
SCRIPTUM NR 42

Ed. Egil Johansson

Reports from The Research Archives
at Umeå University

ISSN 0284-3161 ISRN UM-FARK-SC--41-SE

**TEACHING AND CHURCH TRADITION
IN THE KEMI AND TORNE LAPLANDS,
NORTHERN SCANDINAVIA,
IN THE 1700s**

SÖLVE ANDERZÉN

(Version in PDF-format without pictures, October 1997)

S 901 74 UMEÅ Tel. + 46 90-7866571 Fax. 46 90-7866643

THE EDITOR'S FOREWORD

It is the aim of The Research Archives in Umeå to work in close cooperation with research conducted at the university. To facilitate such cooperation, our series URKUNDEN publishes original documents from our archives, which are of current interest in ongoing research or graduate courses at the university.

In a similar way, research reports and studies based on historic source material are published in our publication series SCRIPTUM.

The main purposes of the SCRIPTUM series are the following:

1. to publish scholarly commentaries to source material presented in URKUNDEN, the series of original documents published by The Research Archives;
2. to publish other research reports connected with the work of The Research Archives, which are considered important for the development of research methods and current debate;
3. to publish studies of general interest to the work of The Research Archives, or of general public interest, such as local history.

We cordially invite all those interested to read our reports and to contribute to our publication series SCRIPTUM, in order to further the exchange of views and opinions within and between different disciplines at our university and other seats of learning.

On behalf of The Research Archives in Umeå,

Egil Johansson

Anderzén, Sölve: Teaching and Church tradition in the Kemi and Torne Laplands, Northern Scandinavia, in the 1700s.

PREFACE

The present report, containing two recent papers by Sölve Anderzén, is yet another contribution to ongoing research on "the ways of the words of the text" in different Church traditions. The work has been carried out within the rapidly growing research environment at The Research Archives in Umeå in conjunction with the recently established Department of Religious Science at Umeå University.

The first paper deals with missionizing and colonization as motives for the folk education, conducted by the Church in the Laplands in Northern Scandinavia. It has previously been published in English in an international conference report.

The second paper lays the foundations of a new stage in current research on religious life in Norrland, and throws attention onto new and startling facts on emergency baptism and the widespread practicing of such baptism in the Torne Laplands. We can thus look forward to new and highly interesting insights into social life and religious culture in the Barent region. This work is a translation into English of the author's report no. 39 in this series.

Umeå, September 1996
Egil Johansson

CONTENTS

The editors foreword	1
Preface	2
Contents	3

"NORRLAND IS OUR INDIA". COLONIZATION - MISSIONS OR CATECHIZATION

1. Introduction and questions at issue	4
2. Catechization - missions or colonization?	6
2.1. Catechization as the means of the missions?	6
2.2. Missions as the means of colonization?	8
2.3. Concluding comments	9
3. Mother tongue and the language of instruction	9
3.1. The mother tongue was the Saami language	9
3.2. The language of instruction became Finnish	10
3.3. Concluding comments	11
4. Learning in a foreign language	12
4.1. First to understand - and then to proceed	13
4.2. To be able to read and know the way to blessedness	13
4.3. Concluding comments	15
5. Conclusion	16
References	18

'THE RIGHT WAY' TO BAPTIZE AND CONDUCT DIVINE SERVICES. ONE PURPOSE OF CHRISTIAN MISSION SCHOOLING AMONG THE SAAMI IN FENNOSKANDIA IN THE 18TH CENTURY

1. Background	20
2. The conditions in the Laplands	21
3. "Obliged to read for them"	22
4. Torne and Kemi Laplands	22
5. <i>Byabön</i> - form and practice	25
6. <i>Nöddop</i>	25
7. <i>Nöddop</i> - the most common form of baptism	27
8. Conclusion	31
References	31
Reference maps	33

”NORRLAND IS OUR INDIA”

COLONIZATION - MISSIONS OR CATECHIZATION

Sölve Anderzén

Umeå University - Sweden

1. INTRODUCTION AND QUESTIONS AT ISSUE

In Central European Lutheran church life in the 18th century there developed a widespread interest in missionary work. The responsibility of Christian Europe to "christianize the heathen countries and preach Salvation to the heathens" was early emphasized by the Pietists. The Grace of God was to be given to all peoples and every single individual was entitled to hear the Gospel. Missionary work was not only directed to faraway countries and continents such as China, India and Africa, but also to northern Scandinavia, where the christianization of the Saami people had been a centuries-long process. Still, it produced no lasting results.

When the pietistic ideas and the rising interest in missionary work reached Sweden, they were not only seen as constituting an "ecclesiastical matter" but also

as the concern of society at large. The quotation in the title - *Norrland is our India* - should be seen against the background of the debates on colonization in the Swedish Riksdag during the 17th century. The meaning of the quotation was also just as relevant in 1731, when the Swedish Riksdag debated the forming of the East India Company. There were not only economic and political reasons for Sweden to become involved in Indian affairs, but also the possibility to do Evangelical mission-ary work. In this connection, the quoted phrase became a contribution to the debate in that it emphasized that Swedish missions should primarily be directed to the most neglected part of Sweden, the land of the Saami people.

From time immemorial the Saami had lived in what was called the Laplands (see *Map 1*). During the 1700s they were mostly nomadic reindeer herders, hunting and fishing for supplementary provisions. In the Arctic area of the Scandinavian countries and in the Cola peninsula, where the rectification of the borders was not completed until 1751, when the borders between Sweden and Finland and Denmark and Norway were established, the Swedish Saami were able to live and to work across the all the Laplands. The nomadic way of life of the Saami was largely determined by the presence of grazing lands for the reindeer. From year to year due to climatic conditions those grazing lands moved. When borders between nations and parishes were established, the indigenous minority population was forced into a static pattern of life although their ways were based on free access to a large area without borders.¹

During the centuries before the 1700s, there had been several attempts such as a Church organization, the establishing of parishes and introducing taxation, to establish definite colonization of the Laplands. During the 1600s, the cooperation between the King and Crown and its political and economic interests on the one hand and the Church and its missionary work on the other was obvious.

In Norway, very purposeful missions had been introduced among the Saami as early as 1714 when a College of Missions was established in Copenhagen. Among those directly in charge of this institution during the 18th century was Thomas von Westen, a man of distinction and renown. A special mission school, the *seminarium lapponicum*, was established in Trondheim and a large number of missionaries were then at work in the country. When the missionary issues were debated in the Swedish Riksdag, reference to the positive experiences in Norway were always made.

In Sweden, the concern for the neglected Saami population became a matter of national concern in Sweden during the 18th century. Following the troubled war years during the first decades of the 18th century, Sweden's economy was in a precarious state, and it was impossible to take powerful action. However, the economic situation improved gradually. By a parliamentary resolution in 1739, sufficient funds were allocated and a Directorate was appointed (called The Royal Directorate for Education and Ecclesiastical Affairs in Lapland). This Directorate was assigned responsibility for the missionary work in the Laplands. The Christianization of the area was hoped to be attained by intensified religious instruction among the nomadic Saami (Widén, 1964, 1965).

¹ At the Center for Arctic Cultural Research (CAK), Umeå University, the research into Saami's is largely concerned with the study of a minority peoples's struggle to survive as an ethnic group. The Center has published various articles on this subject in series of *Miscellaneous Papers*.

From the point of view of the Crown, the development of the Swedish Laplands was of vital importance. There were substantial natural resources in the area that could be exploited to the benefit of not only the Lapland but also the entire country.

My intention is to present and analyse what was done during the latter half of the 18th century. The description must be confined to the northernmost area, foremost the Torne Laplands (see *Map 1*). There are two main reasons for this: First, instruction in this area did not take place in the mother tongue of the people (Saami) but in a "new language" - Finnish. Second, the current state of research opens some possibilities to study in detail the effects of the instruction.

There are several questions at issue here: First, to what extent will or can the educational work be regarded as part of a purposeful policy of colonization? Second, why was Finnish used as the language of instruction and not Saami, which was the mother tongue of the majority of the population? Third, what effects did the instruction have, and what degree of proficiency in the "new language" did the individual pupil reach?

2. CATECHIZATION - MISSIONS OR COLONIZATION ?

The area of responsibility of the Swedish Church, and the relation between Church and Crown had been regulated by legislation. It is noteworthy that the Church Law of 1686 placed the responsibility for schooling on the families and the Church. This was still so until the year 1842, when popular education was regulated by the government and a new educational system established.

In the State of Sweden, the Swedish Lutheran Church was assigned the responsibility for the spiritual welfare of the people. The Church was expected to preach the gospel of redemption. The Church was not only to missionize but also to educate. When the Swedish Riksdag established a special Directorate to control and be responsible for the missionary work in the Laplands, a new distribution of responsibilities was created. The establishment of the Directorate, whose members were mostly laymen (actually a *consistorium mixtum*), implied that this institution gained control over Church matters within a geographically defined area. The ecclesiastical organization, with bishops and consistories in Härnösand and Turku, still remained unchanged. It no longer had the power to control.

The concern for missionary work was a major reason why the Riksdag took the decision to support strongly educational work among the Saami in Lapland. But were there other motives? In what follows, I will examine more closely whether this interest in missionary work also related to a purposive colonization policy.

2.1. CATECHIZATION AS THE MEANS OF THE MISSIONS ?

If missionary work is to be effective, it must be specifically designed for the prospective converter. It is vital that the organization and the working methods be appropriate for the specific context where the mission is located. Let us therefore look more closely at two methods used when missionizing among the Saami. An

analysis of the underlying ideologies requires more space than the present brief account can allow.

The two methods have the same aim: conversion and salvation. The first method is more direct than the second. By visiting the individual and speaking to him/her, the missionary may bring about his/her conversion into the Christian faith. To reach this aim, missionaries had to move with the nomadic Saami. The second method is designed to pave the way for the conversion of the individuals by first working at their religious ignorance. The latter method is implied in the concept of catechization, as the term is used in this paper. The first part of catechization was designed to transfer to the individual the knowledge necessary for the state of blessedness. Which method, ambulating missionaries or catechization, should be used among the Swedish Saami was much debated, and both methods had their proponents. Among the Norwegian Saami, ambulating missionaries had been successful (see above 1.).

The Directorate suggested that the missionary work should be carried out by a number of ambulating missionaries according to the Norwegian way.² The Chapter, the Church administration, and the clergy raised several objections. Among the more important reasons were the significant differences between the life styles of the Swedish and Norwegian Saami. The Swedish Saami were more nomadic and seldom stayed for any length of time and in any numbers at any particular place. The ambulatory missionary would only be able to work sporadically. He would be travelling from place to place. Instead, the Chapter advocated intensive catechization in permanent schools. The pupils would stay on in the permanent schools in the Laplands for the whole year, and schooling, it was argued, would become more effective.

The final decision was that the missionary work should emphasize intensive catechization. Permanent schools were established in the church villages. In the Torne Laplands (c. 1,300 people) a school was opened at Jukkasjärvi. A qualified schoolmaster, who was also an ordained pastor, was in charge of the Jukkasjärvi Lapp School. The school admitted six pupils annually. During the years 1744-1820, 265 pupils (187 boys and 78 girls) were educated there. The age of admission to the school was, on average, 14 years for boys and 15.8 years for girls, and they attended the school on average for 20-22 months. Most pupils had attained good knowledge by the time they left school. Using a marking scale of 0-4, 194 pupils (73%) had at least reached 3-4 in Reading.

Catechization meant however not only the activities at the permanent school. Within the Torne Laplands there were also two ambulating layman catechetes. The catechetes, who as a rule had received their training at the Jukkasjärvi Lapp School, were principally supposed to teach the children how to read. Reading instruction was further promoted by giving a special premium (a small sum of money) to anyone who taught someone to read who did not belong to their own family. Over the years 1765-1795, literacy rose from c. 25% to c. 65% of the whole population.

² In fact, when looking more closely at the Norwegian source material it is obvious that the Norwegian missionary works were carried out as well by ambulating missionaries as by establishing permanent schools. The role of the early schooling among the Norwegian Saamis is not sufficiently explained. This calls for more research.

These working methods were tried in order to achieve the best possible adjustment to the specific environment of the nomadic Saami. This was, however, not altogether easy. Staying at the permanent school meant that the Saami pupils had to live a life very different from their nomadizing homes. Furthermore, the pupils were separated from their families. The instruction was given in a foreign language.

It is true that the itinerant catechets were paid a small amount of money as wages for their work, but their food and lodging was supposed to be the responsibility of the homes where the children were taught. It was difficult or impossible for the poorest families to accommodate the catechete even if their children often most needed teaching.

2.2. MISSIONS AS THE MEANS OF COLONIZATION ?

The activities of the Church and the political and economic interests of the Crown were closely connected during the 17th century. At issue here is whether there was such obvious connections during the 18th century also.

From the economic point of view, Lapland was interesting in many ways. It was vital that the trade with the Saami was handled in such a way that it contributed to the Swedish economy. By their nomadic way of life, the Saami also conducted business with Danish/Norwegian tradesmen. It was thus important that the market where the Swedish tradesmen met the Saami was well organised. Therefore, annual trade fairs were held at the church villages. In the Torne Laplands, the fair was held during the month of January. It was a suitable time because at that time of the year, the Saami and their reindeer herds made use of the good winter grazing in the vicinity of Jukkasjärvi.

The mineral resources - iron and copper - in the Torne Laplands were important for the economy and well known. During the 17th century mining had been tried there. But to make good use of these resources, it was necessary that the colonization of the area proceed. The unexploited mineral resources were dormant assets in the wilderness, an area of high snowy mountains with very limited means of transportation and hardly any permanent settlements. The country's chances to profit by these minerals would be improved if the number of permanent settlements increased.

By means of various regulations, new settlements were encouraged, but even at the end of the 18th century, only about 10% of the population in the Torne Laplands were settlers. The rest were nomadic Saami. Many settlers were Finnish immigrants, but the immigration was slow and ceased altogether in the course of the 18th century. After that, there was predominantly what is termed domestic colonization. The second generation started new farms, and the parental generation stayed in the original homestead.

Studying the source material, I have often come across proposals to stimulate the Saami to leave their nomadic way of life and settle down to a more permanent habitat. The Directorate also initiated attempts to stimulate the Saami to take up various kinds of simple handicraft. In the Torne Laplands there was, however, only exceptionally any such shift from nomadizing reindeer herding to farming on

permanent settlements or to other kinds of work.

With the increased colonization that the Crown desired, came the necessity to decide which language of instruction would be used by the missions and in the school. The Directorate and other representatives of the governmental administration argued in favour of the Finnish language.

2.3. CONCLUDING COMMENTS

In one respect, the Saami were privileged. They had received an organised system of popular education long before the rest of the Swedish population. By establishing the Directorate, the Crown had assumed the responsibility for educating children. The family and the Church no longer had even the financial responsibility for educating children.

The principal motive for the missionary work was surely the concern for the spiritual welfare of the Saami. However, the obvious interest of the State and the establishing of a non-ecclesiastical leadership for the missionary work nevertheless served political purposes. The desired colonization of the Laplands was in every way advanced by the missions. The Directorate also took a number of initiatives to enhance economic growth in Lapland. There may be a difference here from the Norwegian missionary work among the Saami in Norway. The main purpose there seems to have been religious conversion without any ulterior motives of a political nature (Steen 1954).

3. MOTHER TONGUE AND LANGUAGE OF INSTRUCTION

The language issue is of major importance. To communicate at all, and to teach and learn, the language barrier must be overcome. Missionary work and catechization have to be done in the mother tongue of the common people. "Mother tongue" is defined as the children's first language, the language used in the home, whereas "language of instruction" is the language used in the schoolroom.

In missionary work up to the 1750s, the pastors often used interpreters. This was not a good solution. Attempts were therefore made, with varying success, to find Saami-speaking young men to be trained theologically and ordained as pastors. Another possibility was to demand that the Lapland clergy learn and use the Saami language. Furthermore, it was necessary to translate religious literature into Saami. When the extensive catechization was started c. 1740, it was explicitly declared that the language of instruction be the mother tongue of the Saami people. In the second place, the Directorate could accept that the national language, Swedish, to be used.

3.1. THE MOTHER TONGUE WAS THE SAAMI LANGUAGE

The mother tongue of the Saami was, of course, the Saami language, but there were different dialects in the various areas. It might even be more adequate to consider, as Mikko Korhonen (1964) and Tuuli Forsgren (1990) have, the different dialects as different languages. The presence of these many dialects naturally complicated the translation efforts.

Basically, the Directorate and the Chapter held that it should be possible to use Saami as the language of instruction everywhere in the Laplands. However, it gradually became obvious that the publications translated into a southern variant of Saami were largely incomprehensible in other areas; they could therefore not be

used in the northern Laplands of Torne and Kemi. In these areas, books printed in Finnish were used instead. The lack of books in the North Saami language and the fact that in the 18th century, neither the people nor the clergy could bring about the publishing of the necessary books required the Saami people in these areas had to learn Finnish before they could understand what was taught.

The population of the Torne Laplands was about 1,300 at the middle of the 18th century. More than 90% of these were Saami. The rest were resident settlers, miners, and others. The mother tongue of the settlers was usually Finnish, and others who lived permanently in the area had learned to speak Finnish. This description is largely valid during the whole of the 18th century. Not until after c. 1820 (when the Saami were about 80%) did any major changes occur. During the latter part of the 19th century, the population changed entirely due to increased immigration, large scale mining, and other diverse activities. The proportion of Saami went down to less than 20% at the turn of the century.

3.2. THE LANGUAGE OF INSTRUCTION BECAME FINNISH

It is difficult to give a true picture of the language situation. Suffice is to say in this connection that the Finnish language "pushed" northwards in the Kemi Laplands and westward within the Swedish part of the Arctic area. It kept pace with permanent settlements. Its spread increased as the proportion of Saami people in the population decreased. During the first part of the 20th century, the Swedish part of the Arctic area underwent a similar shift. Then, Swedish pushed out the Finnish language. To-day, the Swedish part of the Arctic area is multilingual. Swedish, Finnish, Norwegian and several Saami dialects are spoken.

When catechization was started in the Torne Laplands by the opening of the school in January 1744, Finnish was chosen as the language of instruction. It was chosen by the schoolmaster after conferring with the good citizens and public officials of the town of Tornio (*Torneå*, the centre of commerce and administration, see *Map 1*). The schoolmaster had intended to follow the advice of the Directorate to teach in the Saami language. To learn Saami (the southern Saami dialect), he had stayed for quite a long period in the southern Laplands. After the conference in Tornio, it became clear to him that the Saami textbooks he had intended to use were incomprehensible in the Torne Laplands because the differences among the dialects were so great. Thus, he was advised to use Finnish schoolbooks. Furthermore, he was told that the Saami knew Finnish quite well and that Finnish therefore should be the "right language" in the Torne Laplands.

In fact, although Finnish had been used in Church, the sermon had been preached in Finnish, and catechization to some extent was done in Finnish, and Finnish books were used during the first half of the 18th century because there were no Saami schoolbooks, it was not true to say that the Saami knew Finnish well. Some Saami, particularly men in the active ages, had traded with speakers of Finnish and thus learned some Finnish, but they were hardly fluent bilinguals. Actually, Finnish was hardly known at all by the Saami women, children, and young people (Hansegård, 1988). From what can be gathered from general notations in reports of various kinds, some conclusions can be drawn as to how well the Saami knew

Finnish from the records of their knowledge of the Christian religion, which was very limited before 1740. The oldest extant parish catechetical meeting record³, written in 1765, shows that knowledge among those born before 1720 was low and mostly consisted of being able to recite some pieces by rote (*Our Father, The Creed, The Ten Commandments*) in Finnish. Obviously, the Saami people really only knew one language, their mother tongue - the Saami language.

During the years 1746-1750, there were some minor attempts to use the recently published Saami school books, but this proved to be difficult. From 1751 on, only Finnish schoolbooks were used (primer, catechism, hymn-book). This was contrary to the Directorate's explicit policy that instruction should take place in the mother tongue of the Saami people.

The decision to use the Finnish language was preceded by discussions over several years. When in December 1751 the Directorate finally resolved the matter, it was in accordance with the statement by the Chapter (as an advisory body). With the intent that "The Christian faith should spread and grow", the right of the parishes to use Finnish books instead of the new Saami ones was advocated. Some of the reasons were: the orthography in the Saami books was different from that of the Finnish books used in the past; the Saami people in the Torne Laplands who frequently met and communicated with the Finns there had already adopted "many Finnish words and locutions"; the Finnish language had been used before in the Torne Laplands; it was easier for the Saami in the Torne Laplands to learn Finnish than Swedish; the dialectal differences made the Saami books incomprehensible in the Torne Laplands; the parents in the northern parts of the Torne Laplands had not sent their children to school since they did not want them to learn the strange Saami of the school books; catechization had been successful in the Kemi Laplands (see *Map 1*) where Finnish was the language of instruction.

The decision of 1751 meant that Finnish became the language of instruction, but in church, the sermon was to be preached in Saami and Finnish alternately. In practice, Saami came to be used as an active supporting language at catechization, since throughout the 18th century the Directorate and the Chapter required that pastors and schoolmasters be proficient in both languages.

3.3. CONCLUDING COMMENTS

The Directorate as well as the Chapter was well aware of the fact that dialectal differences made the Saami books quite useless. In spite of this, it was apparently impossible to print school books in the Saami dialect (or rather, the Saami language) which was actually used in the Torne Laplands. This seems confusing. During the whole of the 18th century, teachers and pastors in the Torne Laplands

³ Popular instruction as organized by the Church is well documented in Sweden. Each individual's progress in reading and Catechism knowledge was noted in special examination registers. At SVAR, Swedish Archive Information, the Swedish National Archive, Stockholm produces and collects an increasing amount of filmed material. It is being accumulated from the whole country and from oldest time. Microfilmed sources, most importantly the Swedish Church records, are transferred to microfiches. The well-known Swedish scholar *Prof. Dr. Egil Johansson* has played a very important part in establishing and developing the research into, and the use of, this source material.

suggested several quite accurate translations for publication, but the Directorate turned them down. The Saami were largely not familiar with the Finnish language. The 1751 decision implied a definite choice of language of instruction. Catechization was done in Finnish. That meant that this language had to be learned before religious knowl-edge could be gained. The Saami language - the mother tongue of the Saami - was only used as a supporting language at catechization. The advice given the school-master by the citizens and public officials of the town of Tornio to use Finnish as the language of instruction can only be understood as a means to reach an end, namely to enhance the official standing of the Finnish language. It did become an official language used in church, at catechization, in business and by holders of official positions.

4. LEARNING IN A FOREIGN LANGUAGE

By closely studying the catechization in the Torne Laplands it is possible to show in some detail the results during the period of 1744-1820 (Anderzén, 1992). The use of examination reports from the Jukkasjärvi school has made it possible to map out the attainments of the pupils within three subjects: Reading from the book, Reading by rote, and Understanding. Since the pupils often participated in several examinations, it has been possible to follow the individual pupil's progress over time.

The school pupils were only a minor group of the population in the area. How is it possible to say anything about the religious knowledge among the majority? First, two parish catechization records, covering the periods of 1765-1794 and 1794-1827 have been used. In these records, each individual's level of attainment in Reading from the book, Reading by rote etc. is reported. The notations in the parish catechization records have been made in accordance with different code systems. Since the school records contain very detailed notations of the individual pupils, and these pupils are also found in the parish catechization records, the comparison has provided a key to the understanding of the notations in the catechization records. Moreover, for the period of 1766-1803 it was possible to use the annual vicar's reports which register the number of parishioners who can read from a book, those who know *Luther's Smaller Catechism* by rote and those who know the explanations to this catechism. The notations have been registered as data bases (school pupils 265 items; parish catechetical meeting records 1765-1794, 2595 items and parish catechetical meeting record 1795-1827, 4329 items). Thus it has been possible to process the data statistically to measure frequencies and connections.

As regards Reading from the book, it is relatively simple to find out whether the individual was believed to be able to read more elaborate texts. Reading by rote, however, might be seen as only assessing mechanical learning. It is, however, precisely here that the use of the detailed school reports offers an excellent key to the code of the parish catechetical meeting records. This is related to the very uniform teaching method of the catechization work. It was stated that the pupil should first have attained a good Understanding of what was read; only then was he/she allowed to proceed to the next passage; this method was emphasized even in the preface of

Luther's Small Catechism.

4.1. FIRST TO UNDERSTAND - AND THEN TO PROCEED

The first step of catechization was learning to read from the book. This was done in the *Primer*, whose first pages contained the alphabet and some simple spelling exercises. When the pupils had learnt satisfactorily how to spell out the words, reading exercises would begin. The first text to be learned was *Our Father Which Art in Heaven*. Then followed *The Apostles' Creed*, *The Ten Commandments*, and *The Words of Institution* of the two sacraments (*Christening* and *Communion*). The second part of the *Primer* contained the prayers: graces, morning prayers, evening prayers and confession. In the reading exercises, it seems that *The Words of Institution* were usually read after the prayers. When *Primer* reading was fluent, the exercises continued in the *Small Catechism* and after that in the hymnal. When one had proceeded as far as to the hymnal, he/she had achieved quite a good proficiency. Such a pupil could read the Bible texts in the Gospel book which was included in the hymnal. It is noteworthy that the pupil thus learned to read from the book not in their mother tongue, but in a foreign language, namely Finnish.

When the pupil had reached this far, Learning by rote was introduced. The pupil was to learn Luther's Small Catechism by rote in Finnish. The Catechism then used contained six main parts: *The Ten Commandments*, *The Creed*, *Our Father*, *Christening*, *Confession*, and *Communion*. Then followed what was called the Explanation (lengthy commentaries to each of the main parts) and additional texts: *Nicænum*, *Athanasianum*, *the Household Tables* and *David's seven Hymns of Penitence*.

To avoid mechanical learning of the by rote texts, the pupil was not to proceed to a new passage until he/she had showed that he/she understood the meaning of the present reading text. This so-called Understanding was carefully tested. It is in this connection that a clear picture of the pupil's proficiency is secured. At the examinations, the pupil's understanding was assessed. According to the sources, the pupils were also required to explain "in their own mother tongue" the meaning of what they had learnt in Finnish.

4.2. TO BE ABLE TO READ AND KNOW THE WAY TO BLESSEDNESS

Before 1764, there are no quantitative data concerning the ability to read among the population, but there is a multitude of general appraisals concerning different groups. The resident settlers and those who attended school are given credit for good proficiency in reading. In 1764, all resident settlers and their children up to the age of 9-10 are said to have a good reading proficiency. One important reason for the settlers' advantage over the other groups is, of course, the fact that their mother tongue was Finnish, whereas the Saami had to learn to read in a language that was foreign to them. The ability to read seems to have spread more rapidly among the Saami in the northern part of the Torne Laplands, in the village community of Saari-vuoma. This village community is always mentioned as one that has known Finnish better than the other three Saami villages, namely Talma, Rautusvuoma and Kalas-vuoma. A possible reason for this may be that the village community of

Saarivuoma lay close to, and that the nomadizing Saarivuoma Saami often crossed the border into, the areas in the Kemi laplands where there were comparatively more speakers of Finnish.

As regards the period of 1766-1803, there are very exact notations of the ability to read in the whole population. These notations have been compiled and are presented below in *Fig.1*.

Fig.1. The parish of Jukkasjärvi, 1766-1803. Ability to read from a book.

The lower curve in the chart above shows the percentage of those who could read in the whole population (curve A). Curve B shows the percentage of those who could read in relation to the numbers who were at all likely to learn. From the total population those younger than 9 years (c. 20%) and those very old and poorly (c. 10%) have been deducted. It is possible to do this because the statistics concerning the age distribution within the population at the time are good and available. Curve B thus shows the proportion of readers in the estimated 70% of the population who could be expected to be able to learn. However, since this is a construct, it should only serve as an illustration.

The main impression is that the ability to read spread very rapidly after 1780. Curve B shows that in 1795, virtually every man, woman and child above the age of 9 could read from the first Primer. A detailed study of cohorts shows that two groups within the population are particularly good at reading, namely those born in the years 1740-1759 and 1760-1779. This bears out the conclusion that the intensive catechization which started when the school opened in 1744 had been successful with respect to children and young people.

Being able to read from a book was a requirement for being allowed to learn reading by rote. In fact, this order was not always observed. Until c. 1760, exceptions were sometimes made for adults and elderly people (mostly those born before 1720) who had not been able to learn to read from a book. These people had usually only learned the basic text (*Cat.can.*) by rote. At the end of the 18th century, those born before 1720 represent less than 6% of the items in the data base. Thus it

can be claimed that *Fig.2.* shows the ability to read by rote mainly for those who already knew how to read from the book.

Below, are data on reading by rote at different times in columns "A" and "B" in a similar way as shown in *Fig.1*.

[*Fig.2*. The parish of Jukkasjärvi, 1766-1803. Ability to read by rote.]

Each column shows the distribution of three areas of proficiency: *Cat.can.* means that the individual knows the wording of the six main parts in Luther's Small Catechism; *Lut.cat.* that he/she also knows the whole of Luther's Small Catechism; *Sveb/Gez* that he/she has also learnt one of the more detailed catechism explanations edited by Svebelius or Gezelius.

Thus, it can be maintained that the majority of the population were quite good readers at the end of the 18th century. As reading by rote was taught by a distinct method. Teaching could only proceed when the pupil had demonstrated his/her "understanding" of what was learned. It seems reasonable to assume that most were able to recount the main contents of the Christian faith in their own words, proving their own understanding, and often in their own mother tongue (the Saami language). It is also noteworthy that there was, at the end of the 18th century, compared with the situation 50 years earlier, no longer any marked difference in level of knowledge between the domiciled settlers and previous school pupils on the one hand and the rest of the population on the other.

4.3. CONCLUDING COMMENTS

The catechization achieved good results and the ability to read was satisfactory at the end of the 18th century. Nearly everybody (save the oldest and the youngest in the population) had learned to read from the Finnish school books. The good results

should be seen as the outcome of the intensive catechization begun in 1744. This is corroborated by the fact that those born in 1740-1779 attained the best marks in reading from the book, reading by rote and understanding.

When learning to read by rote, it was considered essential that the pupil show comprehension of the content. Here, the missionizing purpose of catechization is obvious. Insufficient knowledge stood in the way of man's conversion and salvation. When teaching a pupil how to read by rote, understanding should be imparted to him/her. This understanding was best proven when the individual "in his own mother tongue" could explain the meaning of what the schoolbooks conveyed about the Christian faith. The individual was to have a good "Comprehension of the Cause, Order and Means of Divine Blessedness", i.e. have reached an inner understanding of the truth and need of the Christian faith.

5. CONCLUSION

Three questions were raised in the introduction. First, whether the educational efforts should be regarded as indications of a deliberate colonization policy. No direct statements in records or other documents in the archives which explicitly point to colonization as a motive for missionary work and catechization were found. The motive for catechization is usually said to be the need of missions among the heathen. However, attention is also called, although separately, for the need of colonization.

The aim of colonization was to people the Laplands and increase the number of domiciled settlers in order to be able to take advantage of the so far dormant natural resources, mainly the iron ore. In the Lule Laplands, bordering on the Torne Laplands, the situation was slightly different (Öberg, 1979). Great efforts had been made there to support the first stages of a mining industry. Missionary work was part of an intended new social structure, and there was definitely cooperation before the establishment of the new parish and the building of a new church just south of the ore-bearing mountain in Gällivare.

In the Torne Laplands, the purpose was predominantly to encourage permanent settlements in every possible way. It is obvious that the nomadizing Saami were regarded as culturally inferior. If more people became domiciled settlers, it was supposed to lead to a higher level of civilization.

In this context, the choice of Finnish as the language of instruction in the schools may be seen as a means to support the transition from nomadizing to permanent settlements and integration into the Swedish community at large. Likewise, christianizing the barbarians could be regarded as a prerequisite for incorporating the Saami nation into the Swedish community. Moreover, an indication of the close connection between the concern for missionary work and the progressing colonization was the establishment of the Directorate, intended to be a controlling administrative authority which was to coordinate the work of the public and ecclesiastical bodies in the Laplands.

Bearing this in mind, it seems probable that the missionary work in the Torne Laplands, i.e. catechization, must be regarded not only as an effect of the increasing

interest in the missions during the 18th century but also as a link in the colonization process in progress at that time.

Second, it was asked why Finnish was used as the language of instruction, and not Saami which was the mother tongue of most of the population. The Directorate took the decision of commending Finnish as the language of instruction in the Torne Laplands on the basis of extensive documentation submitted by the Chapter in its advisory function. The Chapter pointed out that the differences among the Saami dialects made it impossible to use the church literature and the school books published in the concocted Saami book language.

That the Chapter also claimed that the Saami already knew Finnish to a considerable extent seems somewhat astonishing, since, in other contexts, the same Chapter maintained the requirement that teachers and pastors should be proficient in both Finnish and Saami. The Saami language was necessary as a "supporting language" at school and at church. There are hints in the source material that the Saami themselves demanded that they be allowed to use the Finnish books "they already were familiar with", and opposed the idea that they should learn another "foreign language" and the new orthography in the Saami books. This is probably best explained by pointing out that the Saami in the Torne Laplands regarded the language in the new Saami books as a language that was foreign to them, and that they preferred to go on using the Finnish books with which they already had begun their reading exercises.

In retrospect, it seems strange that the Directorate and the Chapter did not recommend translations into the Saami language used in the Torne Laplands, all the more so since there existed some good draft translations. It should be remembered, however, that Finland belonged to Sweden until the war with Russia in 1809, and Finnish was actually one of the three languages (Swedish, Finnish and Saami) spoken in the country of Sweden. One reason why the Chapter advocated the use of Finnish was that it was easier for the Saami people in the Torne Laplands to learn Finnish than to learn Swedish. It may be that there was a certain hesitation to give official status to a fourth language, Torne Saami, in the already trilingual nation.

Today it is hardly possible to give a definite answer to this question, and it can only be stated that the decision to use Finnish meant that the people had to learn this language before they could profit by the catechization. At the same time, the citizens and officials in Tornio worked actively to strengthen the status of the Finnish language in the Torne Laplands. It would certainly promote trade and administration if the Saami could communicate in Finnish, and it would also help to create a culturally more uniform community.

However, on the part of the Saami it was hardly a wholly voluntary acquisition of a new language but rather a matter of coerced bilingualism/biculturalism, implying also new values, attitudes and beliefs. Thus, the Crown enforced an active acculturation policy. The authorities emphasized the desirability of the Saami abandoning their nomadizing way of life and becoming domiciled settlers, becoming, as it were, "good Finns". The acquisition of the Finnish language among the Saami was regarded as an important step towards permanent settlement.

However, the decision to use Finnish as the language of instruction did not result in the Saami abandoning their mother tongue. Instead, they gradually became either

bilingual or trilingual, and the Finnish language became the *lingua sacra* of the Torne Laplands.

The third issue concerned the results of the instruction and what degree of proficiency in the "new" language - Finnish - was attained by the individual learners. Practically everybody could read at the end of the 18th century, and the majority possessed very good knowledge of the Christian faith. This was particularly true of the groups born in the years 1740-1779, i.e. those who were reached by the catechization early in life.

It can also be maintained that the Saami population, learning to read from the book and by rote using the Finnish texts, also attained a good understanding of the Finnish language. Catechization used a learning method which emphasized comprehension - (understanding) of what was read. The individual pupil often explained his/her understanding in Finnish as well as in his/her own mother tongue. That might mean that many Saami had acquired a good command of Finnish.

On the other hand, that many Saami preferred to explain the contents of the texts and the "understanding" in their own mother tongue might indicate that they had not reached the level of proficiency in Finnish that enabled them to speak the language reasonably fluently.

From the point of view of the missionizing, an important objective was reached when the individual could account for "The Cause, Order and Means of Divine Blessedness", i.e. had reached an inner understanding of the truth and need of the Christian faith.

In sum, it seems evident that the catechization in the Torne Laplands was primarily motivated by the concern for Christian missions, and that this work was in every way beneficial for the progressing colonization accompanied by a civilization process, it was only natural that it should be supported by the Crown and its authorities, since it was in line with the general interests of the nation.

REFERENCES

ANDERZÉN, Sölve (1992). *"Begrepp om Salighetens Grund, Ordning och Medel". Undervisningen i en lappmarksförsamling Jukkasjärvi församling 1744-1820.* Kiruna and Uppsala: Bibliotheca Theologiæ Practicæ 49.

BROADBENT, Noel D. (ed.) (1989). *Readings in Saami History, Culture and Language I.* Umeå: Center for Artic Cultural Research, Miscellaneous Publications Nr. 7.

FORSGREN, Tuuli (1988). *Samisk kyrko- och undervisningslitteratur i Sverige 1619-1850.* Umeå: Scriptum Nr 6.

FORSGREN, Tuuli (1990). *"...först at inhämta språket, och sedan deruppå lära sin Christendom...". Om finska böcker och sameundervisning i Torne och Kemi lappmarker före 1850.* Umeå: Scriptum Nr 26.

HANSEGÅRD, Nils-Erik (1988). *Språken i det Norrbottensfinska området*. Luleå: Lärarutbildningar Högskolan i Luleå 3:1988.

JAHRESKOG, Birgitta (ed.) (1982). *The Sami National Minority in Sweden*. Stockholm: Rättsfonden and Atlantic Higland N.J.: Humanities Press Inc.

JOHANSSON, Egil (1981). The History of Literacy in Sweden. In *Literacy and Social Development in the West: a Reader* (Graff, H., ed.). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 151-182.

JOHANSSON, Egil (1987). Literacy campaigns in Sweden. In *National literacy campaigns. Historical and comparative perspectives* (Arnove, R.J. & Graff, H., eds.). New York: pp 65-98.

JOHANSSON, Egil (1991). Alphabetica varia. Some roots of literacy in various countries. In *Swedish aspects on literacy. Selected papers from the 13th IRA World congress on reading* (Ericson, B., ed.). Stockholm: pp 122-128

KORHONEN, Mikko (1964). *Lapin murteiden keskinäisistä suhteista*. Oulu: Lapin tutkimusseuran vuosikirja V.

KVIST, Roger (ed.) (1991). *Readings in Saami History, Culture and Language II*. Umeå: Center for Artic Cultural research, Miscellaneous Publications Nr. 12.

KVIST, Roger (ed.) (1992). *Readings in Saami History, Culture and Language III*. Umeå: Center for Artic Cultural research, Miscellaneous Publications Nr. 14.

ÖBERG, Ingemar (1979). *Mission och Evangelisation i Gellivare-bygden ca 1740-1770*. Åbo: Kyrkohistoriska Arkivet vid Åbo Akademi, Medd. nr 7.

STEEN, Adolf (1954). *Samenes kristning og finnemisjonen til 1888*. Oslo: Avhandlingar utg. av Egede-Instituttet. 5.

WIDÉN, Bill (1964). *Kristendomsundervisning och nomadliv*. Åbo: Acta Academiæ Aboensis Hum. 28:1.

WIDÉN, Bill (1965). *Kateketinstitutionen i Sveriges och Finlands lappmarker 1744-1820*. Åbo: Acta Academiæ Aboensis Hum. 29:1.

‘THE RIGHT WAY’ TO BAPTIZE AND
CONDUCT DIVINE SERVICES. ONE PURPOSE
OF CHRISTIAN MISSION SCHOOLING AMONG
THE SAAMI IN FENNOSKANDIA
IN THE 18TH CENTURY

Sölve Anderzén
Umeå University - Sweden

1. BACKGROUND

In the early 1600s, the parish priest in the coastal parish, *kustsocken*, (close to the Gulf of Bothnia i.e. Torneå, Luleå, see *Map 1*) was in charge of the pastoral care in the Laplands, *lappmarker*. The main duty of the ‘coastal pastor’ was a yearly visit to the Laplands and the places where people gathered for fairs, court sessions and tax collection. One stage of the colonization of Lapland was the establishing of parishes and the building of churches. This was mainly done during the late 1600s, but was not completed before the mid 1700s. Big efforts were made to make people settle down more permanently.

During the 1700s the pastoral activity mainly involved the larger ‘church-villages’ (i.e. Jukkasjärvi, Jokkmokk, see *Map 1*). In the northern parishes of Sweden, the church members were mostly nomadic Lapps (>85%), who, only for short periods during the winter months were in the vicinity of a ‘church-village’, and a few stationary settlers. The responsibility for the pastoral care rested on the only clergyman in the village. He could not possibly make longer visits to the many settlements.

In the few villages, where the churches were built, complete divine service was

held regularly, and the parishioners were obliged to attend church, as was laid down in the 'Church Attendance Rules', *kyrko-tour*. These rules stipulated a frequency of attendance depending on the distance between the domicile and the church. Still, neither the migrant Saami nor the stationary farmers could get there very frequently, many of them less than once a year, because of the distances. This was not satisfactory and special solutions had to be made.

Another problem was that parents could not have their new-born babies baptized by the pastor in time (within 8 days, [in 1864 the period was extended to six weeks]). For this reason the church had to find 'new' forms of infant baptism. In the early 1700s, the parishioners were therefore informed of the possibility of *nöddop* (private baptism). The parents were recommended to ask a 'well-read' villager to perform the *nöddop*, but with the clear instruction to use *nöddop* only when absolutely necessary.

A great change took place when the 'Lapp-Schools' were established in the 1740s. These were set up as a result of the government's decision (1739) to establish a special Directorate for the ecclesiastical business in Lapland, *Direktionen för Lapp-markens Ecklesiastikverk*. The schoolmaster in each school was a pastor. Thus catechization/instruction and pastoral care were strengthened. Special lay missionary catechists, missionaries and visitators were also appointed to work in Lapland.

At issue here are two examples of duties/services regularly carried out by laymen, in place of the ordained minister. Firstly, when the parishioners could not attend church for divine service, *byabön* (village prayer), a simplified divine service conducted by a layman, was arranged at every little 'home-place/village'. Secondly, when it was impossible for the parents to take their infants to the church to have them christened there within the stipulated 8 days after birth, infant-baptism became the duty of a layman. An important role in this was played by the Lapp-Schools where some pupils were taught how to perform baptism, and how to conduct divine services.

The following is a brief description of the conditions in Lapland at the time.

2. THE CONDITIONS IN LAPLAND

Lapland's basic characteristics are the arctic climate, vast country and the sparse colonization (see *Map 1* and *Map 2*). However to my mind concerning the Saami, the actual 'language situation' and the great variations, from year to year, in the means of subsistence are the most important features.

The choice of language for instruction was the most important issue. Language barriers were to be conquered. The Saami's mother tongue was of course the Saami language, but the differences between the Saami dialects of the different Laplands (Ume, Pite, Lule, Torne, and Kemi Lappmarker) were so great that it might be more reasonable to be seen as totally different languages. This put the interpretation of church literature in a difficult position. The authorities, the Cathedral Chapter, *Dom-kapitlet*, and the Directorate, assumed that it would be possible to 'compile and use' one Saami language, as the 'language of instruction', in all the Laplands.

The language, the South Saami book language, of the translations and publications printed during the mid 1700s had a southern character and could not be understood or used in the northerly Torne and Kemi Laplands. In these Laplands instruction literature in the Finnish language was used instead. The Saami then had to learn the Finnish language before they could understand the teaching.

In the archive material notes are often found which say that it would be desirable to suppress the Saami's varying 'migrant lifestyle', *flyktiga levnadssätt*, and to strive for more permanent settlements. The 'migrant lifestyle' was the natural result of the reindeer herding conditions, which varied from year to year, depending on such variables as access to food, attacks by predatory animals etc. For long months of the year the Saami were far from the 'church-village' and crossed the borders of both parishes and nations. This forced the pastoral care to find forms, that, if possible, could adapt to the parishioners' habit.

After this very brief review I will now describe how the custom of *byabön* was established in the parishes of Lapland.

3. 'OBLIGED TO READ FOR THEM'

With increased literacy followed the possibilities to study religious texts. This was important for the knowledge of Christianity, the devotion and edification of the individual and home. The texts and prayers in the hymn-book became accessible. However, in the 1700s, not everyone could read. The heading indicates the responsibility which could be put upon those who were literate - to read out loud, from different Postillas, for those who could not read, and also to be in charge of *byabön*.

With the aid of accessible archive material, such as the Inspection Reports, *visitationsprotokoll*, and Vicars' Annual Reports, *ämbetsberättelser*, the establishing of *byabön* in the Torne and Kemi Laplands can be depicted. It is important to clarify when outer conditions for *byabön* existed. Such outer conditions were 'someone who could read' and 'something to be read from'.

I assume that the access to Postillas in a parish indicated that it was possible for the *byabön* to be held. The Postilla filled a need in the parish provided there was 'someone who could read'. However this is not enough. The fact that there was 'something to be read from' does not necessarily mean that *byabön* was held. The Postilla could i.e. be used only for private reading in the home. Therefore, I searched for entries in the archives that clearly gave evidence that *byabön* was held. Finally, I will shortly describe the liturgical form of *byabön*.

4. THE TORNE AND KEMI LAPLANDS

Inspection reports indicate that there was a greater literacy rate in the Kemi Lapland than in the Torne Lapland. This was considered by other critics of the time to be a direct result of the fact that the 'language of instruction' was Finnish. The truth is

certainly otherwise. It was foremost a result of the extensive catechisation work started as early as at the end of the 1600s. A transition to more permanent residency also took place, mainly in larger 'winter villages', where there were several zealous pastors with an interest in catechization.

In 1736, some Saami requested that the *Rector scholæ* in Torneå, Johan Wegelius, be commissioned to compile a Finnish Postilla. The ecclesiastical management, the Directorate and the Cathedral Chapter, denied the request, saying that they had not "*hört talas om någon brist af finska böcker*" (heard of any shortage of Finnish books), but stated that a Postilla had been published earlier, and along with the Bible there were a few other books in Finnish. Presumably, they referred to the Turku-bishop Sorolainen's Postilla, of which two parts were published in 1621 and 1625. This Postilla was widely used in these areas and is also mentioned in records from Enare as late as 1847. Also the two parts of Wegelius' Finnish Postilla were published in 1747 and 1749.

In 1737, a visitation was held in Utsjoki. At this time the residing clergyman lived in Kautokeino and visited Utsjoki yearly for a period of some two weeks. Between these visits "*läser Klockaren för them utur en finsk Postilla*" (the parish clerk would read from a Finnish Postilla). In the following years, the records of examination contain similar entries are found which emphasize that *byabön* was held regularly. In 1745, a new parish clerk was appointed "*uti the förra ålderstegnas ställe*" (in the place of the former aged one). The new parish clerk, Isaac Person, was one of the first five pupils of the Utsjoki school. He came there around New Year's time 1743. He was only 15 years old and "*läste tå nästan rent Catechesen innan och utan till, kunde ock läsa i Psalmboken, hvilket hans föräldrar och husbönder honom lärdt*" (read the Catechism almost fluently, and could also read in the Hymn-book, which his parents and masters had taught him). After two years Isaac Person was appointed parish clerk "*såsom then äldste och skickeligaste till Klockare - - - och till att, såsom en Catechet, lär the barn att läsa som behöva*" (as the oldest and most skilful - - - and, as a Catechist, to teach the children, when need be, to read).

From the visitation in Kemi Lapland in 1746 there is an interesting note. The Aviovaara parishioners had gathered together and expressed their wish to obtain a Finnish Postilla for the village. The intention was that "*de sjelfwa wille Sön- och andra Helgedagar infinna sig här i Awioware, samt sig wid deras andakt deraf betjena*" (they themselves on Sundays and other festival-days wanted to gather 'here in' Awiovaara, and worship [reading from the Postilla]). The request reached the Directorate through the Cathedral Chapter. On April 22nd, 1747, the Directorate de-cided to give a Finnish Postilla to the villagers in Aviovaara.

We know thus that *byabön* was held in the Utsjoki and Aviovaara villages. The issue is if that was also the case in the other villages. In the records from the Kautokeino, Enontekis and Jukkasjärvi parishes there are no indications that *byabön* was held before approximately 1750. In these parishes, the parishioners were directed to the divine service in the 'church-village'.

To get an idea if there was 'someone who could read', I have studied the Inspection Reports during the 1740s searching for clear information on literacy. The following is an account of the situation at the visitation of 1746 - parish by parish - beginning farthest to the east. At Utsjoki 27 (39%) of 70 examined people could

read ‘fluently’ and 16 (22%) ‘satisfactory’ and the remaining 27 (39%) had ‘begun to read’. At Aviovaara it is recorded that most people ‘could read from the book’. At Kautokeino it was recorded that a large number of parishioners could read from the book and most did very well. At Enontekis there were no records in the Catechization Register, *katekisationsboken*, concerning literacy, but ”*en del funnos kunna läsa innan i Finska böcker*” (some could read from Finnish books). At Jukkasjärvi there were a few who ”*kunde läsa innantill uti Finska böcker*” (could read from Finnish books)”. Thus we can say that literacy in Kemi Lapland was on a relatively high level. In Torne Lapland - the Enontekis and Jukkasjärvi parishes - the literacy among the parishioners was lower, but it increased after 1750. There was also a great difference between the settled Finnish-speaking people and the nomadic Saami. The Saami did not know Finnish as well.

A beginning for *byabön* occurred when lay missionary catechists were appointed. In the Jukkasjärvi parish, the first catechist was appointed in 1751. About him we know that at the visitation in 1752, it was affirmed that he always held morning and evening prayers in the homes where he stayed, and furthermore ”*för almogen Sön- och Helgedagarna läsit ur nya testamentet, som han på finska äger*” (for the parishioners, on Sundays and holidays he read from the new testament, which he possesses in Finnish). The responsibility for *byabön* on Sunday was included in the catechist’s duties. On the other hand, in Enontekis no lay missionary catechist was appointed until 30 years later, but in the Vicar’s Annual Report of 1760 it is evident that ”*När Lapparne och Nybyggarna eij kunna komma till Kyrckjan, läsa och sjunga the tilsammans uti i sina Huus och hemwister*” (When the Lapps and settlers could not come to Church, they would sing and read together in their homes and abodes).

Which Postillas were used? In the autumn of 1749, the newly published Güttner’s Postilla in the Saami language was sent to Lapland. The Directorate stated that the Postilla should be distributed to every village and be the property of the whole village. The Postilla should be in the care of the lay missionary catechist or some other literate person to be read on Sunday and holidays and other occasions. Concerning the Saami, we know that the dialect created a problem which also resulted in the fact that most of the copies were returned, which was noted in the Cathedral Chapter’s record August 14, 1751.

The examination records, *examensanteckningarna*, of the Lapp-School at Jukkasjärvi show that during the years 1744-1761 the pupils practised reading in various Postillas. Even though the Saami books, due to the South Saami book language, could not easily be used in Jukkasjärvi, 26 of the 30 pupils from 1744 to 1754 learned to read Güttner’s Postilla in Saami. Furthermore, 24 of them could read from the Finnish Postilla. After 1754 Güttner’s Postilla was not used in the school. From 1754 to 1761, 13 of 24 pupils learned to read Wegelius’ Finnish Postilla. After 1761, entries about reading from Postillas are missing.

The Jukkasjärvi parish contained four Saami villages - Kalasvuoma, Rautasvuoma, Talma and Saarivuoma (see *Map 2*). The students who had learned to read from Postillas were fairly evenly spread out in the villages. In that way, the parish received quite a few persons who were specially trained and prepared to take up the role of ‘someone who could read’. ‘Something to be read from’ was also needed. The Directorate decided in 1753 to satisfy the requests of the parishioners

of Jukkasjärvi to buy the Wegelius Postilla for the parish. An important part of the pastoral care was to organize that *byabön*. In the Vicar's Annual Report of 1761, there are indications that in each 'home-place/village' one responsible person was elected to hold prayer and read from the Postilla for the villagers every Sunday.

It is possible to say that a beginning to hold *byabön* - in Finnish - took place even before 1750 in Kemi Lapland; in Utsjoki as early as in the 1730s, which was the duty of the parish clerk. In Torne Lapland, the custom of holding *byabön* developed as literacy increased. In Enontekis, *byabön* was common about 1760. In Jukkasjärvi two lay missionary catechists were appointed from 1751 on. These held *byabön* regularly. *Byabön* became common in all 'home-places/ village' from 1760 onward and were fairly structured.

5. BYABÖN - FORM AND PRACTICE

The *byabön*-holder, *bönhållare*, had an important duty. He summoned the village people to gather and worship. The archives give no information as to where the parishioners gathered, but indicate that the *byabön*-holder summoned the village people to gather at the home of the one who had the village Postilla. Here there was 'someone who could read' and 'something to be read from'. But what liturgical form did the service - *byabön* have?

In Güttner's Postilla there was a simple form of service. After the introduction 'In the Name of God, the Father, and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit', the confession of sin was read, followed by an opening hymn. After the opening hymn the Sunday's collection prayer and epistle text were read. Before the Sunday's or holyday's sermon, *Credo* "Vi tro på en allsmäktig Gud (We believe upon an almighty God)" was sung. The reading was opened with 'In the Name of God, the Father, and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit'. After the reading there was a prayer section followed by Our Father and the Blessing. Finally a hymn was proposed concluded by the words "Tacka Herren och var glad" (Thank the Lord and rejoice).

In the Wegelius Finnish Postilla there was no similar form of service suggested. The 'Misander's Finnish Postilla', however, which was often used in the later 1700s, had simple instructions. For each Sunday a suitable hymn is suggested to be sung before the reading. The reading was to be concluded with prayers, and finally, a closing hymn was suggested.

The request by private groups to receive Postillas I see as an indication of a spiritual need. The basic books for the individual and household devotions - the ABC-book, catechism, and hymn-book - were complemented by the Postilla texts. Through the increasing literacy rate, the individual gained access to the Word of God. *Byabön* can also be considered as an expansion of the household devotion. The *byabön*-holder assumed the role of a master for the villagers. It has not been possible here to comment on the impact of the pietistic collections of sermons on the continued development of the spiritual life in Lapland. Nor have I touched upon the significance of *byabön* for the villagers. It is noteworthy that the Lapland parish, because of its the geographical vastness and the Saami's nomadic way of life, in a way came to consist of many small congregations - the village communities which

gathered around the preaching of the Word, the first medium of grace.

The other solution involved that the other medium of grace, the sacrament of baptism, was also performed in the 'home-place/village' "*av någon därtill utsedd*" (by someone appointed thereto), who baptized the child by a *nöddop*.

6. NÖDDOP

The Swedish concept of *nöddop* is a compound statement. In this context ‘*nöd*’ can be translated as ‘emergency’ or ‘in case of urgent necessity’ i.e. the risk that the infant might die. *Dop* is translated as baptism. Thus *Nöddop* expresses the situation when the new-born infant is so weak that the parents cannot wait for a pastor to come and baptize it. However, *nöddop* came to be used for quite different reasons in Lapland.

The baptism custom which developed was a direct result of the fact that long and trouble-some journeys prevented the parents from bringing the infant to the ‘church-village’ to be baptized by the pastor. Instead, the infants were baptized at home according to a form of *nöddop*, when it was enough to say the Lord’s Prayer and then baptize, with pure water, in the threefold name. The child was then brought to the pastor to confirm the baptism, but not before outer conditions allowed. From both Kemi and Torne Lapland information is available that the ‘those who could read’ had been informed even in the early 1700s of the proper way to conduct a *nöddop*.

The following example from the Jukkasjärvi parish in Torne Lapland can illustrate the circumstances. During *Visitatio Classica*, 1751, it was asked if the people brought their children to be baptized ‘early’ and if they were informed of *nöddop*. According to the records, it was answered that ”*Lapparna låta skyndsammast döpa sina barn, och äro jämwäl kunnoge om Nöddop*” (The Lapps have their infants baptized most hastily, and they also know about *Nöddop*). It is uncertain what ‘most hastily’ really means in this context. Maybe ‘most hastily’ was used to avoid any entries in the records stating that the children really were several months old before they were baptized. In the Vicar’s Annual reports of the years 1757 and 1758, similar vague time periods are given. In the record of 1758, it was also said that *nöddop* was performed ‘when urgently needed’. Even this is a vague expression and does not say anything about who needed it (the child or the parents?) or for what reason (‘crisis’ or a long way to the pastor?).

However, it was stated in the Vicar’s Annual report of 1760, that it was difficult to establish a working baptism custom. It was said that ”*en del af vårdslöshet och utan nödfall hafwa sina barn 3, 4 och 6 veckor odöpte*” (some, because of carelessness and without urgent need have their children unbaptized for 3, 4 and even 6 weeks). Another problem was also acute. Apparently there were some persons ‘specially so instructed’ whose duty it was to conduct private baptism, but in the summer when the families were spread out over large areas, they could not be ‘called in haste’ and those ”*som ei äro boksynte fördristar sig intet at döpa*” (who are not ‘book-knowledgeable’, *boksynte*, dare not baptize).

For *nöddop* to be properly conducted, some knowledge and instruction were necessary. The Jukkasjärvi Lapp-School had an important task here. This school was the only one which was active for a longer time in these Laplands. Below, I will mainly deal with the circumstances in Torne Lapland.

Regarding the Jukkasjärvi school, the first records, concerning *nöddop*, are from 1764. Two pupils were, according to the records, graduated ”*sedan de blifwit underrättade om sättet at nöddöpa Barn*” (after they had been informed of the procedure of private infant baptism). After this, similar notes occur often. I have found

a total of 78 pupils who, during the years 1764-1819, were instructed in private baptism. At first it says that the pupils have been ‘informed’ of the procedure of private baptism. Later it developed so that the pupils had been ‘examined’ of the right way to conduct private baptism when they were graduated. Both boys (56) and girls (22) were instructed in ‘the procedure of private baptism’. There is no connection between the pupils’ results at school so that i.e. only pupils with very good results were instructed in performing *nöddop*, but some of them even received comments such as ‘not very clever’, ‘slow by nature’, ‘low learning aptitude’, ‘very slow’.

To illustrate the role which school teaching played in this matter, the following table is presented. To give an idea as to where these students could be expected to have practised *nöddop*, I have chosen to present them according to their home villages (see *Map 2*).

Table 1. The Jukkasjärvi parish. 1764 - 1819, (1744 - 1819). Pupils instructed in performing *nöddop*, distributed by home-villages

Village	Number of pupils instructed in performing <i>nöddop</i>	Number of pupils at school	(Total number of pupils at school 1744-1819)
Calasvuoma	24	56	(73)
Enontekis	4	9	(9)
Jukkasjärvi	-	-	(1)
Kurravaara	-	3	(3)
Lainio	2	3	(4)
Parakkavaara	3	6	(6)
Pilijärvi	2	3	(3)
Rautusvuoma	16	53	(71)
Saarivuoma	4	19	(35)
Siggwara	-	-	(1)
Talma	23	57	(72)
Vittangi	-	1	(1)
Unknown	-	1	(1)
	78	211	(280)

According to *Table 1*, none of the few pupils from Vittangi or Kurravaara, who all were pupils after 1764, had been instructed in *nöddop*. The probable explanation is that the need for special instruction in *nöddop* was more urgent in the villages where the literacy rate etc. was low. In the new settlements, where people were better schooled, there were more ‘able readers’, *boksynta*, who knew ‘the way to perform *nöddop*’, and thus the need for special instruction in *nöddop* became less urgent. The same explanation goes for Saarivuoma village, where only 4 of the 19 pupils were instructed in *nöddop*. This is remarkable because Saarivuoma village lies farthest away from the ‘church-village’.

Generally, the number of pupils instructed is largest in the Saami villages. This is explained by the fact that the settlers all lived close to each other, and it is reasonable to assume that someone who was easy to reach in the village had a more or less ‘standing’ duty to conduct *nöddop*. However, the Saami way of life made them need people who knew ‘the way to perform *nöddop*’.

These actions gave the parish a working baptism custom. The pastoral care was adapted to the structure of the parish. When this order had been developed, it was no longer a topic for notes on *nöddop* in the records. In 1774 there is one note

concerning *nöddop* and after that none until 1814.

7. NÖDDOP - THE MOST COMMON FORM OF BAPTISM

During the 1700s *nöddop* grew to be the most common form of baptism. At the turn of the century in 1800, about 90% of the infants were baptized privately. The high frequency of *nöddop* can not only be explained by the parishioners lacking possibilities to bring the infants to the clergy to be baptized. Other explanations must be examined. In a forthcoming project of mine the use of the baptism, in Fennoskandia c.1680 - c.1850, will be further investigated.

The information in the church registers has been turned into databases to examine the frequencies and possible connections with other factors. The information registered is: the time passed from birth to baptism/*nöddop*; the time passed from *nöddop* and the confirmation of the baptism; the time of year and place of birth, baptism, *nöddop*; the confirmation of *nöddop*; witnesses, godparents, those present, etc.

The information accessible through these databases can most easily be illustrated by the following tables which show frequencies. The examples handle only two variables in each case.

Table 2. Jukkasjärvi parish. 1792 - 1810. *Nöddop*, number of days after birth, distributed by home-villages.

	Calasv. Jukkasj.		Kuokso Kurrav.		Lainio Parakka		Pilij. Rautusv.		Saariv. Soppero		Svappav. Talma		Vittangi Vivungi		
---	26	42	1	5	1	3	0	23	25	1	2	39	6	0	174
0	24	1	5	1	7	8	1	34	50	5	10	28	11	3	188
1	38	0	2	1	9	5	0	42	70	3	22	69	6	0	267
2	19	0	0	1	2	2	0	13	18	1	1	20	3	3	83
3	19	0	0	1	4	2	3	11	18	0	1	12	0	0	71
4	8	0	1	0	1	1	1	4	4	0	1	5	0	0	26
5	4	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	2	0	0	4	0	0	13
6	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	2	1	0	0	2	0	0	7
7	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	5	0	0	9	0	0	17
8	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	5
9	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	0	0	3	0	0	8
10	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2
11	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
12	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
13	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
14	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	2
18	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
28	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
43	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
xxx	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	3	0	1	4	0	0	15
	146	43	9	9	26	22	5	143	201	12	38	198	26	6	884

The result shows clearly that *nöddop* became the most common form of baptism. 710 children (80% of all born) were privately baptized in the period 1792-1810.

Most of the *nöddop*, 609 (86%), were conducted within 3 days of birth. For a

small group, 33 (5%), more than 8 days passed before *nöddop*. Almost all in the later group belong to one of the Saami villages - Calasvuoma, Rautusvuoma, Saari-
vuoma, and Talma. It is possible to study this group more closely observing what
time of the year the birth and *nöddop* occurred. The reason why *nöddop* was
delayed was the Saami's nomadic way of life; they were isolated from other
families. It is likely that even if the father or a sibling was literate, *nöddop* was not
used if no witnesses could be present. Witnesses were to confirm before the pastor
that *nöddop* had been performed in a right way.

In the 'church-village' - Jukkasjärvi, where the pastor lived - only one *nöddop* was
performed for all the 43 children born. The rest of the villages with permanent
settlers show, however, a large number of infants privately baptized - Kuoxu 89%,
Kurravaara 44%, Lainio 96%, Paracka 82%, Pilijärvi 100%, Soppero 92%,
Svappavaara 95%, Vittangi 77% and Vivungi 100%. All these villages, except
Kurravaara, have tough roads to the 'church-village'. Kurravaara, however, is only
about 10 kilometres (6 miles) upstream from the Torne river counted from the
Jukkasjärvi 'church-village'. The river offered good transportation summertime as
well as wintertime. This is clearly illustrated even by the following Table 3. which
shows that most of the Kurravaara infants were baptized before 4 days. It is also
worth to note that the literacy rate was high in these villages with more stationary
families. Literacy and access to witnesses were necessary for this form of *nöddop*.

Table 3. Jukkasjärvi parish 1792 - 1810. Baptism, number of days after birth,
distributed by home-villages.

	Calasv. Jukkasj.	Kuokso Kurrav.	Lainio Parakka	Pilij. Rautusv.	Saariv. Soppero	Svappav. Talma	Vittangi Vivungi								
---	133	1	8	5	26	19	5	124	187	11	37	169	21	6	752
0	4	11	1	1	0	2	0	6	4	0	0	7	1	0	37
1	3	15	0	2	0	1	0	3	3	1	0	7	4	0	39
2	2	12	0	0	0	0	0	3	2	0	1	1	0	0	21
3	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	3	2	0	0	3	0	0	11
4	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	0	0	4
5	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	3
6	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	3
7	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
8	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	3
10	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	3
11	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	2
12	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
14	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
18	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
20	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
42	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
	146	43	9	9	26	22	5	143	201	12	38	198	26	6	884

Only 132 infants (15% of all children born) were baptized from 1792-1810. For 42
children (5% of all born) neither baptism nor *nöddop* has been recorded in the birth

and baptismal registers. In this group there are mostly stillborn children and children who died at birth (during this period they are consequently recorded in the birth registers).

The majority, 108 (82%), of the baptisms occurred within 3 days. For a small part, 10 (8%), the baptism is delayed for longer than the stipulated 8 days. All of these were found to be children of Saami parents, and the probable explanation is that they had been 'isolated' so that nobody who could baptize privately could come and help them. They had to wait until their route brought them to a 'church-village'.

8. CONCLUSION

It is noteworthy that the 'those who were able to read' played an important role for *byabön* in the parish for *byabön*. I have been able to explain how the custom of *byabön* was established in Lapland during the mid 1700s. The village prayer was supported in various ways: the lay missionary catechists were encouraged to conduct such services; service holders were appointed in the villages; Postillas, i.e. books of homilies, were provided; pupils were trained at school to read from the Postillas, and they were also prepared for the function as service holders.

During the whole 19th century, the *nöddop* was used but the frequency extensiveness increased during the latter half of the century. These *nöddop* (private baptisms) followed a ceremonial for privately conducted baptisms. Many (c. 30%) of the pupils were specially trained to be able to help with privately conducted baptisms. As 'church-registers' are available it has been possible to register databases. At the beginning of the 19th century the *nöddop* had become the customary way of baptism (c. 90%), in spite of the increased availability of ordained ministers.

During the 18th century the custom of *byabön* and *nöddop* was confirmed and became a church order in Lapland. By, the two media of grace in the Lutheran Church, the Word and the Baptism, came to be conducted foremost by laymen in homes and village communities. The third medium of grace, Communion, continued to be the responsibility of the clergy. For Communion the parishioners gathered, in the 'church-village', mainly on one of the major Church Holidays.

REFERENCES

- ATTIUS SOHLMAN, Margareta, LINDMARK, Daniel & SNELLMAN, Karin (eds.) (1993). *Alphabeta Varia. Läsebok för Egil*. Umeå.
- ANDERZÉN, Sölve (1992). "Begrepp om Salighetens Grund, Ordning och Medel". *Undervisningen i en lappmarksförsamling. Jukkasjärvi församling 1744-1820*. Kiruna and Uppsala: Bibliotheca Theologiæ Practicæ 49.
- BUGGE AMUNDSEN, Arne (1986). *Folkelig og kirkelig tradisjon. Dåpsforståelse i Norge særlig på 1800-tallet*. Oslo.
- GRAPE, Karl-Gunnar (1965). *Kyrkliga förhållanden i Lappland efter sekelskiftet. I belysning av dop- och nattvardssedens utveckling*. Stockholm.
- GRAPE, Karl-Gunnar (1980). *Lappland under 1900-talets första hälft*. Uppsala: Bibliotheca Theologiæ Practicæ 36.
- HANSEGÅRD, Nils-Erik (1988) *Språken i det Norrbottensfinska området*. Luleå: Lärarutbildningar Högskolan i Luleå 3:1988.
- KORHONEN, Mikko (1964). *Lapin murteiden keskinäisistä suhteista*. Oulu: Lapin tutkimusseuran vuosikirja. V.

LEHTONEN, Aleksi (1931) *Kirkon pyhät toimitukset*. Porvo.

LEMPIÄINEN, Pentti (1965). *Kastekäytäntö Suomen kirkossa 1500- ja 1600-luvulla*. Helsinki: Suomen Kirkohistoriallinen Seuran Toimituksia 69.)

STEEN, Adolf (1954). *Samenes kristning og finnemisjonen til 1888*. Oslo: Avhandlingar utg. av Egede-Instituttet. 5.

WIDÉN, Bill (1964). *Kristendomsundervisning och nomadliv*. Åbo: Acta Academiæ Aboensis Hum. 28:1.

WIDÉN, Bill (1965). *Kateketinstitutionen i Sveriges och Finlands lappmarker 1744-1820*. Åbo: Acta Academiæ Aboensis Hum. 29

Map 1

[Map 1. Map showing present distribution of Saami in northern Fennoscandia and the Kola peninsula as the main provinces during 20th century. From Centre for Arctic Cultural Research, Miscellaneous Publications No.14.]

Map 2

[*Map 2.* the North of Sweden with borders of Saami villages c. 1800]

SCRIPTUM

1. **Egil Johansson: BOKSTÄVERNAS INTÅG.** Artiklar i folkundervisningens historia. I. 28 s. 1988. Pris: 20 kr.
2. **Daniel Lindmark: BARNAUNDERVISNINGEN I HÄRNÖSANDS STIFT speglad i uppfostringskommitténs enkät 1813.** 86 s. 1988. Pris: 40 kr.
3. **Sten Henrysson: LAPP ELLER NYBYGGARE?** 11 s. 1988. Pris: 20 kr.
4. **Karin Snellman: Förteckning över ERIK NORDBERGS ARKIV.** 39 s. 1988. Pris: 30 kr.
5. **Sten Henrysson: "LÄSTE LUTHERI CATECHES PÅ LAPSKA".** Om religions- och läsundervisning i Jokkmokks socken före folkskolans införande. 31 s. 1988. Pris: 30 kr.
6. **Tuuli Forsgren: SAMISK KYRKO- OCH UNDERVISNINGSLITTERATUR I SVERIGE 1619-1850.** 2 uppl. 66 s. 1988. Pris: 40 kr.
7. **Egil Johansson: KUNSKAPENS TRÄD.** Artiklar i folkundervisningens historia. II. 73 s. 1988. Pris: 40 kr.
8. **Ulf Drugge: OM HUSFÖRHÖRSLÄNGDER SOM MEDICINSK URKUND.** Psykisk sjukdom och förståndshandikapp i en historisk källa. 40 s. Pris: 40 kr.
9. **"CATALOGUS DISCENTIUM vid Jockmocks Schola, ifrån Åhr 1732. tå hon tog sin början."** En bearbetad och kompletterad elevmatrikelöver Jokkmokks lappskola. Utg. av Anita Alm, Tuuli Forsgren & Sten Henrysson. 23 s. 1989. Pris: 20 kr.
10. **Egil Johansson: LÄSER OCH FÖRSTÅR.** Artiklar i folkundervisningens historia. III. 39 s. 1989. Pris: 40 kr.
11. **Sölve Anderzén: LAPPMARKEN I LITTERATUREN.** Valda studier inom ett forskningsprojekt. 153 s. 1989. Pris: 50 kr.
12. **Greger Fröjd & Robert Olsson: LAPPMARKENS PRÄSTER 1593-1904.** En studie av bakgrund och karriär. 42 s. 1989. Pris: 40 kr.
13. **Margareta Attius Sohlman: ABC-BOKEN PÅ KYRKSLAVISKA.** Bokstävernans vandring i österled. 36 s. 1989. Pris: 30 kr.
14. **Sten Henrysson: JOKKMOKKS LAPPSKOLAS ELEVER 1732-1846.** En analys. 26 s. 1989. Pris: 20 kr.
15. **Sölve Anderzén: "... FÖRA DEM TIL BÄTTRE LIUS I CHRISTENDOMEN..."** Undervisningen vid Jukkasjärvi skola och i Jukkasjärvi församling åren 1744-1820.

- 153 s. 1989. Pris: 50 kr.
16. **Daniel Lindmark & Stephanus Neib: UNDERVISNINGEN I LAPPMARKEN enligt svaren på 1812 års uppfostringskommittés enkät.** 47 s. 1989. Pris: 40 kr.
 17. **Sam Engman: FÖLLINGE LAPPSKOLA 1748 - 1818.** 26 s. 1989. Pris: 30 kr.
 18. **ARJEPLOGS LAPPSKOLA.** Bearbetade och kompletterade elevmatriklar omfattande åren 1743 - 1820 och 1863 - 1875. Utg. av Carl-Henry Johansson & Johnny Flodin. 29 s. 1989. Pris: 30 kr.
 19. **Sten Henrysson: PRÄSTERNA I LAPPMARKEN FÖRE 1850.** Ursprung och arbetsuppgifter. 27 s. 1989. Pris: 30 kr.
 20. **Daniel Lindmark: EN SKOLA FÖR STADEN, REGIONEN OCH KYRKAN.** Elever, lärare och präster i Piteå skola före 1850. 133 s. 1990. Pris: 50 kr.
 21. **Carl-Henry Johansson & Johnny Flodin: ELEVERNA VID ARJEPLOGS LAPPSKOLA 1743 - 1820.** En analys. 24 s. 1990. Pris: 30 kr.
 22. **Sven Lundkvist: DEN ÄLDRE SVENSKA FOLKBOKFÖRINGEN. - Harry Lenhammar: HISTORISK OCH KYRKOHISTORISK FORSKNING I REGIONALT PERSPEKTIV.** Två föredrag vid en stiftshistorisk dag i Umeå den 26 oktober 1989. 20 s. 1990. Pris: 40 kr.
 23. **PRÄSTERNA OCH LIVET I LAPPMARKEN.** Del 1. Sten Henrysson: Präster och skolmästare i Jokkmokks socken 1607-1850. Biografiska uppgifter. - Del 2. Carl-Henry Johansson: Släktskap och ingiften. Några exempel. 31 s. Pris: 40 kr.
 24. **Sölve Anderzén: JUCKASJERFWI SCHOLÆ MATRICKEL.** Inrättadt wid Scholans begynnelse år 1744. En rekonstruktion. 13 + XXI s. 1990. Pris: 40 kr.
 25. **Sölve Anderzén: ELEVERNA VID JUKKASJÄRVI LAPPSKOLA 1744-1820.** En första analys. 30 s. 1990. Pris: 40 kr.
 26. **Tuuli Forsgren: "...FÖRST AT INHÄMTA SPRÅKET, OCH SEDAN DERUPPÅ LÄRA SIN CHRISTENDOM..."** Om finska böcker och sameundervisning i Torne och Kemi lappmarker före 1850. 45 s. Pris: 50 kr.
 27. **Carl F. Hallencreutz: PEHR HÖGSTRÖM OCH ANNA OLOFSDOTTER.** Ett bidrag till 1740-talets samiska kyrkohistoria. 15 s. 1990. Pris: 40 kr.
 28. **Daniel Lindmark: LÄS- OCH SKRIVKUNNIGHETEN FÖRE FOLKSKOLAN.** Historisk läskunnighetsforskning i nordiskt och internationellt perspektiv. 43 s. 1990. Pris: 50 kr.
 29. **Stefan Nordström: GENEALOGI OCH GENETIK.** Beskrivning av sex projektområden där kyrkböcker använts i genetisk forskning. 69 s. 1991. Pris: 50 kr.

30. **ÅSELE LAPPSKOLA 1732-1820.** Bearbetad och kompletterad elevmatrikel. Utg. av Carl-Henry Johansson & Johnny Flodin. 33 s. 1991. Pris: 40 kr.
31. **Anita Alm & Sten Henrysson: GÄLLIVARE LAPPSKOLA 1756-1850.** En elevmatrikel jämte analys. 36 s. 1991. Pris: 40 kr.
32. **Bengt Hjalmar Andersson: ETT BIDRAG TILL HISTORIEN OM BYN SATTER/JÄRÄMÄ I LULE LAPPMARK.** 39 s. 1992. Pris: 50 kr.
33. **Nils Eriksson: SAMESKOLOR INOM ÅSELE LAPPMARK.** Utg. av Sten Henrysson. 373 s. 1992. Pris: 75 kr.
34. **Margareta Attius Sohlman: BOKSTAVENS MAKT ÖVER SLAVISKA SJÄLAR.** Uppsatser och artiklar i ämnen rörande projektet "Alphabeta varia. Tidiga ABC-böcker i skilda kyrkotraditioner". 104 s. 1992. Pris: 60 kr.
35. **Sten Henrysson & Johnny Flodin: SAMERNAS SKOLGÅNG TILL 1956.** 82 s. Pris: 60 kr.
36. **Sten Henrysson & Johnny Flodin: SAMERNAS SKOLGÅNG: 1957 ÅRS NOMAD-SKOLEUTREDNING.** 29 s. 1992. Pris: 50 kr.
37. **Sten Henrysson: DARWIN, RAS OCH NOMADSKOLA.** Motiv till kåtaskolreformen 1913. 22 s. 1993. Pris: 50 kr.
38. **Egil Johansson: KAN SJÄLVA ORDEN.** Artiklar i folkundervisningens historia. IV.67 s. 1993. Pris: 60 kr.
39. **Sölve Anderzén: "...ATT LÄRA THEM SOM BEHÖFWA..."** Undervisning, byabön och dop i Kemi och Torne lappmarker. Två bidrag till 1700-talets kyrkohistoria på Nordkalotten. 31 s. 1995. Pris: 50 kr.
40. **Gennadij Kovalenko: SVERIGE OCH RYSSLAND UNDER 1600-TALET.** Några episoder ur det politiska och kulturella livet. (Rysk text med korta resuméer på svenska). 41 s. 1995. Pris: 50 kr.
41. **Sven Hansson: BYABÖN OCH BÖNBYAR I GAMLA UME SOCKEN.** (Umeå, Sävar, Vännäs och Vindelns socknar). 106 s. 1996. Pris: 60 kr.
42. **Sölve Anderzén: TEACHING AND CHURCH TRADITION IN THE KEMI AND TORNE LAPLANDS, NORTHERN SCANDINAVIA, IN THE 1700s.** 33 s. 1996. Pris 50 kr. [Översättning till engelska av Scriptum 39.]
43. **Ingegerd Stenström: Förteckning över FAMILJEN LINDERS ARKIV.** 53 s. 1996. Pris: 60 kr.