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**THE NAZI STATE AND THE NEW
RELIGIONS: FIVE CASE STUDIES
IN NON-CONFORMITY**

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III

A CONJUNCTION OF WORLD VIEWS: THE CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST OF THE LATTER-DAY SAINTS

Christian Scientists, it has been seen, relied unashamedly on influential foreign connections to protect them from harassment by the Nazis. Thus the very factor most likely to operate against them, their internationalism, had skilfully been turned to effective use. The Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter-day Saints, the Mormons, also had international contacts, particularly with the United States. The early years of Mormonism in Germany had seen an active missionary programme in which converts had been encouraged to emigrate to settle the new Mormon state of Utah. Because of this, and because of the Mormons' reputation for strange teachings and practices, including polygamy, the sect had experienced considerable hostility in the early years of the twentieth century, both from the German established churches and from the general public.

Thus, whilst it might seem at first sight that the Mormons, in spite of their experience in coping with prejudice and hostility, could barely expect the kind of toleration enjoyed by the Christian Scientists, the situation turned out to be rather different. The Mormons fared well under the Nazis, even though they could easily be identified by their missionary work and their self-contained community life; a style of life and worship which made them in many ways closer to the Jehovah's Witnesses than to Christian Scientists. They were, at first sight, easy and obvious targets for closure. If, as Heydrich and Bormann intended, policies towards the sects were to be used as both placatory and

warning gestures to the major churches, the Mormons, well-known and little trusted, had much to fear.

Not only did the Mormons fare the best of all the five groups discussed here, but they also remain largely absent from Gestapo reports on sectarian activity. Mormons were not named as potential subversives and their major sufferings during the Third Reich came not from persecution but from losses due to bombing in the war. How this remarkable escape came about is the subject of this chapter.

The Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter-day Saints had sent its first missionaries to Germany in the middle of the nineteenth century and by 1851 small communities had been established.¹ By the following year the *Book of Mormon* had been published in German.² Since new converts were encouraged to move to Utah, the missionaries of this sect met initially with perhaps more hostility and suspicion³ from the German police and government officials than new arrivals of any of the other groups discussed here. However, strategies for peaceful survival within the state were put into operation from the very earliest days, policies developed as a result of the Mormons' early struggles in the U.S.A. From the first days of their arrival in Germany, missionaries sought support from the Minister of Culture, attempting to explain their faith and justify their programme. Such overtures led merely to further clashes with the police and it was not unusual for American Mormons working in the German mission field to find themselves expelled from the country.⁴ A group of missionaries who in 1853 had sought the support of the authorities for their work in Berlin, had found themselves, for example, ordered to leave Germany.⁵

Since the law gave some rights to religious groups in the pursuit of their faith, charges against the missionaries were normally on civil grounds in pre-1914

Germany, and these included the accusation that they had incited German citizens to leave Germany for America.⁶ Thus at a very early date in its history the sect was facing in Germany charges of sedition and was evolving ways in which it might pacify the authorities and carry out its missionary work in peace.

The major churches reacted with a clear condemnation of the teachings of the Mormons. Treatises expounded upon their 'heresies', their belief in many gods, in a corporal Godhead and in the pre-existence of spirits. One such article, written in 1902⁷ and published in an Evangelical church weekly, explains that to the Mormons, 'we Evangelicals, as well as the Roman Catholics, are heathen'. In the author's view the sole aim of the Mormon missionaries in Germany is to win converts from the true church and to take Germans from their own country to Utah, and on these grounds he identifies them as dangerous and 'anti-Christian'.

It is difficult to assess accurately the amount of Mormon missionary activity in Germany at this time. P. Sarown, in the article mentioned above, suggests that there were two thousand missionaries in Germany at the time of his writing, working in all the major cities.⁸ Another non-Mormon source also writing in 1902 notes that Mormon missionaries appear in Germany 'from time to time', arranging secret meetings, holding services and collecting dues from members.⁹ The article discusses the legal status of such activities and confirms the view given by the Mormon records that the church was virtually banished from Germany at this time and that in 1904 only four German cities allowed Mormon communities to meet openly.¹⁰

According to legal experts employed by the government, Mormon missionary meetings were now attended by so many people that it was no longer a question of the religious freedom of the individual, but of the formation

of a religious society. Such a society had to be registered officially and was involved in certain legal requirements. The Mormons were, not surprisingly, unable to get any official recognition for their movement. Thus Mormons were, according to the law, entitled to meet for religious purposes only within the family circle. Any larger gathering was illegal, and offenders could be punished by a prison sentence, although normally a police warning was given for a first offence. Mormon families with school-age children were under observation by the local education authorities and parish clergy were ordered to advise the schools of any children baptized into the Mormon rite. Complaints against missionaries, whose activity was strictly illegal, could be made to the Minister of the Interior under the category of 'complaints against foreigners'.¹¹

Therefore, at a time when even the Jehovah's Witnesses were meeting openly, the Mormons were devising means by which they might carry on their work in Germany. The strategies were worked out in America where, in April 1902, a society was founded to promote the German mission.¹² The work did continue and as the century progressed, the authorities seem increasingly to have turned a blind eye to the Mormon missionary presence. As a result the number of converts grew rapidly and the sect became known for its use of the theatre, ballet, choirs and drama. Like the other sects, it also used literature, but the social meetings and dramatic presentations were unique and had a considerable and popular impact.¹³ By the time of the First World War, therefore, the Mormons had developed and were beginning to put successfully into operation a deliberate and sophisticated plan for their own survival and growth in Germany. There is no explanation of why official attitudes changed, either in Mormon or government sources, but the wealthy and influential American business contacts

as well as the welfare and social programmes of the church obviously contributed to the growth of practical toleration.

As soon as war was declared in 1914, the church set out to prove the patriotism of its German members. This was undoubtedly a deliberate strategy, although it was one the teaching of the sect allowed. Attacks on the missionaries had been centred on the emigration issue and much hostility had been based on the American presence in the German mission field. Therefore the American missionaries were immediately recalled in 1914 as they were to be in 1939, allowing no suspicion of fifth column or spying activity to be imputed to the church. German Mormons were encouraged to bear arms for their country and to pray for her victory, in spite of the problems this presented for an essentially American sect.¹⁴ Mormons were taught that such behaviour was in keeping with St. Paul's command in Romans 13 and here their beliefs accord with those of the Christian Scientists.

The way in which the Mormon leadership dealt with the difficult question of war was decisive in determining the relations between the German government and the church in the post-war period, as well as later, in the Nazi period, in that they made it clear that Mormons were good, loyal Germans. The moral problem was solved by the distinction which the church made between a government and a people.¹⁵ Whilst German Mormons had to fight Britain or America, they were not thereby fighting Mormon brethren in these countries, but merely representatives of the war-making governments. Such a distinction, although transparent, served to salve the moral and religious doubts of German Mormons, who, in any case, shared the patriotic fervour of their non-Mormon countrymen and needed no more than this word from the church to justify the nationalism they felt both as

German citizens and as a result of church teachings. It is interesting to note that the issue of war had also raised crucial questions for the Jehovah's Witnesses and indeed, in 1914 all the sects faced a situation new to them. Each made its own decision on how to behave and only the Witnesses, after a period of some confusion, came out whole-heartedly against involvement in a war between the 'nations'. That the Witnesses made this decision and the Mormons made an opposite one, goes some way to explain why each was treated so differently in the Third Reich.

Thus Mormons fought and died in all of the armed services during the First World War. By October 1915 forty men from the Mormon church at Hamburg were in the services and a church journal, *Der Stern*, carried lists of Mormons killed in action.¹⁶ Missionary and welfare work continued during the war, both for those in the services and for civilians.¹⁷ The church undertook considerable relief work and in the early years of the war, before America's entry, they distributed to members in need the funds donated by the American Mormon 'Zion's Emergency War Fund'.¹⁸ The church reported at this time an average of three hundred baptisms each year, and a rise in 1919 to six hundred.¹⁹

American money was sent to help the work of German brethren as soon as the war was over,²⁰ and the growth in membership continued throughout the immediate post-war years. Between 1918 and 1924 the number of baptisms rose annually from 334 each year to 1,795. The total membership rose from 8,506 in 1918 to 11,102 in 1924. By 1924 there were 238 American missionaries in Germany, and 50 German.²¹

The 1925 census reported the presence of 12,000 Mormons in Germany,²² and from a publication of the Evangelical church we have some interesting statistics which indicate that the Mormons were sharing in the

sudden expansion experienced by many sects during the Weimar period. This survey analyses a significant Mormon presence in twelve major German towns, all of which had growing Mormon communities. Apart from Breslau which had four, all these towns had six or more Mormon groups with those in Stettin, Köln, Hamburg and Stuttgart running into double figures. Each of the towns had an average of sixteen resident American missionaries helping in the running of the church, and these ranged from eleven in Breslau to over twenty in Köln, Stuttgart, Hamburg and Stettin. Baptisms were averaging at about sixty each year in each of the towns and there is evidence that the converts remained loyal to their new-found faith. The number of books and tracts sold ran into tens of thousands for each city.²³

A report in the *Leipziger Tageblatt* presents a similar picture of growth and intense activity. The writer notes the presence, in 1923, of some 12,000 Mormons and 250 missionaries. He gives details of the theatrical performances which drew the crowds to Mormon meetings and helps to shed some light on the pattern of the church's rapid growth. The congregations are described as poor, and as being very much in contrast with the smartly dressed young American missionaries. Many of the converts had come to the Mormon meetings, the writer suggests, for the church's social and welfare benefits as much as for spiritual reasons. The audience at such mission meetings contained whole families, many of them from the lower socio-economic orders, since many parents had to bring their babies along because, as the author notes archly, they were 'too poor to afford a nanny'.²⁴

Interestingly, this article is far from hostile to the Mormons. It describes them as 'good-living people', an asset to the community, praises their cultural and social work and attempts to dispel public fears about

their teaching and the practice of polygamy. Nor is this attitude untypical. The press in the twenties and early thirties was decidedly friendly towards the Mormon church. There are articles, for example, by journalists who have accepted the church's offer of a visit to Utah and who have returned impressed by what they saw.²⁵ In 1928 there was a favourable report of a Mormon youth rally in which it was noted that there were 15,000 Mormons in Germany and Austria. The article comments on the great wealth of the church, and is glowing in praise of its achievements.²⁶

This new found favour is also extended to the sect's relations with the authorities. As early as 1921 the civil authorities of Berlin had helped in special arrangements for a train to take 137 missionaries to see the Passion play at Oberammagau²⁷ and a Mormon choir was invited by the prison officials to sing at the Hamburg prison.²⁸ This good relationship became strengthened in subsequent years by various cultural and welfare links. As the Adventists were to extend their welfare programme in an attempt to prove their value to German society, so the Mormons stressed their cultural and health activities. In 1930 the church celebrated its centennial year and a number of newspapers marked the occasion by lengthy reports on Mormonism, its history and its contribution to German society.²⁹ In the same year the links with the government were further cemented by the Mormon contributions to the government sponsored Dresden International Health Exposition.³⁰ In 1932 George Washington's centenary was celebrated by the American community in Germany and there were cordial exchanges between various German and American government and diplomatic agencies and the Mormon church.³¹

By this time not only secular but also religious commentators were beginning to show some kind of

toleration for the sect. It is noticeable in the confessional studies of contemporary sectarian activity written in the Weimar period³² that writers who are quick to condemn sects like the Jehovah's Witnesses and the New Apostolic Church as dangerous are not so harsh in their judgement of the Mormons. They frequently praise the Mormon social programme and its value in a time of economic depression and unemployment, and it is undoubtedly true that a great deal of the favour shown to the sect must have sprung from the vast amounts of American money being poured into German Mormon welfare schemes. Although there are criticisms made of the teachings of the group, there is no evidence of the kind of attacks other groups received from church sources. During the inter-war years, the Mormon sect therefore experienced a reversal in its reception by the public, and by the time the Nazis came to power, Mormons were enjoying a great deal of interest and sympathy from non-Mormon sources.

With the growth of the Nazi party, however, the Mormons began to experience some harassment at their public meetings and church records note the occurrence of attacks on individual Mormons. Such incidents were seen in church circles as evidence of the violence of young extremists, not as any formal pressure from the Nazis and in 1933 it was felt that there was nothing to fear from a Nazi government. [The sect was obedient to the state and was willing to undertake any civil or military duties members might be called upon to perform. Article 12 of their creed makes obedience to the civil authorities mandatory for all Mormons. They had proved, during World War One, that their links with America were no hindrance to their patriotism and they had achieved a good working relationship with the governments of Weimar. No-one in the church expected that things would be any different under the Nazis.]

Since political and moral conservatism were factors likely to encourage the sects to welcome Nazism as a bulwark against bolshevism, none were slow to exploit characteristics they felt they had in common with the new party or its leader. In the area of behaviour these included abstinence from alcohol and tobacco, for which Hitler was noted, and the Mormons too were able to point to their own principles on diet and health. More than any other of the sects, however, the Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter-day Saints was able to stress areas of similarity between their practices and those promoted by the new regime. Nor were they slow to do this; as early as September 1933 a Mormon journal the *Millennial Star* was claiming that the introduction of the Nazi plan for a regular fast day was evidence that the Mormon 'way' was spreading.³³

Nor was the advantage only to the Nazis. Mormons use genealogical records in their search for the names of relatives who they can offer for post-humous baptism, and under the new state, itself obsessed with genetics, found, quite naturally, that these records were suddenly more available. In the process, of course, the Mormon researchers were quite happy to use the records for the purpose for which they were intended and many received letters of praise from the government for their zeal in tracing their Aryan ancestry.³⁴ In 1933 Mormon teachings on race were likely to find favour in Nazi eyes. God, it was explained, had cursed Cain with a black skin,³⁵ which marked him out as inferior and thus unable to enter the Mormon priesthood. Only at the last day would God make all blacks white and remove the curse. From this kind of racialism to the vicious anti-semitism of the Nazis may seem a long step, and Mormons were neither any better nor any worse than most other sectarians in their treatment of the Jews in the Third Reich, but nevertheless, to the Nazi ideologues, it was

a start.

In spite of what seemed a sympathetic response to the new racial laws, if Mormon teaching on the blacks was anything to go on, officials of the movement were questioned closely on what they felt about Jews and the Old Testament. They were apparently able to satisfy the Gestapo, for after initial questioning in 1933 little more was heard of the matter,³⁶ although spies from the Gestapo did attend Mormon meetings to check that all was well. One meeting obviously did not satisfy the officials and it was closed, but this was an exception.³⁷ In common with the major churches and the other sects, Mormons found that their youth and scouting activities³⁸ were subject to closure, especially when Nazi rallies³⁹ were in progress. There was no complaint from the group about these restrictions which, in any case, were limited and temporary. Co-operation with the authorities was evident right from the beginning and the Nazis met no resistance or evidence of criticism from the Mormon Church. Literature deemed to be suspect because of its references to the Old Testament and to the Jews was handed over without question on demand.⁴⁰ Practical responses to Jews and, more especially to Jewish converts to Mormonism differed between branches, as the case of the Hamburg branch discussed below will show. Probably most Mormons simply kept quiet if there were things which they did not like about what, to them, was the lawfully constituted government; a government their church enjoined them to obey. For some Mormons nationalism quickly became pro-Nazi zeal but for most the issues were not that clear.

With the exception of the Jehovah's Witnesses all the sects were unwilling to face up to what National Socialism meant and very willing to indicate and demonstrate their particular contribution to the new order.

Here the Mormons already had an edge, for the contacts they had established with the Weimar authorities remained intact. Sporting and cultural links between Mormons and the Nazis were soon established. Mormons visited universities and army camps with their American missionaries to give instruction in basketball,⁴¹ and matches were played against local towns.⁴² For the 1936 Olympics, American Mormons not only coached the German basketball team but also refereed the official matches.⁴³

[Mormons continued to stress the links between the Nazi party and Mormonism reflected in Nazi organisational structures and in the practice of monthly fast days, and even in Nazi interpretations of racial history. These apparent links provided those who welcomed Nazi rule with yet another justification for supporting the regime and were used as arguments to explain and plead for Mormon safety and protection in the Third Reich. Like the Witnesses, they had already sent telegrams and documents to Hitler and high ranking Nazis outlining and explaining their teaching.⁴⁴ [For those within the Mormon church to whom National Socialism was seen as a welcome and appropriate regime for Germany at this particular time in her history, the links between their faith and the politics of the Third Reich were clear. Rumours persisted that Hitler had read the *Book of Mormon*⁴⁵ and that Mormon teachings were highly regarded in the highest government circles. There is no evidence that this was true and what Mormons saw as imitation was simply a similarity in outlook. It is not, perhaps, that surprising, after all, that the strong, disciplined Mormon community, with its economic, social and familial teachings should have areas of overlap with National Socialist social policy.

The favourable treatment the Mormons received does indicate that some factors were operating strongly in their favour. In contrast with what was happening to

other sects which, even if they were not being persecuted, had at least to argue their case, the Mormon situation was unique. In 1936, for example, with Mormon literature being handed to top Nazis, the church won a legal case over its tax liabilities which saved it over 10,000 marks annually.⁴⁶ In this same year, in which all Jehovah's Witness' activity was banned and large numbers of Witnesses were being sent to concentration camps, the Mormons were able to welcome openly on a visit to Germany the Mormon president, Herbert J. Grant;⁴⁷ the visit bore none of the traces of unease which was evident in the visits of American and British Christian Scientists.

Grant's visit gave official sanction in Mormon circles to the church's friendship with the new Germany. Such a friendship was neither new nor unexpected. Grant's suggestions of mutual co-operation simply supported the line suggested by Americans like Senator Reed Smoot who had in 1935 published an article in the Mormon publication *Der Stern* criticising Germany's ill-treatment at Versailles. Shortly after Hitler had come to power *Der Stern* had published editorials supporting the new regime. The links between the Mormons and the Nazis were, from the Mormon point of view, seen to be strong and logical and they were carefully fostered by visiting Mormons in a way which parallels the strategies of the Christian Scientists but which outdoes them in terms of effectiveness.

Mormons were able, on the whole, to report to visiting church officials that all was well with the church in Germany. The mutual respect between the Nazis and Mormons may have been more one-sided than the Mormons thought, but at least a combination of acceptable views, wealthy and influential spokesmen and an ideological similarity in certain areas of *Weltanschauung* kept Mormons free to worship and continue with their

missionary work in an atmosphere of unparalleled freedom.

William Dodd, American ambassador to Berlin, and been approached, it will be remembered, by American Christian Scientists and had taken note that they were concerned for their co-religionists in Germany. He also met, in his ambassadorial capacity, representatives of the Mormon church from America. He spoke on the 31st of July, 1934 with an American politician from Utah, Senator Thomas. Dodd discussed the favour with which the sect seemed to be viewed by the German government, noting that the American missionaries had not been expelled and that there had been no action taken against the organisation. The Mormon senator seemed happy with the state of affairs and anticipated no changes. Where the Christian Scientists had asked for Dodd's help, Thomas needed to ask for none. Dodd's comment that 'there are other than religious aspects to Hitler's let-up on the Mormons'⁴⁸ is significant and refers almost certainly, since it is offered in the context of Thomas' visit, to the wealth and influential contacts of the Mormon church. Dodd's judgement confirms the view that no sect's teaching, in itself, could guarantee its safety. Had the Nazis wished, the Mormon teaching could have been made to seem as seditious, pro-Jewish, and as dangerous as that of the Witnesses or any other unacceptable sect.

The privileged position of the Mormons thus appears to have rested at least partly on the nature and extent of their contacts, both inside Germany and abroad, and upon their wealth. That their contacts were particularly powerful is evident in the fact that the Mormon position did not suffer the reverses the Christian Scientists experienced in 1941. The Mormons had managed to let the Nazis know that they did have powerful friends and that they were willing to use these and their wealth on Germany's behalf. Naturally there is no

documentary evidence of such an understanding, either on the Mormon or the Nazi side, but this sect's survival was, as Dodd noted, on grounds other than teaching.

Interestingly enough, even the press in the Nazi period shared the favourable view of Mormonism, where normally it was virulent in its attacks on sects. In 1938 an article was published in a Berlin journal which analysed, praised and recommended the highly successful economic and social programme of Utah.⁴⁹ Ever political and ideological scavengers, the Nazis were happy to make use of whatever came their way. Just as Himmler had plans to use the Witnesses as a Nazi vanguard in eastern Europe after the war was over, so the Mormons were, in some circles, seen to present a workable model economic programme. This, together with an acceptable *Weltanschauung*, which, for all its religious idiosyncrasities, presented no real challenge to the Nazi state, gave the new officials one more reason to allow Mormonism to survive.

There were indeed continued reminders of the Mormon's economic contacts. For example, a visit was made to Berlin by a Mormon lawyer, J. Reuben Clark Jr., who came as a member of a committee of American lawyers and bankers conducting negotiations over American money in German banks. Clark came as a lawyer, rather than a Mormon official, although he did manage to visit some churches and made no secret of his faith.⁵⁰ Anxious as Hitler and the Nazis were publicly to condemn 'big business' and the League of Nations which sponsored the visit (indeed, they condemned them in terms reminiscent of the attacks of the Witnesses on these bodies), they were not willing to alienate the business and banking world. The Mormon connections within these worlds might well have proved useful.

The general programme of propaganda against

religious observance had its effect on the Mormons, as it did on the two major established churches. The number of baptisms dropped between 1932 and 1937 from 331 each year to an average of only 130.⁵¹ The church responded with a missionary programme designed to activate lapsed members and was allowed to carry this out so freely that workers managed to raise the percentage of members who regularly attended services from 35% to 85%.⁵²

One of the real dangers to the Mormon church in Germany was the zeal of some of the young American missionaries. As the international situation deteriorated and war approached, there were a few incidents which the German officials had to go to great lengths to cover up or explain. In 1938 a young American Mormon delivered a sermon on the causes of the First World War and was getting onto dangerous ground when he was stopped and 'corrected' by German officials, who feared that news of this would reach the Nazis and that their carefully preserved reputation for loyalty would thereby be put at risk. Two others had a photograph taken draped in a Nazi flag; this exploit was less successfully hidden, only one escaped back to America and one was sent to a concentration camp.⁵³ He was considered, however, to have suffered for his own folly, not for his faith. The church was patriotic and loyal and decried any attack on the Nazi government.

In 1939, all the American missionaries were recalled to the States⁵⁴ and after this date the church, which had learned in the 1914-18 war to survive under an indigenous leadership, was quiet about its American contacts, managing to cope without them both in the day-to-day running of the church's affairs as well as in negotiations with the Nazis. The movement in Germany became even more patriotic now that the American influence was removed. Mormons joined the armed

services and there were six hundred Mormons in the German army by 1940. The 'minor sacrifices' the church was asked to make, like the confiscation of some property in the Greater Reich,⁵⁵ was made without protest.

Even in the war situation government tolerance of the sect was evident. The president of the East German Mission was allowed, even though he was serving in the army, to continue with his church work in Berlin. He was provided with a private room and telephone so that he could take care of church affairs from his military office.⁵⁶ He was in frequent contact with Nazi officials and took every appropriate opportunity to explain his church's stance and to assure the authorities of Mormons' loyalty to their country. Had any individual church members been involved in misunderstandings of a serious nature, this kind of direct contact would have allowed things to have been sorted out easily and quickly.

Mormons continued to stress the 'parallel goals' of Mormonism and National Socialism. An article appeared in the Nazi *Völkische Beobachter* on the 14th of April 1939 written by the West German Mission president Alfred C. Rees, indicating the degree to which links were apparent and, on the Mormon side, welcomed. Mormons, the article claimed, viewed the new Germany 'with sympathy and friendship'. Sermons and prayers reflected this continued claim that Nazism paralleled Mormon aims and some Mormon leaders began to instruct their congregations in elements of National Socialism, conducting prayers for the *Führer*, speaking of him as 'divinely called' and stressing yet once more the ways in which National Socialism and Mormonism even had similar organisational structures and ideals.⁵⁷ Not all branches were so anxious to take Nazism on board and it was the Hamburg branch which appears to have had amongst its membership some of the most vehement pro-Nazis to be found in the German Mormon church. As early as 1938

this branch had banned all Jews from entering church premises, be they converts to Mormonism or not.⁵⁸ Here, as elsewhere, liturgical changes were made to please the new masters; Hebrew words were eliminated from services and hymns and liturgy ceased to use the Old Testament.

One Jewish Mormon, Salomon Schaward Schwartz, at whose family the ban on Jews at the Hamburg branch had probably been directed was arrested and taken to Theriesenstadt where he is believed to have died.⁵⁹ Other branches were wary in their reception of Jewish converts and in 1941 when what appeared to be a genuine convert from Judaism to Mormonism sought baptism, it took the intervention of the mission president at the service itself to persuade the officials to go ahead.⁶⁰ Nor can it be argued that the sect was merely protecting itself from phoney converts seeking safety in its ranks, for in the racial policies of Nazi Germany, a Jew was identified by his birth, not his religion, and Christianised Jews were taken to the slaughter as readily as their non-Christian brothers and sisters.

It does appear, however, that the example of the Hamburg church was an extreme one. Here one of the church officials was a member of the S.A. and was to be seen at services in uniform. The president and some members were pro-Nazi; most were simply silent. Mormons may have seen the advantages of the nationalist and economic policies of Nazism, have welcomed the return to the traditional role of women and the family and have seen in Nazism a strong bulwark against Communism, but Mormons were not alone amongst religious people in being persuaded that Nazism was on the side not only of the Christian virtues but of Christianity itself. It is perhaps surprising, however, that a group so comparatively new was willing and able to offer legitimization to the new state; even more surprising

that this was accepted.

It is difficult with Mormonism, as with all the groups discussed here with the exception of the Jehovah's Witnesses and the Adventist Reform Movement, to decide what were survival strategies and what were genuine articles of faith in Nazism. Praise came from all parts of the German church for Nazis and their achievements. Some of this praise was forwarded to Salt Lake City with pleas that the church officials use their influence to prevent America's entry into the war.⁶¹ The wife of a German Mormon wrote to Salt Lake City asking for prayers to bring God's blessing on Germany's leaders.⁶² German Mormons spoke of a 'just war' and of 'a speedy victory'.⁶³ Meanwhile, the German mission was beginning to feel the effects of the war, members were scattered and most of the men were at the front. Services became less regular and a lot of energy and money was spent on relief for those who had been bombed or were without adequate rations.

There are only two reported cases of Mormons offering resistance to the Nazis. At the time the church disowned the resisters but they are now seen as martyrs; their actions were undertaken in no official church capacity, but their bravery cannot be denied. In 1941 a Mormon called Heinrich Worbs was arrested and taken to a concentration camp. His crime had been that, on looking at a newly erected Nazi statue, he had said that 'they had built another monument for one of their butchers'. His comment was reported and he was tortured both on arrest and in the concentration camp. He was stripped and had his hands put into a vice and was then drenched with cold water. Every three-quarters of an hour a guard came by and knocked the ice from his hands with the comment that 'this will keep your hands warm'. After six months in the camp he was released and died shortly after returning home.⁶⁴ It is interesting to note

that Worbs was treated like many of the Jehovah's Witnesses in camps and that his treatment was severe enough to cause his death. Worbs would have been arrested for his seditious statement, and whilst there is no information to indicate what category he was registered under, or what colour triangle he wore, it seems unlikely, unless he was classified as a Jehovah's Witness, that he was marked as a religious protester. That he was released after six months suggests that he was not linked with the Witnesses, for by 1941 their sentences were lasting much longer than a token six months. Worbs was punished not as a Mormon, but as a German citizen who had spoken out of turn.

In the same year there occurred the more complex and serious acts of resistance from within the Mormon church, undertaken by three young men from the very Hamburg branch noted for its sympathy to Nazism.⁶⁵ The boys were called Helmut Hübener, Rudolf Wobbe and Karl Schrubbe and all three had found the tenor of their church's response to the new regime disturbing. They were in fundamental disagreement with the social and racial policies of the Nazis and organised acts of resistance. These included listening to B.B.C. broadcasts on a secret radio and the printing and distribution of anti-Nazi leaflets. These were printed on the church's printing press⁶⁶ in the cellar of the meeting house at Hamburg. Hübener was branch clerk to the church and thus had access to the machinery and paper. The leaflets, of which according to Gestapo reports there were a whole series, attacked the Nazi regime openly and reported on the contents of the B.B.C. broadcasts. The boys delivered the leaflets themselves, even placing some in the mail box of the local Nazi Party H.Q.⁶⁷ Others were placed in phone boxes and in the letter boxes of private homes. One leaflet was

entitled 'Hitler the Murderer' and not surprisingly copies were soon handed in to the police. Action was taken quickly and the culprits were traced.⁶⁸ In spite of their youth, all three were tried. Hübener was sentenced to death and was beheaded on 27 October aged 17. The other two were still legal minors and thus escaped the death sentence. *ungenau!*

The whole episode threw both the local branch and the German church into some panic. It was made patently clear that the boys in no way represented the views of the church. To make this even clearer, Hübener was post-humously excommunicated not to be reinstated until 1948. One church member was noted to have commented that he could willingly have shot Hübener himself for his crime against the Führer.⁶⁹ This comment reflects the general reaction of German Mormons to the 'treason' of the three boys. It was made clear, both within church circles, and to the authorities, that the boys were acting as individuals and should be punished as such. In no way did they represent church views. Their actions had indeed caused 'fear and anxiety amongst (church) members' and their resistance was categorically condemned. Well might the Mormons of Hamburg fear, for an act like that discovered within Jehovah's Witness ranks would have brought terrible reprisals against the whole movement. Again, Mormons proved their skills in negotiation, again they were able to persuade the authorities that, however much it might seem to the contrary, Mormons could and should be trusted by the new government. It was probably the closest the Mormons came to being under suspicion and it is a measure of the church's good standing that the discovery of the activities of the three boys was not the signal for a government move to close the sect.

Hübener and the others appear to have seen their resistance as a logical outcome of their faith, however

much of their brethren might have denied such a connection.⁷⁰ The boys had apparently observed the attitude of the pro-Nazi president of their church, seen what had happened to Schwartz and his family and had made a decision to act fully in accordance, in their view, with their faith. They had been part of a larger youth resistance movement in Hamburg in which young people, mostly working class, had agitated persistently against the Nazis and Hübener and his comrades may perhaps best be understood in the context of youth resistance in the Third Reich,⁷¹ rather than in the context of their membership of the Mormon church.

Nevertheless, the Mormon church now claims Hübener as a martyr. Even so, in retrospect, the action of the boys is still regarded with the same kind of reservations which might have been voiced, albeit in more extreme terms, by Mormons living in the Third Reich. Their work is seen as noble, now that the evils of the Nazi regime have been seen and identified, and it is claimed that the resistance was undertaken as a direct result of their faith as Mormons. However, there are still reservations about the validity of their actions. Hübener in particular, since his resistance ended in his death, is seen by Mormon commentators as behaving rashly. It might have been better, it is suggested in a recent article⁰, had he simply waited patiently for the end of the Nazi regime. This, rather than martyrdom, it is suggested, is what was required from a Mormon living under a totalitarian regime.⁷² This was certainly the response which most Mormons adopted. Hübener and his friends provide interesting exceptions to that rule. Even given the particularly pro-Nazi feeling within the Hamburg church, the general Mormon attitude was clear and is justified in retrospect by Mormon writers; survival by silence.

Silence such as this was more than passive. The

⁰ The Tribune's New Clothes -> Sunstone '80

Mormons' survival after 1941 without harassment indicates yet once more the depth of their influence. Not only were relations with America severed because of the war, but the Mormons had produced from within their ranks young rebels, whose actions had attracted considerable attention. There was, however, no further trouble between sect and state. Mormons continued to fight in the *Wehrmacht*; 'it is wonderful and easy to die for the Father-land if we love it, and it is easier when we know through our testimony that there is life after death'.⁷³ In 1945, with the defeat of Germany, American missionaries arrived with money and supplies. They organised extensive welfare for their brethren and set about repairing buildings lost through bombing. There had been some decay of the church during the war, a result not of persecution, but of the war and the dispersment it brought. Mormons survived the Nazi regime, with, in their view, no real challenge having been experienced to their views or way of life. They had shown themselves loyal and has used their influential financial and political contacts with skill and success. In order to survive some compromises had to be made. The post-war church reinstated the post-humously excommunicated martyr, and work is currently being done at Brigham Young University about the three boys from Hamburg.⁷⁴ Mormon writings about the history of the German branch at this period stress the hardships experienced by both soldiers and civilians during the war. The Mormons, in common with the other sects, made no comment condemning Nazi racial or eugenic policies. Their concern was, like the others, with their own survival. For them, as for all except the Witnesses, this was understood to mean the survival of the church and church members without any harassment from the authorities. This survival was achieved, for Mormon services were not halted, and the absence of the sect

from the reports of government spies suggests that they were not even consistently observed.

This state of affairs was unique. This sect alone received little attention from the S.D. and, with the exceptions noted, never came under serious suspicion. Other sects were patriotic and provided soldiers for Germany and positive statements about National Socialism for brethren abroad. Why should the Mormons have achieved such a privileged position when others could not? It was obviously not their basic teaching, which, as has been noted, could have been made to appear as suspect as that of the Witnesses. William Dodd's remark that there was more to the Mormon survival than religion is obviously seminal.

The Mormons were wealthy and influential. They wielded more power and influence than any other of the sects discussed here. Their movement had been born amongst political persecution and Mormons had soon learned how to gain friends. They had not accepted persecution in the passive ways the Witnesses had accepted it; they did not see it as their destiny. This they saw as prosperity, political and financial power and an existence unthreatened by a potentially hostile state. This sect, above all else, was sophisticated politically, and its leaders were careful and experienced. They gave little cause for offence and without fuss forged links with the government based on activities completely outside the field of religion. The Mormons presented themselves to the Nazis as good-living, upright, respectable German citizens. All the other four sects had tried to do the same. Only the Mormons had been believed. They alone demonstrated massive economic success in their church's programme and had positive links outside Germany at the highest and most useful levels. This, together with their hard-earned experience in dealing with persecution,

both in Germany and America, helped to ensure their survival. One more factor was important: the Mormons never incurred the displeasure of the *Führer* and this, by the nature of the Third Reich, was a crucial factor in determining their survival. Hitler had shared the antipathy to the Jehovah's Witnesses common in German society and this influenced the extent and nature of their persecution; he appears to have gained, with others in the Nazi hierarchy, a favourable impression of the Mormons and they never became the object of his highly illogical hostility.

The Mormons, like Christian Scientists, were clearly identifiable as an American based sect. Although the treatment they received compares favourably even with the little persecuted Christian Scientists, there are good reasons for seeing in their organisation and teaching all the elements likely to attract persecution on a scale as severe as that experienced by the Witnesses. Mormons belong to a millennial, intensely missionary and authoritarian sect. Denial of the faith, should this ever happen, would mean for the Mormon being cut off from his community, friends and family; for not just his religion, but his total life style, world view and practical pattern of daily life was affected by a Mormon's membership of the Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter-day Saints.

Thus the Mormon was involved in a different set of choices when considering the implications of his or her reaction to Nazism than the Christian Scientist, for whom the private and individual practice of religion was a real possibility and only in the use of influential friends may the Mormons be compared to the Christian Scientists. For the Mormon there was none of the personal decision based on individual conscience that dominated the response of Christian Scientists to the new issues with which they were faced after 1933. An

individual Mormon could indeed act according to his own conscience, as the young rebels did, but normally this would be seen an irrelevance as the response of the church on moral and political matters was well known and adhered to. Mormons presented a total and complete and thus, to the Nazis, potentially dangerous, world view.

Mormons, like other Christian minority groups had also experienced enough hostility since their arrival in Germany to suggest that they would come under scrutiny from the new order. On the face of it, Mormons were quite likely to be the targets of Nazi hostility, well known and quite noticeable via their door-to-door missionary work. In the event, Mormons' sophistication and wealth, together with their reputation for economic and social success, both in Utah and in the management of their church community, saved them from trouble. At least as likely as the Christian Scientists to have to plead the case and even more likely, on theological and internationalist grounds to be unsuccessful, the Mormons proved themselves supremely skilful in survival strategies.

There is no doubt that this success is surprising, especially when it is noted that the group barely came under scrutiny from Gestapo investigators. Mormons not only avoided persecution, but actually received awards from the government for their zeal in charity work and their genealogical researches. To survive, the sect engaged upon a conscious and skilfully operated policy of close co-operation and by avoiding conflict with the authorities they were able to 'render unto Caesar' without any denial of faith. The Mormon Articles of Faith ordain that Mormons give 'subjection, obedience and honour' to 'kings, presidents, rulers'.⁷⁵

German Mormons, on the whole, behaved as conservative and nationalist German citizens and supported

Hitler in policies which seemed quite in line with the principles of discipline and self-help so central to their church life. Nazism was, Mormons believed, a legally ordained government and thus had to be obeyed. Obedience was not difficult since the alternatives, Communism or anarchy seemed both dangerous and anti-pathetic to the Mormon world view.

There were even deeper reasons why Mormons should give more than passive support to the Nazis. Nazi teachings were seen to parallel Mormon teachings and values. Even Hitler himself, non-smoking, non-drinking and vegetarian, fitted the Mormon view of the ideal leader. This purported similarity between Mormon and Nazi values was not the result of mere survival strategies. The links between Nazism and Mormonism had been noted as early as 1936 by a non-Mormon, Dr. Max Haenle who had visited Utah and had toured Germany in the 1930s, talking about his experiences. Haenle made direct comparisons between the Mormon state of Utah and the Third Reich in areas of politics, organisation and 'unswerving successes'. *Der Stern*, 1 September 1936 carried a report of a meeting in Dresden in which Haenle is reported as having said:

Utah bears a really striking similarity to our Germany of today. Here as well as there, the unshakeable faith and willingness to die for their respective leaders is the foundation and pre-requisite for all further developments.

Whilst neither very accurate nor very meaningful, the comments of Haenle are significant, for it is clear that not only did the Mormons stress these connections, but the Nazis also shared the popular view of Mormonism as a successful and admirable kind of community.

Thus, although the Gestapo attended some Mormon meetings and Mormons appear on the occasional list of potential 'subversive'⁷⁶ sectarians, no action was ever taken against them. The church was able to keep its

hands clean, even in the face of the Hübener episode; no mean feat. Claims⁷⁷ that the treatment by the churches of the Hübener episode was merely the result of fear and bad advice, taken at a time when the German branch was isolated from its American roots, do not remove from the sect the charge of, at best, silence in the face of injustices and at worst, support for Nazi policies. Mormons still stress the need to survive and there is a guarded approval, in retrospect, for the behaviour of German Mormons during the Third Reich. Not heroism, but 'close-mouthed neutrality' is recommended.⁷⁸

A recent article by Mormon writers comments:

...Latter-day Saints may question whether Hübener might not have done better - from a strictly tactical point of view - to have recognised the hopelessness of the German situation and waited a few years for external forces to bring about the collapse of the Nazi regime.⁷⁹

Even given the willingness to co-operate and the similarity of some views, the Mormon survival is still mysterious. Ambassador Dodd's comment remains unexplained. There is, and one would expect there to be, no record of money passing from Mormon hands to the government, yet Mormons, like other sectarians, undoubtedly did channel funds into the state welfare schemes. The Mormons share this distinction with members of the New Apostolic Church and Seventh Day Adventists, but the precise scale of their particular contribution can only be surmised.

The question why the Nazis were so outstandingly tolerant of this group remains, therefore, only partially answered. There was in National Socialism a good deal of illogicality and thus the Mormon survival may be a quirk of inconsistent policies operated within an organisation in which money and contact could buy all sorts of privileges. There were good reasons to close down the Mormon church, given that the Nazis' policy on

religion sought to eliminate those groups which provided discrete and thus rival centres of loyalty. They may have been willing to accept Mormon money, support and work without caring about or understanding the theology of what was clearly a controllable group. But this was likely to bring mere toleration, as it did to the Christian Scientists, rather than the positive acceptance which the Mormons appear to have enjoyed.

This acceptance, rare though it was, may have depended on two factors. The Mormons had shown that they would offer no resistance or opposition to National Socialism, thus closure was an irrelevance that could be postponed to a more auspicious time. More importantly, the Mormons offered an alliance, a legitimisation of Nazi views which, since the Nazis could see in Mormonism 'acceptable' values, was accepted. The Nazis were indeed so disastrously short of genuine allies and of ideological validation that they were happy to tolerate this one group which seemed to echo Nazi ideals. ? too simple

This factor outweighs the importance even of international connections which were useful only as long as Germany was concerned with her reputation abroad. After the war had been ^{lost} won, then closure might be a real threat for the Mormons since a strong and missionary Nazism would inevitably seek to eliminate all ideological rivals. However, it is by no means clear that the Mormons would not have found a way round even this challenge. Until that time came, however, it was able to secure its survival by deliberate and highly successful strategies; by playing on a sneaking Nazi regard for this economically successful, authoritarian and highly successful church. That the war was lost, meant that this new challenge did not have to be faced. The outcome for the Mormon church, had the Germans won, can only be surmised.

APPENDIX 6

Membership of the five sects, Germany 1933.

Statistics on the membership of the five sects are difficult to obtain for the period under discussion. Few sects kept systematic records at this time. Where there are records from sectarian sources, these are often unclear, for some sects count only adult, baptised adherents, others include children and new converts. Not every sect required that its converts formally renounce their membership of the major churches, and therefore even government statistics may be misleading, for some sectarians may be registered as Catholics or Evangelicals.

In 1925 government census tried to assess the scale of sectarian influence in Germany. Out of a total population of approximately 65,000,000 some 620,000 Christians registered as Free Church members or as belonging to one of the sects. This represented almost 1% of the population, a significant growth since 1910 when they had constituted 0.45%. The following details, whilst far from complete, may give some idea of the relative size of the sects under discussion.

<u>Germany</u> <u>1925</u>		<u>Germany</u> <u>1928</u>	<u>Germany</u> <u>1933</u>
The New Apostolic Church	138,000	N/A	250,000
Seventh Day Adventism	30,000	36,000	36,000
Jehovah's Witnesses	24,000	N/A	20,000
Mormons	12,000	15,000	16,500
Christian Science	N/A	N/A	N/A

Christian Scientists tended not to make a public statement of the faith an essential part of their Christian understanding, and figures consequently are

not available. Both Christian Science and the government sources, however, note the smallness of the sect. The statistics below, giving membership numbers in Berlin in 1925 and 1927 may help to clarify the problem of the size of Christian Science.

<u>Berlin 1925</u>		<u>Berlin 1927</u>
The New Apostolic Church	13,332	15,380
Christian Science	3,000	4,000

The New Apostolic Church was undoubtedly the largest of the sects studied here, with a significant following in Berlin. Here it had suffered losses since 1931, when a height of 16,432 had been reached. We have from a Nazi government report on the church a confirmation of its national membership at 250,000 in 1933. Adventist growth is known to have been slow from 1928 - 1933; their numbers were therefore approximately the same as 1928, 36,000, and they represent the second largest of these five sects. The Witnesses come next, having suffered a slight decline since 1925, with 20,000 members in 1933. The Mormons were baptising at the rate of approximately 300 each year between 1928 and 1933 and thus their numbers were close to 16,500. Christian Science, whilst it had a large and growing number of local churches, was still numerically weak overall, and possibly the smallest of the sects covered here; its appeal in Berlin and other large cities was not matched in rural areas where the Witnesses and Adventists had much of their support. Like the Mormons and the New Apostolic Church, Christian Science made most rapid headway in an urban setting, but in 1933 with only thirty established branch churches, it was still a small, although expanding sect.

The statistics here are taken from a variety of sources and interpreted according to what is known about patterns of sectarian growth. The major sources are:

Bavarian Political Police and Gestapo Reports.
Statistisches Jahrbuch für das deutsche Reich 1933,
 Statistisches Reichsamt, Berlin 1933.

also useful are:

M. Kater, 'Die Ernsten Bibelforscher im Dritten Reich' in *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte* 17, 1969, pp. 181 - 218.
 A. Koch, 'Sekten in Deutschland' in *Monatsschriften für das Geistesleben der Gegenwart*, CXXII, 1932, pp. 194 - 202.
 F. Zipfel, *Kirchenkampf in Deutschland*, Berlin, 1965.

APPENDIX 7

Official Reasons for the Investigation of Sects, 1933:

1. Members have their own concerns, are indifferent to questions of Volk and state.
2. They have contact with Marxists and Communists.
3. They have contact with Free Masons, Jews and international groups.
4. They refuse to take an oath or perform the German greeting.
5. They abstain from military service.
6. They refuse office in state organisations.
7. They refuse to participate in various types of industry.
8. They practice faith-healing.
9. They exploit and trick the German Volk.
10. They abstain from holding National Socialist racial theories.

From: J. Neuhausler, *Kreuz und Hakenkreuz*, 2nd ed. 1946, pp. 363, 375 ff.

44. S. W. Hermann, *op. cit.*, p. 197.
45. Nuremberg Document D 59, *Trial of the Major War Criminals before the Nuremberg Military Tribunal*, London, 1947.
46. H. Boberach, *op. cit.*, p. 78.
47. *Ibid.*, p. 278.
48. N. Beasley, *op. cit.*, p. 244.
49. *The Story of Christian Science Wartime Activities*, p. 250.
50. *Ibid.*, p. 256.
51. Letter from H. Siepen.
52. *The Story of Christian Science Wartime Activities*, p. 249 ff.
53. Letter from H. Siepen.
54. *Ibid.*
55. *A Century of Christian Science Healing*, Boston, 1966, pp. 136 ff. (Author not named).
56. Letter from H. Siepen.
57. *Ibid.*
58. N. Beasley, *op. cit.*, p. 245.
59. Letter from H. Siepen.
60. Keesings Archives, 11340D, 17-24 March 1951; *The Story of Christian Science Wartime Activities*, p. 256; Letter from H. Siepen.
61. Letter from H. Siepen. For example, one Christian Scientist in a concentration camp, whilst praying in the night, saw a vision of herself walking outside the camp wall and was discharged the next day.
62. *The Story of Christian Science Wartime Activities*, p. 256.
63. Letter from H. Siepen.
64. L. Lochner (Ed.), *The Goebbels Diaries*, London, 1948, p. 48.

65. *The Story of Christian Science Wartime Activities*, p. 257 ff.
66. Schumacher Collection, Document Centre, Berlin, S.D. Report E nr 12/14, 21/38F, 8 February 1941.
10 February 1941.
From Party Headquarters, III/ib Schw 3345/i/i 18
December 1940, nr. 21/38F, 10 April 1941,
4 June 1941,
9 June 1941,
Schw/Schi, 29 May 1941.
III/ib-Schw 3345/i/i, 2 January 1941.

CHAPTER THREE

- X 1. O. Eggenberger, *Die Kirchen, Sondergruppen und religiösen Vereinigungen*, Zurich, 1978, p. 87.
- X 2. J. Fielding Smith, *Essentials in Church History*, Salt Lake City, 1963, p. 724.
3. R. Mullen, *The Mormons*, London, 1967, p. 215; for examples of police action against Mormons see; *Millennial Star*, LXIII, 15 April 1901, p. 283; *ibid.*, LXIV, 5 July 1902, p. 361.
4. P. Sarown, 'Die Mormonen in Deutschland', in *Kirchliche Wochenschrift für evangelische Christen*, nr. 49, Berlin, 1902, columns 776-779.
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Der Stern*, XXXVI, 1 June 1904, p. 168; *Millennial Star*, LXIX, 21 February 1907, p. 143.
7. P. Sarown, *op. cit.*
8. *Ibid.*
9. H. Müller, 'Die Mormonenekte' in *Blätter für Administrative Praxis*, LII, 1902, p. 222.
10. G. Scharffs, 'History of the Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter-Day Saints in Germany between 1840 and 1968', Doctoral Dissertation, Brigham Young University, 1969, p. 70. Scharffs adapted parts of this thesis for his book, *Mormonism in Germany*, Salt Lake City, 1970. These works, whilst they do not attempt to make any large scale study or analysis of the Mormon

experiences under Nazism, do provide a source of useful details and references to documents held in the Church Historian's Office at Utah. Another thesis which refers briefly to the Mormon experience under National Socialism is by D. Adler, 'The German-Speaking Immigration to Utah 1850-1950' Masters Dissertation, University of Utah, 1959. Adler's concern here is not primarily with the Nazi experience, yet he, like Scharffs, in my view, gives the experience of German Mormons under the Third Reich a less serious discussion than it deserves. After a brief outline of difficulties some Mormons found themselves in during the period, Adler comments that 'It appears that the German government from 1933-1945 was neutral concerning the Mormon church ... at least officially. Because of this policy ... far less damage occurred ... than may have occurred had the Nazis systematically opposed the church'. p. 19.

11. H. Müller, *op. cit.*

12. P. Sarown, *op. cit.*, columns 776-777.

13. *Ibid.*

14. B. H. Roberts, *A Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints*, Salt Lake City, vol. VI, 1965, p. 452 ff.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 472.

16. *Der Stern*, XLVIII, 15 January 1916, p. 29; *ibid.*, XLVIII, 1 January 1916, p. 15.

17. G. Scharffs, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

18. *Der Stern*, XLVIII, 15 April 1915, p. 121.

19. G. Scharffs, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

20. *Der Stern*, LIII, 1 December 1920, p. 363, reports gifts worth 200,000 dollars, consisting of 50,000 lbs. of flour, 15,000 lbs. of rice, 20,000 lbs. of plums, 5,000 lbs. of lard and 20,000 cans of milk.

21. Annual Mission Statistics, Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake City, 1918-1924.

22. A. Koch, 'Sekten in Deutschland', in *Stimmen der Zeit, Monatsschrift für das Geistesleben der Gegenwart*, Freiburg, CXII, 1932, p. 194; see also, *Der Stern*, vol. LVII, 1925, *passim*.

23. *Evangelisches Deutschland Kirchliche Rundschau Aussenkirchliche Gemeinschaften*, III, 1926, p. 259.

24. C. Z. Klotzel, 'Mormonen in Deutschland', *Leipziger Tageblatt*, nr. 46, 23 February 1923, pp. 3 ff.

25. See, for example, R. Lothar, in *Welt und Wissen*, XVI, Berlin, 1929, pp. 74 ff. (Haenle, who spoke in 1936 of the similarities between Mormonism and National Socialism, had visited Utah in the 1920s). See also 'Mormonen in Deutschland' in *Nationalzeitung*, Basle, 10 June 1928.

26. R. Lothar, *loc. cit.*

27. Swiss German Mission MS. History, 11 May 1921, Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake City.

28. G. Scharffs, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

29. See, for example, 'Hundert Jahre Mormonen' in *Der Bund*, 1 April 1930.

30. G. Scharffs, *op. cit.*, p. 105.

31. *Ibid.*, p. 107.

32. See, for example, M. R. Werner, 'Die Mormonen', *Kölner Tageblatt*, 31 March 1929; R. Gröhl, *Die Kirche der Heiligen der Letzten Tage*, Hildesheim, 1932; J. Busch, *Das Sektenwesen*, Hildesheim, 1929.

33. 'All Germany will fast', *Millennial Star*, vol. 95, 28 September 1933, pp. 638-9; see also *Deseret News*, 9 September 1933, p. 3, which notes that 'activities in the Mormon Church have been carried on about the same as before.'

34. West German Mission MS History, 31 December 1945.

35. B. R. McConkie, *Mormon Doctrine*, 2nd edition, Salt Lake City, 1966, *passim*; see entries under 'Cain', 'Laminite Curse', 'Negroes' and 'Signs of the Times'.

36. Dr. O. H. Budge, a high-ranking Mormon official was in fact visited on 8 September 1933, by the Chief of the Secret Service, who identified himself as having station number 11-E, Room 218. He asked Dr. Budge several questions about the Mormon church in Germany, including its aims, teachings, finance and

attitude towards the government. The visitor appeared to be satisfied by the answers given and, according to Budge, writing for Mormon records some twenty-one years after the event, stated that 'if everyone could hear your message, it would be most desirable'. He was presented with a copy of the *Book of Mormon* and some other Mormon literature. Budge was asked to put in writing the details he had given to the official. D. Adler quotes this letter, currently in the Church Historian's Library, Salt Lake City, as having been written on 5 March, 1954 to David O. McKay. D. Adler, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

37. At Minden, 1933, J. Ernst, *op. cit.*, p. 311.

38. German-Austrian Mission MS History, 30 April 1934.

39. Swiss-German Mission Quarterly Reports, 30 September 1934.

40. J. Ernst, *op. cit.*, p. 320.

41. German-Austrian Mission Quarterly Reports, 31 December 1935.

42. *Ibid.*

43. German-Austrian Mission MS History, 25 January 1936.

44. *Ibid.*, 11 June 1936.

45. G. Scharffs, *op. cit.*, p. 110. Scharffs notes that this is a rumour often repeated in Mormon circles.

46. German-Austrian MS History, 15 January 1936.

47. *Der Stern*, vol. 67, 1935, pp. 338-42.

48. W. Dodd and M. Dodd (Eds.), *Ambassador Dodd's Diary*, London, 1945, p. 146; indeed, what investigations there were proved positive as far as the sect was concerned. Adler notes that in 1943 there was a routine investigation by the Gestapo in which records and publications were examined and the mission president questioned. All the findings indicated that the work and teachings were approved and that no restrictions were to be introduced. The president was allowed to travel freely throughout Germany and Austria to arrange conferences and other Mormon church affairs. Adler, *op. cit.*, p. 18 quoting

Anton Huck, (West German Mission President 1939-1946) 'Historical Record West German Mission 1939-1946', *Quarterly Historical Reports, West German Mission*, Salt Lake City, L.D.S. Church Historian's Library.

49. G. H. Bousquet, *Eine Wirtschaftliche Theokratie*, XII, 1938, pp. 1079-83.

50. West German Mission MS History, 4 August 1937; 13 August 1937.

51. Swiss-German Mission MS History, 31 December 1937.

52. G. Scharffs, *op. cit.*, p. 103.

53. J. Dixon, in the text of a speech delivered to the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association and the Mormon Historical Association of Santa Clara at the University of California, 30 August 1968.

54. E. T. Rasmissen and J. R. Kest, *The Improvement Era*, Salt Lake City, XLII, December 1943, pp. 752 ff.

55. G. Scharffs, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

56. *Ibid.*, p. 129.

X 57. *Church News*, 24 November 1945, p. 3.

58. A. F. Keele and D. F. Tobler, 'The Führer's New Clothes', in *Sunstone*, vol. 5, nr. 6, November/December 1980, p. 21.

59. G. Scharffs, *op. cit.*, pp. 123-4.

60. *Ibid.*, p. 124.

61. *Ibid.*, p. 130.

62. East German Mission MS History, 5 April 1940.

63. G. Scharffs, *loc. cit.*

64. A. F. Keele and D. F. Tobler, *op. cit.*

65. U. Sander, 'Helmut Hübener Gruppe' in *Streiflichter aus dem Hamburger Widerstand 1933-1945, Berichte und Dokumente*, U. Hochmuth and G. Meyer (Eds.), Frankfurt, 1969, pp. 325-341; F. Ahrens, *Helmut Hübener, Vorbild, Opfer, Verpflichtung*, Hamburg, 1945;

T. Prittie, *Germans against Hitler*, Boston, 1964; A. Leber et. al., *Revolt of Conscience*, Berlin, 1954.

66. F. Ahrens, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

67. W. Bredel, *Unter Thürmen und Masten*, Berlin, 1977, p. 384.

68. V. Franke, 'Some recent information on anti-Nazi developments amongst German youth', MS in Wiener Library, 1945; U. Hochmuth and G. Meyer, *op. cit.*

69. Secret Memo, 2nd Senate, Volksgerichtshof, 8J127142-2M141142, 'In Names des deutschen Volkes', in W. Wagner, *Quellen und Darstellungen zur Zeitgeschichte*, vol. 111, Stuttgart, 1974, p. 200.

70. U. Hochmuth and G. Meyer, *op. cit.*, pp. 235-44; A. Leber, *op. cit.*, p. 7 ff.

71. D. Horn, 'Youth Resistance in the Third Reich, a Social Portrait', *Journal of Social History*, Fall 1973, p. 30.

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CHAPTER FOUR

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