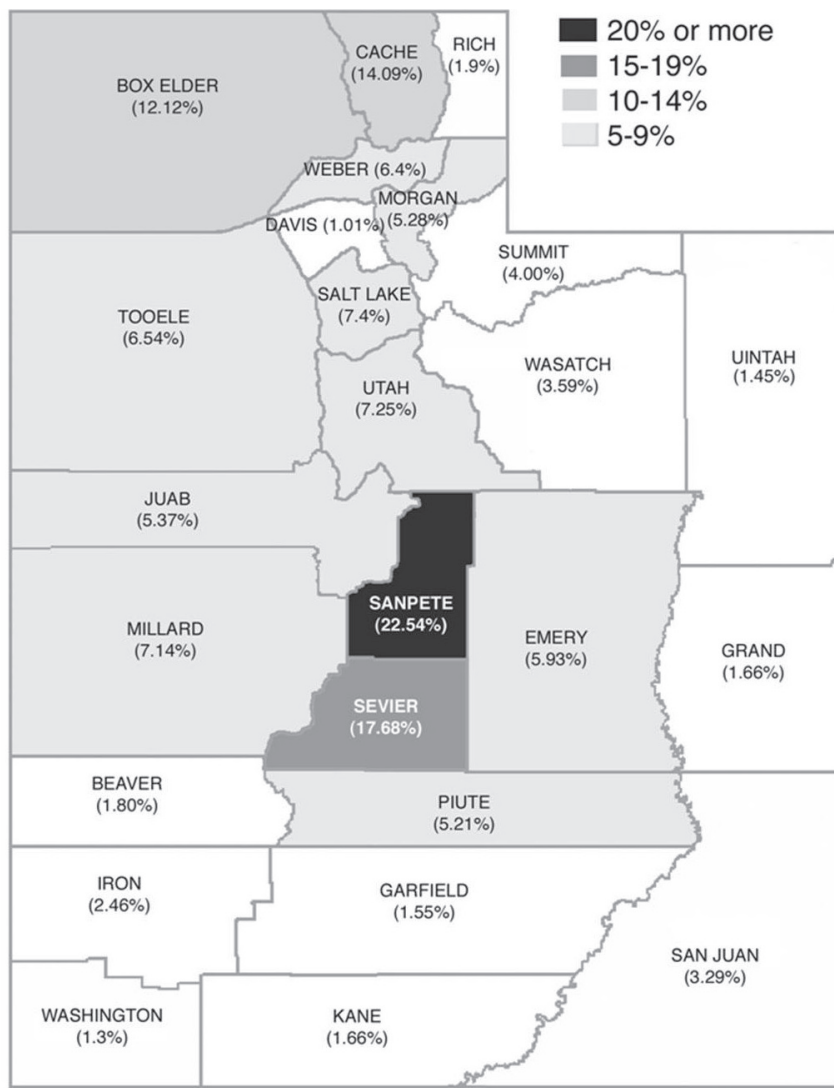


Fig. 3. Percentages of Utah residents born in Denmark, Norway, or Sweden, 1890 U. S. Federal Census. Source: Compiled County-Level statistics from Historical Census Browser with Utah/County-level results for 1890, Geospatial & Statistical Data Center, University of Virginia, see <http://fisher.lib.virginia.edu/collections/stats/histcensus/php/county.php>. Map by Lynn E. Henrichsen and George Bailey.

Church Language Policy, Focus One—Encouraging English Language Acquisition

A recurring sentiment from Church leaders on the subject of language has been that “the great purpose of the Latter-day Saints in religious, civil, social, and domestic affairs cannot be carried out effectively without a general medium or language by which members can communicate.”¹² Consequently, as Scandinavian immigrants trudged into the Salt Lake Valley after their long journey, they were met by another difficult challenge—learning the English language. The normal difficulties faced by all immigrants—transplanting themselves into an unfamiliar environment with a new language and culture—were amplified for Mormon immigrants because practicing their religion involved interaction with fellow Church members, the majority of whom spoke English.

Because The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints originated in America, the English language naturally had special status, and LDS Church leaders encouraged English language acquisition by immigrants. As Brigham Young declared, English was the “language of God, the language of the Book of Mormon, the language of the Latter Days.”¹³ The fact that a religion would accord a language special status is not new. Sociolinguists Michael G. Clyne and Sandra Kipp note that “some religious groups regard a particular language as central to the practice of their faith.”¹⁴ The eminent sociolinguist Joshua A. Fishman explains that certain languages are “particularly related to the practice and continuance of religious ritual,”¹⁵ such as, until recently, “Latin Mass in the Roman Catholic Church.”¹⁶ Fishman gives four well known examples of what he terms “religious classicals,” namely, “Hebrew, Aramaic/Syriac, Greek, and Arabic, as the languages of the Old Testament, Jesus, the New Testament, and the Koran respectively.” Within their respective religions, these languages enjoy a “special status and authenticity, for in each case it is the language of God.”¹⁷

In nineteenth century Utah, English enjoyed a similar status in Latter-day Saint communities, and Church leaders, speaking from the pulpit, encouraged members to study English and grammar. For instance, in 1859, Orson Hyde delivered a discourse in the Salt Lake Tabernacle on the importance of mastering English grammar.¹⁸ In addition, Latter-day Saint values that emphasized obedience, unity, and participation all created a desire on the part of Church members (especially the immigrant converts) to master the English language. In light of this doctrinal and sociolinguistic background, statements by nineteenth century Church leaders to immigrants on the importance of learning English become clearer.

William Dixon, an author and traveler in the West, reported hearing a speech given by Brigham Young to newly arrived immigrants in which Young said the following:

Brothers and sisters in the Lord Jesus Christ, . . . you have been chosen from the world by God, and sent through His grace into this valley of the mountains, to help in building up His kingdom. You are faint and weary from your march. Rest, then, for a day, for a second day, should you need it; then rise up, and see how you will live. Don't bother yourselves much about your religious duties; you have been chosen for this work, and God will take care of you in it. Be of good cheer. Look about this valley into which you have been called. Your first duty is to learn how to grow a cabbage, and along with this cabbage an onion, a tomato, a sweet potato; then how to feed a pig, to build a house, to plant a garden, to rear cattle, and to bake bread; in one word, your first duty is to live. The next duty,—for those who, being Danes, French, and Swiss, cannot speak it now—is to learn English; the language of God, the language of the Book of Mormon, the language of the Latter Days. These things you must do first; the rest will be added to you in proper seasons. God bless you; and the peace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you.¹⁹

Thus, from the Church's early days in Utah, leaders emphasized the acquisition of English by foreign-born converts as a top priority—just below physical survival. Church leaders repeated this counsel regularly. In 1868 George A. Smith, speaking in the Salt Lake Tabernacle, said the following:

It appears that God in His divine wisdom revealed the gospel in the English language, which is the native tongue of the majority of the Saints, probably more than half of them having acquired it in America, and a large portion of the remainder in the old world. It is very desirable that all of our brethren who are not acquainted with the English language should learn it. We do not wish to blot out the original languages that they may have spoken but we want them all—men and woman, old and young—to learn the English language so perfectly that they will be able to thoroughly understand for themselves the teachings and instructions and the published works of the Church, as well as the laws of the country. . . . We hope the bishops and teachers will make every reasonable exertion to stir up the minds of the brethren and sisters who do not thoroughly understand English to the importance of this counsel.²⁰

Again, in 1903, in response to nationalistic grumblings in the Swedish community, the Church issued a clear statement on its acculturation policy: "The counsel of the Church to all Saints of foreign birth who come here is that they should learn to speak English as soon as possible, adopt the manners and customs of the American people, fit themselves to become good and loyal citizens of this country, and by their good works show that they are true and faithful Latter-day Saints."²¹

From these statements, one notes that the counsel by Church leaders to acquire English arose not from the expectation that the immigrants would completely abandon their language and culture, but help them become respon-

sible citizens and internalize the teachings of the Restored gospel. Learning English was merely the first step toward those ends. Over the years, various programs were developed in Utah and in Scandinavia to help the immigrants achieve these objectives. These programs consisted of the following: (1) participation in English classes (both in Scandinavia and in Utah), (2) efforts by Church leaders to reform English orthography to make English acquisition easier for immigrants; and (3) emphasis on cross-cultural interaction and acceptance of all minorities within the Church community, and promotion of the values of unity and equality among the different nationalities and languages. To be sure, much of the impetus behind English language acquisition by Scandinavian immigrants was not simply due to Church policy. Much can also be attributed to the desires of the immigrant themselves to adapt to the nature of the homogenous religious communities in which they lived.

English Language Acquisition among Latter-day Saints in Scandinavia

Many Scandinavian converts to the LDS faith naturally desired to learn the English language to deepen their spiritual and physical integration into the Church. In addition, as they prepared to gather to the Intermountain West, they were driven by the knowledge that they would soon leave their native land and language behind to join the main English-speaking body of Saints. Pursuant to these expectations, English classes were established in Scandinavia. Mormon missionaries were often the founders and teachers of the classes. In addition, members often received callings to be English teachers, as the minutes from this 1859 Danish meeting attest: "In a district meeting held Sunday March 6 in Hjørring, Lars Chr Pedersen was ordained an elder, released from his calling as an English teacher, and allowed to emigrate. Principal Jens Møller Haügaard Børglum from the Harritslev Branch was appointed to teach the saints the English language in the same branch."²² A youthful Anthon H. Lund, who would later become a counselor in the Church's First Presidency in Utah, frequently taught English classes. The classes were typically held in members' homes on weekday evenings and Sunday mornings before Church meetings.²³ Some studied on their own, as Niels Nielsen's journal attests: "I lived partly at home and partly in Copenhagen. I practiced the English language."²⁴

As a teenager, John August Olsen, an LDS convert from Kristiania (renamed Oslo in 1924), Norway, attended English classes there. "For several years I attended an English school taught by R. Johansen, Geo. M. Brown, and C. C. A. Christensen in which I learned to read English rather well. Also, I received a dictionary in the English and Danish language from R. Johnson for my diligence in reading."²⁵ After immigrating to Utah, Olsen was called

back to Scandinavia as a missionary, where he taught English classes several times a week. His classes were quite popular. One class, consisting of Danes, Norwegians, and Swedes, had "about 75 pupils in attendance."²⁶

Hector C. Haight, an important figure in the establishment of English classes in Scandinavia, was not Scandinavian. He had converted to the LDS Church in the United States and was sent on a mission to Great Britain. While there he was called to be mission president over Scandinavia. During his presidency, he actively promoted the establishment of the English classes. "In the [course] of this week," he wrote, "we have established English schools in the several districts of the Copenhagen Branch so that the Saints can learn . . . English."²⁷ While conducting his own self-study program to learn Danish, Haight privately tutored a number of Danish Saints in English language lessons.²⁸

To assist the Scandinavian Saints in their English language acquisition, President Haight, with the assistance of some Danish members, prepared and published *Reading Exercises in the English Language for Newbeginners, Læseøvelser i det engelske Sprog for Begyndere* in 1857.²⁹ The ninety-four page book included English vocabulary lists organized into such categories as the days of the week, religion, kindred, weather, parts of the body, clothes, "victuals," kitchen utensils, and animals. It also included an English-Danish dictionary organized alphabetically and by parts of speech. The latter part of the book contained reading passages printed in Danish and English in side-by-side columns, and later in English only. The book ended with the words of the hymn "Dear Zion!"

Oh Zion! dear Zion!
Far o'er the sea,
Mine own mountain home,
Soon to thee will I come,
For my fond hopes are centered in thee.

Some reading passages in the book gave instructions on how to make the trek to Utah. In this way, the Scandinavian Saints learned the English terms that they would need to know to buy wagons, purchase supplies, and make their way to Utah. In short, for new converts, learning English and gathering to Zion were inextricably intertwined. Even the *Skandinavien Stjerne* [*Scandinavian Star*], the official Scandinavian mission newspaper, included in one issue directions and instructions in both Danish and English on how to travel to Utah.

English Classes in Utah

Such eagerness in learning the English language naturally led to the continuation of English classes for the Scandinavian Saints after they relocated in Utah. For example, George A. Smith remarked in 1869:

There are many persons come into the Territory who do not speak the English language. I think more institutions should be got up in all the neighborhoods to encourage the learning of our tongue. I know young people generally learn it pretty quickly; but as the laws and most of the public speeches are made in the English language, it is important even in Welsh, Danish, Swedish, Norwegian, German and French settlements, that the language in which law and justice are administered, and in which public meetings are generally conducted, should be well and properly understood.³⁰

In many communities, the English learning effort seems to have been led by Scandinavians themselves, with strong encouragement from the Church. Peter O. Hansen, the translator of the Book of Mormon into Danish and one of the first LDS missionaries to Denmark, was one of these early English teachers. Beginning in the late 1850s, he helped his fellow Scandinavians learn the English language as he traveled “during the winter to Ft. Ephraim...had two English schools and returned home. . . . [He] had also a school in Manti.”³¹ C. C. A. Christensen, a famous Scandinavian folk artist in Utah, also helped teach English classes. As he recorded in his correspondence, his involvement in these nightly English grammar classes and other activities with the Scandinavian Saints left him “little spare time.”³² Christian Nielsen, a Dane in the heavily Scandinavian-populated Sanpete County, mentions an English class that his son Fritz organized for his fellow Danes:

Vi maa nu lære det engelske Sprog, som falder lidt besværligt for de Ældre; Børn lære det strax. De fleste af de danske Børn og unge Folk tale temmelig godt Engelsk og Indiansk [*sic*]. *Fritz holder engelsk Skole for nogle Danske* . . . Vi kan begynde at tale lidt af begge Slags, vores Børn taler bestandig Engelsk eller Indisk.

[We must now learn the English language, which is a bit difficult for the elderly; children learn it right away. Most of the Danish children and youth speak English and Indian rather well. *Fritz is organizing an English school for some of the Danes*. . . . We are beginning to speak a little bit of both languages. Our children constantly speak English or Indian.]³³

Precisely how many people like Peter O. Hansen and C. C. A. Christensen taught English classes is not known. Official records of such classes were not commonly kept, but these classes are frequently mentioned in immigrants' journals. A more thorough investigation of the journals of Scandinavian immigrants would possibly reveal the widespread nature of such classes in the

daily life of immigrants. It is clear from these examples, however, that English classes were popular among the immigrants.

The Deseret Alphabet

In contrast to these grassroots efforts, a noteworthy top-down effort to help the immigrant converts with their acquisition of English originated at Church headquarters in Salt Lake City. For various reasons, among which was the difficulty immigrant-converts had with English acquisition, Brigham Young and other Church authorities became highly interested in English orthographic (writing system) reform. The inconsistency of English spelling was certainly one factor that made learning the language more difficult for non-native speakers. Allegedly, one of the things that made Brigham Young concerned about this difficulty was that he had heard his daughter teaching a young Danish girl to read. The Danish girl read the word *throw* as in *to throw a ball* and pronounced it *throw*, like *cow*. When his daughter corrected the Danish girl and said *throw* had a long *o* sound as in *go*, the Danish girl then asked why it wasn't spelled *t-h-r-o* instead of *t-h-r-o-w*. Supposedly, this experience was one impetus for Brigham Young's campaign to reform English orthography.³⁴

Not long afterward, Brigham Young proposed an entirely new phonetic system for writing English—the Deseret Alphabet—as the solution to this English orthography problem (see Fig. 4). The alphabet itself was developed mostly by George D. Watt, who was not only the first person baptized into the Church in England and Brigham Young's secretary, but also a former student of Sir Isaac Pitman, the famous linguistic scholar who had created Pitman shorthand for the purpose of making writing in English a faster process.³⁵ Pitman also developed and promoted "phonotypy," a phonetic alphabet for English. After coming to Utah, Watt, with the

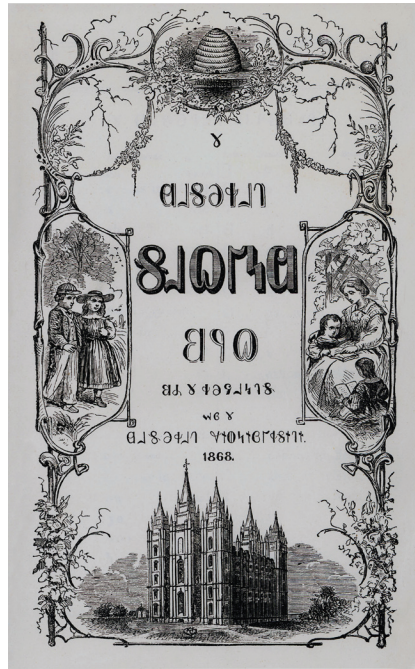


Fig. 4. Cover of *The Deseret Second Book* (1868).

help of Parley P. Pratt and Heber C. Kimball, used the principles of Pitman shorthand and the Pitman English Phonotypic Alphabet of 1847 as the linguistic basis for the Deseret Alphabet.³⁶

The Deseret Alphabet was not created exclusively for non-English-speaking immigrants, of course. The simplification of the complex and inconsistent English orthographic system was meant to help all users of the English language.³⁷ In fact, over the years, various writers have postulated a number of reasons for the alphabet's creation and promotion.³⁸ Nevertheless, Brigham Young clearly had non-English-speaking immigrants in mind when he developed and promoted the Deseret Alphabet:

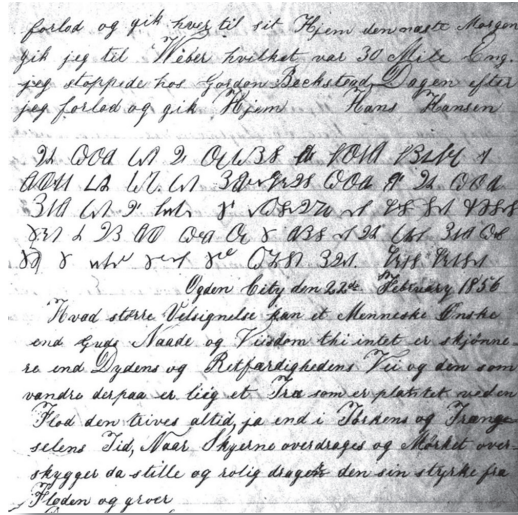
The advantages of this alphabet will soon be realized, especially by foreigners. Brethren who come here knowing nothing of the English language will find its acquisition greatly facilitated by means of this alphabet, by which all the sounds of the language can be represented and expressed with the greatest ease. As this is the grand difficulty foreigners experience in learning the English language, they will find a knowledge of this alphabet will greatly facilitate their efforts in acquiring at least a partial English education. It will also be very advantageous to our children. It will be the means of introducing uniformity in our orthography, and the years that are now required to learn to read and spell can be devoted to other studies.³⁹

An 1854 editorial in the *Deseret News* noted the English-language acquisition-enhancing properties of the Deseret Alphabet while applauding its consistent phonetic nature: "By this means, strangers can not only acquire a knowledge of our language much more readily, but a practiced reporter can also report a strange tongue so that the strange language when spoken can be legible by one conversant with the tongue."⁴⁰

Although the Deseret Alphabet's foreign-looking symbols caused many people who were accustomed to the traditional Roman alphabet to resist using the new system, the Deseret Alphabet was used in some English classes organized for Scandinavians. One Scandinavian immigrant, O. N. Liljenqvist, wrote a letter published in an issue of *Skandinaviens Stjerne*: "Her findes to Skoler foruden en Søndagsskole og en Aftenskole, i hvilken vi øve os i at læse og skrive Deseret Alphabet." ["We have two schools here in addition to a Sunday school and an evening school where we practice reading and writing the Deseret Alphabet."⁴¹ At least one Scandinavian Latter-day Saint, Hans Frederick Hansen, wrote part of his journal in the Deseret Alphabet (see Fig. 5).⁴²

Despite the noble intentions and substantial support behind it, the Deseret Alphabet was never widely used, and it was quickly abandoned after Brigham Young's death in 1877. Nevertheless, its inception and promotion reflected the great concern that Young and other Church and community leaders in Utah had about making the Scandinavians and other minority language immigrants a part of Zion by helping them learn English.

Fig. 5. Hans Frederick Hansen's journal in Danish and the Deseret Alphabet, February 21–22, 1856.



Community Integration

The nature of Mormon society itself played a unique and important role in facilitating English acquisition for Scandinavian immigrants in Utah as compared with Scandinavian immigrants in other states. The preceding examples of what the Church did in order to encourage English learning were motivated by a desire on the part of Church leaders to create a more unified Church culture (language being an integral part of cultural identity), and to allow all the Saints equal access to that which Mormons believed had been revealed. The Church community in Utah facilitated the assimilation of the differing linguistic and cultural communities into a larger, unified whole, but not through a suppression of those communities' defining characteristics. As members of the larger English-speaking church community, non-English-speaking Church members were constantly challenged by, and reminded of, the need for English acquisition. Many Scandinavian immigrants to Utah lived in densely Scandinavian-populated areas that fostered maintenance of their native tongue. However, there were never any "exclusively Scandinavian colonies, which would have been contrary to the idea of the Kingdom, whose fellowship overrode ethnic distinctions."⁴³ This integrated, inclusive aspect of Mormon communities had a strong effect on the Scandinavians' integration and English language acquisition.

Despite its emphasis on a homogeneous social structure, the Church community included a celebration of cultural and linguistic plurality. Cross-cul-

tural acceptance and interaction seem to have occurred in Utah more than in other states, such as Wisconsin or Minnesota, where there were large numbers of Scandinavian immigrants, because the population of Utah—while culturally diverse—shared a common religion. Paradoxically, accepting diversity in this way facilitates social and linguistic assimilation, because in such an atmosphere minority groups associate more freely with the majority. Because of frequent interaction through attendance and participation in ethnically and linguistically mixed Church meetings and activities, Scandinavians were able to overcome some of the negative stereotypes about their ethnic group.⁴⁴

For these reasons, even though it did not take place immediately or painlessly, the linguistic assimilation rate in Utah was much higher than in other states (see Table 1). Data on mother-tongue retention over generations reveal that in the United States as a whole, 31 percent of second-generation Danes still spoke Danish, 43 percent of second-generation Swedes still spoke Swedish, and 52 percent of Norwegians spoke Norwegian. In states where there were large concentrations of Scandinavians, like Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Iowa, the retention rates were even higher. In Utah, however, only 16.7 percent of second-generation Norwegians spoke Norwegian; and the mother-tongue retention rate was also unusually low for Swedish and Danish.⁴⁵ From these data, it is apparent that cultural assimilation and English learning took place faster in Utah than in other parts of the United States.⁴⁶ The accelerated acculturation rate in Utah likely occurred because of the acceptance factor—things like “mixed nationality neighborhoods” and “greater willingness to accept and incorporate Scandinavians”—as opposed to social conditions in

Table 1
Rate of Mother-Tongue Retention by Second-Generation Scandinavians in the U.S.

	Norway	Sweden	Denmark
United States	52.0%	43.7%	31.2%
Minnesota	63.8%	55.1%	37.5%
Wisconsin	62.0%	46.7%	39.5%
Iowa	59.6%	42.4%	45.4%
Utah	16.7%	24.0%	23.0%

Source: Einar Haugen, *The Norwegian Language in America: A Study in Bilingual Behavior*, 2nd ed. (Bloomington, IN: University of Indiana Press, 1969), data gathered in 1940.

many Scandinavian communities in the Midwest, where the linguistic and cultural divide was much more rigidly maintained.⁴⁷

Even under these relatively favorable circumstances in Utah, the assimilation of the new immigrants did not take place without incident. In some communities, ethnic divisions existed and linguistic differences led to tension. Nevertheless, relations were relatively placid overall.⁴⁸

Elsewhere in the United States, attitudes toward Scandinavian immigrants were often worse. In the late nineteenth century, a sense of suspicion and haughtiness towards these "Dumb Swedes" and "Dense Danes" developed among many Americans. Combined with the already existing animosity towards Utah and Mormonism during this period, Mormon Scandinavian immigrants were especially maligned. An 1887 article in the *New York Times* claimed that the reason the Mormon missionaries were having so much success in Scandinavia was because the Scandinavians were not very bright, and thus both vulnerable and easily fooled by the missionaries.⁴⁹ News reports of the day labeled Scandinavian immigrants "dirty and vermin-infested," "poor material out of which to create intelligent American citizens,"⁵⁰ "plodding" and "lacking enterprise."⁵¹

In Utah, on the other hand, leaders of the LDS Church took a different attitude. They accepted the immigrants as brothers and sisters and celebrated Utah's growing ethnic diversity. Brigham Young once bragged: "We are from England, France, Germany, Massachusetts, Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, New York, from the South, from every state in the Union."⁵² An editorial titled "To the Saints," published in the *Deseret News* in 1853, discussed the topic of language and cultural tolerance as the first Scandinavians were arriving: "To see a people gathered from a multitude of nations, indiscriminately gathered, only in accordance with the pleasure of the people gathering, the proclamation of salvation being unto all alike, and all acceptance or rejection a free will offering, and those who gather being one in faith, fellowship, feeling, and acts, is an anomaly on the earth." However, some native English speakers in Utah apparently looked down on the non-English-speaking immigrants. The editorial went on to warn of potential friction between the cultures:

We have referred to these things to put the saints on their guard, and prevent any root of bitterness from springing up among them; gathered from the four winds, not only in the shops but in neighborhoods, where those of different languages are located, it would be strange indeed if among the hundred different tongues spoke [*sic*] in Utah, little misunderstandings and difficulties should not arise, if all are not on their guard, but by watchfulness and care, all these difficulties may be avoided; and in process of time, not yet, the Lord will restore a pure language, and then who will have reason to boast that he can talk an impure language better than his neighbor?⁵³

On the topic of accepting immigrants, an 1886 *Deseret News* article sought to defend the character of the Scandinavian immigrants by highlighting their quick acculturation into American society:

No one who is familiar with the Scandinavians of Utah can have failed to notice the facility with which they—the younger portion especially—acquire the language and customs of the country and become identified with its institutions. They are eager to obtain citizenship and they rapidly advance in everything that makes good, stable, and helpful members of society. . . . The presence of many Scandinavians in Utah is no discredit to “Mormonism” and no drawback to Mormon merit. We consider them a benefit to the country and an element of strength, and we number among our most esteemed acquaintance gentleman and ladies of culture and refinement, who are undervalued and misunderstood by many, simply because their tongues have not been trained to trip easily over the peculiar difficulties of modern English pronunciation. We say, Welcome and success to the Scandinavians, for, of them, generally speaking, no American community need be the least ashamed.⁵⁴

Another reason the Scandinavians felt accepted in Utah society was the significant number of prominent Church leaders who were themselves Scandinavian, or who had a strong Scandinavian connection. These included Mormon Apostle Erastus Snow, the first mission leader in Scandinavia; Peter O. Hansen, first translator of the Book of Mormon into Danish; Christian D. Fjeldsted, a member of the Presidency of the Seventy; and Anthon H. Lund, the “Danish Apostle” who later became a member of the First Presidency. In addition, Elder John A. Widtsoe, a native Norwegian, became president of Utah State Agricultural College, and still later a member of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles. These prestigious leaders not only spoke Scandinavian languages, but were also looked upon by the Scandinavian community as belonging to and representing them. The resultant feeling among Mormon Scandinavian immigrants in Utah was that their culture was respected and accepted. This important factor facilitated their integration and English language acquisition.⁵⁵

The Scandinavians’ adoption of the English language and American customs often came at the cost of forgetting their native tongue—especially among second-generation Scandinavians in Utah. This was in part facilitated by marriage trends—marriage being the ultimate form of acceptance and social interaction. The census and marriage records in Pleasant Grove—a heavily Scandinavian-populated area in Utah County—show that marriages between Scandinavians and Americans were almost non-existent in 1880, but “by 1900, the percentage of ethnically mixed couples had shifted dramatically.”⁵⁶ With these mixed linguistic background couples, there was usually no question about which language they used at home—English. And in most cases the children did not even speak or care to learn the mother’s or father’s

Scandinavian language.⁵⁷ Although the older immigrant generation continued to use their Scandinavian languages for a few more decades, in most newly established "bilingual" homes, the use of Danish, Swedish, and Norwegian came to an end in the early 1900s.

Church Language Policy—Allowing Minority Language Use

As mentioned, Brigham Young's counsel to Scandinavian Saints arriving in the Salt Lake Valley to learn English placed the priority of developing English language skills second only to survival. Often, however, the immigrants' continued use of their native tongue was a matter of both physical and spiritual survival. For this reason the Church encouraged and supported English language learning but not an "English only" policy. In fact, allowances were made for Scandinavian languages to be used in many gospel-oriented functions. The large immigrant population and the difficulty of language learning (which required a substantial amount of time in order for learners to become functional) necessitated a flexible, linguistically pluralistic policy in the Church. For this reason the Church organized Scandinavian-language meetings, published Scandinavian-language periodicals, and supported Scandinavian social functions. It did this to encourage their spiritual development in the Restored gospel, and because the Church recognized the need for non-English-speaking members to be able to function and retain elements of their native language and culture, which loss would have had a negative impact on these Saints' morale.

Brigham Young, although strongly desiring that immigrants learn English and integrate into the majority society, made such allowances. He understood that immigrants would desire to use their native languages, as a letter he wrote to some Scandinavian brethren in 1869 illustrates: "I have no objection to your getting up a little Theatre at Christmas for the Scandinavians of this city, as it will tend to the gratification of your countrymen who do not understand the English language. I would also be pleased to have you study & familiarize yourselves with the English language so that you can lend assistance at our Theatre if agreeable."⁵⁸ Although Young gave his consent for the Scandinavians to use their native tongue, it should be noted that he encouraged them to learn English, thus illustrating the dual nature of Church language policy in a single paragraph. He also invited them to become involved in the majority community's activities, revealing the social purpose of this language policy. In brief, this letter was representative of the Church's bi-focal language policy and programs in a broad range of areas. Never relenting in its encouragement for the foreign Saints to learn English, the Church still allowed the Scandinavian Saints to develop Scandinavian-language institutions and cultural

activities for those who struggled with English. These meetings and publications fostered the Scandinavian converts' gospel growth and also supported the preservation of their native tongue and culture.

Scandinavian Meetings

Under Brigham Young's direction, Scandinavian-language congregations were organized for the Scandinavian Saints living in Utah.⁵⁹ The earliest of these were established in Sanpete County. Hans Dinesen, a Danish immigrant, recorded soon after moving to Sanpete in 1853 that he attended the first Danish meeting held in a little log house, owned by Hans Christian Hansen, a brother of Peter O. Hansen. During the meeting, presided over by Erastus Snow, Elder Snow told those assembled that "he had instructions from Prest. Young to 'organize the Scandinavian meetings,'" and he said "this should last as long as the Scandinavian emigration should continue."⁶⁰ These congregations were intended to help Scandinavians maintain their spirituality, gain greater gospel knowledge, strengthen their testimonies, and interact socially with other Saints while learning English. They were auxiliary to the main branches of the Church and did not replace English meetings. The Scandinavian meetings were typically held later in the afternoon or evening to avoid conflicting with the English language meetings earlier in the day. In addition, some Scandinavian meetings were held during the week. The meetings were established wherever the Scandinavian Saints could gather enough members, and they extended from southern Idaho to Sevier County, Utah (see Fig. 6).

These Scandinavian congregations gave Danes, Swedes, and Norwegians much more than just the opportunity to worship in their native tongue; the gatherings gave them an outlet for maintaining their culture. The LDS ward was the center for social life in early Utah, and through its many activities, culture was created and expressed. As noted, the Mormon Scandinavian immigrants' cultural acclimatization happened more quickly and on a deeper level than that of their midwest countrymen, primarily because of the social aspect of the LDS faith. The Scandinavian meetings created by the Church eased to some degree many immigrants' sense of being uprooted or cut off from their homeland upon their arrival in America. Connecting with the Scandinavian community was one of the first things many new Scandinavian immigrants did upon their arrival in Utah. For instance, Søren Sørensen Holm, who immigrated to Utah in 1891, records that three days after his arrival in Salt Lake City he "went to a Scandinavian meeting in the 14th Ward where [he] heard Andrew Jensen talk" and "met many good friends."⁶¹

Søren Sørensen Holm's activity in such social activities and Scandinavian Church meetings did not seem to impede his involvement with and integration

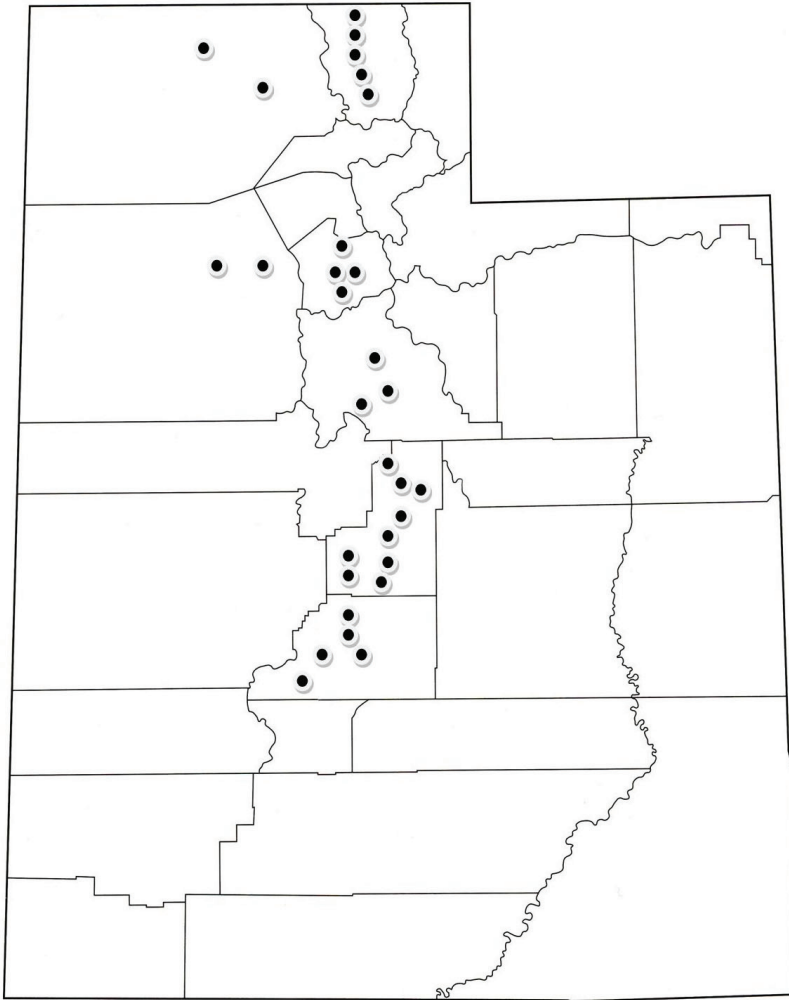


Fig. 6. Map showing locations of thirty-three Scandinavian congregations in Utah Territory in 1890. Map by Jacob Huckaby.

into the English-speaking Church. He records frequently his accomplishments in speaking publicly in the English meetings: "March 15, 1892, I spoke for the first time in a quorum meeting in the English language and a good spirit was present."⁶² When Scandinavian Saints attended English-speaking congregations they often found that their language was still accommodated. One mixed

congregation in Mt. Pleasant had a large minority of Danish brethren who “was encourage to expres ther feelings in ther own Language if [they] var unable to speak in English.”⁶³ This allowance from their English-speaking ward members went a long way toward making the Scandinavian Saints feel welcome in a Church that many of them had only recently joined. The Scandinavians reciprocated by doing their best to practice English in church, although these attempts were often humorous due to immigrants’ lack of English proficiency. When one Danish brother began praying in English during a Danish meeting in Ephraim, his attempt was cut short: “After he had prayed for a while, Mormon Preacher (Andrew Christian Neilson), who always pulled his chair up close to the stove shouted out, “Pray in Danish.” The frustrated man exclaimed, “Oh, Yah, yah, yah!” He then started his prayer all over again, praying in Danish.”⁶⁴

With the creation of Scandinavian meetings, a flowering of Scandinavian groups and activities followed. Pleasant Grove’s Scandinavian Saints quickly saw the need for a choir, which was established on December 11, 1875.⁶⁵ In addition to choirs, other gatherings, such as socials, parties, and larger Scandinavian conferences, were facilitated through Scandinavian meetings.

Scandinavian meetings were kept alive well into the twentieth century despite dwindling numbers. Jens Christian Johansen, a Danish immigrant of 1879 who settled in Elsinore in Sevier county, faithfully attended “the Danish meeting” which was “[held] every Sunday evening” up until the time of his death in 1915. In addition, Scandinavian conferences held in Mt. Pleasant, Ephraim, or Provo provided Scandinavian Saints like Johansen opportunities to visit old friends, speak their native language, and retain a sense of pride in their origins.⁶⁶

As the immigrant generation died off, however, attendance at the Scandinavian meetings dwindled. Official records were not often kept, so it is difficult to know when they ceased functioning. However, a survey by the Church in 1923 found seventeen Swedish and other Scandinavian meetings still being held throughout Utah.⁶⁷ These meetings continued into the 1930s. As late as 1937, Provo’s *Evening Herald* carried announcements of Scandinavian meetings,⁶⁸ and some Provo residents recall attending them in the late 1940s and early 1950s.⁶⁹

Scandinavian Language Publications in Utah

The Scandinavian-language meetings were not the only expression of minority language acceptance by the Church. The size and vitality of the Scandinavian community was such that programs to accommodate it extended to the publication of Scandinavian periodicals and newspapers. The Church sub-

sidized some of these publications, demonstrating its commitment to providing the Scandinavian Saints with material in their native tongues. Apart from presenting news to Scandinavians, the papers served to develop culture and maintain ties with the respective homelands.

The Church was not alone in this effort. In late nineteenth century Utah, numerous Scandinavian publications were created, most of which were private enterprises. In total, eight different Scandinavian-language newspapers were published over a period of about seventy years. The first official Scandinavian-language publication was *Utah Posten* [*The Utah Post*] which began in December of 1873.⁷⁰ *Bikuben* [*The Beehive*], which would eventually be purchased by the Church in 1895, was created in 1876.⁷¹ Three Scandinavian-language publications bore the name of *Utah Posten*; others included the *Utah Skandinav* [*Utah Scandinavian*], *Korrespondanten* [*The Correspondent*], *Svenska Härölden* [*The Swedish Herald*], and an English paper (the *Semi-Weekly Telegraph*), which featured Scandinavian sections.

These Scandinavian-language publications served a variety of language-maintenance purposes, but showed no evidence of encouraging the acquisition of English. They existed for the purpose of promoting business, encouraging socialization, sharing information, or building faith. From their contents, it is clear that communication, as opposed to cultural and linguistic assimilation, was the priority. Their coverage encompassed the whole spectrum of daily life, including politics, business, religion, and culture—testifying to the vitality of the Scandinavian community. The existence of a minority-language newspaper in any community denotes the presence of a more-than-transitory minority language. The sheer number of different publications also testifies to the size and interest of the Scandinavian population.

Bikuben became the longest-running and most widely circulated of all the Scandinavian newspapers (see Fig. 7). Begun in 1876, it was not discontinued until 1935, in the midst of the Great Depression. In *Bikuben's* first issue, the publishers gave several reasons for its creation:

Efter længe at have talt om Udgivelsen af en skandinavisk Tidende, some vilde tale Sandhed og være for Folkets Interesse og Velfærd er 'Bikuben' altsaa nu kommet til Verden, som Frugten deraf. Savnet af en saadan Tidende, har længe været følt, thi der er mange af Folket, som ikke kan læse det engelske Sprog og ei heller forstaaer det, hvorfor vi haabe, at Udgivelsen af en Tidende i det skandinaviske Sprog, især vil komme disse af vore Brødre og Landsmænd ret tilpas. Vi haabe ogsaa, at den skal blive af Nytte og Interesse for Alle, som forstaae og kan læse det skandinaviske Sprog, ikke alene i Utah og Amerika; men ogsaa i vort Fødeland, Danmark, Norge og Sverrig.

[After having discussed the distribution of a Scandinavian publication for some time, which would speak the truth and be for the interest and welfare of the people, *Bikuben*



Fig. 7. Bikuben masthead.

has now come to the world as the fruit thereof. The lack of such a publication has long been felt, for there are so many among our people who cannot read the English language and who do not understand it either. For this reason, we hope that the distribution of a publication in the Scandinavian language will especially satisfy our brethren and farmers. We also hope that it will be useful and interesting to all who understand and can read the Scandinavian languages, not just in Utah and America, but also in the countries of our birth: Denmark, Norway, and Sweden.]⁷²

Whether or not Church leaders who supported *Bikuben* consciously considered the attachment that the Scandinavians felt for their native tongue, language maintenance was surely an important issue for the Scandinavian subscribers to the publication. In one of his poems, C. C. A. Christensen gave the following description of waiting for this beloved newspaper to arrive:

Man utaalmodig venter paa,
 Aviser eller Brev at faa,
 Men helst hver Fredag er man der
 Bikuben for at faa især.
*Den har vi Danske jo saa kær;
 Thi Sproget ligger Hjertet nær.*

[We wait impatiently
 To get newspapers or letters,
 But we prefer to be there every Friday
 In order to get the Bikuben.
*We Danes are so fond of it,
 For its language is so close to our hearts.]⁷³*

In addition to love for their native tongue, the Scandinavian Saints' fondness for their native culture was manifested in these publications. *Bikuben* included sections devoted to culture and the arts. The promotion of the arts was a priority for Andrew Jenson, editor of the second *Utah Posten*, who was quite critical of *Bikuben's* relatively low level of culture. John Taylor, third president of the Church, agreed with him and "encouraged 'brethren and sisters from Scandinavia of literary ability' to contribute 'occasional articles to

strengthen and enliven and diversify the contents."⁷⁴ One way this was done was through a section called *Udklip*, started by Andrew Jenson after he joined the *Bikuben* editorial staff, which printed both religious and classic books. In each issue, *Bikuben* would print in the corner of three or four pages a section that could be cut out and folded into a book for the readers' own personal libraries.⁷⁵ This section not only deepened the literary culture in the Scandinavian community, it exposed Scandinavians (through Danish translation) to elements of American and British culture of which they might otherwise be ignorant.

In response to the call for more literary work, C. C. A. Christensen, already quite popular for his other artistic and educational work, contributed a good deal of poetry to *Bikuben*.⁷⁶ Some of his poems demonstrated his love for his native language. Other Scandinavians also used poetry to encourage the continuing use of Nordic languages and ridiculed those who abandoned their native tongues.⁷⁷ For example, in the first issue of *Bikuben*, a poem titled "Det Skandinaviske Sprog" ["The Scandinavian Language"] by Johannes Bohn, declared the Scandinavian people's pride in their mother tongue:

Kom Nordens Sønner, Døtre hid
 Og paa den gyldne Harpe slaa—
 Ja! hver en Tone ren og blid
 At den til Hjertet dybt kan gaa.
 Vi synge vil en Broder-Sang,
 Og gamle, Unge stemmer i
 I Modersmaal hvis Toneklang
 Og Ord staaer altid Tanken bi.

[Come sons and daughters of the North
 Upon the harp of gold to play—
 Yes! Every tone is pure and soft
 And deep into the heart doth weigh.
 We wish to sing a brothers' song.
 Lend your voice both old and young,
 And sing in tones and words that are
 So near our thoughts, our mother tongue.]

Vi skammes ei ved Nordens Sprog,
 I hvilke Oldtids Skjalde sang,
 Og Slag i fflag [*sic*] paa Lyren slog,
 Mens Jublen gjennem Hallen rang,
 Og brave Helte Skaaler drak
 Fra rhuned Horn den Mjød, saa ren
 Og gjorde Løfter de ei brak,
 Men tog med under Bautasten.

[We are not ashamed of the language of the north

In which bards sang in times of old,
 Plucking quickly at their lyres
 While cheers rang through the halls so bold.
 And mighty heroes drank a toast,
 With the mead so pure, from rounded horn,
 And made oaths they never broke,
 Their cov'nants ever to be borne.]

For os er dyrebart et Sprog,
 Hvori Guds Tjen're stammende—
 Med brukne Ord vor Skandse tog
 Med Aandens Sværd – og rammede
 De Ydmyge af Josephs Blod.
 Fra buen spændt—med Pilens Od—
 Til mærket paa vort Hjerte stod:
 “Det Tegn”—som aldrig blottes lod.

[To us a language is of great worth
 In which God's servants stammering,
 With broken words stormed our defense,
 With sword of the Spirit hammering
 The humble of Old Joseph's blood.
 With arrow's point shot from the bow
 To our hearts where stood the mark:
 “The sign” where it should never go.]

Hvi agtes høit ei dette Sprog,
 I hvilke vore Fædre gav
 Os sidste Raad:—en Pagtensbog—
 For evig kjær—lig Hines Grav.
 Og naar Vi atter möde dem—
 Maaske de taler til os kjært
 Paa gammel Dansk og Norsk og Svensk
 Til Adams Tungemaal er lært.

[We treat this language with high esteem
 In which our northern fathers gave
 Us final words—a book of oaths—
 Forever dear—like yonder grave.
 And when we reunite with them—
 Perhaps they'll speak in loving turn
 In old Danish, Swedish, Norwegian
 'Til all the tongue of Adam learn.]⁷⁸

Apart from news and culture, *Bikuben* and other Scandinavian publications often included business and advertising elements in their publications. These advertisements provide yet more evidence of the Scandinavian languages' viability in specific communities—especially where there was a large

Scandinavian population in Utah. Advertisements for Brigham Young University were published in *Bikuben*, and many Anglo-American merchants advertised in Danish in *Bikuben* (see Fig. 8).⁷⁹ The need for using Scandinavian languages for business purposes in many nineteenth-century Utah communities is evident in a statement attributed to Brigham Young, who is said to have complained, "You can't buy or sell a cow in Ephraim unless you do it in Danish!"⁸⁰

Bikuben ceased publication in 1935. It had been eighty-five years since the first wave of immigrants came to Utah. By that time many of the Mormon Scandinavian immigrants had either died or mastered English sufficiently that they no longer needed to depend on their native tongue. Another possible

Send Deres Vask til
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Bedste Varer
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RIO GRANDE WESTERN

Current Time Table,
in effect Nov. 22nd 1903
Apply for Salt Lake City:

No. 2. Provo, Grand Junction og andre Stæder og Ost.....	8.15 Kfm
No. 4. Til Provo, Grand Junction og andre Stæder Ost	8.05 Kfm
No. 6. Provo, Grand Junction og Ost.....	8.30 Kfm
No. 10 Til Bingham, Mt. Pleasant, Manti, Salma, Richfield og mellemiggende Stæder	8.00 Frm.
No. 8. Til Kureka, Heber og mellemiggende Stæder.....	8.00 Kfm
No. 8. Til Ogden og andre Stæder Vest.....	12.10 Kfm
No. 1. Til Ogden og Vest.....	1.45 Kfm
No. 100 Til Park City og mellemiggende Stæder.....	8.15 Frm.
No. 5. For Ogden og Vest paa 10.50 Frm	
No. 9 For Ogden & Mellemiggende Stæder.....	8.05 Frm.

Ankommer til Salt Lake City:

No. 5. Fra Provo, Grand Junction, og andre Stæder Ost 10.40 Fm	
No. 8. Fra Provo, Grand Junction og andre Stæder Ost 11.50 Kfm.	
No. 9. Fra Provo, Bingham, Kureka, Richfield, Salma, Manti og mellem Stæder	6.00 Kfm.
No. 12 From Ogden & mellemiggende Stæder.....	8.05 Kfm.
No. 2. Fra Ogden og Vest.....	8.05 Kfm.
No. 4. Fra Ogden og Vest	7.55 Kfm.
No. 7. Fra Kureka, Heber og omg.	

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Armstrong, President; Byron Groo, Vice President; J. E. Casne, P a r r
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vi Slags Brød og Røget bager altid frist paa bager.
Bestillinger paa Brød og Røget modtages og udsæd prompt og billigt.
De skandinaviske Sprog talte.
S. S. Holm,

Fig. 8. Assorted *Bikuben* advertisements from the June 1, 1903, issue.

reason for *Bikuben's* termination was that the Great Depression negatively impacted businesses of every kind. *Bikuben*, the Swedish *Utah Posten*, and several other foreign language publications subsidized by the Church were all halted in 1935 during this period of economic difficulty.⁸¹ Nevertheless, the fact that these publications had continued for many decades—even after the initial immigration wave had subsided—is evidence of the continued maintenance and use of Scandinavian languages in Utah.

These publications were one way that the Church supported the continuing use of Scandinavian languages by Latter-day Saints in Utah. The Scandinavian-language meetings and social gatherings were additional means of linguistic support for members who had immigrated from Denmark, Sweden, and Norway. Taken together, these allowances for native-language use provide indisputable evidence of the second aspect of the Church's dual-focus minority language policy during the latter part of the nineteenth and early part of the twentieth century.

Conclusion

The many statements by Church leaders and the various initiatives taken by the Church that dealt with linguistic issues (brought about by the arrival of large numbers of Scandinavian and other immigrants gathering to Zion) could lead some to believe that there were internal contradictions in the Church's minority language policy. However, an understanding of the Church's ultimate goal for the newly converted Scandinavian immigrants helps us to better comprehend the Church's actions. Insisting on quick learning of a new language and assimilation into the majority culture without regard for the difficulties involved could have been detrimental to the Scandinavian immigrants' spiritual and cultural assimilation and development. While learning English and living in cultural harmony with the Anglo-Americans were important goals, the most important aim was nurturing the new Saints' developing testimonies—something which often required flexibility and patience in dealing with those whose English skills were limited. For this reason, the Church allowed minority language use (in meetings, periodicals, and social programs) for those struggling to learn English. In addition, of course, it encouraged English language learning through small-scale English classes, and top-down initiatives and policies that promoted social acceptance and interaction. In these ways, this dual policy benefitted the non-English immigrants, as well as the majority-language speakers, by creating a more unified, cohesive Church community in which there were “no more strangers and foreigners” but only “fellow citizens.”

Notes

1. For a discussion on this topic as it relates to the larger Utah landscape see Lynn Henrichsen, George Bailey, Timothy Wright, John Brumbaugh, Jacob Huckaby, and Ray Lebaron, "Building Community by Respecting Linguistic Diversity: Scandinavian Immigrants in Nineteenth-Century Utah," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 78, no. 1 (Winter 2010): 4–22.

2. For the purposes of this article, *Scandinavians* consist of Danes, Norwegians, and Swedes. People from other Nordic/Scandinavian countries, such as Finland or Iceland, are not included for various reasons. The migration of Finns to Utah did not commence until around 1900, and their numbers rarely exceeded 1,000. A group of 410 Icelandic immigrants also came to Utah between 1855 and 1860. They settled in Spanish Fork, Utah, making it "the first permanent Icelandic settlement in the United States." See Fred E. Woods, *Fire on Ice: The Story of Icelandic Latter-day Saints at Home and Abroad* (Provo, UT: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 2005); and <http://www.spanishfork.org/about/city/history.php>. Nevertheless, because their numbers were relatively small and their influence limited to one town, the Icelanders are not a focus of this paper. Woods admits that they represented "only a small fragment of the Scandinavian Saints who gathered during this period." Woods, *Fire on Ice*, 32.

3. See William Mulder, *Homeward to Zion: The Mormon Migration from Scandinavia* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1957), 102; and Erastus Fairbanks Snow, *One Year in Scandinavia: Results of the Gospel in Denmark and Sweden – Sketches and Observations on the Country and People – Remarkable Events – Late Persecutions and Present Aspect of Affairs* (Liverpool, England: F. D. Richards, 1851).

4. Richard L. Jensen, "Immigration to Utah," and "Utah's Foreign-Born Population, 1850–1990" (table), in Allen Kent Powell, ed. *Utah History Encyclopedia* (Salt Lake City, UT: University of Utah Press, 1994), 270–74.

5. See Gerald M. Haslam, "Scandinavian Emigration History and Sources," *Genealogical Journal* 27 (1999): 100–01; and John A. Widtsoe, "How Many Latter-day Saints are of Scandinavian Descent?" *Improvement Era* 53, no. 6 (June 1950): 471.

6. Misty Armstrong, "The Assimilation of Scandinavian Immigrants in Pleasant Grove, Utah, 1880–1900," *Genealogical Journal* 27, nos. 3–4 (1999): 116–30.

7. Brigham Young and other Church leaders were reported to have sent half the Scandinavians "to help settle in Cache County on the north and the others south to the Manti settlement." Ruth D. Scow, "People Who Made a Difference—My Mother," *A Danish Saga, Volume 1: A Selection of Writings about Danish People who Came to America and Settled Sanpete County* (Manti, UT: Messenger-Enterprise, 1997), 44.

8. Armstrong, "The Assimilation of Scandinavian Immigrants in Pleasant Grove, Utah," 116–30.

9. Compiled County-level statistics are from *Historical Census Browser* with Utah/County-level results for 1890, Geospatial and Statistical Data Center, University of Virginia, accessed from <http://fisher.lib.virginia.edu/collections/stats/histcensus/php/county.php>, February 14, 2005.

10. In discussing Danish settlers who relocated in England during the tenth and eleventh centuries, authors Thomas Pyles and John Algeo claim the Danes "settled down peaceably enough in time, living side by side with the English; Scandinavians were good colonizers, willing to assimilate themselves to their new homes." Thomas Pyles and John Algeo, *The Origins and Development of the English Language 4th Edition* (Fort Worth, TX: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich College Publishers, 1993), 101. This pattern of willing

adaptation is illustrated by the old Danish proverb: “Man må hyle med de ulve man er i blandt.” [“One must howl with the wolves one is among.”]

11. The following are excerpts from letters to the editor from the *Daily Herald* (Provo, Utah) by descendants of Scandinavian immigrants regarding the attempts by their ancestors to learn English: “When people came to America from all parts of world for religious freedom, they naturally incorporated English as their language when they moved here.” Ruby Nicol, “Opportunity awaits,” *Daily Herald*, December 13, 1998, B11. “In Utah thousands of Danish people came in the mid to latter 19th century. Many surely retained their native Danish accent while they spoke English.” Robert Foster, “One language unites us,” *Daily Herald*, March 7, 2001, A5. “Many years ago my grandfather came to this country from Denmark. Even though he died when I was 14, his English speaking skills, at that time, were certainly adequate. When he came to this country, he obviously made learning English a high priority.” Henry Todd, “Teach in English,” *Daily Herald*, October 26, 2001, A6.

12. H. S. Madsen, “Historical Aspects of Mormon Language Studies: The Magnificent Obsession in 19th Century Mormondom to Master and Refine the English Language” in *Conference on the Language of the Mormons* (Provo, UT: BYU Language Research Center, 1973), 42.

13. William Hepworth Dixon, *New America*, 3rd ed. (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1867), 210.

14. Michael G. Clyne and Sandra Kipp, *Pluricentric Languages in an Immigrant Context: Spanish, Arabic, and Chinese* (New York and Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1999), 48.

15. Joshua A. Fishman, *The Rise and Fall of the Ethnic Revival: Perspectives on Language and Ethnicity* (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1985), as cited in Clyne and Kipp, *Pluricentric Languages*, 48–49.

16. Clyne and Kipp, *Pluricentric Languages*, 329.

17. Joshua A. Fishman, *Reversing Language Shift: Theoretical and Empirical Foundations of Assistance to Threatened Languages* (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1991), 360, as cited in Clyne and Kipp, *Pluricentric Languages*, 329–30.

18. See Orson Hyde, in *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (Liverpool: F. D. Richards, 1855–1886), 7:68–70.

19. Dixon, *New America*, 210.

20. George A. Smith, in *Journal of Discourses*, 12:138–40.

21. *Deseret Evening News*, April 4, 1903, as cited in Mulder, *Homeward to Zion*, 252–53.

22. Translated from the record of the Scandinavian Mission, 1853–1886, 318, Church History Library. The original Danish reads: “I et Districtsmøde holdt i Hjørring Søndagen den 6. Marts blev Præst Lars Chr Pedersen ordineret til Ældste og løst fra sin Mission som engelsk Lærer og tilladt at Emigrere. Forstander / Jens Møller Haugaard Børglum / fra Harritslev Green beskikkedes til at lære de Hellige engelsk i samme Green.”

23. Hector Caleb Haight, Diary, February 14, 1857, Church History Library.

24. Niels Hans Nielsen, Journal, September 1–2, 1856, translated by Alice Neeley, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University (hereafter cited as Perry, Special Collections). The original entry reads: “[Jeg opholdt] mig dels jemme [*sic*] og i Kjøbenhavn. Jeg øvede mig i Det Engelske Sprog.”

25. John August Olsen, Diary, translated and edited by Andrew “C” Iverson, 8–9, Perry Special Collections. The original reads: “Jeg gik i flere Aar paa Engelskskole hos R. Johansen Geo. M. Brown & C.C.A. Christensen hvor jeg lærte temmelig godt at læse engelsk og for samme jeg erholdt gennem R. Johnson en ordbog i det engelske og danske Sprog, for flid i Læsning.”

26. Olsen, Diary, 129.

27. Haight, Diary, June 14, 1856.

28. Haight, Diary, October 5, 1855.

29. Hector C. Haight, *Læseøvelser i det engelske Sprog for Begyndere* [Reading Exercises in the English language for Newbeginners] (Copenhagen, Denmark: Author & F. E. Bording, 1857), Perry Special Collections. Haight recorded in his journal under the date of January 13, 1857, that Danish members of the Church had started to create "a Book for the benefit of the Saints in their learning of the English Language."

30. George A. Smith, in *Journal of Discourses*, 14:373.

31. Peter Olsen Hansen, *An Autobiography of Peter Olsen Hansen, 1818–1895: Mormon Convert and Pioneer Missionary, Translator of Book of Mormon into Danish*, Leland Hansen Ashby, comp. (Salt Lake City, UT: L. H. Ashby, 1988), 41, 135, Perry Special Collections.

32. C. C. A. Christensen to K. Peterson, July 25, 1871, *Skandinaviens Stjerne*, September 1, 1871; M. Pederson to J. N. Smith, February 25, 1869, *Skandinaviens Stjerne*, April 15, 1869, as cited in Mulder, *Homeward to Zion*, 256. See also Mary Louise Madsen Seamons, "Culture Begins at Home," *A Danish Saga*, 32–36.

33. Brev fra Christian Nielsen til hans broder, fisker Carl Nielsen. Dateret Manti City in Sanpit (Sanpete) Valy (Valley), Utah Teritori (Territory), 27. april 1856 [Letter from Christian Nielsen to his brother, fisherman Carl Nielsen. Dated Manti City in Sanpete Valley, Utah Territory, April 27, 1856], in Jorgen W. Schimidt, *Oh, du Zion i Vest; Den danske Mormon-emigration 1850–1900* (København Rosenkilde Og Bagger, 1965), 67.

34. Susan Hendricks Grover and A. Garr Cranney, *Reading on the Utah Frontier, 1850–1877: The History of the Deseret Alphabet* (MA thesis, Brigham Young University, 1982), 18.

35. See Benn Pitman, *Sir Isaac Pitman: His Life and Labors*. Cincinnati, Ohio: Benn Pitman Books, 1902. For more information on George D. Watt, see Ronald G. Watt, *The Mormon Passage of George D. Watt: First British Convert, Scribe for Zion* (Logan, UT: Utah State University Press, 2009).

36. Arlene B. Darger, *The Deseret Alphabet*, reprint (Salt Lake City, UT: Buffalo River Press, 1996), 3.

37. The Deseret Alphabet was a precursor to the 1886 International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA), which is still widely used today as a tool for many linguistic purposes, including the teaching of English to speakers of other languages.

38. See William Powell, *A Chronicle of the Deseret Alphabet* (Salt Lake City: 1968); John A. Widtsoe, *Evidences and Reconciliations* (Salt Lake City, UT: Bookcraft, 1943, lxxiv; John A. Widtsoe, "What was the Purpose of the Deseret Alphabet?" *Improvement Era* 47, no. 1 (January 1944): 63; John A. Widtsoe, *Gospel Interpretations* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1947), 263; J. Cecil Alter, ed. "The Deseret Alphabet," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, 12, nos. 1–2 (January–April 1944): 99–102; Roger M. Thompson, "Language Planning in Frontier America: The Case of the Deseret Alphabet," *Language Problems & Language Planning* 6 (1982): 45–62; Andrew John Grose, "Of Two Minds: Language Reform and Millennialism in the Deseret Alphabet" (MA thesis, Stanford University, 2001), 80–81; Tyler Wilcox, "Deseret Alphabet: Brigham Young's Motivation for Establishing a Phonetic System," *Americana* 1 (Winter 2001):35–37.

39. Brigham Young, in *Journal of Discourses*, 12:297–301.

40. "The New Alphabet," *Deseret News*, January 19, 1854.

41. O. N. Liljenqvist, Letter, *Skandinaviens Stjerne*, June 15, 1869.

42. Hans Frederick Hansen Journal, Church History Library, 12, entries for February 21–22, 1856. The translation/transliteration of this journal page is as follows. Danish:

“forlod og gik hver til sit Hjem den næste Morgen. Gik jeg til Weber hvilket var 30 Mile Eng. Jeg stoppede hos Gordon Beckstead. Dagen efter jeg forlod og gik Hjem.” English: “Left and went each to his home the next morning. I went to Weber which was 30 Mile. Eng. I stopped at Gordon Beckstead’s home. The day after, I left and went home. Hans Hansen.” Deseret Alphabet (English): “My God let me always be found faithful in doing thy will. Let Abraham[’]s God be my God and let me follow the example of his son Jesus that I may do good all the days of my life and give thee the honor thereof through Christ amen. Hans Hansen.” Danish: “Hvad større Velsignelse kan et Menneske ønske end Guds Naade og Viisdom thi intet er skjønnere end Dydens og Retfærdighedens Vei og den som vandre derpaa.” [“What greater blessings can a man wish than God’s grace/favor and wisdom, for nothing is more beautiful than the way of virtue and righteousness and they that walk therein.”]

43. Mulder, *Homeward to Zion*, 196.

44. Henrichsen, et al., “Building Community by Respecting Linguistic Diversity,” 18.

45. Einar Haugen, *The Norwegian Language in America: A Study in Bilingual Behavior*, 2nd ed. (Bloomington, IN: University of Indiana Press, 1969), 284–85.

46. For immigrants in a new country the shift from one language to another typically takes a generation or two (possibly three). For that reason it is often called a “3-generation shift.” Members of the first (arriving) generation learn as much of the new language as they can, but they never really master it. Their children, however, are bilingual. They go to school, they play with native speakers of the new language, and they learn to speak the new language unaccented while still maintaining some proficiency in their parents’ language, which they use at home. However, the third generation children, the grandchildren of the immigrants, are monolingual English speakers. The ancestral tongue has disappeared. See Alejandro Portez and Ling Xin Hao, “E pluribus unum: Bilingualism and Loss of Language in the Second Generation,” *Sociology of Education* 71 (1998): 269–94.

47. Armstrong, “The Assimilation of Scandinavian Immigrants in Pleasant Grove, Utah,” 116.

48. Beth Radmall Olsen, “Mormon Scandinavian Immigrants’ Experience among English-speaking Settlers,” in *The 2000 Deseret Language and Linguistics Society Symposium Proceedings* (2000), 60.

49. *New York Times*, July 24, 1887, as cited by Armstrong, “The Assimilation of Scandinavian Immigrants in Pleasant Grove, Utah,” 121.

50. “Thrift of Scandinavians: The Men who are Conquering the Far West,” *New York Times*, July 24, 1887.

51. “Editorial,” Article 6 (no title), *New York Times*, July 24, 1887.

52. Brigham Young, in *Journal of Discourses*, 13:175–76.

53. “To the Saints,” *Deseret News*, February 5, 1853.

54. “The Scandinavian Element,” *Deseret News*, July 7, 1886.

55. Armstrong, “The Assimilation of Scandinavian immigrants in Pleasant Grove, Utah,” 123; Henrichsen, et al., “Building Community by Respecting Linguistic Diversity,” 19.

56. Armstrong, “The Assimilation of Scandinavian immigrants in Pleasant Grove, Utah,” 124.

57. Mulder, *Homeward to Zion*, 248.

58. Brigham Young to Messrs. Monson and Sholdebrand, December 15, 1869, Church History Library.

59. See Hans Dinesen, A Reminiscence: Hans Dinesen’s Narrative, 1853–1858, Church History Library.

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60. Dinesen, *A Reminiscence*, 12.
61. Søren Sørensen Holm, *Autobiography and Diary*, September 2 1891, Church History Library.
62. Holm, *Autobiography and Diary*, March 15, 1892.
63. Mulder, *Homeward to Zion*, 227.
64. Lillian Winn Fjeldsted, "Danish Meeting," *A Danish Saga*, 6.
65. Olsen, "Mormon Scandinavian Immigrants' Experience," 60.
66. Jens Christian Johansen, *Autobiography and Diary*, October 19, 1879, Church History Library.
67. Richard L. Jensen, "Mother Tongue: Use of Non-English Languages in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in the United States, 1850–1983," in Davis Bitton and Maureen Ursenbach Beecher, eds., *New Views of Mormon History: A Collection of Essays in Honor of Leonard J. Arrington* (Salt Lake City, UT: University of Utah Press, 1987), 280.
68. See "Scandinavians Meet Here Sunday," *Evening Herald* (Provo, Utah), May 14, 1937, 1.
69. Interview with Lloyd and June Henrichsen (Provo, Utah), January 5, 2006.
70. Mulder, *Homeward to Zion*, 258; Marion Tuttle Marzolf, *The Danish-Language Press in America* (New York, NY: Arno Press, 1979), 114.
71. Mulder, *Homeward to Zion*, 263; Marzolf, *The Danish-Language Press in America*, 114–15.
72. "Efter længe" [After a long time], *Bikuben*, August 1, 1876.
73. C. C. A. Christensen, "Rimbrev" ["Epistle"], February 4, 1895, in John S. Hansen, *Poetiske arbejder, artikler og afhandlinger tilligemed hans levnedsløb* [Poetic works, articles, and narratives together with his life] (Salt Lake City, UT: Bikuben, 1921), 318–19, emphasis added.
74. *Bikuben*, May 2, 1878, as cited in Mulder, *Homeward to Zion*, 262.
75. Mulder, *Homeward to Zion*, 261.
76. Christensen "Rimbrev," 1. See also Robert C. Nielson, "My Recollections and Reflections of Grandpa C. C. A. Christensen," *A Danish Saga*, 109.
77. Mulder, *Homeward to Zion*, 267.
78. Johannes Bohn, "Det Skandinaviske Sprog" ["The Scandinavian Languages"], *Bikuben* (Salt Lake City, Utah), August 1876, 1.
79. "Der er intet Universitet" ["There is no university"], *Bikuben*, September 2, 1931; assorted advertisements, *Bikuben*, June 1, 1903.
80. Grace Johnson, *Brodders and Sisters: Being the Early Life and Times of the Mormon Town of Ephraim, Sanpete County, Utah, and Including, to be Sure, the Famous "Ephraim Stories"* (Manti, UT: Messenger-Enterprise, 1973), 28.
81. See James L. Jacobs, "They Loved the Bikuben," *A Danish Saga*, 3; and Marzolf, *The Danish-Language Press in America*, 115.