

# What Happened to the Montana-Idaho Conference?

By Mark Knight

In 1900, Axel Mellander listed the 11 district conferences in his brief history of the Covenant.<sup>i</sup> The fact that there were 11 listed district conferences shouldn't surprise the modern reader, for there are currently 11 conferences. Sure, the names may have changed and the boundaries have moved around over the years but 11 is 11, right? It's the 11th conference listed in his report that should catch the reader's eye; "The Mission Covenant of Montana and Idaho." Why is this surprising? There are currently zero active churches in Idaho and only two in Montana (both are in Helena) and one of those was planted in 2014. When Axel Mellander was writing his brief history in 1900 there were enough churches in these two states to have their own conference with hope for many more coming on the horizon. 121 years later there is only one singular church left from that report and the conference that represented Montana-Idaho hasn't been in existence in 100 years. Therefore, we must ask, what happened to the Montana-Idaho Conference?

Why in 1900 was there so much excitement for the future of the conference yet by 1922 the conference no longer existed? What happened to the conference? In this paper, I seek to answer these questions by exploring two different historic churches from the conference; the Anaconda and Helena Churches. These two churches will help us see the rise and fall of the conference with clarity but also give us hope for the years ahead as the Evangelical Covenant hasn't given up on Montana and Idaho.

If the question is what happened to the Montana-Idaho Conference there is an easy answer which is simply what the superintendent of the conference, J.G. Wilson, says in the annual meeting notes of 1921-1922; "It was decided that we, as a Missionary Association, would like to join the North West Coast Missionary Association in order to thereby possibly get a little help in our activities in this wide field. All the congregations, which praised the proposal for an

association, have therefore been in the belief and hope that these more powerful siblings may help the weaker ones.”<sup>ii</sup> However, as I am sure you know with most answers, it’s not so easy. The story is much more interesting. It’s a story of the “Wild West”, gold, immigration, failures to adapt, and of a land that was vast and untamed. As we look at the Mission Friends of Anaconda and Helena, the stories of these two churches will give us a glimpse into the fuller story of the rise and fall of the Montana-Idaho Conference.

## **Part 1 - The Beginnings**

New Year’s Eve always brings excitement but this year the jubilee was abundant. As the congregation was filing out of the sanctuary the joy and celebration of all that God had done permeated the air.<sup>iii</sup> The congregants of Anaconda, Montana couldn’t believe that they had their own building after years in a campground. It was a modest building. It wouldn’t win any contests for most beautiful architecture or highest steeple but it was their own building and they were proud of it. A.T. Frykman was a bit underwhelmed when he saw it, “The church is very practical and nice inside, even if the outside is poor and the tower is low. ‘You do not go to heaven on the steeple,’ said Brother Nelson, ‘and that's probably true.’”<sup>iv</sup>

The building fit the practical living of those that settled there. The late 1800s brought many looking for gold, silver, or other precious metals that could be mined in the hills around Anaconda and Butte. Not many made it rich and many would move along a few short years later when the winters were harsh and the fight to make money was tough.

In 1883 when one of the great “Copper Kings of Butte”, Marcus Daly, needed a site for smelting of the ore coming from his Anaconda mine, the town began to form.<sup>v</sup> Named after his company - the Anaconda Copper Mining Company. The town began to boom with people and held so much influence that when the state of Montana was taking bids for where the capital would be, Anaconda was in the running, eventually losing out to Helena.<sup>vi</sup> This decision would

end up being one of the many factors to consider in the longevity of the church in Helena versus Anaconda, but more on this later.

As people were looking for work, the Anaconda Copper Mining Company was hiring and the town consisted largely of miners. These miners weren't from one specific ethnic group and consisted of the diversity of America at that time. "Irish, Italian, and Slavic peoples, many born outside the United States, formed the earliest notable ethnic enclaves in Anaconda. By the late 1890s, Germans, Scandinavians, English, and an increasing number of African Americans began to flood to the Deer Lodge Valley in search of work at Marcus Daly's Anaconda copper smelter."<sup>vii</sup>

It's the Scandinavians that are of particular interest to our story. For the Covenanters of the 1890s were still conducting services entirely in Swedish at this point in time. This means that to grow a church for the Missions Friends, it would take a gathering of Swedes. Montana had many Scandinavian that came to the this new frontier but not nearly in the same volume as other places in America at this point. It only takes a quick perusal of the 1890 census to see this. To use Minnesota as an example - Minnesota in 1890 had slightly less than 100,000 Swedish immigrants but in Montana the number was 3,771.<sup>viii</sup> By 1900, Minnesota saw a rise in Swedish immigrants as the total number climbed to 115,476 while Montana only rose to 5,346 which actually constituted a loss in percentage towards total population.<sup>ix</sup> Therefore, while the state was growing in total population there were vastly more immigrants coming in that were not Swedish and thus lowering the chance of a Swedish speaking church growing in attendance.<sup>x</sup>

This doesn't mean it was a fool's errand to begin with, for Jennifer Attebery writes, "By the 1890 census, Swedish-born residents numbered 2-3 percent of the population in these states and were concentrated up to 5-7 percent of the population in parts of the region. By 1900, the Swedish made up 3.4-5.3 percent of the first and second generation immigrant population, ranking third in Utah, fourth in Colorado, Wyoming, and Idaho, and fifth in Montana. The only

European immigrants from a primarily non-English speaking country to rank higher were the Germans.”<sup>xi</sup>

Many of these Swedish immigrants were coming to Montana in search of work and there was plenty to do. Mining and smelting were in high demand and hiring about anyone willing to work.<sup>xii</sup> This was the nature of Anaconda.

Things didn't look much different 80 miles away in Helena. Mining copper may have been what formed Anaconda, it was mining gold that shaped Helena. In 1864 a small group of miners discovered gold.<sup>xiii</sup> This monumental find brought in a rush of settlers looking for their own big payday.

This is what brought missionaries out of the Swedish Evangelical Mission Covenant in America. The first of many was Henry Lindeman<sup>xiv</sup> who reported back to the rest of the Covenant in 1892 as he begins his address by quoting from Isaiah 9; “But the people that walk in the darkness shall see a great light. Above those who dwell in the land of dark shadows, a light will shine.’ And it seems as if the morning dawn had begun among the Swedish people, for 1 1/2 years ago, when I came here, there was no more missionary activity in Helena, but now there is a small congregation in Great Falls and in Missoula, and on in these two places a small awakening was demanded last winter. In Butte City, which is the largest place and with the largest number of Scandinavians, I should in the near future organize a small congregation, and in Anaconda, where there are only about 6 believers, we should build a mission house before the end of winter.”<sup>xv</sup>

The Covenant saw Montana as a great new mission field, one in which they would send lights into the dark, and shouters into the wind. “A step toward more effective planning was taken in 1899 when some recent seminary graduates were encouraged to devote themselves to the ‘dark

places.' A.T. Frykman and Oscar Dahlberg went to Helena and Missoula; A. Gustafson and Gust Nelson were scheduled for Butte and Anaconda."<sup>xvi</sup>

Each of these cities would be the framework of what would become the Montana-Idaho Conference. They had their young seminarian missionaries/pastors ready to shout into the wind as Frykman stated: "Now they were already two shouters in the wind, and so much more stubborn and loud and intriguing came the cries for even more missionary forces. Now it was especially Anaconda and Butte, the latter a city of 40,000 inhabitants and crowds of our countrymen in the most terrible wickedness without any evangelical activity. Now it was not the preachers alone who shouted. The congregation in Helena decided that the mission in the state would contribute with regular mission offerings...In addition to Helena and Missoula, where pastors are, Butte and Anaconda are now closest to each other's oversight, and also many other mission sites, where the doors are wide open for evangelistic activities, such as Great Falls, Basin and Marysville, etc. The most encouraging thing about this is that the habits that have already been won for the Lord and constitute the congregations in Montana are both willing and able to generously support missionary work. It is therefore less a cry for missionary means than for personal strength."<sup>xvii</sup>

## **Part 2 - Momentum**

The specifics may be slightly different for each of the churches that made up the Montana-Idaho conference in the late 1890s and early 1900s but the larger story is consistent. Scandinavians were a part of this early movement to Montana, driven by the opportunity to work in the mines and settle the land and on their heels were young seminarians sent out from the conference in hopes to bring the Swedish Evangelical Mission Covenant to Montana and Idaho. There was much to be hopeful and excited for in those early days.

In 1901, Aug. Gustafson sends back this report about Anaconda to the annual meeting; "In Anaconda, the business has made great strides. Many good gifts have been gathered there, which serve the Lord's cause with zeal. The number of members has reached fifty and many

gather for their meeting. It is truly gratifying to have had such a thriving business in such a short time. God bless the congregation and its zealous teacher G. Nelson.”<sup>xviii</sup>

Helena also began to see early momentum as the first fully established church in that area and often the agent of help for these other upstarts. They were even able to raise funds for the purchase of their first building in 1892.<sup>xix</sup>

This is when the momentum of our two case studies begin to change. Anaconda begins to grow and grow fast. For the area it was becoming quite a sizable church averaging around 50 on Sunday yet Frykman mentions the building that seats 200 wasn’t big enough for many Sunday night meetings.<sup>xx</sup> As we see from the above quote, there is excitement there. In fact, the following annual reports for the conference were written from Anaconda.

Helena on the other hand was plateauing at around 30-40 people and not seeing any growth for years. Helena wouldn’t see an average attendance higher than 55 people until 1971.<sup>xxi</sup> Helena became a staple of stability but by no means was it considered impressive nor flashy by the metrics. This may in fact have helped Helena more than hurt. We will discuss this more at the end of the paper.

Financially speaking both churches struggled to pay a pastor but Helena found ways to make it work while Anaconda often had pastors that would go back and forth from Butte and Anaconda. The conference found ways to subsidize Anaconda to keep the ministry going at many annual meetings.<sup>xxii</sup> Especially when they continued to show great promise and momentum.

A.T. Frykman in 1899 remarked about the Anaconda church; “In addition to the regular meetings, there is a youth meeting, a sewing association and a Sunday school, which is quite large. The congregation has probably more than doubled since Nelson got there. The church as a

facility accommodates about 200 people and is now soon too small for Sunday evening meetings.”<sup>xxiii</sup>

At that time it would have been easy to count Helena out and see Anaconda as the next great Covenant church. Anaconda had every appearance of being a church poised for abundant growth. The church that could set the course for growth for the Montana-Idaho conference and Helena would eventually have to close. Yet, within a few short years, the opposite would be true. 130 years later, Anaconda is scarcely remembered while Helena is one of the oldest Covenant churches west of the Mississippi. What happened? To that we now turn.

### **Part 3 - Early Problems**

There is rarely one problem that undoes someone or something. The stories of an embezzling accountant that sends the company down before the perpetrator is caught may catch the news and you can assume it was one problem that undid the company. However, many would point deeper and analyze how the company made it possible for the accountant to embezzle and how many people turned a blind eye to missing funds. This is the case of the Montana-Idaho Conference. At first blush it would be easy to answer that the conference simply didn't gain enough traction and find the ability to go from mission field to stable churches. The question needs to be probed deeper; why couldn't it become more stable?

I have been able to identify five root causes that one by themselves wouldn't close a church but all working together would slam the doors shut. After I showcase the five problems, I want to return to our case study churches and analyze why Helena made it through and Anaconda did not.

#### **1. Mining**

Mining and smelting in those days had a tendency to attract the most itinerant workers and not many of these churches could create much stability. The conditions were miserable and the pay was never great. Many people that would come for work would leave for new work.

One Swedish miner who worked in Butte said it this way: “I worked in Butte City [Montana] only one month, and then I thought it was best to quit before my health was gone. Fritiof quit some days before me because the heat and fumes were terrible. We traveled here and found work immediately.”<sup>xxiv</sup> This continued to create a revolving door. People coming and people leaving.

## **2. Darkness**

Karl Olsson in his expansive volume on Covenant History, *By One Spirit*, identifies sin as a major problem for this region when he quotes Henry Lindeman who says: “In Montana there is one saloon for every sixty inhabitants. Prostitution flourishes openly and if it is brought before the authorities, a \$5 fine is maximal. The prostitutes in Butte City, which is probably the most ungodly city in the U.S., advertise their wares openly like other merchants. It seems as if the whole atmosphere were polluted with a spiritual infection, for men and women who come here from the East with good morals become in a short while moral derelicts, and God’s children become pillars of salt in these desolate heaths.” He finishes his lament by stating, “Atheism and unitarianism are winning out here and the churches are empty.”<sup>xxv</sup>

Montana in the late 1800s and even into the early 1900s was still considered the Wild West. An area that was still open to explore, a land to tame, riches to discover, and free of the overlooking authority. To frame this in perspective, it was 1889 in which Montana finally earned statehood. The following year, 1890, Idaho was deemed a new state.

## **3. Economic strain**

The 1890s had many economic problems that created a depression throughout the nation. “An economic battle during the administration of Grover Cleveland brought panic to Helena [and surrounding cities]. Due to the financial struggles of those years that brought bank failures,



commercial distress, reduction of wages, and labor struggles, many of the mines were closed and many people were forced to leave the community in search of work.”<sup>xxvi</sup>

Even if people weren't leaving for other places to find work, many were unable to help support the church financially. This economic strain in the area made it hard to build buildings, pay pastors, and do outreach.

#### **4. Retention of Pastors**

The economic challenges mentioned above made it hard to always pay a pastor. However, the problem of retaining pastors was more than financial. There were two other primary factors at play; pastors as missionaries and young pastors cutting their teeth in ministry. Conjecture is important here as not everything is spelled out but Montana continuing to be a mission field creates a tough atmosphere for a pastor that wants to pastor a stable church instead of till the mission field. We also could make an educated guess that young pastors getting their start in ministry won't stay long at their first assignment.

The Covenant yearbooks from 1882-1927 are full of examples of the churches in this conference seeking a new pastor. We even see in 1923-1924 that G. Jansson is listed as both the pastor of the Anaconda church and the Butte church.<sup>xxvii</sup> In “Missionsförbundets Minnesskrift 1885-1910” this fact was brought forth as a major burden. "This field is large, and it is because of the long distances between the places that it has its special responsibilities to conduct business there. In addition, the unevenness of work in places such as Anaconda and Butte, which are entirely dependent on the large copper works. The best way is to have a preacher. Three of them have worked in the service of the association, namely Joel Ohlen, Oscar Johnson and G.A. Youngstrom. At present, the district chairman, C. G. Strom, serves in the district service as a travel evangelist. It is in many cases a hard-working field. Not infrequently, the traveling preacher must go around all day and personally invite the people to the meeting in the evening. But it is the spirit of a grateful field and a future field. Swedes move in incessantly and above all a lot of people gather to hear the word of God. We are waiting to see new congregations flourish

in several places. The district association now consists of the following congregations: Butte, Helena, Anaconda and Missoula in Montana, Idaho Falls, and New Sweden in Idaho.”<sup>xxviii</sup>

The primary concern was securing a hardworking pastor, willing to do the hard work of calling people to church, and at the same time stay rooted. This was a big ask and many pastors came and went. Helena as an example had in that time period (1882-1927) saw 22 pastors come and go. This inability for these churches to keep a pastor makes it hard to create sustainability.

The other reason that takes far less conjecture is that many of these churches couldn't afford a pastor. We see many years in which Anaconda (as well as others) are asking for the Covenant to help pay for their pastor. “The congregations in Billings and Anaconda have been financially supported by the League, namely \$20 a month each, which also makes it possible for them to have a preacher. This helped without it being impossible to have [a preacher]. Therefore, the association decided to recommend that the above-mentioned assistance be granted during the coming year of operation.”<sup>xxix</sup>

## **5. Failure to adapt**

These cities were growing fast and diverse. Many workers from all over, with many ethnic backgrounds were flooding these cities. As we mentioned above, not all and not even most were Swedish. There were enough to get small congregations started but not enough to grow at the same pace as the other parts of the country where the Covenant was digging in roots. It wasn't until the 1930s that we see the Swedish Evangelical Mission Covenant in America begin to convert to English as the main language.<sup>xxx</sup> This would be nearly a decade too late for the Montana-Idaho conference. If they could have pivoted to English, which was the primary working language in Montana, in the early 1900s things potentially could have looked different.

If these five root problems become a checklist for our case studies. Anaconda had all of them with the retention of pastors being one of the greatest frustrations. Helena had a little of all five as well but the biggest differences had to do with number 1 and 4.

When Helena became the state capital, stability of jobs came to that city. The city began to be shaped by government jobs rather than mining. When the search for gold began to wane the city didn't become a ghost town because it was now the seat of power. Helena also struggled with pastors but during some of the most crucial years for the conference in that region, 1914-1922 we see only two pastors in that span, Carl O. Nelson (1913-1917), John G. Wilson (1918-1922).<sup>xxxix</sup> While other churches in that region were still turning over pastors almost yearly, Helena found a good stretch of multi-year pastors that could sustain through those pivotal years.

#### **Part 4 - The Shattering of Windows**

Those lean years in the 1910s rolled into the 1920s when the conference didn't have enough healthy or sustainable churches to continue to be its own conference. They needed help from stronger churches to make it through. This is when in the 1921-1922 yearbook J.G. Wilson mentioned how the churches voted to join the North West Coast Missionary Alliance (now the Pacific Northwest Conference). They needed "more powerful siblings" for they felt so weak.<sup>xxxix</sup>

Anaconda, a church that once was the beacon of hope for the conference, had to close its doors by 1924. For a church that showed such promise, it's a sad note that we find from E.G. Hjerpe, "In Anaconda and Billings, however, there is no prospect of continuing with any business further. Proceedings have also been undertaken to seek in these places to sell what church property there is and to use the funds received for the purpose of the mission, as previously provided in the constitutions of these congregations."<sup>xxxix</sup>

It goes beyond the scope of this paper to list all the closures of every church that was ever started in the Montana-Idaho conference. However, I can say that many couldn't survive for long after the conference merged with the North West Coast Missionary Alliance for a variety of reasons. There were a few churches that made it for many years after the merger but eventually all (besides Helena, now called Life Covenant) would close their doors or leave the conference

over ecclesial or theological differences. Thus, while the reasons for closing the Montana-Idaho conference and merging with the North West Coast were apparent and unavoidable, it seems as if that decision would be the writing on the wall for many of those churches left in the region. They would soon be left on an island with dwindling relationships with the larger Covenant body.

This would add one more root problem to the list of five, now churches in that region were experiencing isolation. For even the ecclesial and theological differences may have been different if there was a closer connection to their covenant brothers and sisters. The ability to benefit from the covenant identity in community.

## **Part 5 - A New Day**

This research into the past of the Montana-Idaho Conference leads us to look toward the future. That is the goal of history, learning from the past as we head into the future. We need to ask some sizable questions 100 years later: what does this mean for the Covenant in these states now? Can there be a Montana-Idaho Conference in the future? What can future church plants in these areas learn going forward?

These are the questions we briefly turn to now. The good news is that of the five original problems none remain.<sup>xxxiv</sup> For example, mining isn't the primary industry in Montana and Idaho anymore and the inhabitants of Montana are more stable in 2021 than in 1921. In fact, Montana and Idaho are both growing as a state as more people move into this region. Idaho was the second fastest growing state in the nation in 2020.<sup>xxxv</sup> Montana also had a huge boom in 2020, so much so they even gained another seat in the house of congress.<sup>xxxvi</sup> People are coming to these states and in large numbers. There is room for the Covenant to reach these states for the kingdom once again.

The only problem that remains is that the pastors and leaders that decide to go into these regions may struggle with isolation at first. Until there are enough other Covenant churches in the area they will always be at least a couple of hours away on a plane from most of the Pacific

Northwest Conference. This being said, there are ways to partner with other churches in that area, technology advances with online networking, and a superintendent that is committed to helping churches in these areas be part of the network. Greg Yee, the district superintendent of the Pacific Northwest Conference says that he has a commitment to helping all of his churches no matter how far the drive, to feel like a part of the family.

There has already been one church planted in the last decade in Montana. It was another church in Helena, Headwaters Covenant Church, which was planted in 2014. We also see one coming in the next year or two in Boise, Idaho. There's excitement again for how the Covenant can begin to grow in this region.

However, it is going to take a specific mindset. When I asked both Yee and Keith Johnson (Pastor of Life Covenant in Helena) what it would take to have a Covenant church in this region, they both mentioned two things. The first is the missionary mindset. Have you noticed the amount of references to "missionary" and "missions" - whether for good or for ill or a little bit of both? The conference and even the churches themselves have always felt as if they were part of the mission field. It should come as no surprise then to learn that for the Covenant to find success in Montana-Idaho in the future, it will take a missionary mindset.

The second thing they both mentioned was it would take locals to be the ones to do it. People that live in these two states aren't automatically trusting of outsiders. They are proud of being born and raised in Montana or Idaho respectively. Right now, there are bumper stickers being made and slapped on cars that say "Go Home Californians" in response to the influx of people coming to their states from California. They aren't looking for their states to grow and instead are proud that they have that more spread out feel. Thus, in 2021 it would take a pastor that has the missionary mindset and already understands the ethos of these states as a native Montanan/Idahoan.

Will there be another Montana-Idaho Conference. Yee doesn't see why not. "I think you always need to go smaller as you get larger. If [this region] starts to get enough traction to be self-sustaining, then absolutely it should be its own conference again. If the Lord leads us to grow larger then we have to go smaller." This may be years down the road but we are seeing a renewed passion for the covenant identity to be restored in cities long lost.

## Endnotes

- <sup>i</sup> Mellander, Axel. "The Swedish Mission Friends in America ." Covenant Roots: Sources and Affirmations, by Glenn P. Anderson, Covenant Publications, 1999, pp. 72.
- <sup>ii</sup> Wilson, J.G. "1921-1922 Covenant Yearbook." pp. 97
- <sup>iii</sup> Frykman, A.T. "1899-1900 Covenant Yearbook." pp. 14-22
- <sup>iv</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>v</sup> "Anaconda Montana." Western Mining History, n.d., [westernmininghistory.com/towns/montana/anaconda/](http://westernmininghistory.com/towns/montana/anaconda/).
- <sup>vi</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>vii</sup> Historical Society, Montana. "Anaconda." Montana Historical Society, n.d., [mhs.mt.gov/Shpo/AfricanAmericans/Places/PropertyRecords/Anaconda](http://mhs.mt.gov/Shpo/AfricanAmericans/Places/PropertyRecords/Anaconda).
- <sup>viii</sup> Census, US. "US Census 1890." Census.gov, 1890, [www.census.gov/history/pdf/1890statisticalcompendium.pdf](http://www.census.gov/history/pdf/1890statisticalcompendium.pdf).
- <sup>ix</sup> 4.6% to 3.5%
- <sup>x</sup> Johnson, Keith. Pres Church Heritage Class, 1984, "A History of the Evangelical Covenant Church Of Helena, Montana".
- <sup>xi</sup> Attebery, Jennifer Eastman. "Swedish America in the Rocky Mountain West, 1880-1917: Folkloric Perspectives on the Immigrant LetterJen." Scandinavian Studies, vol. 77, no. 1, 2005, pp. 53–84. Spring 2005.
- <sup>xii</sup> HistoricalSociety, Mt. Montana Mosaic 10: The Rise and Fall of the Anaconda Copper Mining Company. YouTube, YouTube, 25 Apr. 2014, [www.youtube.com/watch?v=Op99venslQE](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Op99venslQE).
- <sup>xiii</sup> Editors, History. "The City of Helena, Montana, Is Founded after Miners Discover Gold." History.com, A&E Television Networks, 16 Nov. 2009, [www.history.com/this-day-in-history/the-city-of-helena-montana-is-founded-after-miners-discover-gold](http://www.history.com/this-day-in-history/the-city-of-helena-montana-is-founded-after-miners-discover-gold).
- <sup>xiv</sup> This is actually a bit disputed as "Missionsförbundets Minnesskrift, 1885-1910" mentions the first missionary to Montana as a Free Preacher named J.F. Fredrickson who went on to become Helena's first Covenant Pastor. pp. 268
- <sup>xv</sup> Lindeman, Henry. "1892-1893 Covenant Yearbook." pp. 19
- <sup>xvi</sup> Olsson, Karl A. By One Spirit. Covenant Publications, 2002. pp. 466
- <sup>xvii</sup> Frykman, A.T. "1899-1900 Covenant Yearbook." pp. 14-22
- <sup>xviii</sup> Gustafosn, Aug. "1901-1902 Covenant Yearbook." pp. 77
- <sup>xix</sup> Johnson, Keith. Pres Church Heritage Class, 1984, "A History of the Evangelical Covenant Church Of Helena, Montana".

xx Frykman, A.T. "1899-1900 Covenant Yearbook." pp. 14-22

xxi Covenant Yearbook documentation compiled by Keith Johnson in Appendix 2 of his paper. "A History of the Evangelical Covenant Church of Helena, Montana."

xxii Covenant Yearbooks reference this in many of the volumes.

xxiii Frykman, A.T. "1899-1900 Covenant Yearbook." pp. 14-22

xxiv Attebery, Jennifer Eastman. "Swedish America in the Rocky Mountain West, 1880-1917: Folkloric Perspectives on the Immigrant LetterJen." *Scandinavian Studies*, vol. 77, no. 1, 2005, pp. 53–84. Spring 2005.

xxv Olsson, Karl A. *By One Spirit*. Covenant Publications, 2002. pp. 466

xxvi Johnson, Keith. Pres Church Heritage Class, 1984, "A History of the Evangelical Covenant Church Of Helena, Montana".

xxvii "1923-1924 Covenant Yearbook." pp. 210

xxviii Strom, C.G. "Missionsförbundets Minnesskrift, 1885-1910." Covenant Publications, 1910. pp. 268-272.

xxix Swanson, David C. "1914-1915 Covenant Yearbook" pp. 57

xxx The first covenant yearbook to be written in English was the 1929-1930 edition.

xxxi Johnson, Keith. Pres Church Heritage Class, 1984, "A History of the Evangelical Covenant Church Of Helena, Montana".

xxxii Wilson, J.G. "1921-1922 Covenant Yearbook." pp. 97

xxxiii Hjerpe, E.G. "1924-1925 Covenant Yearbook." pp. 6

xxxiv Of course there is still darkness (as there is anywhere) but it is no longer the lawlessness of the Wild West.

xxxv Holmes, Brian. "U.S. Census: Idaho Is 2ND Fastest-Growing State behind the Gem State's Neighbor." *Ktvb.com*, 26 Apr. 2021, [www.ktvb.com/article/news/local/208/us-census-idaho-2nd-fastest-growing-state-behind-gem-state-neighbor/277-be6894d6-3c45-4c9f-b375-7ea8cea661c7](http://www.ktvb.com/article/news/local/208/us-census-idaho-2nd-fastest-growing-state-behind-gem-state-neighbor/277-be6894d6-3c45-4c9f-b375-7ea8cea661c7).

xxxvi Press, Associated. "Rapid Population Growth Gives Montana 2nd US House Seat | Montana News | US News." *U.S. News & World Report*, U.S. News & World Report, 26 Apr. 2021, [www.usnews.com/news/best-states/montana/articles/2021-04-26/rapid-population-growth-gives-montana-second-us-house-seat](http://www.usnews.com/news/best-states/montana/articles/2021-04-26/rapid-population-growth-gives-montana-second-us-house-seat).