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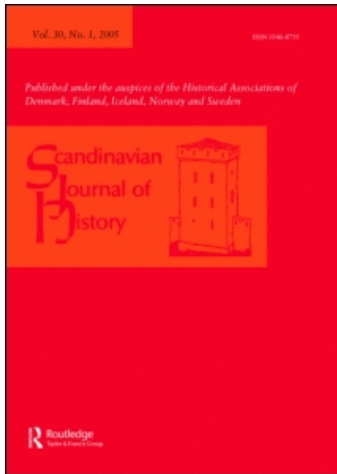
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Yvonne Maria Werner

CATHOLIC MISSION AND CONVERSION IN SCANDINAVIA

Some reflections on religion, modernisation,
and identity construction

The relation between mission, religious conversion and identity construction is the subject of my paper. On a concrete level, I discuss the Catholic mission and conversions in Scandinavia from the middle of the 19th century to the present time. Up to the Second Vatican Council (1962–1965), the Catholic Church strongly emphasised its claim to be the only true church, and as a consequence, all non-Catholic regions were regarded as missionary areas. Most of the priests and sisters working in Scandinavia were foreigners, whereas converts from Protestantism dominated the parishes. I pay special attention to the question of national and religious identity and the changing discourses of Catholic conversion, reflected in conversion narratives.

Keywords Catholic mission, conversion narratives, identity constructions

In early modern European society, state and confession were intimately connected and religion was part of society's general culture. Conversion in the meaning of a change of religion was rare; indeed, it was a criminal offence. Thus it was only with the liberalisation of the religious laws at the beginning of the 19th century that a real conversion movement could begin. The Dutch historian of religion, Peter van der Veer considers this kind of conversion, based on individual free choice, as a result of the new individualism that developed in Western Europe from the Reformation period and onwards, and as an important factor in the process of global modernisation.¹ He sees conversion in a broad societal perspective, which marks a break with the sociological research tradition focusing on the individual's personal experiences that has predominated until recently. This sociological tradition was based on 'the evangelical paradigm', developed from studies of conversions to evangelical communities in the Anglo-American world. According to this paradigm religious conversion is a sudden event and the point of crisis is regarded as the constitutive element in the conversion process.²

Since the 1960s, most research on conversion and converts in Western countries has dealt either with individual conversions within an evangelical context or with

conversions to Islam or to new non-Christian religious movements. In the first half of the 20th century, it was conversions to Roman Catholicism that caused most interest. Most of these conversion studies were written by Catholics in a plainly apologetic perspective. The aim was to show how the converts had found the way to 'the only true church'. This can be seen to be a consequence of the Catholic ecclesiology in force up to the Second Vatican Council (1962–1965), which strongly emphasised the Catholic Church's claim to be the only true church.³ Other Christian communities were thus not considered to be Churches, properly speaking. For this reason even formally Christian, though non-Catholic, countries such as the Nordic states were regarded as missionary provinces and therefore subject to Catholic mission.⁴ At Vatican II this exclusivist claim was modified, and a new ecclesiology was introduced that paved the way for Catholic participation in the ecumenical dialogue that had been initiated by the Protestant Churches.⁵ Vatican II stands out as a watershed in the Catholic Church's modern history. It is thus common to speak of a 'pre-conciliar' and a 'post-conciliar' period.

The term conversion comes from the Latin *conversio*. As a religious term, it means personal conversion to the Christian faith. In the Reformed Churches, and especially within the Lutheran tradition, the term has retained this meaning. In the Catholic Church, however, its meaning was enlarged so that it now refers not only to personal conversion but also to the whole process leading to the admittance of a convert into the Catholic Church. In the Canon Law of 1917, reception into the Catholic faith is described as *conversio*; the change to another Christian confession as *perversio*; and the return of an apostate Catholic to the Catholic community as *reversio*.⁶ The Catholic Church, it is true, has never denied the possibility of salvation for those outside the visible Catholic community. In the theological discourse before Vatican II, however, it was taken for granted that other denominations and religions could not take an active part in the process of redemption.⁷ Converts were asked not only to confess the Catholic faith and promise to adhere to the doctrines of the Catholic Church, but also to reject the faith and religious community to which they had until then, formally or informally, belonged.⁸

The theological reorientation of Vatican II led to a new conception of conversion. In the Canon Law of 1983, there is no mention of conversion, but instead of reception into the full communion of the Catholic Church. In the catechism of the Catholic Church, conversion is used in the meaning of turning entirely to God. Moreover, it is emphasised that other Christian denominations own a part of the truth and therefore may contribute to the redemption of mankind.⁹ In its first stage, this new conversion discourse led to the almost total disappearance of studies on Catholic conversions. In the 1980s, however, there was renewed interest in the phenomenon of conversion. Since then several works on Catholic conversion and Catholic converts have been published. Unlike older research on Catholic conversions, these studies no longer are coloured by apology, and instead focus on the cultural and ideological aspects of the conversion phenomenon.¹⁰

Strangely enough, there have been no studies on the impact of Catholic mission on the Catholic conversion movement in the Western world. In studies on inter-religious dialogue and cultural encounters, the mission aspects are certainly pointed out, but only as something negative that prevents dialogue, integration, and mutual understanding.¹¹ The aim of the present article is to shed light on this connection between Catholic mission and *discourses* of conversion. I will analyse both Catholic missionary activities in

the Nordic countries and Nordic Catholic converts, including their way to the Catholic Church as described in conversion narratives and missionary reports, and their importance for the development of a Scandinavian Catholicism. The focal point of my study is the period before the Vatican II, but I will also discuss the post-conciliar conversion discourse.¹²

It was liberal reform that opened the way for a return of the Catholic Church to the Nordic countries. An important prerequisite was the ultramontane revival in the Catholic world, which led to a reactivation of Counter-Reformation confessionality and the strengthening of the Catholic Church's missionary activities around the world. The Nordic countries, which until 1953 were termed Apostolic Vicariates, came under the supervision of the Roman Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, *Propaganda Fide*, and were thus the object of Catholic missionary activity, aimed at converting the Nordic peoples to Catholicism.

Theoretical reflections

An important inspirational source for my study is the theory of religious conversion developed by Arthur Darby Nock, the British historian of religion, in his studies of the spreading of the Christian faith in the classical period. Like his American counterpart, Lewis R. Rambo, he sees religious conversion as a process that results in an individual adopting a new system of meaning and interpretation. Nock also makes some interesting observations on the function and meaning of conversion stories. On the one hand, each conversion story originates in individual religious experience, but on the other hand they have the character of a confession and thus serve a doctrinaire or dogmatic function. This means that a conversion, that at a first glance seems to be something very personal, is also an actualisation of a convention, which in turn forms part of a larger religious interpretative system. According to Nock's analysis, a religious conversion always includes a moment of aversion; of the repudiation of the religious context to which the individual until then has belonged.¹³

This was exactly what characterised the pre-conciliar Catholic conversion movement. With the Catholic Church's exclusivist claim followed an aversion to other Christian Churches and denominations, especially the Protestant ones. According to the theological discourse in force before Vatican II, other denominations and religions could not actively contribute to the salvation of individuals. This doctrine found clear expression in the rituals used when converts were received into the Catholic Church. The converts not only had to confess the Catholic faith and to promise to adhere to the doctrine of the Catholic Church, they also had to distance themselves from the Christian denomination to which they had previously belonged. A conversion was thus not possible without an element of 'aversion'. This gave the Catholic conversion movement a challenging and provocative character, which explains much of the sharp reaction in Protestant countries to the Catholic advance. In Scandinavia, the 'Catholic danger' was an often-discussed subject in the media, and the Catholic Church was accused of trying to undermine Nordic culture and society.¹⁴

These anti-Catholic attacks were not only a reaction against Catholic missionary activities, however. They were also an expression of the anti-Catholic mentality that had characterised the Protestant countries and regions since the Reformation. The heritage of the Reformation constituted a natural and important part of national identity,

whereas Catholicism was considered to be a superstitious heresy and a dangerous ideological system.¹⁵ In recent historical and ecclesiastical studies, the role of the established confessional culture in the construction of national identity in the 19th century has been underscored.¹⁶ The British scholar Hugh McLeod has shown the close connection between Protestant culture and national identity in Britain that lasted until the 1960s. Some Nordic scholars, for example Kjell Blücker and Bo Stråth, have pointed to similar patterns in Nordic society.¹⁷ The German historian Olaf Blaschke takes it a step further when he claims that the confessionally determined culture was generally a more important identification factor than nationalism. Although formally the modern nation state was religiously neutral, the dominating confession still formed the basis for the shaping of national identity.¹⁸ This had consequences for religious minorities. In order not to appear foreign and non-national, they had to develop strategies that proved their own religion's national character and right to exist in the country.¹⁹ In Scandinavia, the Catholic minority found itself in this very situation.

The ultramontane revival underway in the Catholic world led to a reactivation of Counter-Reformation confessionalism and a strengthening of the Catholic Church's missionary activities around the world. This Catholic revival, which spread fastest in Central Europe, and whose name indicates a close connection to the Pope 'on the other side of the mountains' (*ultra montanus*), was largely a conversion movement amongst intellectuals. But it was also the result of the rejuvenation of popular piety following the Napoleonic wars, expressed in an upswing in pilgrimages, Marian devotion and other traditional Catholic cult forms. At the same time, Church authority became more and more centralised, a process that got its symbolic expression in the doctrine of papal infallibility when speaking *ex cathedra*, proclaimed at the First Vatican Council in 1870.²⁰

Catholic confessionalism served as the basis for a religiously motivated *Weltanschauung* that was diametrically opposed to the liberal ideology on which the modern constitutional development was founded. Catholicism, i.e. the changing social, political and ideological consequences of the Catholic faith, developed into a counter-culture with clearly anti-modernistic features. The Catholic Church thus entered a period of strained relations with the State. In many places this led to open conflict, sometimes escalating to 'cultural war' (*Kulturkampf*), between church and state. In order to defend the church from state interference, protect the faithful from secular influences, and create propitious conditions for internal and external missions, the Catholic hierarchy together with forceful lay movements built up a system of organisations, unions, and pious associations of all kinds, from religious societies to popular mass organisations. Catholic hospitals, schools and old people's homes were founded in great numbers and played an important role in this Catholic defence strategy. At the same time, Catholic political parties and a strong press were created in order to promote Catholic interests. In its defence of traditional values, the Catholic Church thus used the means and methods of the modern age. The result of this strategy was that separate Catholic societies were built up, and the growing prestige of papal authority and the centralisation of the church contributed to make Catholicism a powerful force in modern society.²¹

Catholicism and the mission to Scandinavia

The liberalisation of religious legislation in the Nordic countries in the middle of the 19th century opened the way for the return of the Catholic Church. In Denmark, where

religious freedom was introduced as early in 1849, Catholic missionary activities were especially successful. Here it was possible to engage in active missionary work and to receive both adults and – with parental approval – children in the Catholic Church. By the early 1930s the number of Catholics had increased from 800 to about 25,000. The strongest expansion took place between 1895 and 1920, when the Danish Catholic minority increased by about 15,000 members. For the most part, this expansion was due to conversion. At the turn of the 20th century, the number of Danish converts amounted to between 200 and 300 per annum.²² In Norway and Sweden, where restrictive dissenter laws impeded the activities of so-called ‘foreign’ religious communities, the Catholic mission was less successful; the number of Catholics at the beginning of the 20th century still did not amount to more than a few thousand.²³ One shared feature, however, was the prominent role in Scandinavian Catholicism played by converts. The native converts gave the parishes, with their foreign, mostly German and French priests and nuns, a Scandinavian character. Among the converts we find artists, academics, politicians and former Protestant priests. Even a few members of the aristocracy found their way to the Catholic Church. The majority of the converts, however, came from the lower classes.²⁴

One of the first objectives of the Catholic mission was to build up an infrastructure of parishes, schools, hospitals, old people’s homes and other social institutions. The mission met with the greatest success in Denmark, as we have seen; at the beginning of the 1920s, there were 35 Catholic parishes, 16 hospitals and some 30 schools. A number of religious orders and congregations were established in Scandinavia and formed religious communities connected to the Catholic parishes.²⁵ Male religious often took over responsibility for the parishes, whereas the female religious mainly dedicated themselves to education, health care and other social work. Of the male orders, the Jesuits were the most important. In Scandinavia the Jesuits were members of the northern German Jesuit province, and their activities in the Nordic countries had been initiated as a consequence of the *Kulturkampf* raging in Germany in the 1870s. At the beginning of the 20th century, the Jesuits had five residences in Denmark and Sweden, as well as a Jesuit college in Ordrup, outside Copenhagen.²⁶ The leading female congregation was French, the Sisters of St Joseph of Chambéry. At the beginning of the 20th century these female religious ran not fewer than 15 hospitals, 23 schools, among them five French girls’ schools, and a seminary for woman teachers in Denmark, Norway and Sweden, with further expansion on the cards. In the 1930s, there were some 800 Sisters of St Joseph working in Scandinavia, most of them in Denmark.²⁷ The strong presence of members of religious orders in the Catholic missions in Scandinavia was a consequence of the ultramontane ideals that esteemed the celibate, consecrated life more highly than life in the ‘world’.

When a new mission station was founded, there were often no more than a handful of Catholics in the neighbourhood. In some cases there were no Catholics at all, revealing the level of missionary resolve behind the move. The priests in charge of establishing a new mission station usually began by setting up a chapel in a flat rented for that purpose, and soon interested Protestants would start turning up to services. Some began instruction to be received into the Catholic Church. Others continued to attend the services, but for various reasons refrained from converting. When the number of Catholics had grown sufficiently large, the mission station was transformed into a regular parish with permanent clergy. This pattern appears clearly in the expansive Danish

mission, where in the early period of Catholic mission many parishes were almost completely made up of converts. In some cases the parish priest was a convert too, and the only 'native' Catholics in the parish were foreign women religious.²⁸ Especially in smaller parishes, these women religious played a central role in parish life, and their devotions in the parish church contributed to creating a pious Catholic atmosphere. According to reports from the Catholic missionaries, this often served as an incentive for conversion.²⁹ But the Catholic liturgy was considered to have had an even greater impact, especially solemn Mass, with its Gregorian chant and polyphonic choral music. On Sundays and other feast days, there were always many Protestants in the congregation in the larger Catholic Churches. Most magnificent was the liturgy performed in the Jesuit Churches. As a concession to Nordic sensitivities, hymns were sung in the vernacular in many Catholic Churches. Several priests noted that this Protestant tradition was indispensable for many of the converts.³⁰

The Catholic parishes served the double purpose of being centres both for Catholic divine service and parish life, and for missionary work. Even the Catholic educational system had this dual function. The establishment of Catholic parishes went hand-in-hand with the establishment of Catholic schools, and primary schools were founded in all Catholic parishes. These schools played an important role for the religious education of Catholic children, but also served as missionary channels. In Denmark, where parental school choice was enshrined in law, this was especially evident. The reasons for Protestant parents to place their children in a Catholic school varied, but the result was often that both the children and their parents became Catholics. Similarly, Catholic secondary schools, where the majority of the pupils were Protestants, were used in the mission; this was especially the case with the respected French girls' schools.³¹ In Sweden and Norway, restrictive legislation hindered the use of Catholic schools in this way. Here more so than in Denmark, recurrent anti-Catholic media campaigns also had serious consequences for the Catholic mission as a whole.³²

Catholic schools were in many ways successful tools for missionary work, but Catholic health care proved to be an even more effective missionary instrument. Inevitably, the vast majority of patients were Protestant. Most of the hospitals were in the charge of the St Joseph Sisters, but other congregations, such as the German Sisters of St Elizabeth and the Belgian Sisters of Mary, ran hospitals in the Nordic countries.³³ An important factor contributing to their success was that they offered medical and nursing care at a lower charge than state hospitals.³⁴ The Catholic parish that grew up around the large Catholic hospital in Copenhagen, and run by the St Joseph Sisters, consisted largely of converts who had come into contact with the Catholic faith as patients at the hospital. True, it was mainly in Denmark, and to some extent in Norway, that Catholic health care could be used for missionary purposes,³⁵ but in all Scandinavian countries the Catholic health care, whether as home nursing or in hospital, helped to dispel anti-Catholic sentiment and improve the reputation of the Catholic Church.

Another means of creating interest in Catholicism was to use public lectures and the media. These kinds of activities were particularly common in Denmark. At the beginning of the 20th century, in addition to several Catholic newspapers, there was a steady flow of books from the presses, and Catholic associations arranged public lectures to spread knowledge of Catholic faith and culture. Sermons in the Catholic Churches could also help the mission, especially when famous figures from abroad were to

preach.³⁶ Yet greater intention was drawn by major Catholic demonstrations of faith, which from about 1910 onwards were organised in Denmark in conjunction with church celebrations and significant anniversaries. The most spectacular event of this kind was the Eucharistic Congress held in Copenhagen in 1932 under the aegis of the prefect of *Propaganda Fide*, Cardinal Willem van Rossum, which attracted participants from all the Nordic countries, as well as from Catholic countries abroad. This triumphalist demonstration of faith gave visible expression to the increased self-esteem of the Nordic Catholics, but was also an indication of the exclusive claim to be the one true church of Christ.³⁷

Pre-conciliar models of Catholic conversion

The purpose of a mission is conversion, and the reports of the Nordic apostolic vicars often contain information on the number of converts, and sometimes detailed descriptions of conversions of more well-known individuals. Many of the Catholic priests dedicated a great amount of time to teaching converts. The purpose of this instruction was to teach the converts not only about Catholic faith but also about Catholicism as a specific way of life and, although more indirectly, as an ideological system and *Weltanschauung*. The Catholic priests' reports offer detailed accounts of how these conversion processes came about in reality, and how they tried to accustom the converts to a Catholic way of life.³⁸

One of those who reflected at length on the conversion of Scandinavians to the Catholic Church was Peter Schindler, a Danish-born Catholic priest, who was himself a convert. In the 1920s, he wrote a catechism adapted to Nordic conditions and a manual for converts *after conversion*. After formal admittance into the Catholic Church, Schindler maintains that converts undergo a psychological process which passes various phases to its conclusion in mature faith or, as he puts it, the life of an 'adult' Catholic. During the first phase, the convert is filled with enthusiasm and runs the risk of exaggerating his religious practices. In the next phase a certain fatigue may be noticed, which makes the convert susceptible to 'convert bacteria' in the form of satiety, resignation and a strong desire to criticise. In order to overcome this dangerous condition, the convert must summon all his will and reasoning in order to subordinate himself to the commands of the church. Preferably, he should also seek help and advice from a priestly spiritual adviser. Schindler recommends that the convert let sound reasoning take the place of feelings, and train fulfilling his religious duties by effort of will.³⁹

In this description we discover a voluntary element that fits well with the activist currents of the early 20th century, but at the same time is completely in line with the Catholic doctrine on justification by faith which stresses the co-operation between the will and God's grace.⁴⁰ Schindler also developed a kind of typology of converts, listing six categories plus the faults inherent to each type. Here we meet everything from the religious fanatic with his demonstrative religiosity to the zealous faultfinder, who constantly provides his bishop with information on errors and transgressions, not least on the part of the priests.⁴¹ These six convert types give us a sample of the problems to be found in Catholic parishes with a strong convert presence – and also in other religious communities, for that matter. As a model for his description of the conversion process, Schindler primarily used his own religious development and that of the Danish–Jewish convert and painter Mogens Ballin. Later he would write Ballin's biography, while the

various phases of his own conversion, both before and after his reception into the church, have been described in his autobiography.⁴²

At this time it was considered almost a duty for converts of a literary bent to publicly share their conversion experience. In the Nordic countries a whole series of conversion narratives were published; a valuable source of information on the conventions of conversion at that time. One of the most high profile was the conversion narrative of the famous Danish author Johannes Jørgensen, expressed in his novels, autobiographical essays and memoirs, which served as a model for others Nordic converts.⁴³ In his autobiography, *Mit Livs Legende*, Jørgensen describes his conversion as a dialectic process in which he passed through many stages, oscillating between belief and doubt, at times trying to be a Christian on his own, then yearning for authority and firm guidance. There was much about Catholicism that annoyed him – everything from indulgences to the belief in the miraculous effects of medals, private revelations, visits from the purgatory and other phenomena that he referred to as superstition. Moreover he was sceptical to the normative rigidity of Catholic moral teaching, and during his visit to Assisi he was outraged at the lax morals of many Italian Catholics. Yet he saw many attractive things about Catholicism and Catholic popular piety, and he was fascinated by the Catholic liturgy. It was not least his participation in Catholic divine service that opened the world of the Catholic faith for him.⁴⁴

Jørgensen's conversion did not end with his reception into the Catholic Church, however. Much like Schindler's model, it was followed by a second conversion when his Catholic faith had reached a more mature stage, and he had begun to recognise his own failings. Jørgensen describes this second conversion as a religious evolution, characterised by internal and external struggles, constantly returning contrition, reconciliation in the sacrament of penance and submission to the teachings of the church. In the prevailing Catholic doctrine, regulated religious life was regarded as the consummate expression of Catholic piety. In order to live in accordance with these ideals, Jørgensen became a Franciscan Third Order. His interest in Franciscan spirituality runs as through all his writings; a confessional, even ultramontane, form of Franciscanism. It is interesting to note that it is the religious way of life rather than religious faith that is reflected in his literary production.

In the literary conversion narratives I have analysed, the phenomenon 'conversion' is described as a process that leads to a change of confession. The conversion process, it is true, also embraced a form of moral conversion, culminating in the obligatory general confession that preceded the act of reception into the church. But on a discursive level, this moral conversion played a secondary role, and instead the central point is a slowly dawning conviction that the Catholic Church is the only true church. I have identified two different routes to conversion: the intellectual; and the existential. For converts who had been practising Lutherans, such as the Norwegian theologian Knud Krogh-Tønning, the conversion narrative revolves around the intellectual process of acquiring knowledge. Here, the conversion process is thus described not as a search for God but as an intellectual journey leading to the true church, while communion with the church is seen as a condition for communion with God.⁴⁵ This is even more noticeable with the Norwegian author, and later Nobel Prize winner, Sigrid Undset and the Swedish physicist Eva von Bahr-Bergius. For these two female converts, their faith in God was awakened by their coming to believe in the infallibility of the Catholic Church. In Undset's case we also find a strong repudiation of Protestantism.⁴⁶

The Swedish convert Claes Lagergren also emphasises the belief in the infallibility of the church as a main factor in his decision to become a Catholic. His conversion was in the same way as Jørgensen's motivated more by existential than by intellectual motives. But above all, Lagergren, who after his conversion in 1883 became papal marquis and chamberlain, was attracted by the cultural side of Catholicism and the Catholic way of life. Questions of a direct religious nature play a subordinate role in his conversion story.⁴⁷ In all the conversion narratives I have studied, the Catholic principle of authority – as well as its consequences in the shape of a strict hierarchy, firm and uniform doctrine, and clearly formulated moral teachings – played a central role in the conversion process. The lack of such qualities in the Protestant denominations is in some cases said to be a factor that strongly contributed to the decision to become Catholic.

The same pattern is seen in the opinion polls of ordinary converts in Denmark and Sweden in the 1920s and in a number of interviews with Danish converts in the middle of the 1930s. The fact that the polls generally asked leading questions should be seen as a reflection of the Catholic Church's doctrinaire and authoritarian attitude at this time. To judge by the answers, it was often precisely these characteristics that appealed to converts. The converts single out the strict hierarchical and authoritative character of pre-conciliar Catholicism, the uncompromising adherence to the metaphysical aspects of Christian faith and to traditional Christian morals, and the church's critical attitude towards the modern State and its hegemonic pretensions.⁴⁸

Furthermore, a confessional pattern can be recognised in which the repudiation of Protestantism is manifest and Catholicism is represented by values such as truth, authority and security. In many cases it was the emotional aspects – the pious atmosphere of Catholic liturgy, the experience of personal pastoral care and guidance based on firm principles – that seem to have determined the decision to convert. It is obvious that a feeling of security and trust played a decisive role in the conversion process. The motives given in the polls seem to result more from the priest's teachings than from personal reflection on the reasons for contacting the priest to receive instruction in the first place. Apparently, the priests were very thorough, not only giving instruction in Catholic doctrine but also introducing the converts to the Catholic way of living and thinking. Instruction was in other words indoctrination in the Catholic way of life and its rules, values and practices. Another interesting feature is the role of reading in the process of conversion. Of the literature read by Danish converts, the books written by Jørgensen have pride of place, and several converts mention him as a guide to the Catholic faith.

In my analysis of the prevalent models of conversion, I have identified two different paths to conversion that can be categorised as intellectual and existential respectively. In the first, the conversion process is characterised by an intellectual search for the *true doctrine*, in the second for a search for the *true way of life*. The theologian Krogh-Tønning, whose conversion was a natural continuation of his theological studies, is a typical representative of the first category, whereas the latter in its most pure form is represented by Johannes Jørgensen. Of the conversion narratives I have studied, only few can be related to the first category, and most of these were written by priests or people with a theological education. In the majority of the narratives studied, conversion is described as a search for a religious *Weltanschauung* and form of community that could offer stability and security. Thus, it was Catholicism as a way of life and cultural system that largely attracted these converts, whereas doctrine, and in some cases even

belief in God, came only in second place. For the 'intellectual' converts it was reverse; for them, the conviction of the truth of Catholic doctrine was a condition for their acceptance of the Catholic way of life. For most Scandinavian converts it remained the case that the Catholic way of life interested them in Catholicism; their religious search focused on religion as a cultural system rather than on religion as a faith.

The existential form of religious conversion exhibits similarities with the theory of religious transition developed in recent sociological research on new religious movements. Whereas older studies were based on the evangelical, Pauline model of conversion as a sudden and dramatic religious experience, more recent studies begin with the assumption that conversion is an intellectual and existential search for an appropriate way of life. This new orientation depends on a broadening of the concept of religion to include not only religious faith but also religious culture in its widest sense.⁴⁹ There is, however, a great difference between the modern type of lifestyle conversion and the kind considered here. Whereas members of new religious movements normally embrace only part of a given religious system of interpretation, the pre-conciliar Catholic converts had to submit to an authoritative system of belief replete with religious, ideological and political tenets. The Catholic converts belonged to a cultural context in which on the one hand evangelisation and re-Catholicisation (mission) and on the other demarcation from other systems of interpretation or symbolic communication (aversion) were central. This duality found its clearest expression in the ceremonies for reception into the Catholic Church, in which the converts abjured the religious community to which they had thus far belonged.

At the beginning of this article, I pointed out that recent research has established the significance of national religious culture in the construction of national identity in the 19th century, and that religious dissenters tried to develop alternative patterns of solidarity. This was also true of the Nordic Catholic mission. The local church authorities made great efforts to create national Catholicism by pointing to traditions from the Nordic Middle Ages, by publishing Catholic religious literature in Nordic languages, and by encouraging the use of hymns in the vernacular. They tried, in other words, to create an alternative Nordic identity on a Catholic basis. In the construction of this Nordic Catholic identity, ultramontane (Roman) ideals of piety current in the Catholic world at this time played an important role, and this Roman spirituality was seen by many as a guarantee of orthodoxy and the only adequate expression of real solidarity with the universal Church.⁵⁰ In around 1910, Danish converts started to question this kind of inculturation. A group of young converts led by Schindler eagerly advocated a stronger connection to Danish national religious culture, as developed by Grundtvig and the eponymous spiritual movement.⁵¹

The ideas about genuinely Danish and Nordic Catholicism that Schindler's circle had put forward were later adopted in Sweden and Norway. In Sweden they were hailed by the priest and convert, Berndt David Assarsson, in the Catholic magazine *Credo*, founded in 1920. But unlike Schindler we find no nationalistic strains in Assarsson's approach. The efforts made by Schindler, Assarsson and other Nordic converts to unite domestic religious popular culture and Catholic faith and tradition may be seen as an attempt to abolish the prevalent connection between Protestantism and Nordic national identity, and to win acceptance for an alternative Nordic identity on Catholic grounds.⁵² However, while in Sweden and Norway this connection meant relating to religious traditions from the Middle Ages and to parts of the Protestant hymn culture, in

Denmark things went one step further because of the Grundtvigian heritage. These ideals were contrasted to the prevailing ultramontane spirituality, with its individualistic devotional practices, clerical Big Brother mentality and superficial manifestations of faith. The mostly German-born Jesuits were singled out as the most outspoken representatives of this kind of Catholicism, and the nationalistic rhetoric used by Danish-minded converts had a strong anti-German character.⁵³

The majority of Danish Catholics, however, were not affected by these conflicts, and the Jesuit Churches still were much frequented and – as before – served to attract prospective converts. Statistics showed that the majority of converts actually preferred to be instructed in the Catholic faith by Catholic priests who had been born abroad. Judging by the convert stories, it was the ultramontane character of Catholicism, especially the impressive devotional services and the religious culture, which had awakened their interest in the Catholic Church and faith. Besides, the ideals represented by the nationalistic converts were not specific to Denmark, but rather were part of a much larger Catholic reform movement that centred on Germany, and worked for more lay participation in the liturgy and for a new kind of lay spirituality, detached from the monastic lifestyle.⁵⁴ But Danish Catholicism nevertheless was strongly influenced by Grundtvigianism, which gave it a more national and popular touch than was the case in the other Scandinavian countries.

Conversion and modernisation: towards a new discourse of conversion

During the 1950s the Catholic Church met with growing acceptance in Nordic society. The interest in Catholic culture and literature grew, and works by Catholic authors were often reviewed and debated in the national press. Nordic converts and writers, such as Sigrid Undset, Peter Schindler, Sven Stolpe and Gunnel Vallquist contributed to keeping this interest alive. In an anthology with the title *Why I Became a Catholic* [*Varför jag blev katolik*] from 1955, famous Swedish Catholics describe the motives which led them to convert. Three years later, a similar book appeared in Danish, *Vi blev Katolikker* [*We became Catholics*], in which 20 Danish converts describe their way into the Catholic Church. The stated reasons for conversion are much the same in all the conversion stories.⁵⁵ However, a coherent conversion movement never arose in the Nordic countries. It is true that the number of conversions per annum grew somewhat in both Sweden and Norway, but the number still was very modest – around 100 and 50 respectively. In Denmark the number of conversions was around 170 yearly, which was a decline on 30 years before.⁵⁶

As sign of the growing importance of the Nordic Catholic local Churches, in 1953 the Apostolic Vicariates in Norway, Denmark and Sweden were put on a regular footing as the dioceses of Oslo, Copenhagen and Stockholm. A few years later, Finland and Iceland were promoted to the same status.⁵⁷ In 1961 there were approximately 26,600 registered Catholics in Denmark. Most of them had been born in the country and the number of Catholic immigrants was very small. This was also the case with Norway, which at same time had about 7,500 registered Catholics. In Sweden the stream of refugees and economic immigrants after the Second World War had led to a considerable increase in the Catholic population; at the beginning of the 1960s the number of registered Catholics was almost 30,000, of whom 70% had been born abroad.⁵⁸

Immediately prior to Vatican II, the Catholic Church in Norway and Denmark had a strongly domestic imprint, whereas the Swedish Catholic Church had a far greater ethnic mix, a difference reflected in the orientation of pastoral work. The mission, at least officially, was still a high priority, but whereas Catholic activities in Denmark and Norway were pursued along much the same lines as before, immigrant pastoral care became increasingly important in Sweden.⁵⁹

With Vatican II and its ensuing reforms, the Catholic Church underwent a radical change. The theological re-orientation, which implied a modification to its claim to be the only true church, led to a radical reform of the whole ecclesiastical system. At the same time, it paved the way for Catholic participation in ecumenical and inter-religious dialogue. The idea of religious freedom, which until then has been rejected as incompatible with Catholic doctrine, was now acknowledged as a God-given human right. Furthermore, the dismissal of 'modernity' was given up in favour of co-operation and dialogue across ideological and religious frontiers in the defence of social and moral values.⁶⁰ The erosion of its distinctive *Weltanschauung* meant that Catholicism lost its character as an alternative to modern political ideologies. The reforms also undermined the theological grounds for Catholicism as a separate culture and specific ideological system, the so-called 'milieu Catholicism', that since the middle of 19th century had characterised the Catholic Church. From the 1960s, this Catholic form of life disintegrated rapidly.⁶¹

Many Catholics greeted the reforms that followed Vatican II with joy. Some groups demanded more far-reaching change, whereas others considered the new guidelines as a break with Catholic orthodoxy. Ingrained religious patterns were questioned, and much of what had earlier been considered to be an indispensable part of Catholic faith was wiped away or declared to be open to theological discussion. As a result the Catholic Church faced a deep identity crisis, expressed in growing internal polarisation and a weakening of the authority of the church's teaching. This post-conciliar crisis was reinforced by the radical societal changes that characterised the Western world at this point.⁶² However, the change that more than any other left its mark on post-conciliar development was the reform of the liturgy. The new liturgy, put into practice in the 1970s, can be seen as an attempt at the liturgical realisation of the new vision of the church embodied in decrees of the council.⁶³

These changes had great consequences for the Catholic Church in Scandinavia. Ecumenical dialogue and work for Christian unity, which had been given the highest priority by the Council, replaced missionary work. The former demarcation strategies were abandoned, and specific Catholic features were toned down in liturgical life as well as in official rhetoric. One expression of these changes was the fact that the Scandinavian local Catholic Churches were removed from *Propaganda Fide*. The transition to the more open form of Catholicism initiated by Vatican II was on the whole a relatively painless process in Scandinavia. The exception was Denmark, where post-conciliar reforms led to a severe crisis, with radical liturgical experiments and internal conflicts, which drove many Catholics to leave the church. This drain was to some extent counterbalanced by immigration from Catholic countries. As a result the Danish Catholic Church, which until then had been very 'Danish' in character, was transformed into a multi-ethnic religious community, totally dominated by foreign-born Catholics. A similar development had already begun in Sweden, which thanks to sizeable immigration from Catholic countries after the Second World War now became without comparison the largest Catholic Church in Scandinavia.⁶⁴

The theological reorientation instigated by Vatican II paved the way for a more positive view of other Christian denominations and religions, leading to a reconsideration of the missionary duties of the church, and ultimately to a new, more ecumenical understanding of conversion. This new view of conversion is perhaps most evident in the new ritual for reception into the church, with its overwhelmingly positive character and the absence of any form of repudiation (aversion). The convert has to confess the Catholic Church's faith and promise to keep to its doctrines, without specifically eschewing any other religion or Christian confession. Catholic conversion has thus lost much of its former function as an official manifestation of faith, and more than before appears as an expression of personal conviction and preference.⁶⁵

In order to establish the extent to which this new conversion discourse has made itself felt in the Nordic countries, I requested that the Swedish Catholic magazine *Katolskt Magasin* canvass the opinion of Swedes who had converted to the Catholic Church after Vatican II. A questionnaire was sent out in the autumn of 2000, posing the same questions as the Danish and Swedish polls on Catholic conversion in the 1920s. A comparison between the answers in 2000 and those in the 1920s reveals some common features. In both cases the converts report searching for spirituality and communion with God, finally concluding that this could be best achieved in the Catholic Church. But their way of expressing this search shows considerable differences, which reflect the changed ecclesiastical discourse. In the poll from the 1920s, conversion is described as leading to a religiously motivated *Weltanschauung* and way of life that would bring security and stability to their lives. A longing for security and religious communion is also found in the post-conciliar answers, but is expressed differently. Instead of the hierarchical structure and firm doctrine of the church, the emphasis is on spiritual values such as God's presence, mysticism and sanctification. Some converts refer to the importance of joining a church that by virtue of its authority is able to confirm the metaphysical truths on which their faith is based. But respect for the teachings of the church on ethical issues, especially regarding sexuality, has decreased considerably, and in many of the answers the official Catholic view is mentioned as having been an obstacle to the conversion process.⁶⁶

Moreover, post-conciliar converts do not seem to be as interested in the church's authority and priestly guidance as the early 20th-century converts once were. The crucial thing is no longer religion as a way of life and a cultural system, but rather religion as a religious faith and mystical experience. It is also very evident that Catholic liturgy does not hold the same attractions as before. This reflects post-conciliar developments and the effort to tone down the importance of confessional differences. Another interesting observation is that literary conversion narratives are not as important as sources of inspiration as they had been before Vatican II.⁶⁷ The results of the *Katolskt Magasin* poll thus clearly show that the discursive conventions of Catholic conversion have undergone a sea change since Vatican II, reflecting the changes within Western society as well as in the Catholic Church's teachings and religious life.

Religious conversion in the sense analysed here amounts to a transition to a new system of meaning that includes a requirement to renounce from many norms and values prevalent in society. Conversion is thus bound up with identity construction, a fact that the Catholic conversion stories I have studied clearly bear out. During the pre-conciliar era, a formal Catholic conversion meant that the convert professed an authentic belief and subordinated him or herself to the teachings of the church. Catholic

conversion was not only an expression of personal conviction, but also a confession of Catholicism as an ideology and cultural system with clear political implications. But at the same time, conversion was an expression of individual choice. The Catholic conversion movement thus contributed to society's development in a pluralistic and individualistic direction, and ultimately to the very process of cultural modernisation that the Catholic Church was fighting.

Returning to Peter van der Veer, we find his description of the Catholic conversion movement as a 'conversion to modernities'.⁶⁸ The Catholic Church repudiated modern pluralism, but was itself an important factor in the development of this pluralism, not least because of its claims for autonomy in relation to the State, and because of its legal system, which competed with national legislation. In spite of its hierarchic and authoritarian principles, the Catholic Church placed individual Catholics in the situation of having to choose between different normative systems. Thus, paradoxically, the Catholic anti-modern strategy contributed to the individualism and pluralism that it was developed to counteract, and thus to the general modernisation process.⁶⁹ With Vatican II the Catholic Church finally accepted the existence of the society that had grown up as a result of modern developments. This has made the conversion discourse more pluralistic and at the same time enabled the religious dimension to appear more clearly than before.

It is, however, important to note that these changes concern the *discourse* on conversion, not the *motives* as such. A Catholic conversion always presupposes an active participation in worship and the religious life of the church. Today, religious instruction and a general confession before a priest also precede the reception of converts into the church. In the Catholic Church there is no place for people who want to be solitary Christians or who wish to become Catholics solely for ideological or cultural reasons. At this point continuity reigns over time.

Notes

- 1 van der Veer, 'Introduction', 1–22. This anthology contains articles reflecting the interplay between mission, conversion, and identity construction in the Western world, Asia and Africa from the 17th century onwards. Similar perspectives are developed in Asad, 'Religion, Nationstate, Secularism', 178–96.
- 2 Bryant and Lamb, 'Introduction', 1–22; Ahlin, *Pilgrim, turist eller flykting?* Ahlin is discussing the concept conversion and rejects the use of it outside a Christian context.
- 3 Instructive examples of these kind of studies are Lelotte, ed., *Convertis du XXe siècle* (4 volumes) and Chesterton, *The Catholic Church and Conversion*.
- 4 Rivinius, 'Die Entwicklung des Missionsgedankens', 217–18.
- 5 Pottmeyer, 'Modernisierung', 131–46.
- 6 Pinard de la Boullaye, 'Conversion', 2224–66; Vogelsanger, 'Konversion, Konvertiten', 929–33; Kollar and Brenner, 'Konversion', 559–78. It was only at the end of the 18th century that the term 'converts' was introduced for non-Catholic Christians received in the Catholic Church.
- 7 The pre-conciliar view is concisely summarised in Ott, *Grundriss*, 263–78.
- 8 Werner, *Världsvid men främmande*, 292–316.
- 9 *Catechismus*, nos. 836–48, 1098, 1248, 1433, 1435–797, 1886–9, 1896, 2561–84, 2595, 2608.

- 10 Allitt, *Catholic Converts*; Gugelot, *La conversion des intellectuels*; Ørjasæter, *Menneskenes hjerter*. Sigrid Undset; Heidrich, *Die Konvertiten*; Luykx, *Cornelia de Vogel*; Oftestad, 'Två moderna omvändelser', 30–42; Oftestad "“det er noget kastret ved den”", 211–29; Luykx, *Daar is nog poezie*.
- 11 Stoor, *Mellan mission och dialog*.
- 12 The research presented in this article is part of the project *Religionsbyten – individ, samfund, samhälle* led by associate professor Ulf Görman at the Centre for Theology and Religious Studies at Lund University, and draws on results presented in my Swedish monograph *Nordisk katolicism*.
- 13 Nock, *Conversion*, 7. Cf. Décobert, 'La conversion', 33–60. For Rambo's model, see Rambo and Farhadian, 'Converting, Stages', 23–34. Here conversion is seen as a process involving seven stages ending with acceptance into the new religious community.
- 14 Werner, *Nordisk katolicism*, 309–23.
- 15 Werner, *Världsvid*, 34–99, 265–9; Werner, *Nordisk katolicism*, 309–23. Cf. Thorkildsen, 'Religious Identity', 138–60.
- 16 Haupt and Langewiesche, eds., *Nation und Religion in Europa*; Altermatt and Metzger, eds., *Religion und Nation*.
- 17 McLeod, 'Protestantism and British National Identity', 44–70; McLeod, *Secularization in Western*, 216–47; Blückert, *The Church as Nation*; Stråth, 'Europe as a Discourse', 30–2, and 'The Swedish Image', 366–83.
- 18 Blaschke, 'Das 19. Jahrhundert. Ein zweites konfessionelles Zeitalter?', 38–75; Blaschke, ed., *Konfessionen im Konflikt*. See especially Blaschke's own article, 'Der Dämon des Konfessionalismus', 13–70. For confessionalism in a Nordic context, cf. Jarlert, 'State Churches'.
- 19 See also Sidenvall, *After Anti-Catholicism*. In a comparative study of famous converts in India and Great Britain, Gauri Viswanathan gives examples of how religion was used in the construction of a growing national identity: Viswanathan, 'Religious Conversion', 89–98.
- 20 Gadille in 'Lehre und Spiritualität' and 'Theologie und Spiritualität', 118–32, 335–52.
- 21 Altermatt, 'Katholizismus', 33–50; Gabriel, *Christentum*, 80–119.
- 22 Metzler, *Johannes von Euch*, 74–8; Vogt, 'The Catholic Church', 47–50.
- 23 Eidsvig, 'Den katolske kirke', 155–65; Werner, *Världsvid*, 30–99, 241. In Finland, Catholic conversions were forbidden until 1922, when new religious legislation came into force.
- 24 Werner, *Nordisk katolicism*, 124–5, 179–82.
- 25 Vogt, 'The Catholic Church', 84–6.
- 26 Werner, *Världsvid*, 128–46, 275–86; Werner, *Nordisk katolicism*, 106–10, 134–43. The Jesuit order was forbidden in Norway at this time.
- 27 Werner, *Katolsk mission och kvinnlig motkultur*; Malchau, 'Women Religious', 117–34. The expansive phase of Catholic health care came to an abrupt halt in the 1950s when the welfare policy of the state became fully established.
- 28 The reports of the apostolic vicars and priests to *Propaganda Fide*, which are kept in the archives of the congregation, Archivio Storico della Congregazione per l'Evangelizzazione dei Popoli o 'de Propaganda Fide', Rome (ASPF), often deal with specific missions and the establishment of parishes. Cf. Werner, *Nordisk katolicism*, 100–27, 170seq.

- 29 Werner, *Katolsk mission och kvinnlig motkultur*, 195–200.
- 30 Werner, *Världsviid*, 141–6, 283–6; Werner, *Nordisk katolicism*, 154–64.
- 31 The importance of the Catholic schools for conversions is often stressed in the reports to *Propaganda Fide* and to mission organisations such as *L'Œuvre de la Propagation de la Foi* that financed much of the missionary activity in Scandinavia. Cf. Werner, *Nordisk katolicism*, 110–20, 127–43.
- 32 Nilsen, *Nonner i storm og stille*, 131–4; Werner, *Katolsk mission och kvinnlig motkultur*, 93–115, 139–71.
- 33 Metzler, *Johannes von Euch*, 95–9; Mertens, *Geschichte der Kongregation*, vol. II, 709–87, 836–45; Nilsen, *Nonner i storm*, 189–96.
- 34 Werner, *Katolsk mission och kvinnlig motkultur*, 122–39; Malchau, ‘Women Religious’, 135–42.
- 35 Werner, *Världsviid*, 171–80; Mertens, *Geschichte der Kongregation*, 740–3.
- 36 Metzler, *Johannes von Euch*, 118–126; Werner, *Nordisk katolicism*, 152–4, 286–307; Eidsvig, ‘Den katolske kirke’, 302–5.
- 37 Eidsvig, ‘Den katolske kirke’, 301f, 315–17; Werner, *Världsviid*, 180–4, 256–63, 286–91; Werner, *Nordisk katolicism*, 154–60. Cardinal van Rossum had already made a pastoral journey to Scandinavia in 1923, and he had taken part in the Catholic celebrations of St Ansgar in 1929. Both visits led to protests in the Nordic media.
- 38 Werner, *Nordisk katolicism*, 182–9.
- 39 Schindler, *Katholsk Kristenliv*.
- 40 Ott, *Grundriss*, 266–325.
- 41 Schindler’s handbooks, which are marked by the psychological ideas of his time, are very different from older guidelines for Catholic converts used in Scandinavia.
- 42 Schindler, *Mogens Francesco Ballin*; Schindler, *Vejen til Rom* and *Tilbage til Rom*. Like many other Danes who converted to the Catholic Church at this time, Schindler was influenced by the Grundtvigian tradition, which for him served as a bridge to the Catholic faith.
- 43 The Swedish author Gunnel Vallquist, who converted in 1939, confirms in *Vägar till Gud*, 119, the normative function of the conversion process described by Jørgensen.
- 44 Jørgensen, *Mit Livs Legende*. The process leading to his reception into the Catholic Church is described in vol. IV, and in the novel *Vor Frue af Danmark*. Jørgensen describes his conversion process as a search for the truth: true doctrine and a true way of life. His identification with St Francis is most clearly expressed in his book *Den hellige Frans*. Cf. Skyum-Nielsen, ‘Johannes Jørgensen’, 77–80.
- 45 Krogh-Tønning, *En Konvertits Erindringer*; Armfelt, *Min väg till kyrkan*. This was also the case for the Danish gentlewoman Erikke Rosenørn-Lehn, who describes her conversion in *Min Vandrebog*.
- 46 Bahr-Bergius, *Min väg tillbaka*; Undset, *De søkte de gamle stier*, cf. Thorn, *Sigrid Undset*; Ørjasæter, *Menneskenes hjerter*. *Sigrid Undset*, 186–90; Oftestad, ‘Två moderna omvändelser’, 30–8, 41–2.
- 47 Lagergren, *Mitt livs minnen*, vol. IV.
- 48 ‘Henvendelse til konvertitter’, *Nordisk Ugeblad* (1920), 247. The answers were published in the Catholic magazine *Nordisk Ugeblad* in 1920. Poll from autumn 1929: Archives of the Catholic Parish of St Eugenia. The interviews on conversion motifs that Holger Krusenstjerna-Hafström, himself a convert, conducted in the 1930s give a similar picture: Krusenstjerna-Hafström, *Hvordan de blev Katholikker*.

- 49 Ahlin, *Pilgrim, turist eller flykting?*, 18–40. In discussing the Christian discourse of conversion, Ahlin takes for granted that the Pauline model can be applied to all Christian traditions. This was also the case with ‘classical’ theories of Christian conversion in American or British sociological studies of conversions to evangelical communities.
- 50 Werner, *Nordisk katolicism*, 284–92. The apostolic vicars and the majority of the priests and sisters working in Scandinavia came from Catholic countries, while priests born in the Nordic countries were educated at Catholic seminaries.
- 51 Lundgreen-Nielsen, ‘Grundtvig og danskhed’.
- 52 Kjelstrup, *Norvegia Catholica*, 245–9, 344–65; Blücker, *The Church as Nation*, 212–19; Werner, *Nordisk katolicism*, 306.
- 53 Schindler, *Vejen til Rom*, 214–16; Schindler, *Tilbage til Rom*, 93, 121–65. Cf. Werner, *Nordisk katolicism*, 292–307. In the Jesuits’ reports of the 1920s, Schindler and his followers were accused of nationalist agitation damaging to Catholic unity in the Scandinavian community. In his memoirs Schindler admits that he went too far in his nationalist enthusiasms.
- 54 Angenend, *Liturgie und Historik*, 17–75.
- 55 Stolpe, ed., *Varför jag blev katolik*; Nielsen, ed., *Vi blev Katolikker*. As an answer to this collection of conversion stories, a collection of essays presenting arguments for not converting to Catholicism was published: Gunnar Rosendal, ed., *Varför jag inte gått till Rom*.
- 56 Vogt, ‘The Catholic Church’, 43.
- 57 Werner, *Nordisk katolicism*, 12, 358–60.
- 58 Vogt, ‘The Catholic Church’, 31, 40–2, 73–93, 99, 107–14; Gärde, *Från invandrarkyrka*, 92–8.
- 59 Cf. Werner, ‘Schwedentum, Katholizismus und europäische Integration’, 84–90.
- 60 Punt, *Die Idee der Menschenrechte*, 175–99.
- 61 Gabriel, *Christentum*, 175–9; Ebertz, ‘Deinstitutionalisierungsprozesse im Katholizismus’, 375–94.
- 62 Kaufmann, ‘Zur Einführung’, 9–31. Cf. Gatz, ed., *Kirche und Katholizismus*.
- 63 Angenend, *Liturgie und Historik*, 180–6.
- 64 Eidsvig, ‘Den katolske kirke’, 371–6, 383–5; Werner, ‘Schweden’, 278–80, 322–8; Werner, *Nordisk katolicism*, 358–65.
- 65 *Catechismus*, nos. 836–48.
- 66 *Katolskt Magasin*, 2001, nos. 4, 8–9. Sixty people, among them 35 women, took part in the poll. Most of them had become Catholics in the 1980s and 1990s, having grown up as members of the Church of Sweden.
- 67 The new post-conciliar conversion of conversion is mirrored in the writings of the Swedish Catholic convert Eva Alexandersson. Cf. Littberger, *Omvändelser*, ch. 2.
- 68 van der Veer, ‘Introduction’, 1–22.
- 69 Hünemann, ‘Antimodernismus und Modernismus’, 367–76.

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