

Ordination and Women

A Case Study in the Historiography of The Evangelical Free Church of America

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Since 1975 when Della Olson published a series of articles in *The Evangelical Beacon*, the organ of the Evangelical Free Church of America (EFCA), numbers of people have been persuaded that the EFCA ordained women as pastors of local congregations in earlier decades. Many of her claims are still used today. This study seeks to present a more accurate narrative by discussing first the practices of early female evangelists of the Swedish Free Mission, known later as the Swedish Evangelical Free Church of America. Second, it examines the early debate about women preaching the gospel publicly. Third, it identifies the formative proponents of the female evangelist movement including Fredrik Franson. Fourth, it examines the theological bases and practices of ordination of the Swedish Free churches and societies. Fifth, it presents brief sketches of women who were ordained as evangelists and missionaries. Sixth, it presents the clarification that came to the EFCA's ordination and commissioning process in 1988. The focus of this study is historical and historiographical, not theological.

Key words: women, evangelists, ordination, Fredrik Franson, Della Olson, Swedish Evangelical Free Church of America

Introduction

Since 1975 when Della Olson, wife of Evangelical Free Church of America (EFCA) president Arnold T. Olson, published a series of articles in *The Evangelical Beacon*, the organ of the EFCA, numbers of people have been persuaded that the EFCA ordained women as pastors of local congregations in earlier decades. Many of her claims are still used

today. Della Olson laid out examples of female preachers in the Scandinavian Free Church movement, and pointed as well to the Swedish Mission Covenant in Sweden that had begun to ordain women as pastors of local congregations.¹ This was during a time too when the Evangelical Covenant Church (ECC) in America was taking steps in this direction.² It is no secret that Della Olson wrote these articles

to argue for the ordination of women as pastors of local churches in the EFCA.³ Her series of articles became the basis of her book titled *A Woman of Her Times*, published in 1977.⁴ In her writings she made numerous statements that were either undocumented or constructed from selected sources. For instance, she wrote in *The Evangelical Beacon*: “Names of close to 50 ordained women who served the EFCA as evangelists and pastors are on record, but there may have been more.”⁵

Shortly after Della Olson wrote the series of articles, Donald W. Dayton wrote an article for *The Covenant Quarterly* titled “Evangelical Roots of Feminism” in which he referred to the work of Della Olson.⁶ He did so again in his book titled *Discovering an Evangelical Heritage*, published in 1976.⁷ In 2014, he published *Rediscovering an Evangelical Heritage* in which he says:

A 1970s study uncovered a major role of women in the early years of the Evangelical Free Church, a Scandinavian immigrant denomination formed in the late nineteenth century, known today primarily through its seminary, Trinity Evangelical Divinity School... In the early years of the church a number of women served not only as traveling evangelists but also as stationed pastors. Full ordination was clearly intended in early consitutions... The first women to avail themselves of this opportunity included Christina Carlson, Ellen Modin, Amanda Nelson, Carrie Norgaard, Hilma Severin, and Amanda Gustafson.⁸

Moreover, in 1986, Janette Hassey wrote *No Time for Silence: Evangelical Women in Public Ministry around the Turn of the Century*, originally a Ph.D. dissertation at the University of Chicago.⁹ The book

included a chapter titled “Women in the Free Church” which drew heavily from the work of Della Olson. Hassey’s book was republished in 2008 by Christians for Biblical Equality which has further popularized this narrative.¹⁰ With these works by Della Olson, Donald Dayton, and Janette Hassey, this narrative has become the popular view.

While this present study celebrates the contributions of women in the history of the EFCA, it presents a different historical narrative. The focus of this study is not theological but historical and historiographical.¹¹ Regardless of theological positions on women’s roles and ministries, history should be based upon an examination of sources and a synthesis of particular accounts into a narrative that stands the test of critical methods.

This study posits that the EFCA has practiced the ordination of men as pastors of local churches, and that a few women were ordained as *missionaries* and *evangelists*, but there is no substantive evidence that any woman has served as a stationed pastor of a local Free Church, although a few did serve as interim preachers and pulpit supply. For example, at the Evangelical Free Church of Orland, California “Miss Alma Olson and Rev. Carl Liljequist supplied the pulpit for short periods of time.”¹² Miss Ida Anderson, a missionary on furlough from South Africa, “served as a substitute for a pastor at McKeesport, Pennsylvania.”¹³ Miss Hedvig Peterson, a school teacher with “a gift to preach” filled the pulpit at Lanse, Pennsylvania, following the sudden death of Rev. Oscar Sjöholm.¹⁴

It is acknowledged that Della Olson had some basis for her argument when she cited the book titled *The Golden Jubilee of the Swedish Evangelical Free Church*. This 50th anniversary volume

published in 1934, says: “One or more [Free] churches even called women as pastors. Other churches desired and called none but women to conduct revival meetings and mission meetings. None but women were thought of or welcomed.”¹⁵ This reference regrettably offered no names, dates, or locations about the indefinite “one or more churches.” In fact, it was this statement that prompted the authors of this present study to research the churches that “called women as pastors.” No corroborative evidence to substantiate this statement has been found. It is possible, of course, that “one or more churches” called women as pastors in the early decades when the Free Church was comprised of loosely associated churches in mostly Scandinavian communities scattered across the American frontier. To be a preacher in those days meant to travel as an itinerant preacher or circuit rider.¹⁶ However, no sources, primary or secondary, have been found to substantiate this statement that women were called as resident pastors. For example, the 30th anniversary book of the Swedish Evangelical Free Church titled *Minnesskrift* (Remembrances) has neither any references to women serving as pastors nor to any women with the title “Rev.” that was commonly used for men ordained to the pastoral office.¹⁷

Another statement in *The Golden Jubilee* has led some to conclude that women served occasionally as stationed pastors. It says, “In the early days, the church [at Kimbro, Texas] had no permanent pastor, but occasional visits were made by Gust F. Johnson and John Herner who also served churches at Brushy and Decker. Later, Anna Johnson (Mrs. Carl Liljequist) and Ida Anderson were called as permanent pastor [sic]. In August, 1898, N. W. Nelson was called and accepted, serving

two years.”¹⁸ This statement is problematic not simply because of the awkward grammar noted above but also for historical reasons.¹⁹ The book titled *Swedes in Texas in Words and Pictures, 1839-1918*, for example, states: “Under the leadership of the pastors Johnson and Herner, the Swedish Evangelical Free Church in Kimbro was organized on July 30, 1897, with thirty-seven charter members... Meetings were also held by visiting preachers and missionaries, who stayed to help the congregation for longer or shorter periods. In this manner, the work was carried out for half a year.”²⁰ Although this history names all permanent pastors beginning with N. W. Nelson, it does not mention Anna Johnson and Ida Anderson.²¹

This present study examines the history of ordination and women in the EFCA, focusing on practices of the Swedish Free Church between 1884 and 1950. It is limited in scope because of a report submitted by the Committee on Ministerial Standing in 1975 that stated: “The former Norwegian-Danish group ordained its pastors in the churches they were serving with the participation of neighbor congregations... We could find no record of women being ordained to the pastorate.”²² Neither does this study examine the EFCA after the merger in 1950 of the Swedish and Norwegian-Danish Evangelical Free Churches. Prior to formalizing a policy on ordination in 1988, Thomas A. McDill, president of the EFCA, wrote: “The early Free Church did ordain some women missionaries and evangelists. Those ordinations took place in one of the two groups that merged to form The Evangelical Free Church of America. Since the merger conference in 1950, which created a brand new denomination, we have not ordained women to any

form of Christian ministry.”²³

In order to present a more accurate narrative, this study will discuss first the practices of early female evangelists of the Swedish Free Mission, known later as the Swedish Evangelical Free Church. Second, it will examine the early debate about women preaching the gospel publicly. Third, it will identify the formative proponents of the female evangelist movement among the Swedish Free churches. Fourth, it will examine the theological bases and practices of ordination of the Swedish Free churches, as well as district and national societies. Fifth, it will present brief sketches of women who were ordained as evangelists and missionaries. Sixth, it will present the clarification that came to the ordination and commissioning process. Finally, it will offer some concluding thoughts about the 1988 decision of the EFCA national conference delegates to credential men as pastors of local congregations by ordination, and to credential men and women who serve as missionaries, evangelists, and ministry directors as Christian workers.

I. Practices of female evangelists of the Swedish Free Church

In the early decades of the Swedish Free Church (1880s-1920s), women who were mostly single traveled in the U.S. as evangelists or home missionaries, sharing testimonies, leading music, and preaching the gospel.²⁴ This movement began largely with Fredrik Franson, August Davis, and Ellen Modin who conducted Bible and evangelism courses in which “more women participated than men.”²⁵ A number of women subsequently went out to various places to do missionary work, travelling as a rule, two by two. They

were characterized by a “zeal and fervor for evangelism and winning fellow men and women to Christ.”²⁶ One or both of the female evangelists would play a guitar, mandolin, autoharp, or some other musical instrument, but most generally a guitar, and meetings were held on the pattern of the Salvation Army with singing and testimony.²⁷ In a book titled *Sixty Years in Gospel Song, Music and Testimony*, Nathaniel Carlson wrote:

Many of our devoted and gifted young women went out full time to evangelize and do home missionary work, much as we now [in 1955] send women to our foreign missionary fields. Oftentimes they could go a step farther in winning their way into homes and communities by going into homes where sickness and want was found, nursing, helping and cheering the sick mother in the home, tidying up the house and making up meals for the family, washing the dishes, etc., and then comforting the sick one and the family by the reading of God’s Word and with prayer for them. People thus ministered to were quite willing and sometimes eager to come and hear what these “missionaries” would have to say in public, to receive the spoken word and consequently seek the Lord for salvation. Many of these ladies developed into good speakers who could expound the Word of God to eagerly listening audiences. Our own Mrs. Victor Carlson, of Minneapolis, then known as Amanda Gustafson, who with Christina Matson as her partner travelled widely over our field.²⁸

In his account, Carlson described the opposition that these female evangelists encountered. On one occasion, for instance, when Amanda Gustafson and Christina Matson were holding a meeting



Christina Matson and Amanda Gustafson

at a schoolhouse in Orrock, Minnesota, some hooligans hurled eggs through an open window with one egg landing on “Miss Matson’s head, as she was on the platform and made a good target.”²⁹ Carlson said that at this very moment she “was preaching with the Lord’s prayer as her subject, and significantly had come to the very sentence of ‘Forgive us our trespasses as we forgive those who trespass against us.’ Despite such opposition, during the following winter ‘souls were saved.’”³⁰

In most cases, these female evangelists worked with male itinerant preachers in a strategy to establish Swedish Free churches. For example, Amanda Gustafson and Christina Matson cooperated with Martin Kjenner at Orrock, Minnesota, and Wilhelm Bergstrom and E. A. Halleen, nearby at Milaca.³¹ A. A. Anderson joined the work of Ellen Modin in Utah.³² Gustaf F. Johnson and John Herner solicited the help of Ida Anderson and Anna J. Johnson in the vicinity of Kimbro,

Texas.³³ John Thompson, led evangelistic meetings with his daughter Julia (Mrs. Alfred Stone) and Mary Johnson in the area of Moorhead, Minnesota, and Fargo, North Dakota.³⁴

Alma Olson (Mrs. Delos Foster, Kingsburg) assisted W. B. Hallman and A. J. Thorwall with tent meetings at Petaluma, California.³⁵ Amanda Nelson cooperated with J. Peterson, and Nels Saabye at Turlock, California.³⁶ In each of these cases, Swedish Evangelical Free congregations were established.

Typically, a series of meetings led by the female evangelists lasted several weeks or months until a small group of spiritually awakened men and women expressed interest to form a congregation. Then male itinerant preachers would begin to serve the new congregation until a permanent preacher, when feasible, could be found to take over the work. For example, in the winter of 1894–95, Ida Anderson and Anna J. Johnson (Mrs. Carl O. Liljequist) came to Ella, Wisconsin, and through their meetings over a three-month period, souls were awakened to faith in Jesus including John A. Valine and Charles Lundberg.³⁷ This opened doors at nearby Pepin Hill where the two women also held meetings.³⁸ Then Ida and Anna departed for Texas while Rev. Andrew Modig who recently had been “set apart to the preaching office” took over the work, and the Free Church at Pepin was founded in 1897.³⁹

II. Early debate about women preaching the gospel publicly

It is important to recognize that for early Swedish immigrants in the U.S., preaching the gospel publicly and ordination to the office of pastor/ elder/ overseer were not one and the same.⁴⁰ Preaching or

proclaiming the gospel to those who are spiritually lost was considered different than overseeing and teaching a local congregation of believers. The command to preach the gospel (*prediken evangelium* in Swedish) was given to all disciples of Jesus, to men and women. In contrast, to oversee or direct a congregation was a particular office of the church, namely, that of an overseer of the congregation (*församlingsföreståndare*).

At the end of the nineteenth century, the topic of women preaching publicly was debated in Sweden, as well as among Swedish churchmen in America.⁴¹ Much of the debate was published in *Chicago-Bladet* – the Swedish-language periodical of the Swedish Free churches – and contained extracts of letters and minutes that were published earlier in newspapers in Sweden. For example, in October 1884, a letter from P. P. Waldenström, a leading voice of the Mission Covenant in Sweden, reported his visit to Malmö. He wrote about controversies that occurred over women preaching publicly, specifically about Nelly Hall who had visited one of the city’s mission societies in the fall of 1883. Waldenström commented on the division that followed, and his disapproval of the matter, saying: “Paul says there [in 1 Cor. 14:34]: ‘Women should remain silent in the churches, for they are not allowed to speak.’ It is a shame for a woman to speak in church. What good does it do? When a woman finds it necessary to preach, the apostle must step aside.”⁴²

At the same time in America, *Chicago-Bladet* published minutes of meetings of the Swedish Free Mission. At these annual meetings with thirty to forty preachers from several states in attendance, theological questions were raised, allowing the preachers – generally all men – to answer and discuss them. In a report of the

Swedish Free Mission meeting held at Chicago in 1886, the question was asked: “Who is qualified to be called as a preacher?” Among the responses J. G. Princell, the “dean among the pioneers” and “leader preeminent” of the Swedish Free Mission, said:

‘To prophesy’ (*profetera*) is the Greek and ‘to preach’ (*predika*) is the Latin but the meanings are precisely the same. According to the Word of God, preachers (*predikanter*) ought to be: pure, holy, humble, persistent, blameless, moral, enduring, self-sacrificing, strong, fasting when in need, repentant, sober, strong, just, good-natured, and able to teach. And according to God’s Word they are able to preach and be such people as just described. A woman must not be a preacher. She must preach; everyone must preach, prophesy, but not all may be preachers, i.e., to have preaching and teaching as their office. The Lord says, “Your sons and daughters shall prophesy.” When the apostle said that women should keep silent in the churches and that she would not teach others, he did not think that anyone would be so naïve to think that she would not then teach her children. It is clear.⁴³

Princell’s statement dealt first with preachers who oversee or direct a congregation, listing qualifications for those who have preaching and teaching as their office. However, he turned to the ministry of women saying that they too must preach and prophesy. He was not opposed to female preachers engaged in certain ministries. After all, he was a principal organizer of the Swedish Free Mission that supported the missionary work of Ellen Modin in Utah.⁴⁴ The matter of women being sent out from a local congregation to preach the gospel publicly was diffe-

rent than calling a woman to oversee and teach a local congregation of believers.

In 1888, at the Swedish Free Mission meeting held at Phelps Center, Nebraska, another question was raised and discussed by the preachers, namely, “Does God’s Word permit a woman to act as a preacher, to participate in general Christian ministry, and to have voting rights in congregational decisions?”⁴⁵ This question was broader, having applications both inside and outside a local church.⁴⁶

Princell began by exegeting texts of the New Testament that seemed to forbid women from speaking in the church. He summarized his remarks on 1 Cor. 14:34-35 by saying, “One must be careful not to stress the word ‘silent’ and say: ‘It says silent, and silent means silent.’ In fact, it is clear that what he [the apostle Paul] says refers to a particular set of circumstances... Moreover, if someone wishes strongly to emphasize ‘silent,’ then women would not even be allowed to join in congregational singing. Now, Joel says that in the last days [Acts 2:17] both ‘sons and daughters will prophesy,’ and the Scriptures show that we are living in the last days. Philip had daughters who prophesied [Acts 21:8-9] and this point is mentioned without further comment.”⁴⁷

Princell then challenged the writings of a certain “brother in Sweden” who had opposed women speaking inside the church. This person had “stated in an address that according to God’s Word, a woman has the right to prophesy but not to speak.” To this point, Princell asked: “But what is the difference? Can anyone at the same time prophesy and remain silent?”⁴⁸ Princell clearly challenged any extreme or hyper-view that never allowed women to speak in the church under any circumstances.

According to the report, at least one

participant at the 1888 Phelps Center meeting opposed any form of women preaching the gospel publicly. Such an extreme or hyper-view even excluded women from the role of evangelist or missionary. Charles Sandquist, a preacher from Oakland, Nebraska, said, “I have never found in God’s Word that Jesus sent out women to preach publicly or as missionaries. If a woman is married, she is under her husband’s authority and if she is single she is under her parents’ authority. I bear no ill will toward women but it appears very strange to me to see a woman preaching while men sit quiet.”⁴⁹ In this statement Sandquist echoed the view of Waldenström in Sweden that women may speak within the family or privately but never publicly, even for evangelistic purposes of proclaiming the gospel.⁵⁰

In contrast, Edvard Nelson made a distinction between preaching inside and outside the local church. He said, “Let us pay attention to what the Lord says. It is written that in the congregation of saints, women should keep silent – everyone in her place. Hannah spoke to those in Jerusalem, not in one of the congregations of saints. It is not because women lack ability but because of the fall she has been given a subordinate role. Prophesy, sisters, in the manner of Hannah and Elizabeth when you meet instead of talking about the things of the world. But in the congregation of saints, women should keep silent because that is the Lord’s command.”⁵¹ A. P. Rosen echoed this view in the discussion.⁵²

However, the general view expressed by those present at the meeting at Phelps Center supported women preaching the gospel publicly and their right to vote in congregational affairs. P. J. Falk said, “I have heard from my home region in

Sweden about women preaching there and that souls are being saved by the hundreds.”⁵³ He said that even though some opponents had “called it witchcraft and disobedience toward God,” he held that “a woman who by her holy life makes the teaching of God attractive [Titus 2:10] – is qualified to proclaim his name.” J. F. Long referred to John 4:39 that speaks of the woman at Jacob’s well who witnessed about Jesus so that many Samaritans believed. J. W. Stromberg said, “I would like to remind you that the first person to preach the resurrection of Jesus was a woman, and it was the Lord who sent her.”⁵⁴ Axel Nordin referred to Rom. 16:7 that speaks of “women who were called fellow workers of the apostles.” August Anderson promoted the idea that believers should speak more about Jesus whether at home, at social gatherings, or assembled at a local church. In all of these cases, the participants gave evidences to support the work of female evangelists.

The leading proponent of women preaching both outside and inside the church was A. A. Anderson. At the Phelps Center meeting he began by quoting Acts 2:17 from Joel that says, “In the last days, I will pour out my Spirit on all people. Your sons and daughters will prophesy.” Anderson also read from Acts 21:19, that tells of the evangelist Philip who had four daughters, never married, who prophesied. Anderson said, “In order to prophesy and to preach, one must stand before an assembly and not merely speak with another person; otherwise it would be a conversation. And if at that time, it was acceptable for a woman to preach, it is the same for our time.” Moreover, Anderson mentioned Nelly Hall’s ministry in Sweden and defended her against any allegations that she had caused divisions

in congregations, saying, “And then we see today how God blesses believing sisters such as Nelly Hall. She is used to bringing many sinners to salvation and edifies God’s children, both providing convincing evidences... God is with her and she speaks anointed by the Spirit of God, while many [male] preachers are so dry that things just creak.”⁵⁵

It is important to keep in mind that this discussion pertained to whether the Scriptures permitted women to act as preachers, to participate in general Christian ministry, and to have voting rights in congregational matters.⁵⁶ It was *not* over whether women should be called to the office of pastor/ elder/ overseer in local churches. This was made clear at the conclusion of the discussion when Princell said:

We must take into consideration the differing customs and usages of the times. We should also acknowledge that Christianity has elevated the position of a woman. The apostles came and preached that she was of equal worth before God, but even so, she should not make inappropriate demands and disregard common decency. She should not be ruling, neither a governing person, nor hold a governing office. But she may speak and preach though only if doing so is not in conflict with the circumstance in which God has placed her. Regarding having a right to vote in the churches – there are congregations composed of women only. One of these is Woburn [Massachusetts] that began with only women. Should they then not vote but wait until a man joins them? Luther said, “If there are only women let them baptize and preach, because this is God’s church there.”⁵⁷

In this final statement, Princell acknowledged that Christianity elevated women

and affirmed their equality with men before God. Nevertheless, he held to limitations in matters of church leadership and governance.⁵⁸

III. Proponents of the female evangelist movement

In 1935, Frank T. Lindberg published a book titled *Looking Back Fifty Years over the Rise and Progress of the Swedish Evangelical Free Church of America*. In this book, he summarized the history of the female evangelists despite his own criticisms of the movement. In this account, he identified the three people most responsible for the movement, namely, Fredrik Franson, August Davis, and Ellen Modin.

Fredrik Franson

Fredrik Franson was a Swedish immigrant to America who in 1878 was recommended as an itinerant evangelist by Chicago Avenue Church, known today as Moody Church, founded by the well-known evangelist D. L. Moody of Chicago.⁵⁹ After working in Utah, Colorado, and Nebraska for three years, Franson returned to Sweden where he cooperated with men and women including Nelly Hall in evangelistic work.⁶⁰ Franson's driving force was that the gospel should be proclaimed to the whole world before Jesus's return. In order to complete the task, Franson along with others such as A. B. Simpson and Hudson Taylor, developed the conviction that women were necessary for missionary work. Regarding Franson's view, a leading expert on Swedish female evangelists named Gunilla Gunner, writes:

Now it was time to call for them [the women]. Their preaching could be very helpful in the enormous task of carrying out the plan



Fredrik Franson

to save as many as possible of the lost souls of mankind before the return of Christ. In fact, Franson saw women as some kind of reserve army, ready to be called upon when needed. It was still predominantly a male project but women were crucial as helpers and assistants. Once again ideas of complementarity guided a man to advocate for women's voices in public.⁶¹

In 1896, Franson published a booklet titled *Prophesying Daughters (Profeterande Döttrar)* in which he emphasized the sending nature of the church that included women as well as men. His argument was framed within the spiritual needs of people of every nation to hear the gospel. He then provided biblical examples of how God had used women in redemptive history to accomplish his work alongside of men. Clearly, Franson held a broad view of how God had "installed teachers in the church, as well as apostles (such as

Barnabas, Acts 14:14, and present-day missionaries), prophets, evangelists, pastors, and miracle workers, and that in no sense should women be excluded from these offices (*embeten*).⁶² Although in this instance Franson used the word “offices,” he normally described these as “gifts” (*gåvor*) from Ephesians 4:11 that referred to “prophets (*profeter*), evangelists (*evangelister*), pastors (*herdar*) and teachers (*lärare*),” and held to the two biblical offices (*embetena*) of elders (*äldste*) and deacons (*diakoner*).⁶³ Certainly his reference to “miracle workers” was a gift from 1 Corinthians 12:10, and not an office. By any means, Franson argued: “Since [a woman’s natural] gifts and influence are more and more acknowledged in various areas, why not also in the spiritual! ... When, therefore, a woman has the gift (*gåva*) of an evangelist, how can she dare to neglect to use such a gift?”⁶⁴

The thrust of Franson’s booklet was not to call women to fill pulpits of established churches but to go out from them as missionaries and evangelists to reach spiritually lost souls.⁶⁵ The subtitle of the work addressed the context of ministry, namely: *Some Words Regarding the Role of Women in the Work of Evangelization*.⁶⁶ Franson’s heartbeat was always to mobilize women and men for global mission.⁶⁷ He did not want the evangelistic potential of women squelched or lost. He wrote:

It is amazing how one can get such a false idea as that not all God’s children should use all their powers in all ways to save the lost world. There are, so to speak, many people in the water about to drown. A few men are trying to save them, and that is considered well and good. But look, over there a few women have untied a boat also to be of help in the rescue, and imme-

diately a few men cry out, standing there idly looking on and therefore having plenty of time to cry out: “No, no, women must not help, rather let the people drown.” What stupidity! And yet this picture is very fitting. Men have, during all these centuries, shown that they do not have the power alone to carry out the work for the salvation of the world; therefore, they ought be thankful to get some help.⁶⁸

As Gunilla Gunner points out, Franson’s ideas of complementarity guided him to advocate for women’s voices in public. This did not lessen his view that men should serve as pastors of local churches. In fact, he said, “The sisters can best of all win an entrance and most inexpensively carry on the work, especially in the [spiritually] dark places, leaving the gathering of new converts to the congregations and the teaching ministry in general to the brethren.”⁶⁹ To this point, Gunilla Gunner says:

In the preface to the Swedish version [of *Prophesying Daughters*] he even warned women not to defend women’s preaching in public. Women should not let themselves become involved in a public dispute on the subject. On one hand he argued that women could deliver a religious message in public, but on the other hand he did not want them to discuss or defend the vocation itself. Franson’s rationale was that by discussing it in public women would act as teachers in a controversial issue. This was not only outside their area of competence; it was also transgressing a border. By doing so, women would acquire a position above of men, acquire authority over men, and whatever happened they should never be allowed to exercise power over men. In this case Franson argued along the line that the gendered

order of subordination had to be kept intact. As a consequence of his way of thinking it becomes clear that it was only for practical reasons that he argued in favour of women's preaching in public. He saw women as useful tools in the fulfillment of the apocalyptic vision for the world.⁷⁰

While some readers of *Prophesying Daughters* applauded the manner in which Franson advocated for women to preach the gospel in public, they are troubled by "his conservative mentality and chauvinism."⁷¹ To understand Franson, however, it is important to consider his other writings such as "The Biblical Order of the Congregation" ("*Den Bibliska Församlings-ordningen*").⁷² In this foundational series of articles published in *Chicago-Bladet* in 1880, he described the operations of the local church, responsibilities of members, evangelistic witness, and fulfilling the evangelist's commission.⁷³ He held that while a settled or resident pastor (*en settlad eller bostad pastor*) oversaw a congregation, those with the gift of evangelist were to be sent out.⁷⁴ Moreover, he advocated for the priesthood of believers, saying, "God's children are the preachers which ought to speak to one another for edification as well as to preach to the unconverted."⁷⁵ However, the gathering of new converts to the congregations and the teaching ministry in general were to be carried out by "the brethren."⁷⁶

August Davis

The second person responsible for the movement of Swedish female evangelists in America was August Davis.⁷⁷ In 1889, Davis organized the Scandinavian Mission Society U.S.A.⁷⁸ This society recommended and supported the work of itinerant preachers and evangelists in



August Davis

Minnesota, and later expanded to Wisconsin, the Dakotas, and western regions.⁷⁹ This district organization of Swedish Free churches was mostly responsible for sending and supporting female evangelists. At the society's annual meeting in Minneapolis in 1896, forty-six "brothers and sisters" were received as members, and the board was elected which included: August Davis, Alf Anderson, Louis Olson, P. J. Lilgren, Amanda J. Gustafson, C. Lind and A. C. Leafgren.⁸⁰ As for the organization, it was stated that "within the society shall no division exist concerning brothers' or sisters' rights, neither in the ministry or election of the board with the exception that the chairman shall be a brother."⁸¹

As president of the society, Davis arranged for female evangelists to secure "clergy fare" on the various railroads which sent "the movement forward with leaps and bounds."⁸² Female evangelists as well as itinerant male preachers could travel from place to place at "half fare." It was estimated that at one time "at least fifty [female evangelists] were out on the

field.”⁸³

Although Della Olson described “the privilege of clergy fare of the railroads” as a “stamp of approval to the female missionaries,” this eventually became a point of contention within the Swedish Free Mission.⁸⁴ In fact, the Ministerial Association (*Predikantförening*) of the Swedish Free Church preachers was organized in 1894 due to the “many unworthy men as well as women” that were posing as Swedish Free Church preachers. Lindberg remarked, “To save our own reputation such an organization was needed.”⁸⁵ Sarcastically he commented: “If a girl could play the guitar, it was taken as a sure sign that God had called her to preach.”⁸⁶

In 1900, *Chicago-Bladet* published the minutes of the Scandinavian Mission Society’s annual meeting that listed the itinerant preachers and evangelists that received the society’s recommendation. The minutes stated:

The following brothers and sisters have during the year received the Society’s recommendation (*sällskapets rekommendation*), namely:

Andrew Carlson, Slayton, Minn.,
Anton L. Moline, West Superior, Wis.,
Louis C. Johnson, Ella, Wis.,
Wm. H. Orrock, Santiago, Minn.,
Sophia Evensen, Riceford, Minn.,
Hulda Samuelson and Annie
Grönquist, Galesburg, Ill.,
Adla Östlund, Lowry, Minn.,
Mary Abrahamson, Moline, Ill.,
Ellen Modin, Thea Johnson, and
Elizabeth Gustafson, Minneapolis,
Minn.⁸⁷

The minutes also included names of the “brothers and sisters” who had their recommendations renewed.

Within a few years, the society established its own periodical titled “The Dove’s Letter” (*Bref-Dufvan*). In 1909,

this periodical published the society’s preacher list of 59 preachers, both men and women.⁸⁸ There were 20 female preachers and all were designated by the titles “Missionary” and either “Miss” or “Mrs.” All 39 male preachers were designated by the titles “Missionary” or “Rev.”⁸⁹ Of the male preachers, 21 were designated by the title “Rev.” and 18 were designated by the title “Missionary.”⁹⁰ None of the female preachers were designated by the title “Rev.”

This preacher list indicated that male preachers were either ordained to the preaching office or recommended by the society as missionaries, or perhaps both. The female preachers were recommended as missionaries but not ordained to the preaching office. The most notable preachers of Swedish Free congregations in Minnesota were: Rev. John Thompson, Rev. William Melin, Rev. John Moline, and Rev. Louis Olson.⁹¹ Among the notable female missionaries were: Missionary Miss Ida Anderson,⁹² Missionary Miss Amanda Nelson, Missionary Miss Amanda E. Carlson, and Missionary Miss Mary Johnson.⁹³

This list showed that while female preachers were recommended and supported financially by individuals and churches to serve in their respective fields, they were not ordained as pastors/ elders/ overseers of local congregations. Even within the Scandinavian Mission Society known for female evangelists and missionaries, ordination with the designation “Rev.” was reserved for men, evidence of the distinction between men set apart to the preaching office (*avskild för predikoämbetet*) and women and men set apart as a missionary (*avskild som missionär*). Nevertheless, the recommendation and setting apart of these home missionaries with certification made them eligible



Ida Andersson and Mary Johnson

for the “half fare” offered to clergy that broadly included “ministers of the gospel, brothers of religious orders, sisters of charity, deaconesses and others engaged exclusively in religious duties.”⁹⁴

A similar practice was followed by the Scandinavian Free Church society of preachers, elders, evangelists, and Sunday school directors, founded in 1897, at Joliet, Illinois.⁹⁵ Fredrik Franson was present at the organizing meeting and gave the address. The bylaws of this society provided a glossary of words. The bylaws stated:

Membership is open to:

a) Every brother that is accepted as a preacher (*predikant*) within a local congregation of believers or who is employed by such as an itinerant preacher (*respredikant*).

b) An elder (*äldste*) or overseer (*församlingsföreståndare*) of a congregation that is set apart (*afskilda*), and thereby recognized as such by the congregation. This setting apart (*afskiljande*) ought to happen through prayer and the laying on of hands, with intercession and fasting (Acts 14:23). By the title ‘elder,’ we understand such a person to be the congregation’s minister (*församlingstjänare*) who oversees the spiritual affairs of the

congregation, even if he does not bear the title ‘elder’ (*äldste*) but is called, for example, chairman (*ordförande*), deacon (*diakon*), or the like...

c) Superintendents of Sunday schools (the children’s elder) (*barnens äldste*), as long as they have been set apart (*afskilda*) by the congregation for this ministry – and best if done in the same way as the elders.

d) Evangelists (*evangelister*) that present (1) certification that they are duly set apart (*afskilda*) for this ministry and sent out (*utsända*) by a local congregation of believers, and (2) moreover that they have the testimony of at least two members of this association. The association does not consider itself authorized to deny membership to female evangelists who have been considered eligible for this ministry by a local congregation, and all the more so because the association holds that no higher authority can be found than God’s local church, and thus, neither this nor any association can set itself over or disdain this God-given authority that has been established by God on the basis of his Word. The names and addresses of female evangelists, however, shall be listed separately with the names

of the congregations from which they were sent out (*utsände*) or recommended (*rekommenderade*). The names of the male evangelists shall be recorded along with the name of the congregation's teacher (*församlingslärare*) under the English title "ministers" and indicate whether they are ordained (*ordinerade*) or "licensed."⁹⁶

Although Della Olson referred to this source in *A Woman of Her Times*, she selected points only from section d) pertaining to women.⁹⁷ She made no reference to sections a) and b) that distinguished pastors/ elders/ overseers from female evangelists in section d). In addition, Olson made reference to a subsequent section of the bylaws that dealt with "Conferences and Officers" and the benefit of the "half fare permit" on railroads as a result of receiving this society's "letter of recommendation" (*rekommendationsbref*).⁹⁸

Ellen Modin

The third person responsible for the movement of Swedish female evangelists was Ellen Modin. She was prompted by Fredrik Franson's appeal in *Chicago-Bladet* to come to Utah to reach out with the gospel to Mormon women, many of whom were unprepared for and disillusioned by the polygamous aspects of this cult.⁹⁹ In 1885, Modin became the first missionary of the Swedish Free Mission.¹⁰⁰ She was not only the first to receive financial support but was the first approved missionary on the field.¹⁰¹

In Modin's book titled "Echoes from Days Gone By" (*Eko från flydda dagar*) published in 1906, she gave an account of her activities to reach Mormon women. In the mornings she made it her practice to spend time studying books of Mormonism, comparing their teachings with

the Bible. In the afternoons, she spent time visiting with Mormon women with a view toward persuading them to evangelical faith.

In 1891, Modin returned to Minnesota where she founded the Women's Alliance Mission Home in St. Paul. She took it upon herself to travel about the country raising funds to offer Bible training courses for female evangelists and missionaries.¹⁰² In 1897, the building of the Alliance Mission Home in St. Paul was sold and property was purchased in Minneapolis. She continued as president of the Women's Alliance Mission Home "until the brethren no longer encouraged the mission, and consequently it was discontinued."¹⁰³ In 1907, she sold the property and transferred the assets to the newly founded Scandinavian Home of Shelter, a ministry "for fallen women." This home provided refuge for women and children, particularly for Swedish girls who were pregnant outside of marriage, and the children were adopted by Christian parents. During the years 1909 to 1932, Modin published a monthly periodical titled *The Life Line* (*Räddningslinan*), the official organ of the Scandinavian Home of Shelter. This publication often reported about the evangelists and missionaries that she had trained to preach the gospel publicly.

For several decades Modin served as a deaconess of the Scandinavian Church of Christ, known later as First Evangelical Free Church of Minneapolis. She was an activist with the Southside Citizen's Committee to close down Minneapolis's "red light district." Although she never served as a resident pastor, she filled pulpits to tell of her ministry to women at the Women's Alliance Home and the Scandinavian Home of Shelter. During her life, she served as a missionary, evangelist,



Ellen Modin (sitting, center) and female evangelists

teacher, fundraiser, and administrator and prepared dozens of women to serve as evangelists and missionaries with the Swedish Free Church. She was a prominent leader among women.

IV. Ordination in the Swedish Free Mission churches

In 1884, the Swedish Free preachers met at Boone, Iowa, and approved a resolution that included the statement: “The local church has in accordance with the Word of God and the laws of our land, the right to set apart (ordain) [*afskilja* (*ordinera*) in Swedish:] persons into biblical Christian service, and these rights should be used in the fear of the Lord whenever so needed.”¹⁰⁴ The Swedish word *afskilja* was used to speak of both preachers and missionaries being *set apart* either to a local congregation or mission field. For example, in 1887, Hans Jensen Von Qualen, was “set apart to the call of missionary” (*avskild för missionsnärskallet*) to Canton in South China.¹⁰⁵ In 1901, “Sister Anna E. Nelson... received a call to become a foreign missionary and was set apart (*afskildes*) for the work.”¹⁰⁶ Another example of this word

is found in the Constitution of the Ministerial Association (Art. IV, section a) that listed terms for membership. In addition to “being well-known among the brothers,” a requirement for membership was “That according to God’s Word, [the brother needs] to be born again, to have received a calling from the Lord Jesus to proclaim the gospel, to be set apart to the preaching office (*avskild för predikoämbetet*), and to be active serving as a preacher.”¹⁰⁷

Ordained Preachers

In regards to ordination to the preaching office, delegates at the Swedish Free Mission’s annual meeting in 1898 at Phelps Center, Nebraska, recommended that “when the Free churches intend to ordain (*ordinera*) a preacher that they should examine the preacher’s life and character thoroughly. It was advised that the congregation invite two or more well-known preachers to carry out the act to ordain.”¹⁰⁸

Despite this recommendation, and the fact that the Ministerial Association (*Predikantförening*) was established in 1894 to maintain the theological and pastoral integrity of Swedish Free Church

preachers, certain matters still needed to be addressed. One of them was clergy fare on the railways. Thus, at the 1903 annual meeting of the Swedish Free Mission in St. Paul, Minnesota, the following questions were discussed: “Is ordination as now practiced by some meaningful or not? What are the prerequisites that the candidate should have, and who is entitled to be ordained according to the Bible?”¹⁰⁹ In this meeting, G. A. Young introduced the topic, saying:

A question has come up that has caused a great deal of confusion on this matter. Some have held that the congregation is the highest authority and thus only the congregation should ordain (*ordinera*). Others say that the board of a society should do it. In the question about who should be ordained, we need to mention that some [preachers] do it only to get the “half fare.” And thus, ordination is brought down to such a low point that it is nearly devoid of meaning. Sometimes it happens that a person does not seek ordination from his own congregation but rather travels to another congregation to get it. While a person should be ordained in the congregation to which he belongs, in instances where this has been done, even in places among us, it has happened rather shabbily.¹¹⁰

After Young’s introduction of the topic, C. O. Sahlström replied that it was not good for someone to travel from one congregation to another to be ordained, but that this point should not be held hard and fast. He said, “The Bible makes it apparent that if a congregation is led by the Holy Spirit, she can set apart (*afskilja*) and ordain (*ordinera*).” In response, A. A. Anderson invited those present to read more closely Acts 13:1-3. He did not

think that it was biblical for the local church to set apart someone as a preacher. Nor did he think that a local church was necessarily competent to do so. Rather, he felt that experienced preachers were better able to make the proper assessment of any candidate.

In the discussion Magnus Book followed the lines of G. A. Young’s opening comment saying: “Anyone who is ordained to get the “half fare” fails to consider the nature of this high office. I think that the person who is ordained should be born again, have the requisite gifts, and have a good testimony, as well as the testimony within him that God has called him to preach. He also needs to know some things.” In contrast, P. G. Lantz felt that too much importance was placed on the “setting apart” (*afskiljandet*), claiming, “No one becomes any better by it. Civil laws require that one do this for certain privileges but no preacher becomes better or more skilled by it.” In other words, Lantz felt that being set apart to the preaching office has little spiritual advantage but provides certain civil and legal benefits. A. P. Rosen cautioned against any congregation ordaining someone who is not qualified, “having neither the resolve nor the requisite gifts.”

Adding to the discussion, August Davis advocated for the time when certain preachers are appointed to ordain others. He said, “Some [unqualified preachers] will not get to open their mouths; only those that the committee recommends.” Frank Lindberg mentioned the practice of the American Congregationalists in which the local congregation ordains but the Congregational clergy carry it out. He also said that railway companies never ask him for any certificate of ordination.

In contrast to the Congregationalists, John Martenson raised the practice of the



Swedish Free Church Conference, St. Paul, Minnesota, 1903

Lutheran Augustana Synod in which a “license” was necessary to baptize, distribute communion, and officiate a burial. Martenson bemoaned the idea that ordination makes someone a “Reverend – meaning venerable.” He thought in many cases that ordination is only an empty ceremony. Rather, he held that to ordain meant an “inauguration to” or a “setting apart from and to something.” He said, “Therefore, no one ought to be ordained except the person who is competent and is rightly determined as a person who ought to be set apart.” C. Lind stated that some participants in the discussion had questioned the congregation’s competency to ordain. However, he did not think it was a good idea to take this entirely away from the congregation, asking, “How can a person be ordained if he is not known?”

Then G. A. Young touched on the topic of setting apart female preachers, saying:

For me, I think a person is set apart from the common use in order to serve the living God. In today’s practice, this is little understood. For example, one week a girl (*flicka*) is ordained and the next week she is married. What are the prerequisites that the candidate should have, and who is entitled to be ordained

according to the Bible? I think that for a person to be ordained, he should have not merely knowledge but also an ability to think and be able to teach others. [1 Tim. 3:2]. Moreover, he should be born again, as well as have a solid and good character.¹¹¹

Presumably, G. A. Young’s comment referred to a teenager or young woman, who was “ordained” or “set apart” as an evangelist one week and married the next. Obviously he cited this case as an example – real or fictitious – for how low such practices had come, nearly devoid of meaning – a comment he made at the beginning of the discussion. A. A. Anderson summarized the discussion, saying:

Ordination is very meaningful as a recommendation for the important office by which the Holy Spirit has appointed us. Therefore, ordination – as well as the formal setting apart for the preaching office – must be conducted by those in the Christian ministry who are the best known and most trustworthy persons. We find that this was done in Antioch by those who were serving as teachers and prophets (Acts 13) when the command came to set apart Paul and Barnabas. Moreover, Paul and the elders set apart Timothy by the laying on of hands

according to 1 Tim. 4:4 where it says, “Do not neglect your gift, which was given you through prophecy when the body of elders laid their hands on you,” and in 2 Tim. 1:6 which says: “For this reason I remind you to fan into flame the gift of God, which is in you through the laying on of my hands.” Of course, the laying on of hands is not of such great significance that a brother would not be able to serve in the ministry of the Word and teaching without ordination. This can be sufficiently demonstrated in the fact that Paul and Barnabas preached the gospel for a long time before they were set apart. Of great importance, of course, is that we do not set apart anyone in haste or any brother who is unproven. We should never set apart an unworthy or incompetent person, for in doing so they might think that they have been called by God when in fact, they have not.¹¹²

This discussion demonstrated how the words ‘set apart’ (*afskilja*) and ‘ordain’ (*ordinera*) were used interchangeably. It also revealed the theological reasons for ordination, as well as certain legal or civil reasons. Moreover, as A. A. Anderson’s summary demonstrated, the practice of ordination to the preaching office was reserved for spiritually gifted and biblical qualified brothers.

The Ministerial Association (*Predikantförening*) held this view from the beginning. In 1919, this association of preachers celebrated the twenty-fifth anniversary and published a book containing biographies of all the ministerial members.¹¹³ Of the 109 members listed, all were men. Each of the biographies mentioned the date and place of ordination to the preaching office (*avskildes för predikoämbete*). Interestingly, members of the founding board were among the

strongest proponents of women serving as evangelists and missionaries, namely, A. A. Anderson, president; G. A. Young, secretary; and August Davis, trustee.¹¹⁴

Ordered Congregations

It is important to understand that Swedish Free preachers held that each and every local church was self-governing and organized for worship, edification, and mission under the lordship of Jesus Christ.¹¹⁵ There was no higher ecclesial authority.¹¹⁶ When Free churches cooperated with one another in mission, ordination, and education, these common activities originated with and were accomplished by the collective will of the local churches. Thus, the Swedish Free Mission that began loosely in 1884, the Ministerial Association that formed in 1894, and the Swedish Free Mission’s School and Bible Course in Chicago that opened in 1897, were all secondary and accountable to local churches that were the primary ecclesial authority.¹¹⁷ For Free churches, missionaries were agents not only of the societies but of the local churches. Missionaries remained members of and were accountable to their respective home or sending churches. The local church remained the primary ecclesial authority.¹¹⁸

In 1890, a question was raised at the Swedish Free Mission meeting in Chicago that asked, “Is the Christian organizing (*ordnande*) of a local church unfavorable or beneficial regarding Christian freedom and unity?”¹¹⁹ In the discussion Alexander Klint who had served as a preacher in Free churches at Kerkhoven, Minnesota, and Brushy, Texas, said, “I have found it necessary to have order in the congregation. Both Scripture and experience show the need for it. As a household needs order, so too does the church of God. In

apostolic churches, we see elders (*äldste*) or overseers (*biskopar*) who were set in charge and served the others, and they all showed respect to one another. We have the same need in God's churches today."¹²⁰

An example of such ordering of a church is demonstrated in the Swedish Evangelical Free Church of Manda, Texas, founded in 1897. Alexander Klint was among the founders of the Free Churches not only at Brushy, but also at Decker and Elroy, Texas, during the founding of this church nearby at Manda.¹²¹ The church's constitution addressed the role of the elder/ overseer in the preaching office in Article VII, "Qualities and Duties of the Officers." It stated:

§1. An elder or overseer shall be a mature and respected Christian, holding firmly to the trustworthy Word, able to admonish with sound doctrine. He must manage himself well, and work hard at preaching and teaching the Word. His faithful exposition and instruction will lead to the church's edification and establishment in the truth. He shall lead the church's meetings of worship, labor with diligence so that the congregation's children and youth are instructed in the Holy Scriptures, and make sure that everything within the church is done properly and orderly. Acts 20:28; 1 Tim. 3:1-7; Titus 1:5-9; 1 Pet. 5:1-4.¹²²

The Scriptures that were cited addressed the functions and qualifications of the pastor or elder in an ordered congregation, and these were distinct from those of missionaries and evangelists sent out from the congregation. In Titus 1:5, the instructions were given to "put in order (*skulle ordna*) what was left unfinished and appoint elders (*äldste*) in every town." Elders were to be "the husband of one

wife," and an "overseer" (*biskop* or *församlingsföreståndare*) who was to be blameless. While every local congregation had the right to draw up its own constitution, this example from Manda illustrates how a Swedish Evangelical Free church understood the role of the pastor who was ordained to the preaching office, namely, set apart to oversee a local congregation of believers.

Ordained Missionaries

In 1905, a request came from Fredrik Franson to ordain missionaries of the Scandinavian Alliance Mission, known today as The Evangelical Alliance Mission (TEAM). Franson founded this society several years earlier in an effort to mobilize missionaries to north China and other countries. Several of the missionaries were sent by Swedish Free congregations. Franson's request was whether they would be willing to ordain their missionaries who were "serving on the mission field and in need of ordination."¹²³ The matter was taken up for discussion at the Swedish Free Mission's annual meeting. The delegates made the decision to "recommend to the Free churches to meet the wishes of Brother Franson, though with much discernment, and after communicating with the Board of the Alliance, as well as being completely informed about the character of the candidates in question."¹²⁴

It is important to note that the Scandinavian Alliance Mission was a mission agency and not an ecclesial body of churches. Yet, because of the close relationship between the Alliance and the Free churches, this agency gave reports regularly at annual meetings of the Swedish Free Church.¹²⁵ The reason for the request was not disclosed but there were apparently theological reasons, legal rea-

sons, or both. Certainly, there was the need for missionaries to baptize converts.¹²⁶ For example, in March 1905, the Scandinavian Alliance missionaries with Franson in northeast India baptized two hundred Bhils.¹²⁷ By any means, Franson's request promoted the novel expression of "ordained as a missionary" (*ordinerad som missionär*).

Of course, Franson understood the need for ordination personally. In 1878, he had been recommended by Chicago Avenue Church to go forth in evangelistic work.¹²⁸ In 1881, however, when making plans to travel to Sweden, he took the advice of Emil Olson, secretary of the board of the Swedish Free Church at Phelps Center, Nebraska, who said:

It has occurred to us that if you go to Sweden, it will become all the more important for you to have formal ordination by a church. We know you have credentials from the Chicago Avenue Church, and I have read them. They will do here in America, but you know how particular the state church is over there. We believe it would be appropriate for you to be ordained to the gospel ministry, and we would rejoice if the ordination could be here in this church which you yourself helped organize.¹²⁹

Franson accepted the offer, and was formally ordained on January 20, 1881.¹³⁰

V. Ordained female evangelists and missionaries

In 1908, the Swedish Free Mission incorporated as the Swedish Evangelical Free Church of America. During the next two decades, its overseas mission expanded from south China to Venezuela in South America, and to the Belgian Congo in Africa.¹³¹ Moreover, its home mission in America continued to establish new con-

gregations. Although female evangelists continued to work in the U.S., an increasing number of young women pursued missionary work overseas. In the book *A Woman of Her Times*, Della Olson identified names of several women who were ordained, saying:

Women were ordained from the beginning. Among the earliest ones ordained were Christina Carlson, Ellen Modin, Amanda Nelson, Carrie Norgaard, Hilma Severin and Amanda Gustafson. ... The ordination of women continued, but there were not many for a time because of the shift of emphasis from women evangelists on the home front to overseas missionaries. Among those ordained who are still active today are Anna Tweed (Mrs. Henry), Mollie Hanson, Esther Lundin, Alma Olson Foster and Naomi Olson Skoglund. Two other ordained women passed away in 1975; namely, Esther Carlson, missionary to Venezuela and Helen Forsberg Anderson, missionary to Zaire.¹³²

The question is who were these women and what was significantly different about them and their work? Although records of ordination for all these women have not been located, all will be examined nevertheless. Since Ellen Modin has been discussed already, the others will be considered, along with the ministries and responsibilities they assumed.

Ordained Female Evangelists of the Home Mission

Amanda J. Gustafson (Mrs. Victor Carlson; 1870-1956) of Minneapolis, mentioned earlier, traveled for nine years as an evangelist, from 1893 to 1902. In 1897, she attended the first class of students at the Swedish Free Mission School and Bible Course in Chicago, known today as

Trinity Evangelical Divinity School. She continued her studies at the Chicago Bible Institute, known today as Moody Bible Institute.¹³³ As noted above, she served on the board of the Scandinavian Mission Society.¹³⁴ She was ordained as an evangelist at the Scandinavian Church of Christ, known later as First Evangelical Free Church of Minneapolis. In 1929, she received a transfer of ordination from the Swedish Evangelical Free Church with the words written on the certificate “Transferred from Scandinavian Church of Christ to Central Free Church.”¹³⁵ The certificate was signed by August Davis, her former pastor, and the witness of transfer was Milton G. Nelson, her pastor at the time.¹³⁶ Amanda was a prominent figure among Swedish Free Church women. In 1927, she organized the Minnesota district of the Women’s Missionary Society (WMS), and served as the fifth president of the national society.¹³⁷ This organization supported mission projects at home and abroad. In her roles she traveled in the interest of the society in the Western territory.¹³⁸

Hilma Severin (1872-1945) of Minneapolis served during her young adult years as an evangelist alongside Emmy Edison Nelson.¹³⁹ However, for most of Hilma’s life, she worked in the restaurant business in Minneapolis with Anna Christopherson.¹⁴⁰ They were members of the Scandinavian Church of Christ, known later as First Evangelical Free Church, and were active with its Ladies Aid Society.¹⁴¹ Moreover, Hilma worked closely with Amanda Gustafson (Mrs. Victor Carlson) in the Minnesota Auxiliary of the WMS.¹⁴²

Amanda Nelson of Orion, Illinois, was recommended as a missionary by the Scandinavian Mission Society.¹⁴³ She began work earlier in Rock Island, Illinois,



Amanda Gustafson

with Otto Österman and P. G. Erickson, to establish a Swedish Free Church in that location. When revival broke out in 1893 at Gothenburg, Nebraska, through the ministries of “Miss Hanna Peterson and Miss Anna Ecklund,” these two sisters were “assisted by Miss Amanda Nelson, Olof Running, Wm. Bergstrom, and Andrew Matson” to found the Swedish Free Mission Church of Gothenburg.¹⁴⁴ Amanda also worked in Texas with C. G. Nelson and John Herner at Elroy where she was described as a “Bible woman.”¹⁴⁵ After her work at Elroy with Herner and Nelson, August Davis took over the work and founded the church in 1904.¹⁴⁶ Amanda then traveled to California where she labored with J. Peterson, and Nels Saabye at Berkley and Turlock.¹⁴⁷ By 1914 she was known affectionately in the Swedish Free Church as “Saliga Amanda,” meaning “Blessed Amanda.”¹⁴⁸

Christina Carlson of Chicago worked

as a missionary in Utah following the work of Ellen Modin. In 1890, G. A. Young and his wife, Ida, were called as missionaries to Salt Lake City where they established a congregation and erected a mission house.¹⁴⁹ The following year they were joined by Christina along with Fred Elmer. Christina worked for several years in Utah, and then in 1904, was recommended by the Swedish Free Mission to travel to Sweden where for two years she engaged in “anti-Mormon propaganda... which, without a doubt, helped to rescue many who would have fallen victim to their schemes.”¹⁵⁰ She returned the following year to Utah where “Mormon newspapers expressed their concern over Christina Carlson.”¹⁵¹

Carrie D. Norgaard (1880-1952), a native of Denmark, lived in South Dakota where she was active as a Free Church missionary to Scandinavians with the Swedish Evangelical Free Church Mission Society of South Dakota.¹⁵² When the Rose Hill Free Mission Church formed in Langford, South Dakota, traveling ministers that visited there were “Victor Carlson, David Carlson and John Nelson. Also Carrie Norgaard.”¹⁵³

Alma J. Olson (Mrs. Delos L. Foster; 1901-1996) of Kingsburg, California, graduated from Wheaton College and became the first instructor in English and Mathematics at the Free Church Bible School and Academy in Chicago, known today as Trinity.¹⁵⁴ She returned to California, where she taught in Kingsburg’s public schools. In 1928 and 1929, she served as an evangelist with the California District Society, assisting in founding Free churches at Orland and Petaluma, conducting tent meetings and holding Sunday school in homes and rented halls.¹⁵⁵ She was an active member of the Kingsburg Free Church, and later chaired its

Women’s Organization.¹⁵⁶ Moreover, she served as national president of the WMS.¹⁵⁷

After serving as evangelists and missionaries, some of these women married and remained active in women’s ministries in Free Church congregations. Of course, there were other well-known evangelists and “Bible women” such as Anna Nesberg (Mrs. N. W. Nelson), Hanna M. Erickson (Mrs. J. L. Anderson), Anna J. Johnson (Mrs. Carl O. Lilyquist), and Christina Matson (Mrs. J. E. Eckstrom).¹⁵⁸

At the 40th anniversary of the Swedish Evangelical Free Church, a brief history stated, “And for a number of years, the [female evangelist] sisters stepped out very well in the field with their testimonies. But they soon disappeared and now we find them as capable and God-fearing housewives here and there in our congregations.”¹⁵⁹ These women made significant contributions in the work of evangelism and founding of local Swedish Free churches. It is evident, however, that they were neither ordained to the preaching office nor served as pastors of local congregations.

Ordained Female Missionaries of the Overseas Mission

The records of annual conference reports, histories, reports in *Chicago-Bladet*, and certificates of ordination held at the EFCA archives, document the women who were ordained as missionaries between 1923 and 1928.¹⁶⁰

Anna Sperry Tweed (Mrs. Henry O. Tweed; 1895-1992) completed her education at the Alliance Training Home in St. Paul, Minnesota, and at Wheaton College, in Wheaton, Illinois.¹⁶¹ Along with her husband Henry, she served in the Belgian Congo as a missionary from 1924 to 1936.¹⁶²

Mollie Hansen (1892-1982) of Wisconsin enrolled at Moody Bible Institute, and completed nurse's training at the Swedish Covenant Hospital in Chicago.¹⁶³ She was accepted as a missionary by the Free Church Annual Conference and left for Africa in 1924. She served as a medical missionary in the Congo until 1945.¹⁶⁴

Esther Lundin (1892-1985) of Minnesota graduated from Moody Bible Institute and the Seminary Course of the Free Church Bible School, known today as Trinity.¹⁶⁵ She was accepted and "ordained as a missionary to the Belgian Congo" arriving there in 1924. After serving three terms, she returned in 1940 due to health reasons. Her treatment by a chiropractor in Chico, California, piqued her interest to attend chiropractic college in Los Angeles.¹⁶⁶ She completed the doctoral program and practiced chiropractic medicine until her retirement.

Esther Marie Bergman Johnson (Mrs. Lloyd Spencer Johnson; 1900-1985) of Minnesota finished the course of the Free Church Bible Institute and Academy in Chicago. "She was accepted and ordained as a missionary in 1924" and in the fall of 1925 entered work as a missionary in Congo with her husband Lloyd.¹⁶⁷ They returned to America in 1932. Lloyd served as pastor of Free churches in Minnesota and California, and then for twenty-five years with Evangelical Covenant churches in Minnesota.¹⁶⁸

Helen Esther Forsberg (Mrs. Reinhold Anderson; 1901-1975) of Nebraska finished the course of the Swedish Department at Moody Bible Institute. She was "ordained as a missionary in 1924," and in 1925 traveled to the Belgian Congo where she met Reinhold.¹⁶⁹ She served there from 1925 to 1936, and 1954 to 1966.¹⁷⁰

Esther Amelia Carlson (1904-1975) of Minneapolis studied at Northwestern Bible Institute.¹⁷¹ She was ordained as a missionary in Minneapolis on November 10, 1928, and arrived to Venezuela that fall where she was a teacher at the Free Church mission school. She served 46 years in that field. Her certificate of ordination included the additional words (in italics): "... the laying on of hands by *the officers of the conference of the Swedish Ev. Free Church* in Minneapolis, State of Minn., to be a *Missionary* of the Gospel," [with the word 'Minister' crossed out].¹⁷²

Naomi Josephine Olson (Mrs. Arthur Skoglund; 1902-1989) graduated from the Bible Institute of Los Angeles, known today as Biola, and the Nurses' Training School at Emanuel Hospital in Turlock, California.¹⁷³ She applied to the Mission Board of the Free Church in 1927. She was accepted as a missionary to the Congo and was ordained as a missionary on June 24, 1928.¹⁷⁴ She traveled first to Belgium to study French and while there passed the government exam to serve as a medical missionary, arriving to the Congo a year later. She served from 1929 to 1964.¹⁷⁵

It is important to know what responsibilities these female missionaries had on the field, and how their ordination as missionaries may have been different than if they had been commissioned as missionaries. When examining these women, it is clear that they were accepted and sent as missionaries, mainly as nurses and teachers. They were neither ordained to the preaching office to oversee and teach newly formed congregations nor to baptize new converts.

At the Free Church annual conferences, both preachers and missionaries were "ordained (*ordinerad*) for their future callings."¹⁷⁶ At the annual conference held at

Boone, Iowa, in 1924, for example, on Friday evening two preachers (Arthur Larson and Folke Ekblad) and four missionaries (Lloyd and Esther Johnson, Helen Forsberg, and Arthur Skoglund) were “set apart (*avskild*) for the work in the vineyard.”¹⁷⁷ Dr. Gustav Edwards of the Free Church School in Chicago delivered the ordination sermon which was followed by the candidates’ testimonies of conversion to faith and their call by God to Christian service.¹⁷⁸ The director of mission, E. A. Halleen, led the act of ordination as the candidates knelt on the platform, surrounded by those who attended the event.

Based on interviews years later, Della Olson wrote:

Some of these [women] have given an account of their ordination in this way: The service was held at an annual conference and included both men and women. The women had to answer the same questions as the men. After being ordained they could perform all the duties of an ordained minister including dedicating babies, serving communion, officiating at marriages and conducting funerals.¹⁷⁹

The joint service to ordain preachers and missionaries gave the same charge to “preach the word, to be prepared in season and out of season, to correct, rebuke and encourage with great patience and careful instruction.” Each certificate of ordination stated that the bearer was “appointed and ordained” as a “Minister of the Gospel,” or was altered to read a “Missionary of the Gospel” followed by the words “of Jesus Christ and to perform the duties and enjoy the privileges pertaining to the office and the work of such Ministry wherever he may be called to labor.” However, if any of these female missionaries performed the pastoral

duties described by Olson, it was by necessity and not by design. In practice, these missionaries functioned no differently than missionaries that were “set apart,” “sent out” or “commissioned.” In the case of Esther Carlson, her ordination service of 1928 was described in 1974 as her “commissioning service.”¹⁸⁰

Between the years 1923 and 1928 when missionaries were ordained, a resolution was proposed to the Swedish Evangelical Free Church concerning the “Ordination of Preachers and Missionaries.” It came before the annual meeting held at Boone, Iowa, in 1924, published in the annual report, and approved the following year.¹⁸¹ It read:

Ordination of preachers and missionaries should, as far as possible, take place at and by the Free Church’s annual conferences, according to the following terms:

a) The candidate in question shall have the congregation to which he or she (*han eller hon*) belongs produce a properly issued certification of his/her (Swedish neuter ‘*sin*’) Christian character, talents, education and all else that concerns the call that he or she (*han eller hon*) seeks.

b) Furthermore, the candidate in question shall before the charge of the Free Church Joint Committee [Mission Board and Ministerial Board] personally submit the above certification, verbalize an oral confession of his/her faith in God, and be examined by the committee about us and our work, and ask important questions about faith and doctrine.

(c) The Joint Committee shall, where it finds the candidate acceptable, submit to the annual conference a recommendation for his or her setting apart (*rekommendation om hans eller hons avskilande*),

which happens at a later conference session.

(d) It shall belong also to the Joint Committee to serve as the “License Committee,” to issue a license to non-ordained (*icke ordinerade*) preachers (*predikanter*) as requested. Such a license is issued only to such a preacher as is known to work in harmony with the Free Church, and it is good for only one year but can be renewed twice to one and the same person.¹⁸²

While some people have highlighted the inclusive pronouns (*han eller hon*) of this statement, they say little about the setting apart (*avskiljande*) of missionaries.¹⁸³ Nor do they say anything about the license issued to those who were non-ordained (*icke ordinerade*) preachers.¹⁸⁴ Although the title “Ordination of Preachers and Missionaries” covered the breadth of the subject and the language of ordination was used for preachers and missionaries, an important distinction with separate paths was made apparent by section (d).

When “the candidate in question” expressed “the call that he or she seeks,” the Joint Committee of the Foreign Mission Board and the Ministerial Board would have made a decision as to the appropriateness of the call. Candidates, both male and female, who were qualified to be missionaries would be ordained as missionaries. Preachers, specifically male, who were qualified would be ordained as ministers of the gospel, or issued a license to serve a local church as stated in section (d).

If the terms of “Ordination of Preachers and Missionaries” were ambiguous, the annual conference reports of those ordained as preachers and those ordained as missionaries were not. The records of names listed at the end of the annual conference reports between 1924 and 1950

show that no women were ordained by the Swedish Evangelical Free Church to the preaching office to serve as pastors/elders/ overseers of local churches.

VI. Clarity of ordination and commissioning

After 1935, annual reports of the Swedish Evangelical Free Church were published in English and became more descriptive regarding the ordination of preachers and the commissioning of missionaries. The constitution and by-laws stated broadly that one of the objectives of the Evangelical Free Church was “to educate and ordain ministers and missionaries, to remove them from the list of ordained ministers and missionaries, when advisable, and to assign missionaries to duty, also to recall them when necessary.”¹⁸⁵ Following this broad objective, statements were more specific regarding responsibilities of the Board of Foreign Missions and the Ministerial Board.

The Board of Foreign Missions would supervise the foreign mission work and examine all applications of missionary candidates.¹⁸⁶ For example, in 1939 the board report stated: “The following candidates for our Africa field shall be commissioned and sent out as soon as all the stipulated requirements are met: Mr. and Mrs. H. Wilbert Norton, ... and Miss Merriam Johnson. That Miss Evangeline Lindgren shall be called, commissioned and sent forth to the La Victoria [Venezuela] field, subject to our rules and regulations.”¹⁸⁷

In contrast, the Ministerial Board would receive all applications for license and ordination and examine and approve applications before recommending candidates.¹⁸⁸ The 1939 report stated that it was: “The desire of the [Ministerial]

board to present the following recommendations to the Annual Conference: First, that the following brethren be granted a license to preach and all rights pertaining thereto: Ralph Clauson, Kiron, Iowa, ... Bertil Thorne, Melvin, Texas. ... Thirdly, that the following brethren be granted the privilege of ordination, and all rights pertaining thereto: Richard B. Anderson, Oakland, Nebraska, ... Carl Sundholm, Petaluma, California.”¹⁸⁹

Moreover, the inclusive pronouns in the “Ordination of Preachers and Missionaries” statement – “he or she (*han eller hon*)” – were clarified to reflect the practice.¹⁹⁰ Although some people decades later would consider this out of order with no record of any decision to rescind the resolution passed in 1925, there was neither any substantial change in policy nor any question at the time given the long-standing practice of ordaining men to the preaching office to serve as pastors/overseers of local congregations.

In 1945, the Ministerial Association celebrated its 50th Anniversary and published a volume titled *Laborers Together with God*.¹⁹¹ All 224 members listed in the book with biographies that included dates and places of ordination were men, again illustrating that ever since the formation of the Ministerial Association (*Predikantförening*) in 1894, all members were men.

VII. Conclusion

The decision in 1988 by delegates of the EFCA to credential men as pastors of local congregations by ordination, and to credential men and women as missionaries, evangelists, and ministry directors as Christian workers, was consistent with the theological views and historical practices of the Swedish and Norwegian-

Danish Free Churches from their beginnings.¹⁹²

The vision cast by Fredrik Franson for women to engage actively in evangelism was put into practice by August Davis and modeled by Ellen Modin. In the history of the Free Church, women worked alongside of men. Swedish Free Church leaders such as J. G. Princell, A. A. Anderson, and G. A. Young welcomed women into Christian ministry as evangelists and missionaries in contrast to ecclesial bodies that held to hyper- or extreme views that excluded women from evangelistic and missionary work altogether. With a vision that was both missional and ecclesial, women joined men in preaching the gospel of Jesus Christ and establishing local churches, yet with distinct ministries. While female evangelists and missionaries were recommended and set apart for their work by home churches and mission societies, they were not ordained to the preaching office to oversee and teach local congregations. The title “Rev.” that signified ordination was never associated with women in any documents, periodicals, reports, or histories of the Evangelical Free Church.

The pastoral role to oversee and instruct a local church was uniquely the responsibility of spiritually gifted and biblically qualified men. Female evangelists and missionaries were always members in good standing with their home or sending churches. As workers, they labored as agents of these churches in cooperation with other Free Church congregations. Thus, the Swedish Free Mission was always an agency for local churches to cooperate in common activities. Final authority and accountability rested with the local congregations.

Generally, there has remained a dis-

inction between men who are ordained as pastors of local congregations, and men and women who are recommended as evangelists or commissioned as missionaries. Such practices preserved the role of men in positions of spiritual authority while encouraging men and women to exercise their spiritual gifts and God-given callings to proclaim the gospel and to cooperate in forming new congregations.

At times, the vision to engage young women and men as evangelists and to set them apart for this work in order to receive “half fare” on railway tickets became a problem. Recommendation by a church or mission society to serve as an evangelist or missionary could be perceived by others as equivalent to ordination to the preaching office of a local church. This needed to be addressed. At times, the words “set apart” and “ordained” were used loosely, or confused (fused together), as with the novel expression “ordained as a missionary.”¹⁹³ Nevertheless, more precise wording came with time in order to distinguish between the ordination of pastors and the commissioning of missionaries.

The work of Della Olson in *A Woman*

of Her Times raised awareness of the contributions of Free Church women. It is important to celebrate that God has given spiritual gifts to women and that he has used sisters in Christ in meaningful ways to spread the good news around the world. This is acknowledged and celebrated. However, as discussed in this study, the book *A Woman of Her Times* was written to shape the narrative in a particular direction at a particular time that favored the ordination of women as local church pastors/ elders/ overseers. This has led to misunderstanding. For example, Janette Hassey offered a conclusion to her chapter on “Women in the Free Church,” saying, “That a church [EFCA] once so supportive of women preachers and pastors now might possibly exclude them is somewhat ironic.”¹⁹⁴

This study has attempted to offer a more accurate historical account of ordination and women in the history of the EFCA based upon an examination of sources and a synthesis of particular accounts into a narrative that stands the test of critical methods. The invitation is that more researchers will join in carrying out scholarly research on ordination and women of the EFCA.

Notes

1 Mrs. Arnold T. Olson, “A Woman of Her Times,” *The Evangelical Beacon* 48, no. 18 (May 27, 1975); 48, no. 19 (June 10, 1975); 48, no. 21 (July 8, 1975); 48, no. 22 (Aug. 5, 1975); 48, no. 23 (Aug. 19, 1975); 48, no. 24 (Sept. 2, 1975). In the last article, Pastor Birgitta Johansson is pictured as one of twenty-five active ordained female pastors in the Mission Covenant of Sweden, known today as Eumeniakyrkan (United Church). 2.1 2. 2. In 1976, the ECC voted to ordain women and two years later Carol Shimmin (Nordstrom) and Sherron Hughes-Tremper were ordained. “Women Ordained,” *Chicago Tribune*, June 10, 1978, 5.

3. Olson mentioned Belinda Wong of Hong Kong, and Doris Ekblad of Grantsburg, Wisconsin, who were preparing to graduate from Trinity Evangelical Divinity School with the M.Div. in June 1975. Olson, “A Woman of Her Times,” *The Evangelical Beacon* 48, no. 24 (Sept. 2, 1975): 11.

4. Della Olson, *A Woman of Her Times* (Minneapolis: Free Church Press, 1977).

See: http://collections.carli.illinois.edu/cdm/compoundobject/collection/tiu_efcalit/id/4023/rec/1 The publisher is listed as Free Church Press but noted to be an Ardel Publication. The name Ardel is a contraction of Arnold and Della. Arnold T. Olson, *Give Me This Mountain: An Autobiography* (Minneapolis: Mike Beard & Associates, 1987), 79.

5. Della Olson “Certain Women Also: Early Free Church Women, Advancing the Cause of Christ,” *The Evangelical Beacon* 58, no. 1 (Oct. 1, 1984): 11. Olson provided no sources of the so-called record.

6. Donald W. Dayton, “Evangelical Roots of Feminism,” *Covenant Quarterly* (Nov. 1976): 53, 56 n. 35.

7. Donald W. Dayton, *Discovering an Evangelical Heritage* (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 1976), 93-94.
8. Donald W. Dayton with Douglas M. Strong, *Rediscovering an Evangelical Heritage: A Tradition and Trajectory of Integrating Piety and Justice* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2014), 143.
9. Janette Hassey, *No Time for Silence: Evangelical Women in Public Ministry around the Turn of the Century* (Grand Rapids: Academie Books, 1986).
10. Janette Hassey, *No Time for Silence* (Minneapolis: Christians for Biblical Equality, 2008).
11. For a theological treatment see: Walter L. Liefeld, Douglas J. Moo, and Philip Barton Payne, *What Does the Scripture Teach about the Ordination of Women? Differing Views by Three New Testament Scholars* (Minneapolis: Evangelical Free Church of America, Study Commissioned by the Committee on Ministerial Standing, 1987).
12. E. A. Halleen, William B. Hallman, Milton G. Nelson; and G. A. Young, *The Golden Jubilee of the Swedish Evangelical Free Church: Reminiscences of Our Work Under God. 1884-1934* (Minneapolis: Swedish Evangelical Free Church, 1934), 58.
13. David M. Gustafson, "Mary Johnson and Ida Anderson: 'Free-Free' Missionaries of the Scandinavian Mission Society U.S.A. to Natal, South Africa," *Pneuma: Journal of the Society of Pentecostal Studies* 39:1-2 (2017): 71.
14. 100 Year Anniversary, Lanse Evangelical Free Church, Lanse, Pennsylvania, 1892-1992, 6.
15. Halleen et. al, *Golden Jubilee*, 58. Also Olson, *A Woman of Her Times*, 43-44; Hassey, *No Time for Silence*, 88-89; Olson, "Certain Women Also," *Evangelical Beacon*, 10.
16. A. A. Anderson, *Twenty Years in the Wild West* (Chicago: Free Church Publications, 1900), 21.
17. *Minnesskrift Utgifven med Anledning af Svenska Evangeliska Frikyrkans i Amerika Trettioårsjubileum i Rockford, Ill., 10-14 juni, 1914; 1884-1914* (Minneapolis; Swedish Evangelical Free Church, 1914). Cf. "The first preachers to visit the new colony [of Turlock, Calif.] were Rev. J. Peterson ('California's Apostle'), Rev. A. A. Anderson, Mrs. Annie Peterson, Miss Amanda Johnson, Miss Amanda Nelson ('Saliga Amanda') and Rev. N. Saabye." Halleen, et. al., *Golden Jubilee*, 51.
18. Halleen, et. al., *Golden Jubilee*, 184-185; Olson, *A Woman of Her Times*, 60; Hassey, *No Time for Silence*, 88.
19. Della Olson presumably acknowledged the awkwardness of the statement and changed it to read as a plural: "were called as permanent pastors," without noting her edit. Olson, *A Woman of Her Times*, 61.
20. Ernest Severin, Christine Andreason, James Christianson, Alf L. Scott, and T. J. Westerberg, *Swedes in Texas in Words and Pictures, 1838-1918* (Austin, Tex.: New Sweden 88 Austin Area Committee, 1994), 118.
21. This was confirmed in an interview by Jim Christianson with Harry Lind, Austin, Texas, whose grandparents helped to found the Kimbro Evangelical Free Church, Austin, Texas, Jan. 26, 2019.
22. EFCA 1975 Yearbook and Minutes of the 91st Annual Conference, Green Lake, Wisconsin, June 16-21, 1975, Minneapolis, EFCA, 303-304. Compare the histories of Norwegian-Danish Free Church pastors: *Evangelii Budskab: En Samline af Korte. Opbyggelige og Interessante Taler af Laererer, Pastorer, Evangelister og Missionaerer i den Evangeliske Frikirke i Amerika* (Chicago: Evangelisten Pub. Society's Forlag, 1915), and R. Arlo Odegaard, *With Singleness of Heart: Pioneers and Pioneering for Christ in Home Mission Fields* (Minneapolis: Free Church Press, 1971).
23. Thomas A. McDill, "Editorial: The Role of Women in Ministry," *The Evangelical Beacon* 60, no. 4 (Dec. 15, 1986): 12. Calvin Hanson's statement in *What It Means to Be Free* lacked the clarity of McDill's statement. Hanson dropped the words "some women missionaries and evangelists," writing "very few women were ordained, the regulations of the Swedish group very explicitly guarded the right to ordain women." Calvin B. Hanson, *What It Means to Be Free: A History of the Evangelical Free Church of America* (Minneapolis: Free Church Publications, 1990), 209-210.
24. *Minnesskrift*, 35-36.
25. Halleen, et. al., *Golden Jubilee*, 40-41.
26. Nathaniel Carlson, *Sixty Years in Gospel Song, Music and Testimony* (Osterhus Publishing, 1955), 12-13.
27. Halleen, et. al., *Golden Jubilee*, 40-41.
28. Carlson, *Sixty Years in Gospel Song*, 12-13.
29. Carlson, *Sixty Years in Gospel Song*, 20-21.
30. Carlson, *Sixty Years in Gospel Song*, 20-21.
31. *Minnesskrift*, 78-79; G. A. Young, Frank W. Anderson and E. A. Halleen. *Minnen och Bilder: Från Svenska Ev. Frikyrkans Predikantförenings Tjugiofemåriga Verksamhet, 1894-1919* (Chicago: Ministerial Association, 1919), 25, 29; Halleen, et. al., *Golden Jubilee*, 140, 151, 299; Lindberg, *Looking Back Fifty Years*, 53-54. Olson, "Certain Women Also," *Evangelical Beacon*, 11.
32. The first history states: "A new mission committee was elected, and it was decided that with funds from the mission fund to assist brother E. Thorell and sister Ellen Modin, who have taken up missionary activities among the Swedish Mormons in the state of Utah." *Minnesskrift*, 15; cf. 18, 68. Later, Modin was joined by A. A. Anderson who came to "give her some assistance." Anderson, *Twenty Years in the Wild West*, 38.

33. Halleen, et. al., *Golden Jubilee*, 184-185.
34. Halleen, et. al., *Golden Jubilee*, 323.
35. Halleen, et. al., *Golden Jubilee*, 59, 222.
36. Halleen, et. al., *Golden Jubilee*, 51.
37. Letter from Theodore A. Valine to Della Olson (ca. 1975) cited in Olson, *Woman of Her Times*, 62.
38. *Bref-Dufvan*, July 1918, 6.
39. Halleen, et. al., *Golden Jubilee*, 196; Young, et. al., *Minnen och Bilder*, 23. Modig founded the church in 1897, and in the fall enrolled in the Swedish Free Mission's School and Bible Course in Chicago, known today as Trinity Evangelical Divinity School. *Svenska Bibel Institutet i Chicago: Redogörelse*, Chicago, Illinois, 9.
40. The biblical language of pastor/ elder/ overseer (1 Tim. 3:1-7; Titus 1:5-9) are used synonymously (Acts 20:28; Eph. 4:11; Phil. 1:1; 1 Tim. 3:2; 1 Pet. 5:2).
41. Gunilla Gunner, *Nelly Hall: Uppburen och Ifrågasatt: Predikant och Missionär i Europa och USA 1882-1901* (Uppsala: Swedish Institute of Mission Research, 2003), 175-177.
42. *Chicago-Bladet*, Oct. 14, 1884. For Waldenström's view see: Gunilla Gunner, "Women in Public: Preaching in the Late Nineteenth Century Sweden," in *Perspectives on Women's Everyday Religion*, Marja Keinän, ed., (Stockholm: Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis, 2010), 75-76.
43. *Chicago-Bladet*, Nov. 9, 1886, 1. For Princell see, Halleen, et. al., *Golden Jubilee*, 17.
44. *Minnesskrift*, 15.
45. *Chicago-Bladet*, Dec. 18, 1888, 2.
46. Contra Della Olson who says: "We must keep in mind that all remarks refer to within the church." Olson, *A Woman of Her Times*, 64.
47. *Chicago-Bladet*, Dec. 18, 1888, 2. Note that Della Olson's translation of Princell's statement deletes and adds scripture texts. She deleted his quoted text of 1 Cor. 14:34-35 and added the full quote of Acts 2:17, based on Joel 2:28. Olson, *A Woman of Her Times*, 65.
48. *Chicago-Bladet*, Dec. 18, 1888, 2.
49. *Chicago-Bladet*, Dec. 18, 1888, 2. For Sandquist see *Minnesskrift*, 58-59.
50. Gunner, "Women in Public," in *Perspectives on Women's Everyday Religion*, 75.
51. *Chicago-Bladet*, Dec. 18, 1888, 2.
52. Young, et. al., *Minnen och Bilder*, 61-62.
53. Young, et. al., *Minnen och Bilder*, 55.
54. Stromberg also recalled examples of young women in Sweden who came under the "preaching sickness" (*predikosjukan*), known for their trances and prophetic speaking in public spaces. See: George M. Stephenson, *The Religious Aspects of Swedish Immigration* (New York: Arno Press, 1969), 29-32.
55. *Chicago-Bladet*, Dec. 18, 1888, 2.
56. *Chicago-Bladet*, Dec. 18, 1888, 2.
57. *Chicago-Bladet*, Dec. 18, 1888, 2. See: Martin Luther, *Works* Vol. 36 (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1955), 152. "But if no man were to preach, then it would be necessary for the women to preach." (The Misuse of the Mass.) Cf. Martin Luther, *Works*, Vol. 40 (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1955), 388-391.
58. Della Olson bemoaned Princell's statement, saying: "He is showing a bit of inconsistency in some of his final remarks in this discussion ... some of his practices, especially in his home, were also then inconsistent." Olson, *A Woman of Her Times*, 71.
59. Josephine Princell, *Frederick Franson: World Missionary* (Chicago: Chicago-Bladet, 1909), 13.
60. Gunner, "Women in Public," in *Perspectives on Women's Everyday Religion*, 74, 77.
61. Gunner, "Women in Public," in *Perspectives on Women's Everyday Religion*, 76-77.
62. Franson, "Prophesying Daughters," 38-39.
63. Franson, *Profeterande Döttrar*, 29; Fredrik Franson, "Den Bibliska Församlings-ordningen," *Chicago-Bladet*, Dec. 17, 1880, 2-3.
64. Franson, "Prophesying Daughters," 25, 28. Also see pages 29 and 39. Moreover, he said, "If Jesus does not want to use the sister, why did He send so many sisters out with the glad Gospel message ... on the Day of Pentecost?" Franson, "Prophesying Daughters," 9, Swedish version cited in Edith L. Blumhofer, "A Confused Legacy: Reflections of Evangelical Attitudes Toward Ministering Women in the Past Century," *Fides et historia* 22, no. 1 (Wnt.-Spr., 1990): 51.
65. Franson's booklet has been referred to often as a work that argues for women to serve in the office of pastor/ overseer of local congregations. Mimi Haddad, "Egalitarians: A New Path to Liberalism? Or Integral to Evangelical DNA?," *Priscilla Papers* 29, No. 1 (Winter 2015): 18-19.
66. Fredrik Franson, "Prophesying Daughters," trans. by Sigurd F. Westburg, *Covenant Quarterly* 34 (Nov, 1996): 21-40; Fredrik Franson, *Profeterande Döttrar: Några Ord Angående Qvinmans Ställning till Evangelisationsarbete* (Saint Paul, Minnesota: Bibelqvinnohemmets forlag, 1896). Compare references to Franson and

- Princell in E.M. [Ellen Modin], "Bibelns Kvinnor, eller Kvinnans Plats och Ansats i Mänskligheten," n.d., 19-21. Archives, Trinity International University, Deerfield, Illinois.
67. David M. Gustafson, *D. L. Moody and Swedes: Shaping Evangelical Identity among Swedish Mission Friends, 1867-1899* (Linköping: Linköping University, 2008), 225-227.
68. Franson, "Prophesying Daughters," 29.
69. Franson, "Prophesying Daughters," 24.
70. Gunner, "Women in Public," in *Perspectives on Women's Everyday Religion*, 77-78.
71. Glenn P. Anderson, "Historical Note and Comment," *Covenant Quarterly* 34 (Nov, 1996): 22-23.
72. Fredrik Franson, "Den Bibliska Församlings-ordningen" *Chicago-Bladet* (Dec. 17, 24, 31, 1880; Jan. 7, 1881).
73. Edvard Paul Torjesen, "A Study of Fredrik Franson: The Development and Impact of His Ecclesiology, Missiology, and Worldwide Evangelism" (Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms International, 1984 Dissertation, Los Angeles), 117.
74. *Chicago-Bladet*, Dec. 17, 1880: 3; Torjesen, "A Study of Fredrik Franson," 125.
75. *Chicago-Bladet*, Dec. 24, 1880: 2.
76. Franson, "Prophesying Daughters," 24.
77. David M. Gustafson, "August Davis and the Free-Free: Pentecostal Phenomena among the Swedish Evangelical Free" *Pneuma: Journal of the Society of Pentecostal Studies* 37 (2015): 201-223.
78. "Det Skandinaviska Missionssällskapet," *Chicago-Bladet*, Feb. 11, 1890, 3; Lindberg, *Looking Back Fifty Years*, 61-66.
79. A. E. Strand, ed., *A History of the Swedish-Americans of Minnesota* (Chicago: The Lewis Publishing Co., 1910), 236.
80. *Chicago-Bladet*, Nov. 17, 1896, 2-3.
81. *Chicago-Bladet*, Nov. 17, 1896, 3. Reports were given by: C. Lind, Aug. Olson, H. M. Kjenner, John Halstedt, O. S. Olson, Andrew Mattson, A. C. Leafgren, Aug. Davis, Hulda Lindin, and Amanda Nelson.
82. Lindberg, *Looking Back Fifty Years*, 57-60. Cf. *Minnesskrift*, 35-36.
83. Lindberg, *Looking Back Fifty Years*, 58.
84. Olson, *A Woman of Her Times*, 44.
85. Lindberg, *Looking Back Fifty Years*, 57-60. Cf. *Minnesskrift*, 35-36.
86. Lindberg, *Looking Back Fifty Years*, 57-60. Cf. *Minnesskrift*, 35-36.
87. "Protokoll, Skandinaviska Missionssällskapet, St. Paul, Minn., 20-22 Okt. 1900," *Chicago-Bladet*, Dec. 4, 1900.
88. *Bref-Dufvan*, Dec. 1909, 8. Minnesota Historical Society Library, St. Paul, Minn.
89. Male preachers are never designated by the title "Mr."
90. The list contained two married couples, namely: "Rev. Emil Anderson and "Missionary Mrs. Amanda Anderson," and "Rev. F. Drevitz" and "Missionary Mrs. Emma Drevitz."
91. Lindberg, *Looking Back Fifty Years*, 54; Hallen, et. al., *Golden Jubilee*, 26, 146; *Minnesskrift*, 144.
92. Olson, *A Woman of Her Times*, 45, 61-62; Halleen, et. al., *Golden Jubilee*, 41.
93. "Women's Missionary Society of the EFCA, Free Church Mission Work in Africa: Free Church Field, Natal, and Swaziland," January 1945. EFCA Archives, Minneapolis, Minn.
94. Lindberg, *Looking Back Fifty Years*, 61. Half fare on railroads was a clergy benefit for decades. Franson made reference to the discount in 1880. *Chicago-Bladet*, Dec. 31, 1880, 6. By 1919, the Railroad Administration standardized this arrangement on all railroads. *Railway Age*, 65, no. 25, (Dec. 20, 1918): 1112.
95. *Chicago-Bladet*, Feb. 23, 1897, 1. Organizers were: E. Melon, Aug. Swanstrom, O. C. Grauer, J. C. Hofstedt, J. O. Nystrom.
96. *Chicago-Bladet*, Feb. 23, 1897, 1.
97. Olson, *A Woman of Her Times*, 72.
98. Olson, *A Woman of Her Times*, 73. Cf. *Chicago-Bladet*, Feb. 23, 1897, 1. See similar discussion of the Swedish Free Mission's Ministerial Association (Predikant Föreningen) meeting, Chicago, Illinois. *Chicago-Bladet*, Nov. 17, 1896, 2.
99. *Chicago-Bladet*, Nov. 7, 1879; Torjesen, "A Study of Fredrik Franson," 533; David M. Gustafson, "Ellen Modin: The Swedish Lady Missionary," *Pietisten* 28, no. 1 (Spring/ Summer, 2013): 12-13. See chapter 2 "Claiming Our Country on the Salty Lake: Savage Mormons and a Swedish Woman" in Philipp Gollner, *Good White Christians: How Religion Created Race and Ethnic Privilege for Immigrants in America* (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame, 2016), 33. For Franson's view of Mormonism see: Fredrik Franson, *The "Wiles of Error" Unveiled: Or 70 Bible Passages Misunderstood by the Mormons, Considered in the Light of the Scriptures* (Chicago: John Martenson, ca. 1880).
100. *Minnesskrift*, 290-291.
101. H. Wilbert Norton, Olai Urang, Roy A. Thompson and Mel Larson, *The Diamond Jubilee Story of the Evangelical Free Church of America* (Minneapolis: Free Church Publications, 1959), 156. Ellen Modin arrived

- at Salt Lake City months ahead of the second approved missionary on the field, Edward Thorell. Three years later, she was joined by Lottie Axelson and Mathilda Johnson. *Minesskrift*, 14–15, 29.
102. Halleen, et. al., *Golden Jubilee*, 41; Torjesen, “A Study of Fredrik Franson,” 533.
103. Lindberg, *Looking Back Fifty Years*, 58–59.
104. *Minesskrift*, 13; Halleen, et. al., *Golden Jubilee*, 28.
105. Young, et. al., *Minnen och Bilder*, 60. Note that Lindberg said: “H. J. von Qualen attended one of the Free Mission meetings held in Minneapolis in the fall of 1887 and requested a recommendation and commission as well as support to go out to China.” Lindberg, *Looking Back Fifty Years*, 71.
106. *Minesskrift*, 333, 334.
107. Young, et. al., *Minnen och Bilder*, 14. Cf. John E. Dahlin, Frank W. Anderson, and Philip C. Hanson, “*Laborers Together with God*”: *Devotional Meditations and Biographical Sketches of Ministers within the Evangelical Free Church of America* (Chicago: Ministerial Association of the Evangelical Free Church, 1945), 8-9.
108. *Minesskrift*, 85.
109. *Chicago-Bladet*, June 30, 1903, 7.
110. *Chicago-Bladet*, June 30, 1903, 7.
111. *Chicago-Bladet*, June 30, 1903, 7.
112. *Chicago-Bladet*, June 30, 1903, 7.
113. G. A. Young, Frank W. Anderson, and E.A. Halleen. *Minnen och Bilder: Från Svenska Ev. Frikyrkans Predikantförenings Tjugiofemåriga Verksamhet, 1894-1919* (Chicago: Emil Forslund, 1919).
114. Young, et. al., *Minnen och Bilder*, 8.
115. Halleen, et. al., *Golden Jubilee*, 28.
116. Karl A. Olsson speaks of the difference between the Swedish Free churches and the Covenant churches saying: “In essence, the major difference between the Princellian position (Free) and that of the Covenant was that the former wanted no legally constituted body with the authority to decide and control, but only an advisory assembly for deliberation of issues; the Covenant gave the delegates of constituent churches and societies both the right and the responsibility to make decisions affecting the total mission of the denomination.” Karl A. Olsson, *Into One Body by the Cross* (Chicago: Covenant Press, 1985-1996), 65. Cf. Arnold T. Olson, *The Search for Identity* (Minneapolis: Free Church Press, 1980), 51-52.
117. Halleen, et. al., *Golden Jubilee*, 28.
118. Hanson, *What It Means to Be Free*, 212.
119. *Minesskrift*, 39.
120. *Chicago-Bladet*, May 13, 1890, 1; Young, et. al., *Minnen och Bilder*, 26.
121. Severin, et. al., *Swedes in Texas*, 116, 121.
122. The Constitution of the Swedish Evangelical [Free] Church of Manda, Travis County, Texas, August 14, 1897.
123. *Protokoll över Svenska Evangeliska Fria Missionens Årsmöten, Denver, Colorado, den 21-25 Juni 1905*, 49.
124. *Protokoll över Svenska Evangeliska Fria Missionens Årsmöten, Denver, Colorado, den 21-25 Juni 1905*, 49.
125. The report from the meeting at Denver, Colorado, in 1920 stated that there were 12 missionaries belonging to the mission of the Swedish Evangelical Free Church with 5 men and 7 women. There were 27 missionaries belonging to the Scandinavian Alliance Mission that were receiving support from the Free Churches with 16 women and 11 men. The same report of the annual conference provided the list of 75 preachers of Free churches and all were men. Trettiosjette Årsmöte Denver, Colo., June, 6 – 20, 1920, 98-101.
126. Torjesen, “A Study of Fredrik Franson,” 597-598, 625-626.
127. Torjesen, “A Study of Fredrik Franson,” 745.
128. *Chicago-Bladet*, Dec. 17, 1880, cited in David B. Woodward, *Aflame for God* (Chicago: Moody Press, 1966), 54-55.
129. *Chicago-Bladet*, Dec. 17, 1880, cited in Woodward, *Aflame for God*, 54-55.
130. Woodward, *Aflame for God*, 55.
131. By 1925 the Swedish Evangelical Free Church had 39 missionaries serving on three mission fields. *Chicago-Bladet*, July 7, 1925, 4.
132. Olson, *A Woman of Her Times*, 79-80. Also, Hassey, *No Time for Silence*, 92.
133. Carlson, *Sixty Years in Gospel Song*, 12.
134. *Chicago-Bladet*, Nov. 17, 1896, 2-3.
135. Certificate of Ordination, Amanda Gustafson Carlson, was issued December 12, 1929.
136. Halleen, et. al., *Golden Jubilee*, 135, 312.
137. Norton, et. al., *Diamond Jubilee Story*, 13; *Diamond Jubilee, WMS 1908-1983* (Minneapolis: Women’s Mission Society, 1983), 4.
138. Halleen, et. al. *Golden Jubilee*, 261.
139. *The Evangelical Beacon*, 15, no. 8 (Nov. 20, 1945): 7.

140. *The Evangelical Beacon*, 12, no. 14 (Jan. 5, 1943):10.
141. *The Evangelical Beacon* 7, no. 14 (Apr. 5, 1938): 18.
142. Halleen, et. al., *Golden Jubilee*, 129, 261; *The Evangelical Beacon*, 7, no. 19 (June 14, 1938): 11; *The Evangelical Beacon* 12, no. 8 (Nov. 24, 1942): 6.
143. She is listed as: "Missionary Miss Amanda Nelson, Orion, Ill." *Brev-Dufvan*, Dec. 1909, 8.
144. Halleen, et. al., *Golden Jubilee*, 173.
145. Interview with Harry Lind, Austin, Texas, by Jim Christianson, Austin, Texas, Jan. 26, 2019.
146. Halleen, et. al., *Golden Jubilee*, 178, 183; Severin, et. al., *Swedes in Texas*, 120.
147. Halleen, et. al., *Golden Jubilee*, 48; *The Evangelical Beacon*, 15, no. 37 (June 11, 1946), 1.
148. *Minnesskrift*, 141.
149. *Minnesskrift*, 293.
150. *Minnesskrift*, 95-96; 293-294.
151. *Minnesskrift*, 99, 294.
152. Halleen, et. al., *Golden Jubilee*, 216. The 1915 South Dakota State Census records: Carrie D. Norgaard, born 1880; Brookings County, Arlington; Occupation: Missionary; Church affiliation: Free Church.
153. Halleen, et. al., *Golden Jubilee*, 70.
154. *The Evangelical Beacon* 57, no. 13 (Apr. 15, 1984): 17; Halleen, et. al., *Golden Jubilee*, 271.
155. Halleen, et. al., *Golden Jubilee*, 58-59, 222.
156. 1964 Yearbook and Minutes of the 80th Annual Conference held at Orange Grove, NJ, June 15-21, 1964, Evangelical Free Church of America, Minneapolis, Minnesota, 52.
157. *Diamond Jubilee*, WMS, 5; *The Evangelical Beacon and Evangelist* (Oct. 9, 1956): 11.
158. Halleen, et. al., *Golden Jubilee*, 41. For A. A. Anderson's work with Hanna Erickson (1875-1936), a so-called "Bible woman" in the western states, see Anderson, *Twenty Years in the Wild West*, 105-106. Earlier, she was a Bible instructor at Minneapolis and Kansas City, and superintendent of the Orphans Home at Phelps, Nebraska. *Minnesskrift*, 302, 312-313; *Evangelical Beacon*, 5, no. 15 (Apr. 21, 1936): 6. See Ruth Tucker, "The Role of Bible Women in World Evangelism," *Missiology* 13, no. 2 (Apr. 1985), 133-146.
159. Svenska Ev. Frikyrkans Årsbok 1925 innehållande rapporter till och protokoll fort vid Frikyrkans fjortonde årsmöte, Beresford, South Dakota, den 17-21 juni 1925, 112-113.
160. Della Olson states: "Overseas women missionaries were also ordained until the late twenties when commissioning was begun for both men and women." Olson, "Certain Women Also," *Evangelical Beacon*, 11.
161. Halleen, et. al., *Golden Jubilee*, 243; Cf. Dahlin, et. al., *Laborers Together with God*, 216.
162. *Evangelical Beacon* 46, no. 4 (Nov. 14, 1972): 9.
163. Halleen, et. al., *Golden Jubilee*, 245.
164. *Evangelical Beacon* 46, no. 4 (Nov. 14, 1972): 9.
165. Halleen, et. al., *Golden Jubilee*, 245.
166. *Evangelical Beacon*, 59, no.5 (Jan. 6, 1986), 13.
167. Halleen, et. al., *Golden Jubilee*, 243.
168. Halleen, et. al., *Golden Jubilee*, 303; *The Evangelical Beacon* 59, no. 2 (Nov. 4, 1985):16.
169. Halleen, et. al., *Golden Jubilee*, 246-247.
170. *The Evangelical Beacon* 46, no. 4 (Nov. 14, 1972): 9.
171. Halleen, et. al., *Golden Jubilee*, 256.
172. Certificate of Ordination for Esther Carlson dated June 24, 1928, EFCA Archives, Minneapolis.
173. Halleen, et. al., *Golden Jubilee*, 244.
174. Certificate of Ordination, "Mrs. Naomi (Olson) Skoglund" is dated June 24, 1928. EFCA Archives, Minneapolis. However, Naomi married Arthur Skoglund in 1930. This anachronistic certificate was for some unknown reason back-dated and held at the EFCA office.
175. *The Evangelical Beacon* 63, no. 4 (Dec. 18, 1989): 17; 46, no. 4 (Nov. 14, 1972): 9.
176. Svenska Ev. Frikyrkans Årsbok 1924 innehållande rapporter till och protokoll fort vid Frikyrkans fjortonde årsmöte, Boone, Iowa, den 18-22 juni 1924, 130-131.
177. Halleen, et. al., *Golden Jubilee*, 240, 242, 243 247; Dahlin, et al., *Laborers Together with God*, 64, 119.
178. *Chicago-Bladet*, July 1, 1924, 4.
179. Olson, *A Woman of Her Times*, 80.
180. *The Evangelical Beacon* 48, no. 2 (Oct. 15, 1974): 20.
181. Svenska Ev. Frikyrkans Årsbok 1924 innehållande rapporter till och protokoll fort vid Frikyrkans fjortonde årsmöte, Boone, Iowa, den 18-22 juni 1924, 96-97; Svenska Ev. Frikyrkans Årsbok 1925 innehållande rapporter till och protokoll fort vid Frikyrkans fjortonde årsmöte, Beresford, South Dakota, den 17-21 juni 1925, 108-109.
182. Svenska Ev. Frikyrkans Årsbok 1924, 96-97.

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183. Hassey, *No Time for Silence*, 92.
184. Olson, *A Woman of Her Times*, 81.
185. Annual Conference Report, Swedish Evangelical Free Church, 1939, 121.
186. Annual Conference Report, Swedish Evangelical Free Church, 1939, 127.
187. Annual Conference Report, Swedish Evangelical Free Church, 1939, 112.
188. Annual Conference Report, Swedish Evangelical Free Church, 1939, 129.
189. Annual Conference Report, Swedish Evangelical Free Church, 1939, 88.
190. Norton, *European Background*, 173.
191. John E. Dahlin, Frank W. Anderson, and Philip C. Hanson, "Laborers together with God": *Devotional Meditations and Biographical Sketches of Ministers within the Evangelical Free Church of America* (Chicago: Ministerial Association of the Evangelical Free Church, 1945).
192. This conclusion challenges the final clause of the statement of the Committee on Ministerial Standing's report in 1975 that says: "The Committee could not do otherwise unless through proper procedures the rules were changed to specifically exclude women from the privilege and thus change the historic ninety-year policy of the Evangelical Free Church of America." EFCFA 1975 Yearbook and Minutes of the 91st Annual Conference, 303-304. This clause is deemed political, not historical.
193. As already mentioned, in 1887, Hans Jensen von Qualen, the pioneer missionary of the Swedish Free Mission, was "set apart to the call of missionary" (*avskild för missionärskallet*) to China but in 1946 an article in *The Evangelical Beacon*, written by Frank W. Anderson, long-standing member of the Mission Board, wrote: "When Von Qualen was ordained as a missionary at Oak Street Hall (now Summerdale Church) on November 13, 1887, he was the first foreign missionary ever to be ordained by our denomination." *The Evangelical Beacon*, 15, no. 29 (Apr. 16, 1946): 4. Cf. "At the annual conference in Stockholm, Missions Förbundet set apart eight missionary candidates for the work in Galla, Africa" (*avskildes missionärskandidater för verksamhet i Galla, Afrika*). *Chicago-Bladet*, July 7, 1925, 4.
194. Hassey, *No Time for Silence*, 94.