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## “The Lapps are used like camels in distant lands”: Sámi research in the northernmost parsonage of Finnish Lapland



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**Abstract.** Anders Andelin was a Finnish clergyman who engaged in Sámi research in the northernmost parsonage of Finland in the 1850s. His efforts were not exceptional, as the residents of 19th century European rural parsonages practiced a lot of research. Andelin himself was an amateur ethnographer, historian, archaeologist, meteorologist, geographer, natural scientist, linguist, and toponymist. He was, as a Sámi researcher, between old and new scientific traditions: The middle

of the nineteenth century has been regarded as a turning point in the history of academic research in Finland. Until then, researchers collected folklore, historical sources, plants, and meteorological observations. Around the 1850s the focus shifted from collecting and listing towards more analytical and experimental research. Andelin published his writings in scientific journals but also compiled a lot of detailed information related to the Sámi people, as the Sámi were thought to be a primitive people heading towards extinction. The clergymen who came to Lapland also viewed the Sámi lands through the lens of cultivation. They gathered statistics, which could be used to justify the need for the efforts of agriculture in Lapland.

**Keywords:** 1800s, Anders Andelin, Finnish Lapland, Sámi research, Sámi

### Introduction

In 1772, Finland's first newspaper, the *Tidningar Utgifne Af et Sällskap i Åbo*, published minister Anders Hellander's description of the Lapland village of Utsjoki (*Kort underrättelse om Utsjoki By i Torneå Lappmark, samt dess Inbyggares lefnadssätt, tillstånd, wilkor, m.m.*). Since the area being reported on was such a remote and unknown place, a decision had been made to publish Hellander's text unabridged. In the article, Hellander describes the nature and the sources of livelihood in Utsjoki (*Ohcejohka*), which was completely inhabited by the Sámi (or the Lapp) population.<sup>1</sup>

In the 18<sup>th</sup> century, Utsjoki (with approximately 300 Sámi inhabitants) was the northernmost region of Swedish Lapland, situated near northwestern Russia and next to Norway. Many Finnish pastors considered Utsjoki as an exceptionally troublesome parish because there were hardly any Finnish inhabitants in the whole area, except for the priest and a rural police chief. The parishioners were partly so-called mountain Sámi, practising reindeer herding, and partly fisher Sámi, who lived alongside the Teno River and supported themselves by fishing and raising cattle. The mountain Sámi lifestyle involved constant moving. The fisher Sámi families

<sup>1</sup> And. Hellander, Kort underrättelse om Utsjoki By i Torneå Lappmark. *Tidningar Utgifne Af et Sällskap i Åbo*, 19 March 1772.

could move twice a year, in Autumn and in Spring, which meant they had separate dwellings for winter and for summer. The Utsjoki mountain Sámi lived in mobile huts, while fisher Sámi built their dwellings mostly out of turf [1, Kylli R., pp. 20–49].

Anders Hellander, who moved to Lapland in the 1740s, was the first pastor of the parish of Utsjoki. His article was part of an effort to build knowledge of the peripheries of the kingdom of Sweden. Information on the northern lands was in demand in the 18<sup>th</sup> century because the Swedish realm needed new resources. It had recently lost Livonia, until then one of the kingdom's principal granaries, to Russia in the Treaty of Nystad in 1721 [2, Jutikkala E., p. 333]. Consequently, resources had to be allocated to the remaining territories and the development of agriculture in them. In censuses performed in the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century the kingdom's population was found to be surprisingly low, and more efficient agricultural production was seen as a way of increasing the kingdom's population. In Finnish histories, this period is called the Age of Utility [3, Vainio-Korhonen K., pp. 15–16; 4, Niemelä J., passim].

The pursuit of utility and collecting and classifying new information was also evident in the 18<sup>th</sup> century publications of the *Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences*, founded in 1739. In the same year that Anders Hellander's text was published in Finland's first newspaper, the *Royal Academy of Science* published an issue with detailed information on the border area — including the area inhabited by Sámi people — between Sweden and Norway. The researchers in this issue were especially interested in finding out which areas of Lapland were fertile and suitable for new human settlements.<sup>2</sup> Carl von Linné (1707–1778), who became famous for the Linnéan classification system of plants — also made his famous expedition to Lapland in the 1730s. He observed the environment of Lapland also from the perspective of agriculture [5, Linnaeus, 97].

In 1749, the clergy of Swedish and Finnish Lapland was issued an official regulation concerning scientific and economic observations. They were ordered to make meteorological observations, prospect for ore, archive old records and documents, and draw up statistics concerning the population of Lapland.<sup>3</sup> The fact that the clergymen working in Lapland the 18<sup>th</sup> century were asked to pay attention to matters such as potential ore deposits shows that attempts were made to harness the clergy to serve the economic growth of the kingdom — in tune with the utilitarian ideology of the time.

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<sup>2</sup> Slutet om Land- och Fjäll-ryggarne, samt Gränsen imellan Sverige och Norrige. Kongl. Vetenskaps Academiens Handlingar för år 1772, Vol. XXXIII, <http://www.biodiversitylibrary.org/item/181815#page/7/mode/1up> (Accessed January 22, 2017).

<sup>3</sup> Direktionens över Lappmarkens ecklesiastikverk arkiv: Lappmarksbeskrivning av Johan Elers (Instruction 12 April 1749, 1262–1272). Riksarkivet (RA).

At the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century Finland became part of the Russian Empire. If in the 18<sup>th</sup> century the writings of the clergymen mostly described the circumstances and conditions of life in Lapland, in the 19<sup>th</sup> century they started to focus also on the features and the habits of the Sámi. The Age of Utility, which had coloured the descriptions of Lapland written in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, was a thing of the past, and new ideas and ideologies encouraged the clergymen (at least partly) to regard the Sámi in a new light. One of the officials who studied the Sámi in 19<sup>th</sup> century Finland was Jacob Fellman, a pastor of Utsjoki in the 1820s, and an enthusiastic amateur scientist of various disciplines. Among other things, he studied the plants and insects of Lapland. Botany was not established as a field of study at the Imperial Alexander University of Finland (University of Helsinki, the only university in Finland) prior to the 1850s. Until that time, the study of the plants of Finland was in the hands of physicians and other amateur enthusiasts. In addition to botany, Fellman was interested in entomology, the study of insects. He corresponded with scientists in European universities about matters related to it. He was also a member of various natural science associations.<sup>4</sup>

In addition to insects and plants, Fellman was very interested in researching the Sámi. He wanted to document as much as he could of their culture because he considered the Sámi a people heading inevitably towards extinction. Fellman met many Sámi also on his travels outside Finland (the Sámi were living in the northern parts of Finland, Norway, Sweden and the Kola Peninsula of Russia), and he realised that the Sámi were a people divided across different lands and kingdoms. He understood that foreign influence had caused their language to diverge into regional dialects that were no longer understandable to each other. Fellman considered this the primary reason for the looming extinction of the Sámi:

*Dreary is the fate of the inhabitants of Lapland. What role has this people, at one time perhaps so numerous, played in the development of the human race remains secret to us. But we can be certain that those times are now in the past, and that the people will never regain any position of significance; instead, it has for a long time been in decline. Surely the moment that they will only live in our memories is not far, especially on the scale of historical eras [6, Fellman J., pp. 626–627].*

A contemporary of Jacob Fellman, Lars Levi Laestadius, born in 1800, had worked in northernmost Swedish Lapland (Karesuando parish) since 1826. Laestadius was also a keen botanist. He still listed and classified the plants of Lapland in the spirit of the 18<sup>th</sup> century:

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<sup>4</sup>Membership books of scientific societies. Fellman family collection 11. The National Library of Finland; Jacob Fellman's letters to C. G. Mannerheim. C. G. Mannerheim's letters Coll 141.4. The National Library of Finland.

Laestadius' plant collection was characterized by a Linnéan attempt to map out all information and organize it systematically. At a later stage, Laestadius also examined Sámi folk religion and tried to organize it into systematic mythologies. Laestadius — who since the late 1840s became known as the founder of a new Lutheran revival movement Laestadianism — saw plants as God's creations, but plant collection also brought some extra income to provide for his large family. Laestadius also made meteorological measurements in Lapland, which were paid moderately well too [7, Pentikäinen J. & Pulkkinen, R. pp. 41–51].

Clergymen such as Laestadius and Fellman became self-styled authorities on all questions related to the Sámi in 19<sup>th</sup>-century Sweden and Finland. Their expertise was in great demand within the church as well as among the secular decision-makers. The clergymen who were posted to Lapland represented a small group of men who had lived in the lands of the Sámi and wielded an important instrument of power: writing.<sup>5</sup> There were also some lesser-known officials, who nevertheless achieved expert status on Sámi issues while working in Lapland. This article focuses on a relatively little-known clergyman who studied the Sámi in Finnish Lapland: Anders Andelin, who worked as a pastor in Utsjoki during the latter half of the 19th century. I investigate how the traditions of earlier centuries — the utilitarian ideology, a high regard for agriculture, research duties assigned to the clergymen — as well as the novel ideas of the time were reflected in the work and especially in the writings of Andelin, a contemporary of English naturalist Charles Darwin (1809–1882), for example. One interesting question asks whether Andelin made any racial distinctions in his texts. As my source material I use Andelin's popular and scientific articles about the Sámi.

In the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, Lapland was still a remote hinterland separate from the rest of Finland. No roads led there, and the postal service reached the northernmost Lapland only seldom. The clergymen who worked in Lapland needed to make their work as prominent as possible; otherwise they ran the risk of simply being forgotten in the far north for the rest of their lives. Most of them hoped to spend just a couple of years in the far north among the Sámi and then be reassigned to a nicer post in southern Finland with their fellow Finns. In other words, the work experience earned in Lapland could be converted into a secure future in the warm and cosy parsonages of the south — a reward that made learning the Sámi language worthwhile, as well as getting to know their way of life by means of amateur ethnographic research, for example [1, passim].

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<sup>5</sup> The Sámi were, at one point, taught to write at a school in Utsjoki in the 1740s, but this was soon ended by order: 'In certain conjunctures in borderland settlements, and especially among general and simple public, it is not likely to be politically healthy or useful.' Utsjoki visitation protocol 14 February 1748 § 6. Turku Cathedral Chapter to Dir., 23 April 1748. Direktionens över Lappmarkens ecklesiastikverk arkiv, Ink. skriv. 1748. RA.

*Anders Andelin (1809–1882)*

Anders Andelin was born in Häme, a province in southern Finland, in 1809. Kustaa, the father of the family, was a village tailor. He died when Anders was still young. Although of limited means, the son managed to finish school: he studied theology in the Imperial Alexander University of Finland and graduated as a priest in 1835. After graduation Andelin was employed as the associate priest and a preacher in a village called Honkajoki in southwest Finland. He later worked as the minister for Utsjoki from 1853 to 1859 and, at the beginning of 1860, assumed the post of the minister in Paltamo (in the Kainuu region of Finland), where he worked until his death in 1882.<sup>6</sup>

Near the end of 1852, Anders Andelin applied for the post of pastor at Utsjoki. Until that point he had spent his life, 43 years, in the rural villages and towns of southern Finland. Compared to Honkajoki, the subarctic Utsjoki was another world. Practically all Utsjoki inhabitants spoke Sámi as their mother tongue, meaning Finnish clergymen did not find it easy to communicate with their flock without learning their language. Also the arrival to Lapland was often a shocking experience to the Finnish clergymen. One priest, who had moved to Lapland in 1837, had been so shocked by his first meetings with the local Sámi that he had to run away to the nearby forest for some time before braving the 'filthy nests of the Lapps' again [8, Castrén M., pp. 37–38]. The priest was in a state of culture shock, which often occurs when adapting to a new culture. The new situation causes stress, evoking longing for the old, more predictable, and more understandable environment. The more reluctant one is to adapt to the new situation, the more difficult the culture shock will be [9, Raiskio T., *passim*].

Andelin found many things troublesome in his new parish. He harboured no romantic missionary calling, as he was thinking of relocating to a more southern parish already during his first months in Utsjoki. He had probably applied for the post of the pastor in Utsjoki because his present post as an associate priest no longer felt satisfactory his age. In May 1817, the imperial senate had decided that clergymen would be granted a right of promotion to more attractive posts after a certain number of successful service years in Lapland. In order to earn the promotion, clergymen were required to spend eight years in Utsjoki. As he managed to secure a post in a southern parish earlier, Andelin did not spend the full eight years in Utsjoki. He suffered in Lapland from rheumatic pain, in the same way as Jacob Fellman and many other pastors of 19<sup>th</sup> century Utsjoki [1, *passim*].

In April 1854, Andelin married Jemina Kantinkoski, the daughter of a house-owning farmer born in Honkajoki. They had a total of eight children, three of whom were born in Utsjoki. During

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<sup>6</sup> Anders Andelin's resume. Oulu Cathedral Chapter Archives Bb:1. National Archives (NA).

his time in Utsjoki, Andelin taught himself the languages of the Sámi and translated the key texts of Christianity into Sámi together with his language instructor, Sámi teacher Aslak Laiti (1836–1895). In addition to his linguistic efforts, Andelin actively studied Lapland and the Sámi. He wrote a number of articles about his observations, and also wrote an extended account of Utsjoki and its inhabitants, which has been used as a general source regarding 19<sup>th</sup> century Utsjoki. In his work as a minister, Andelin focused on developing the education of the common folk and promoting and advancing agriculture [1, passim].

Andelin wrote to many Finnish publications, including the oldest newspaper in northern Finland, the Finnish-language *Oulun Wiikko-Sanomia*, established in the city of Oulu in 1829. The newspaper was founded at the same time as the *Economic Society of the Province of Oulu*, the purpose of which was to promote agriculture in northern Finland. *Oulun Wiikko-Sanomia* also concentrated on Finnish agricultural education. The editors were also interested in publishing natural scientific articles, as they considered that this kind of information raised the level of public awareness. During the 1830s, *Oulun Wiikko-Sanomia* was practically a natural scientific publication [10, Tommila P., pp. 10–39].<sup>7</sup>

Andelin also published his texts in scientific research journals. The most notable of these was the published article in the *Suomi*-journal of the *Finnish Literature Society*. Society was founded in 1831 in order to promote the Finnish culture inspired by Finland's autonomous status in the empire of Russia. Some of the founders were also interested in the languages of ethnic minorities. *The Finnish Literature Society* published a lot of books aimed for example at the needs of schools in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, but *Suomi: Tidskrift i fosterländska ämnen* was considered to be Finnish society's main scientific publication [11, Sulkunen I., pp. 17, 104]. Andelin's report on the Utsjoki parish was accepted for publication in this scientific series in 1858.

It was not always easy to carry out research in Lapland. Scholars of southernmost Sweden and Finland did not trust the level of science conducted in the isolated parsonages of Lapland. Laestadius was criticized, for example, for the fact that he did not have a decent library, which was why his research results became (at some point) rather one-sided [7, pp. 57–58]. There was a small library in the Utsjoki parsonage, but it provided mainly Christian, medical and linguistic knowledge.<sup>8</sup> Pastors usually brought their own libraries to Lapland. Andelin's predecessor, who died in Utsjoki in 1852, had owned (according to his estate inventory deed) for example the books called *Opetus kirja maanviljelemisestä* (instruction book on agriculture), the ethnographical

<sup>7</sup> No Sámi-language papers were published until the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. The *Nuorttanaste*, for example, a Christian magazine that gained popularity in Utsjoki, started operations in 1898.

<sup>8</sup> Inventory lists 1858–1950. Utsjoki parish archives IIIWI:1. NA.

*Anteckningar om Kemi Lappmark af Sjögren* (Notes on Kemi Lappmark of Sjögren) and the botanical *Botanologi och Skandinaviens Flora af Haartman*.<sup>9</sup> Andelin himself died, as mentioned, in 1882. His book property was not mentioned in detail on his estate inventory deed. He had, however, owned during his lifetime thermometers, barometer, maps and other essential tools for scientists.<sup>10</sup>

### *Lens of Cultivation*

Frederick Cooper [12, p. 164] mentions in his book *Colonialism in Question: Theory, Knowledge, History*, that during the conquering of the Americas, for example, the missions were much more than just sites of conversion: they were agricultural colonies as well. This was the case also in the parsonages of the Sámi area. The research conducted in Lapland was in many ways connected with this agricultural thinking.

The agricultural revolution (the intensification of agriculture effected by mechanised farming practices and the breeding of plants and animals) had started in England in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, while gardening had simultaneously become more popular in northern Europe. The new esteem of the tilling of land and the growing of crops gave rise to new ways of seeing the environment, which was articulated through a language of ‘cultivation’. This was also reflected in interactions with indigenous peoples. Europeans with seeds and farming tools colonised the native lands of indigenous people, and generally regarded the lands they had taken through the vocabularies of their native landscapes. The clergymen who came to Lapland also viewed the Sámi lands through the lens of cultivation — despite the fact that making crops grow in the frozen land was usually extremely difficult [13, Thrush C., pp. 1–35].

Also Lars Levi Laestadius, who studied Sámi in Swedish Lapland, was at first very interested in the promotion of agriculture in Lapland. In his first publication *Om möjligheten och fördelen af allmänna uppodlingar i Lappmarken* (About the possibility and the benefit of general cultivation in Lapland, 1824) he pondered how crops and people adapted to the harsh conditions of northern areas.<sup>11</sup> In this writing Laestadius had a quite positive attitude to the possibilities of cultivation in Swedish Lapland. His conclusions were based on statistics and tables — he had made observations and measurements (such as comparisons of soil temperatures in different areas) when visiting Lapland during one of his early scientific explorations [7, pp. 52–53].

<sup>9</sup> Fredrik Wilhelm Stjerncreutz’s estate inventory deed 1852. Lapland Judicial District, Court District of Muonio etc. parishes Ecl:2. NA.

<sup>10</sup> Anders Andelin’s estate inventory deed 1882. Kajaani Judicial District EclV:8. NA.

<sup>11</sup> Lars Levi Læstadius, *Om möjligheten och fördelen af allmänna uppodlingar i Lappmarken*. Stockholm 1824, <http://runeberg.org/omlappmark/0003.html> (Accessed January 22, 2017).

The Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland had high hopes for Andelin's term as the minister. In his previous post in Honkajoki, Andelin had worked hard to advance the cause of agriculture, including leading a state campaign for the building of subsurface drains, for which he had been awarded imperial honours. Andelin's closest superior, Lapland's county dean Jacob Fredric Liljeblad (1809–1862), hoped the Sámi would embrace the Finnish ways of earning a living. He had great trust in Andelin's skills in promoting agriculture: In his words the person who had been appointed to the post in Utsjoki was 'a famous farmer from Honkajoki' [14, Raittila P., p. 114].

Andelin wasted no time. In addition to promoting agriculture, he worked hard to civilise the Sámi in all ways imaginable, emphasising the importance of cleanliness, abstinence from alcohol, and hard work. Andelin also considered it necessary to improve the state of cattle rearing in Lapland. According to one of his articles, the Sámi usually kept their cows in dark peat huts that resembled caves. Wintertime feeding was minimal, and summertime pastures were not much better. While travelling along the Teno River — the border river between Norway and Finland — Andelin also made observations of life in Finnmark, Northern Norway, as well. According to him, the inhabitants of Finnmark managed to be even worse in animal husbandry than the Sámi of Utsjoki. They did not, for example, remove the cow's manure from the shed using a shovel but with their bare hands, after which they would commence milking the cows while simultaneously ladling milk to their own mouths with their soiled hands. The fingers of the milker would become clean again during the milking, and milk was also handled by hand afterwards. Andelin believed the inhabitants of Finnmark had a desire to improve their lives, but like the Sámi of Finnish Lapland, tended to cling to the old ways very stubbornly, in effect blocking all efforts to civilise them.<sup>12</sup>

In the spring of 1856, the *Economic Society of the Province of Oulu* sent, at Andelin's request, 12 hoes and shovels to Utsjoki and Inari, a neighbouring Sámi parish of Utsjoki. The tools were to be distributed free of charge, as Andelin had suggested, to those who vowed to devote themselves to the cultivation of fields. The association also sent seeds of commonly cultivated crops to Utsjoki. To promote the cultivation of the potato, the association also tried to arrange for seed potatoes to be sent to Utsjoki over the next few years. The seeds were sown in the summer of 1856. The yield, however, was a disappointment, as some of the crops failed to germinate at all, and many died soon afterwards. Turnips sown after Midsummer started to grow, thanks to a period of rain, but so did weed, and the Sámi, unaccustomed to agricultural work, considered

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<sup>12</sup> A. A., Utsjoelta 19 p. kesäk. *Oulun Wiikko-Sanomia*, 7 August 1858.



clearing the turnip field of weed too tiresome a task. June frosts eventually laid to waste even the turnips.<sup>13</sup>

Andelin [15, p. 176] also wrote about the prospects of agriculture in his report on Utsjoki in 1858: He had tried, for example, to find fertile soil in Utsjoki. There were some islands, which — even though they were very stony — might have been used as fields. There were also some pieces of land alongside the Teno River, which might have been possible to use either as farm- or grasslands. The soil was, however, sand, but it was possible to make it cultivable with the help of clay and manure.

When people meet strangers from foreign cultures they usually try to define the ways the representatives of alien cultures are different from themselves. The more there are features that set the 'other' apart from the culture of the observer, the more difficult it becomes to fully comprehend and appreciate him or her. In this case, observers often fall back on stereotypes, which are one way of making the world around the observer less complicated and easier to understand [16, Löytty O., p. 11]. Stereotypical thinking, however, easily substitutes for fact and leads to the qualities and characteristics of the foreign culture being rejected and ridiculed [17, Berry J. et al. p. 299]. The nomadic way of life of the mountain Sámi, for example, was in total opposition to the values of Andelin and other Finnish clergymen. Their rejection of the traditional Sámi way of life often resulted in excesses when the clergymen wanted to change the lives of the Sámi community overnight into something completely different. One of the excesses was the attempt to make the Sámi give up reindeer herding, a source of livelihood very well suited to the arctic conditions, and to settle down as farmers.<sup>14</sup>

In Utsjoki some of the Sámi made their living, as mentioned, by fishing and cattle tending, while some herded reindeer, spending their summers on the coast of the Arctic Ocean and winters inland. By the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the mountain Sámi had become a great source of indignation to the clergymen of Utsjoki, since they did not know Finnish very well and therefore — according to the clergymen — remained ignorant of the teachings of Christianity. The mountain Sámi were also disapproved of by the church due to their carefree way of life. They suffered the fate of many other nomadic peoples: because they had no permanent dwellings or farmland they were considered uncivilised [1, p. 425].

<sup>13</sup> Suwi (kesä) Utsjoen lapissa w. 1856. *Oulun Wiikko-Sanomia*, 11 October 1856.

<sup>14</sup> See e.g. Aslak Laiti, Nöyriä toiwotuksia Lapinmaalta! *Tapio*, 18 January 1862.

### *Settlers as Cultural Beings*

Andelin was, as mentioned, a correspondent of the *Oulun Wiikko-Sanomia*, a newspaper published in Oulu, a major town in Northern Finland roughly halfway between Utsjoki and the capital city Helsinki. He compiled his extended article about Utsjoki, which was published in its entirety in the *Suomi* ('Finland') periodical in 1858, partly from his write-ups published in the *Oulun Wiikko-Sanomia*.<sup>15</sup>

The year 1848 was the year of revolutions in Europe. The Hungarian Revolution of 1848 also affected conditions in Finland (which was part of the Russian Empire). Nicholas I, Emperor of Russia, marched to Hungary with his troops. Soon after, at the beginning of the 1850s, increased censorship measures were introduced in Finland, which included considerable restrictions on the articles that could be published by newspapers. No articles about religious or social matters were allowed; fiction and news were also out of question. Articles that promoted the benefits of agriculture, however, were highly recommended. After the Crimean War (1853–1856) the censorship measures were eased somewhat from the very strict policies of the early 1850s [10, pp. 52–68]. Censorship, however, did not restrict Andelin's writing in Utsjoki to any great extent, as writing about topical matters was impossible in any case from his remote outpost, which was connected to southern Finland only by means of slow and unreliable postal connections. He wrote in 1854: 'From here I cannot write about war or like matters, only about my own excursions and changes of weather.'<sup>16</sup>

Andelin was very productive and studied Lapland from different perspectives. He was an amateur ethnographer, historian, archaeologist<sup>17</sup>, meteorologist, geographer, natural scientist, linguist, and toponymist. He was interested in, among other things, the etymology of the name *Utsjoki*.<sup>18</sup> He also eagerly wanted to publish the results of his explorations for contemporary Finnish readers. Andelin's article about the parish of Utsjoki was, for example, 126 pages long.

Andelin enthusiastically took advantage of previous Sámi research, as he sometimes cited Norwegian publications in his writings about the Sámi. He also produced a considerable amount of original content. Andelin read, for example, the old documents of the Utsjoki parish archives. He made excursions to the areas near Utsjoki, and also recorded observations on his official journeys.

<sup>15</sup> Andelin's letter to the Finnish Literature Society 1858. Letter Collection 62vir. The Literary Archives of the Finnish Literature Society (Helsinki).

<sup>16</sup> A. A., Utsjoelta 16 p. elokuuta. *Oulun Wiikko-Sanomia*, 21 October 1854.

<sup>17</sup> Andelin worked as an amateur archaeologist also after leaving Lapland. He became interested in Sámi-based names (such as Akkovaara) in his new area of residence, Kainuu region, and he also made some archaeological excavations there. Henkilösarja osa 19: Antti Andelin (interview of docent Reijo Heikkinen 9.2.2012), <http://areena.yle.fi/1-1440781> (Accessed January 25, 2017).

<sup>18</sup> A. A., Utsjoen Lapinmaalta. *Oulun Wiikko-Sanomia*, 6 October 1855.

When meeting his Sámi parishioners, he could ask them, for example, to furnish him with local proverbs or information about traditional ways of healing. One might say that Andelin used interviewing as well as participant observation as his research methods. Andelin's work took him to many Sámi homes, opening a window through which he could observe the lives and the customs of the Sámi from up close. Having the Finnish official sitting in a Sámi dwelling did not, however, evoke natural behaviour in the inhabitants — a fact Andelin was very much aware of. The Sámi did not treat an official guest as they would an ordinary friend or relative.<sup>19</sup>

During his years in Utsjoki, Andelin collected his knowledge about the Sámi traditions into a book of children's stories and proverbs called *Mainac'ak ja Sädne-Vadjasak Ocjogast c'okkijuvvum*, written in Sámi. He had tried to collect children's stories already during his first year in Utsjoki, but because of his limited command of the language this initial effort was not successful. The Sámi, moreover, were not always willing to become a priest's informants. Eventually, however, Andelin managed to record at least a couple of children's stories.<sup>20</sup>

Anders Andelin was not the only one interested in studying the Sámi at the time. On the contrary: many Finnish officials, scientists, and explorers studied more or less everything related to the Sámi in Lapland. This was done, as mentioned, because the Sámi were thought to be a primitive people heading towards unavoidable extinction: the effort was taken to record information about their culture for future generations. The general consensus among Finns in the 19<sup>th</sup> century was that the Sámi had sealed their fate when they had decided not to follow with the times. It was thought that if a people went on living in the Stone Age while others advanced into the Iron Age, their only possible fate would be extinction [1, pp. 444]. Jacob Fellman [6, p. 233] had described the situation as follows:

*Here [in Inari] the habits, needs and ways of life of ordinary folk have remained almost unchanged since time immemorial, with the exception that the bow and arrow have been replaced by gun and gunpowder, and heathenism with Christianity; but in most matters they are as they were centuries ago. Ways and habits, however, tend to change in a lively environment. A good example of this were the Lapps of Utsjoki, who lived relatively close to Inari, and often spent time on the coast of the Arctic Ocean, from where they returned with many new ways and experiences. These develop into needs, which soon turn into habits.*

<sup>19</sup> Utsjoen Lapinmaalta. *Oulun Wiikko-Sanomia*, 18 August 1855; Utsjoen Lapinmaalta. *Oulun Wiikko-Sanomia*, 25 August 1855.

<sup>20</sup> A. A., Utsjoelta 1 päiw. marraskuuta. *Oulun Wiikko-Sanomia*, 2 December 1854; Andelinin utsjoenlappalainen satu- ja sananlaskukeräelmä. *Suomalais-ugrilaisen seuran aikakauskirja LIII*. Helsinki 1947.

Different Sámi populations were considered to be on different steps in the ladder of evolution. Some held the view that the fisher Sámi had previously been reindeer-herders. The fisher Sámi were thought to be relatively close to the next step, the pioneers and settlers, who were nevertheless considered to be one step above the fishers. In the framework of 19<sup>th</sup>-century thinking, the settlers were, in any case, believed to be considerably more cultural beings than the nomadic and ostensibly primitive Sámi [8, p. 39]. Those of the Sámi who became settlers were given awards for inhabiting new areas, digging drains, and cultivating new areas of land [1, pp. 428–429]. Agriculture was the noblest goal even in northernmost subarctic Europe.

### ***'Might is Right'***

The attitudes of Sámi researchers of Finland reflect the discussion on races that was underway in Europe. A Scottish doctor of medicine named Robert Knox [18, pp. 148–153] had in his *The Races of Men* (1850) classified the Sámi as one of the 'dark races' that were doomed and would inevitably face extinction:

*After some 4000 years of historic period, all we have is a chronology full of errors and falsehood; unintelligible, incomprehensible; we find the dark races still on the earth; of their ancient history absolutely nothing is known: nor does it matter in what region of the globe we first view them. They are confined to no particular zone, but spread as it were from pole to pole; from the arctic to the Antarctic circle: if the Laps be a dark race, then the dark races exist in Europe as a race; — By this kind of right, that is, power or might, we seized on North America, dispossessing the native races, to whom America naturally belonged; we drove them back into their primitive forests, slaughtering them piteously; our descendants, the United States men, drove us out by the same right, that is, might. — Look all over the globe; it is always the same; the dark races stand still, the fair progress. — The Saxon will not mingle with any dark race, nor will he allow him to hold an acre of land in the country occupied by him; this, at least, is the law of Anglo-Saxon America. The fate, then, of the Mexicans, Peruvians, and Chilians, is in no shape doubtful. Extinction of the race — sure extinction — it is not even denied.*

The price of the European's conquests was therefore extinction of the 'dark races' of the world. Whereas Sámi and other 'dark races' would have to make way, the Anglo-Saxons especially were considered a winning race.

The popularity of the notion of inherent differences between primitive and cultured people and the inevitable extinction of the former reached its peak after 1859 when the ideas of Charles Darwin's *On the Origin of the Species* were applied to the development of populations and peoples. Racist thinking relating to human populations, however, dates back to the 18<sup>th</sup> century,

when the classification systems of plants and animals developed in natural sciences were first applied to societies. Rauna Kuokkanen [19, pp. 240–264] writes in her article *Alkuperäiskansojen diskurssi ja dekolonisaatio* (Discourse and Decolonisation of Indigenous Peoples):

*Indigenous peoples have been studied — categorised, collected, classified, described, assessed — along with local flora and fauna. According to the Maori filmmaker Merata Mita, they have been placed under a microscope and studied like a scientist would examine an insect. Those who look through the microscope grant themselves the power to define. Research methods like this, along with the use of terminology coming originally from zoology, have been used to make the indigenous people appear less human, used to justify their subordination and exploitation. As indigenous peoples were not considered human but something more akin to animals, it was easier to think of them as a commodity that could be traded, sold into slavery or relocated at will as required by the colonial powers.*

Darwin's thinking influenced the sociologist-philosopher Herbert Spencer (1820–1903). Spencer formulated the notion of a 'struggle for existence', combining biological factors with the principle of free competition and opposing, for example, the granting of state subsidies to the poor because he considered the poor as an unadaptable surplus that humanity should be rid of. Nature only wanted the fittest to survive. Those of lesser value deserved to be destroyed in the great struggle for survival. The Europeans now found it relatively easy to justify their colonisation of, for example, Africa, as the indigenous peoples (representatives of 'dark races') would in any case be facing extinction at some point in the future [20, Taylor M., pp. 88–89].

In an ethnocentric move the Finnish clergymen also defined the Sámi as a primitive people, somewhere below the Finnish culture of the ministers in every way. From their point of view the Sámi lived incomprehensible lives in a barren, remote land far from the comforts of the world and the society of civilised people. Unlike more advanced people, such as the clergymen and those who were like them, they were not even thought to long for any higher standards of living. In writings coloured by the racial thinking of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the Sámi were usually described in a very formulaic and stereotyping way [6, p. 10]. This was also the case with Andelin, whose way of writing about the Sámi was more simplistic than of any other priest who served in Utsjoki. In 1855 he wrote in this way:

*His [a Sámi's] countenance is melancholy, eyes small, cheekbones protruding; males generally thin and with long beards, which they cherish; wives hairy like men; fat, rosy-cheeked, lascivious and lusty. Towards any stranger the Lapp tends to be suspicious. He gives curt responses, usually only 'don't know', seemingly assuming that any question asked about him is made to cause*

*harm. When asked about a distance between places he will generally say he never measured the way. In domestic life he is peace-loving — ponderous and circumspect in his affairs, very skilled in riding up and down rapids, never lost in woods, never fatigued under burden — for which purpose the Lapps are used in Lapland like they use camels in distant lands. In other works and chores generally slow of uptake and neglectful.*<sup>21</sup>

Although Andelin appeared to have a very clear-cut attitude towards the Sámi in his writings, he also made close friends among them. Andelin probably regarded, for example, Sámi teacher Aslak Laiti, his language instructor, as more than a mere subhuman beast of burden. On the contrary, Andelin was so close to Laiti that he took him with his family to Paltamo in the early 1860s. However, Andelin's writings of the time are characterised by an attempt to portray the Sámi as stereotypical savages. Perhaps he had read similar black-and-white descriptions of the Sámi before coming to Lapland, and kept the same style in his own writings [1, p. 449].

In his extended article about Utsjoki Andelin described the Sámi in his typical style. According to him, several families had moved to Utsjoki from Finland and Finnmark over the centuries, and some children of Finnish officials had also remained in Utsjoki: the Sámi family of Högman, for example, were descendants of David Eric Högman, who had worked as a priest in Utsjoki sometime in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Families who had moved to the area had subsequently mixed with the Sámi, but, according to Andelin [15, pp. 199–201], traces of them could be seen in the appearance of the Utsjoki's inhabitants: 'The Lapp families of Utsjoki no longer look like the true Lapps — their shape is different. In some families, which have had less contact with Finnish folk, one can still see that the Lapps of old were short of stature and weak of the limb. Yet mixed with other folks they grow fully tall, and no longer have weakness in their limbs.' When making observations about the appearance of the Sámi, Andelin compared them against Finns — although he also remarked that some of the Sámi were more or less up to the standard.

Many presentations and writings about foreign cultures purposefully emphasise the unattractive characteristics of the 'other', often to highlight the more positive features of the writer's own culture. In this case the norm was Finnish culture, from which the Sámi constituted a disagreeable deviation. Apparently the Finns were in need of 'weaker brothers' because their own standing among the European people was not very strong to begin within the framework of the racial thinking of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. On the other hand, according to some 19<sup>th</sup>-century Finnish researchers, Sámi were *neither* brothers *nor* even half-brothers to Finnish people. They were 'hardly even cousins', as Finnish historian and nationalist author Zachris Topelius (1818–1898)

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<sup>21</sup> A. A., Utsjoen pitäjästä. *Oulun Wiikko-Sanomia*, 28 April 1855.

pointed out in his lecture in 1872. Topelius excluded Sámi from the people of Finland together with 'Gypsies', Jews, and other 'foreign' nationals [21, Isaksson P., pp. 180–202].

The Anglo-Saxons were busy conquering the entire world, and now the Finns also had their own tiny colony in Lapland. The Finns decided to regard the Sámi as a lower race — despite the fact that they were also considered a kindred people related to Finns. Being able to encounter the Sámi minority group as conquerors and force the distinctive features of their own hegemonic culture — namely agriculture and Christianity — on them boosted the self-esteem of the Finns. In newspaper articles, the primitive Sámi were pitied because of their impending extinction [22, Isaksson P., pp. 158–161].

In 1864, the *Anthropological Society of London* arranged a debate about the extinction of the so-called lower races. It was argued in the conference that the vanishing of the lower races was only a question of time. The Europeans were in the process of conquering their lands; rapid adoption of 'civilisation' would be the only chance of survival available to the 'dark races'.<sup>22</sup> Similar lines of thought also characterised life in the northernmost parish of Finnish Lapland. The clergymen wanted to prevent the extinction of the Sámi by teaching them the civilised, Finnish way of life. According to Anders Andelin's successor, E. W. Borg (who worked in Utsjoki in 1860–1867), the Sámi had potential for development — as long as it happened under the watchful eye of fatherly Finnish officials. He wrote: 'The Lapp people are still in their infancy, and therefore need a good upbringing. Let us therefore provide them with excellent and proper officials, as any good and understanding parent would arrange the best teachers for his children.'<sup>23</sup>

Andelin wrote that even if Sámi were short and dark-haired (and they sometimes had even thought to be related to the Jews), recent studies had showed they were in no doubt related to Finnish people. According to Andelin, the Finns and the Sámi belonged to 'one single nation', and even if Sámi were not quite equal with Finns, there was a chance to elevate Sámi to the Finnish level.<sup>24</sup> According to the prevailing ideology, the clergymen had, in a way, been assigned the right, even a duty, to control the lives of the Sámi. Like the imperial colonial masters of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the Finnish clergymen assumed the 'white man's burden' [1, p. 448].

The critical attitudes of the clergymen towards the Sámi, as reflected in the pages of newspapers and more scientific publications, do not, however, tell the whole truth about their interaction. The published writings are like skeletons, having had the diversity of their mutual

<sup>22</sup> January 19th, 1864. James Hunt, Esq, President, in the Chair. *Journal of the Anthropological Society of London*, Volume 2 1864.

<sup>23</sup> E. W. B., Kuinka Lapissa eletään. *Suometar*, 10 August 1860.

<sup>24</sup> A.A, Lappalaisten alkuperä. *Suometar*, 8 May 1857.

relations stripped away. Although the role of the simplistic notions communicated by the clergymen should not be exaggerated, the clergymen who worked among the Sámi were nevertheless considered experts in all matters related to them. People of southern Finland trusted their expertise, and in the minds of the Finns the stories of the clergymen could produce very black-and-white impressions of the Sámi.

This becomes especially evident in a newspaper article from the early 1880s about certain skulls of deceased Sámi that had been retrieved from a cemetery in Inari in 1878 for research purposes. The Sámi population of Inari had expressed their disapproval of the fact that their ancestors were not allowed to rest in peace but had their skulls exhumed and removed to distant lands instead.<sup>25</sup> One reader writing to the newspaper *Uusi Suometar* found the grief of the Sámi amusing:

*After reading the article 'Lapp-skulls and the Inari Cemetery' in today's Uusi Suometar I felt both gratification and grief — gratification for the fact that it is delightful to see even the miserable Lapps consider the graves of their ancestors holy; grief because it is so disagreeable to be reminded of this exhumation of dead bodies, in which more than one hundred graves were opened.*<sup>26</sup>

Stereotypical descriptions of the Sámi had probably played a part in building the conception among the 19<sup>th</sup> century Finns, that the primitive Sámi would not be able to even respect their dead. Perhaps the readers would have assumed that — regardless of all the changes taking place around them — the Sámi should have wandered off to the fell with their reindeer, happy and ignorant, leaving lofty thinking to more advanced races. This notion is a far cry from the curious, informed, and up-to-date Sámi the clergymen met during their years in Lapland in the 19<sup>th</sup> century [1, p. 453].

### ***Conclusions: research in the Sámi area parsonage***

Anders Andelin engaged his Sámi research in the Northernmost parsonage of Finland in 1850s. His efforts were not so exceptional, since residents of 19th century European rural parsonages practiced a lot of science. Even Charles Darwin — who suggested in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, that 'headless hermaphrodite molluscs were the ancestors of mankind' — had studied for a while to become an Anglican country parson in the 1820s. Darwin was in this situation under pressure from his father, but he had even for his own part considered to becoming a pastor. Adrian Desmond and James Moore [23, pp. 47–48] write that in a quiet rural parish, Darwin could have

<sup>25</sup> Kirjeitä Pohjan puolelta. *Pohjois-Suomi*, 21 July 1880.

<sup>26</sup> Eräs lukioistanne, Uuden Suometaren Toimitukselle. *Uusi Suometar*, 11 January 1881.



devoted 'himself to the tiniest members of creation'. There were similar examples in Finland: Elias Lönnrot (1802–1884) became known as an important developer of written Finnish language and the compiler of the Finnish national epic *Kalevala*. Before Lönnrot was appointed professor of Finnish language in the Imperial Alexander University in 1854 he worked for many years as a physician in Northern Finland. In that position, he thought he did not have enough time to follow his scientific pursuits, which was why he planned to apply for a pastor position within the peaceful Sámi parish of Utsjoki in the 1840s [24, Majamaa R., pp. 394–400].

The middle of the nineteenth century has been regarded as a turning point in history within the Finnish academic research. Up to that point, researchers collected folklore, historical sources, plants, and meteorological observations. Published works were often encyclopaedias of Finland's insects, mineral resources etc. Around the 1850s the focus shifted from collecting and listing towards more analytical and experimental research. The establishment of scientific associations and the establishment of new scientific publications made it possible to conduct science on an entirely new level. The 1840s became a crucial decade for Finnish scholars and scientific publications. *The Finnish Literature Society* as well as the *Finnish Society of Sciences and Letters* (Suomen tiedeseura, founded in 1838) started publishing their scientific journals during that decade. *Suomi*-journal — which was meant for the researchers of human sciences — was published for the first time in 1841 [25, Tommila P. & Tiitta A., pp. 274–306, 420].

Data collection was still needed, however, and research work was not limited to the university or scientific associations operating in Helsinki. Amateur scientists were also still able to publish the results of their research in the second half of the 19th century in scientific journals. Anders Andelin was, as a Sámi researcher, between the old and new scientific traditions. He published his writing in a scientific journal and, in keeping with the older tradition, also compiled a lot of detailed information relating to the Sámi people. Andelin gathered statistics, which could be used to justify the need for efforts at agriculture in Lapland. Altogether, the research results gave the Finnish authorities possibilities to use power against ethnic minorities. According to the texts of Andelin, the Sámi were sometimes compared even with animals. The Sámi of Utsjoki were not given a lot of opportunities to correct these views, even when many of them started to obtain writing skills during the late 19th century [1, p. 415].

After moving to Paltamo, Andelin started to regard Lapland from a new, Southern perspective. This became apparent when the village of Outakoski (in the western part of Utsjoki by the Teno River) was causing problems to the Finnish officials during the late 1800s: the village seemed to be plagued by excessive drinking and rowdy behaviour. In order to be able to address

the problem the authorities asked the pastors who had earlier served in Utsjoki as to what should be done to pacify the troublemakers. Andelin commented he had good memories of the Christian character of the inhabitants of Outakoski village — in other words a turn for the worse must have happened after he had left Utsjoki. Andelin seemed to have assumed a gentler, although still stereotypical, attitude towards the Sámi — at least compared to the remarks he had made during his time in Utsjoki. He now said the Sámi loved the authorities and were obedient towards officials as long as they were treated kindly. But should they be treated severely and with anger, they might very well run away to the fell or to the Norwegian side of the border [1, p. 320–324].

Andelin's memories of the Sámi had probably grown sweeter with time, or his attitudes had never been as extreme as they sometimes seemed to be judging from his articles published in the 1850s. The overall tone of the newspaper articles he published in his old age had also changed. Writing in the Oulu-based newspaper *Kaiku* in the 1870s, Andelin defended the inhabitants of Outakoski and blamed Finnish officials and their indifference for the situation. He advised the officials: '...he who goes there [to Utsjoki] must give up in his mind the Finnish ways'. Of the Sámi, Andelin now painted an honest and hard-working picture. He even expounded more or less acceptable reasons for the reindeer thievery practised by some Outakoski inhabitants, finding the rural police chief of Utsjoki and other officials at least partly to blame.<sup>27</sup>

In Utsjoki, Andelin's article was read with disbelief. According to a response, also published in the newspaper, one of the Sámi living in Outakoski had, while reading Andelin's article, cried out: 'What nonsense has that [\*deleted\*] now started writing?' The author of the reply wondered why Andelin had not stayed longer in Utsjoki where he would have had more to say in the affairs of the Sámi area, if he was so keen to criticise his successors and the authorities now.<sup>28</sup>

The tone of Andelin's writings changed when he no longer had to sleep in peat huts or wade in knee-deep in snow, or eat the bark gruel offered to him by his Sámi flock [1, passim]. Andelin's attitudes towards the Sámi had reflected the European racial debates of the 19<sup>th</sup> century — but, even more, his own situation in life. The ethnographic articles that Andelin wrote in Utsjoki might have reflected his frustration with his outback post. Andelin was appointed as the priest of Utsjoki at a relatively advanced age. He came to the Sámi area with the attitude of leaving it all behind him after the sentence of eight years had passed, and even his spouse was not originally from Lapland; adaptation to the new life among the Sámi therefore was not easy. With ill health

<sup>27</sup> s – n, Utsjoen Lapista. *Kaiku*, 18 December 1878.

<sup>28</sup> J., Utsjoen Lapista. *Kaiku*, 12 April 1879.

caused by the cold climate and life otherwise being difficult, bringing out the best sides of the Sámi in his published writings might have been beyond him.

Andelin's thinking had strong roots in Finnish culture: Compared to the Finns, Andelin considered Sámi a less developed, primitive people. He tended to assume a condescending, often critical stance towards them in his writings, sometimes even describing them as filthy, lascivious, and bibulous. He believed, however, in their potential for development, and never doubted their desire to improve their lives. This is what lies at the root of Andelin's attempts to bring the Sámi up to the level of the Finns. In Andelin's thinking, the civilised Finns had a duty to go among the Sámi to allow them to partake of something better and higher, in other words, of a more Finnish way of life [26, Kylli R., passim].

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