This is the published version of a paper published in *Journal of Northern Studies*.

Citation for the original published paper (version of record):

*Journal of Northern Studies*, 13(1): 100-105

Access to the published version may require subscription.

N.B. When citing this work, cite the original published paper.

Permanent link to this version:
http://urn.kb.se/resolve?urn=nbn:se:umu:diva-167101
The Journal of Northern Studies is published with support from The Royal Skyttean Society and Umeå University

© The authors and Journal of Northern Studies
ISSN 1654-5915

Cover picture
Scandinavia Satellite and sensor: NOAA, AVHRR
Level above earth: 840 km
Image supplied by METRIA, a division of Lantmäteriet, Sweden.
www.metria.se
NOAAR. cESA/Eurimage 2001. cMetria Satellus 2001

Design and layout
Lotta Hortéll and Leena Hortéll, Ord & Co i Umeå AB
Fonts: Berling Nova and Futura
Contents

Editors & Editorial board ................................................................. 5

Articles

Dean Carson, Linda Lundmark & Doris Carson, The Continuing Advance and Retreat of Rural Settlement in the Northern Inland of Sweden ................................................................. 7

Peder Roberts, The Promise of Kiruna’s Iron Ore in the Swedish Imagination, c. 1901–1915 ........................................................................................................................................ 35


Reviews

Frances Abele & Chris Southcott (eds.), Care, Cooperation and Activism in Canada’s Northern Social Economy, Edmonton: University of Alberta Press 2016 (Philip A. Loring) ..................................................................................................................... 93

Ian Peter Grohse, Frontiers for Peace in the Medieval North. The Norwegian-Scottish Frontier c. 1260–1470, Leiden: Brill 2017 (Brian Smith) .............................................................. 96


Instructions to Authors .................................................................. 110

The volumes discussed in this review—an 1,135-page two-volume “scientific anthology” authored by a variety of historians, theologians, and other scholars, along with a more succinct and synthetic summary volume published in Swedish (217 pp.), and with certain additions in English (255 pp.)—represent the fruits of a five-year white paper project aimed at describing the often problematic relations between the Lutheran Church of Sweden (and its Catholic predecessor) and members of the Sami nation. The project ran from 2012 to 2017, but grew out of earlier discussions that have their roots in broader processes of intercultural/postcolonial reconciliation that have occurred since the end of the Cold War and fall of the South African Apartheid regime. The notion of examining the relationships between Christian authorities and Sami people was first raised in the Lutheran World Federation Assembly, held in Brazil in 1990, and again in the World Council of Churches Assembly, held in Australia in 1991 (Lindmark & Sundström 2018: 26). The White Paper Project built on a dialogue (Ságastallamat) begun in 2011, co-organized by the Church of Sweden’s theological committee and the Sami Council in the Church of Sweden, who met together in Giron (Kiruna) to discuss a framework for pursuing reconciliation. The ensuing project—funded by the Church of Sweden, with additional monetary and academic support from Umeå University—conceptualized its work with reference to Tore Johnsen’s four-phase model of reconciliation, consisting of acknowledgement, repentance, restoration, and forgiveness (Lindmark & Sundström 2018: 26). The “scientific anthology” seeks mainly to contribute to the first phase of this process, documenting and interpreting the historical actions perpetrated by church officials or
institutions that proved traumatic or destructive to Sami people. The briefer and more synthetic later volumes summarize the findings of the original two-volume anthology, but also offer some reflections on ways in which the assembled materials can contribute to the three subsequent phases of reconciliation, namely repentance on the part of members or leaders of the Swedish church, restoration of the culture and welfare of an injured Sami nation, and possible Sami acts of forgiveness toward their former transgressors at the completion of the process.

The English volume noted above consists of three sections: 1) “A Summary of the Scholarly Anthology” (six chapters), written by Björn Norlin and David Sjögren; 2) “Perspectives on Reconciliation” (three chapters), written by Tore Johnsen, Carl Reinhold Bråkenhielm, and Sylvia Sparrock; and 3) “Concluding Reflections” (two chapters), written by Daniel Lindmark and Olle Sundström. The Swedish-language scientific anthology includes contributions from a number of the scholars mentioned above, as well as Karl-Johan Tyrberg, Carola Nordbäck, Gunlög Fur, Anna-Lill Drugge, Bo Lundmark, Siv Rasmussen, Håkan Rydving, Sölve Anderzén, Johan Hansson, Lars Elenius, Louise Bäckman, Anna Westman Kuhmunen, Rolf Christoffersson, Hans Mebius, Krister Stoor, Olavi Korhonen, Märit Frändén, Johannes Marainen, Gudrun Norstedt, Lars Thomasson, Lena Karlsson, Marianne Liliequist, Per Axelsson, Eri-Oscar Oscarsson, Maja Hagerman, Carl-Gösta Ojala, Roald Kristiansen, and Veli-Pekka Lehtola (contribution in English). The perspectives on reconciliation offered by Johnsen, Bråkenhielm, and Sparrock appear only in the Swedish and English summary volumes and are very valuable reflections for scholars interested in either postcolonial theology or the historical process of reconciliation unfolding in world religious and secular societies today. Where Johnsen and Bråkenhielm situate processes of reconciliation within a Lutheran Christian theological context—in which humanity is conceived as having received forgiveness from God and in which human beings are in turn enjoined to show forgiveness to one another—Sparrok offers perspectives on “ways forward” for Sami in relation to a Swedish church and state that in many ways continue to enact the colonial policies and attitudes identified and castigated in the scientific anthology’s various articles. Sparrok points not only to continued structural racism affecting Sami livelihoods and resource rights, but also daily aggressions and microaggressions in which Sami are left to feel bullied, belittled, and beleaguered. Sparrok notes quite recent and painful instances of church decisions that give evidence of anything but support for Sami rights and equality, such as decisions not to take a stand in favor of ratification of ILO-169 or the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indige-
ous Peoples (Lindmark & Sundström 2018: 156–158), stands later reversed by church leaders, with Archbishop Antje Jackelén proving a particularly forceful and effective voice for Swedish admission of past wrongs and actions for achieving eventual reconciliation. The role of the White Paper Project in this complex and aching process is discussed in detail in the valuable final syntheses provided by Lindmark and Sundström in the English summary volume (Lindmark & Sundström 2018: 181–212).

Given that the purpose of the project is to document and discuss instances of injustice and oppression (albeit in a wider context of overall church–people relations that includes also positive relations and events), the anthology of articles and two summaries do a good job hitting on most of the most egregious historical misdeeds, either those consciously effectuated as the results of explicit policies of the church, or those in which church officials—clergymen, catechists, church-run school educators, etc.—perpetrated wrongs on their own, acting in what they believed was a manner consonant with the church’s mandate and the spirit of Christianity. Instances include the suppression and punishment of traditions related to non-Christian beliefs (“idolatry”)—sometimes including execution of people arrested for such deeds, particularly in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries—the deleterious effects on language and culture of various schooling schemes throughout Sami colonial history, the complicity of church institutions in nineteenth- and twentieth-century archaeological and racial investigations that exposed Sami remains as well as living children and adults to various anthropometric investigations in the pursuit of evidence that would define Sami as different from (and inferior to) their non-Sami neighbors. Articles in the scientific anthology also explore the notion of reconciliation in its particular historical context in contemporary Sweden, as well as methodological and ethical issues.

It is beyond the scope of this brief review to discuss all the many fine articles assembled in the scientific anthology’s two hefty volumes, apart from noting the overall high quality of the contributions, the impressive range of topics surveyed and explored, and the rigor and quality of the arguments presented. The anthology is certain to become a standard reference work for the study of Sami–church relations, not solely in Sweden, but also in the Nordic region more broadly. It is also certain to serve as a valuable benchmark for the international study of decolonizing processes between Christian church institutions and Indigenous communities, in the arctic region and throughout the postcolonial world. Particularly significant is the anthology’s interrogation of the injurious effects of educational schemes, the examination of structural racism ev-
idenced in church conduct and policies over time, and the charting of various ways in which Sami people resisted colonization through both overt and covert actions, from steadfast refusals to abandon earlier ritual traditions, to subtle circumnavigation of child naming practices, to a quiet but pointed skepticism regarding the intentions and trustworthiness of various church institutions and representatives.

A somewhat surprising omission in the White Paper Project as broadly conceived was reference to those historical parts of the realm of Sweden that no longer belong to the Sweden of today, particularly Finland. Norwegian materials are frequently included in various articles and discussions, but Finnish materials are frequently omitted. As the English synthesis puts it, “the area is restricted to the part of Sápmi […] that can be found within the borders of present-day Sweden” (Lindmark & Sundström 2018: 9). This logistic choice, of course, does an injustice to the topic, imposing a boundary to the actions of the Church of Sweden that did not obtain until the nineteenth century, and reinforcing in so doing the seeming salience of Nordic political borders that have never been of great importance to members of the Sami nation, except insofar as they inform different colonial regimes and systems of external control. The avoidance of Finnish materials is partly remedied in the Swedish scientific anthology by Veli-Pekka Lehtola’s “Historical encounters of the Sámi and the church in Finland” (Lindmark & Sundström 2016: 1,085–1,120) which, since it is written in English, can serve an international readership as well as a Swedish one. It is partially summarized in the English summary volume (Lindmark & Sundström 2018: 81–84). An understanding of the important relations between Sami and Orthodox Christian authorities, which predominate on the Kola Peninsula and in some northern parts of what is today considered Norway and Finland, would also have been welcome, but the omission here can be justified more easily as not belonging within the parameters of a project focused on Western Christian church institutions. The anthology also explores the relations of Sami to other Christian religious movements in Sweden, such as the free church movement and Læstadianism.

While the White Paper Project overall outlines a further process of reconciliation that the current project may serve, it also leaves unstat- ed some other avenues and ends for future reconciliation efforts. The challenge with any dialogue between religious cultures is to ensure that the terms and concepts that are the basis for the proposed dialogue adequately reflect the core values and conceptualizations of each polity. From the dramatically anthropocentric perspective of virtually all
forms of Christianity—in which the all-powerful maker of the entire universe is said to have chosen to become incarnate as a human being in particular and to hold out a special afterlife exclusively for human beings—it would seem natural to frame a discussion of the effects of the Swedish church in Sápmi on Sami people alone, with no reference to the plants, animals, lands, waters, or other beings that make up that place. Yet it can be argued that the Swedish church had a tremendous effect on Sápmi more broadly, particularly through the ways in which it discounted the sacrality of places, “inanimate” beings, and non-human sentient beings like animals, all of which played roles in the religious system that Sami people were consciously part of before missionization. These questions are raised deftly in some of the articles of the scientific anthology (e.g., the contributions by Bäckman, Westman Kuhmunen, Christoffersson, and Stoor), but are less prominently featured in the Swedish- and English-language syntheses (cf. English summary, Lindmark & Sundström 2018: 49–53). In echoing some of the findings of these insightful articles in the scientific anthology, consider what the great Sami intellectual Johan Turi (1854–1936) writes of his understandings of the Christian Last Judgment in his *Muitalus sámiid birra* ['An account of the Sami'], the first “secular” book ever written in Sami by a Sami author. He writes:

Ja buores áiggis leat hupman visot eallit ja muorat ja geadggit ja visot mii gåvdno eatnama alde, ja nu galget hupmat mađinus duomu áiggi nai.

['And in the olden times all the animals and trees and rocks and everything found on earth was able to talk. And they will all be able to talk again at the Last Judgment'] (Turi 2010: 114; Turi 2012: 123).

Perhaps the next step in the wider process of acknowledgement, repentance, restoration, and possible forgiveness is for church institutions to consider the effects of their policies on other creations besides solely human beings: how did the missionization of Sápmi affect lands, waters, trees, animals—all of which played sacral roles in Sami religious practices before and during the missionary era? To what extent is the current world climate crisis a product of attitudes of “resource” exploitability enabled or justified by Christian interpretations of scriptures or theology? In a world in which Indigenous concepts are increasingly beginning to find reflection in state legal and social frameworks—such as Bolivia’s 2009 Law of Mother Earth—it is intriguing and exciting to consider what the next steps may be for the Church of Sweden in acknowledging and possibly repenting the effects that its policies and
practices have had on all of Sápmi, including its human inhabitants. Given the seriousness with which the present white paper project was undertaken, it seems likely that the Church of Sweden may eventually pursue these questions—once aware of them—with the rigor and care that they so greatly deserve.

REFERENCES


Thomas A. DuBois
Department of German, Nordic and Slavic
University of Wisconsin-Madison
USA
tadubois@wisc.edu


Livonia became part of Sweden through the Truce of Altmark in 1629. Before, it had belonged to Poland for almost 70 years but had been an arena of war (and of hunger and plague that came with warfare) from the middle of the sixteenth century onwards. Russia occupied the area from 1710 in the Great Northern War and it was annexed to Russia in the Treaty of Nystad (Uusikaupunki) in 1721. Pihlajamäki’s main question is “what happened to Livonian law during this period of Swedish rule?”

In Sweden itself, the seventeenth century was a period of major change, mainly in the form of adopting features from Roman and learned professional law. Livonia, however, had been a part of the Holy Roman Empire until 1561 and therefore somewhat closer to German law. Pihlajamäki states that there was tension between the “unlearned” archaic law of the conquering Swedes and the learned law of Livonia.