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Wallin Weihe, Hans-Jürgen

1999

Document Version:

Publisher's PDF, also known as Version of record

[Link to publication](#)

Citation for published version (APA):

Wallin Weihe, H.-J. (1999). *"Social work" and missionary work as part of the power game*. [Doctoral Thesis (monograph), School of Social Work]. School of Social Work, Lund University.

Total number of authors:

1

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MEDDELANDEN FRÅN SOCIALHÖG- SKOLAN

Hans-Jørgen Wallin Weihe

**«SOCIAL WORK»
AND MISSIONARY WORK
AS PART OF THE POWER GAME**

1999:3

«SOCIAL WORK» AND MISSIONARY WORK AS

PART OF THE POWER GAME

A DISCUSSION THROUGH TWO EXAMPLES

**HANS EGEDE MISSIONARY IN GREENLAND 1721 -1736 AND THE
NORWEGIAN SAAMI MISSION IN FINNMARK. THE PERIOD OF
ESTABLISHMENT OF MISSIONS AND SOCIAL SERVICES
1888 - 1900**

av

Hans-Jørgen Wallin Weihe

Akademisk avhandling
som för avläggande av filosofie doktorsexamen vid
Socialhögskolan, Lunds universitet, kommer att offentligen försvaras i
Socialhögskolans lokaler, sal 28, Bredgatan 26, Lund, Fredag 28 maj, kl 10.15

Organization LUND UNIVERSITY School of Social Work Box 23 221 00 LUND, SWEDEN	Document name DOCTORAL DISSERTATION	
	Date of issue April 28, 1999	
	CODEN: ISRN LUSADG/SASW-99/1024-SE	
Author(s) Hans-Jorgen Wallin Weihe	Sponsoring organization	
Title and subtitle «Social work» and missionary work as part of the power game. A discussion through two examples: Hans Egede missionary in Greenland 1721 -1736 and The Norwegian Saami mission in Finnmark. The period of establishing missions and social services 1888 -1900		
Abstract This thesis discusses "social work" as part of missionary work during Hans Egede's mission in Greenland (1721 - 1736) and the starting period of the Norwegian Saami mission (1888- 1900). The discussion is focused by connecting it to Habermas's discussion of "The structural transformation of the public"(1989). The discussion includes an analysis of the complexity of contemporary ideas. Missionary work as seen as both in alliance with and, in the last period, partly in conflict with motives of imperialism and nationalism.		
The last part of the dissertation includes a discussion of ethics and communication relating the historical material to important questions of ethics and communication of today: - What relationship exists between power and caring ? - Is it possible to operate with universal values ? In this part I focus on the interaction between the missionaries and the local population and try to create an understanding from the point of view of "the local population." The dissertation concludes that in close interaction, living and depending upon each other, the common humanity was of far more importance than the differences.		
Among other findings the study shows that the official writings and documents of the missionaries and their supporters might tell one thing and their practical action another. The case of the Saami mission is particularly illustrative of that. The males representing the organization seem to argue in one way, while the females not participating in that organizational discourse seem to have made the organization move in another direction through their support of "the social."		
Key words Anthropology, Ethics, Greenland, History, Inuit, Missiology, Saami, Social work, Sociology		
Classification system and/or index terms (if any)		
Supplementary bibliographical information	Language English	
ISSN and key title ISSN 0282-6143 "Social work" and missionary work as part of the power game.	ISBN	
Recipient's notes	Number of pages 354	Price
	Security classification	

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He who does not travel does not know the value of men
Moorish proverb
(Bruce Chatwin, Songlines, 1987, page 164)

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Research, and for that matter life, is a matter of interaction. This dissertation has been long in the making, and I have needed help from many quarters, always generously given. I owe an immeasurable debt to a number of individuals and institutions who stimulated and helped my explorations of the themes and topics in this dissertation. Some of them provided formal commentaries on earlier versions I presented at professional meetings and lectures. Their responses prompted my reconsideration of many points. Professor Rosmari Eliasson and Professor Sune Sunesson at University of Lund (Sweden) have as supervisors been of invaluable help.

I am indebted to Lillehammer College (Norway) for leave of absence and other forms of help. University of Lund (Sweden) with hospitality and irreplaceable stimulation of fellow students and teachers. Among them I would like to mention Bengt Svensson, Hans Swärd, Håkan Jönsson, Marianne Skytte, Norma Montesino, Tuija Nieminen-Kristofferson and Jan Magnusson. One of my fellow students and later research director, Bo Vinnerljung, has been particularly helpful. He taught me that motorbiking through late evenings is immensely stimulating for thinking.

I have recieved travel grants and/or other financial help for traveling from the Norwegian Ministry of Health, The Norwegian Union of Social Educators and Social Workers and Lillehammer College. Most of that help has been given to finance activities distantly related to the subject of my dissertation. Nevertheless it has enabled me to carry out the necessary travels.

Focusing my discussion upon historical examples I have had valuable help from Professor J.H. Proctor at Davidson College (USA), Senior advisor Thor B. Arlov (University of Trondheim), Royal Commonwealth Society of Collections at Cambridge University (UK), The Council for World Churches (London, UK), The Church Missionary Archives at the University of Birmingham Library (UK), The National Archives of Denmark (Copenhagen, Denmark), The National Archives of Norway (Oslo, Norway), the Parson Michael Thomsen of Skævinge and Lille Lyngby Parish (Denmark), the theologian Egil R. Thorvaldsen at University of Trondheim (Norway), Jorunn Lye at the University of Tromsø (Norway), General Secretary Magne Gamlemshaug The Norwegian Saami Mission (Trondheim, Norway), The School of Theology and Missionary Work (Stavanger, Norway), The State Archives (Tromsø, Norway), The Royal Library (Copenhagen, Denmark), The Oslo University Library (Oslo, Norway), The Library the Egede Institute of Missionary research (Oslo, Norway) and The University of Lund Library (Lund, Sweden).

In the more philosophical part of my text I have had valuable help from discussions with professor in philosophy Alison Jaggar (University of Colorado) and lecturer Karna Lindén (College of Örebro, Sweden). I am thankful for their sharing.

I am crossing the boundaries between many different academic disciplines. Professor Gunnar Olsson at University of Uppsala (Sweden) has more than any other person encouraged me to do so. I am grateful for his encouragement and stimulating discussions.

In the midst of my writing I have often, but not always, been thankful for interruptions. A man named Bill made me aware of the beauty of the cardinal bird, Peggy who served me wonderful meals and gave me a pen in times of need, Johan who told me that it was time to catch trout, my children making me aware of the joy of swimming, catching frogs and playing with dogs, mosquitoes making me aware that I was in need of a bloodletting. I am thankful to them all and most of all to the mosquitoes - they had the most convincing way of telling me that it was time for a run.

Numerous people - too many to mention them all - have advised and encouraged me; the seniorlecturer and historian Per Sandal (Sogn College, Sogndal, Norway), the professor and historian Hans Fredrik Dahl (University of Oslo, Norway) the lecturer, sociologist and socialworker Siv Oltedal (Bodø College, Norway), the research and development coordinator Mary Brekke (Tromsø College, Norway), the lecturer and social worker Marianne Skytte (University of Aalborg Denmark), the anthropologist Frank Bruun (Lillehammer College Norway), the professor of psychology Tore Bjerke (Lillehammer College Norway), seniorlecturer Yngve Nordkvelle (Lillehammer College Norway), seniorlecturer Halvor Fauske (Lillehammer College Norway), the social and diaconical worker Johan Bakken Sandvik (Karasjok, Norway), the professor and art historian Kari Hoel (University of Oslo, Norway), the professor and art historian Sten Åke Nilsson (University of Lund, Sweden), Gunnar Brustad retired preacher The Norwegian Saami mission and Jan Ole Nilsen retired editor Nourttanaste (The Norwegian Independent Lutheran Church Saami publication. They have all in some way or another made it possible for me to concentrate upon my writing and sometimes made it possible to do just the opposite. Although it may seem like a long list, each person could easily merit a paragraph of their own.

I would like to thank Dianne Wulsin Weihe for her keen support and careful reading and correcting of the manuscript. Stefanie Bailey at the University of Lund and Rosmary Knutsen at Lillehammer College have given me similar help which has contributed greatly to the fluency of language of my

dissertation. Gudrun Eriksen Lindi in Karasjok has translated the Saami summary. Renatus Hart in Copenhagen has translated the Inuit summary. I thank them all warmly.

One single person my colleague, Hilde Vold, has more than anyone else encouraged me and supported me during my work. I thank her for her support.

Finally it was I that wrote the dissertation and thus I wish to take full responsibility for whatever wrongheaded assumptions, infelicities , misinterpretations and factual errors the dissertation might contain. Dissertations always do contain these, even if hopefully few.

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PREFACE

This study discusses "social work" as part of missionary work in two different historical periods. My goal is to try to create an understanding of the complexity of ideas and interests which were part of the pursuit to make a better society during these periods: a better society from the perspective of giving certain groups of inhabitants a more "fulfilling and a happier" life, a better society from the perspective of creating better functioning systems for taking care of those with particular needs and in various ways underprivileged, and a better society from the perspective of creating a more moral society. Why in earth did you choose to study "social work" as part of missionary history and why did you choose those particular missions and those missionaries ? I have been asked those questions many times and I will try to give a short answer to them in the preface.

A missionary working in Greenland, Hans Egede, a theologian, is my starting point. He had his own understanding of the world, the Gospel and a strong dedication to his work. I wish to emphasize my great respect for him. Hans Egede nearly sacrificed his life. He was a human of flesh and blood, he was freezing, starving and always relating to man-made structures, ambitions and a changing society. I am well aware that dissecting his life will never do him justice. Still, I hope that I have done so with due respect to his work. At the same time I wish to emphasize my great respect for those being the target of his mission. Their society underwent great and sometimes very traumatic changes. Some of the changes brought by the colonizers created great suffering. From Hans Egede's mission in Greenland I move on to the starting period of the modern Saami mission in Norway in 1888 -1900. It was an individual, Bishop Johannes Nilsson Skaar, who initiated, and for a number of years was in charge of, the organization. Still, it was, in my opinion, a period of organizational work consisting of many individuals rather than one dominating personality. Even if the mission was organized as an independent organization it was very much part of the State Church.

Part of my writing is almost biographical. The reason is that I wish to give flesh and blood to individuals being part of the web of changing society. They are chosen consciously. Partly because they have left enough written sources behind to make it possible to discuss them and their work. Partly because I believe they can illustrate what I want to discuss. I will return to that later and tell a little bit about myself. After all, I am the story teller and the reader needs to know me in order to relate to, and to understand why I have chosen, my topic. I have no way of knowing if the persons I am describing are typical of the missionaries of their time. Most likely they were not, very few people would have done what they did. They were outstanding individuals, doing what

others would not do and quite likely what others did not dare to do. In my archeology they represent "artifacts" from the past, used to illuminate what I am discussing. Like Foucault I am into archeology rather than traditional social science.

I have chosen to focus upon missionary history, because I believe it can illustrate the development of social services and how those who believe they have superior values operate towards those they want to acquire those values. The two time periods I have chosen correspond with the development of modern society from the time of the start of the superior rule of the King to the increasing involvement of the reading public and towards the start of the modern welfare state. In all cases my discussion will be focused upon the motives and challenges of what nowadays can be defined as social work. I am of the opinion that discussing an unfamiliar landscape might make it easier to see part of what we otherwise would not see. From that point of view, I hope that my discussion can have importance for situations in today's world.¹

Colonial history and stories about explorations and missionaries in other cultures evoke a special fascination that is not wholly explained by their influence on the development of our modern world. My own curiosity was initially captivated by learning what brought Europeans to trade and travel across oceans and to other continents. Reading about explorers like Vasco Da Gama, Columbus, Leif Eriksson and Marco Polo was fascinating. From my early schooldays I found myself drawing ships and sailing across the ocean in my imagination. In Shweder's (1991:9) view; "More than one ethnographer of my generation, and of earlier generations as well, went off to the field with visions of the Arabian Nights or the thief of Baghdad or the Tolkien Trilogy in mind, to adventure beyond the perceived limits of the self, to conduct research on the transformative power of words and deeds - performative and rituals - and to write up ethnography as a narration of unusual and larger than life typifying events or as a record of encounters with exalted persons". I believe

¹ I think that this will particularly be true in situations of interaction between subsistence "cultures and consumer/market/trading societies like those dominating the Western world. Part of my project is to relate my discussion to such situations. One example of that is my study, The environmental movement, indigenous populations and the Arctic (Wallin Weihe, 1996 I), a working paper addressing the problems and challenges concerning communication and cooperation between the environmental movement and indigenous populations. As I try to show in my study, such reflection is of importance both in order to be able to address environmental problems and social problems of those societies. Part of that problem is the question of indigenous rights, not only to their land, but also to their traditional knowledge (Wallin Weihe, 1997 II). I have published a number of articles on the subject. Among them Wallin Weihe (1993 I, 1995 and 1996 IV and V). Another is a feasibility study I conducted for the WWF (World Wide Fund For Nature) in Taimyr in Siberia (Wallin Weihe, 1997 V). Feeling like a "missionary" from the WWF and the western world, I tried to look into possible projects for sustainable development among the Dolgans, Nganasans and Nenets aboriginal populations. My own feeling was certainly that my historical reflection was helpful in order to gain an understanding of the complexity of that situation. At the same time that study gave me new insights into the problems of action-oriented research and advocacy (Henriksen 1997).

that is right not only for the researchers, but also, in the case of missions, of the missionaries themselves. At a more politically conscious age I became interested in how colonialism had shaped nations and how patterns of trade and exploitation had developed. The early explorers and childhood heroes became part of a complicated web of interaction between nations, classes and cultures. Sometimes the former heroes became the villains. My main interest became focused on how people exposed to the Europeans experienced their world and how their world view and life was influenced when they were exposed to European traders, missionaries and colonists. I found it important to try to gain an understanding of the world view of both the local culture and that of the missionaries and colonists.

I have chosen a multi-disciplinary approach in the way that I use knowledge and understanding from several traditions. Most important among them are history, philosophy, sociology and anthropology. I am well aware that I might be accused of not following any of those scholarly traditions. I do not believe that I can follow "one road" to achieve the understanding I try to develop. A multi-disciplinary approach like this is, in my opinion, important in order to achieve an understanding of "the social construction of social work" (Payne 1997:1-25). Bruce Chatwin compared the process of doing research for his writing to an enormous jigsaw puzzle of interlocking facts. "As you're trying to find it, something else happens which leads you to another story which you may or may not put in" (Murray 1993:63). I have certainly shared that feeling during my writing process.²

My first two chapters provide a short description of the historical background, information about problems addressed, methodological problems, concepts, terminology and some background information on existing research. The rest of the dissertation consists of three main parts. The first part describes the context. It is divided into two chapters, one for each of the time periods which I have chosen. The structure of the first part is meant to make it possible to compare the two time periods and to highlight some of the more important events of each period. In each of the time period I start by describing the development of society, continue with the situation of the religion /the Church, and conclude with the social sphere.

The second part describes the development of the two missions. In Greenland the mission was combined with an attempt to colonize. The same structure as in Part one is followed in Part two. I am going from a description of society, to missions and the theological, and ending up with the social. As my landscape grows closer in time the details increase. The chapters reflect this order and

²In some regards my book on communication (Wallin Weihe 1997 I) represented some of those stories I chose not to put into this text.

my last chapter "Establishing Missions for the Saami in Norway" has more details and is easier to relate to the present-day situation than the earlier chapters. Part one and Part two are closely related and there is some overlapping in the chapters. This is done deliberately in order to hopefully make reading easier. In my description of the Saami mission I have added some historical information about earlier missions/colonization attempts. The mission can, in my opinion, best be understood as part of, and as based upon, earlier missionary attempts. In my Greenland example, however, the situation was entirely different, as Egede's activity was independent of earlier colonization, even if inspired by it.³ The old Norse settlements had died out long before Egede came to Greenland. What was left of them was some old ruins and the memory of them.

The first mission I describe is Hans Egede's mission in Greenland 1721 - 1736. It is based upon published sources and published research. The first historical study addresses the motives and ideas behind missionary effort largely from the point of view of Hans Egede. In the second example, the Saami mission, the complexity increases. My study is based upon a number of unpublished sources, published sources and published research.

The third part consists of my discussions and reflections on the development. An earlier study of mine (Wallin Weihe 1999), of the work of the Danish missionary and colonizer David Rosen (1818 - 1838), is used as part of my background material. The last main part of the study includes a discussion of ethics, communication and syncretism. In this part I focus on the interaction between the missionaries and the local population. One of the main problems of this study is to create an understanding from the point of view of the local population. This part addresses important questions about today's ethics and communication. To some extent, that part can be read independently from the rest of the text; however, today's discussion can, in my opinion, be better understood with a background in the historical discussion.

I believe that "painting" the context is of great importance in order to understand the "details" I am relating to later. Habermas's discussion of "The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere" (1989) has provided a most helpful framework for my discussion. In my opinion his discussion is valuable because it manages to analyze historical data in a framework of sociological and historical understanding that penetrates far beyond pure descriptive history. Foucault (particularly 1972, 1979 and 1994) has given me similar insights. With his perspective I have focused upon the importance of the development of the bourgeois society for the development of what today can be labeled "social work."

³ Egede was occupied with the old Norse settlements in Greenland and thought that some of the old Norse might have survived and mixed with the Inuits.

In the appendix I have included information on abbreviations, archival sources, printed sources and a bibliography . I have deliberately chosen not to incorporate that kind of information in the main text, in order to keep it from being overburdened with information. As mentioned, I have kept archive sources, printed sources and literature separated. When editions published in two different languages are used, it is because of differences in the prefaces which are often written by another author or sometimes in translations.

A friend of mine told me that I had to wait until the end of my writing to describe my writing and construct the logic of my dissertation. Almost needless to say the work I imagined in the beginning did not turn out to be like the result. I started with a study of the missionary David Rosen and moved on to make a study comparing three historical periods. Two of those, nearly 160 years apart, are part of my dissertation, while the study of David Rosen has been published independently (Wallin Weihe 1999), the reason being that my study became so large and so complex that I, listening to advice given me, decided to divide it in two studies. Still, the study of the material from David Rosen is very much present in my concluding chapters. The disadvantage of leaving out the mission of David Rosen is that I have no example from the middle of my time period. The advantage is that I do not need to relate to the far different Asian context and the complexity of a Church of Denmark missionary working for a Church of England controlled mission. So what I initially thought would be the subject of my study was left in order to concentrate upon two missions which have in common that they were both in the north and both originating from theologians being part of the established State Lutheran Churches.

The whole time through my writing I have been occupied with the view of "the other" or how those being missionized experienced their relationship to the missionaries and their Gospel. Gradually I became more and more aware of the limitations in my historical material. For a while I tried to gain an understanding through analyzing myths and traditions of the Saami and the Greenlanders. However, the complexity of making such an understanding was great and would have meant relating to a number of other sources. In the end I decided in favor of concentrating upon gaining an understanding from the historical sources I had available, and concentrated upon the importance of the missions from the point of view of the missionaries and their home countries. Still, I have a more philosophical discussion which addresses the questions of universalism, power and caring and communication. All of those are topics of importance discussing the view of "the other."

My study has had numerous blind alleys. Many of them I have pursued due to my own curiosity. Some of them have threatened to distort the focus of my

study. I believe details might, like spices, give taste to my dish. However I am well aware of the danger of putting in too many spices. From my point of view the problem has been that spices once integrated into the text have been difficult to remove.

The detective story of finding sources and selecting my facts is a story of its own. At the time of ending my work I am aware of possible sources that may have given me new insights. I have decided not to pursue these, the reasons being time and that I felt that I had covered the most important sources from my historical periods.

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

**Motto:.....and whatever a man knows, whatever is not mere
rumbling and roaring that he has heard, can be said in three words**

Kürnberger

(Wittgenstein, Tractatus Logicus Philosophicus, second reprint 1994:1)

1.1. PROBLEMS ADDRESSED

Kürnberger's ironic words, quoted from Wittgenstein's Tractatus on page 14, are reminders of the limitations of language in general and particularly of the academic discourse. What Schleiermacher (see Grenz and Olsson 1992: 39-52) defines as "intuitive life" and "feeling", Noddings (1984) as "intuitive" and Geremek (1994) call "compassion" and "pity" is indeed difficult to grasp with words.

I understand the core value of "social work" as work to help those experienced as "needy" and underprivileged. My focus is on discussing that part of "social work," which means that I consciously avoid a broader definition of "social work" including all kind of work trying to influence the sphere of the social. I will return to a discussion of "social work" in (1.3).

The discussion is further focused by connecting it to Habermas's discussion of "The structural transformation of the public" (1989). That discussion has, in my opinion, particular importance to the development of "social work." One of the important questions in the development of "professional social work" has been the division of responsibility between the private and the State. What should be within the domain of the private and what should be thought of as in the domain of the public?

I focus this discussion on two historical periods. The discussion will include an analysis of the complexity of contemporary ideas like those mentioned above, this analysis particularly requires me to look into the "web" of motives behind my examples: Egede in Greenland, and the beginning years of the Saami mission. In the analysis I wish to focus upon the paradigm shifts in thinking during the historical periods. I am particularly occupied with the shifts concerning how to help, why help, and with the complexity between helping, moralizing and disciplining. This complexity was influenced by varying views and values within different cultures. Cultures, by definition, are often difficult to separate from each other (Ahrne 1990). Geremek's discussion (1994) of attitudes towards poverty has been of particular importance as a framework for my dissertation. In his opinion attitudes towards poverty and those in need have always spanned from charity and compassion to indifference and repression. In my analysis I have tried to track down the balance between, or the proportion of, those attitudes visible in my historical examples.

I am occupied with the mixture of economical, nationalistic, scientific, idealistic, social and religious/missionary motives. How did the missionaries I am focusing upon understand and try to "create" the world in which they were operating? From another perspective, how could those individuals operate

within the framework of both the society they worked in and the society from which they came?

There has always been interaction between cultures with different values. An amount of "cultural imperialism" has probably always existed as part of that interaction. Adaptation to a more dominating culture's values would be part of that, and that adaptation process would probably sometimes be traumatic. In some cases, social problems in a culture might be understood as a result of such a process. The last part of my discussion is focused upon communication and ethics of cross-cultural meetings. I am occupied with discussing the complexity of the "interaction" between a dominating "defining" culture and a culture being colonized and dominated, or, put in other words, the situation of cultures in the process of being changed and influenced by the ideas of another (see for example Aijmer 1995). Sometimes, of course, that process would not be interaction but rather a one-way encounter which entailed the "steamrolling" of one culture by another.

As all my sources come from the missionizing "culture", my interpretation will be concentrated upon describing the views and motives within that "culture." Still, I am also occupied with the experience within the "culture" being exposed to the missionaries. Trying to understand the views of members of that "culture" provides challenges of its own. What I am trying to do is to understand a particular historical process.

Further I will address two questions relating the historical material to important questions of ethics and communication of today

- What relationship exists between power and caring ?
- Is it possible to operate with universal values ?

The last questions will be discussed using a number of writers of ethics and communication, and relating them to today's discussion of the concept of caring. With that discussion I am back into the world of today and the issues facing social work and today's social workers.

1.2. THE HISTORICAL LANDSCAPE

First of all I wish to give the reader a description of my historical landscape. My description is from the point of view of a European of my time. Critical to earlier interpretations and perhaps blind to something else, my blindness is obviously present. The only way I can make the reader relate to it is by describing what I see and how I understand my reality. My historical period stretches over about 200 years, starting just after 1700 with Egede's mission in Greenland and ending around 1900 with the Saami mission in northern Norway.

Even if I concentrate upon two historical periods, I am well aware that they cannot be separated, neither from each other nor from what was before and what comes after. An important work like Geremek (1994) illustrates the problem of poverty both before and after the periods which I am describing. He concludes that historians can "distinguish certain patterns: some attitudes and types of behavior are more socially acceptable at certain periods than others, and the intensity with which they are expressed will also vary from one period to another" (Geremek 1994:248). Geremek finds that attitudes towards poverty are shaped by the idea of mutual aid and solidarity. Even if "the birth of modern society was accompanied by a sharp deterioration in human relations" (ibid:251), he finds that attitudes of solidarity and charity in the fundamental sense of "caritas"¹ remained part of the charitable effort. Those attitudes existed, in his interpretation, partly as an undercurrent and they were partly visible on the surface of a society focusing upon discipline and at times punishment: "The world seems always, in every age, to have been peopled by proponents of voluntary poverty as well as by those who exalt the virtues of work, thrift and material wealth; by those for whom charity and compassion are the supreme virtues, and those for whom poverty is a matter of indifference, a problem to be solved by a policy of repression. It is only the relative proportions of these attitudes that change" (ibid:251).

My two examples come from historical periods that can be related to Habermas's (1989) "The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere." They correspond with the gradual development towards the beginning of the modern welfare and industrial state. In my discussion they become "points of navigation," chosen because they are visible and possible to relate to. After all, navigation is a practical art. Habermas both describes and analyzes history from the perspective of the difference between the public and the private. However, his discussion is related to the bourgeois European context, while mine is related to European missionaries operating in the Saami regions of Northern Norway and in Greenland. As my focus is upon the motives and

¹ Caritas is Latin (L) for "love".

challenges of the Europeans, Habermas's discussion, in my opinion, gives a framework to help to understand the motives of the missionaries even if they operated in a different context. Habermas's understanding of the civil and the public gives a framework for my presentation. His discussion of what is in the realm of the public and what is in the realm of the private is, in my opinion, important in order to understand how we historically have related to social problems. Habermas's description is a study of generalized "private" and "public." It does not fit into development in a particular country. He is occupied with the changing interaction between the private sphere and the public and how the understanding of the private and the public develops historically. My description of Habermas's views largely follows Dahlgvist's preface to Habermas discussion (ibid). Later, in Part I and II, I will try to use Habermas's views to illustrate my examples.

The first mission is in the period of the establishment of the absolute rule of the King and a nation state economy based upon a merchant economy (Palmer and Colton 1995 and Habermas 1988 and 1989). The Great Northern war (1700 -1721) between Denmark-Norway and Sweden influenced both the organizing of the State and the private sector (Knudsen 1991). In Habermas's interpretation, this period is characterized by both the development of a bureaucratic system without the personal use of power that was characteristic of the feudal period, and of the citizen class as an economically and culturally conscious group. With the support of the State mercantile policy early capitalism develops and so does the need for information, in the beginning as one-way information from the State to the reading public. After a while, information had to meet the internal needs of early capitalism and was traded among "the public." The result was a society with a built-in tension between city and court. The reaction to being "addressed" was that the reading public developed into a conscious and sometimes rebellious opposition to the State. Often their opinions and discussions developed in "public houses," "coffee houses" and other arenas of the public. Various independent organizations, pressure groups etc. developed, and quite a number of them tried to influence the policy of the State and the attitudes of individuals. This included the realm of moral and social responsibility.

The time of Egede's stay in Greenland was characterized by visible change and conflicts. In Denmark Ludvig Holberg wrote his great poetical polemic works of "Erasmus Montanus," "The Political Tinker" and "Jeppe of the Hill." In England Daniel Defoe wrote "Robinson Crusoe" and a few years later John Cleland wrote "Fanny Hill." From a theological view, one of the main struggles of the time in Denmark was between the orthodox view of Christianity and the newborn pietism (Astås 1994). As I will return to in chapter 3 the position of the noble class was weakened and the growing class of bourgeois allied themselves with the King (Palmer and Colton 1995). At the

end of the 1700s and the beginning of the 1800s the power and the critic of the new bourgeois society increased. Dramatic changes, like the French revolution and the rebellion of what became the United States of America, were some of the results. Even in other countries the demand for increased participation from the citizen class, parliamentarism, freedom of speech, religious belief, free trade and so on increased dramatically (ibid). The resulting "laissez-faire capitalism" was characterized by a state (civil authority) and a market (private sector). The latter is divided by Habermas into the economical life, or social sphere, and the family life, or intimate sphere (Habermas 1989).

With this we are into another historical period described in an earlier study of mine, of the missionary/colonizer David Rosen (Wallin Weihe 1999). In Habermas's understanding this period was characterized by civil, public discussions. At first these were only occupied with "the intimate," or questions regarding moral and religious issues, but they gradually included the sphere of the "social." Religion was becoming a matter of personal choice, which was a dramatic change from earlier times when questions regarding religious belief were among the important concerns of the State. The social sphere is, in Habermas's understanding, where public opinion is developed through discussions and critical reasoning. The right to participate and develop "public opinion" becomes a matter of high priority for the citizen class. There is a built-in tension though, as there soon arises the question of involving those who do not own and who do not have any education (Habermas 1989).

Through the 1800s "free competition" gradually develops (Palmer and Colton 1995:453-694). Capitalism was developing from competition-capitalism to monopoly-capitalism. Nation

states developed regulations and increased state investments in infrastructures like railroads and various schemes to protect the supply of raw materials. It was the time of imperialism and nationalism. A number of new functions were added to the State;

- social politics
- state regulations of industry and trade
- increased public services

In other words, it might be said that the "social welfare state" was about to be created (ibid:639-640). The State was increasingly involved in the market and what was previously defined as the private sphere. At the same time a process began of the private getting involved in the State. Private organizations "invaded" the State. It was not possible any longer to separate the interests of the State and the private. In Habermas's (1989) opinion this development was what he calls the social sphere that has been "invaded" and which "invades" the State. Concurrently, the intimate sphere became more and more private. More and more of the functions of the family came into the domain of the public while only the most intimate like the emotional and sexual realms remained in

the family. The work that gave income became more and more routine and bureaucratic. What was experienced as "freedom" became the same as "the time off" salaried work and the time used in the intimate sphere.

At the time of the foundation of the Saami mission, the Norwegian State Church² struggled over questions like the position of the lay movement and lay teachers. Increasingly the autocratic Church was challenged by the independent and democratic lay movement (see chapter 6). Diaconal education and work was about to be started (Stave 1990). The question of the role of health and social work as part of the Church was discussed.

Missionary work was started in a number of places like South Africa, India and Madagascar. All of them depended upon support organizations in Norway (see for example Simensen 1986, Bernetsen, Engelsviken and Jørgensen 1994 and Danbolt 1947). The number of organizations were high, and many of them were probably important as part of local Norwegian culture. In addition to the mission work carried out towards "the heathens" there were a number of organizations targeting Norwegians like sailors, fishermen, the general population (the inner mission), homeless and gypsies living in Norway (Astås 1994). With Habermas's generalized analysis as a background, I wish to return the reader to the world of the missionaries and early European expansion. The opening of the Sea Route to India in 1498 created new possibilities for European trade. The Portuguese were the first to use the possibilities " to serve God and make a profit for ourselves" (Pearson 1987:5). Most of us will probably agree that the latter was to be the major factor in development of contact between Asia and Europe. Even if the major reason for the European expansion was "profit," there also existed nationalistic, scientific, humanitarian and missionary motives. Humanitarian and missionary activities probably coexisted as a rule. Sometimes those activities existed as part of trade and sometimes in conflict with trading interests. The latter was, for a long time, the case in areas dominated by the British East India Company and the first was the case where the Portuguese were active (Wallin Weihe 1996 II and 1999).

In the Danish colonies in India, missions started under King Fredrik IV (1699 -1730). The first missionaries came to Tranquebar in 1706. Later missions were started in other non-Christian parts of the Danish empire (Feldbæk and Justesen 1980). In 1716 Thomas von Westen traveled as a missionary to the Saami part of Northern Norway (Finnmark) and in 1721 Hans Egede went to Greenland (Bernetsen, Engelsviken and Jørgensen 1994). Greenland was of limited commercial interest, but some traders in Bergen had been involved in whaling and seal hunting. It was Danish through the union with Norway and at the time mainly exploited commercially by Dutch whalers. The Dutch

² The State Lutheran Church

managed to earn money, and they threatened the Danish claim to jurisdiction over the island (Arlov 1993). Most of all, Greenland probably had a symbolic value. Giving it up would mean losing part of what gave Denmark an identity as an "empire."³ Northern Norway was of greater importance commercially, mainly from the point of fishing and the possibility for trade with raw materials (*ibid*). In addition, this part of the country presented problems for Denmark. Part of the borders were undefined. The Saami population was partly migratory, and the possibility of both Swedish and Russian expansion existed (Lorenz 1991).

Egede's mission to Greenland was part of an attempt to develop trade with merchants in Bergen (Norway). It was financed by private investors and supported by the king. Typically of the time it was organized as a trading company with monopoly on that trade. Due to difficulties with transportation, lack of trading and the harsh environment, the Danish presence never became economically viable (Arlov 1993). Nevertheless, Greenland stayed part of Denmark-Norway, which probably illustrates the lack of economic value in developing the colony. No other nation made any attempt to take the colony away from Denmark-Norway. For the Dutch there was far better economy in trading and whaling without having the cost of a colonial administration. The few Danes and Norwegians who established themselves were no threat to Dutch activities in Greenland. If the Dutch or the British had found it economical to establish a colony in Greenland they would have done so. Denmark-Norway would have had no possibility to stop them (*ibid*). During his stay he became involved in theological disputes with competing Pietistic Moravian missionaries from Germany. What we know from his stay in Greenland is partly from his publications and letters and partly from the Moravian missionaries (Myklebust 1958).

Operating colonies necessitated establishment of an infrastructure. In some cases part of the local infrastructure could be used, in other cases not. For trade required some kind of predictability. Laws and regulations had to be made in order to achieve that. A system for making people obey the rules and regulations, some kind of defense system, and not the least important, a system for financing the colony had to be established. Part of operating the colony involved giving all the population and, in some cases, certain groups of the population, some kind of minimum welfare (for a discussion see Wallin Weihe 1996 II). People needed to have a certain minimum level of services in order to trade peacefully, stay in the colonies and do the work required of them. At the same time social services occasionally functioned as a way of policing society. Those who did not work and those who had no permanent

³ The same can be said about the conflict between Denmark and Norway over east Greenland in the years between the first and second world war. The conflict was very heated and emotional at the time and far out of proportion to the economic importance of the area.

address had to be removed from society and "corrected". In those cases where correction was not possible, the individuals were institutionalized permanently. As Geremek (1994) has shown, "removed " from society at times even meant through the gallows. Such practices were of course far outside of what can be defined as being the tradition of "social work." Nevertheless, the fact remains that correctional measures and "social work" have at times been closely related.

Missionaries wanted to transfer European or Christian values, partly due to the strong belief that "superior values" would result in a better life. The attempts to abolish slavery, the caste system, infanticide and suttee⁴ in India can be understood from that point of view (Wallin Weihe 1999). Reaction against such practices was to quite a large extent the result of discussions among the bourgeois in Europe (ibid). The famous French author Jules Verne describes a dramatic rescue of a widow about to be burned in his book "Around the world in eighty days."⁵ His description of the rescue and the cruel practice of the Indians illustrate contemporary attitudes.⁶ It might be said, as Habermas argues, that public opinion required action. The organizations of the old trading companies were mostly against "transferring European values." They were critical because they were afraid that such a policy would negatively influence trade; however, attitudes were about to change. Modern colonial administrators, after 1800, were increasingly of the opinion that the local population would be more loyal and disciplined if they shared European values (see for example Rothermund and Kulke 1986).

In Greenland Egede fought against what he considered to be lax sexual morals, the practice of bridal robbery and revenge (Egede 1741 reprint of 1926 PS). At his time all members of society were supposed to accept the belief of the supreme King (see Danbolt in Myklebust 1958). A hundred years later religion was largely a matter of personal choice (Habermas 1989). Transferring Christian values to other cultures was based upon the opinion of the European bourgeois society that those values were superior and better (see Wallin Weihe 1999). The missionaries were all children of their time. Egede believed from a Orthodox Christian view that the King acquired his power from God. As the representative of the King in Greenland Egede pursued the development of a better society from that perspective. Nevertheless, this was a

⁴ The practice of a widow joining her husband on the funeral pyre.

⁵ French title: "Le Tour du monde en 80 jours" (published 1873, my version reprint of 1994)

⁶ The dialogue between Phileas Fogg and the British officer Sir Francis illustrate those attitudes;

"Is it possible," resumed Phileas Fogg, his voice betraying not the least emotion, "that these barbarous customs still exist in India, and that the English have been unable to stop them? "

"These sacrifices do not occur in most of India, " replied Sir Francis. "But we have no power over these savage territories, and especially here in Bundelcund. The whole district north of the Vindhias is the theatre of incessant murders and pillage. " (ibid:74)

time of strong theological conflicts. The Pietistic movement challenged his more traditional way of practicing and believing in the Gospel (Astås 1994). It might be said that the Pietistic movement found "fertile soil" in the discourse of the new bourgeois society.

The missionary David Rosen, who worked in India and the Nicobar islands from 1818- 1838, operated in a different "world" than Egede (see my earlier study Wallin Weihe 1999). Not only from the point of view of geography, but also from the point of view of ideas. In Rosen's time ideas from the enlightenment, the pursuit of a naturalistic understanding of the world, the French revolution, and national interests were all part of the discourse. He worked most of his time in a missionary society closely related to the Church of England. Rosen belonged to a Danish tradition influenced by Grundtvig's liberal theology as opposed to Pietism. Still, Grundtvigianism was in its infant stage. Part of the tradition of Pietism was still active and, I will argue, very much alive in many lay-organizations (ibid). The Bishop in Tromsø at the end of the century lived in a world of strong Norwegian nationalism. Concurrently, humanitarian work, disciplining work and social Darwinism increasingly became part of the European discourse. "Grassroot organizations" and new religious movements challenged the Church and partly became part of it (Astås 1994).

Theology was one of the few higher university educations during this whole period. Regardless of a person's interest and focus, theology was the road to science. Even if interested in botany, anthropology, zoology, linguistics - whatever, studying theology was the key to the world of research and science. Darwin (Glick 1988 and Gruber 1981) is one example of a theologian pursuing a career which today would be considered to be far from theological. Another, earlier example, is Bishop Johan Ernst Gunnerus of Trondheim (1758 - 1771). Prior to his position as a Bishop he was a lecturer at the university of Copenhagen in theology, philosophy and nature rights.⁷ At the same time as he functioned as a Bishop, he wrote scientific papers on mineralogy, botany and zoology. He was also the author of the first Norwegian flora (Flora Norvegica). As a Bishop he encouraged the clergy to research natural sciences (Gjærvoll 1994).

"The rise of professional society" (Perkin 1996) created profound changes in society. At the end of last century and into our own those changes accelerated. As Perkin points out there was a growing number of professionals who had their own ideals of how society should be organized. Social work and medicine was part of that process, sometimes organized as part of the public state sector and sometimes as part of independent organizations. In a Habermas perspective often in a confusing mixture -the State invading the organizations and they

⁷ "Naturrett" (N)

invading the State. From a Habermas point of view I will claim that "High Church" and state were so integrated that theology had developed into being the very "fabric" of the State. As the State grew more interested in developing trade and business in order to build a kingdom, the State Lutheran Church became such an integral part of this growth that it was impossible to separate Church and state (Habermas 1989). In Norway the early stages of conflict between "High Church" and the lay movement occurred at the beginning of the 1800s with the Hauge movement, founded by Hans Nielsen Hauge (1771 - 1824), a lay movement challenging the monopoly of the theologians and the State (Danbolt 1947).

It is possible to view the new forces as heterogeneous attempts to challenge the logic of the old, was represented by the bureaucracy of the State and the State Church. Still, even those within that logic sometimes went outside of it and some of those outside of it went inside. The conflict was further complicated by the fact that some individuals were highly critical of Christianity, and to some extent, traditional moral values. Even if those who had such views represented a small minority they were at times very outspoken. Both the High Church and the lay movement opposed the challenge to traditional moral values and Christianity. All this turmoil characterizes this period. The old was challenged not only from the outside but also from within. For the Church, that happened partly as part of the theological discourse questioning the established truths and teachings.

The modern industrialized world created large towns and concentrations of humans. A new labor class appeared, and social problems increased tremendously. As Habermas points out, the involvement of the State in the earlier private sector gradually increased, partly as investments in infrastructure and partly in order to do something with the increasing social problems. Norway, like other European states, increasingly developed laws and social services adapted to the "new reality" (Seip 1994 and Sjöberg and Vammen 1995). Even if the Saami world existed far from large industrial centers, it became influenced by that development. Perhaps the increased interest in missionary work illustrates the identity struggle of the industrial society and the middle class. The fight for emancipation between males and females and a gradual increased presence of females and female organizations were also part of the picture in the last part of last century. Habermas finds that this period is characterized by organizations "invading state" and the State invading what was earlier the private sphere (Habermas 1989).

In 1814 Denmark and Norway "divorced." After the Napoleon wars Norway became united with Sweden. Norway established a constitution, a parliament and placed a government in Oslo. Even if divorced from Denmark there remained a "relatively high basic similarity between Danish and Norwegian

administration" partly because Norwegian administrators had been educated in Copenhagen and partly due to "some early institutionalizations in the Norwegian culture" (Knudsen 1991:10). Nevertheless the country was dominated by Sweden. Independence came gradually, and the power of the Swedish King was limited. Turning points in the process were the introduction of parliamentarism in 1884 and later the independence in 1905 (Jensen 1971). Part of the process of nationalism in Norway was to make the whole population Norwegian. One country and one language. Minorities like the Saami and the Finnish population had to become culturally Norwegian. The start of the Saami mission, initiated by the Bishop in Tromsø, Skaar, has to be understood as part of, and partly in conflict with, the process of making the Saami Norwegian. The nationalistic period can be found all over Europe. It is in no way a unique Norwegian phenomenon and has to be understood as part of the development of the whole western world (Habermas 1989 and Palmer and Colton 1995).

1.3. "SOCIAL WORK"

"Social work" as a concept came into use after the turn of the century. In the opinion of Payne (1996:19): " We can see social work as a product of industrialisation in the nineteenth-century in Britain, other European countries and the USA ." As a concept it became related to the practice of those educated as social workers. Payne (1997) argues that "social work" is socially constructed and that "the nature of social work, therefore, is ambiguous and debated... " (ibid:5). and that "understanding a social phenomenon such as social work can only be for this time"(ibid:6). Arguing with Rein and White he further argues that "...the perceived utility of knowledge - is bounded in time, place and person"(ibid:7).

"Social work" is, to put it very simply, a concept used about a practice of helping "those in need" or those defined of being "in need of changing or adapting." The latter would sometimes include those rejecting that need of change and adaptation. In those cases it might be said that the need was more from the point of view of society than the individual. Sometimes the needs defined would be psychological, sometimes material and sometimes a matter of a change of attitudes. The material need would most often be connected to poverty. However, the kinds of "needs" that have been recognized have varied culturally and historically.

Some of the practice of what later was "labeled" as social work existed a long time before the concept came into use. My use of the concept describes such practices. In other words I am using today's terminology to describe practices which later became known as social work. Some of the definitions of social work cover such practices: "Social work may be defined...as a process of helping persons to cope with problem situations. This will usually involve a change in some aspect of the situation; perhaps the client, possibly some other person or element concerned, or some combination of these" (Collins and Collins in Payne 1996:18). Such an approach might be called a problem orientation and is not focused upon the concepts, theories and methods of today's social workers nor the importance of academic and professional institutions for social workers.⁸

⁸ Vermeulen and Roldán (1995:4-7) describe the different approaches to the genealogical problem of their origins in the history of anthropology. They identify at least four different approaches and all of them will, in my opinion, apply to the history of social work:

- Problem orientation.
- Conceptual orientation
- Professional orientation
- Epistemological orientation

David Howe (1998:14-15) points out that "The bit of the world in which social workers are interested is people - people who are in distress or people who are the cause of distress...They practice particular actions and techniques in the hope that they will have a predictable effect upon the behaviour and conditions of their clients."

Even if the understanding of social work has varied, I find that one of the "core values" of "social work" has been to "help" underprivileged groups. That might be groups like those underprivileged due to physical or mental handicaps, economically disadvantaged and so on. Often it would be groups of people defined as poor, sometimes deviant and sometimes marginal due to a different culture or different values. In the case of the "deviant" and those with "different values," the focus of social work has been "to adapt," "to discipline" or "to change" in order to achieve a "better life" (Foucault 1994 and 1979). Even more dramatic "social work" might at times be accused of focusing upon "getting rid of." The latter, in terms of regulation regarding welfare, help to refugees and so on, at times has focused upon expelling beggars and "those not wanted" from certain areas (Geremek 1994).

Today we might react to the methods of the past and instead have chosen methods acceptable to our own time. Still, these practices of today might very well reflect similar attitudes and policies. One obvious example is the treatment, and most often expulsion, of immigrants from poor countries.

"Social work" is based upon values. Those values are not static and they vary due to a large number of variables. Geremek's (1994) discussion of attitudes towards poverty illustrates this. In his opinion those attitudes have always been complex and it is only in the relative proportions those attitudes have changed. Why people help others varies from "culture" to "culture." Sometimes seemingly different values, often based upon religious beliefs, syncretize. The process of syncretism is part of the picture I am trying to paint (Aijmer 1995). Even if often a seemingly impressionistic and sometimes abstract picture, I hope that my discussion will give some illumination of processes which are always ongoing and never ending.

As Habermas is not dealing specifically with problems like poverty and missiology, my approach needed to relate his understanding to research dealing more specifically with those questions. Most important is Geremek (1994) who discusses the understanding of poverty both through time and in different academic disciplines. In his interpretation "poverty" has a relationship to social, cultural, economical, political, physiological and ecological factors. Poverty, and who needs "help" or "social work" is then not static, but always a matter of discussion and negotiation. In the

interpretation of Deleuze (in Donzelot 1997:X) the social "is a hybrid domain."

1.4. MISSIONARY HISTORY AND MISSIOLOGY

Missionary history has in many cases been written as descriptive works (among the early examples relevant for my study, Fenger 1843 and 1863 and Fenger 1879), some of them describing a particular mission or missionary society and some of them in a narrative style describing a particular missionary, many of the latter as biographies. The most important one for my study is Bobé's (1943) biography of Hans Egede. Some of the narratives and biographies might serve as sources of missionary. One example of the latter is Dickson (1989) describing the life of Mary Moffat of Kuruman. Another is Gjering (1961) describing the life of the famous Danish missionary H.P. Børresen, who was one of the pioneers of the Santal mission in India. However it is important to realize that they have often been written in order to "sell the mission" and portray it and the missionaries and their motives in a positive way.

After the second world war a number of more analytic or critical works have been published. However most of the missionary history has been written as part of larger, more traditional, historical works. Among the exceptions are Fuglestad and Simensen (1986), Simensen (1986) and Comaroff and Comaroff (1991). All of those works deal with the situation in Africa. There exist specialized journals on missionary research such as "International Bulletin of Missionary Research" and in addition missions and missionaries have been the target for articles in other scientific journals, such as those on anthropology and history. Axelson (1976) addressed the question of the experience of missions from the point of view of those targeted by the missions. I will return to the question of understanding from the point of view of the other in 2.3 and later in chapter 8.

A particularly interesting study is Hindsberger, (1997) who tries to analyse the Greenlanders' understanding of Christianity from the time of Egede (another one is Zeilich-Jensen 1974). In order to do that he uses a number of historical sources and ethnographic/ anthropologic publications as well as oral sources. His work is illuminating because he gives valuable insights into a possible understanding of reality among the Greenlanders. Another one is the study of Rydving (1993) of religious change among the Lule Saami from the 1670s to 1740s. Although prior to my Saami period the study covers the same period as Egede in Greenland. In addition Rydving has made many important points regarding methodology and missionary work.

According to Lande and Ustorf (1996:17) there are at least three levels of historical mission studies: "The first is the historical study of different missionary initiatives of the Western Missionary Movement as a whole. The

second is a necessary extension of the first. Indeed it is a necessary extension of Ecclesiastical History. What is at stake is the study of the local history of Christianity in Africa, Asia and Latin-America, i.e. Third World Church History. The third level is the more specified study of the encounter of Christianity and other religions in our own region. This includes both the Christianization of Scandinavia and the study of continued interactions of Scandinavian and Sameh cultures."

Lande and Ustorf include a number of analytical chapters of importance for my study, among them articles on missions and cultural imperialism and the dream of the Christian Europe. Most of my study is not easily placed within the categories of Lande and Ustorf. Still, some of it, like my study of the Saami mission, can be interpreted as within the last category and parts of the other studies within the first category. One of the problems of placing my study within such categories is that I am occupied with the importance of the missions in Europe somewhat in the tradition of Said (1979).

Even if my study is historical, studies of on-going missionary work have been illuminating. One example is Göran Johanssons (1992) anthropological study of the Nordic Pentecostal Mission in Bolivia. Johansson shows how the missionaries continuously are a part of the social order back home and he argues that the missionary enterprise "might be the aging system's unique chance to achieve a successive re-ignition of the Pentecostal fire" (ibid:216).

In an article discussing the concept of "mission" Lande (1995) argues for a "double concept of mission"⁹ - an academic concept concerned with "the missionary reality" which is defined according to scientific principles, and a concept concerned with the normative theological called "genuine mission."

In my writing I am in "the missionary reality" tradition; however, in my more philosophical discussion I am in a normative secular tradition. Discussing questions of theological importance like caring and solidarity with those in need. I wish to emphasize that my discussion is not a theological one, even if I acknowledge the importance of the Gospel in understanding the missions and their relationship to the poor and "those in need." For example the Lukan missionary paradigm of practicing forgiveness and solidarity with the poor is of obvious importance (Bosch 1991).

Missionary history can be written and understood from a theological point of view which, in my understanding, would be the historical development in preaching and interpretation of the Gospel among missionaries and those arguing for missions. The meeting and syncretism of different religious value

⁹ "Eit dobbelt misjonsbegrep" (N)

systems might be both part of such a history and part of a discussion tied to a more generalised discussion of cultural meetings.

Bosch (1991) discusses the paradigm shifts in theology of missions. He is following subdivisions in theology suggested by Hans Küng (1984 and 1987 in *ibid*). In my study shifts of view in theology will be of importance in order to understand the missions' relationship to local population, to the European public, to the political and economical leadership in their countries and how they related to questions of "helping the other." Most important in my first historical period the Pietists and Moravians insistence on personal conviction and "service of the body" as opposed to Orthodox Lutheranism insistence on a structural link between Church and state and obligation to the patriarchal ruler (*ibid*: 254). In my second historical period the change from "the primacy of evangelism to the primacy of social involvement" (*ibid*:322).

Missionary history is one small piece of the puzzle in a larger historical puzzle of interaction between a culture to be missionized and the culture which missionizes. Such history can be written both from the perspective of the missionaries or missionizing culture and those being the target of that mission. Both of those pieces of the larger puzzle contain their own puzzle. For example many of the organizations behind the missions contained their own complexity, and served functions in their own culture which possibly were of far greater importance than the missions themselves. The work of Habermas (1989), even if not writing specifically about missionary organizations, gives ample examples of the importance of various organizations in the development of European society.

Missions can be understood as part of the European, or western world's, imperialism. From such a point of view missionaries served as "change agents" or "agents of colonial powers/ western civilisations," not only trying to convert pagans to the Christian faith but also to submission to colonial powers, to a wage-earning capitalism as opposed to traditional subsistence living, and to western cultures. However, as several authors have shown, the picture was more complicated than that. Missionaries were sometimes opposed to the values of the colonial /national powers; at times opposed to the extent that they were regarded with great distrust by the colonial powers.

However, even if in conflict with part of the European or western development, missionaries found their own society to contain values and practices most often more advanced than the society they came to. In the interpretation of Comaroff and Comaroff (1992:28) "the relationship between ideology and hegemony might be regarded as the two empowered dimensions of any culture."

The relationship between the culture represented by the missionary and the population being the target of his mission would often be characterized by a changing and often unclear relationship between ideology and hegemony. Using concepts like hegemony and ideology to understand the empowered dimensions of a culture is not without problems. Like other concepts they might both illuminate and blind the researcher and the reader. I will return to them in the discussions in chapters seven and eight.

CHAPTER 2. METHODOLOGICAL PROBLEMS AND CHALLENGES

"Just like coral reefs, states share some basic traits even though they are evolving from unintended consequences of human action and sheer coincidence. This is partly due to imitation and partly to some general conditions shared by the European countries. But both coral reefs and states differ in size, shape, age, etc. having been molded by varying conditions. We need a historical comparative approach not only to find differences and similarities, but also to understand in depth these differences and similarities"
(Knudsen 1991:10-11).

2.1. THE CHOICE OF HISTORICAL PERIODS AND MISSIONS

As mentioned my historical periods correspond with the development of modern society from the time of the superior rule of the King until the start of what Palmer and Colton define as "the social service state" (1995:639). I believe, like the Danish historian Knudsen (1991), in the importance of a historical comparative approach in order to gain an understanding of what has developed into today's society.

The choice of missions is another matter. I could have chosen differently. At the time of my first mission missions existed both among the Saami, in India and in Greenland. From the perspective of analyzing the development of the Saami mission it would seem natural to choose the Pietist theologian Thomas von Westen and his mission among the Saami. The reason for not doing that is partly that I wanted to study a mission that was placed in the Orthodox tradition of the Lutheran Church, partly that Westen only traveled to, and did not stay for any long period of time in the missionary field, and partly a matter of available sources. Thomas von Westen died before he was able to complete a manuscript and his notes have been lost. His manuscript is only known through the adaption of later authors (Rydving 1993:36-37 and Rydving 1995).

Egede, on the other hand, was placed in the Orthodox tradition, had a long continuous stay in Greenland and has, together with his sons, left a number of available sources (Bobé 1943 and 1944, Sollied and Solberg 1932, Egede 1741 reprint of 1926, Fenger 1879, Lidegaard 1988 and Ostermann 1939).

The mission in India was carried out by Pietist Moravian missionaries. Unlike Egede and Thomas von Westen they had their religious superiors outside of Denmark/Norway. Their mission cannot be regarded as a Danish/Norwegian mission, but as a German based mission operating in a colony of a Danish trading company.

The Orthodox Lutheran tradition emphasized the scholarly, the importance of the Church as part of the State, and was quite patriarchal in its approach to those being missionized. The Pietists on the other hand had a different approach; they were less scholarly, had a more emotional and emphasized personal conviction and self-discipline to a greater extent. Choosing a missionary placed in the Orthodox tradition is particularly interesting for me because of his approach to being part of the state structure.

The Saami mission was chosen because of it operating within the borders of Norway with a traditional ethnic minority. The first years of the mission coincide with the development of the modern welfare state, a period of strong

Norwegian nationalism and increasingly active lay organizations. Choosing a mission operating within the borders of Norway makes it easier to draw parallels to the development of the modern Norwegian welfare state. As the mission targeted an ethnic minority I had the same dimensions of cultural imperialism and cross cultural interaction as I would have had using a mission operating abroad as an example.

2.2. TERMINOLOGY, DEFINITIONS AND TRANSLATION

Terminology and definitions might vary through time and scholarly traditions. Mostly this is due to lack of appropriate definitions and terminology, and sometimes a wish to focus and create words and definitions more to the point. Many of those reading this text will probably encounter unfamiliar terminology and definitions. I have tried to give explanations, either in the text or in the footnotes. Geographical names and Saami and Greenlandic terminology will, to some extent, be explained in the footnotes. Nevertheless, I am well aware that unfamiliar expressions and words might still exist. In such cases I hope that readers of the text will be able to find explanations in the references.

According to Rydving (1993:8): "To make oneself understood by the readers, one should use the language of the discipline, but to do the culture studied as much justice as possible, the terminological distinction of that culture has to be considered." In my case I have chosen to use the general terms of the scholarly traditions I am following and explain some central words of indigenous terminology in the footnotes.

The word "Saami" illustrates the changing terminology. Spelling of the word Saami varies. In some cases the word is spelt "Saami," in others "Sami," "Sámi," "sábme" and even "Sameh". Professor Jernesletten (Larsen and Buzza 1996) spells the word with one "a", which is the way it is mostly spelt in Norwegian, while Professor Hallencreutz spells the word "Sameh" (in Lande and Ustorf 1996). Rydving (1993) spells the word "Saami," but a few places use the word "sábme" (ibid:43). The introduction to Saami languages by Sammallahti (1998) spells the word "Saami." I have chosen to spell "Saami" (double a) in order to be faithful to translation practice I am familiar with.

Today the word Saami is used both in Norwegian and English. Nevertheless, the Swedish word "lapp" or in English sometimes "lapplander" is still used. Even in old Danish and Norwegian writings "lapp" is sometimes used. At the turn of the century, the time I am focusing upon, the word "Finn" was in common use for a "Saami." It is fairly confusing as the "Saami" were given a name similar to a nation that only some of them "belonged" to. Those of Finnish descent, on the other hand, were called "Kvæn." The two organizations for missionary work among the Saami were both called missions among the "finns." From a Saami point of view it might be said that they did not "belong" to any other nation than their own, which would be reason to introduce a terminology of their own.

Terminology reflects attitudes and sometimes discriminating practices. Quite a few Norwegian Saami regard being called "lapp"¹ rather like being called "nigger." In 1887, the Bishop of Tromsø addressed the problem of terminology in his yearly report to the Department; "Lap the Saami regards as almost a curse while he does not have anything against being called Fin" ² (AS XX). Later on, being called "Finn" or "Fin" came to be regarded as a derogatory expression. In my writing this confusion will not be visible as I will use the modern English and Norwegian term of Saami, which is the terminology the Saami themselves prefer. The disadvantage of my standardized translation practice is that it will make changing attitudes and vocabulary invisible.

According to Britannica (on-line 1999) "Inuit or Eastern Eskimo (in Greenland called Greenlandic, in Canada Inuktitut, in Alaska Inupiaq) is a single language formed of a series of intergrading dialects extending from Eastern Greenland to northern Alaska... ." Most literature writes similarly about the Saami regarding their language as being one language formed of a series of intergrading dialects. Today those dialects are defined as languages which are different to the same extent as many of the European languages (Sammallahti 1998). In my dissertation I have chosen to call the people living in Greenland as Greenlanders and their language Greenlandic. Still I wish to emphasize that I acknowledge that they culturally are part of the Inuit culture. Even more I realize that it is possible to divide Greenlandic language into at least three different languages. Phrasing linguistic differences as "dialects" emphasize the "sameness," while emphasizing the same differences as "languages" acknowledge the extent of those differences. Both alternatives have political implications. After all, very few Scandinavians would have liked to have Danish, Norwegian and Swedish phrased as dialects of Germanic or even worse German.

Terminology and use of concepts might vary historically. Habermas's (1989) discussion of the "The structural transformation of the public sphere" illustrates that the use of the two concepts have changed through time. As Habermas's views of the "public" and "private" are a central part of my discussion, the use of them is particularly important. Habermas writes about the "Bourgeois society". I have chosen to follow his terminology; however, at times I have found "citizen class" to be more illustrating. After all, "citizen class" is a more focused and more political concept.

Terminology and use of concepts might also vary in different "schools of thought" and even from nation to nation. For example, as Retzlaff points out in

¹ At the time the word was spelled with one "p"

² "Lap anser Finnen selv delvis som et Skjelsord meddens han ikke har noget imot at kaldes Fin" (N)

"Notes on translation" in Rorty (1997),³ the American use of the concept "liberal" has no corresponding concept in European terminology.

The concepts of care and caring are used indiscriminately in my text. I will return to a further discussion of care/caring in 8.4.

"High Church" is in my text used to describe the Church as part of the establishment. Used in that way "High Church" would be conservative and a defender of the established traditions of the Church. In Denmark and Norway that would mean the Church as part of the State. That way of using the concept is traditional in Scandinavia. However, in England the concept "High Church" is often used to emphasize the Roman Catholic heritage of the Church of England, while "Low Church" would be used to emphasize the Protestant heritage.

Even more complicated is the question of the understanding of unknown terminology and concepts in other cultures. In my dissertation I address the question of understanding "the other" (see chapter 8). As writers like Comaroff and Comaroff (1992) and Hindsberger (1997) point out, understanding concepts relating to religion pose a particular problem. Hindsberger (ibid:33) emphasize out that Hans Egede must have had considerable problems communicating central Christian concepts to the Greenlanders. Understanding God, Hell and Heaven must, in the opinion of Hindsberger, required considerable talent for abstraction.

Rydving (1993:10) points out that cultures and religions can be conceived either as processes or abstract systems. In his opinion the task of the historian is to put the fragments of the processes "into wholes (so that they become possible to understand) and at the same time do justice to contradictions and dynamism (so that religion is not described as theology)"(ibid). I agree with his point and hope that my dissertation reflects a similar attitude. I am well aware of the complications of using the concept of "culture." The number of different definitions are staggering (Wallin Weihe 1997 I). To the extent it is possible to use the concept, it can be divided into general categories like patterns of thought, patterns of behavior and commonalties in production and use of material things, and finally signs of human activity in nature (Allwood 1985). Nevertheless, "cultures" can never be understood as totally separate from each other. They influence each other and there are no totally defined borders between them. They are abstractions serving the purpose of identifying commonalties and giving identities - and possibly most of all, identifying those "outside" and those "inside."

³ A Swedish translation of Rorty (1989) "Contingency, Irony and Solidarity"

Terminology and definitions in various academic disciplines might be different and sometimes hide the relationship between those disciplines. As Strauss (1963 quoted in Comaroff and Comaroff 1992:7) points out; "Both history and ethnography are concerned with societies other than the one in which we live. Whether this otherness is due to remoteness in time or to remoteness in space, or even to heterogeneity, is of secondary importance compared to the basic similarity of perspective... in both cases we are dealing with systems of representations which differ from the representations of the investigator."

In Sandved's (1998) opinion translation is "the art of the impossible," or, in the words of the German philosopher and translator Friedrich Schleiermacher, the main problem is whether the reader should be brought to the writer or the writer to the reader. As Schleiermacher I am trying to bring the reader to the writer and not the other way around (for a description of Schleiermacher see Grenz and Olson 1992: 39-51). I will try to make my thoughts understandable to the reader in order to make it possible to follow my way of reasoning.

Schleiermacher "elevated the intuitive life, a special human experience he called "feeling," to the center of religion" (ibid:39). Translation, then, should try to be able to communicate the emotional dimension. Even if I do agree upon the importance of the emotional I am of the opinion that translation most of all has to be based upon a criteria like consistency, simple interpretations and an understanding of the context of the writer. The latter is of crucial importance when translating historical material.

As pointed out by Roger Masters in the preface to Rousseau (1964), translations might impose particular interpretations. Masters tries to avoid the problem with particular interpretation by providing an English translation that corresponds word for word (as far as possible) with Rousseau's French text. He points out problems: " While this goal may cause some awkwardness (especially in the overly rhetorical Dedicatory Epistle to the Second Discourse), it has the advantage of permitting the reader to come to his own conclusions with the smallest danger that the translation will have imposed a particular interpretation"(Master in Rousseau 1964:27). I use a number of sources not written in English and have translated them in my main text. In order to enable readers to address problems of translation and to relate to the original sources I have the original version in the notes. I have used the standard English American spellings of names of places. Many of my sources and the literature use other names / spellings. When my sources/literature have used other names I have chosen to translate to an equivalent English name; however, I have included standardized English translation in parenthesis or in footnotes.

Translation practice might vary, and my translation is not necessarily the same as the author/publisher of the books/titles which I translated would have preferred. It is quite likely that I have trodden on some toes in this process. In some cases this might be due to academic disagreement. In other cases, and those I am sorry about, it is due to some fault of mine.

2.3. METHODOLOGICAL PROBLEMS

This is a historical study and I am faced with the problems of a historian. I was not there, do not know to what extent the written sources can be trusted and do not have the possibility to speak with those who were present. Simplified, those are the problems I am faced with. All historians are faced with such problems.

Writing history is a complex process consisting both of finding sources, selecting the relevant facts and analysing them. For part of my study, finding the sources has been a time-consuming challenge. Nevertheless the main problem has been analyzing the past. In Habermas's (1989:35) opinion; "The historian will not be able to limit himself in his explanations to a logic of action that incorporates the hermeneutic understanding of meaning, for the historical context is exhausted by the mutual intentions of human beings. Motivated actions are embedded in a quasi-natural context that is mediated by subjectively intended meaning, but not created by it. For this reason the historian cannot limit himself to the "inner side of events" as Collingwood's idealist proposal would have it; he must also analyze the causal context in which intentions are entangled. With this we have raised an issue that neither the positivists nor their critics have satisfactorily posed, not to mention resolved." In Collingwood's (1989:247) opinion "....historical thinking is an original and fundamental activity of the human mind, or, as Descartes might have said, that the idea of the past is an 'innate' idea." Personally I am supporting the view of Habermas. I do believe that "the causal context of ideas in which intentions are entangled" is of crucial importance in order to understand historical thinking (see chapter 3 and 4).

From my perspective Habermas (1989), Geremek (1994) and Foucault (1972, 1979, 1990 and 1994) have made very valuable contributions to the understanding of the past and present through their analytic works. Their works penetrate far beyond the descriptive. For the understanding and discussion in this dissertation those writers are important. Habermas's generalized study deliberately overlooks national and cultural differences. As Knudsen (1991) points out, when comparing Denmark and Sweden, there were considerable differences in how the transformation of those states into modern "welfare states" happened. Those differences probably also reflect that there were national differences in the "sphere of the public" and the "sphere of the social." In my study such differences require me to go into details of each national context.

I am only able to consult the sources left by some of the actors, and those sources are most likely colored by the writers of the past. Egede naturally had certain motives for expressing himself like he did. He wrote his book and his

letters communicating to more or less well-defined people - expressing opinions and describing the Greenlanders, trading possibilities, the need for preachers and so on. Behind his writings there was undoubtedly a mix of motives, some of which were personal. The documents from the Saami mission contain even greater complexities. They are left from several people and that makes it even more complex .

One of the questions Said (1994) addresses is what kind of sources to use in order to understand historical attitudes. He argues that historical forms like the novel "were immensely important in the formation of imperial attitudes, references and experiences" (ibid:XII). I believe that to be true. Writing about attitudes and understanding of reality requires not only a knowledge of contemporary philosophical ideas and economical/social structures but also of cultural forms like poetry and novels.

Historical sources are not only what is left as written documents. A number of authors have been occupied with the use of space as a way of communicating in the European colonies. Foucault has discussed how the use of space reflects attitudes and development historically in questions like punishment and disciplining. Comaroff and Comaroff discuss missionaries' use of space as a way of communicating. Both artifacts and the use of space would have been possible supplementary sources for my dissertation. I have not been able to use either of those sources to any great extent. Nevertheless I want to point out the possibility of using such sources supplementary to the written material upon which I base my dissertation.

According to Wiener (1994), artifacts in museums might give us information, though more about the representer than the represented.⁴ Collections from the Saami exist in Sweden, Oslo and in the museum of Tromsø. Much of the later material was collected by Just Quigstad,⁵ who was one of the main initiators of the Saami mission. From the early Saami period a large collection of Saami drums exists (Rydving 1993:30-31), and the Saami culture was very much a focus of the Ethnographic Museum in Oslo (Bouquet 1996:6). One of the missionaries of the Saami mission, Bertrand Nielsen, "collected extensively for both the Ethnographic museum and the Norwegian Folk Museum "(ibid:59). Greenland is represented in several Scandinavian museums, particularly those in Denmark and Norway. Most of the collections, though, are from later times. At the time of Egede polar expeditions to Greenland were still in their infancy. Later on they became a matter of national pride and identity.

⁴ Margaret Wiener writes about the collections of artifacts from the Dutch colonial power in Bali (Wiener, 1994).

⁵ Just Quigstad (1853 - 1957) published extensively and created a large collection of Saami artifacts. His main interest was in linguistics; however, his library, which still exists at Tromsø museum, illustrates his more general interest in the culture of the Saami.

Kavanagh (1994) discusses museums in relation to the tensions and pressures in society from before the first World War up to 1920. In his opinion; "No museum has ever been established without some underlying political purpose" (ibid: 171). Needless to say, collections and exhibitions in museums will to some extent reflect such changing political purposes. A similar study could possibly be carried out concerning the conflict between Denmark and Norway about East Greenland (1921 - 1933) . It might be said that Norwegian nationalism and identity used polar expeditions and explorers as national symbols. The popularity in Norway of books published by the polar explorers Fridtjof Nansen and Roald Amundsen can illustrate this point. As I will return to, the Saami mission can be understood in the same way.

It is quite clear that some facts are true and some are not. For example, in my case the missionaries either pursued a policy of building educational institutions or they did not, and either they established those institutions or they did not. The selection of facts gives information both about the one selecting them and about the culture from which those "facts" are selected. One illustrating example is Samuel (1989), who claims that the Battle of Trafalgar, which is covered in all standard historical texts, was much less important than the "Married Women's Property Act of 1882" which is barely given a footnote in any major historical work. The latter was of critical consequence for marriage, gender and family, or, in other words, for the construction of modern British society (see also Comaroff and Comaroff 1992). In my examples the problem is similar. I have to choose which facts I find important and which I choose to ignore. Those reading my text can hopefully follow my selection of facts through my way of focusing.

There are numerous observations I have chosen not to use. For example, quite a number of the documents contain religious messages and concern practical administrative matters. The correspondence between Egede and the trading company in Bergen is one example of the latter, and his correspondence to, and regarding, the Moravian missionaries an example of the first. From the Saami mission I have the same situation. The journals of the Bishop contain numerous administrative matters and quite a lot of the publications of the Saami mission contain religious messages. I have analyzed neither of them to any great extent. I am well aware that "hidden" in that material there might be facts of importance for my study.

Comaroff and Comaroff (1992:36) base part of their study , as I do, upon missionary narratives. In their understanding; "....- it is often the telling that is as significant as the tale itself. The profound forces that motivated them, and the varied vehicles of awareness, emerge not so much from the content of those stories as from their poetics; that is from their unselfconscious play on signs and symbols, their structure and silences, their implicit references.

Furthermore, the actions of the Churchmen often speak as poetically as their words, for practice is never shaped by utility alone; its form always exceeds its function." What the missionaries communicated back, distorted reflections of reality, tells possibly more about their attitudes and that of their supporters than about the people in the "missionary field."

As pointed out by Rydving (1993:69), writing about religious change among the Lule Saami: "The great problem is....the one-sidedness of the written sources. Since the encounter was characterized by the missionary situation and the sources originate from the Christian side, Saami attitudes and arguments are seen only through the interpretation of non-Saami authors." Gaining an understanding of "the other" is difficult and speculative under such circumstances. Nevertheless, attempting to gain such an understanding is, in my opinion, of crucial importance. Without trying to do so we are left with a history entirely written by those dominating. Even in today's world we need to be reminded that there are those who are "silent," people interpreted by others without ever being listened to. Still, the most important part of doing so is, in this discussion, describing what I can see and in that way hopefully making the reader and myself aware of what I cannot see.

In my opinion it is important to gain an understanding from the point of view of those who have not left any sources themselves. If we do not try to do that we will be left with the history of those able to leave written documentation. In my case that would mean that the history of the Egedes' mission in Greenland could only be understood from the point of view of the few Danish, Norwegian and German sources, existing and that the history of the starting period of the Saami mission could only be understood from the point of view of the few documents left from the mission, the Bishop and a few publications (see 2.5 notes on sources). Agreeing to that importance I want to emphasize that I will have to move beyond the limitations of my sources in order to gain an understanding of "the other."

The history of European activity and colonies in India and Asia (see Wallin Weihe 1996 III and 1999) , Greenland and in the Saami areas of the north has so far, to a large extent, been studied from the point of view of European sources. Both anthropological and historical writing has been accused of being in the clutches of "Orientalism" (Ahmad 1991:135,⁶ Said 1979 and 1994). The word orientalism relates to the Orient. Nevertheless the same problem is true of other parts of the world outside of the western world. The word "orientalism" can be used to generally describe the western attitude and approach to understanding the outside, and particularly the exotic and different

⁶ Ahmad is referring to writers Ronald Inden "Imaging India" (1990) and Edward Said "Orientalism" (1979). While Said writes about the Arab east, Inden writes about India.

world. That is very much the case with cultures like the Greenlanders and the Saami (Finland, Norway, Russia and Sweden).

In the most extreme version of this understanding, the "West" had "constituted itself by constituting the Orient as an inferiorised Other, since the very dawn of history and so savagely that there was no European who was or could have been outside this discourse" (Ahmad 1991:138). Such a view would mean that Karl Marx could be accused of "orientalism" in the same way as James Mill in his "History of British India" (Original of 1820 reprint of 1972). An understanding like that might be said to be based upon a Foucault understanding⁷ of "Orientalism" as a discourse where the Orient was defined as an inferiorised and dangerous civilization. I am well aware that my writings might be accused of being part of the tradition of "Orientalism." My choice of study alone might be accused of being exotic and being part of the imperialistic tradition within anthropology and history.

Discussing the "framework of expectations and assumptions" (Carrier 1992:199) of scholarly thought is one of my targets. However, I am well aware of the problem of being somewhat part of that framework myself. I believe that using a number of different scholarly traditions, and looking at historical interpretation from different time periods, will be a helpful process in somewhat avoiding the problems of "occidentalism." Eric Wolf's "Europe and the People without History" (1990:18) discusses anthropology as part of history. He suggests that anthropology can be viewed as an "offspring of imperialism." Wolf finds that human history should be based on the interaction between different "cultures" rather than the study of single and isolated "cultures."⁸ I agree with his view and have focused the discussion in chapter 8 on ethics and communication accordingly.

As mentioned, I use a multi-disciplinary approach, which means that I discuss my topic from other angles than the historical. Mostly this is so in the last part of the dissertation, where I address questions relating the past to present-day situations and questions regarding the interaction with those being exposed to the activities of the missionaries. Writings from other fields like religious studies, social work, sociology and organizational theory have been used to the extent that they deal with the historical and philosophical issues I am addressing.

⁷ Foucault Michel "The Archaeology of Knowledge" (1972), "The Birth of the Clinic An Archaeology of Medical Perception" (1994), "The History of Sexuality Volume I and II (1990) and "Discipline & Punish" (1979).

⁸ Wolf has been reviewed, among other places, by Habib Zaman in "Man of India" Anthropology as History" (1987). The review discusses Wolf's view on the history of India.

In doing that I discuss the problems addressed from the perspective of a number of writers and traditions. I realize that it could have been possible to address the last part of the study from a more focused perspective, using just one or a more limited number of writers. My reason for not doing so is that I deliberately want to target my subject in a way that gives the contours of a landscape rather than drill into it. In a way I am conducting an archaeological dig rather than surgery. In doing that I am close to the tradition of Foucault. Foucault is occupied with the history of different areas of human consciousness, power and strategies of power (Berounius in Bergryd 1989). Using his kind of approach makes it necessary to approach my topic from several scholarly traditions, as each of them independent of the other would cause me to limit my vision.

In some cases it is possible to assume that traditions in a culture have been largely maintained as they existed in the past. In such cases studies of the present, or the situation until changes started to occur, might be used in order to gain an understanding of the historical situation. In my Greenland⁹ example (Hindsberger 1997) it is possible to argue that such a situation existed. In other cases it is possible to argue that at least some traditions important to understanding attitudes and values of the past have been maintained. The Saami situation is characterized by a totally changed landscape, both politically and economically. Traditional beliefs have most likely been changed accordingly. As Rydving (1993:26) points out, discussing Saami religion, identifying what is Saami and what represents influence from other cultures, is virtually impossible. Still it is possible, as some Saami do,¹⁰ to maintain that some "core values" have been maintained in at least part of the Saami culture.

The Australian philosopher of science, Helen Verran, tries to establish another perspective for western science by standing inside another "culture's" value system.¹¹ In her opinion "seeing the world through different eyes can help us see more clearly how our own science was constructed"¹² (Wertheim

⁹ "When East-Greenland was colonized at the end of last century, we got a new chance to, with great caution, conduct studies into the original way of life and pattern of thinking. East-Greenland had, in the time passed since Egede started his mission in 1721, due to its isolated position been left alone." In the original version: "Da Østgrønland blev koloniseret i slutningen af det forrige århundrede, fik vi en ny chance for med forsigtighed at gøre studier i den oprindelige levemåde og tankegang, fordi Østgrønland p.g.a. sin isolerede placering havde levet sit eget liv i den mellemliggende periode" (D) (Hindsberger 1997:14). Examples of such studies are Rasmussen (1905, 1925 and 1979) and Søby (using the collections and writings of Knud Rasmussen) (1981). Further examples can be found by studying "Communication about the Cause of the Church in Greenland" (Meddelelser om den grønlandske kirkesag D) (Udvalget for den Grønlandske kirkesag, 1906 - 1911 PS) translated The Board for the Cause of the Church in Greenland).

¹⁰ I have often encountered that view among Saami. In the USA I have heard similar views expressed by Native Americans.

¹¹ Verran has studied the knowledge system of the Yolgnu people of northern Australia

¹² Some researchers might be thought of as having used a lifetime partly standing inside another culture's value system. Among these is the Danish researcher Knud Rasmussen who spent a substantial part of his life in Greenland, spoke Greenlandic, married an Greenlander and grew up in Greenland. His publications (see for

1995:41). Her perspective is important, but extremely difficult to use with historical sources. Spivak (1988) quoted in Comaroff and Comaroff (1992:15) questions "whether the subaltern can speak out at all, even through the texts of radicalized history." One attempt to do so is Axelson (1976) in his attempt to describe the experience of missions by those being the target of them.

Verran's perspective is not pursued in my dissertation except in the concluding and philosophical part of the dissertation. I deliberately do not mix it into the rest of the dissertation, not because I find it uninteresting, but because I am of the opinion that the European situation can be discussed independently of it. After all, a very important effect of missions was not in the targeted territories but in the home countries of the missionaries and their missionary societies.

The part of my discussion relating to caring, communication and universalism is concentrated in my last chapter, the reason being that I am more into a philosophical discussion than a historical writing. To put it in another way, I am leaving the limits of what I can analyze from the point of view of history and moving into philosophy.

example 1905, 1925 and 1979) illustrate the possibility of standing inside two cultures' value systems and traditions.

2.4. NOTES ON LITERATURE

The literature I have used can be divided into several categories. First I have based my investigation upon various historical writings. Those trying to understand the past have given me valuable background information. In addition I have more methodological writings. Some address the question of "what is history" and methodological historical questions. Some discuss understanding "the other" and cross cultural interaction from the point of view of anthropology. Finally, some address more philosophical and ethical questions.

Using writers like Foucault, Donzelot, Geremek and Habermas to gain an analytic understanding of history is in no way uncomplicated. For one thing, all the writers concentrate upon the development of Europe. For another thing, they generalize and do not try to deal with the "local." Using their understanding as part of analyzing the more local is often complicated. As Dahlkvist (in Habermas 1988) points out, Habermas expresses himself in a very personal, almost poetic, language. Sometimes that makes him difficult to understand. Sometimes it invites a similar, even if not as elegant, style which might make it difficult to follow my writings. Weaving a historical picture, like I am trying to, is inviting to the abstract and impressionistic. Still I hope that my "picture" will give insights and be a contribution to the understanding of social work.

Literature about Hans Egede and his mission in Greenland is mainly based upon his own publications and some archival sources. The archival sources consist partly of letters and publications from Egede and his sons, and partly from Moravian missionaries. The latter partly circle around the conflicts between Egede and the Moravian missionaries. One of the first, and still important, works is Fenger (1879) "Contribution to Hans Egede and the history of the Greenland Missions"¹³ Another is Feldbæk (1986) "Danish Trading Companies 1616 -1843 Charters and Internal rules"¹⁴ which includes the charter of the Greenland Company.¹⁵

A number of dissertations and publications from the Egede Institute in Oslo have also been of importance, among them Myklebust (1958). The latest study on Egede (Hindsberger 1997) focuses upon the understanding of Christianity by the Greenlanders (see also the dissertation of Zeilich-Jensen 1974). Hindsberger gives a good overview of sources and an interpretation of the

¹³ "Bidrag til Hans Egede's og den grønlandske Missions Historie 1721 - 1760 efter trykte og utrykte kilder" (D)

¹⁴ "Danske handelskompagnier 1616-1843 Oktrojer og interne ledelsesregler" (D)

¹⁵ "Grønlandsk kompagni" (D)

Greenlanders' view of Egede and his contemporaries. A number of more popularized works about Egede and his missionary work exist. None of them are of interest for my study. Bobé's (1944) biography about Hans Egede gives a valuable detailed description of Egede's life and background. The biography gives valuable insight into both Egede's background in Norway, his studies in theology and his work in Greenland. Used together with modern research like that of Arlov (1993) analyzing the trading interests, Vebæk (1990) analyzing the role of the female and Hindsberger (1997), the biography has been a valuable contribution to my understanding of Egede.

A rich literature exist about the Saami and Greenlanders. This abundance probably reflects those areas as being far more integrated with Finland, Norway and Sweden, and in the case of Greenland, with Denmark. The following are examples of publications concerning the Saami and their interaction with the Finnish, Norwegian and/or Swedish population: Bjørklund (1978), Boreman and Dahlbäck (1965), Eriksen and Niemi (1982), Rydving (1993), Schøyen (1977), Soulinna in Lindström and Karvonen 1983, and Zörgdrager (1997). There are a number of publications and newsletters published by members of the mission. The most important of them is "The Saami mission 75 years"¹⁶ by Steen (1963) and his study of missionary work among the Saami until 1888 (Steen, 1954). Most of the publications are purely descriptive, and there are no works trying to give critical analysis and interpretation of the period. Aadnanes (1986), Sivertsen (1955) and a number of the above-mentioned publications describe the Saami lay-movement of læstadianism. His work is important in order to understand some of the tensions within the Church in northern Norway. From an organizational point of view of Lye (1996 I, 1996 II and 1997) has discussed the Saami mission. An analytic work of missionary work among the Lule Saami from 1680s to the 1740s has been published by Rydving (1993). Even if prior to my Saami study his work is important both due to methodology, because it is in the same time period as Egede's mission and because it gives valuable background information to my study of the Saami mission.

Examples of publications concerning Greenland and Greenlanders are Rasmussen (1979, 1905 and 1925) and Hindsberger (1997). The publications of Rasmussen are also interesting from the point of use as sources. His collections of myths and legends from Greenland possibly reflect the values and attitudes of Greenlanders even at the time of Egede. The Saami missions are currently being researched by several historians and Candidates of History;¹⁷¹⁸ however, so far all those works are in process and not published. They

¹⁶ "Finnemissionen 75 år" (N)

¹⁷ Norwegian "Hovedfag" (N) which will give the degree of cand.philol.

¹⁸ Among them Jorunn Lye at the University of Tromsø (The Saami mission 1888 -1940), Hallvard Larsen at the University of Bergen (The Saami mission and the Læstadic movement) and Egil Lien Thorvaldsen at

also have a different focus from mine and do not target the "social work" dimension of the Saami mission.

The literature on missionary work is extensive. Most of it, though, is rather descriptive in style. Of the more critical works are Danbolt (1947), Fihl (in Høiris, 1989), Berentsen, Engelsviken and Jørgensen (1994), Rydving (1993), Simensen (1986), Comaroff and Comaroff (1991 and 1992) and Comaroff (undated). Comaroff and Comaroff's work, being the most penetrating anthropological study, deals with the larger questions of politics, economy, culture, symbolism and ideology. Perhaps it is not penetrating enough when it comes to the more theological aspects of the missions. The earlier mentioned study by Rydving is a penetrating historical study which has greatly added to my knowledge of the religious aspects of Saami religion.

The development of social services in the last century has been described in a number of works. Among them Seip (1994) and Sjöberg and Vammen (1995) describe the situation in Norway and Scandinavia. The whole European development is probably best understood from the writings of Geremek (1994). The development of missions and social services as part of missionary work has to be understood from the background of the more general development. Stave (1990) describes how diaconal work and education was developed in Norway. I will argue that the development of pedagogical and diaconal work was an important part of the professionalizing of social services. In doing that I am portraying a different picture of the development of social work education than earlier authors did (Rasmussen 1991, Hermansen 1991, Elmer 1991, Levin 1997 and Soydan 1993). Perkin (1996) "The rise of professional society" has given me valuable background information from a more international perspective.¹⁹

My own publication "Colonial Power and Social Politic in India" (1996 II) hopefully illustrates how social politics can play an important and necessary part in colonialism as necessary "oil in the machinery". At the same time it has to be acknowledged that some social welfare projects and some of the social involvement functioned as criticism of colonialism. The dispute between some of those involved in the Saami mission and the Norwegian authorities working to Norwegianize illustrates this tension.

A number of popular authors addressed social issues. Some of them, like Charles Dickens, H. C. Andersen undoubtedly had a great influence. I have to a limited extent used such popular writings but would like to emphasize their importance.

Finnmark College in Alta who is focusing upon the Bishop of Tromsø around the turn of the century. Larsen and Thorvaldsen are both doctoral candidates.

¹⁹ Perkin writes about the development in England since 1880.

When it comes to understanding and discussing the cultural meeting between anthropocentric and non-anthropocentric cultures (Wallin Weihe 1983 II), the philosopher Oelschlager (1991) have been important. Oehlschalger discusses the development from non-anthropocentric understanding of nature and wilderness to modern western man's anthropocentric understanding.

Anthropological writings like Aijmer (1995) "Syncretism and the commerce of symbols" have given me insight into the process of meeting and syncretism of different value systems. That process is always ongoing and will never lead to a static situation. Writing like that I am undoubtedly stepping on a few toes. After all, the "crunched-toes" might say, there are truths, like the ones communicated through the Gospel, that will never change. I will try to address those and other points of view in my text and attempt to do it, perhaps in a provocative way, but not an offensive way. Dittmar in "The social psychology of material possessions" (1992) and a number of writers, among them Foucault, discussing the use of space have given me even another way to understand my historical examples.

In addition I have found inspiration in the metaphorical writings of Bruce Chatwin (1987, 1988²⁰ and 1977 and Chatwin and Theroux 1985²¹). Chatwin describes much of the same complexity as L'evi Strauss. He uses examples such as aborigines in Australia and the now extinct indian tribes in Tierra del Fuego (South America). His writing centers around disputes over sacred lands invaded by the activity of outsiders and disputes over the laws and rights of poor people versus a wealthy, invasive one. Nevertheless, he describes man not as a bellicose aggressor but a song-creating, pacific, adaptive species whose destiny is to quest for the truth, "a truth" that is perceived differently in different cultures through different ways of reasoning.²²

Ludwig Wittgenstein's last philosophical writings ²³ deal with concepts of knowing, doubting and the relationship between mental states and bodily behavior. I have tried to use some of his writings from "Last Writings on the Philosophy of Psychology - The Inner and Outer" (1993) and from his "Tractatus Logico Philosophicus" (1994) in order to understand the communication between colonizers and native population.

²⁰ I have used two editions of the same book (1987 and 1988). The text is the same, but the pages are numbered differently due to the size of print.

²¹ Chatwin and Theroux (1985) includes some of the same material as Chatwin (1977), however the writing has been mixed with Theroux in a way that creates quite a different tasting dish. In other words it creates a different text to reflect from.

²² Biographies of Chatwin give further understanding of his often metaphorical way of expressing himself (for example Clapp 1996 and Murray 1993).

²³ 1949 - 1951

2.5. NOTES ON SOURCES

Part of my study is based upon original historical sources. When possible I have tried to use original sources. Finding them has at times been somewhat challenging detective work. It has also been a process which is difficult to end. One source leads to another, and the next one to even one more and so on. The sources I have used exist in many different archives and sometimes in places that are quite illogical.

The reason for using original sources to the extent I have done is that my perspective has been largely undescribed in earlier works. In addition the original sources have the quality of being the original work and not others' interpretation of it. Still, I wish to emphasize that both my selection of sources and the interpretation of them are far from being unproblematic.

Sources about Egede's period in Greenland are mainly based upon his main work "The New Perlustration or natural history and description of the old Greenland's situation, air, temperament and situation,"²⁴ originally published in 1741 (Egede 1926 PS) and the communication between Egede and the trading company in Bergen published in Sollied and Solberg (1932). In Danish archives correspondence exist between the trading company in Bergen and the authorities in Copenhagen (ibid:XXVII). I have not been able to research those sources.

The period is further illuminated by the diary of his son Nils from the years 1759 -61 (Bobé, 1944) and abstracts of the notes of his son Paul 1721 -1788 (Lidegaard 1988) (see also Ostermann 1939). In addition some information about sources, both from the "competing" Moravian missionaries and Egede, exists in Fenger (1879), Myklebust (1958) and Hindsberger (1997). My research on Egede is based upon those studies and I have not done any archival research of my own. The reason is partly lack of time, partly that parts of the archives have been lost, partly the time-consuming and highly specialized work of researching such handwritten sources²⁵ and partly because the archives that exist seem to have been extensively researched by others.

²⁴ "Det gamle Grønlands nye perlustration eller naturel - historie og beskrivelse over det gamle Grønlands situation luft, og temperament og beskaffenhed" (D) Reprint of his publication of 1741 printed 1926.

²⁵ The problem of researching the sources is partly problems with reading the handwriting, partly the oldfashioned language which often includes a mix of German and Danish and partly the spelling. As pointed out by Sollied and Solberg (1932: XXV) spelling of words were not standardized and often varied greatly even in the same document. The Danish word for "time" was, for example, in the documents from the Bergen company, spelt "tjld, tiid, tjld and tid." Even names for persons did not have standardized spelling.

Most of my sources from the start of the Saami mission have been found in Tromsø State Archives. They consist of the archives of the Saami mission and the archives of the bishop of Tromsø. In addition to those archives some written material exists in Tromsø museum. Most of it consists of the collections of Just Quigstad and collections of the early editions of the newsletters from the Saami missions.

It is more confusing when it comes to social activities organized outside of the State Church-²⁶ initiated Saami mission. A number of independent missionary societies and support organizations existed. An institution like Kvænangen Saami Children's home was organized independently of the mission. Still it was very much part of the activities supported by the workers of the Saami mission and its support organizations. Archives from those organizations and the Saami Children's home in Kvænangen probably exist, but I have not been able to trace them. They can probably be found partly as part of private archives and partly as part of Church archives submitted to State archives. Some of the independent Churches might still have their own archives and some of the printed publications of those Churches might exist in university libraries.

Some early publications, like Vahl (1866) and Tromholt (1885 PS) give insight into part of the discussion concerning the need for missionary work in the Saami areas in Norway. A book published with information from the archives of the State Church (Skaar 1896 PS) illuminates the points of view of bishop Skaar. His selection and interpretation of the historical material gives valuable insight into his views. I have also been made aware of a number of newspaper articles in the newspaper Nordkap (see for example Hall Megrund et al 1885 PS) concerning the need for institutions for children in need in Finnmark. They illustrate that the start of missionary work in northern Norway was very much part of the national movement to establish institutions for children, handicapped and other groups in need of care.

A number of articles in the "Lutheran Church Bulletin"²⁷ illustrate even more the more general question of the Church and the role in development of social services from the 1860s to about 1900. They illuminate discussions within the Church, social issues of great concern at the time and the question of the role of the Church in social services.

Wiener (1994)²⁸ raises the question of how ethnological collections can be used to understand the past. She concludes that in the end they may "tell us more about the representers than those represented"(ibid:347). Webb (1997)

²⁶ Actually not initiated by the State Church, but by the leader of the State Church in northern Norway, Bishop Skaar in Tromsø.

²⁷ "Luthersk Kirketidende" (N.)

²⁸ Article about " Dutch Colonialism and the Looting of Bali " (Wiener, 1994)

discusses photographs taken by missionaries as a source of anthropological, ethnographic and historical knowledge. In her opinion photography served "as a way to visualize and legitimize their work". In addition she is of the opinion that it "provided a break from their arduous daily routine, helped alleviate the extreme isolation that missionaries felt and the stress of daily survival"(ibid:15). Even if photography is a rather recent thing, drawing and doing water colors was commonly practiced by missionaries even in earlier times. Both in Hans Egede's publication (1741 reprint of 1926 PS) and in some of the papers left from the Saami mission there are illustrations. The Saami mission actively used pictures, both photos and drawings, in their publications.

Kavanagh (1994) describes how museums in Britain functioned "to stimulate interest in the national cause"(ibid:66).²⁹ The same can probably be said about the collections made by missionaries. They served to stimulate an interest in spreading the Gospel, the mission of civilizing, the mission of exploring the unknown (discovery), the mission of caring and quite often the national cause. The latter was not always true for the missionaries. As can be shown in discussions made by Fuglestad and Simensen (1986)³⁰ and Simensen (1986),³¹ they sometimes served as critics of "the national cause."

I have yet to use ethnological and museum collections, but I am aware of collections existing in Copenhagen, mainly from the Galathea expedition in 1845, 46 and 47.³² Similar collections exist both from Greenland and the Saami areas of Norway. Several of the persons actively involved in the Saami mission were active as researchers of the Saami culture. The most important of them is Just Quigstad, whose collection still exists in Tromsø museum. Most collections from Greenland are from a later time than Egede. In addition, as mentioned above, there are photos and drawings. The latter I will try to use as part of my material.

Reading Said (1979 and 1994) has made me aware of the importance of novels and poetry in the formation of imperial attitudes, references and experiences. Ester Fihl (in Høiris, 1989) has a somewhat similar perspective in discussing "Romantic picture of " the strangers" - letters from a Danish missionary."³³ Michael Harbsmeier discuss early modern German travel writing as traditions of knowledge. In his opinion, which I share: "Analysing and understanding

²⁹ Quotation from the Museum Journal. Kavanagh (1994) mostly describes the running of the museums during the first world war, but has one chapter called "the role and purpose through expeditions."

³⁰Madagascar

³¹ South Africa

³² (D) Bille, 1853 (PS, OUL)

³³ "Romantikkens billede af "de fremmede" - breve fra en dansk missionær i Indien" (D). Fihl's article is based upon a collection of letters published by Knud Eskild Møhl as "Letters from India" ("Breve fra Indien") in Copenhagen in 1840.

ways of talking and writing about other cultures can also be a clue to a better understanding of those cultures who did the talking and writing" (Harbsmeier in Vermeulen and Roldán 1995:33).

At the time of my writing I have just started to explore the richness of contemporary Danish and British novels and poetry. Certainly, a poem like "Danish Tranquebar poem," from 1791, illustrates contemporary attitudes (Baggesen in collection by Schwanflügel 1890). The same is most likely true of contemporary attitudes towards the Greenlanders and the Saami.

My problem in using such sources is that I will probably only be able to read a few selected items, items not necessarily typical or representative of the attitudes of the time. Nevertheless, I think that some selected works of the most popular publications might illustrate contemporary attitudes. One example of such a publication is Defoe (originally published in 1719).³⁴ Even if Defoe wrote about an imaginary society, his imaginations might be representative of important attitudes of his time. His popularity seems to indicate just that. He is also one example of an author with popularity not only in his time but even today. The various versions of his work probably reflect attitudes prevalent not only at the time of Egede but also of Rosen (see Wallin Weihe 1999) and even around the time of the start of the Saami mission. A number of other contemporary authors of the time periods discussed could also have been used in the same way. My rather selective reading of contemporary popular literature from my historical periods does not allow me to use such sources as anything else than illustrations. Using them like Said, Harbsmeier and Fihl would require far more systematic reading.

In some cases it is impossible to separate between historical interpretations (literature) and sources. One example is Jean Jacques Rousseau's Culture and Man, where I have used a Swedish translation which is used both as a historical source and as literature. The reason is that the book has an introduction written by another author (Eva Lena Dahl)(reprint of 1992). In that way the book has been used as a historical source in addition to using Dahl's understanding of Rousseau in the introduction. All books used are listed in the bibliography (see the introduction to printed sources and the bibliography).

³⁴ Defoe, Robinson Crusoe, was originally published in 1719. In addition to the original I have read a number of different versions of later publications. The original version has been reprinted in English in numerous editions. I have used two English editions (1985) and (1911) and a Swedish translation of 1929.

I

THE CONTEXT

From the early 1700s to the late 1800s

"Should I say: Our concepts are determined by our interest, and
therefore by our way of living ?

"Soll ich sagen: Unsre Begriffe werden von unseren Interesse, also
von unsrer Lebensweise, bestimmt" (G)

Ludwig Wittgenstein, Last Writings on the Philosophy of
Psychology - The inner and outer, 1993

CHAPTER 3 FROM THE PERSONAL TO THE PUBLIC

The early 1700s

According to Bosch (1991) Lutheran Orthodoxy was of the opinion that missions could only be carried out where Lutheran authorities ruled. It was the duty of the State and not of the Church to convert pagans under their rule; "the State had to convert pagans through jure belli (" through martial law") if other means proved to be unsuccessful" (ibid:251).

3.1. THE ABSOLUTIST MONARCHY

My first mission originated in the Kingdom of Denmark-Norway. It was initiated by the theologian Hans Egede. He was in no way alone, there were a number of Lutheran missions started at the same time. Unlike his mission the other two missions in Denmark-Norway were started by Pietists. All of them were started in areas under the control of the Danish King. The two other missions in the Danish colony of Tranquebar in India and among the Saami in northern Norway (Feldbæk and Justesen 1980: 89-95). Egede's time was characterized by a consolidation of the absolutist monarchy, a developing bourgeois society with strong alliances to the absolutist monarchy, developing towns, trade and a transition period from orthodox scholarly Lutheranism to Pietism. From the point of view of missionary work it was a paradigm shift of great importance (see Bosch 1991).

In this chapter I will describe the context of Egede. I will give a description of the state structure and the developing bourgeois society he operated within. From that background I will move into the situation of the Church and the two dominating theological views of his time. One of them, the Orthodox view, being traditionally part of the establishment and the other, Pietism, part "invading" the State and part operating independent of it. Since that part directly relates to Egede as a theologian I will include some information of theological views in section 2.3.

From the background of the absolutist monarchy and the developing bourgeois society, the situation in the Church I will describe the development in attitudes and action towards poverty and those with needs. I will return to a more detailed description and discussion of Egede's mission in chapter 5. In that chapter I will also try to discuss the importance of the mission in Denmark.

The time from 1660 was in Denmark and Norway characterized politically by peace and stability. Politically the major change came in 1660 - 1661 when the supreme rule of the King was established¹ (Koht 1960). The position of the noble class was weakened socially and economically and the growing class of bourgeois allied themselves with the King. The clergy mostly took the same position. This development was in no way unique to Denmark. James the first of England² (1603 - 1649) published at the beginning of the century a book arguing for the supreme rule of the monarch as instituted by God (Palmer and Colton 1995: 171-172). In France Louis XIV (1643 -1715) expressed a similar sentiment with his famous words "the State is me"³ (ibid:182-197).

¹ "Alla jura majestatis" (L)

² James the first of England was the son of Queen Maria Stuart of Scotland. He ruled as King of Scotland under the name James VI (1567 - 1625) and inherited the throne of England when Queen Elisabeth died in 1603. When he became King of England he changed his name to James I of England.

³ "L'état c'est moi" (F)

Habermas (1989) emphasizes that the supreme rule of the King was based upon a mercantile policy of trade trying to develop nation state economies. Trade, production and mining are sectors that were given priority. All foreign trade was regulated by the State and monopolized. Such an economy made it necessary to have centralized power and bureaucracy based upon taxes. Even if the power of the State was personal through the King, it became more and more like a civil power practiced by bureaucracy. The bureaucratic centralized state required an information system based upon messages sent to the public.

The Church was of crucial importance as the messenger for the King. The main platform of addressing the public was most likely the pulpit. From that point of view the Church had both a role as a messenger of the word of God and of the King. With the supreme rule of the King, a centralized bureaucracy was established with its center in Copenhagen. In Mykland's (1975) opinion that started a process of molding the two countries into one. This lasted until 1814. The position of a new class of public servants was increasingly important. The clergy was an important part of the bureaucracy of the State.

The centralized bureaucracy included the so-called "collegiums" in Copenhagen. These "collegiums" consisted of selected members of the establishment. They were responsible to the King, and their activities were regulated by his instructions. The King, on the other hand, was influenced by the members of the "collegiums" and other members of the ruling class. There existed "collegiums" for finances and taxes⁴, a kind of "war department,"⁵ a collegium for the navy,⁶ for the State⁷ and trade.⁸ Later on, in 1714, the collegium for missionary affairs was established in Copenhagen. Both Thomas von Westen, by most considered to be the first missionary to the Saami, and Hans Egede, the missionary to Greenland, received support from the missionary board in Copenhagen. As long as Denmark was involved in war with Sweden the activity of the "collegiums" was focused upon the war effort. It was not before the Great Northern War (1700 - 1721) ended⁹ that other activities, like missions, were able to receive any significant support (see for example Bobé 1944).

Increasing trade was the main source of income for the new bourgeois society in the towns. In addition the new bureaucracy under supreme rule gave some, even if limited, possibilities for employment. Solidarity within the new bourgeois society probably increased charity for those within the group and at

⁴ "Skattkammerkollegium" (N)

⁵ "krigskollegiet" (N)

⁶ "Admiralitetskollegiet" (N)

⁷ "Statskollegium" (N)

⁸ "Kommersekollegium" (N)

⁹ The peace was confirmed at the treaty of Nystadt in 1721 (Palmer and Colton, 1995).

the same time increased the distance to those outside the group, the latter increasing the need to discipline the "outsiders" (Habermas 1989).

Increasingly, a predictable landscape was painted. Linnaeus¹⁰ "Systema Naturae" was published in 1735 and laid out what was to become a standard biological classification. Maps were drawn and information collected and systematized on a number of subjects. Egede's publication from Greenland is one example of that. The new information gradually created a more sophisticated picture of other cultures. The other man changed from being unknown to a man that could be understood and interpreted through systematized information. Still, somewhat simplified, the other man was understood as different, but not necessarily less sophisticated than the Europeans (Bagge 1998).

For most of those living in Denmark and Norway life continued as before. The major part of the population lived outside of towns and depended upon traditional occupations like agriculture and, along the coast of Norway, fishing. Still, trade and some small industries were developing. Trade meant looking for new possibilities and adapting to changing markets. The development of trading companies was part of the development. The trading companies received monopoly in trading in certain defined areas. In the period from 1616 to 1783, more than twenty trading companies were established. One of the companies was the "Greenland Company"¹¹ established in 1721 (Feldbæk 1986). Hans Egede argued strongly for the start of the company. It might even be claimed that it was initiated as part of his planned mission to Greenland. The company received monopoly on trade with Greenland and had four citizens¹² of Bergen as official initiators (Sollied and Solberg 1932 and Arlov 1993).

In Greenland the monopoly on trade was disputed. Dutch, and to a more limited extent English traders were active and showed a total disregard for the "supreme rule" of the Danish King and the monopoly on trade that he gave to the trading company (Arlov 1993). The situation in Greenland illustrates the limitations to the power of the Danish King. Citizens from Holland could openly oppose it and get away with it. Those citizens probably had contact with traders living in Copenhagen and possibly in Bergen. One example of this is that some of the trading companies based in Copenhagen, like the East

¹⁰ In Swedish his name is written Carl von Linne and in English most often Carl Linnaeus. Linne lived from 1707 - 1778. He had a degree in medicine and worked both as a medical doctor and most of the time as a botanist.

¹¹ "Grønlandsk Kompagni" (D)

¹² Jaen von der Lippe Senior, Magnus Schiøtte, Jens Fester og Jens Andersen Refdal. Interestingly Hans Egede is not mentioned in the company statutes, however he was one of the two major contributors and one of the initiators behind the trading company (Sollied and Solberg 1932:211-212) (Feldbæk 1986, Fenger 1879 and Myklebust 1958).

India Company, were initiated by Dutch traders.¹³ The traders were to quite some extent an internationally orientated group. Even if they allied themselves and co-operated with Royal power they represented an independent and critical power. The solidarity of traders was probably, in many cases, independent of the borders of nation states.

The supreme rule of the King from the very beginning was both supported and opposed by a bourgeois society with strong international contacts. Traders became established in a nation and pursued the idea of the nation state as part of their own interest. From the point of view of the King and the centrally based bureaucracy established as part of his power it was important to keep the bourgeois society loyal and it might be said "disciplined." Trade was important as a tax base for the nation state. The tax base had to be national, but at the same time dependent upon internationally based trade. Trade created international contacts and, to some extent, an internationally based bourgeois society with a built-in tension to the national.

The economy of a large portion of the nation and the bureaucracy was not only dependent upon trade, but also on agricultural interests. The agrarian interests were often opposed to those of trade at the same time as trade depended upon a financial base that partly came from agriculture (see Andersson, Dyrvik et al 1982).

The trading companies depended upon doing business and earning money. Some of them, like the Greenland Company (1721 - 1726), lost money and were dissolved after a short time. Still, I think it is important to understand their activities not only from a purely economical view, but also as part of the foreign policy of the Kingdom. Quite a number of the investments in trading companies were made in order to gain advantages that are not visible in the bookkeeping of the companies. In addition they represented gambling. Some people could afford being involved in high stakes and a high risk of gambling. Arlov (1993) emphasizes that the Greenland trade was considerably more risky than the traditional trade between Bergen and northern Norway.¹⁴ In some cases such investments were probably made in order to gain influence and get favors from the King and his bureaucracy.

Feldbæk (1986) emphasizes that the Danish concentration of companies was remarkable in an international perspective. In other countries trade from independent traders became important from a much earlier stage. The difference probably illustrates that a small country like Denmark/Norway was

¹³ Jan de Willem from Amsterdam and Herman Rosenkrantz from Rotterdam (Feldbæk 1986).

¹⁴ In Arlov's (1993) interpretation sealing and whaling on Greenland had a much shorter "time perspective" than the trade with northern Norway. He found the trade to be neither particularly safe or very profitable. The advantage was rather that it was simpler from a management point of view and that it could give a fast profit if successful. The trade in northern Norway included management of credit often over a long time perspective.

able to pursue a more centralized bureaucracy-based policy than the larger European nations. It might be said that the Kingdom had more of the character of the old feudal personal system than the other larger trading nations like Holland and England. Looking into the company statutes, it also seems like the Royal power had a larger financial stake in the economy of the companies than was the case in other European nations (ibid). A closer analysis of the investments behind the companies is required in order to prove if such an "impression" is true. However it is very likely that it is so. The bourgeois society of Denmark/Norway was fairly small and did not have as strong a financial base as that of the larger nations.

The mixing of the financial interest of the Royal power as part of the companies and a weak bourgeois society is probably the explanation behind the concentration of companies in Denmark/Norway (ibid). With modern words it might be said that the model of state control and "mixed economy" was important from the very start of capitalism in the Kingdom. Compared to Habermas's rather generalized picture of the development I will argue that Denmark/Norway from the very beginning had a different development. This process was characterized most of all by a much less independently identifiable bureaucracy, and a private sector that became much more integrated in the State than in the larger European nations (see Knudsen 1991).

Nevertheless, as trade grew, the bourgeois society grew in size and so did their international contacts. As trade and business grew increasingly independent in other European countries, the bourgeois society in Denmark/Norway found the companies to be an obstacle to the development of business and free trade. Still, they needed the financial support and backing of the Royal power to a larger extent than that of the bourgeois society in the larger nations (Feldbæk 1986 and Knudsen 1991).

When the Greenland trading company was dissolved in 1726, Egede continued his presence in Greenland with Royal support. The Royal backing included, however, not only financial support, but also, in 1728, strengthening of the colony with soldiers and 20 settlers. The latter were 10 male prisoners and 10 females from the "children's house", who, before departure, "after drawing lots, paired with the male prisoners"¹⁵ (Quoted by Molland in Myklebust 1958:16). The new "settlers" did not function very well and most of them died from scurvy the first winter of their stay in Greenland.

Even if trade to Greenland in long periods was uneconomical the Danish/Norwegian presence was continued. The reason can probably partly be found in the symbolic value of the presence for national and Royal pride, and partly as a symbol of the Pietistic drive to Christianize. From a Christian point of

¹⁵ "copulerede ved Lodkastning med 10 Quinder af Børnehuset" (D)

view it was important to show that they "even under the most extreme conditions" were dedicated in pursuing Christian values. In addition, of course, the possibility of developing trade and business was always there. After all the Dutch made money trading in Greenland. There was no reason that Denmark/Norway should not be able to do the same (for a discussion see Arlov 1993).

3.2. FROM ORTHODOX LUTHERANISM TO PIETISM

The first mission I describe started around the time of the end of Orthodox Lutheranism and the breakthrough of Pietism. I will give a very brief description of that development. Part of my description will be to give a portrait of some of those people involved. Egede's theological views were influenced by the Orthodox Lutheran tradition.¹⁶ Fenger (1879) places him in the older Orthodox tradition which he viewed as less scholastic than the later. Bloch-Hoell in Myklebust (1958) defines Egede as an Orthodox, but emphasizes that he was influenced by the Pietistic movement's positive approach to missionary work (Danbolt in *ibid*). The Orthodox Lutherans had no tradition for supporting missionary work. I am not able to judge Egede's placement in the Orthodox tradition; however, his positive approach to missionary work represented something new and more in line with the views of Pietism.

According to Bosch (1991) Lutheran Orthodoxy was of the opinion that missions could only be carried out where Lutheran authorities ruled. It was the duty of the State and not of the Church to convert pagans under their rule; "the State had to convert pagans through *jure belli* ("through martial law") if other means proved to be unsuccessful" (*ibid*:251). In the Orthodox opinion the structural link between Church and State meant that everybody under the rule of a Christian State had to be regarded as Christians. The Pietistic and Moravian missionaries in opposition emphasized personal decision. For them conversion to Christianity had to be a matter of personal conviction (*ibid*).

In the Orthodox tradition both the Gospel and the writings of Luther were thought of as inspired directly by the Holy Spirit (Astås 1994). Because of that they had to be understood literally as interpreted by the Lutheran Church. Developing dogmas of the Church was an important part of that. Those who did not ascribe to the interpretation and dogmas of the Church were thought of as non-believers. Being faithful to that understanding was more important than anything else.

The Orthodox tradition was strongly opposed to any kind of adaptation to other religions or theological views. The Gospel was no matter of discussion.

¹⁶ Hindberger (1997) is of the opinion that Egede must have been under the influence of the well known Copenhagen University theologian professor Johan Bartholin. However, he thinks it is possible that his mother's brother, deacon Peder Hind (Sand diocese), who gave him his first introduction to theology, and curate Niels Schieldrup, who gave him the training of "intensive manduktion", a kind of preparation for studies at the university, were of even greater importance. As very little is known of their view upon theology it is impossible to know how they influenced Egede. However, it is quite likely that they supported the views of Orthodox theology.

It was the truth as interpreted by those appointed to positions to do so by God. From Egede's point of view the Christian Orthodox set of symbolism had to be enforced onto the Greenlanders. The symbolism of the Greenlanders and their shamans¹⁷ had only to be understood in order to be able to enforce the values of Christianity (for a discussion of such processes see Aijmer 1995 and Stewart & Shaw 1994).

He was particularly afraid of a practice similar to the one of Catholic missionaries who, in his opinion, thought it "sophisticated"¹⁸ to adapt their religion to local practices and in that way create "mixed religions."¹⁹ Fenger (1879:84 - 85) quotes Egede's "Recollection to Missionaries in Greenland":²⁰ "without doubt, it is the right reason why insane Christians are using many heathen practices and superstitions, due to the fact that our Heathen forefathers when Christianity was introduced have permitted them or ignored heathen use and been pleased by just an outward practice of the Religion. One has, due to that, to be careful by good intentions when introducing Christianity in this place not to carry on such heathen use thus conserving them, to the disadvantage of those in the future who will come to the Church. This will make the practices much more difficult to eradicate." ²¹

The supreme rule or the absolute power of the King came, according to the Orthodox view, from God. The King had to be obeyed and all his regulations followed. It was a hierarchical system; God - King - parson - congregation in that order. Discipline and use of law as a disciplinary instrument were some of the accepted "tools" of the Orthodox Lutheran tradition (Astås 1994). Egede was used to the use of power and must have thought of himself, in the Orthodox tradition, as a representative of powers that ultimately came from God. He argued for the use of "correctional measures and discipline"²² to get rid of the superstition and the false learning of their shamans. Dissenting views were not accepted, neither in the Pietistic nor in the Orthodox tradition.

¹⁷ "Angekutter" is the word used by Egede. I am using today's terminology of "shamans". In Egede's description the angekutter were healers, religious practitioners and masters of "the ecstatic ceremonies" of the Greenlanders. In newer publications, like Hindberger (1997) the word "angakkoq" is used. The understanding of their position, as I will return to, is also somewhat changed.

¹⁸ "Stor finesse" (D)

¹⁹ "Blandingsreligion" (D). Egede is arguing theologically against creating such mix.

²⁰ "Erindring til Missionærene i Grønland" (D)

²¹ "udentvielt den rette Aarsag, hvorfor endnu af Vanvittige i Christendommen øves adskillige hedenske Bruge og Superstitioner, efterdi man vore hedenske Forfædre ved Christendommens Indførelse udi Begyndelsen har tilladt dem eller overseet med hedenske Bruge og været fornøjet med en blot udvortes Bekjendelse af Religionen. Man maa derfor vel vogte sig, at man ikke af en god Mening med Christendommens Forplantelse paa dette Sted og lader slige hedenske Bruge blive beholdne og conserverede, som i Fremtiden maatte komme Guds Kirke til Nachdel og langt vanskeligere staa til at udrydde" (D)

²² "Tugt og Diciplin" (D)

The Orthodox understanding was challenged by the more "modern" Pietists. They did not see the King as a representative of God, even if they accepted his power and right to rule. Interestingly the contemporary Thomas von Westen, initiator of the mission among the Saami, was influenced by Pietism. The mission in the Danish main Colony in India, Tranquebar, was started by the Pietistic movement of the Moravian brothers.²³ Egede and Thomas von Westen were in frequent contact. Even if in disagreement on theological questions, Fenger (1879) is of the opinion that von Westen supported Egede's plan to work as a missionary in Greenland (Fenger 1879).²⁴ As I have mentioned earlier, in Danbolt's understanding (in Myklebust 1958) Westen thought of Egede as a possible competitor to his mission among the Saami.

Hindsberger (1997) was of the opinion that Egede, as a parson in Vågan, (see 5.1.) must have studied several of the forerunners of Pietism.²⁵ In addition he found it likely that Egede studied the Pietistic view on theology during his stay at the University of Copenhagen. What seems clear is that the theology discourse at Egede's time was to quite some extent characterised by the opposing traditions of Orthodoxy and Pietism. His time was very much a transition period between those two traditions. To me it also seems like the older less scholastic Orthodox tradition had more in common with Pietism than the newer Orthodox tradition.

The Pietistic movement was initiated by the German theologian Phillip Jacob Spener (1635 -1705). His main goal was to turn propagation of the Gospel into practical deeds as opposed to Orthodox Lutheranism's more theoretical approach. Christianity had, according to his view, to be practiced in a pious way. Understanding and accepting the Gospel and the dogmas of the Church had to include living and practicing. A strict practice for how to live and practice the faith followed from their message. One of the important, and in Denmark/Norway most influential, branches of Pietism came from the teachings of August Herman Francke (1663 -1727). His teachings became known as Halle Pietism, named after the German town of Halle where he practiced as a professor at the university. Halle Pietism was negative to dance, fashion, playing with cards and other pleasures of life. The importance of education was emphasized, and a school for poor children was started. Missionary work in other cultures and education was thought of as an important tool in order to spread the Gospel. Initiated by Count Nicolaus von Zinzendorf the Moravian brothers, one of the most important missionary societies, was started (Astås 1994 and Britannica online). The Orthodox tradition in comparison had no moral problems with the "pleasures" of life.

²³ Also called the "Hemehutts", the "Bretherms" or the "Brethernes of Mähren".

²⁴ Fenger wrote his book partly based upon original sources like some of the letters from Egede to von Westen. Both he and a number of earlier writers had access to and studied a number of original sources on the subject.

²⁵ Most important among them professor Heinrich Müller from Rostock and the theologian Christian Gerber from Sachsen.

They had a positive approach both to alcohol and sexuality. Both were among the gifts of God and had to be related to in a positive way.²⁶

While the Orthodox Lutheranism might be said to be founded upon a scholastic intellectual foundation, one might say that the Pietistic was founded upon a more moralistic, practiced, emotional approach (Astås 1994). Many of the Pietistic missionaries came from a simple background with very little or no academic training. Often they had training as carpenters and gardeners. The conflict between the two opposing views became important in Greenland. In 1733 three Moravian "brothers,"²⁷ sent by count Zinzendorf, came to Greenland. They were highly critical of Egede's work, and the relation between them and him became very tense.

Today it is difficult to understand the conflict. From analysis done of letters and documents by Fenger (1879), both from Egede and the Moravian brothers, the conflict stems partly from conflicting theological views and partly from a personal conflict and a question of which policy to pursue towards the Greenlanders. In addition there were language problems. The Moravian brothers spoke German while Egede spoke Danish. It is quite likely that neither of them had any good command of the other language, which possibly created a number of mis-understandings and conflicts. In addition, of course, came the conflicts from a scholastic tradition being faced with a practical, often rather anti-scholastic, emotional tradition (ibid).

The Moravian missionaries accused Egede of pursuing a too authoritarian policy towards the Greenlanders. They themselves worked hard to develop consciousness of sin and moral life among the Greenlanders. In Fenger's (ibid) understanding they used a heavy "spiritual yoke."²⁸ Egede, in comparison,

²⁶ A poem written by the parson Wiesel can illustrate the orthodox tradition's positive approach to the pleasures of life (Kjellberg, 1964, page 59);

"Drink and be happy
Towards others be honest
In the bed be cozy
Such things are good to hear
among females and males"

"Drikk och war lustigh
I omganghe war ärligh
och i sängen kärligh
Sådant är got höra igen
hos qvinnor och män" (S)

As part of teaching a course in social work focused upon problems of substance abuse I became interested in the perspective of the Orthodox Christians as opposed to the perspective of Pietism. Part of my reflections on the matter I have made into a standard publication for my students in social work (Wallin Weihe 1997 VII).

²⁷ All of them with training as carpenters (Lidegaard, 1988 PS)

²⁸ "Tunge aandelige Aag" (D)

pursued a different policy, not regarding "the pleasures of life" as "sin," but requiring complete obedience on certain matters. Polemically, I can say that Egede unhesitatingly used the disciplinary tools as a servant of the King, while the Moravians unhesitatingly used the disciplinary tools of a hell and a God to be imagined²⁹ (see also Hindsberger 1997). In both cases they pursued moral values, which were important in order to achieve what they considered to be a better life. They did not agree completely upon those values, but the core values remained the same. From a "social work" perspective they both pursued values thought of as important in order to avoid social problems.

In 1741 King Christian VI of Denmark and Norway enacted a law prohibiting all religious meetings³⁰ not arranged under the supervision of the Church. A similar law was enacted in England before the turn of the century (1700) and forbade dissenting clergymen to come within five miles of an incorporated town and to teach school (Palmer and Colton 1995). The law in Denmark was active until 1842 when it was abolished (Astås 1994, Danbolt 1947 and Mykland 1978:339-342). The law illustrates the tensions within the Church and towards the independent and critical Pietistic movement. Even if the movement had considerable sympathy from the King, he wanted no independent religious movement. His sympathy for the Pietistic movement was limited to it being developed as part of the State Church. That sympathy might seem confusing as the old Orthodox view of Christianity gave the King an even more powerful position. From the point of view of Royal power and the power of the representatives of the Church it might seem like the King pursued a policy of reducing his own power.

From a Habermas (1989) perspective, such policy pursued goals that can be understood from the point of view of giving the new bourgeois society an emotional attachment to Pietistic values. Those values would be important to develop trade. The towns and trade required a highly disciplined class of merchants not indulging in the pleasures of life, but in the building up of the efficient machinery of trade. Pietism can be seen as a way of communicating the values which were important for building the new nation state. Habermas (ibid) emphasizes that one of the characteristics of the new mercantile nation state was the one-way communication from the King and the bureaucracy to the citizens. That communication came partly as "letters to the public."

In addition an independent market for news and written information developed. The new Pietistic movement was among the ones communicating with the public through written news. However, in most of Denmark/Norway

²⁹ I am well aware that God was thought of and is experienced as a reality that could and can be experienced. For those believing in God it might be experienced as almost blasphemy to write about God as something "to be imagined".

³⁰ "Conventiculum" (L). In Danish the law was called "Konventikkelplakaten"

the Church probably remained one of the most important sources of information. Using Habermas, I can say that it was important for the King, in order to gain control over the new Pietistic movement, to ally himself with it. In that way the King could invade the private in order to gain control over an increasingly uncontrollable internationally based Pietistic movement . Using the Church as a tool in that process ensured that information and discussion on religious matters remained under the control of the King.

Of course it is also possible, and quite likely, that the King was influenced by the theological argumentation of the Pietistic movement. Just as the bourgeois society was influenced by those views, the King and his representatives might have been influenced. Still the main point remains, the King gained influence over the Pietistic movement both through making it illegal to organize it outside the Church and through integrating it into the Church. Still, the followers of the Pietistic movement and later lay movements had inbuilt opposition to the King and the State. After all their main loyalty was to God and their interpretation of the Gospel and their understanding of what were good morals. Sometimes that loyalty conflicted with the practices of the State, and the result was tension and sometimes opposition to the power of the King.

3.3. THE PROBLEM OF POVERTY AND THOSE WITH "NEEDS "

The early development of social services and law in the Nordic countries is described in "Discovering poverty 18th century legislation in Scandinavia"³¹ (Andersson, Dyrvik et al 1982). A study of the development of social politics in Norway from 1740 - 1920 has been done by Seip (1994). The first poor laws came as rules against begging and particularly vagabonds begging.³² A Danish regulation³⁴ of 1708 clearly stated the King's dislike for begging and outlawed it outright. Similarly, in England the Act of Settlement of 1662 made each parish responsible for its paupers. In practice that meant that poor people had to remain in the parishes they lived in. In Palmer and Colton's (1995) opinion that meant that " a large section of the English population was immobilized" (ibid:177).

Prior to 1708 there were a few regulations in Christian V's Danish law of 1683 about care for the poor. Chapter 19 of the law had regulations about hospitals and the poor. The hospitals were charities for old, sick and disabled and were administrated independently of the ordinary system for the poor. The patients³⁵ received lodging and food, and, in the end, the hospital would arrange for their funeral. Other poor and people without proper housing³⁶ should receive help from "superintendents of the poor"³⁷ who should finance the help through interest from capital given for helping the poor and from offerings in the Churches and collection boxes.³⁸ The principle of the law was to finance through voluntary gifts. All able-bodied people were supposed to provide for themselves through working. Those able-bodied who did not work and traveled around begging should, according to the same law, be arrested, sentenced to prison and chained³⁹ (Andersson, Dyrvik et al 1982).

Medical work was for a long time the responsibility of the Church. In Christian the fifth's Norwegian law from 1687 the parsons were given the responsibility of visiting and taking care of the sick in their districts. The parsons even had the responsibility for teaching midwives. It seems like the connection between medicine and Church was strong at least until the early

³¹ "Oppdagninga av fattigdommen Sosial lovgivning i Norden på 1700-tallet" (N)

³² The Nordic countries do not include Finland. However at the time Finland was part of Sweden, which probably explains why the word "Scandinavian" is used about Finland.

³³ "Bettlerforordninger" (D)

³⁴ "Forordning" (D)

³⁵ "Hospitalslemmer" (D). The Danish word could possibly better be translated "those inhabiting hospitals" or "those living in hospitals".

³⁶ "Husarme" (D)

³⁷ "Fattigforstandere" (D)

³⁸ "Tavle og bøssepenge" (D)

³⁹ The law used the expression "dømmes til fængsel og jern" (D) or directly translated "sentenced to prison and iron".

1800s, in some places probably even much later. The parsons were among the few educated people and often kept themselves updated in the general development of science (Holck 1996). Some of them were studied in medicine in addition to theology, others studied subjects like botany and zoology.

Copenhagen, the town with the best developed "poor relief,"⁴⁰ had a system for distributing charity either in cash or food, providing lodging and administrating institutions. The two most important were "The children's house in Christianshavn,"⁴¹ an institution which was an institution both for difficult and disobedient children and arrested beggars and vagrants, and "The plague house", an institution for those with contagious diseases, old and disabled, mentally ill and arrested beggars. Other towns had the above mentioned "hospitals," and a system for administrating relief to the poor through the local parsons. In the towns the parsons were assisted by "superintendents of the poor."⁴² Institutions solely established for the poor did not exist outside of Copenhagen. Outside of Copenhagen, vagrants and beggars were sent to forced labor at the local fortresses (Andersson, Dyrvik et al 1982).

At the end of the 1600s the Pietistic movement in Germany took the initiative to establish several institutions for children.⁴³ Fredrik IV, who as a 29 year old became King in 1699, had as a Crown Prince made two journeys abroad. In 1692 -1693 he visited France, Italy and Germany, and in 1695 he made another trip to Germany.⁴⁴ It is quite possible that he was influenced by the Pietistic movement. He visited some of their institutions in Germany. At least it seems as if he shared their concern for the welfare of poor children and for their education (ibid). The Pietists declared that service of the souls and service of the body were interdependent. In Halle this included a school for the poor, an orphanage, a hospital and a widow's home. In the words of Bosch (1991:254) " this dynamic and comprehensive understanding of the reign of God - in which salvation and well-being, soul and body, conversion and development were not to be divorced from the other -..." At least one of the members of the "Missionary Board,"⁴⁵ Ewald, belonged to the Brethrens or Moravians. He was among the ones consulted by the Moravian missionaries before they came to Greenland. Ewald functioned both as a preacher in the "children's home"⁴⁶ in Copenhagen and as a member of the "Missionary Board" (Bobé 1944).

⁴⁰ "Fattigvesen" (D)

⁴¹ "Børnehuset i Christianshavn" (D)

⁴² "Fattigforstandere" (D)

⁴³ "Arme" or "Waisenhäuser" (G)

⁴⁴ The purpose of the last trip was to find a suitable Queen.

⁴⁵ "Missionscollegiet" (D)

⁴⁶ "Waysenhuset" (D)

In 1706 Niels Benzon⁴⁷ wrote a report⁴⁸ based upon the King's demand for the creation of three projects;

A. The system of poor in Copenhagen⁴⁹

B. About poor children's placement in "poorhouses"⁵⁰

C. About the abolishment of begging⁵¹ and payment of assistance to the poor.⁵²

Benzon himself saw no need for new laws, nevertheless a new poor law was drafted and signed by the King on the 24 th of September 1708. The new law outlawed begging. There was one exception. A person hit by a particular catastrophe, like a fire or shipwreck, could apply and get a written permission to travel around and beg. Relief for the poor was to be given by the local authorities. The poor were divided into three groups;

1. Those not able to feed themselves by working

2. Poor children without parents

3. Those able to partly feed themselves by working.

The help was to be given as food, clothing and as assistance in case of sickness and death. In 1727 a Royal "home for children without parents"⁵³ was established in Copenhagen (Andersson, Dyrvik et al 1982:72-82).

All contributions and financing of poor relief was to be voluntary. This principle remained for 100 years. At that time it was quite obvious that voluntary contributions gave insufficient financing of relief for the poor. The principle of giving all help through the local authorities and outlawing the individual relationship between the beggar and those giving to them was new. In the middle ages it was supposed to be a Christian virtue to give individual contributions to the poor. In the modern society all such help had to be given through administrative bodies, and in that way the social control increased. Contributions should be given according to social and moral standing (Seip 1994). Foucault describes "the art of distributions" and understands the development as part of the disciplining process of society (Foucault 1977). Interestingly, this process included the disciplining of both those receiving and those contributing (ibid).

The Danish regulation of 1708 was not followed by a similar law for Norway. Nevertheless, all the main principles of the law were practiced in both

⁴⁷ Benzon (1646 - 1708) had the Danish title of "genralprokurør" which translated would be something like "General lawyer" or " Chief Crown lawyer".

⁴⁸ "Betenkning" (D). The report still exists and the above information is from a chapter by Jørgensen in Andersson, Dyrvik et al (1982)

⁴⁹ "Fattigvæsen" (D). It might seem natural to choose the translation of "system for poor relief", however the system the King wanted was more "how to deal with the poor" and that included not only relief, but also use of force, policing and so on.

⁵⁰ "Armehuse" (D). The Danish word is the same as the German and I have chosen a direct translation of the German word.

⁵¹ "betleriets afskaffelse" (D)

⁵² "udbetaling af fattighjælp" (D)

⁵³ "Vajsenhuset" (D)

countries. Christian V's Norwegian law of 1687 divided the poor into two main categories. Those poor without any moral fault of their own should receive care from the Church. Those begging and traveling around were thought of as criminals and should be dealt with by secular authorities. A regulation⁵⁴ about begging from 1683 required beggars to register and to be given a "begging sign"⁵⁵ (Dyrvik in Andersson, Dyrvik et al 1982).

In 1735 Christian VI wrote a letter to the governor of Norway.⁵⁶ The King wanted to abolish begging. A number of regulations followed in different parts of the country.⁵⁷ As part of his investigation into the problem of the poor, the governor collected information (reports) from various secular and Church authorities. Altogether 48 of those reports defined the poor into categories. The main categories were either "strangers or locals"⁵⁸ or "the correct or incorrect poor."⁵⁹ It is possible to identify 10 subcategories from the reports;

- Day workers (workers taking work on a day-to-day basis) (mentioned in 24 reports)

- Gypsies,⁶⁰ tramps (mentioned in 18 reports)

- Soldiers, families of soldiers (mentioned in 16 reports)

- Children (mentioned in 11 reports)

- Cotters/crofters⁶¹ (mentioned in 7 reports)

- Retired farmers (mentioned in 7 reports)

- Foreigners (jugglers) (mentioned in 6 reports)

- Unmarried mothers (mentioned in 4 reports)

- Fishermen (mentioned in 3 reports)

- Sawmill workers (mentioned in 2 reports)

(ibid: 121).⁶² In the hearings, the farmers reacted strongly against day workers (workers taking work on a day-to-day basis) because they made it more costly

⁵⁴ "Forordning" (N)

⁵⁵ "Tiggarteikn" (N)

⁵⁶ The Danish count Christian Rantzau

⁵⁷ Akershus 1741, Bergen 1755, Kristiansand 1786 and Trondheim 1790.

⁵⁸ "innfødde og framande" (N)

⁵⁹ "rette og urette" (N)

⁶⁰ Gypsies is the most common translation of "tater", however a "tater" will understand himself as of another group of travelers than gypsies.

⁶¹ "Husmenn" do have quite a lot in common with the British system of crofters/cotters, nevertheless there are differences and the categories do not compare completely. A typical "husmann" or directly translated "house man" would hire a plot of land from a farmer and pay him back with work. How the system was run varied somewhat in different parts of Norway. In some parts of the country "husmenn" would typically be a brother of the farmer. Some of them had a strong financial basis in fishing or other economical activities. Along the coast a special group of "cotters" existed called beach sitters ("strandsittere" N) having no other economic activity of their own than fishing.

⁶²

"Laufolk og dagleiarar 24

Taterar, fantar 18

Soldatar og soldatfamiliar 16

Born 11

Husmenn 7

to hire seasonal work. Day workers traveled around and made labor more costly than those settled permanently in one place. They wanted workers to settle permanently and to use regulations against vagrants and beggars in order to get cheaper labor costs.

The only town in Norway with a somewhat developed charity system of care for the poor was Trondheim . The town had 6 public social charities. A children's institution named "blådegnehuset," a hospital named St. Jørgen, the house for the poor with 80 placements, a house of correction, and charities giving economical help respectively to those without proper housing and to school children. The house of correction⁶³ was established in 1639 and existed until the big fire in 1681. The charity behind remained in existence, however a house of correction was not re-established until 1732. Bergen, the town Egede made his travels from, established a children's institution as early as in 1646. After a while it was developed into a "manufacturing house" and functioned as a work and correctional institution. At the end of the 1600s about 100 people were kept in the institution. At the beginning of the 1700s a private citizen, Jacob von Wida, employed the females and they were, to a large extent, occupied with producing military uniforms. In 1726 he lost the contract, and the institution was closed. In 1744 the manufacture house in Bergen was reopened. Now it was financed by voluntary contributions. One of the main reasons for reopening it was the large number of beggars. The manufacturing house functioned as a kind of "correctional institution" for beggars (ibid).

The kind of poor targeted by the laws and regulations of Christian VI can be divided into two main categories; those considered to be a correctional problem and those who were needy due to no fault of their own. The first were partly, from a Pietistic point of view, people who could be corrected through developing a better moral standard. The second was a group which could be divided into two: first, those poor that needed help permanently, like the old and handicapped, and secondly those, like the children, that could be educated into being productive citizens.

In addition comes a third group of poor, an increasing number that had been employed in machinery of the State and the merchant economy. The rules of the trading companies give ample proof of that awareness. Those being part of the machinery were thought of, from an early point, as the responsibility of "the system." It is natural to think that as that sector grew, so grew the social responsibility of it. The earliest examples of schemes to help "needy widows

Kårfolk 7

Utlendingar (gjøgglarar) 6

Ugifte mødrer 4

Fiskarar 3

sagbruksarbeidarar 2" (N)

⁶³ "Tukthus" (N)

and their children"⁶⁴ can be found in the Asiatic Company Statutes⁶⁵ of 1670, chapter 13 (Feldbæk 1986:40). The new structure of trading companies had, in many cases, as part of their statutes regulations about helping employees that became "poor." In the statutes of the Asiatic Company of 1787 chapter VII was "about the money for the poor."⁶⁶ The rules regulated how much money should be used for the poor and who should receive pensions from the money for the poor. Both "honorable and needy,"⁶⁷ employees retired from "old age or other good reasons"⁶⁸ and their widows could receive money. In addition certain groups of employees like captains, supercargoes' and ships' officers and their widows were to receive pensions (ibid:265). Using Geremek's (1994) understanding I can claim that within the group of traders and merchants solidarity was expressed in the statutes. The statutes might also be understood as strategic planning, ensuring stability and loyalty from the employees.

The latter might also be one example of the State requiring the private sector to take care of those in need. It might be said that the State "invaded" the private sector in a "question of the social sphere." Of course, it must be admitted that regulations like that also might reflect the self interest of the traders. Those receiving pensions, like the ships' officers, had, to quite some extent, a financial interest in the trade. (Geremek 1994). In addition, rules like that might from the employers' point of view foster greater job safety and loyalty from the employees.

Rules of later companies included more detailed sections upon helping those in need or the poor. Examples can be found in the statutes of the "Asiatic Company Convention"⁶⁹ of 1798 which had a section titled: "The Company money for the poor and money collected for the poor"⁷⁰ (Feldbæk 1986:339). The rules concerning the company poor regulated the Company's relationship to "Needy clerks or their widows"⁷¹ and "Poor workers, seamen and their widows."⁷² Similar rules existed in the statutes of 1787 (ibid:209). The rules covered both a kind of pension system and relief help to the "poor,"⁷³ or "needy."⁷⁴ The terminology is interesting. Workers, sailors and their widows were defined as poor while clerks and their widows were defined as needy. The latter were closer to the leadership of the company and defined as "needy." The use of terminology reflects the economy of the various groups of

⁶⁴ "deris Effterlatte Hustruer och Børn" (D)

⁶⁵ Asiatisk Kompagni Oktroj (D)

⁶⁶ "Om de fattiges penge" (D)

⁶⁷ "Værdige og nødlidende" (D)

⁶⁸ "Alderdøm eller andre gode Aarsager" (D)

⁶⁹ Asiatisk Kompagni Konvention (D)

⁷⁰ "Compagniets Fattig-Kasse og Fattig-Bøsse" (D)

⁷¹ "trængende betient eller hans Enke" (D)

⁷² "fattige Arbeids-Folk og Matroser, saavel som deres Enker" (D)

⁷³ "fattige" (D)

⁷⁴ "trængende" (D)

employees. Workers and sailors were paid at a subsistence level, while clerks had a somewhat higher pay. In addition the rules reflect solidarity within one's own class. The clerks and their families were part of the bourgeois, the workers and sailors were not.

In the statutes of the Asiatic Company of 1772 there are rules regulating the relationship to the guilds (*ibid*). The guilds had their own systems for taking care of their poor (Andersson, Dyrvik et al 1982). Again that practice probably reflected what might be defined as solidarity within the group. Such solidarity is difficult to trace in historical sources. Most of it was probably not written, but practiced, and according to the common knowledge and moral of the group.

Those "needy and underprivileged" or the "poor" that had not been part of "the organized economy" were in Denmark/Norway dealt with both on the State level and on the more private level. The State organized laws and regulations concerning the poor. This occurred to quite some extent, as I have shown, because they were thought of as a nuisance. Part of the regulations were made in order to control the population of homeless and migrants. At the same time the same population was necessary as a source of seasonal labor during harvest time. Private employers had limited interest in paying those workers when they did not need them. The conflicting views of regarding the homeless as a seasonal labor resource and as a nuisance were reflected both in the regulations made and in the practice which developed. Private interest in a labor supply included only that section of the poor able to work. Those not able to work due to handicaps or age were entirely another matter. Helping those groups was thought of as a moral obligation to be carried out by fellow humans. The role of the State was to ensure that help was given and, in part, to assist when private assistance was not enough.

Traditionally, poverty and charity had, in Habermas's view (1989), remained within the responsibility of the private. At least that can be said to be true for the northern European nations. This was probably less so in the Catholic south where the Church had a traditional role in charity through monasteries and various Church-organized charities. With the rise of the nation state, the supreme rule of the King and the increasing development of trade, the involvement of the State became greater. The ideas of Pietism also gave a theological backing for increased involvement of the Church. From the Pietistic point of view it was a moral duty of the Church to organize charity and educational institutions for those in need (Astås 1994). As the Church consisted of people, they too had a moral obligation to be involved in that process.

"Gin Lane" William Hogarth⁷⁵ (1697 -1764) engraving from 1751



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William Hogarth is best known for his satirical engravings and paintings, among them "Beer street" and "Gin lane" from 1751. His work portrays his view of the "terrible" moral standard of part of the urban population. It most likely tells more about the artist and his view of those conditions than about how those conditions actually were.

CHAPTER 4. DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIAL SERVICES

The late 1800s

**“Take up the White Man’s burden -
Send out the best ye breed-
Go bind your sons to exile
To serve your captives need
To wait in heavy harness,
On fluttered folk and wild -
Your new-caught sullen peoples,
Half devil and half child”**

(Rudyard Kipling 1899 quoted in Palmer and Colton 1992:650)

4.1. INTRODUCTORY NOTES

The end of the 1800s was the starting point of nationalism or the "one people, one language, one uniform market nation" idea. At the same time it was the time of independent organizations "invading" the State and the State "invading" the independent organizations. As opposed to the free competition liberalism of the beginning of the century market barriers, borders, custom duties and an entirely new transportation and communication system were developing. In this chapter I will start by discussing the national and the attempts to create a national identity, which was often a traumatic process as many nations consisted of a number of minorities.

Since I will discuss the Norwegian Saami mission and its activity in Norway, I will concentrate upon the situation in that country. Nevertheless, the situation in Norway is not possible to understand without relating it to a larger European context. Laws, regulations and attitudes regarding social and moral questions are illustrative of that. The national is only meaningful as opposed to the national of other nations. Norwegian language policy can be understood as a policy opposed to other nations' attempts to create their uniform national systems. I will start my discussion in this chapter (4.2) with nationalism and the attempts to create a national identity. The topic will be further discussed in connection with the Saami mission in chapter 6. In this chapter I will relate to the larger European and Norwegian development.

The industrial revolution had created large urban centers and concentrations of poor. By the end of the century a number of new laws and regulations had been made to meet the challenge. Darwinism had given an entirely new view of nature and the development of man. Increasingly man was, according to the principles of social Darwinism, divided into the sophisticated, developed man of the western bourgeois and less developed primitive man. Social Darwinism had important implications for attitudes towards those living a life different from the European ideal. I will discuss some of the more general implications in 4.3. For minorities, like the Saami, social Darwinism had important implications.

The Norwegian Saami mission was one of a multitude of missions started at the time. Its founder, the Bishop Skaar, was Bishop in the Norwegian State Church, a Church that was challenged by increasingly powerful lay-organizations. Quite a number of them had strong political alliances, and many of them had strong connections inside both the State Church and parts of the State bureaucracy. I will return to a more detailed discussion and description of the Saami mission, the lay-

movement and the "High Church" in chapter 6. In this chapter I will have a more general discussion of the "High Church" and the lay-movement (4.4).

As I will later argue, in chapter 7 and 6.7., the female involvement in the Christian movement was of importance for the development of "practical caring." At the time of the Saami mission the importance of females in the Saami mission was visible. However, the leadership and the written discourse remained completely dominated by males.

There was a tremendous development in social action in the last part of the 1800s. Many of the institutions of the modern welfare state were initiated during that time. In chapter 7 I will argue that the Saami mission had important long-term regional importance upon that development in Norway. I will relate to the more general development in this chapter and return to a detailed discussion concerning the Saami mission in chapter 6.

4.2. NATIONALISM AND CREATING A NATIONAL IDENTITY

The development of nation-states as a system started, in Palmer and Colton's (1992) understanding, around 1860 -1870. It might also be said that the development of the Scandinavian states as nation-states increased through the century. This was true particularly for Norway which gained its constitution in 1814. The year of 1884 was the breakthrough for "parliamentarism" in Norway (Seip 1965). "A regime was about to go under"¹ and an increasingly nationalistic, democratic and independent state of Norway was about to emerge.

A nation state can be thought of as a state where the supreme political authority rests upon "the will and feeling of its inhabitants" (Palmer and Colton 1992:543). The process of developing such a feeling included the attitude that those from outside the state are foreigners, the experience of a common history and destiny and, in many cases, of a common culture, religion and language. Norwegian nationalism fits very well within that understanding. With historical understanding, language policy and the feeling of a common culture and destiny, the country had a significant development in the last part of the century.

At the end of the 1800s dramatic changes occurred in the structure of western countries. The capitalistic system changed from "competition capitalism" to "monopoly capitalism." There was a dramatic change from "free competition" to a gradually more and more national policy regulating trade, protecting markets and with state investments in infrastructure like railroads (ibid).

At the same time there was, as Habermas (1989) emphasized, a development toward the private "invading" the state. Through general elections, political parties, various interest-organizations and trade-organizations, "the private invaded" and established positions within the state. In Norway the number of organizations increased rapidly during the 1800s (Try 1985 and Nerbøvik 1993). Creation of a state bureaucracy happened at the same time as many private organizations and interest groups became organized. The State and municipality structure often became so mixed with private organizations that it was difficult to separate them (Habermas 1989).

From around 1870 - 1880 until around 1900, "the advanced countries" partitioned the earth between them. The new imperialism was different from that which existed in the past. While earlier colonialism had been characterized by mercantilism and maritime interests, the new imperialism was occupied with acquiring raw materials for European industries and developing markets for their

¹ "Et regime foran undergangen" (N)

products . This required investments in infrastructure, changing the production sector and often transforming large elements of the local population into wage-earning employees of foreign investors (Palmer and Colton 1992:642-693).

Missions were often part of that process. In a statement from as early as 1828 the superintendent of the LMS wrote: "While our missionaries....are everywhere scattering the seeds of civilization, social order, happiness, they are,by the most unexceptionable means extending British interests, British influence, and the British empire Wherever the missionary places his standard among a savage tribe, their prejudices against the colonial government give way" and in another quotation: "Missionary stations are the most efficient agents which can be employed to promote the internal strength of our colonies, and the cheapest and best military posts that a wise government can employ to defend its frontier against the predatory incursions of savage tribes" (Philip 1828 quoted in Bosch 1991:305). Even more the importance of missions was emphasized from the hey days of colonialism. The German Carl Mirbt wrote in 1910: "Mission and colonialism belong together, and we have reason to hope that something positive will develop for our colonies from this alliance" and the German Colonial Secretary declared "To colonize is to missionize". A Catholic missionologist wrote: " It is the mission that subdues our colonies spiritually and assimilates them inwardly.. The state may indeed incorporate the protectorates outwardly; it is, however, the mission which must assist in securing the deeper aim of colonial policy, the inner colonization... " (ibid:306).

Habermas (1989) concluded that the European liberal states, in addition to their earlier more traditional tasks, added several new functions;

- extensive social policy
- state regulations and, in some cases, leadership of structural changes of industries
- new public services

In his opinion, the "welfare state" or the "social state" was born.

Palmer and Colton (1992:639) described the situation in a similar way " Factory codes became more detailed and better enforced. Social insurance, initiated by Bismarck, spread to other countries. Governments regulated the purity of foods and drugs. The social service state developed, a state assuming responsibility for the social and economic welfare of the mass of its own subjects. The "new liberalism"accepted the enlarged role of government in social and economic matters." In their understanding the development can be tied to the reaction against uncontrolled markets that led business to concentrate in large corporations, or to form monopolies or trusts ,and the abuse and insecurity of the

labor force that led to increasingly powerful labor unions. However, they phrase it different and as a "social service state" and separate it from the after second world war "welfare state" (ibid: 886-888).

The technical and scientific development in the last part of the century manifested itself to most people, at least in the more central part of Europe. It might be said that "never before had science, or philosophies drawing upon science addressed themselves so directly to the existence of life and of man" (ibid:631). The pressure to invest in and utilize new technology and the challenges posed by the new technology became so great that governments had to be involved. Part of the challenge was cost. Building infrastructure, like railroads, was so expensive that it was quite often far outside the possibilities for individuals or businesses. This was particularly true in the more rural, less-developed parts of the world. The governments became involved in several ways. Two of them were as regulators and investors, due to the consequences and challenges of the new technology and because it was "demanded" of them by the public. It might even be said that participation in the use and development of new technology served as important national symbols.

As in industrial production, standardization was part of the national process. The process towards uniform standards and understanding of reality can also be seen in language policy and in the whole nation-building process (ibid). Some groups, like those not sharing the standard language and national identity of the nation, posed a threat to those pursuing such a policy. The Saami in Sweden, Norway and Russia (Finland)² represented one of those groups. Many of them were nomadic, crossing national borders and having their own language (Lorenz 1991). At the same time the Saami were sometimes used as national symbols. In 1905 the painter Even Ulving received an assignment for a painting with motifs from Helgeland in northern Norway for the coronation in 1906. Ulving chose a motif of herd of reindeer being chased into the sea by Saami reindeerherders. In the words of the art historian Øyvind Storm Bjerke; "Ulving might equally well have chosen a fishing fleet as his motif, but he clearly preferred nature and the people who live in it. As a gift for the coronation only the most typical would be appropriate and in depicting the reindeer and Lapps he shows what is unique to this region compared to other parts of the country and at the same time what is locally typical" (Ulving 1997: 154-155).

That process can be understood as a reaction against the old "free market" policy and a movement towards small "monopoly markets" for industrial products and

² Finland was an Archduchy under Russia until 1917

industrial standards, which resulted in the creation of a national identity or the "uniform person." Polemically, I can say that this development led towards the uniform, or predictable, consumer of a national market. This process also eliminated the small craftsmen and independent workers.

The development towards building one nation and one national identity was not always successful. In Norway, for example, substantial differences existed within the country. Many of them were built into the State bureaucracy (Try 1985). Part of the reason was the process, which Habermas described (1989), of organizations invading the State. Another part was old conflicts of interests between various bodies of the State and between regions. Knudsen (1991) discuss the development of state structures and compare them to coral reefs. In his opinion ".....states share some basic traits even though they are evolving from unintended consequences of human action and sheer coincidence. This is partly due to imitation and partly some general conditions shared by the European countries. But both coral reefs and states differ in size, shape, age , etc. having been molded by varying conditions"(ibid:10-11). Some of those conditions were undoubtedly regional and resulted in the "invading organizations" being able to make alliances with various bodies of the state and coming in conflict with other bodies. The result was often that understanding the State became more difficult .

Even if complexity existed the State and public services most often presented themselves as one homogenous body. By basing himself upon more modern data Lipsky (1980) pointed out that the uniform opinion and policy of public bodies to quite a large extent hide the fact of local adaptations of policy. Creating the national sometimes means "hiding" complexity and "creating" an image of one nation and one people.

4.3. THE LAY MOVEMENT AND "HIGH" CHURCH

The "High Church," or what in Norway might be defined as the Church of the "establishment" of theologians believing in the "accepted" scholarly tradition of the Church, was an important part of the structure of the State. It might be said that the "High Church" tradition served as an important tool in disciplining the people into believing in obedience to the established earthly power structure. As that power structure came under attack, so did the State Church. As the rest of the State structure, the "High Church" became, in Habermas's (1989) view, increasingly invaded by private organizations and those believing in different ways. Theological differences were nothing new, but theological differences with strong support from independent groups of believers was a new development. A variety of organizations started through the 18th century. Some of those groups chose to be totally independent of the Church, while others had some kinds of connections with the established State Church.

It is possible to separate between "High Church" interests and diverging opinions within the Church. Those diverging opinions would be theologians working as part of the Church but acting independently and often in opposition to what could be defined as "High Church" interests. This meant that controversies within the Church were increasing. Some of them centered around how the Church should meet the challenges of the changing and increasingly urbanized population. Others related to how to deal with the challenges of charity and social problems. Still others were connected to theological differences and questions of faith. The problem of the "national" was one of the difficulties.

The Church was part of the fabric of the State, and the union with Sweden was being increasingly challenged. A uniform national identity was pursued, and the Church was expected to participate in that development. In Habermas's opinion (ibid) this development led to the State losing its unique position. The State no longer represented particular state interests but was changed into a playground for various private interests and interest-groups. Accepting Habermas's view, there is good reason to believe that the State Church represented particular challenges in a process like that. For one thing, the Church had a long tradition as part of the fabric of the State, and for another, it had a leadership educated to discipline both the theologians within the Church and the congregations.

Even if the State Church increasingly met challenges from those "invading" it, quite a number of those challengers remained independent organizations outside of the Church. The many "missionary associations" and support groups are

examples of that. Most of the organizations outside of the Church represented the "lay movement," or Christians organized outside of the leadership of the educated, theological establishment of the State Church. A few organizations were organized as part of the Church and under the leadership of the State Church. Most independent religious organizations had some contact with the State Church. The Church simply had such a dominating position in the country that it was nearly impossible not to have contact. Schools, army, courts and all state bodies had some kind of contact with the State Church (Danbolt 1947).

In opposition to the situation of preaching and interpreting the Gospel from the pulpit, many of the lay organizations were occupied with practical matters and often had a more literal understanding of the Bible. For the members of the congregations in the State Church the lay organizations' more simplified interpretation of the Gospel and practical work had a considerable appeal. The same was true, for that matter, for a number of theologians within the State Church. They experienced that the changing society posed new challenges that had to be met by the Church. In Norway, one of the most important and scholarly of them was the theologian Eilert Sundt (1852 reprint 1974 and 1859 reprint 1976).

4.4. SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT AND ACTION

After 1814, the year of the Norwegian constitution, new laws for the nation replaced many laws from the time of the union with Denmark. In 1828 a new "poor law"³ was proposed in Norway. A commission was established in 1829, a second one followed in 1833 and finally one in 1843. That law was finally passed in 1845 and made local municipalities responsible for assistance to the poor (Seip 1994). The principle of local responsibilities and decision-making on the municipality level remained important in Norwegian politics both in the last and in the present century. In Seip's understanding, the law only outwardly created uniformity. Local practice and organization remained dependent upon resources and established practices in each municipality. Thus the poor law was part of creating the "image" of a uniform national system, "hiding" the fact that the nation consisted of numerous different systems.

In Norway the years after 1845 were dramatic from an economic and social point of view. Social unrest and economical difficulties created discussions about a new "poor law" and the economic conditions for the large rural population. The later were, to quite a large extent, cotter farmers and rural labor, many of whom lived under difficult conditions. It was soon evident both that the poor law passed in 1845 had to be changed and that there was a need for laws concerning cotter-farmers. Finally a new law commission working with the question of "poor law" was established in 1853 and another commission on cotter-farmers in 1850 (ibid).

The creation of a labor movement by Marcus Thrane⁴ created a tense situation. By 1851 Thrane had started 300 unions for workers with about 30.000 members. After large demonstrations in 1851 he was sentenced to four years of forced labor. He emigrated to USA in 1863 and revisited Norway in 1883 (ibid). His arrest and the reaction against the labor movement somewhat crippled the labor movement. Nevertheless, the labor movement and the possibilities for new unions continued to be a factor to take into consideration. Even if the ownerless and laborers were not represented in any public bodies, they could no longer be ignored. The poor law commission of 1853 was in agreement about the importance of respect for private ownership and property. As the commission consisted of members of the "elite", anything else would have been surprising. Those who had ownership and property emphasized the importance of protecting

³ "Fattiglov" (N)

⁴Marcus Thrane (1817-1890).

those "rights." That they did so illustrates that those rights were no longer unchallenged. Apart from that it is possible to identify two different approaches:

- A theological fraction found that the solution to the poverty question had to be found in moral "up-seeding". From their point of view poverty was, to quite a large extent, the result of bad morals.

- The opposite view was that poverty was the result of economic conditions and that the solution had to be found in economic growth.

The theological fraction consisted of the theologians Eilert Sundt and Sverdrup. The other fraction consisted of two lawyers, one of them the economist Aschehoug, who had a more secularized view upon moral questions. They did not reject the moral aspect but emphasized that poverty most often was a result of economic conditions and not of bad morals. Their view must have been shared by the labor movement and many independent organizations which in some way represented the interests of the "less fortunate" (ibid). In the end, the commission suggested two types of approaches to the poor. A harsh approach was suggested towards those with "bad morals" or those categorized as "bad or doubtful clients."⁵ Help for those groups was suggested to be severely restricted, partly as material goods (no cash) and placement in institutions like workhouses. Those measures can be categorized as "preventive." The suggestion was made to give more honorable clients loans and family-like caring. The final law was passed in 1863, and it entailed stricter conditions for poor help and possibilities of placing the poor "under guardianship."⁶ Still, the law did not, as suggested by the commission, use harsh measures like workhouses. Because of the principle of local rule, decisions and administration remained on the municipal level. This meant that things largely remained the same (ibid).

Another important question was whether health and social services should be a public system administrated and supported by the State and municipalities, or whether they should be run by philanthropic organizations. Some theologians argued that such services, and particularly those targeted towards the poor, should be the responsibility of the Church. Krogh-Tønning (1879:6) published a book where he wrote in the introduction: "Faced with the incredible misunderstanding on which the modern care for the poor is based, that it is a state responsibility to take care of the poor, I will prove that it is a Christian and not a civic responsibility."⁷ A lecture by parson Berg at the diocese meeting in Oslo in 1880 can illustrate the same view; "With help to the poor from the Church, we

⁵ "dårlige eller tvilsomme elementer" (N)

⁶ "umyndiggjøre" (N)

⁷ "Over for den uhyre vilfarelse, hvorpaa den moderne fattigpleje hviler, at det er Statens sag at drive Fattigplejen. vil jeg søge at bevise, at det er en kristelig og ikke en borgerlig Opgave" N.

understand the congregations' arrangements to relieve the distress of the poor. "God's word has taught us that we have an obligation to take care of the poor" ⁸ (Bergh 1881:114 PS). After some introductory reflections upon the historical development, he attacked the public tax-based system of help to the poor: "Those, who have something, will by taxation have no wish to help the poor more than they are required to do. They will be of the opinion that they have done enough, and that the poor is secured sufficient help. Their only acquaintance to poverty is of the kind when begging at doors, which is pure business done by morally corrupted unworthy needy" ⁹ (Bergh 1881:117 PS). Even if he described what he considered to be the disadvantages of the public tax-based system, he did not argue for a solely Church-based system. Due to "the hardened hearts" ¹⁰ (ibid:128), he saw the public system as a necessity, particularly for establishing and running big hospitals. Nevertheless he wanted to restrict public poor help and to have a major part of relief done by the Church.

Bergh's view illustrates that the Church did not manage to deal with the increasing number of poor. Reluctantly, he accepted that a public sector was needed and that charity alone would not be able to cover the need: "That the life of the Church would bloom to the extent that its relief system for the poor could by itself cover all the needs for those justified to receive such help, seems to belong to those pious wishes that never will be fulfilled" (ibid:128).¹¹ Another part of his argument was that a Christian State should have responsibility for helping the poor. Those in favor of the Church having the sole responsibility of helping the poor argued that public support of the poor would cause deterioration of the moral standard of the poor (Krogh-Tønning, 1879 PS). Philanthropic organizations like "The association for voluntary help to the poor in Old Aker Congregation," ¹² which was established in 1872 (Lutheran Church Bulletin¹³ 1873 I:109 PS), also experienced the impossibility of helping the increasing number of poor in a large town like Oslo (Seip 1994). Most such philanthropic associations had some kind of connection to the Church. Many of them initiated activities and relief programs which later on had to be taken over by the State.

⁸ "ved kirkelig fattigpleje forstår vi kirkens, navnlig stedmenighedens foranstaltninger til afhjælpning af den fattiges nød. At kirken har pligt og derved ret til at tage sig af de fattige, lærer Guds ord os" (N) (Bergh, 1880, page 114 PS)

⁹ "De, der har noget, får ved skattepålæg ulyst at gjøre mere for de fattige, end hvad der bliver den pålagt; de mener at have gjort nok, og at den fattige er sikret den nødvendige hjælp; når de komme i berørelse med fattigdommen, er det kun gennem tiggeriet ved dørene; dette drives som en ren næringsvej af de moralsk fordærvede og uværdige trængende..." (N) (Berg 1881:117 PS)

¹⁰ "hjerternes hårdhed" (N) (ibid:128)

¹¹ "At kirkens liv skulde blive så blomstrende, at dens fattigpleje kunde tilfredstille alle de berettigede krav til trængens afhjælpelse inden den, hører vistnok til de fromme ønsker, der ikke vil blive opfyldt" (N) (Ibid:128).

¹² "Foreningen for frivillig Fattigpleje i Gamle Aker Menighed" (N)

¹³ "Luthersk Kirketidende" (N)

Economic change continued in the years to come. Rural population decreased and urban population increased. The emigration to America started. In 1867 Eilert Sundt was attached as an advisor to the Ministry of the Church, in matters regarding the poor and poverty. He researched the matter extensively. Due to his research he moderated his earlier views of poverty as being created from bad morals. He concluded that poverty was created due to "a complex of moral and economical problems" (Sundt, 1870 in Seip 1994).¹⁴ His research showed that structural reasons, rather than moral, could explain poverty. Among the poor men in Oslo¹⁵ he found around 15 -20% with drinking problems. This meant that around 80 % of the men had no drinking problem. In addition were all the female poor and the children, of whom the overwhelming majority had no problem which could be categorized as "moral." Sundt researched a number of subjects such as poverty, morals, drinking problems, vagabonding and death among fishermen (Sundt 1850 and 1852 reprint of 1974, 159 reprint of 1974, 1857-1864- 1866 reprint of 1968 and 1976 and 1861-1862-1863-1864 reprint of 1976). His research is an example of the importance of the new social sciences for the public discourse and political decisions. It is also an example of a theologian turning into a social scientist. Like quite a number of theologians, he moved far away from his original field of study.

The involvement of the Church cannot only be explained as being due to the material need of the population. Partly, of course, it was a matter of "saving souls" or to make sure that congregations remained loyal to the State Church. The Church met increasing challenges from socialist movements. In order to keep congregations loyal it was necessary for the Church to be involved in the "social question" (Knudsen¹⁶ 1894 PS).

In four rather sympathetic articles in the Lutheran Church Bulletin in 1887, Halvorsen described the new Christian social movements. He based the articles on the conditions in Germany, but emphasized the importance for the situation in Norway. Halvorsen's articles can be understood as supporting the socialist cause and the question of brotherhood and solidarity. At the same time his views were conservative in the way that he was critical to the modern capitalist state. His criticism entailed that he saw capitalist competition and economy as destructive,

¹⁴ "et Komplex af moralske og økonomiske Vanskeligheder" (N)

¹⁵ At that time called Kristiania

¹⁶ Knudsen Christoffer (1843 -1915) parson and conservative politician. From 1876 -1880, he was editor of "The Norwegian Missionary Bulletin" (Norsk Missionstidende N). From 1894 -1897, he served as a member of the parliament (Stortinget N) in Oslo (Brøgger og Jansen, MCMXXXVI and Friis and Hegna 1934)

while he seemed more positive towards the old system of guilds (Halvorsen 1887 PS).

Jens Otterbech, active in missionary work among the Saami, is another example of the German-inspired theologians. During the autumn of 1893 he stayed four months in Germany in order to study "Christian social work among helpless and down-and-out"¹⁷ (Nissen in Brøgger and Jansen, MCMXLIX:568). Both Halvorsen and Otterbech were radical socialist-inspired theologians. Both of them were involved in social issues. Otterbech was critical to part of the Norwegian nationalism, and in favor of radical political solutions to the questions of poverty.

Of course the Church was also a tool for other interests. Most theologians were probably politically conservative. The conservative movement used the Church to defend its kind of society. "High Church" interests identified with the conservative movement and were highly critical to the socialist movement. A document produced by "the Church of Sweden"¹⁸ "for discussion at the meeting of the parsons of Uppsala diocese,"¹⁹ in 1908 (Ljungqvist, 1908:185) can illustrate that point: "Social democracy uses all roads and tools to emancipate our people away from Christianity and materialize their thinking. Still the plurality of our Church-people are out of respect attached to Christianity and our Church. But the situation might soon change, if we do not wake up from the danger that is threatening."²⁰ Even if my quotation comes from a Swedish publication from after 1900, I think that it reflects fairly well the anti-socialist sentiment of the Norwegian "High Church." Ljungqvist (ibid:175) was also inspired by the development in Germany. He seemed strongly in favor of the Church initiating Christian labor unions, as had been done in Germany:

"The Evangelical labor-unions are founded upon the Evangelical declaration of faith and have as a goal;

- a. To strengthen and awaken the evangelical consciousness
- b. To work for a higher moral standard among its members
- c. To try to maintain peaceful relations between employers and workers
- d. To support members when sick or in case of death
- e. To be faithful towards the Kaiser and the nation

Hereby it can be seen that the program contains one religious, one ethical, one national and two social thoughts."²¹ For quite a few the socialist movement meant

¹⁷ "kristelig-sosialt arbeide blandt hjælpeløse og forkomne" (N)

¹⁸ "Den Svenska Kyrkan" (S)

¹⁹ "För öfverläggning vid Uppsala ärkestifts prästmöte" (S)

²⁰ "socialdemokratien använder alla vägar för att emancipera vårt folk från kristendomen och materialisera dess tänkesätt. Ännu torde pluraliteten af vårt kyrkofolk med pietetens band vara fästad vid kristendomen och vår kyrka. Men situationen kan snart ändra sig, om vi ej i tid vakna upp öfver den fara, som hotar" (S)

²¹ "Den evangeliska arbetarföreningen hvilat på grundvalen af den evangeliska bekännelsen och har till ändamål:

atheism and a scaring secular society, for others it meant solidarity and a true Christian society. The point is that both views existed within the State Church.

The Scandinavian Churches never managed to make similar "Church and nation-loyal unions"; however, the tensions between employers and labor in Sweden were probably somewhat closer to the ones in Germany than the tensions in Norway. The reason being that Sweden had more large agricultural enterprises and larger industrial centers than Norway. Still, I think that some of the same negative sentiment towards the socialist cause could be seen in the Norwegian "High Church." That did not rule out the fact that there were those strongly in favor of it, like the parson Otterbech, who was active in the Saami mission.

Observing the needy was not necessarily connected to arguing for social services and care. The yearly report of the Norwegian Saami Mission of 1897:²² (PS) describes the need, but connects it only to the need for preachers. In their opinion the people were disabled to such an extent, that it was necessary to develop the services of traveling preachers. Traveling ordained parsons would be necessary to give them the Gospel: "It is really incredible how many sick and disabled, limping and deaf of all ages who exist among the Saami. At some places one can be scared by the amount of them and about the incredibly difficult conditions under which they live. I do think that I can safely say that it is not one place in the country, which has such a richness of outlying places to which the parson never has a possibility to come and such a depressing abundance of physically handicapped, who never are able to come to the table of the Church,²³ as in Finnmark. But there is possibly not any part of the country where a traveling ordained parson is as necessary as up here."²⁴ Of course, quite a number continued the argument and argued for starting social services and institutional

a. att hos trosförvanter väcka och stärka det evangeliska medvetandet

b. att verka för sedelig lyftning och allmän bildning bland sina medlemmar;

c. att söka bibehålla ett fredligt förhållande mellan arbetsgivare och arbetstagare;

d. att understödja medlemmarna vid sjukdoms- och dödsfall;

e. att visa trohet mot kejsaren och riket

Häraf synes att programmet innehåller en religiös, en etisk, en fosterländsk och två sociala tankar" (S)

²² "Norsk Finnemission" (N)

²³ The expression "coming to the table of the Church" could be translated with receiving communion.

²⁴ Det er i det hele taget utroligt, hvor mange syge og vanføre, halte, blinde og døde i alle Aldre, der findes blandt Finerne. Paa enkelte Steder kan man rent forfærdes over deres Mængde og over den navnløse Elendighed, de maa leve i. Jeg tror, jeg trygt tør sige, at der ikke er et sted i Landet, der har en saadan Rigdom paa afsideliggende Steder, hvorhen Presten aldrig har Anledning til at komme, og en saadan sørgelig Overflod paa Krøblinge, der aldrig kan komme til Herrens Bord, som Finnmarken. Men derfor er der vistnok heller ingen Landsdel, hvor en omreisende Prest er saa nødvendig som heroppe" (N).

care. Both within the Saami mission and among those donating money, quite a few probably did that.

Still, there were those that thought the mission and the Church should concentrate their effort on preaching and spreading the Gospel and not on providing social services. Their logic was that the enlightenment of the Gospel would be the most efficient cure both for material and spiritual problems. The emphasis upon the use of ordained parsons illustrates the importance put upon the scholarly tradition of "High Church" as opposed to the lay movements' use of lay preachers. For part of the "High Church," solutions to human problems had to be sought in preaching the Gospel. In fact, the main problem of humans was the lack of Christianity and Christian morals.

Several of the authors writing in the Lutheran Church Bulletin before 1900 compared the present-day situation with the conditions during the Catholic time. Examples from Norway, but most of all from Germany, were emphasized. One example of the latter was an article by Uhlhorn (1882, PS), copied from a book published in Stuttgart, about "Care of the Poor in the Old Church" emphasizing in a positive way the tradition of care in the Catholic Church. Another example is a book describing the historical development of care for the poor by the parson H Vold in 1882. Such nostalgic publications can illustrate the struggle of the Church to position itself in a rapidly changing modern state. Some felt that the Church had to adapt to the new. Others felt that the Church had to provide stability through remaining unchanged. From the latter view, the Church had to remain like a rock in a storm.

From the 1860s various private insurance and self-help systems²⁵ were started in Norway. Among them were a number of unemployment funds created by the increasing number of new unions. In 1904 about 10.000 workers were covered by such schemes. The social insurance system introduced in Germany by Bismarck influenced the development in Norway. The German social insurance system can be categorized as a "modified self-help system." The workers contributed most of the funds, and the State gave a considerable contribution. Bismarck had nothing against the workers' dependence on the State. He used the new insurance system as a "social pacifying" tool in order to establish a "culture state" (Seip 1994). The only such law passed in Norway before the turn of the century was "the accident insurance law"²⁶ of 1894. Another, "the sick insurance law"²⁷, followed in 1909 (ibid).

²⁵ "Support-unions" in Norwegian "understøttelsesforeninger", sick and funeral-funds in Norwegian "syke- og begravelseskasser"

²⁶ "ulykkesforsikringsloven" (N)

Another matter of great concern was the question of children without proper care. Part of the question was rights of children born outside of marriage, or what was phrased "not genuine children"²⁸ (in modern terminology illegitimate children). For the Church the issue must have been difficult. On the one hand they were opposed to support anything that might promote having children born outside of marriage. On the other hand, the children born outside of marriage had to receive some kind of protection and support. Existing laws gave children born outside of marriage no inheritance rights and no rights to support from the father. The politician Johan Castberg started the discussion in 1888. Laws giving children born inside and outside of marriage the same rights were finally passed in 1915.²⁹ A number of children's homes were established and various schemes to give help to children in need of assistance were initiated. The number of children's homes increased particularly around the turn of the century. A total of 36 children's homes were established in Norway between 1890 and 1905 (ibid).

Increasing interest, both in Norway and the rest of northern Europe, for helping groups with special needs like the deaf, blind, mute and physically handicapped is also characteristic of the last part of the century. In 1881 "the school law of abnormal children"³⁰ was passed in Norway. It gave the legal foundation for a system of "special schools and institutions", many of which were already started by philanthropic groups: during the 1850s several schools for the deaf, in the 1860s for the blind³¹ and in 1875 the first schools for mentally retarded, were started.

The situation of the deaf was among the questions discussed in the Lutheran Church Bulletin³² (Lutheran Church Bulletin 1899 II PS, Svendsen 1896 PS and Magelssen 1897 PS). The Church focused upon the difficult situation of the deaf and particularly the problems of teaching them the Gospel. The title of Magelssen's article is illustrative "Deaf and dumb heathens in Norway."³³ Magelssen emphasized that both the spiritual and material needs of the "deaf and dumb" had to be taken care of. Groups like the mentally insane, deaf and dumb, senile and mentally retarded posed, from that point of view, particular challenges for the Church.

²⁷ "sykeforsikringsloven" (N)

²⁸ "Uægte barn" (N)

²⁹ The law was named after Castberg and is most often called "The Child laws of Castberg" ("De Castbergske barnelover" N)

³⁰ "abnormskoleloven" (N)

³¹ The first school for the deaf was established in 1825 in Trondheim as a state school.

³² Luthersk kirketidende

³³ "døvtumme hedninger i Norge" (N)

Institutional care increased, particularly in the last part of the century. A number of health institutions like hospitals, mental asylums etc. were established. The placements and architecture of those institutions illustrate attitudes of the time. Children's homes, mental asylums and so on were typically placed far from urban centers. Quite often mental asylums were large monumental buildings. They were national monuments, both of the "humanism" of society and of the "scientific" approach to those in need of care. At the same time, they served as places to isolate and tidy away those beings not fit for being part of society (Foucault 1994³⁴ and Donzelot 1997³⁵).

In the town of Esbjerg, in Denmark, the prison was built as the most monumental building in the center of the town, just by the market. The same was the case in Oslo where the two main prisons were situated in central parts of the town, close to the labor district. Prisons were important symbols of justice and quite often placed on visible sites. Hospitals are another example. They were needed close to the centers and to those in urgent need. In addition, they were, like universities, important symbols of science and technology. Prisons could be thought of as sophisticated tools of correction. They were tools to be used towards the deviant part of the population and most of those came from the lower classes.

Homes for children were in Norway usually smaller, and many were placed on islands. They isolated and "protected" those who were to be brought up to be members of society. They were homes to be brought up in and prisons to be isolated in. Illustratingly two of them, Bastøy and Ulvsnesøy, were later, in modern times, converted into prisons. Bastøy is located in the Oslo fjord and Ulvsnesøy near Bergen. In both places the institutions were converted into prisons with only minor changes. Bastøy served, for a period, as an institution for alcoholics before being turned into a prison. Compared to institutions in other countries, the Norwegian ones were usually smaller and more home-like. They never utilized military-like discipline to the same extent as many other European countries. Still, both punishment and discipline were visible parts of the treatment of the children (see Dahl 1978).

Another important discussion was the question of prostitution and sale of alcohol. The public discussions on prostitution and poverty were reflected in art. In Norway Christian Krogh (1852 -1925) painted a prostitute girl in the waiting room of the police doctor and a picture of poor people waiting in line for

³⁴ Original 1963

³⁵ Original 1977

handouts of food.³⁶ Frits Thaulow (1855 -1938) made the painting "Poor boy."³⁷ Thaulow's picture gives a human and sympathetic face to poverty. Krogh was both an author and a painter. He was active in the fight against prostitution with his picture which he named "Albertine in the police doctor's waiting room"³⁸ and his book *Albertine* (1886). The Norwegian writer Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson³⁹ lectured (1888) and wrote (1883) against prostitution and sex outside of marriage. There were those with other views, like the Danish author Georg Brandes.⁴⁰ He thought of abstinence from sex as unnatural for both females and men (Lützen 1998:258). Brandes was an exception, he was not representative of his time but of a time to come. Neither painters, writers, preachers nor politicians lived in a world isolated from what happened in other countries. The Scandinavian bourgeois society was very "European" and gave an identity across borders

Prostitution is an illustrative case of the international character of the public discourse. The bourgeois western society can definitely be split up into national subgroups, but still it was to a great extent an international bourgeois society. In the beginning, regulation of prostitution was mostly a case of hygiene. Syphilis was a dangerous disease. Regulation and medical control of prostitutes was a way to reduce the risk of those using prostitutes, and of their wives, acquiring the disease.⁴¹ Such regulations met stiff resistance from various groups that felt like they legalized amoral behavior and the misuse of females. Among those reacting were a number of Christian groups and organizations against prostitution which were started in several countries. In England Josephine Butler, the wife of a parson, started an organization in 1869 to abolish "The Contagious Diseases Act". Later on, a continental association was started, a Danish branch came in 1869. The fight was partly moral, but partly developed as a matter of female solidarity. Females of the middle class fought against legal regulation and laws making prostitution legal, even if those laws only suppressed females of the working class (ibid).

Public health services were developed in a number of ways. Epidemics of cholera and other contagious diseases played an important role. The increasing urban population made the consequences of such diseases increasingly dramatic. In

³⁶ "The fight for existence" painted 1888-1889 "Kampen for tilværelsen" (N)

³⁷ "Fattig gutt" (1885)

³⁸ "Albertine hos politilægen" (N) painted 1887

³⁹ Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson 1832 -1910

⁴⁰ Georg Brandes 1842 - 1927

⁴¹ The famous Danish author Karen Blixen (1885 -1962) (pseudonym Isak Dinesen) contracted syphilis from her husband. Her case can illustrate the very real danger, even for those from the upper classes, of being contaminated by the disease.

Norway, laws on quarantine were decided upon in 1848 and the role of the medical doctor was strengthened. Vaccination programs and more advanced medical treatment and care were part of the development. Laws targeted against certain sicknesses like leprosy, tuberculosis and venereal diseases were decided upon. The development was the same all over Europe. In Norway a tuberculosis law came in 1900⁴² and a leprosy law in 1885. All of those laws gave possibilities for compulsory treatment and isolation of groups either considered to be harmful to themselves or to society⁴³ (Seip 1994). The need for such laws reflected the increased knowledge of hygiene and sickness, the frightening number of sick and the belief in medical solutions to such problems.

Part of that development was the beginning of professionalism within the field of healing and social services. The number of professionals within health and social services developed rapidly all over Europe, not only within the field of medicine but also within other fields like nursing, deaconess work etc. The professionals became important "tools" in the disciplining processes of society. While earlier, preachers from the pulpit, teachers, judges, police and military had been the disciplinary forces of society, they were now joined by the new professionals. In addition, of course, came their supporters and sometimes attackers organized in labor unions, the Christian lay movement, various other interest organizations and political parties. At the turn of the century (1900) a new poor law⁴⁴ was passed in Norway. The more problematic clients, or "the heavy clients," got their own law. It was called "the law of vagrancy"⁴⁵ and made it possible to sentence alcoholics, vagrants, beggars and so on to forced labor.

Geremek (1994:251) concludes that the attitudes towards poverty at every age: "have been peopled by proponents of voluntary poverty as well as those who exalt the virtues of work, thrift and material wealth; by those for whom charity and compassion are the supreme virtues, and those for whom poverty is a matter of indifference, a problem to be solved by a policy of repression. It is only the relative proportions of these attitudes that change." At the end of the century the complexity in attitudes towards poverty was clearly visible. The virtue of work can be said to be one of the central values both of the Lutheran tradition and of the industrial society. Charity and compassion were reserved for those who, through no fault of their own, were not able to participate in society. Those others, who did not work, met severe reactions as can be seen in the law of 1900. The State Church remained, like the rest of society, divided in its view upon

⁴² The law was the first law in the world concerning tuberculosis.

⁴³ The first law giving possibilities like that was the "mentally sick law" ("Sinnsykeloven" of 1848

⁴⁴ "Fattigloven" (N)

⁴⁵ "Iløsgjengerloven" (N)

social issues. The lay movements involved themselves in various ways: partly in preaching and in solidarity with those belonging to their movement, and partly in various ways through projects directed towards the general public (Seip 1994).

"Social work" and social policy were more complex than just dealing with the poor. Different kinds of pensions and organized solidarity became more and more part of the fabric of society through the 1800s. A solidarity focused upon those integrated in the fabric of society, and not on those being outside of that fabric. As can be seen from earlier chapters there was nothing new with that kind of solidarity; however, it became more and more including as more and more people became part of the fabric of society. That process was characterized by exclusion of certain unworthy, and inclusion of others worthy, of solidarity.

Who was included and who was not has to be understood partly from a perspective of social class and partly from the point of the logic of industrial production. Part of the last was who was needed and what the cost of social unrest would be. Pressure groups, like missions, lay organizations, political parties and trade unions played an important role in the process of deciding who was worthy of solidarity. In addition, motives of charity and care played a role across the barriers of social class towards certain groups. Those would typically be groups like the blind, deaf and physically handicapped, who could be found across the boundaries of social class. The building of society and the policy of pursuing a national identity created a social policy based upon the need to discipline and educate into a national identity (Seip 1994).

4.6 THE SOCIAL, THE MORAL AND THE NATIONAL

At the end of the 1800s the discourse on social questions was very active. It was evident that society had to find solutions to a number of social issues. Whether the solutions were to be voluntary, tax-based, administrated by the public authorities, by private bodies or the Church was a more open question. Still, most would agree that voluntary solutions were not enough to solve the large social problems both in the large towns and among certain groups of rural poor.

The solution to "social problems" was sought both in disciplinary measures, in Christianity and in various schemes for providing care, training and, in some cases, in ways of redistributing resources. Some problems, like prostitution, were thought of as largely moral. However, for others prostitution was thought of as a matter of hygiene and of controlling contagious diseases like syphilis (Lützen 1998).

The Norwegian discourse was strongly influenced by what happened in the rest of Europe. Laws, regulations, solutions to social problems and the public discourse were strongly influenced by the discourse in the rest of Europe. At the same time the discourse on the social cannot be isolated from the national discourse. Still it is, in my opinion, important to acknowledge, as I will argue later in chapter 7, that part of the public discourse was not reflected in written material. The results of it can be seen in practical caring, sometimes even in opposition of official policy of the Saami mission.

The Saami mission was targeted towards the northernmost areas in Norway, areas recently integrated in the Kingdom, with a population only partly using the Norwegian language. The Saami represented a population regarded by many as more primitive than the Norwegian. For others it represented a primitive ideal.

As I will describe in chapter 6 a variety of interests, some of them conflicting, involved themselves in the Saami mission. For some of them, preaching the Gospel was the most important, for others various schemes for practical caring targeted upon a long range of social issues. The question of Saami rights and language policy was from an early stage one of the most conflicting. The Christian lay movement was in many cases, in such issues, in conflict with the "paternalistic" State Church under the leadership of the Bishop in Tromsø. Still, even the Bishop had views opposing the more extreme views of Norwegian nationalists. He was in favor of preaching the Gospel and doing some teaching in the Saami language.

The Bishop of Tromsø left archives for the historian to study. However, as I will return to in chapter 6 and 7, a substantial and important part of the discourse was never recorded. Those who remain silent in the archives were not necessarily without influence. The development of the Saami mission gives proof of that.

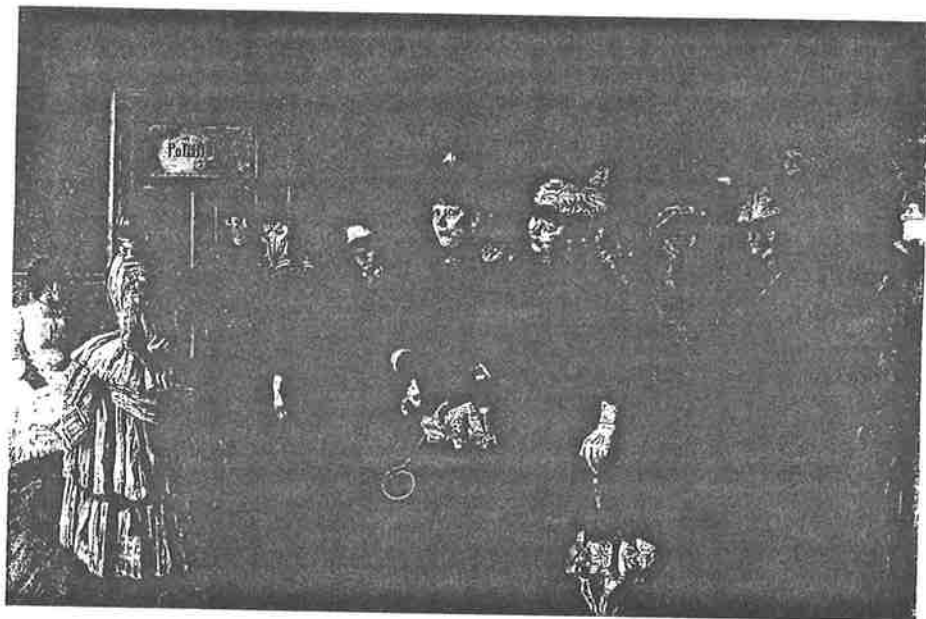
"Reindeer in winterlandscape" painted in 1905-1906 by Even Ulving (1863-1952) for the coronation in 1906. The painting is part of the collection of the Royal Palace in Oslo (Ulving 1997:57)



**"Poor Boy" painted by Erik Werenskiold (1855 - 1938) in 1885
(Hoff 1998:12)**



"Albertine in the waiting room of the police doctor" painted by Christian Krogh (1852 -1925) in 1887 (Danbolt and Kjershow 1997:128)



"The Weekly Journal published by The Association against legal protection of amoral behavior"

"Maanedssblad udgivet af Foreningen imod Lovbeskyttelse af Usædelighed" (D)
(Lützen 1998:246)

MAANEDSBLAD

udgivet af

Forening imod Lovbeskyttelse for Usædelighed.

Det britiske og almindelige Selskabs danske Afdeling.

For Tiden ved

Jul. Lassen, og O. M. Giersing,
Cand. Juris. forh. Biftalems.

Nr. 1.	1ste April.	1879.
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Indhold: Vort Øjemed — Beslutninger paa Congressen i Genf 1877 —
Foreningens Vedtægter — Om Foreningens Navn af y. — Til
foreløbig Orientering af Jul. Lassen. L.

Vort Øjemed.

Vor Forening danner den danske Afdeling af det store Selskab, som fører Navn af «Fédération britannique, continentale et générale pour l'abolition de la Prostitution, spécialement envisagée comme Institution légale ou tolérée».

Det er vor Overbevisning, at der blandt de Onder, hvorunder de civiliserede Samfund lide allevegne, ligesom hos os, ikke er noget, som er større eller i sine Følger fordærveligere baade for Legeme og Sjæl end den overhaandtagende Usædelighed.

Det er fremdeles vor Overbevisning, at disse Følger i i høj Grad forværres, hvor Statsstyrelsen paatager sig at ordne Usædeligheden ved Love og Politiforanstaltninger, hvis nødvendige Virkning er, at Folkets Sædelighedsfølelse undergraves, og at dets Afsky for Lasten svækkes.

Det er endeligt ogsaa vor Overbevisning, at Loven bør tilsikre enhver Undersaat, Mand som Kvinde, lige Beskyt-

II THE MISSIONS

Thus it is written, that the Christ should suffer and on the third day rise from the dead, and that repentance and forgiveness of sins should be preached in his name to all nations, beginning from Jerusalem. You are witnesses of these things. And behold, I send the promise of my Father upon you; but stay in the city, until you are clothed with power from on high (Lk 24:46-49).

5. THE GREENLAND MISSION

**Famous in Norway
To be honored in Denmark
But
Living forever in Greenland**

**(Inscription by Hans Stenbuch for Hans Egedes funeral, Molland in
Myklebust (ed) 1958)**

5.1. THE PURSUIT OF THE UNKNOWN AS PART OF THE BUILDING OF THE NATION STATE

After having more generally described two historical periods I will now return to my first historical period, going into the details of the Greenland mission of Hans Egede. My main focus will be the social dimension of his mission. However, as it is important to understand that dimension as part of both trade and nation building, I will start with those dimensions of his mission and gradually focus upon my main topic.

My starting point is a person, Hans Egede, who was the initiator of the Greenland mission. He is in no way typical or possible to generalise from, but he was undoubtedly the starting point of the mission. Nevertheless he has to be understood as part of his time. In my opinion persons such as Egede were needed as part of the process of building the nation state. That kind of person was not necessarily needed in Greenland and not necessarily as a missionary. My point is really that in the process of building the nation state building blocks were needed. Persons rallying to the cause, in one way or another, were part of that.

Hans Egede was born in Nordland in northern Norway on the thirty-first of January 1686. He was educated as a theologian in Copenhagen from 1704 - 1706.¹ In 1707 he became curate² in Vågan, one of the congregations in Lofoten in northern Norway. The same year he married the 13 year older Gertrud Rask. According to Fenger (1879) his first thoughts about a mission in Greenland came in 1708 and he submitted his first plans for conversion of the Greenlanders in 1710. At that time the mission in the Danish colony of Tranquebar had just started and the missionary work in Finnmark (Northern Norway) among the Saami was about to be started (Bobé 1944).

The development of missions fitted into the policy of the Danish King who tried to develop a nation state (Habermas 1989). Religion (the State Lutheran Church) and the use of missionaries was, in my opinion, part of that process. Particularly so on the outskirts of "the empire" like India, Greenland and Finnmark. The Danish colonies in West Africa and in the West Indies (Virgin Islands) were different in the way that they were based upon slave trade in Africa, and sugar plantations with slaves as the source of labor in the Virgin Islands. The Asian colonies were most of all trading points. The existing Indian infrastructure was strong and difficult to change. The need for missionaries to convert the population was due to that of a different kind. To put it more

¹ According to Fenger (1879) he came to Copenhagen in 1704 and studied for one and a half year.

² "residerende kapellan"

bluntly there was already an existing system for controlling the population and to serve the interests of the nation of Denmark (Feldbæk og Justesen 1980).

On the 10th of December 1714 the King of Denmark-Norway established "The Missionary Board"³ in Copenhagen. The Missionary Board was in charge of both the mission in Danish East India where the first missionaries arrived in 1706⁴, among the Saami with Royal instructions given in 1715⁵ and later the mission among inhabitants of Greenland (Bobé 1944 and, Feldbæk and Justesen 1980). In 1716 Egede communicated with Thomas von Westen, the initiator of the first attempt to do missionary work among the Saami. While Fenger is of the opinion that Westen supported Egede's plan to work as a missionary in Greenland, Danbolt (in Myklebust (ed)1958) is of the opinion that Westen regarded it as possible competition.

Egede started his career as a curate in 1707. After a short time he got into conflict with the local parson about the rights and income of position. He was fined and reprimanded twice for his behavior. What happened is probably both illustrative of the economical conditions in the parish and of Egede's own personality. He was not a man to avoid conflicts and pursued what he considered to be his rights (Bobé 1944 and Fenger 1879). In 1717 he left his position as a curate and travelled to Bergen. In Bergen he tried to convince the local merchants of the benefits of equipping an expedition to Greenland. However, they were reluctant and found expeditions to Greenland, without Royal support, uneconomical (Arlov 1993). Later on in 1719 he traveled to Copenhagen and tried to influence the King and the "Missionary Board"⁶ to support a mission in Greenland. Finally in 1720 he received a Royal permission and support for the expedition (Feldbæk 1986:536-452)

Egede was a person from the "outskirts" of the Kingdom. He lived far away from the great centres. At that time Copenhagen was the only great centre in the Kingdom. Other towns like Bergen, Trondheim and Oslo were of far less importance. Decisions, at least the most important policy decisions, had to be made in Copenhagen. The King was supreme as a leader of the State and the Church was part of that State. On the outskirts of the Kingdom, like where Egede lived, the influence of new thoughts and the central bureaucracy must have been felt less than in the centre. Even if less influenced by the new thoughts, and his religious views seem to indicate that, he was influenced by the thoughts about developing trade and spreading the Gospel. Due to distance and geographical conditions travel was difficult and local representatives of the

³ "Missionscollegiet" (D) or in Latin "Collegium de cursu evangelico promovendo".

⁴ For a brief description see chapter 3.2 and 3.3, and Wallin Weihe (1999)

⁵ For a brief description see chapter 7.1

⁶ "Missionscollegiet" (D) or in latin (L) "Collegium de cursu evangelico promovendo"

State, like a local parson, must have had considerable independence, an independence sometimes challenged by superiors in the system of the Church.

Hans Egede wrote that his interest for Greenland started "due to curiosity to find out about the conditions in Greenland"⁷ (Molland in Myklebust 1958:11). He was occupied with the thought of the old Norse settlements, isolated for centuries from Norway and Denmark. His expedition might be partly seen as a rescue expedition of the old Norse settlements and their Church. In addition he wanted to spread the Gospel and develop economically that far-away part of Denmark-Norway. Even one more reason might have been to gain a position of independence after his controversial service in northern Norway.

Egede never abandoned the thought that some of the old Norse had survived and mixed with the Greenlanders; "it is not unbelievable that even if the Norwegian colonies have been ruined by the wild (savages),⁸ some of them might have survived and mixed with them into one people and language"⁹ (Egede 1741 reprint of 1926:88 PS). The "rescue" dimension of Egede's mission was in a way an attempt to save his own kind of people. Many Orthodox were critical to missions, but the saving for God of their own kind was acceptable for all. Even after returning to Denmark in 1737 he was of the opinion that Norwegian settlers might still exist in East Greenland (Danbolt in Myklebust 1958). He wrote several letters to the directors of the trading company in Bergen concerning the question (Sollied and Solberg 1932: 104-120 and 163).

The directors of the trading company in Bergen shared his urge to find the old Norwegian settlements. In a letter of 21st of April they ordered the captain Hans Fæster to look for old Norwegian settlements (ibid: 77-79), in a letter addressed to Hans Egede and captain Jens Falck the 2nd of August 1724 they asked for a expedition to East Greenland to find old Norwegian settlements (ibid:151-154) and the 1st of May 1726 to captain Berent Hansen (ibid:167-168). Their reason for being occupied with the old Norwegian settlements was probably both economic and idealistic. Even if part of the motivation to start the company was to earn money, nationbuilding, spreading the Gospel and finding the old Norwegian settlements were other motivations. The directors seemed to be motivated by a number of idealistic motives. As I will return to, their attitudes towards the Greenlanders seemed positive and they were concerned that the colonists should not behave cruelly towards them. Their search for the old Norwegian settlements seemed in the same way to be

⁷ "en blot Curieusitet at viide om Grønlands Beskaffenhed" (D)

⁸ Egede use the word "wild" which is most often translated as "savages". The reason for using the word "wild" is that it, in my opinion, far better communicates the contemporary attitude towards indigenous populations like the Greenlanders.

⁹ "saasom det ikke er u-troeligt, at om endskjønt de Norske Colonier, af de Wilde ere blevne ruinerede, der dog nogle ere blevne til overs, hvilke Siden med hine ere forblendede og ere beleven til et Folk og Tungemaal" (D)

motivated by a genuine concern for those settlers who they believed lived in east Greenland.

According to Bosch (1991:251) "Lutheran Orthodoxy could not free itself of the view that Lutheran mission could only be undertaken where Lutheran authorities ruled." The Mission in Greenland was carried out in an area under the rule of the Lutheran Danish King and Egede's mission was part of that rule. The Moravians on the other hand operated in principle independently of the Lutheran authorities and had no problem operating on the borders of Lutheran authorities.

Greenland was partly unknown. It was a vast continent with unknown possibilities, a strange harsh environment and a strange people with unknown habits. I do not know if Egede ever read Daniel Defoe's "Robinson Crusoe"¹⁰ (1719 reprint of 1985).¹¹ However, both Egede and Defoe wrote about the unknown and the exploration from different perspectives. One of them placed by misfortune in the tropics and the other one by a conscious effort in the Arctic. What Egede and Robinson Crusoe had in common was the struggle to build a civilization and curiosity about the unknown. Egede's book gives ample proof of his autodidactic curiosity. His observations are even today valuable contributions to understanding the Greenlandic culture. Daniel Defoe's fictional work "Robinson Crusoe" (1719 reprint of 1985) represented the same kind of autodidactic approach to life and survival in a strange and unknown environment. Like Robinson Crusoe Egede had to gain an understanding of a strange and unknown environment, like him he had to develop the technology and skills necessary in order to survive and he was like him totally isolated. In Robinson Crusoe's case there were pirates and possible unfriendly savages. In Hans Egede's case there were Dutch whalers with whom there existed a possible war like situation. The directors in Bergen gave permission for privateers to capture the Dutch whalers. The possibility for counteraction from the whalers against the establishment of Egede was very real. Unlike Robinson Crusoe Egede brought manpower and equipment. He was in no way alone. Still, his equipment was sadly un-practical and as a leader of the colony he alone had the responsibility. In his work he had one person, his wife, who he had completely trusted. Unlike Robinson he had to depend upon others for supplies and, in some cases, for decisions. In addition, unlike Robinson Crusoe, he cooperated to some extent with his possible foes.

¹⁰ As can be seen from a Swedish translation of 1929 the book both consisted of the well known Robinson Crusoe edition and in "Farther Adventures of Robinson Crusoe: Being the Second and Last Part of his Life" (also published in 1719). The "Farther Adventures" never became very well known. The book was published in numerous editions of which I have used three (1911, 1929 and 1985).

¹¹ Defoe's book was one of the most popular of his time and many of those reading books at the time must have read it, which means that it would be on the "reading list" of many in "positions of power". The attitudes and views of the book must then have been quite influential.

Both Egede and Defoe can be understood as participants of the increasing public discourse of the new "reading public" (Habermas 1989), Defoe as a writer and Egede as one inspired by those writing. Egede's own book, published in 1741, made him a contributor to the public discourse.

It is quite typical that he understood himself as an active participant of developing trade and business. What was good for God was good for the King and was good for business. The support he received both from the administration in Copenhagen, local merchants and the King can be understood as part of the same discourse. At the same time there were, as I will return to, tensions and disagreement. Neither the representatives of Royal power nor the merchants agreed with Egede in all matters. Searching for new markets and marketable goods was very much part of the building of the Kingdom. To quite an extent Greenland was unknown and unexplored, which meant that Greenland had the potential for being the source of valuable raw materials and representing a new market. In addition Greenland had a symbolic value, it illustrated for other nations and citizens that Denmark-Norway was a "powerful" nation.

Even if thought of as part of Norway - Denmark, Greenland was not an integrated part of the Kingdom. The same can also be said about Northern Norway. Using historical argumentation in order to integrate and consolidate jurisdiction over such areas was part of the building of the nation. Egede had found such arguments and he carried out the practical deeds necessary.

5.2. TRADE, PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL AND REPRESENTING THE CROWN

The Greenland trading company initiated by Egede expressed the goal of both spreading the Gospel, establishing the rule of the King and of commerce; " particularly in regard to the honour of God and the spreading of Christianity and then to properly develop the earlier commerce between our Kingdom Norway and our land Greenland and in that way benefit our dear and faithful citizens...." (Feldbæk 1986:538).¹² In point 6 of the statutes it was stated that the company had the right to establish military fortifications, buildings necessary for the commerce, employ military and civilian personnel, and the obligation to employ the necessary preachers both for company ships and in the company land-based establishments (ibid).

The trading company was terminated in 1728 and the trade was from then on done by the government or the King until it was given to a private person¹³ in 1734 (ibid and Arlov 1993). Even if the trade after 1728 was separated from the mission Egede continued to try to promote it. It is probably true, as Fenger (1879) concludes, that Egede was afraid that the mission might have to stop if trade stopped. His reaction possibly also illustrates that Egede did not discriminate between trade, missionary work and representing the crown. Religious beliefs were considered to be part of the fabric of the State, just as much as the State needed money and trade. In addition trade was probably economically important for Egede's own private economy. During the company time Egede was at one time reprimanded for doing trade outside of the control of the company (Sollied and Solberg 1932:54-55). Such trade was most likely important to supplement his income.

Egede emphasized in his book both the problems of trading and the competition with Dutch traders (Egede 1741 reprint 1926 PS). The Dutch traders operated without permission from the Danish King.¹⁴ Egede tried to convince the Greenlanders that they had a moral obligation to support the King and trade with Denmark - Norway.

Egede advocated the use of "punishment and discipline."¹⁵ He cudgelled at least one of the "medicine men" of the Greenlanders and in another case some "married" Greenlanders who had been participating in what he called "whore

¹² "fornemmeligen i henseende til Guds ære og den Christelige Religions forplantelse, og dernest for at sette den imellem Vort Rige Norge og oftbemelte vort Land Grønland forhen værende Commerce udi en god Stand, og i saa maader befordre Vores Kiære og troe undersaaters Gavn og fordeel...." (D)

¹³ Jacob Severin

¹⁴ The Dutch traders represented a far greater military power than Denmark-Norway. Their ships were armed and they did not accept the Danish self-declared monopoly upon trade with Greenland (Arlov 1993).

¹⁵ "Tugt og diciplin" (D)

play.¹⁶ His reactions against the "healers and spiritual men"¹⁷ were in order to discipline them into obedience and to punish their heathen practices. The heathen practices were often connected to various healing practices often connected to what Egede considered to be religious practice. When it came to the "immoral sexual practice" he reacted because those who called themselves Christians should follow the word of the Bible (Egede 1741 reprint of 1926 PS and Molland in Myklebust 1958). The measures Egede suggested as necessary in order to introduce Christianity were dramatic. One was the use of discipline in order to enforce Christian values and another to make the Greenlanders settle permanently and start living as farmers. He thought of their continued travels and migratory life pattern as a major obstacle to introducing Christianity. As long as the Greenlanders based their economy upon hunting and fishing it would, in his opinion, be impossible to enforce the necessary discipline for making them live a Christian life. The use of Christian settlers was in Egede's opinion necessary in order to start that process.

He suggested drastic measures in order to ensure the future of the colony. In a letter to the directors of the company of 9th of June 1725 he wrote: "It is quite likely that if they in the summer, like other people, could be hard-working, they would be able to collect an incredible amount of blubber. But the manners of the lazy people are such that they as long as they have plenty to eat and use they will do nothing expect day and night sing and jump around. Because of that it is necessary to enforce discipline and treat them as slaves in order to have any benefit from them. However, those who convert and prove God's word by obeying to it should be treated more lenient"¹⁸ (Sollied and Solberg 1932:137-138).

Those words are far away from his earlier statement. In an open letter of 26th November 1718 he expressed his view upon the problem of spreading "the good": "God uses no violence to continue his work, but wants the good to be done from free will"¹⁹ (Egede 1718 quoted in Hindsberger 1997:31). Thus he seems to deliver two contradictory messages. One message that God is in favor of free will and the other opposing message of the necessity of discipline and punishment. In my opinion those two messages illustrate that Egede separates between man's personal choices and the responsibility of a Christian State. The Christian State had, in his opinion, the responsibility to ensure that man out of

¹⁶ "Hore-Leeg" (D)

¹⁷ "Angekuter" is actually a Greenlandic word written in Danish. I have chosen to translate into "healers and spiritual men" in order to emphasise that there was no clear boundary between the two functions.

¹⁸ "Det er gandske vist at dersom de om Sommeren ville were flittige som andre Folck da kunde de bringe en U-troelig Haab Speck til weje. Men de ladde Kroppers Maneer er saaledis, at saa lunge de har noget at fraadtze og fortære, fahrer de aldrig ud, men gaar paa Landet Ørckes løse og tage sig intet forre uden at de Dag og Natt Siunger og Springer. Derfor om mand tencker at hafve nøtte af dem da maae mand absolut kaste dem under Aaget og aldeelis Tractere dem som Slaver. Dog maae de omvendte og som bevisser Guds ords tilbørlig lydigheid Handis Mildere." (D)

¹⁹ "Gud bruger ingen Vold at fortsætte sin Gierning med, men vill, det Gode skal giøres med fri Villie" (D)

his free will chose the word of God. In that way two seemingly opposing messages **could** be combined. The argument is very much the same as modern social workers and politicians make. Man has a free will, but society has a responsibility to make him, for his own good, make the right choices.

In addition, of course, it was far different expressing liberal attitudes before his travel to Greenland than when faced with the difficulties of running the colony. Discussing the statements of Egede with a social worker of today, she stated that it resembled the situation of working with refugees. Before starting the work it was easy to express liberal attitudes and acceptance of the "otherness" of the other; faced with the difficulties and slow processes of work attitudes they often changed to be in favor of the use of tough measures to ensure integration and change. In her own words she would quite likely have said from naiveté to realism.

In his book Egede argued for the possibilities of economical profit from trade with Greenland; "Because if some few shiploads with fish and cod-liver oil from Finnmark and with fish, cod-liver oil, meat and butter from Iceland and the Faroe islands give considerable profits, why should not then blubber, whale fish, baleen whale, reindeer furs, fox fur and seal skins which are all just as costly as the commodities from Iceland and Finnmark" ²⁰(1741 reprint of 1926:140 PS). He continued his argumentation by asking for the establishment of institutions for trade by a trading company, thinking it an impossible task for an individual to manage.

Reading his book today it is possible to pose the critical question: whether conversion of the pagans was the main purpose for his work, using the trade as a tool to achieve that; whether the main purpose was building the empire of Denmark/Norway and carrying out the task of civilising through trade; or if it was simply to make a profit? Those questions can be asked, but at the time all of those things probably had to be understood as part of one problem. Building the "empire," preaching and spreading the Gospel and making a profit was all part of the mission of mankind as destined by God.

That attitude can be illustrated by the slave trader Ludwig Ferdinand Rømer's publication about the conditions of the coast of Guinea from 1760 (reprint of 1997). The Bishop in Bergen Erik Pontoppidan wrote the preface. He gave Rømer a very flattering mention "This good man who is now one of our most important and best citizens"²¹ (ibid:8). The Bishop defended the trade with slaves, partly because he thought the conditions in America, in particular the

²⁰ " [thi kand nogle Skibs ladninger, med Fisk og Thran fra Findmarken ; og med Fisk, Thran, Kiød og Smør fra Island og Ferøe indbringe anseelige profiler, hvorfra da ikke med Spek, Hvalfisk Barden, Rinsdyr-Huuder, Revskind og Sælhunde Skind & hvilket alt er ligesaa Kostbar, som de Islandske og Findmarkiske Vahrer ?" (D)

²¹ "denne gode Mand, som nu er een af vore anseeligste og bedste Medborgere" (D)

Danish West Indies, were better than in Africa. Partly because they could be taught the Gospel and be educated as Christians under their European masters.²² The preface illustrates that bringing out the Gospel to the heathens as slaves was considered to be of far greater positive value than them living in freedom and poverty in Africa. The Bishop argued that the living conditions in America were much better than in Africa. The slave trade was accepted by the Church, but the Bishop emphasised that it had to be carried out in a way that did not break up existing families. Conditions in the heathen Africa were thought of as so depressing and cruel that living as slaves under Christian masters would be far better.

Luckily for the Greenlanders they were needed as a source of labour in their own home country²³ and, as I will show later, the directors in Bergen were critical to slavery. Nevertheless Pontoppidan's preface illustrates the extent of the paternalistic approach of the Church. Egede himself was positive to slavery, but the directors in Bergen were negative. On 7th of June 1723 the directors of the trading company in Bergen wrote to the board of the colony and criticized them for capturing Greenlanders and sending them to Bergen. The critique was rather harsh: "The last year's decision of the board to capture some wild ones and shipping them off, we can not approve upon due to the consequences, unless the wild ones volunteer. We assume that in due time and with the help of the good God the wild Greenlanders will come to be tamed and understand and love the people in the colony. We will give strong recommendations and orders that none of those sent to Greenland do any evil, whatever kind, towards the wild ones. If someone, regardless of their position, acts against this spiritual and practical decision of ours, then he should face the board and be sentenced to such a harsh punishment that others will be warned against doing so"²⁴ (Sollied and Solberg, 1932: 50).

When Egede later on, in 1725, suggested turning the Greenlanders into slaves the board of directors argued against such measures. They wanted the

²² That the Bishop used the preface to defend the slavetrade illustrates that the discussion of how morally right slavetrade was active in 1760. Quite a few were, even at that early time, against slavetrading and found it cruel and immoral.

²³ It is also possible that the Greenlanders were thought of as unsuitable as slaves. There were at times unsuccessful attempts to use Arctic people as slaves. The word Labrador, which is said to come from the Portugese "labradore," is illustrative of that (Hansen 1966).

²⁴ "Det foreldren Aar Forrethvænde og af Raadet sluttede Dessein om eendeel af de wilddes borttagelse og hidførsel kand vj ej, I henseende till de paafølgende Conseqvancer billige eller approbere med mindre at det med deris egen willie kan lade sig giøre, huorforre og paa det at de wildd Grønlændere med tiden diss bedre kand blive temmede og omsider med den gode Guds biestand, komme udj Enn god Enighed og Kierlighed med Coloniens Folck, vj i særdeelished vil have dennem Recommenderit at de Strengeligen anordner og ofverholder, at ingen af de wilde det ringeste till de onde, det were sig hvad Nafn det hafve kand, og schulle nogen antreffis som sig imod denne Woris saa Nøttige og till det heele Desseins aandelige og Timmelige opkomst hensigtende foranstaltninger at were overhørig, da blifver dend skyldige i hvad Stand han er af, uden Nogen undseelse indkallet for Raadet og dømmis hannem da udj saadan en haard Straf at andre deraf kan tage sig alvorlig Exempel,...." (D)

Greenlanders to be "independent without any fear of any masters"²⁵(ibid:175). The directors were critical to the use of force, but had nothing against the Greenlanders volunteering to be under the leadership and guidance of Egede. The men of business were opposed to the drastic measures acceptable to the theologian Hans Egede.

Part of their reaction was probably that they wanted to have friendly relations with the Greenlanders. The cost of "war" could both be a need for increased staffing of soldiers in the colony and of loss of business with the Greenlanders. As for the latter they had very real alternatives in trading with the Dutch. Still, the directors did not hesitate with privateers to go into conflict with the powerful Dutch. The main argument against use of force seems to have been that they simply did not want a colony based upon the use of force and slavery. Such measures seemed to have been against their values.

²⁵ "Selraadige uden frygt for noget Herskab..." (D)

5.3. UNDERSTANDING THE OTHER

In Egede's book (1741 reprint of 1926 PS) there are eleven chapters describing his view of the Greenlanders; their physical appearance, temperament (IX), their habits and customs (X), their marriage and way of raising children (XIII), games and amusement (XV), food and eating (XI), clothing (XI), funeral customs (XIV), language (XVII) and their religion or superstition (XIX), astronomy (XX) and their ability to understand the teaching of God (XXI). Even today his descriptions have to be regarded as a valuable contribution to the knowledge about traditional customs and living conditions among the Greenlanders. His description is the first detailed source of information of their life and gives remarkably detailed descriptions of their culture.

His understanding of the other is probably rather typical of the time; "Both men and women are well shaped and proportioned humans, fat and plump on their bodies, very compact, with wide faces and thick lips, wide noses and of a brownish colour, nevertheless some of them are beautiful and white. All of them have black and straight hair"²⁶ (ibid:94). Fat and plump was beautiful. White was beautiful and brown far less desirable. The later stereotype can be seen in a number of folk tales even today picturing beauty as blond and white and evil and ugly as dark and brown. The fairy tale of Cinderella and her stepsisters is one typical example. The white and beautiful remains, but the plump and beautiful has changed.

Egede describes the Greenlanders as stupid, phlegmatic and cold-blooded. It is important to realise that Egede used the word "stupid"²⁷ in the same way as later authors would use ignorant. Still, he regarded them as lazy and child-like. As mentioned previously he reacted strongly against their lack of interest in work and trade. From his perspective drastic measures like slavery were needed in order to make them work for the colony.

In his opinion the Greenlanders were of a good nature without infighting, hate and conflicts. Rather positively he mentions that the Greenlanders thought of conflicts and fighting between "our lecherous sailors"²⁸ as a proof that they did not regard each other as humans. They expressed the same sentiment when they saw the officers hitting their subordinates and said; "He treats his fellow humans like dogs"²⁹ (ibid:97). Since Egede had this understanding of their

²⁶ "Saavel Mænd som Qvinde Kiønnet ere vel skabte proportionerede Mennisker, fede og fyldige paa Legemet, af en undersatzig Statur, allene de have breede Ansigter og tykke Læber, ere Braknæsede og af en Brunagtig Coleur; dog ere endeeil smukke og hviide. Have alle sort og sleet Haar." (D)

²⁷ "Stupide" (D)

²⁸ "Vore liiderlige Matrosser" (D)

²⁹ "hand handler sine Med-Menniske som Hunde" (D)

understanding he must have, in his opinion, communicated that there was something inhuman about their practice when he used "physical corrections" against one of the "shamans." He could treat them like dogs because they behaved like "animals." Seen from the Greenlanders perspective his "physical corrections" might have been seen as a proof of Egede not regarding them as humans and even as a proof of him not behaving as a human.

What Egede characterised as "their good nature"³⁰ functioned in his view instead of law and order enacted by authorities. In his view it gave "tolerably outwardly good morals and decency"³¹ (ibid:96). He was highly critical of their eating habits and cleanliness. Some of their manners he found pleasant and polite and others he found unpleasant. Particularly he was critical of their lax sexual morals, or what he called "whore play,"³² polygamy and the lack of respect for the private property of strangers.

The only Greenlanders he described completely negatively were the shamans.³³ He calls them "mendacious" or "lying"³⁴ (ibid:144). They were from Egede's point of view false prophets and he accused them of practising their arts only for profit. Nevertheless he clearly stated that he was not of the opinion that they had contact with the devil. The latter was at the time an important standpoint which meant that the full force of reaction was not needed against the shamans. After all the consequence of being agents of the devil would have been that the shamans had to be fought with fire and iron (Levack 1987). His main point was that the shamans and their practice were an important obstacle to converting the Greenlanders to Christianity; "Even not taking all this into consideration I do not believe that they have any trade or any relation with the Devil. Because all their way of being and imagined arts and way of being, can not be respected, but is only lies and fiction without any effect and results. Their imagined arts and way of being is done only by the false shamans for profit, because they through their practice are well paid. Nevertheless one has to admit that the evil Spirit rules in all such superstitions and uses them to seduce the poor stupid humans, and keep them away from the urge of achieving knowledge of the true God" ³⁵(Egede 1741 reprint of 1926:148 PS).

³⁰ "deres gode Nature!" (D)

³¹ "Nogenleedes udvortes Sædelighed og Skikkelighed" (D)

³² "Hoere leeg" (D) the habit of offering your spouse as a sleeping partner to a male visitor.

³³ "angekutter" Danish version of the Greenland word for shamans

³⁴ "løgnaktige" (D)

³⁵ "Alt dette uagtet troer jeg dog ikke at de haver nogen virkelig commercium og Gemenenskab med Dievelen; thi af al deres Væsen og indbildte Konstners Art og Beskaffenhed, lader det sig ikke ansee, men er lutter Løgn og opdigtet Verk uden ringeste paafølgende effect og Virkning, og øves allene af de bedrægelige Angekutter for vindings skyld, eftersom de derfor blive vel betalte. Ikke dismindre maa man dog tilstaae at den onde Aand hersker i alle saadanne Superstitioner og betiener sig dem til at forføre de arme dumme Mennisker, og holde dem fra den sande Guds Kundskabs Eftertragtelse" (D)

The practices of the Shamans, and for that matter other activities in the communities, were connected to the Greenlanders' world view (Hindsberger 1997 and Bak 1982). An important part of that were taboo traditions and beliefs regarding the spirits of nature,³⁶ ³⁷ beliefs and taboos practised according to the instructions of the elders.³⁸ In the opinion of Mathias Storch³⁹ the Shamans often had an important role as leaders and hunters in their local communities: "A particularly clever hunter would often have a dominant position at his place of living and would be called the strongest or the best hunter. Often those leaders were also Shamans"⁴⁰ (Storch 1930 in Hindsberger 1997:231). Hindsberger points out that descriptions of Shaman sermons by Egede's sons Poul and Niels and several later ones illustrate that each place of dwelling had its own style of sermons and personal Shaman style. In other words it might be said that the traditional leadership was personal and highly adapted to local conditions. In Rasmussen's (1905 and 1925) description of Polar Eskimos he is emphasising that the Shamans, or as he calls them the "callers of the Spirits," only practised their leadership in times of danger. Traditions among other Greenlanders might have been somewhat different.

When Egede attacked the Shamans he attacked not only the spiritual leadership, but a leadership involving all aspects of life in the communities. Attacking the Shamans was attacking a whole set of practices closely related to the world view and life of the Greenlanders. The Shamans had positions of crucial importance. The communities, or dwelling places, often depended upon their skills as hunters in order to survive. Christian leaders, like the missionaries,

³⁶ Hultkrantz 1962 in Hindsberger (1997:231) quotes a Polar Inuit: "The bears are not here when there is no ice and there is no ice when the wind is strong. The wind is strong because we have offended the powers".

In the original version: "Die Bären sind nicht hier, weil es kein Eis gibt, und es gibt kein Eis, weil der Wind zu heftig ist, und der Wind ist zu mächtig, weil wir die Mächte beleidigt haben." (G)

³⁷ According to Hindsberger (1997)

"The spirit of the air" in Danish "Luftånden"

"The spirit of the Sea or the Lady of the Sea" in Danish "Havånden eller Havkvinden"

"The spirit of the moon or the man of the moon" in Danish "Måneånden eller månemanden"

³⁸ According to a Illuik Inuit interviewed by Knud Rasmussen: "We are frightened. However our fathers have from their fathers armed us with the old rules of living. Rules that come from the experience and the knowledge of life that the family relations is built upon. We do not know why, but we follow those rules and can live a sorrow free life".

In the original version: "Wir haben Angst. Deshalb haben unsere Väter von ihren Vätern her sich mit den alten Lebensregeln gewappnet, die auf der Erfahrung und der Lebensweisheit von Geschlechtern aufgebaut sind. Wir wissen nicht wieso, wir ahnen nicht warum, aber wir befolgen sie, um sorglos leben zu dürfen" (G) (ibid:231)

³⁹ A theologian who had the title of "Grønlandsk viseprovst"

⁴⁰ "En særlig dyktig fanger fik ofte en dominerende rolle på sin boplads og kaldtes "nakuartaq" (den stærkeste eller den, der er bedst til at fange). Ofte var disse førende skikkelser også angakkut" (D)

Storch is using the Greenland word "nakuartaq" which would mean "the strongest or the best hunter or rather catcher" (as it might also include fishing and trapping) and "angakkut" which can be translated as shaman. Storch's example is illustrative of the difficulties of translation. An "angakkut" would be both a spiritual leader, the best hunter and in all ways have the most important position in the local community.

represented not only a different set of spiritual beliefs, but also another kind of leadership. If Rasmussen's interpretation is right and representative for other areas in Greenland the "old leaders" were used in time of need, while the new leaders had the ambition of being leaders continuously and without having the survival knowledge of the old. The Shamans were an obstacle both to spreading the Gospel, the rule of the King and of course to the power and position of Egede. Even from an economical point of view they represented competition for the limited extra resources of the local population. After all the Church, represented by Egede, traditionally in Denmark and Norway financed their activity from taxing the local population⁴¹.

How the Shamans fought back is impossible to tell. However, it is quite likely that they defended their positions in some ways, in some cases possibly by adapting to Egede and later missionaries, in some cases by hiding their practices and probably also in some cases by open opposition. The latter could be done in a number of ways. One of them was to avoid contact with Egede and other missionaries. After all Greenland was a huge area and the influence of missionaries would, at least for many years, be fairly local.

Polygamy, which he reacted against, was, according to Egede, only practised by a few men. Some of those could have 2, 3 and 4 wives and they were considered to be particularly "brave and able" ⁴² men being able to feed so many females and their children. Egede wrote about the practice; " And it is strange, that among the females until our arrival there was no jealousy about the practice. They seemed to get along very well, even if the first female was considered to be the one with highest status. Nevertheless after our arrival, and since we have explained the word of God to them, that according to the wish of the creator a man should not have more than one wife, then I have detected among the females some irritation, when their men want to take more wives, so that they often come to me and ask me to prevent it. Yes, when I have read for them and educated them in the word of God, they remind me not to forget to enforce the 6th commandment for their men."⁴³ In a summary of the main text Egede wrote; "The females have since our arrival started to be jealous of their husbands when they want to have more wives"⁴⁴ (both quotations 1741 reprint of 1926:107 PS).

⁴¹ Habermas (1989) regards the development of taxation as one of the characteristics of the mercantilist policy of the new national state economies.

⁴² "brave og duelige" (D)

⁴³ " Og er det mærkeligt, at iblant Qvinderne indtil vores Ankomst, var der slet ingen jalousie over sligt, men de forliigedes vel med hinanden; skjønt den første Qvinde agtes for den Fornemste: Men efter vor Ankomst, og siden vi af Guds Ord har betydet dem, at efter Skaberens Anordninger og Villie, maa en Mand ikke have mere end en Kone, da har man fornummet hos Qvinderne nogen Fortrydelse, naar deres Mænd har villet tage sig med Hustruer, saa de ofte ere komne til mig og bedet jeg sligt Ville hindre; ja naar jeg har læst for dem og underviist for dem af Guds Ord, paamindet mig, ikke at glemme at skiærpe det 6te Bud, for deres Mænd". (D)

⁴⁴ "Qvinderne ere siden vor ankomst blevne jaloux over deres Mænd, naar de ville have Med-Hustruer" (D)

Egede claimed to have been able to convince the female part of the population that polygamy was wrong and that they had reason to be jealous if their husband practised polygamy. The right moral would lead to a better life and even more important a life according to the word of God. Establishing feelings like jealousy, guilt and shame was important for Egede. In modern social work terminology it might be said that he had to "motivate" his clients to live the kind of life he thought would be good for them (Payne 1997, Compton & Gallaway 1989 and Hutchinson and Oltedal 1996). Which would mean that they had to acquire his values and understand his kind of life as a better kind of life. In order to do that Egede had to try to develop an understanding of the other. Without understanding the Greenlanders' thinking, feelings and values it would be difficult to know how to carry out his "motivation work". However even if Egede had an understanding for the practice of polygamy he found it clearly against the word of God.

Seen from the Greenlanders' perspective the family, including the ancestors, according to Rasmussen (1921 in Hindsberger 1997), was the basic unit. Being a "fertile" couple was a necessary part of that. If the female did not have a child it would be necessary for the male to have another wife. In addition the male depended upon the female having certain skills in preparing skins, sewing etc. and the female depended upon his hunting skills. From a female perspective the picture might be described differently. Vebæk (1990) disputes the view of Rasmussen. In her opinion the sexual division of labor never functioned as stereotypically as described by Europeans. She mentions several examples of females doing tasks Europeans thought of as typically male. Vebæk mentions female hunters and shamans and emphasizes the powerful position of females in the Greenland communities. European sources seem in her opinion to be blind to this and portray the female as discriminated and dominated by a "male society."

Hindsberger (1997) regards the Greenlanders' tradition with the "whoring play"⁴⁵ as a way to ensure pregnancy. In his view the practice was necessary for infertile couples in order to try to make the female pregnant. If the female still did not get pregnant it would be necessary for the male to take a second wife. Some dominant and very good hunters seem to have been able to maintain several wives due to their skills. In such cases having several wives and partners was not a case of infertility, but rather of a man being able to sustain several wives and being attractive to others due to his skills. In Vebæk's interpretation (1990) some good hunters and powerful shamans were females. In such cases it would be the males that would be dependent upon the hunting skills or shamanistic powers of the female and not the other way around. In addition, of course, the old traditions might be understood, as Rasmussen (1905 and 1925) points out, as being due to a severe lack of females. In order

⁴⁵ "Hoere-Leeg" (D)

to make it possible for men to have a sexual partner the females had to be "shared". Rasmussen also points out that it was often necessary on long travels for a man to be accompanied by a female. Thus a female could be "borrowed" for the purpose by another male. Understanding it from a female perspective might give even another understanding. Then it would not be a question of a male borrowing a female but the other way around. The point remains that sexual practices and organising of the family unit were of great importance for the Greenlanders. When Egede attacked such practices he was attacking the very fabric of the local communities.

Egede's "motivation work" included correctional measures and using the full force of both God's law and the law of the King, both understood and practised according to Egede's interpretation. He did not use the more brutal methods practised by some contemporary theologians. Seemingly he did not do so because he was restrained by others. After all he argued for much more drastic measures, like slavery and more use of force, but was restrained by the directors in the trading company. Later on he was most likely restrained by lack of manpower, meagre resources, possibly lack of support for such measures and possibly also because he changed his mind.

5.4. INTUITIVE CARING AND MUTUAL SURVIVAL

Hans Egede's relationship to the Greenlanders also had the dimension of a common struggle for survival. Life in Greenland was harsh and both he and his family experienced freezing and starving. Learning to adapt to the difficult conditions was part of the struggle of the colony. From his description of the life of the Greenlanders it can be seen that he was a keen observer. He simply had to be in order to acquire the skills and knowledge necessary to survive. In his book (1741 reprint of 1926 PS) he describes hunting of whale and seal, tools, buildings and boats. He mentions hunting of reindeer, but gives no detailed description.

Even if the Greenlanders were skilled at surviving, their life was still a struggle for survival. Those living close to the colony seem to have developed a kind of co-dependency with Egede. He depended upon them for food and lodging⁴⁶ and they depended upon him for certain commodities and sometimes food. In some cases he also helped them with food, care of the sick and care for children without, or with absent, parents.

From Egede's letters it seems quite clear that he developed strong emotional ties to some of the Greenlanders (see Bobé 1944, Fenger 1879 and Sollied and Solberg 1932) . They seem to have developed partly through his professional work as a "theologian / medical doctor" and partly as a result of the mutual sharing and struggle to survive. What in the beginning was a professional relationship addressing the natives turned into being an individual emotional relationship. How strong the emotional ties that developed were is of course impossible to tell. Historical material, like the sources I am writing from, will never give anything other than glimpses into the personal and emotional. What is known is also only from Egede's own perspective. The Greenlanders' reaction to the relationship is unknown except through Egede's interpretation.⁴⁷ However he remained paternalistic in his approach to "the other." He was a caring and loving "father" who did not hesitate to discipline his "children."

⁴⁶ Egede son Nils wrote in February 1760 "The cold is now so strong that our people have had to move into the lodgings of the Greenlanders (Bobé, 1943:26). Other examples can be found in abstracts of notes from his son Paul (Lidegaard 1988). Paul mentions the food provided by Greenlanders at times of lack of food.

"Kulden er nu saa stræng, at vore Folk har motte flytte ind til Grønlanderne" (D)

⁴⁷ Further examples of charity towards the Greenlanders can be found in the diary of his son Nils Egede from 1759 -61 (Bobé 1943:22): " Day 22 August 1759 A Greenlander returned to visit, as usual he complained of starving and distress, at the Colony we are daily bothered with requests to provide them with food. I have great difficulty with that because we have very little food ourselves so I should really avoid giving them something. However neither can I see poor people die, so I choose the middle solution and give them a little "

"D: 22 kom atter en Grønlander paa Besøg, han hafde den sædvalige Klage, at de led Hunger og Nøed, saa vi ved Colonien har dagligen Plage af dem for at bekomme noget til Livets Ophold. Ieg har ræt ondt at giøre, at gieue dem noget af voris Føde, tør ieg ikke, thi den er for kostbar, og vi selv siden skulle lide Nøed. Og see de arme Mennsker crepere kan man ikke heller, saa ieg har mot søge Middelveien og givet dem lidt..." (D)

That kind of approach was also quite natural for a theologian of his time (Astås 1994).

It can also partly be understood as a kind of mutual aid and solidarity towards those enduring the same hardship as himself. After all, even if different, the Greenlanders were fellow human beings. A mutual solidarity might be beneficial. The Greenlanders had skills and resources not available to Egede and he had stores and equipment in demand among them. A philosopher like Nel Noddings (1984) would put his actions into another framework using concepts like intuitive caring and ethical caring. The point remains that his action can be understood partly as intuitive, partly as solidarity based upon what was in the common interest and in some cases upon what he thought would be the moral right as a Christian. As Geremek (1994) points out, helping the poor might "be perceived as a kind of sacrifice, a form of communication between man and God" (Ibid:250)⁴⁸.

Bringing up children in Greenland might have influenced his relationship to the country and its inhabitants. Two of his sons later became missionaries in Greenland and they developed a far better fluency in the native language than their father ever did. Their friends and playmates from childhood were Greenlanders. They must have developed personal relationships that probably made those relationships even more emotional than the relationship between their father and the Greenlanders. The notes from his two sons Paul and Nils (Lidegaard 1988 and Bobé 1943) both show a less dogmatic, even if critical, approach and understanding of the Greenlanders. Among other things both of them seemed to have a better relationship to their shamans and a more understanding approach to their practice of polygamy. They found those practices against the word of God but they were able to show a more understanding approach to them.

⁴⁸ "Escatological aspect" (Geremek 1994:250)

5.5. TRADITIONS OF PROFESSIONAL MEDICINE

In 1743 the Greenlanders were contaminated by smallpox, which came with a ship from Copenhagen. As Greenlanders had no prior exposure to the sickness the result was dramatic. According to Egede's estimate a couple of thousand people around the colony died. It is not known how many people lived in the colony at the time, but the number of dead was extremely high. Egede involved himself in the process of caring for the sick (see for example Fegner⁴⁹ 1876). At the time it was fairly common in Norway for a parson to be responsible for medical help to the people living in his district (Holck 1996). Parsons were also university trained and skilled in reading and were among the few "scholars" of the time. Many of them showed considerable interest in collecting and systematising information from a variety of fields. Egede's book is an illustrating example of that tradition.

The colony also included a "field surgeon"⁵⁰ (Sollied and Solberg, 1932: 51) and the ships articles list a "mustache cutter"⁵¹ responsible for treating wounds on board the company ships (ibid:195), but Egede does not give any description of their work.

In a letter to the trading company dated the 5th of July 1722 he describes a sick Greenlander asking him for help: "I explain to him and tell him as best as I can that the great God in Heaven who has created everything has given him the sickness and that he should ask God in Heaven for help and healing. Because God has all power and can heal the sick and awake the dead" ⁵²(Egede in ibid: 37). However, Egede did not only resort to spiritual advice; in the same letter he describes a couple with a sick child. When the parents ask him for healing Egede sees no other solution than asking for them to give him the child so that he can take care of it and try to heal it.

From Egede's book we can see that he describes the medical tradition of the Greenlanders, their high rate of mortality and the complete absence of medicines. He was of the opinion that the high mortality rate was due to their lack of use of medicines; " Very few of them will get older than 50 - 60 years, but many of them mostly as babies die. But as they have no medicines for use

⁴⁹ Fenger bases his book upon sources like letters both from Egede and the Moravian missionaries in Greenland. However it is sometimes unclear when he is basing himself upon original sources, when he is basing his writing upon other author's interpretation and when he is making his own interpretation. Even if critical he is also full of respect and admiration for Egede.

⁵⁰ "Feldskier" (D)

⁵¹ "Bartsker" (D)

⁵² "jeg siger til hannem, og Forklarer for hannem, saa godt som ieg kunde at dend store Gud i himmelen som hafver skabt hannem og alleting, har og lagt hannem denne Sygdom paa, derforre skulde hand opløfte sine Hænder til dend store Gud i Himmelen og bede hannem om hielp og helbred, thj hand er Almegtig og har helbred de syge, og opvagt de døde etc". (D)

inside the body nor anything that can strengthen or recover a sick person, it is no wonder that so many of them are dying" ⁵³(1741 reprint of 1926:95 PS). During the smallpox epidemic it seems he put a great effort into both trying to heal and care for those sick and into caring for, and preaching to, the dying.

The conflict between Egede and the local "healers and spiritual men"⁵⁴, or what I have earlier described as shamans, can be understood as a conflict on many levels. Egede was reacting partly against the "false learnings" of the heathens, partly against what he thought of as a false and harmful medical practice and partly against the danger of having local power outside of the control of the representative of the King. Today we can, due to our development and specialisation, separate between all those functions while Egede did not do that.

The conflict can also be understood as one between a man trained in medicine and theology through his studying and reading and those representing traditional indigenous knowledge. Egede was from this point a representative of the new reading public (Habermas 1989). He was part of the discourse of the "civilised world" as opposed to that of the "primitive" and non-reading shamans and Greenlanders.

⁵³ "Faar af dem kommer til nogen høyere Alderdom end 50 a 60 Aar, men mange i deres beste ungdoms Aar . allermest i den spæde Alder, bortdøe. Men som de have og bruge ingen slags indvortes Medicin, ey heller have noget som kand størke og recreere et sygt Menneske, saa er det ingen Under at mange for Tiden bort døe." (D)

⁵⁴ "Angekuter" Greenlandic word in Danish

5.6. THE USE OF EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

At least one of the members of the "Missionary Board"⁵⁵, Mr. Ewald, belonged to "the bretherens."⁵⁶ He was among the ones consulted by the Moravian missionaries before they came to Greenland. Interestingly he functioned as the preacher in the "children's home"⁵⁷ in Copenhagen in addition to his position as a board member on the "Missionary Board" (Fenger 1879). In other words he was both practising the word and influencing the "practice" of the word through his administrative position on the "Missionary Board."

A number of educational institutions and schools for children were established at the time of Egede. He must have been influenced by that development and emphasised the importance of education; "But I am of the opinion that it much contributes to their stupidity and cold emotions, that they lack education and the tools with which their mind can be polished and be sharpened, in which one can observe among those who have been in contact with us for a long time, particularly the young ones that they have understood and learnt whatever they have seen and heard among us, both good and evil"⁵⁸ (Egede 1741 reprint of 1926:96 PS). He goes on to suggest educational institutions; "But as the best fruit is to be expected among children and the adolescents, then such institutions have to be made, where they from the beginning in Christian discipline and teachings can be taught, which tool God with certainty will give his blessing and they have no tendency to be false and coarse. Neither do they lack the gifts of God, as far as I find that they are just as able to understand what they are taught as our children"⁵⁹ (ibid:162 - 163).

Even if arguing for educational institutions, his own experience with them must have been mixed. The females sent as settlers from the children's house in Copenhagen were certainly no success in the colony⁶⁰. A possible explanation

⁵⁵ "Missionscollegiet" (D)

⁵⁶ The Moravians

⁵⁷ "Waysenhuset" (D)

⁵⁸ "Dog holder jeg for, at det meget contribuerer til deres Stupidite og Koldsindighed, at dem mangler den education og de Midler, hvorved deres Sind kan poleres og skiærpes; hvilket man noksom har observeret hos dem, som længe har omgaaes med os, de Unge fornemmelig; thi man har fornnummet at de har kundet lære og fatte alt de har hørt og set hos os, hvad enten det er got eller ondt" (D)

⁵⁹ "Men som den Fornemste Frugt er at vente hos Børn og den tilvoxende Ungdom, da maa saadanne Anstalter giøres hvorved de fra Begyndelsen i Christelig Tugt og Lære kan blive opdragne, hvilket Middel Gud visseligen vil velsigne, helst efterdi de ere meget Lærevillige, og findes ikke tilbøylige til nogen Slags grove Støkker og Skalkhed. Dem fattes ikke heller nogen Naturens Gave, saasom jeg har befundet er de ligesaa habile til at fatte hvad man lærer dem, som vore Børn". (D)

⁶⁰ Most of them died of scurvy the first winter in Greenland. Besides it seems as if they all were quite problematic people. At least that is the picture given by Fenger (1879) and several other later writers. Their interpretation of the dysfunctions of those settlers might have been somewhat influenced by the repulse Fengers and later generations of theologians and historians have felt against the "mating" and "marriages by lottery" of the girls from the children's house and the male prisoners.

is that he regarded the "children's house"⁶¹ in Copenhagen as a particularly bad institution without proper educational programs and/or that he thought of the ones "shipped off" from Copenhagen as particularly unfit.

His argumentation is interesting as it seems as if he shared the Pietistic view of educational institutions. Another understanding is that he argued in a way that would give him support in Copenhagen. After all educational institutions had support from the Pietistic movement and they dominated "the Missionary Board."⁶² Personally I believe both to be true. Egede must have been aware of the public discourse and the popularity of educational institutions. Even if critical towards some aspects of those institutions he later on used the "Children's house"⁶³ for recruiting catechists⁶⁴ for service in Greenland (Fenger 1876). Even if the recruitment and education of catechists was not a success, his plan illustrates the wish to use the children's house as a source of recruiting and educating "change agents". Most of the catechists dropped out before travelling. Only one actually travelled and he stayed in Greenland for only one year.

Danish pedagogical principles at Egede's time were quite different from that of the Greenlanders. His son Paul (Lidegaard 1988) mentions their lack of punishment of children who misbehave: "Among them I caught sight of a person with a bandage on his hand. His four year old daughter had harmed the hand seriously because she was not allowed to follow the mother to the neighbours. I then asked him if he had punished her, and he answered " No, because we love our children because we ourselves are the reason they are humans. We can only hit evil characters. I then told him that we would physically punish children in my country when they misbehaved and that it was necessary to do so in order to avoid them being evil as grown ups. "It is not strange, he answered, that the Europeans are so good"" ⁶⁵(ibid:104). In Egede's opinion children needed to be disciplined, while the Greenlanders found this to be cruel and inhuman. His answer is difficult to interpret; there might be a sarcastic message hidden in the words. The Danes cudgelled their children and even their other grown ups so that must mean that they are becoming "very good." At the same time both he and Paul Egede knew that many of the colonisers were notoriously bad characters.

⁶¹ "Børnehuset" (D)

⁶² "Missions Collegiet" (D)

⁶³ "Waysenhuset" (D)

⁶⁴ "Kateketer" (D)

⁶⁵ "Bland flokken fik jeg øje på en hvis hånd var forbundet. Den havde en 4 år gammel datter såret alvorligt, fordi han ikke ville give hende lov til at følge moderen til naboerne. Da jeg spurgte, om han ikke straffet hende derfor, sagde han: "Nej, vi elsker vore børn, da vi selv er årsag til at de er mennesker: Onde gemytter kan man slå". Jeg lod ham igjen vide, at i vores land fik børnene klø, når de var uartige, og det var nødvendigt, mens de var unge, thi ellers vilde de blive onde, når de blev voksne. "Det er ikke mærkeligt ", sagde han, " at kablunakkerne er så gode". (D) The word " kablunakkerne" is Greenlandic for "non Inuits" or Europeans.

As the missions became more important in Greenland the practices of the missionaries must gradually have gained in importance. Even if the Greenlanders were critical and sometimes opposed to the principles of the colonisers and the missionaries they were more and more exposed to them.

5.7. THE IMPORTANCE OF THE MISSION IN DENMARK-NORWAY

The sources I have used so far mostly give information about Egede's mission in Greenland. The impact of the mission in Denmark and Norway is a different matter. From a Habermas perspective the time of Egede was still a time of the public being addressed by the King and his representatives. Still, that was about to be changed. The scholarly tradition of Egede was challenged by the emotional, more popular, movement of Pietism.

The opposition from the directors of the trading company to the suggestions of Egede of use of force and slavery might illustrate the opposition to being addressed either by the King or from his theologians. The businessmen in Bergen simply did not seem to want to have a colony based upon "supreme rule" of Egede. He was to be kept under control and was not allowed to use force to the extent he suggested. Altogether there were 48 participants⁶⁶ in the company, some of them with positions in the Church, in the customs service, in the military and other public administration, but most of them undoubtedly merchants, ship-owners and so on. They represented the bourgeois society in Bergen. As can be seen from Sollied and Solberg (1932:261-301) they frequently married into other families from the same group and many of them had family and connections in Denmark and the continent.

Both Egede and the Moravian missionaries in Greenland communicated with Europe through letters and most likely also by oral information by those who traveled to Europe. In Egede's case the communication that we know about today was with the authorities in Copenhagen and the directors in the company in Bergen. As long as the company existed he needed their approval for his activities on Greenland. Transport seems to have been nearly totally from Greenland to Bergen and then on to Copenhagen. The Moravians corresponded with their superiors in Halle in Germany. What exists of the communication today exists partly in archives in Denmark and partly in archives in Germany. Several scholars have studied the archival sources among them Bobé (1944) and Fenger (1879).

However, we know very little about how that communication was used outside of official bodies. The little we know is through the communication to Egede and the Moravians that exists in archives in Denmark and Germany. We know next to nothing of what people that came from Greenland communicated orally to those at home. What we know is that Egede actively tried to "sell his mission" to those at home. He sent home examples of the crafts and tools of Greenlanders. A few Greenlanders also came to Copenhagen, both in order to

⁶⁶ One of them a widow and her children represented by a son of her husband.

receive training to prepare them to be part of the missionary work and no doubt in order to "market" the mission both to those in decision-making positions and possibly also to the growing bourgeois. Many of the latter were possibly able to exert some influence on the King and his decision making bodies.

The Moravians must have communicated with their supporters in Denmark . Their message was that missions could no longer be regarded as only the duty for the authorities, but that ordinary Christians could identify and actively participate (Bosch 1991). Even if Egede came from the Orthodox tradition that part of their message might have had an impact far outside those rallying around Pietism. Even for Christians not identifying with that movement the idea of personal involvement must have been contagious. Partly Pietist support of their mission must have resulted in other feeling like taking a stand in favor of Egede. Thus one group's involvement could have led to the involvement of others of an opposing view.

After Egede came home he wrote his book, which was published the first time in 1741. In addition to what he communicated through his writing he must have been actively communicating his experiences both locally in Copenhagen and to people living in other places. The latter most likely both by what he himself communicated and through what others communicated of his experiences. Egede was not alone in communicating about Greenland. Others participating in the expedition must have done the same

What became known in Denmark and Norway must have been that a strange people existed, living a strange life in a far away cold place, with little or no knowledge of the Gospel. In addition it must have been known that it was possible, even if risky, to earn money through trade and whaling in Greenland.

The discourse at home must have had obvious importance for portraying the national Danish-Norwegian as opposed to other nations. In addition as portraying the strange and unknown as opposed to the known. Entirely another matter is whether they were experienced as less developed or just experienced as different. From the point of view of their superstitions and part of their morals they were, from the point of view of Egede, in the need of being enlightened by the Gospel. In addition he found their life style to be in need of change. Egede would very much have liked the Greenlanders to live a settled life like people did in Denmark and Norway.

Egede's description of the nomadic life of the Greenlanders is somewhat similar to the vagrant life of homeless. A life that was found not to be desirable and which there were active attempts to control and to stop. In addition of course some of their practices must have been communicated as

amoral and full of superstitions. Whether their own life was experienced as more moral, better, more sophisticated and developed through comparing it to the strange Greenlanders is an open question. Even one more is if the cause of the mission among the Greenlanders and their "suffering" became a rallying point for the Danish and Norwegian public. That the missionary cause was important for the Pietistic movement seems clear, not only the mission in Greenland, but also missions conducted in a number of other places, like Tranquebar (Fenger,1863).

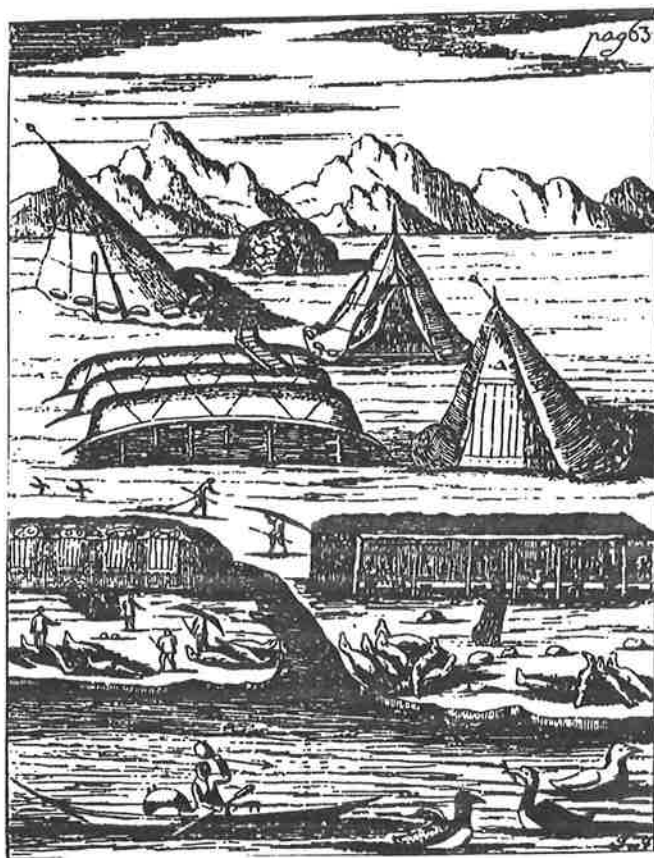
In my opinion the importance of such rallying points should not be underestimated. They were different from the problems people could rally around at home. They were far away and removed from the daily routines and conflicts of life and they concerned both the building of the nation-state and the word of God. The combination of nation and religious duty gave the bourgeois acceptable rallying points and heroes, even in a society highly critical to lay organizations. In 1741 the King of Denmark and Norway enacted a law prohibiting all religious meetings not arranged under the supervision of the Church. At the time Pietistic groups were the major organizer of such meetings (Mykland 1978: 339 -342, Danbolt 1947 and Astås 1994). The law illustrates that the lay movement at that time was thought of as a threat to the stability of the nation. Pietism on the other hand was thought of as a positive thing as long as it was part of the structure of the State. Hans Egede was very much part of that structure. Still, arguing for missionary activity in Greenland he quite likely initiated support for that mission in the congregations; support that involved the bourgeois in a cause to do something for those others in far away Greenland.

It is quite possible that such support involved other groups than other organized activity among the bourgeois. Missions were political, but not political in a controversial way. Even those groups that never would involve themselves in any kind of political action could easily be involved in the kind of support that Egede enacted. Since Egede himself was involved in controversies with the Pietistic movement, supporting him easily meant that his supporters became involved in a discourse that could be interpreted both as theological and political. It is likely that new groups in that way became involved in a political discourse.

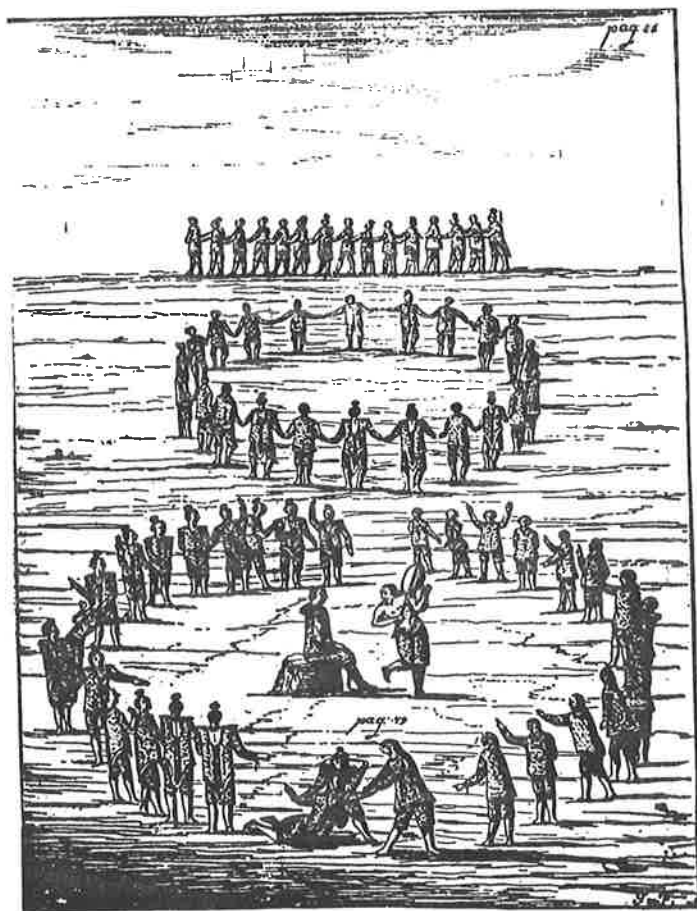
Catching "seal dogs" illustration from Egede 1741 reprint of 1926:81 PS).



The dwellings and boats of the Greenlanders from *ibid*:91).



The song plays of the Greenlanders from *ibid*:117 PS).



CHAPTER 6. ESTABLISHING MISSIONS FOR THE SAAMI IN NORWAY

**" Let it so be that the work to Norwegianize is a great and
important cause. It has, though, to be done without damaging the
soul of the Saami children"
(Bishop Skaar in AS XX, 1887)**

6.1. THE HUGE DIVIDED AND CONTESTED NORTH - THE LAND OF THE SAAMI

The period and the organization I am about to discuss can be understood from a number of variables, among them the development of lay-organizations, nationalism, development of science, philosophy, trade and economic interests. The larger context is discussed in chapter four. In the first sections of this chapter I will give a brief description of the land and history of the Saami. Later I will focus on the motives and challenges within the Saami mission, from 1888 -1900, of what nowadays can be defined as "social work."

The oldest population in the northernmost part of Norway, Sweden, Finland and the Kola peninsula of Russia is the Saami. The Norwegian population gradually migrated into the county from the Middle ages. A Finnish migration started from the 1700s to the 1800s. In the 1600s what is today the county of Finnmark, part of the Norwegian county of Troms, the Kola peninsula in Russia and some areas in northern Finland and Sweden, were taxed by both Swedish-Finnish, Russian and Danish-Norwegian authorities. All of those nations had their own claims in Finnmark. Even as late as in 1826 there were areas taxed by both Russian and Norwegian authorities in Finnmark and in the Kola peninsula of Russia (Lorenz 1991, Rydving 1993: 52; Steen 1954 and Vahl 1866).

The economical importance of the north was limited. It might even be said that it was of more symbolic importance than of economical value. Following Habermas's perspective (1989) an interpretation could be that the north increased in symbolic importance as the nation-states became established and as the reading public increased. Conflicts of interest served to identify the difference between nations. In that way territories of little or no value for the economy could be of great importance.

From the perspective of the population of the north national borders, taxation and authorities must have been a mixed blessing. For those dependent upon crossing the borders, such as the reindeer-herding Saami, those things must have been mostly negative. Borders were drawn without regard to migratory routes of the reindeer, language or the Saami culture. National authorities sometimes forced the population to abandon their traditional social organization such as the Saami Siidâ,¹ their religion and to settle in places chosen by the authorities (Lorenz 1991).

¹ The Siidâ was a kind of community organization deciding upon the use of natural resources like hunting, fishing and later on reindeerherding.

The Saami in Norway can be divided into several different groups. It is possible to identify ten different Saami languages,² of which seven have existed in Norway. The southern language is substantially different from the northern languages (Sammallahti 1998, Lorenz 1991 and Aarseth 1975). The highest concentration of Saami lives in the northernmost county of Finnmark, a county that covers 48.673 square kilometers, which is an area larger than the Kingdom of Denmark (43.069 square kilometers)(Kortner 1983).

Finnmark has always been sparsely populated. In 1567 the population was estimated at 3.910 of whom 840 were Saami, in 1805 the numbers were 6.520 of whom 4.930 were Saami and in the census of 1900 the population was 33.387 of whom 9.572 (28,7 %) were Saami and 5.406 (16,2 %) were of Finnish origin. In the neighbouring Troms county, today covering 25.954 square kilometers, the population in the 1900 census was a total of 72.960 of whom 7.852 (10,8 %) were Saami and 1770 (2,4 %) of Finnish origin (Central Bureau of Statistics³:1906 PS).⁴ The census numbers are not necessarily correct. There were good reasons to hide Saami and Finnish origin from the authorities and there might have been good reason for the authorities to define those being Finnish and Saami as Norwegians. In addition part of the population was migratory and it was a matter of definition whether they should be counted in Norway or in one of the other countries. Most of the population lived along the coastline. In the inland of Finnmark there were a few predominantly Saami communities, the most important of them being the communities of Karasjok, Kautokeino and Masi. All of them were roadless and only possible to reach by foot, horse or in the winter by reindeer sledge.

Distances were long in the north, there were few roads and most travel was by foot or by boat. Those living inland were mostly Saami and most of them were nomadic, often crossing what was to become the borders of the three nations. Others were parts of the Saami population living along the coast and rivers, most often combining fishing and small scale farming. The Norwegian population was nearly entirely concentrated along the coastline, mostly living from fishing often combined with small-scale farming. The life of the two groups was often quite similar and there were quite a number of marriages between Saami and Norwegians. The few towns and major trading centers had

² Southern Saami, Ume Saami, Pite Saami, Lule Saami, Northern Saami, Skolte Saami and Enara Saami. The last group in Finland, but as the borders for a long time were undefined I am including them in my list. In addition there existed three additional languages on the Kola peninsula (Kildin Saami, Akkala Saami and Ter Saami). Older literature describes regional variants of Saami language as dialects. Sammallahti (1998) emphasize that those "variants" differ from each other to the same degree as Germanic or Romance languages and finds it more justified to speak of different languages. I agree with him and would like to emphasize that the choice of terminology (dialects or languages) might have political importance.

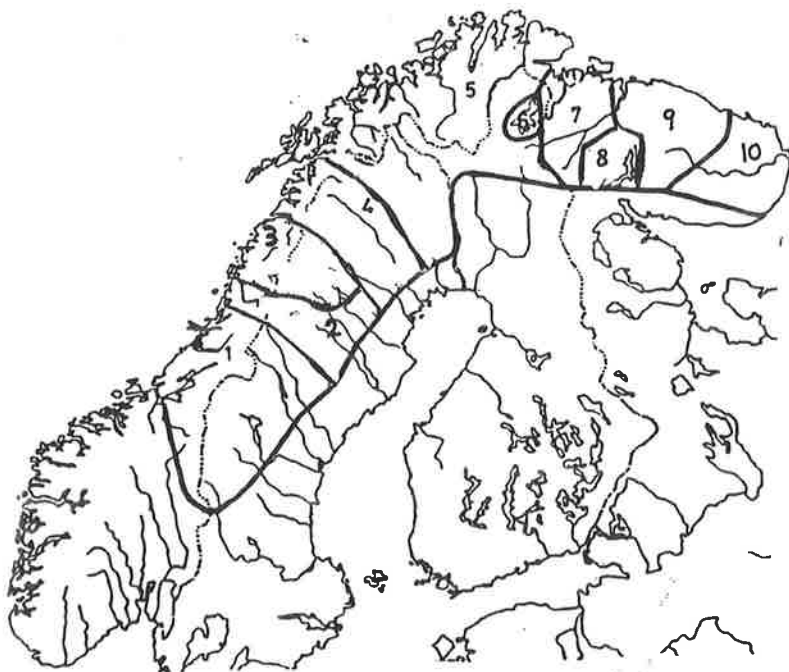
³ "Det Statistiske Centralbureau" (N)

⁴ The third county in northern Norway, Nordland, covers 38.327 square kilometers. The reindeer herding Saami in Nordland cross the border to Sweden, having their summer pastures in Norway and their winter pastures in Sweden.

mostly a Norwegian population (Aarseth 1975, Lorenz 1991, Steen 1954 and Vahl 1866).

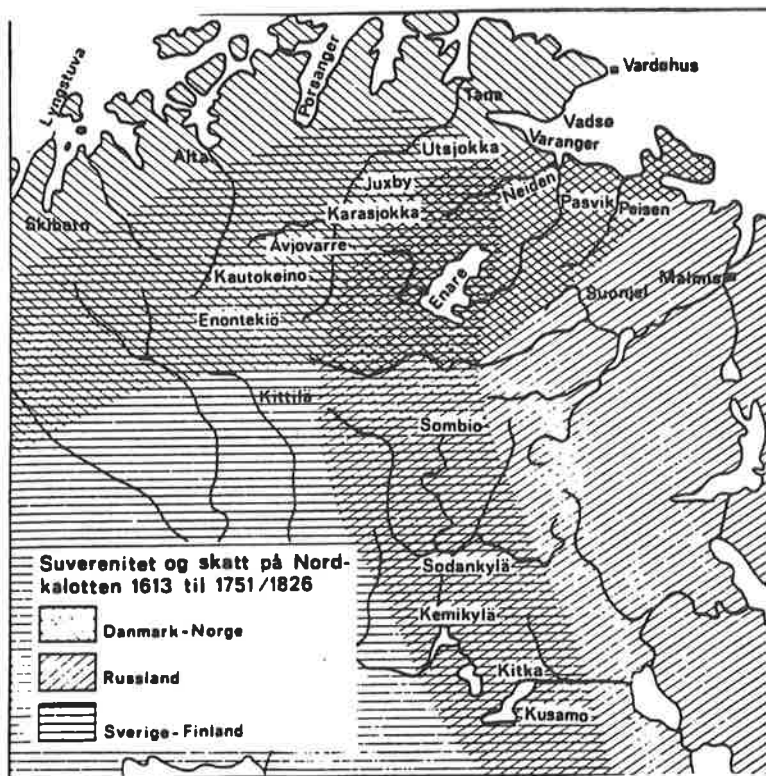
Saami languages

(Aarseth 1975:52 revised with additional information from Sammallahti 1998)



1. South Saami
2. Ume Saami
3. Pite Saami
4. Lule Saami
5. North Saami
6. Innari Saami
7. Skolt Saami
8. Akkala Saami
9. Kildin Saami
10. Ter Saami

Sovereignty and tax districts in the border areas of Denmark-Norway, Sweden-Finland and Russia from 1613 -1751/1826
(Lorenz 1991:29)



6.2. THE EARLY SAAMI MISSIONS

Missionary work among the Saami was started sometime in the thirteenth century (Lorentz:1991). According to Otnes (in Lye:1996 I), the work to Christianize functioned as part of the colonization of the geographical areas in which the Saami were living. As mentioned, three nations⁵ had territorial ambitions in the northernmost part of those areas - Russian interests in the east, Swedish from the south and Denmark-Norway⁶ from the west. The borders were partly undefined, and "missionary work" carried out depended upon the Christian traditions of those three countries. "Since the Saami lived in the border districts...religious sovereignty over the Saami had a political dimension" (Rydving 1993: 53).

Lorenz (1991) paints a depressing picture of the situation of the Saami. Their rights to use land and water were weakened, and their culture and way of life were negatively influenced and partly destroyed. Saami practicing "sorcery" connected to their old religion could in the 1600s be killed. Sacred shaman drums were destroyed in the hundreds in the late 1600s and the beginning of the 1700s. It is actually probably the history of most indigenous populations colonized and dominated by another culture. In all three nations (Denmark-Norway, Sweden-Finland and Russia) the various Christian Churches claimed absoluteness and strived consciously to push aside and replace the religion practiced by the Saami (see Ringgren in Rydving 1993:54). Violence against persons, destruction of sacred places and objects were part of the methods of the missions. In the words of Rydving: "The violence directed against the Saami was organized and systematic" (ibid).

Still, I wish to emphasize that the missionaries, even if they used brutal methods, in many cases were genuinely occupied with the well-being of the Saami. In some cases, like Hammond in 1787, they criticized the behavior towards the Saami: "Incredible were the obstacles the Northmen put in the way for the conversion of the Lapps and Finns⁷; equally unheard-of were all the injustices these miserable people had to suffer; Finns and Lapps were considered and treated worse than dogs....the Northmen bought the children of

⁵ It is probably possible to include Hanseatic and Pomor interests as independent "powers" influencing the policy in the area.

⁶ In Scandinavia the 13 hundreds was a turbulent time, Norway was about to lose its independence. The black death reduced the population dramatically and the old noble class disappeared nearly completely. In 1397 the Kalmar union gave Denmark, Norway and Sweden one King under the control of Queen Margareta. The union lasted until Engelbrekt Engelbrektsson revolted in Sweden. His revolt was followed by revolts in Norway. All of them focused upon the heavy taxation and use of Danish and German administrators (Holmsen 1977).

⁷ In Hammond's terminology "Lapps" means "mountain Saami" and "Finns" for both "coastal Saami" and Saami in general (Rydving 1993:73-74)

the Finns to eternal slavery....they were treated like beasts, they were kept alive only in order to plague them with heavy work, they were without health and beggars..... "(ibid:74). Taking a stand against the "Northmen" and criticizing them for their behavior of the Saami meant that the missionary put himself in the position of being a defender of Saami rights.

One early Swedish missionary, a representative of the enlightened Orthodoxy, argued that "a religion, though it may be false and superstitious, is, however, for us less dangerous than no religion - godlessness is for our race infinitely more harmful, than superstition itself: although we generally have been more inclined to take measures against the latter, than the former" (Högström 1747 in ibid:80). Most often the opinion of Saami religion was "...demonized, and the Saami regarded as 'coarse idolaters'"(ibid:81). Attitudes towards the Saami were not uniform and depended upon religious orientation, and of course the personality, of each missionary and his relationship to the greater society. Widén (1961) discusses missionary work among the Saami in Finland and how the Orthodox theologians related to the mythology of the Saami. In his opinion they never achieved any great results due to their community approach to conversion. Thus, individual attitudes towards religion were often not influenced and the communities were regarded as converted as long as they collectively participated in the practices of Christianity. The real change, in his opinion, came with Pietism and its demand for a personal relationship and practice of Christianity.

Denmark-Norway and particularly northern Norway represented areas far away from the large urban centers of the "bourgeois society." Still, major cities like Bergen, Trondheim and most of all Copenhagen developed a "bourgeois society" at an early stage. The educated, like theologians, traders, businessmen and so on, were all part of that group.

In 1715 the Danish King gave his instructions about the mission among the Saami in Norway. Thomas von Westen (1682 -1727) is by most considered to be the first missionary among the Saami in Norway. He was appointed in 1716 as a lecturer at the Latin School in Trondheim and as a missionary for the Saami. Part of the Latin School was under the administration of the "The Missionary Board"⁸ in Copenhagen and was to function as a training college for missionaries for the Saami.⁹ After a few years, the training of missionaries stopped. Nevertheless von Westen made a number of travels to Northern Norway and to Saami living further south (Vahl 1866 and Aadnanes 1988).

⁸ " Missionscollegiet" (D) or in Latin " Collegium de cursu evangelico promovendo".

⁹ "Seminarium Scolasticum" (L)

The relationship between von Westen, the college and the Bishop in Trondheim was tense and did not function very well. The Bishop of Trondheim was of the opinion that the Saami, in general, were good Christians. Thomas von Westen was of the opinion that the Saami were heathens (Rydving 1993: 33). The conflict between the two might very well have colored how they pictured the Saami: "It is quite likely that he exaggerated the opposition of the Saami (as well as their 'paganism') in order to fuel his arguments in the heated debate against his adversaries within the Church"(ibid:61). Thomas von Westen was inspired by the new Pietistic movement. That movement is one example of the "new reading public" which was increasingly active and communicating with each other independent of the Royal power. Before that communication went from the King and addressed the public (Habermas 1989).

"The Saami College"¹⁰ or the Saami missionary college in Trondheim was, from the point of spreading the Gospel, one of the highlights. Knud Leem, the leader of the college, (1697 -1774) wrote the first Saami dictionary and grammar. The college was initiated in order to educate missionaries and teachers for the Saami and to translate books into their language (Aadnanes 1988). A grant, "Seminarii lapponicum fond," for educating teachers for the Saami was created at the same time as "the Saami College." The grant continued after the college was closed down and later financed Tromsø teachers college (Tromsø Seminarium) (Dahl 1952).

According to Sundt (1852 reprint of 1974) Bishop Pontoppidan of Bergen argued in his large Norwegian history, published in 1752, that the vagabonds or homeless traveling around in Norway were the last part of the suppressed Saami population of southern Norway. As described in chapter 3.3 the first poor laws in Denmark-Norway came as rules against begging and particularly vagabonds begging. In Christian V's Danish law of 1683 able bodied men who did not work and traveled around begging, should be arrested, sentenced to prison and chained (Anderson, Dyrvik and several more 1982). Comparing the Saami to a kind of vagabond illustrates the negative attitude towards their nomadic life, attitudes that lasted into the next two centuries. Nomadic life was thought of as less civilized and undesirable than the settled life of the urban population, farmers and the fishing population.

In 1825 the "Society for the Promotion of Christian knowledge among the Saami of Norway"¹¹ was founded by the Rev. Schultz in Trondheim. The Society was the first missionary association in Norway (Danbolt 1947). It was not a missionary society in the more modern sense of the word but rather a society working for making translations of religious texts into Saami and educating teachers in the Saami language. Education, information and

¹⁰ "Seminarium Lapponicum" (L)

¹¹ "Selskap til kristelig Oplysnings Fremme iblandt Norges Finner" (N)

discipline were keywords of the time. A continuous process towards a merchant-based national state economy required predictable markets by defining borders and spheres of interest. At the same time there existed a built-in tension because the merchants gradually required freedom for business and less state control.

A number of reverends were active in preaching to the Saami. Among them was Stockfleth,¹² who actively preached in the Saami language and made translations into Saami.¹³ Among the translations were works of Luther (Steen, 1963). Stockfleth was active during the turbulent time of the Kautokeino riots when two Norwegians were killed and 27 Saami later sentenced. Afterwards two of them were executed¹⁴ (Aadnanes 1986, Sivertsen 1955 and Zorgdrager 1997). Bishop Skaar, who later initiated the Saami mission in 1888, made a collection of letters from Stockfleth (Skaar, 1896) (*Lutheran Church Bulletin*¹⁵ 1896 I PS). The book illustrates both Stockfleth's and Skaar's views of the incident. Stockfleth found the Læstadian belief to be a dangerous version of Christianity. In his opinion it was necessary to work actively to spread the Gospel through the Church and through making the Gospel available in Saami language.

Even if Skaar seemed to be more moderate in his views, he shared the opinion that the Church had to work actively among the Saami. He also agreed to the importance of teaching the Gospel in the Saami language. The collection of letters, published after he left the Bishop's chair in Tromsø to become Bishop in Trondheim, probably functioned as a way of emphasizing the importance of the Church, its missionary work and of communicating the Gospel in the Saami language. Part of his message seemed to be that the consequence of not doing that could be dramatic, as seen in the Kautokeino riots in 1852.¹⁶ The social dimension, helping those in need, does not seem to have been focused upon that much in the period before the Kautokeino riots. Still, there existed an awareness of poverty. This awareness is visible, at least, in later publications like Vahl (1866).

Spreading the Gospel had many dimensions in the period: building and defending the nation state, fulfilling the obligation of converting non-believers to God and giving the Saami a better life. After all, becoming Christian was thought of as the basis of a better life both in this world and the next. In addition it was thought of as a necessary part of the process of developing a Norwegian identity.

¹² Nils Joachim Christian Vibe Stockfleth (1787 -1866). Reverend in Vadsø from 1825

¹³ He translated the New testaments and other Christian literature into Saami. In 1852 he published a Norwegian Saami dictionary (Jernsletten in Larsen and Buzza, 1996)

¹⁴ Five persons received death sentences, but three were later pardoned.

¹⁵ "Luthersk kirketidende" (N)

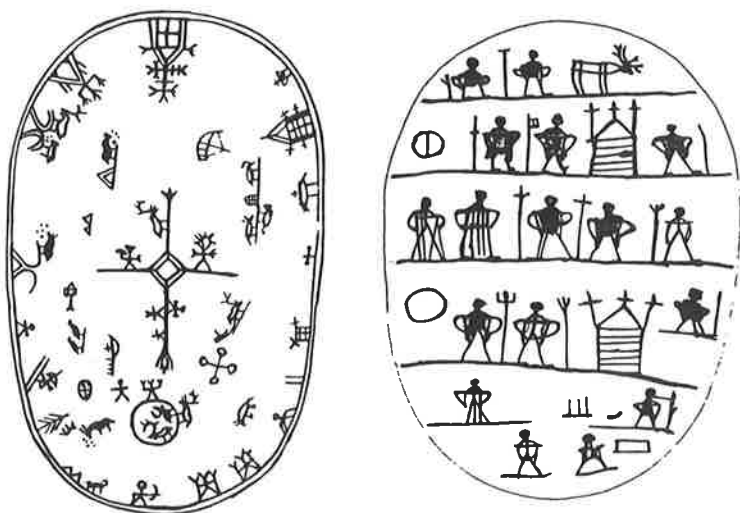
¹⁶ For a discussion see Zorgdrager (1997) and Sivertsen (1955)

In Borgen (ed) (1997) the background of the Saami movement is discussed. In Sweden important factors were thought to be teetotallers' organisations, the Free Churches and the new labor movement. As pointed out by the author both the natural conditions and the national fight for independence made the situation different in Norway. Among other factors free Churches were never as important as in Sweden. The fight for Saami identity and the fight for Saami rights was part of a great complexity consisting of, among other factors, the development of social services and institutions.

Shaman with his drum. He is holding a drumstick (probably made from a bone of an animal) in his hand. On top of the drum is a brass ring which will move while the shaman is drumming. (Lorenz 1991:35)



Shaman drums from Folldal in north Trøndelag (probably from about 1600)
 (Lorenz 1991:36)



6.3. MISSIONARY WORK AMONG THE SAAMI 1888 -1900

"The Norwegian Saami Mission"¹⁷ was established in 1888 by Bishop Johannes Nilsson Skaar in Tromsø. The Bishop made an appeal for support and stated his, or the organization's, goals;

1. To dispatch traveling preachers to "out-of-the-way living" Saami
2. To publish the Old Testament in Saami
3. If possible to distribute to Saami small publications about those things that belong to the realm of God" (Steen 1963:17).¹⁸

In addition to the missionary work of "The Norwegian Saami Mission", the local parsons of the State Church carried out their preaching as usual. Both they and the Norwegian Saami Mission were under the supervision of the Bishop in Tromsø. Both of them served as "tools" under the same master, and the contact between them was close; however, the mission differed by using traveling lay preachers. In some cases the Church recruited Saami lay preachers, in other cases they used Norwegians who either mastered the Saami language or were willing to learn it (ibid).

Organizations, independent of the State Church, also did missionary work among the Saami. They worked in a number of ways. Some of them did missionary work among the whole population in certain geographical districts. Those organizations targeted Finns, Norwegians and Saami without distinguishing between them. Examples of such organizations were "The Inner Sailor Mission,"¹⁹ "The Inner Mission,"²⁰ "The Salvation Army"²¹ and a number of independent Churches like Methodists, Mormons, Baptists²² and so on. Some organizations both had the more general approach and some specialized missionary work targeted at the Saami. "The Evangelical Lutheran Free Church"²³ had from 1892 their own missionary work among the Saami (AS XXV) (The Evangelical Lutheran Free Church 1967). Lye (1996 II) writes that several of the independent Churches (she mentions Methodists, Baptists, Pentecostal Christians and the Evangelical Lutheran Free Church²⁴) had their own Saami missions.

¹⁷ "Norsk Finnemission" (N)

¹⁸ " 1. At utstede finsktalende Reiseprædikanter til afsidesboende Finner 2. Besørge det gamle Testamentet utgivet paa Finsk 3. Om muligt utbrede finske Smaaskrifter om de Ting som hører Guds Rige til." (N)

¹⁹ "Den Indre Sømmandsmission" (N)

²⁰ "Indremissionen" (N)

²¹ "Frelsesarmeen" (N)

²² Some important Saami, like the "Saami King" Daniel Mortensen and the reindeer owner Stinnerbom in Tydalen, became Baptists (Borgen 1997).

²³ "Den evangelisk lutherske frikirke" (N)

²⁴ The Methodist Church was established in Norway in 1856, the Evangelical Lutheran Church in 1877 and the first Pentecostal congregation in 1906. Even if the Pentecostal congregations were established after 1900 there were Christians inspired by those views within other Churches even before 1900. As they had a fairly "loose"

The large number of organizations and the divisions within some of the organizations illustrate both the increasing discourse of the public at the end of the century and the acceptance of diverging opinions. What earlier would not have been accepted was, by that time, accepted as pertaining to the realm of private responsibility and rights. It is difficult to find information about the complexity of organizations as they all had their own independent archives. Some of the organizations are mentioned in the reports of the Bishop in Tromsø and some of them in the archives of the Saami Mission. The latter come to light through letters to and from lawyers concerning inheritance. Those letters also reveal organizations competing for funds. In several cases, particularly after "The Norwegian Lutheran Saami-mission Association"²⁵ or "The Saami association"²⁶ left the "The Norwegian Saami Mission"²⁷ in 1910, inheritance had to be divided between the two organizations. The organizational split, however, existed well before 1900. "The Norwegian Saami Mission" consisted of numerous independent support organizations who channeled part of their support to the Church-controlled central organization. At the same time they kept control over some of their funds and targeted them partly on certain projects of the Saami mission, like institutional care, and partly on similar projects independent of the mission.

Friends of "The Inner Mission" started in 1886 a Saami Children's Home in Kvænangen in Troms. The home was supported by a number of organizations, many of them female organizations, independent of both "the Inner Mission" and the Church. Many of the organizations supporting it were established with the sole purpose of supporting the Children's home. The complexity of organizations operating to support missionary work among the Saami can be understood partly from the point of theological differences, partly from the point of view of geographical differences, partly from the point of view of democratic and autocratic traditions, partly from the point of view of emancipation and partly as a division between High Church and the lay movement. The last part would partly include an ingrained protest against the Church being used as a tool for creating loyal, obedient citizens in the centrally elite-controlled united Kingdoms of Norway-Sweden.

Otterbech, the theologian who started "The Norwegian Lutheran Saami-mission Association"²⁸ or "The Saami association,"²⁹ worked partly through

organizational structure with independent congregations it might have been that some of them were involved in missionary work among the Saami prior to 1900.

²⁵ "Det Norsk Lutherske Finnemisjonsforbund" (N)

²⁶ "Finneforbundet" (N)

²⁷ "Norsk Finnemisjon"

²⁸ "Det Norsk Lutherske Finnemisjonsforbund" (N)

²⁹ "Finneforbundet" (N)

"the Inner mission" and partly as an editor of the "Saami Usteb"³⁰ a publication published by "The Norwegian Saami Mission". He considered himself to be a pacifist and was sympathetic towards socialism.³¹ Views like his probably existed among a number of supporters of the missionary work even prior to 1900.

Following the flow of money is, in my opinion, a good way of understanding both the organizational complexity and the development of the activities of the missions. Various social work activities of the mission were not necessarily developed because the leadership gave priority to those kind of activities. As I will show later, various independent membership organizations seem to have influenced the activity of the Saami mission through their way of targeting funds.

³⁰ "Friends of the Sami" (SA)

³¹ In 1918 he was elected within the Church as candidate for the Bishopric in Tromsø. He had considerable support and received more than twice as many votes as the second candidate on the list. Nevertheless the government chose to appoint another person as Bishop in Tromsø. Eriksen and Niemi (1982) are of the opinion that he was not appointed because of his protest against the policy of Norwegianizing. Thorvaldsen (1990) is of the opinion that it was due to his pacifism. Myself I find it likely that Otterbech's negative attitude towards the centrally controlled state, authoritarian structure and sympathy for socialism were at least contributing factors. Particularly in the northern part of Norway, bordering the newly independent Finland and in the east being close to the newborn Soviet Union, it was important for the government to have a loyal, controllable, nationalistic, non pacifistic Bishop without socialistic sympathies (In 1818 the political situation in what was to become the Soviet Union was still unstable. In some areas Foreign powers like Great Britain were active and the white army was still an active force).

6.4. THE LAY MOVEMENT AND MISSIONARY WORK AMONG THE SAAMI

The lay movement was one of the major forces both behind missionary work and the fight against drinking. While missionary work was of almost undisputed value, the fight against drinking was more controversial (Lutheran Church Bulletin 1882 I). Some parsons warned against teetotalism and found it fanatical. High officials of the Church were mostly reluctant towards, or in many cases against, teetotalism. They were not against restrictions for those with alcohol problems but found it fanatic to try to stop normal social drinking. For the lay organizations teetotalism was "practical caring" and a matter of practicing Christianity (Klaveness 1893 PS, Lutheran Church Bulletin³² 1894 II PS and Lutheran Church Bulletin³³ 1894 III PS). Opposing views to those of the high officials of the Church became increasingly vocal. Missionaries in the Norwegian Saami Mission³⁴ emphasized the problem of alcohol abuse; "Is there any place in the country in need of teetotalism preachers it is in truth in Finnmark and particularly in its mountainous parts"³⁵ (Norwegian Saami Mission³⁶ 1896:62 PS), "There are also shadow sides about such a rally. Alcohol is coming in great quantities, and the sorrowful results will not fail to appear. There are many, particularly among the young, who in these days are seen stone drunk and walking around noisily. It is the Saamis' sorry weakness for the strong, which is illustrated in scary truth"³⁸ (Norwegian Saami Mission 1895:18 PS). Interestingly the Saami mission never developed any services for people with alcohol problems. Even if involved in the fight against drunkenness, no institution was ever established. The Læstadian movement, which had considerable support among the Saami, strongly supported teetotalism (Aadnanes 1986).

Outsiders' view of the Læstadian movement ranged from being considered dangerous to a question of having strange habits and bad sense. A reverend writing in Lutheran Church Bulletin³⁹ (1893 II PS) expressed it like this; " For

³² "Luthersk kirketidende" (N)

³³ "Luthersk kirketidende" (N)

³⁴ "Norsk Finne-mission" (N)

³⁵ "Er der noget Sted i Landet, hvor der trænges Afholdsprædikanter, saa er det i andhed Finnmarken og ikke mindst Finnmarkens Fjeldkald" (N). The "mountainous parts" would include the inland of Finnmark and the rest of Northern Norway, which mostly had a Saami population. A substantial part of that population would be involved in reindeer herding and living a nomadic lifestyle.

³⁶ "Norsk Finne-mission" (N)

³⁷ "Norsk Finne-mission" (N)

³⁸ "Der er ogsaa Skyggesider ved et saadant Stevne. Brændevin tilføres da i store Masser, og de sørgelige Følger udebliver da heller ikke. Mange er de, især blandt de unge, som i disse Dage sees rave drukne og støjiende omkring. Det er Lapperne sørgelige Svaghed for det stærke, som her vises i al sin afskrækkende Sandhed" (N).

³⁹ "Luthersk kirketidende" (N)

the Salvation of the Soul they are dedicated, but not always with good sense.⁴⁰ In the yearly reports of the Norwegian Saami mission, the complexity and conflicts in the movement were emphasized. The mission had followers and alliances with part of the Læstadians and conflicts with others (see for example The Norwegian Saami mission⁴¹ 1895:22 -25 PS⁴²).

When the Norwegian Saami mission was established by Bishop Skaar in 1888, it was governed independently but still under the firm hand of the highest representative of the State Church in Northern Norway. At that time there were already a number of mission-like activities initiated by the lay movement and independent organizations. In addition came the very active Læstadian movement among the Saami. Steen (1963) argues that one of the main reasons for establishing the Saami mission was to organize a counter force to the Læstadianism, to work against a harsh and unjust policy of Norwegianization⁴³ and to bring the Gospel to the Saami in their own language.

The Bishop seems to have had a rather conciliatory attitude towards Læstadianism. After disturbances by some Læstadian women in the Church of Hammerfest in 1887, he advised the local magistrate against civil action; "It is not unlikely that the females that have disturbed the peace of Church, just function as more or less weak-willed tools of Læstadian leaders and when there is no possibility of striking the last, one should ignore the first. What makes it, from my point, inadvisable for the civilian authorities to take action is that the movement is a spiritual one and due to that should be met with spiritual weapons. In all cases, action against the movement should only be taken by the Church. The Læstadian movement in Hammerfest is quite fanatic. Due to that, police investigation and punishment will only be viewed as harassment from the State Church. Such action will nurture the fanatics and make the split between Evangelical Lutheran Church people and the Læstadic society so wide that it will not be possible to fill."⁴³(AS XVII). In a letter from 14th of March 1887 from the Bishop to one of the parsons in Ofoten, he describes the Læstadian females making disturbances in the Churches as "howling women"⁴⁴

⁴⁰ "For Sjælens Frelse er de ivrige oog nidkjære, men ikke alltid med forstand" (N) (Luhersk kirketidene, 1894 I PS)

⁴¹ "Norsk Finne mission" (N)

⁴² An interview with one of the most important Læstadian leaders Hans Abrahamsen Hellander. The interview gives the impression that Hellander is a dedicated follower of the State Church and critical to many of the "excesses" of the Læstadian movement.

⁴³ "Det er ikke usandsynligt, at de Kvinder, som have forstyrret kirkefreden, kun ere læstadianske ledere mere eller mindre viljeløse Redskaber, og naar der ikke er nogen Udsigt til at røbe de sidste, bør man i det længste bære over med de første - hvad der ellers efter min mening fornemmelig gjør nogen Forføining fra den verdslige Øvrigheds side utilraadelig, er den Omstændighed, at Bevægelsen er af en aandelig Art og bør derfor mødes med Aandens aaben eller at der i ethvert Fald blot tages kirkelige Forholdsregler. Saa fanatiske som Læstadianerne i Hammerfest vise sig at være vil Politiforhør og Domfældelse m.m. kun tjene til At give Fanatismen end mere næring og gjøre Kløften meem det evangelisk lutheranske Kirkefolk og det læstadianske Samfund saa gabende, at man ikke længer kan tænke paa at faa den udfyldt." (N)

⁴⁴ "hylekoner" (N)

and asks to be told if it is said that he is in support of their activities(AS XVIII). Both in the letter to the parson and in a letter of the 15th of March 1887 to the Church Department (AS XIV), he warns against exaggerating the negative importance of the Læstadian movement.⁴⁵ It is possible that the Bishop, as the examples might illustrate, was just as afraid of the reaction against the Læstadian movement as of the movement itself.

Towards representatives of the Læstadian movement the Bishop had a policy of dialogue. In a letter from the 5th of March 1887 to Petter Pedersen Bakkejord and several others, apparently leaders in a Læstadian group, he was rather conciliatory. He asked them not to disturb the sermons and argued for his view from a Biblical point of view. At the same time he understood, even if he did not agree with, their understanding of the Gospel (AS XXI).

The Læstadian movement was not one movement but several loosely organized congregations, some of them in conflict. There also existed movements collected around one particularly charismatic leader. They developed their own branch of Christianity. One example was the movement of Wringsted (The Norwegian Saami Mission⁴⁶ 1898 and 1895 PS). Most Læstadian believers would probably not accept "Wringstedianism" as part of their movement, but as an independent congregation operating outside of both the Læstadian movement, the State Lutheran Church and perhaps even Lutheran Christianity (for a description see Steen 1963:23 and Sivertsen 1955:166-170)⁴⁷ The movement seems to have been local. As late as in 1930 there were still a few followers (Sivertsen 1955:166-170).

Personally I find it natural that the establishment of the mission was also necessitated by a number of increasingly active organizations. In order to gain control the Bishop had no other alternative than organizing a mission. The potential for a conflict of interest between the Church and independent organizations could never be ruled out. The independent organizations had their own controversies and several of them, like the Læstadian movement, were not organizations in the ordinary sense of the word. What all of them had in common was that they challenged the established Church. Involving the State Church in the popular field of missionary work and creating a Church-controlled mission could have been done both in order to minimize the potential for conflicts and in order to channel popular involvement into Church-controlled work. The Bishop's report to the Church Department of 3rd of March 1891 illustrates his critical view on part of the lay movement and some of the independent lay preachers; "to the last category comes partly the activity of the men sent out from the Inner Seamen Mission and the numerous

⁴⁵ The Bishop compares it to a storm which will pass.

⁴⁶ "Norsk Finne Mission" (N)

⁴⁷ The movement seems to have been active in Måsøy and Hammerfest (Steen 1963:23)

independent, immature or ambiguous men who on their own behalf travel around as a destructive abomination.... " (AS XVI).⁴⁸ In addition, and possibly most important, there were tasks like translation of the Bible and organizing and financing preachers in the outlying districts that could most efficiently be carried out with the support of an organization supported by the State Church.

With the establishment of the Saami mission some of the Saami lay preachers, with strong attachment to the Læstadian movement, were employed as lay preachers. In that way the Bishop made alliances with moderates within the movement. In addition, of course, those lay preachers were disciplined or educated to follow the doctrines and discipline of the Church.

In the yearly report from the Norwegian Saami Mission⁴⁹ of 1894 (published 1895 PS), candidate⁵⁰ Tandberg wrote about the hostile lay movement; "inflexible stiff minds, unloving intolerance, censoriousness, great love of their own wisdom, censoriousness about opposing views, a lot of religious censoriousness, nevertheless not of fulfilling Christian life" ⁵¹(ibid:14) ".....a sorry sickness and disregard of the sacraments" ⁵² (ibid:15).

Three articles about "The activity of the lay movement" in "Lutheran Church Bulletin"⁵³(1879 I PS, II PS and 1878 PS express opposing views; those in favor of lay preachers and those critical to them. At that time, the Church was expressing the view that preaching the Gospel should be done by appointed theologians. According to that view, the lay movement should be organized as part of the Church and not independent of it. The opposing view was that a movement organized as part of the State Church would be characterized by "the dead and fainting formalism" ⁵⁴ (ibid). When the Saami mission was started, it was as part of the Church and in opposition to those who wanted such activity organized as part of an independent lay movement.

The Church, from the very beginning, actively used the lay movement and lay preachers. Nevertheless those lay preachers were under supervision and control of the Church and the Bishop. Such use could be considered to be the only way to control the increasingly active lay movement and to activate the local parishes in the "battle" for the Gospel. The same view was expressed by Bishop Landgren (1882 PS) in Hernösand in writing about the lay movement

⁴⁸ "Til sidste slags hører tildels Virksomheden af Mænd, som indre Sømandsmission har udsendt samt af den hærske af tvetydige eller umodne personer, som flakker om paa egen haand en ødlæggheds vederstygghed..." (N)

⁴⁹ "Norsk Finne mission" (N)

⁵⁰ The title candidate meant that he had taken the theological exam necessary to be ordained as a parson.

⁵¹ "...ubøielig Stivsind, en ukjærlig Intolerance og Dømmesyge, en egenkjærlig Selvklogskab og en sørgelig Disputersyge, megen religiøs Interesse og dog et fattigt og lidet fyldigt kristenliv..." (N)

⁵² "...Disputersyge og foragt for Sakramenterne." (N)

⁵³ "Luthersk Kirketidende" (N)

⁵⁴ "den døde og afmægtige Formalismes Præg" (N)

in the Swedish region of Norrland. His article is also interesting from the point that he wrote about the county in Sweden with most of the Saami population. Landgren emphasized the importance of the lay movement in order to create a counter force to socialism and other destructive forces like those critical to national interests. He wrote about forces opposed to what could be translated into the "National Evangelical Foundation."⁵⁵ His views were first published in "Statements about Church questions"⁵⁶ published in Hernösand in 1882- 1885 (Landgren 1882 -1885). The Bishop was of a rather social Darwinistic point of view; when it came to the Saami he saw the development away from their language and life style as the development to come (Lorentz 1991).

An article in "Lutheran Church Bulletin" ⁵⁷ in 1875 argued for the development of a lay movement as part of the religious life of the local parishes; " First of all, it is important both with care and faithfulness to take care of the already established associations and meeting places for such Church and Christian activity, in which the believers are interested. Those established associations work for both the outer and inner mission.....Secondly it is important to create new meeting places, in which the believers can unite and strengthen themselves both outwardly and inwardly in the common battle." (Lutheran Church Bulletin⁵⁸ 1875 PS: 276 -277).⁵⁹ From this point of view, the Saami mission might be said to be important in order to strengthen the religious work in the established Norwegian parishes, often far from the areas of the Saami. The missions gave the Church identity and motivated the congregations to strengthen their own Christian life. This was important in order to fight the increasingly active secular movement and tendencies; " Our time is the time of the organizations. Everything is uniting in organizations and joining. The enemies of God are uniting in giant coalitions, which like states in the State are forcing the secular authorities to the most serious defense" ⁶⁰ (ibid:277).

The same was naturally true of all the lay organizations. The missions gave identity to numerous people supporting missionary work among the Saami. One illustrating example of such supporters was the mother of the professor in rhetoric, Georg Johannesen. In an interview with Oppedal (1998:9) he told

⁵⁵ "Fosterlandsstiftelsen" (S)

⁵⁶ "Uttalande öfver kyrkliga frågor" (S)

⁵⁷ "Luthersk Kirketidende" (N)

⁵⁸ "Luthersk Kirketidende" (N)

⁵⁹ "For det Første gjælder det med Omhu og Troskab at pleje alle allerede nu bestaaende Foreninger og Samlingspunkter for saadan christelig og kirkelig Virksomhed, for hvilken det troende Lægfolk interesserer sig. Disse bestaaende Foreninger angaa Arbejderne for den ydre og indre Mission....For det Andet gjælder det ogsaa at tilvejebringe nye Samlingspunkter, ved hvilke det troende Lægfolk kan forene sig indad og udad i den fælles Kamp." (N)

⁶⁰ "Vor Tid er en Foreningernes Tid. Alt forener sig og slutter sig sammen. Guds Riges Fiender slutte sig sammen i vældige koalitioner, der som Stater i Staten allerede tvinge den verdslige Øvrighed til det alvorligste Modværge"(N).

about his mother who for forty years had been the chairman of "The Western Norway Mission among Muslims."⁶¹ During the period of her chairmanship the mission did not convert a single Muslim. In her obituary the following words can be read: " Ingeborg Johannesen, member of the Mission among Muslims, member of the prayer group, her comfortable home was always open for the association, she was always open to the power of God and she has always given that power on to thirsty and hungry souls, she was a unique spiritual mother for us."⁶²

Most of the economical support during the time from 1888 -1900 came from the south-western part of Norway (Lye 1996, I and 1997). In those areas of Norway the Pietistic religious movement dominated the lay movement. It was also the area dominated by the movement for the creation of a national Norwegian written language instead of the dominating Danish-influenced written language.

In Habermas's (1989) opinion, the last part of the century was characterized by organizations "invading" or growing together with the State. Discussions in and between the organizations and the State gradually disappeared, to be replaced by direct negotiations between the employees of the State and the organizations. Such an understanding seems to be only partly valid in the situation of the Saami missions, their support organizations and the "State." Part of the lay organizations seem to move into such a process and part of them increasingly move into a situation of conflict with the "State." In addition, the "State" was increasingly developing into a complex organizational structure with conflicts of its own. The question of language policy seems to have been one of them.

Two historians, Try (1985) and Nerbøvik(1993), have described the development of organizations during the 1800s. According to Nerbøvik the 1890s were characterized by large national trade unions. Try describes the period from 1870 -1885 as a period with increased membership and activity in the organizations. In his interpretation the organizations became more political. A number of political party organizations were started, existing organizations were politicized and the number of teetotaler organisations increased. The development was probably influenced by increased growth of the new social patterns resulting from increased immigration to North America, and mobility in urban and industrial growth. Sverre Steen (in Try 1985) uses what he calls the "theory of the empty room"⁶³ or "the instrument

⁶¹ "Vestlandske muhammedanermisssion" (N)

⁶² "Ingeborg Johannesen, med i muhammedanermisjonen, medlem av bønnegruppen, hennes kostlige hjem var alltid gjestfritt og sto åpent for foreningen, hun var selv åpen for Guds mektige kraft og den har hun gitt videre til mang en tørst og hungrende sjel, hun har vært en enestående åndlig mor for oss." (N)

⁶³ "Tomromsteorien" (N)

theory"⁶⁴ to describe the development. "The theory of the empty room" focuses upon the new social patterns that made people more independent of local community and family. Involvement in organizations filled "the empty space" and gave identity and feeling of community. "The instrument theory" focuses upon organizations as a tool to achieve social status and power.

Olstad (ibid) focuses upon the connection between geographical mobility and organizational protest. In his opinion an increased number of people moving into a community often resulted in more radical organizations. The opposite might, in my interpretation, also happen: the more people moving out of a community, the more conservative or Pietistic would the organizations become. It is natural that the young and open-minded moved out, often immigrated to USA, while the conservative remained. In most of Norway a large immigration to the USA happened during the last part of the century. Lundby (ibid) focuses upon the influence of economical depressions on religious movement. In the picture he paints, economical depressions nourished religious movements. The theological discussions within the Church probably influenced the development of lay organizations. At the end of last century, many leading Norwegian theologians were inspired by the liberal German theologian Adolf Harnack. Other theologians supported a more Orthodox Lutheranism (Lye 1996 II and 1997).

In The Norwegian Saami Mission the leadership was dominated by "High Church" interests dominated by the Bishop of Tromsø. The organizational structure was centralized and authoritarian. That way of organizing had a long tradition and was, from the very beginning, in conflict with the new ideas of democratic organizations in which the members had "the power". The Saami mission had those tensions built into the organizational structure. Membership organizations, those supporting the mission, had, to a great extent, roots in ideas of democracy and possibly also female emancipation. The later organizational split of the Saami mission can, at least partly, be understood as a result of these conflicting views. In addition differences existed in theological thinking, social involvement, questions regarding Saami rights and political ideas. Outside organizations like "The Finnmarkmission of the Free Church"⁶⁵ probably also influenced the policy of the Church and the Norwegian Saami Mission. When the mission of the Free Church started a children's home in Finnmark in 1914 (AS XVII), they proudly announced that it was the first children's home in the county.

⁶⁴ "Instrumentteorien" (N)

⁶⁵ "Frikirkens Finnmarksmission" (N) (The independent Lutheran Church)

6.5. THE NATIONAL CAUSE AND MISSIONARY WORK AMONG THE SAAMI

The discourse among the public on matters like the national one was concentrated in the southern part of the country. The southern part of Norway had most of both the urban and rural population. Most of the merchant-based and modern industrial-based economy was situated in that part of the country. Southern Norway had conflicts of its own: the urban population versus the rural population, the population in the central eastern part versus the population along the southern coast and Western Norway. Some of the conflict was along lines like lay organizations consisting of farmers, fishermen and low middle class citizens against higher/middle-to-upper-class citizens, some of them scholars and traditional civil servants (Allén 1986 and Nerbøvik 1976). Northern Norway was of less importance and the situation was different from Southern Norway. The North was far away from the main center and had a population consisting of Norwegians, Saami, Finns⁶⁶ and a few Russians (see the description i 6.1 and 6.2).

In Habermas's (1989) opinion, the last part of the century was characterized by increasing "nationalism" and a movement towards a gradually increased state role in virtually all aspects of the economic life. There was an international development away from free competition to gradually more and more regulated and monopolized markets. From a Norwegian nationalistic point of view, the nation was to some extent "threatened" by both Swedish, Russian and Finnish⁶⁷ interests. The possibility of territorial claims from Russia existed (Berg 1995), and apart from that, there was the question of fishing-, grazing- and land rights.

Two articles in the Lutheran Church Bulletin⁶⁸ (1876 I and II PS) describe a visit to the Skolte-Saami in Boris Gleb and their new Church. Boris Gleb was situated on the Russian side of the border river between Norway and Russia.⁶⁹ The articles emphasize the new Church as being the most beautiful one in Russian Lapland and the strong loyalty the Skolte-Saami had to Russia through their Russian Orthodox faith; "In the border decision in 1826, it was only due to religious reasons that the Skolte-Saami along the Pasvik river unanimously expressed the wish to have their citizenship transferred to Russia. Russia has in them some of its most faithful and obedient subjects" (ibid 1876 I PS:20).⁷⁰

⁶⁶ The terminology of the time might be confusing. The Saami were in the documents of the Saami mission called "Finner" (N) and the Finns "Kvæner" (N). In the publications of the Central bureau of Statistics (for example 1906 PS) the Saami were called "lapper." Today the Saami will in Norwegian be called "Samer" (N).

⁶⁷ Finland was, as an Archduchy, part of Russia until 1917

⁶⁸ "Luthersk Kirketidende" (N)

⁶⁹ A Church was built on the Norwegian side of the river in 1869 (Oscar the II Chapel).

⁷⁰ "Det var jo ogsaa alene religiøse hensyn, der ved Grænsespørsmålet i 1826, bragte Skotelapperne ved

In order to "create" the nation of Norway, or rather the identity of being Norwegian and loyal to the State, the policy of "one language and one nation" was pursued. Education in Norwegian language and culture was considered to be "top priority." The rules for Tromsø Seminarium, or Teachers College, made it mandatory for state supported students to serve as teachers in "mixed districts" with Saami and/or Finnish population for a period of 7 years (AS XI). In the long run the nation was to be transferred into a nation with one language and identity. The fact that the districts with Saami and Finnish population were called "transitory" illustrates this point⁷¹ (AS XIII) (Lorenz 1991). In my opinion the articles contain the important message that those not believing in the faith of the country cannot be depended upon in matters of national identity. The work to have the Saami faithful to the Church would then be a matter of defending the borders of the nation.

The question was how to do that and how vigorously to pursue such a policy. In the protocols of the college the matter of Saami students was addressed by the Dean Fredrik W Hvosløf on the 9th of March 1859 (AS XI). He had the opinion that student placements, earlier reserved for Saami students, should be used for Norwegian students. The reason was that Saami teachers would have a greater tendency to use Saami than Norwegian students. The transfer from use of the Saami language to Norwegian would, due to that, in his opinion be hampered by Saami teachers in Saami districts.

There was strong support for Norwegian settlers establishing themselves as farmers in Northern Norway. Often those settlers had conflicts of interest with traditional Saami activities like nomadic migratory reindeer-herding. The Norwegian "system" strongly supported the settlers and discriminated Saami interests in those conflicts. Laws were made to support farming and to discriminate against reindeer-herding. The migratory life of the reindeer-herding Saami was considered to be an unwanted lifestyle. Only those settled could, according to that view, be fully integrated and part of the Norwegian Society (Vahl 1866 and Lorenz 1991).

The Church was divided in questions concerning how to carry out the integration of the Saami population into the Norwegian Society. This was particularly true when it came to questions regarding language. Language was considered, by some, to be a birth right of the Saami. Some theologians, like Vahl (1866)⁷² and Otterbech (Hidle and Otterbech 1917), argued for traditional Saami land rights and the rights for nomadic reindeer-herding.

Pasvigelven, som før den tid skattede til Norge, til enstemmigt at udtale Ønske om ogsaa i statsborgerlig henseende at maatte overgaa til Rusland, der i dem har sine troeste og lydigste Undersaater (N) (Lutheran Church Bulletin 1876 I:20 PS).

⁷¹ "Overgangsdistrikter" (N)

⁷² Vahl was a parson in Aarhus in Denmark. It is difficult to know how representative his views were, however it

Bishop Skaar in Tromsø, the founder of the Saami mission, was more moderate, but still an advocate for teaching in the Saami language. His view upon the matter of teaching was based upon both a practical and Biblical argumentation. Skaar functioned as a Bishop from 1885 -1892. In the year of 1892 he became Bishop in Trondheim. Just prior to the start of the Saami mission, in 1887, he wrote " Let it so be that the work to Norwegianize is a great and important cause. It has, though, to be done without damaging the soul of the Saami children" ⁷³(AS XX). The report to the Church department, which was submitted the year the mission started in 1888, argued in the same way. The Bishop was sympathetic to teaching the Norwegian language, but in addition favored using Saami for teaching the Gospel and for basic teaching. The report gave several examples of the ignorance of the children in basic Christianity /(AS XXIV). In 1892 the Bishop argued for teaching in the Saami language, but only in the lower grades; " In many districts, the children do not understand Norwegian when they first attend school. And because, if the school commission, or as it is now called, the school board, has made sure that the district teachers do not understand Saami, it is to understand that the education is going to be fruitless.....would a lot be benefited if the teachersin their teaching used the language of the children. Though I will remark that the Saami teaching of Christianity in the transitory districts could be reserved for the lower grades. Because when the children in the lower grades have received the teaching in Norwegian ,such as the school law and School plan demands, then they should be able at the age of 10 - 12 years, without damaging their souls, to have teaching of Christianity in Norwegian " ⁷⁴ (AS XV). The Finnish population, on the other hand, was considered to consist of immigrants who had to adapt to the Norwegian Society. Sharing language and identity with the population of another country was not favorably looked upon by either the State or the Church, nor it seems by the Norwegian lay movement; " Politically viewed the Saami are not an immigrant people that have to take what they are offered when they come. A people like that are the Finns if they want to live among us they have to learn our language and

is interesting and a sign of "quality" that his book was published by one of the major publishers in Denmark. His views correspond very well with the views of Rousseau. They are surprisingly "modern" and his description of discrimination of Saami "rights" would today be accepted as "the historical truth". His views must have been known in Norway, at least among those working within the Church. His 1866 book was described in Lutheran Church Bulletin (Luthersk kirketidende) in 1866 PS and readers were invited to subscribe to it.

⁷³ "Lær saa være at fornorskningsarbeidet er en stor og vigtig sag, den maa dog kunne drives uden at man derved tilfører Finnebørnene Skade paa deres Sjæl". (N)

⁷⁴ I mange kredse forstaar Børnene ikke Norsk, naar de kommer paa skolen. Og har da skolekommissionen eller nu skolestyret sørget for at Kredsens lærere ikke forstaar Finsk (lappisk), er det at indse, hvor ufrugtbart undervisningen maa blive.....vild meget være vundet at lærerne ved sin undervisning, benytter børnenes sprog. Det tillades mig dog her at gjøre den Bemærkning, at finsk Kristendomskundskab antages i Overgangsdistrikterne at kunne indskrænkes til Smaaskolen. Thi naar Børnene i Smaaskolen have faaet den undervisning i Norsk som Skoleloven og Skoleplanen kræver meddelt, maa de i 10 og 12 Aars alderen antages at være komne saavidt at de uden at tage Skade paa sin Sjæl kan faa Kristendomsundervisning paa Norsk. "(N)

enjoy those benefits that we, through the Norwegian language and our Norwegian institutions, are willing to give them"⁷⁵ (AS XX). Both the State, represented by the school system, and the State Church seem to agree upon this point. The lay movement included some groups of almost entirely Finnish language speakers. They would of course have a different view upon the matter. Most of them would be Læstadic groups who would not involve themselves in secular politics. The part of the Norwegian lay movement that supported missionary work among the Saami does not seem to have protested against those views. Even if published many years later, Hidle and Otterbech (1917) seem to reflect that in their book against the Norwegian language policy in Finnmark. Arguing against the Norwegian language policy towards the Saami they do not mention the same policy towards the Finnish population. Bishop Skaar was quite clear in his opinion on the matter. He argued that the Finnish immigrants had to adapt, while the Saami had a birth right to their language. His view was based upon the opinion that the Finnish population were immigrants while the Saami had traditional rights. In a letter to the Ministry of 15 February 1887 he wrote about the Finnish population; "If they want to live with us, then they have to learn themselves the Norwegian language and enjoy the benefits that we, through the Norwegian language and Norwegian institutions, are willing to give them. If they do not want to do that, the road to their homeland is open to them. The Saami on the other hand have just as much a birthright to Norway as we do, and have a right to keep their nationality and language without interference"⁷⁶ (AS X). In questions of Norwegian national identity as opposed to Finnish, Russian or Swedish national identity both lay organizations and those working in the State Church were loyal.

In a petition in 1885 for support for the Saami Children's home⁷⁷ in Kvænangen in Troms, it was argued that the Swedish experience with similar institutions for Saami children was positive; "Children's home is a tool to develop the population's earthly and spiritual condition, which is a cause that, in our time, among friends of missions has earned a lot of sympathy. In Sweden they have had facilities of a similar kind among the Saami for more than half a hundred years. The experience is that they functioned very well to awake and strengthen a Christian life among the Saami..." (Hall, Megrund et al 1885 PS).⁷⁸ The argument seems to be to use the positive experience of the

⁷⁵ "Politisk set ere Finnerne intet Indflytterfolk, som maa tage tiltakke med de Kaar, som bydes dem der, hvor de flytte ind. Et saadant Folk er Kvænerne.....ville de bo hos s faa de de lære vort Sprog og nyde de goder som bydes dem der, hvor de vil flytte ind." (N)

⁷⁶ "Ville de bo hos oss faa de lære vort Sprog og nyde de Goder som vi gennem vort norske Sprog og norske institutioner er villige at yde for dem. Finde de, at dette er ubilligt, ligger Tilbageveien til deres Fædreland aaben for dem. Finnerne derimod ere ligesaa odelsbaarne til Norge, som vi, og have ret til at beholde sit Sprog og sin Nationalitet ukrenket." (N)

⁷⁷ "Lappisk barnehjem" (N)

⁷⁸ "Da Barnehjem er et Middel til at ophjælpe Folkenes timelige og aandelige kaar, som i vor Tid blant Missionsvennerne omfattes med megen visstnok fortjent Sympathi, og da man fra Sverige har Erfaringer for , at

Swedes. Nevertheless, it carries a possible nationalistic message; Sweden is assimilating Saami. Many of the Saami are migrating across the borders. It is possible that Saami living in Norway will feel loyalty to Sweden and identify with that nation. In order to turn Saami living in Norway into good Norwegian citizens, we have to do what the Swedes already are doing. Such an interpretation is speculative. Still it is a possible "hidden" argument, an argument not possible to express openly, but still visible for good national citizens. Even if not intended, the message could be read and supported due to nationalistic reasons. The question of turning the Saami into good Norwegians was not a religious one, but rather one of creating one homogenous "civilized" society. In the beginning that process was probably nationalistic in the sense of identifying with the joint Kingdoms of Norway-Sweden. An example is the support of the home by the Swedish Royal family ⁷⁹(Steen 1963). The nation "to mold" was the united Kingdoms of Norway-Sweden.

A few years later, in 1915, the famous Danish polar researcher Knud Rasmussen wrote the preface to the first narrative written by a native in the Inuit language⁸⁰ (Storch 1915). Rasmussen emphasized the importance of story tellers in the Inuit culture and that narratives had " ...been contributing to build national self-confidence, without which a people does not have any right of existence. "⁸¹ Rasmussen's understanding of the importance of narratives and use of oral tradition had several implications. Firstly, it meant that a people would disappear without such traditions. Secondly, it meant that he was of the opinion that the Inuits had a right to have their own nation. He was very much a nationalist, as many people of his time, but his nationalism meant that he supported the Inuits right to have their own kind of nationalism. Rasmussen's view, which was shared by some of the people behind the Saami mission, could also be understood to be a warning of the problems a people would undergo if their language and narratives were suppressed. The message could sort of be translated, - if a nation's self-confidence was destroyed, dramatic social problems could be the result -.

The end of last century was the beginning⁸² of social Darwinism or as Kipling called it, "the white man's burden". The Scandinavians - in Norway the Norwegians - were on a superior developmental stage to that of the Saami. It

Indretninger af lignende Art har bestaaet blandt Lapperne i over halvandet hundrede Aar og virker overmaade meget til at vække og befæste et kristeligt liv blandt dem..." (N)

⁷⁹ The high protector of the home was Queen Sophia of Norway-Sweden. She donated kr 1000,- to establish the home, which was 20 % of the sum needed to purchase the place. There were other donations from princess Eugenie, King Oscar II and the Kaiser Wilhelm II.

⁸⁰ The original title "singnagtuaqaa" (IN) in the translated version "En Drøm" (D) and in English translation "A Dream"

⁸¹ "... har i høj Grad været med til at underbygge den nationale Selvdøsthed, uden hvilken intet folk har nogen Eksistens-beretigelse" (D)

⁸² In my opinion "social Darwinism" can trace its origins long before Darwin (see 4.3 and Petrus Camper in Comaroff and Comaroff 1991)

was a sacred duty and the development to come that migratory people like the Saami would have to disappear or adapt. The more extreme point of view explained the poverty and social conditions of the Saami by their low developmental stage. Those were also the arguments behind the Saami Children's home in Kvænangen; " Their poverty is great and their food scarce and bad enough. They are small⁸³ in their development, they understand little, and they can do little with their hand and spirit, they are backward in most of the activities of life. They are small in their judgment. The Norwegians despise them and think it is a shame when someone comes from Saami family background, and then the Saami are thought to despise themselves, it can be seen and heard in some of the districts where the Saami have been completely Norwegianized, have adapted the Norwegian language, Norwegian way of dressing and Norwegian habits. They will then not admit to being Saami even if their facial characteristics will betray them. The Saami will repay the Norwegian contempt with hate and meet his superiority with cunning, as is always the case when the strong despise the weak without caring; but nevertheless, the weak and inferior he will remain. In addition, they are small when it comes to Christianity, they have limited spiritual light and have a low moral point of view. Spiritual ignorance and death is spreading among them, and the Christian life, as it exists, is often one-sided and crooked and will easily develop into wild fanaticism. Drunkenness, immoral sexual practices and dishonesty are ruling among them in a terrible way. Really the Saami are small and weak and less developed and needy in most ways " ⁸⁴ (Kvænangen Children's Home 1894:9 -10 PS).

One of the missionaries of the Norwegian Saami Mission⁸⁵ expressed some of the same sentiment describing his life with the reindeer-herding Saami; " For a civilized man it is not only the wind and the cold which is the shadow side of the mountain Saami. ⁸⁶ There are also many more: To each meal to have to thaw the bread and butter in front of the fire and eat it with ash as spice and

⁸³ The word "small" could have been translated with "they are like small children". I have kept the old Norwegian expression in order to be faithful to the original text.

⁸⁴ " Deres Fattigdom er stor og Føden ofte baade knap og daarlig nok. De er smaa i sin Udvikling, lidet forstaar de, og lidet kan de baade med sin Haand og med sin Aand, saa de staar tilbage i de aller fleste af Livets Gjøremaal. De er smaa i Omdømmet. Nordmanden foragter dem og tykkes, det er Skam naar nogen er af Finneæt, og saa lærer Finnere sluttelig at foragte sig selv; det sees og høres i enkelte Distrikter, hvor Finnene er blevet fornorskede, har antaget norsk Sprog, norsk Klædedragt og norske Seder; de vi da ikke kjendes ved at være Finnere, om end ansigtstrækkene aldrig saa tydelig fortæller, at de er det. Finnen betaler Nordmannens Foragt med Had og møder hans Overlegenhed med List, som det altd plaier at gaa, hvor den Sterke foragter den svagere istedetfor at antage sig ham, men den svage og underlegne bliver han dog bestandig. Endelig er de smaa i kristelig Henseende; de har lidet aandelig Lys og staar paa et lavt moralsk Standpunkt. Aandelig Vankundighed og død breder sig blandt dem, og det kristelige Liv som findes, er ofte ensifdigt og skjævt og vil let slaa ud i vild Fanatisme. Drukkenskab, Usedelighed og Uærlighed hersker blandt dem i en forfærdelig Grad. Sandelig Finnere er smaa og svage og tilbagesatte og trængende i de aller fleste Henseender". (N)

⁸⁵ "Norsk Finne Mission" (N)

⁸⁶ Mountain Saami is directly translated from the Norwegian "Fjell Finn". That would be the same as the nomadic reindeer-herding Saami and I might have used that translation.

reindeer hair as spread, to lie down night after night without taking off the coat⁸⁷ or the leather pants, to have to watch the hands and the face day after day getting more like the one of a chimney sweeper without daring to or be able to give them their natural color, to all meals or dishes (with the exception of the bouillon), to have to use the big murder weapon of a Saami knife and as utensils the forks God has given us, as a napkin and handkerchief to use his reindeer gloves or pants, like that in all sense of the word in days and weeks throw away all comfort and the benefits of civilization, all this can hardly be regarded to be the bright side"⁸⁸ (The Norwegian Saami Mission⁸⁹ 1896:58 PS). Compared to the life of Norwegians "White table cloth, warm comfortable sitting room and interaction with well-mannered Norwegians"(ibid) the life of the Saami seemed less developed and backward.

Both the Royal support and other public support also possibly had the dimension of carrying out the "great cause" of social Darwinism. In some ways the development, in their opinion, would come regardless. Nevertheless, caring Christians had the obligation to humanize the development of the less fortunate. As superior humans they had a duty to help them. Interestingly, as I will show later, some had the opposite view. They thought of the Saami as well developed and adapted, with rights of their own, where difficulties and poverty most of all were due to discrimination (Vahl 1866 and Hidle and Otterbech 1917). The view of the Saami as poor was sometimes opposed. Some thought of them as living a far better life than "civilized man." What the Saami themselves thought must have varied from those regarding their life as far better than the "civilized" Norwegian life to those who thought of the "civilized" life as a target to be achieved.

Both the socialist movement and part of the lay movement, like the Læstadic groups, were considered to be forces opposed to the national cause. This was true not only in Norway but also in Sweden (Landgren 1882 PS and 1882-1885). The socialists emphasized the international struggle and the Læstadic groups spread across the northern areas of Finland, Norway and Sweden. It might be said that the Læstadic groups gave crossborder identity to both the Finnish and Saami population. This identity, it might be claimed, competed

⁸⁷ the word used in the Norwegian text is the Saami "pesk" which is a kind of coat made of fur rather like the one the Inuits used.

⁸⁸ " For en civiliseret Mand er det imidlertid ikke blot Kulden og Fokket, som er Skygesider ved Fjeldfinlivet. Det er ogsaa mange andre; Til hvert Maaltid at maate tine Brød og Smør op foran Baalet og spise det med Aske som krydder og Renhaar som Paalæg, at maate ligge Nat efter Nat uden at faa saa meget som Pæskene eller Bellingbukserne af sig, at maate se Ansigt og Hænder Dag efter Dag blive mere og mere feieragtige uden at turde eller kunne igjen bibringe dem deres naturlige Farve, til alle Maaltier og alle Retter (med Undtagelse af Boullionen) at maate anvende sit store Mordervaaben af en Finnekniv til Spiseredskab med de af Vorherre skjænkede Gafler til Medhjælp, at maate som Serviet og Lommetørklæde anvende sine Renskindshandsker eller Bukser, saaledes i en hver Henseende i dage- og ugevis at maate kaste al Comfort og alle Civilisationens Goder overbord, alt dette kan neppe betragtes som Lyssider" (N)

⁸⁹ "Den Norske Finne Mission" (N)

with the national. From that point of view it might be claimed that "fighting" the crossborder identity created by the Læstadic movement and socialism was equally important from the national view of Norwegians, Russians/Finns and Swedes.

Another aspect of the national striving can be seen in the Saami mission as a kind of parallel to the contemporary polar expeditions. In Norway they were a matter of great national pride and identity. Part of the importance was the fight to gain respect and status as an equal to Sweden. It might be claimed like Khorkina (1995:38) that "the different countries used polar explorations to prove and increase their authority among other nations.⁹⁰ Sweden succeeded here via its Vega expedition. The members of the expedition became national heroes, and Sweden achieved worldwide recognition as a nation of explorers. That is the reason such achievements were especially important for Norway during this particular period." It might be claimed that the Saami mission had a nationalistic appeal for the Church, if not similar to, then at least somewhat like, the polar expeditions of Frithjof Nansen, Roald Amundsen and Hjalmar Johansen.

The number of books published about polar expeditions around the turn of the century illustrates how popular the expeditions were.⁹¹ Frithjof Nansen (1861 -1930)⁹² had his first large expedition in 1888, walking across Greenland. Later he led the expedition with the polar vessel Fram and with dog sledges, 1893 - 1896.⁹³ Hjalmar Johansen (1867 - 1913) was part of the last expedition, and both of them published their own accounts,⁹⁴ which became immensely popular in Norway. Roald Amundsen (1872 -1928) had a number of other important expeditions, but all of them after 1900.⁹⁵ The newsletters and yearly reports of the Saami mission reflect a somewhat similar heroic struggle to "save souls" in the "extremely difficult conditions" of the Norwegian north;"

⁹⁰ A number of nations were active among them Austria-Hungary, England, Norway, Russia, Sweden and USA. Later came others like Italy and Poland.

⁹¹ The authors mentioned in the text were in no way alone. One example of a lesser known author is Carsten E. Borchgrevink (1864 -1934) who published, among other books, "Nærmest Sydpolen aaret 1900"(N) (translated "Closest to the South Pole the year of 1900". Illustrating published in 1905, the year of Norwegian independence from Sweden. Borchgrevink carried out his expedition with support from United Kingdom and under their flag. Most of his publications came in the English language. Most important "First on the Antarctic Continent" George Newness & CO London 1900.

⁹² Frithjof Nansen published "Paa ski over Grønland" (N) 1890 (translated ; "On skis across Greenland"), "Fram over Polhavet"(N) (1897) (translated "Fram across the Polar Sea") and a number of later works.

⁹³ Dahl (1994) emphasises the political importance of Nansen as a symbol of the national cause. In his understanding Nansen was a person who served as a hero the Norwegian nation had longed for. A hero that managed to make his Polar expedition into an important national symbol of great importance.

⁹⁴ Hjalmar Johansen published among other works "Selv-anden paa 86 grader and 14"(N)(1898) (translated "Myself second at 86 degrees and 14")

⁹⁵ With the polar ship Gjøa through the Northwest passage 1903 -1906, to the South Pole 1911, towards the North Pole in 1918 -1922, 1923, 1925 and finally with airship in 1926 and died during a rescue expedition 1928 (trying to rescue the "Italia expedition" of Nobile).

Always snow and storm, only rarely a clear day of frost or a snug day of mild weather ! And in such a storm it is just as scary both in the mountains and at sea. I have tried both. To lie hour after hour in the back of a boat and be blown through by a biting wind from land, to in the end lose everything that is called sensations, is not comfortable, but to "walk up" a smoking wind in the mountains is worse. Blinded by the wind, always without feelings of cold on the windy side, freezing on the more exposed points and in addition completely wet from sweat on the inside, to struggle forward on skis: It is not the fun sport of skiing either, when the whole mountain is lying in small uneven, windswept frozen waves, either completely blown off or deep wind piles of snow in-between... That one, under such circumstances, cannot completely avoid somersaults and falling and sliding across hard snow is an obvious thing. Such a mountain trip in storm is not easily forgotten" ⁹⁶ (The Norwegian Saami mission⁹⁷ 1895:43 PS).

Interestingly the close connection between polar expeditions and the Saami is the use of traditional Saami equipment and Saami participants. Borchgrevink's expedition to the Antarctic had, illustratively enough, two Saami participants. He emphasized in his book (1905) the importance of both their skills and their traditional equipment. Use of equipment and participants from other Arctic indigenous groups, like Inuits, was also frequent. ⁹⁸ Fridtjof Nansen (1890) had two Saami participants on his expedition to and across Greenland in 1888 - 1890. Even if he did not give that much credit to the Saami participants, he emphasized the importance of skills and technology developed by Arctic people.

Explorations carried out by the various European nations were all part of what might be called "the great mission of exploring and conquest." From that point of view the European "civilizations" developed their identity as superior civilizations with a mission, or even duty, to civilize both the inhabited and uninhabited part of the world. Missionary work can be understood as part of that mission just as well as scientific, and other, explorations. At the same time

⁹⁶ "Altid Sne og Storm og Storm og Sne, kun sjelden en klar Frostdag eller en lun Mildveirsdag ! Og i saadan Storm er det lige uhyggeligt baade paa Fjeld og Sjø. Jeg har nu forsøgt begge Dele. At ligge Time efter Time i Agterskotten af en Baad og gjenomblæses af en bidende Landsønding, til man tilslut mister alt, hvad der heder Følelse, er mindre behageligt; men at "gaa op" en rygende Landvindstorm paa Fjeldet er værre. Blindet af Fokket, aldeles følelsesløs af Kulden paa Vindsiden, frysende udvendig paa alle de mere udsatte Punkter og samtidig drivende vaad af Sved inderst inde, stræver man sig møjsommeligt frem paa sine Ski. Da er den ikke nettop fornøielig Skisporten heller, naar hele Fjeldet ligger i smaa, ujevne sammenføjne og frosne Bølger, enten aldeles afføjne eller med dybe Foksnefaner ind imellem... At man under saadanne Omstændigheder ikke kan stille sig aldeles afvisende ligeoverfor Kolbøtter og anden Luft og Skareseilads, er en selvsagt Ting. En saadan Fjeldtur i Storm glemmer man ikke saa let." (N)

⁹⁷ "Norsk Finne Mission" (N)

⁹⁸ Johansen (1898) and Borchgrevink (1905) both emphasise the use of dogs. The knowledge of use of dogs came from Siberian indigenous populations and Inuits in the north of Canada, Alaska and, most important Greenland.

the expeditions and other Arctic activities communicated the importance of, and respect for, the use of traditional indigenous knowledge.⁹⁹

The Saami missionary work from 1888 - 1900 was conducted in a period of intense national feelings. Nevertheless there were a number of people who saw parallels between the Norwegian struggle for independence and identity and the situation of the Saami. Jens Otterbech (1868 -1928) was one of the most important advocates of Saami rights and use of language. Interestingly, he was using the same terminology as Ivar Aasen, the developer of Norwegian written language based upon the spoken countryside tradition. Both of them write about "the language cause."¹⁰⁰ Otterbech used the same arguments as Ivar Aasen¹⁰¹ in order to emphasize the need for using the Saami language in teaching and propagation of the Gospel. The Saami had, according to his view, a right to use their language. As a Christian and socially conscious person he had a duty to support their rights. Jernsletten (1986) argue that the Saami started to organize themselves around the turn of the century as a reaction against discrimination of Saami interests and sometimes in close contact with Norwegian socialists. The most important result of the latter cooperation was the election of the socialist Saami Isak Saba as a member of the Norwegian Parliament (Storting) (1906-1912).

Aasen argued against the imperialistic influence of Danish rule and later civil servants and urban culture. Language was, in his opinion, part of their way of dominating and controlling the country population. In Otterbech's opinion the situation in the Saami areas was just the same as the rural population in other parts in Norway. Otterbech did not stop with that. When he started his own mission in 1913, he argued that "The Norwegian Saami Mission" should work more aggressively against the Norwegian school policy towards the Saami and rules regarding the sale of land in Finnmark (Nissen in Brøgger and Jansen MCMXLIX:569). In his opinion the Saami were victims of a harsh policy of "Norwegianizing" and deserved support from the mission in order to have their rights. The argument, of course, existed prior to 1913 and for that matter all the way from the start of "The Norwegian Saami Mission". In 1866 the Danish theologian Vahl argued in exactly the same way (Vahl, 1866).

In a letter to a lady who was offering her service to the "The Norwegian Saami Mission" in 1917 the opposing view to Otterbech's political standpoint was clearly expressed; "Now it is so that the Saami's political and social situation is

⁹⁹ The importance of traditional indigenous knowledge is discussed in a number of publications among them Brush and Stabinsky (1996). For a review of the book see (Wallin Weihe 1997 II).

¹⁰⁰ "Maalsak" or "målsak" (N). Aasen was the father of the "Nynorsk" (N) or "new Norwegian" a language standard based upon traditional country side spoken Norwegian as an alternative to "Riksmål" (N) or "Standard Norwegian" based upon what he thought of as the Danish language tradition. In his opinion the latter was part of the oppression of the Norwegian people imposed by Danish civil servants.

¹⁰¹ Ivar Aasen (1813 -1896)

outside the Saami Mission's purpose: to bring the Saami the spiritual values in life in their own language and in a way they are able to receive. In connection with that we are working, both in the written and oral medium, to bring the Gospel to the Saami in their own language. Nevertheless, we do realize that it will be at least indirectly a benefit for our work that the Saami realize that we, in addition, wish to work for them to have the same and full political and social rights as Norwegian citizens"¹⁰²(AS XXVI). For the "High Church" oriented mission, propagation of the Gospel was the main thing. They were highly reluctant to being involved in political disputes about Saami rights.

Otterbech's main support came from the lay movement in South-western Norway, an area dominated by Pietistic lay Christians and a critical tradition against "High Church". It was also the area with the strongest support both for Ivar Aasen and his development of a Norwegian language, and for the cause of teetotalism. The latter cause was supported by the Læstadic movement and had considerable support in Northern Norway. One example is the "brandy war"¹⁰³ in Stamsund in Lofoten in 1895. Lofoten was, and is, the place of the most important cod fisheries in Norway. The Lofoten fisheries have historically always been of great importance. Each year large number of fishermen, transporters and traders have invaded the islands.

In the not untypical seasons of 1895 - 1897 around 37.000 fishermen and traders invaded the Lofoten islands. What by many was considered as a big problem, of prostitution and drinking, developed in Lofoten during the last part of that century. The reaction from Christian lay organisations, teetotalers' organisations and the Church was strong and resulted in new laws that gave strict regulations on the sale of alcohol. "The brandy war" in 1895 was a riot where between one and four thousand fishermen broke into the bars of Stamsund, poured out all the alcohol, smashed furniture, windows and generally rioted. Even if not supported by any organisations the rioters had considerable sympathy from the Church, lay organisations, the local police and politicians (Johansen in Sørli 1984). Johan Bojer's classic "The last Viking"¹⁰⁴ (first published 1921, my edition of 1972) became an enormously popular romantic fiction and, it might be said, nationalistic version of the incident.

¹⁰² "Nå er det jo så at finnernes rent politiske og sociale stilling i landet ligger utenfor finnem's egtl. arbeid. at bringe finnerne livets åndelige verdier på deres eget mål og på en måte som er mottaglig for dem og i forbindelse hermed arbeider vi både skr. og muntlig for finnernes ret til at få krd. på sit eget morsmål. Imidlertid indser vi at, at det vilde være i vor i al fald indirekte fordel for vort arbeide, at finnerne forstod at vi også ønsket og arbeidet for at de skulde få sin hele og fulde politisk sociale ret og bli likestilt med norske borgere". (N)

¹⁰³ "Brændvinskrigen" N

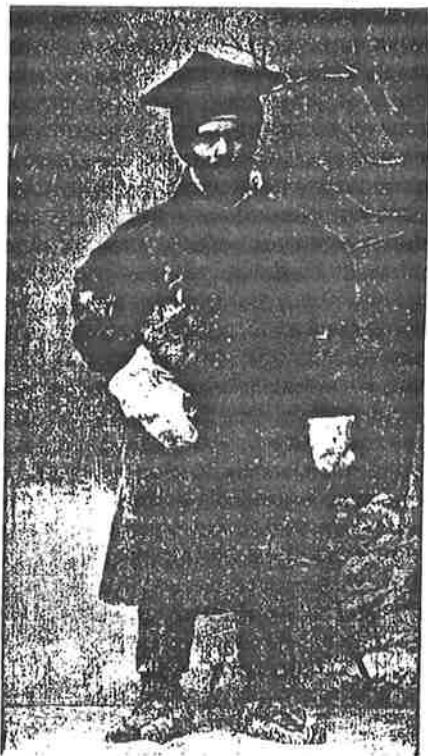
¹⁰⁴ "Den siste Viking" N

The two Saami participants on Nansen's expedition across Greenland (Nansen 1890:27).



Samuel Balto. Ole Ravna.

G. F. Lund of the Evangelical Lutheran Free Church dressed like a Saami. The picture is taken in a studio with painted background. G. F. Lund was the first editor of "The Eastern Star,"¹⁰⁵ the monthly publication of the Evangelical Lutheran Free Church¹⁰⁶ (The Evangelical Lutheran Free Church 1967)



G. F. Lund

¹⁰⁵ "Nourttanaste" (SA)

¹⁰⁶ "Den Evangeliske Lutherske Frikirke" (N)

6.6. THE EDUCATIONAL AND DISCIPLINING APPROACH

Development of public institutions is one of the main characteristics of the 1700s and 1800s. Mandatory schools was one important part of that development (Aasen and Tellhaug 1992). The first school laws in Denmark/Norway came in 1737. Reading and Christianity were the two subjects focused upon. The conditions of the school system varied. Quite a lot of the teaching, particularly in the countryside, was made by teachers with little or no training in private homes. Such teachers would typically walk from one community to another. The school would be ambulatory¹⁰⁷ and would vary greatly in both teaching and the amount of quality of teaching the children would receive. Schools were closely attached to the Church and the main goal of the school was to give knowledge necessary for "salvation"¹⁰⁸ (Dokka 1967).

In 1860 a drastic change occurred with "the Common School law"¹⁰⁹ and later with "the Primary School laws"¹¹⁰ (ibid). From that time schools were no longer the responsibility of the Church. The State itself was from 1860 economically and administratively responsible for the school system. This process was not without problems. The Bishop in Tromsø continued visiting schools and reacted strongly against children and teachers who, due to the new school law, did not attend his visits and hearings (AS XVI): "It has happened both to me and the visiting parsons, that some of the teachers and part of the school children have not attended the visitation. By demanding a declaration of the reason for not attending, some of them have given the answer that they are of the opinion that the new school law excuses them from the duty of attending. As it will be known to the high department, I have asked the department about their opinion on the subject. It is my intention, if the department is of the opinion that the Royal Resolution of 26th of October 1818 still is valid, to ask those teachers if they are willing to obey it. If they refuse, I will submit the case to the prosecuting authorities, and possibly have the matter decided by court."¹¹¹ His views illustrate that the new school law and the practicing of it could be understood as a possible attack upon the authority of the Church. His criticism of the new law was continued in the yearly report of 1895 (AS XXIII).

¹⁰⁷ "Omgangsskole" (N)

¹⁰⁸ "Saliggjørelsen" (N)

¹⁰⁹ "Allmueskoleloven" (N)

¹¹⁰ "Folkeskolelovene" (N)

¹¹¹ "Det har hændt baade mig og de visiterende præster, at enkelte af lærerne og en del af skolebørnene ikke har mødt frem ved visitatserne. Ved at affordre vedkommende erklæring om grunden hertil har jeg af enkelte faaet det svar, at de mener, den nye skolelov har fritaget dem for den forpligtelse at møde frem. Som det vil være det høje dept. bekendt, har jeg indsendt forespørgler om departementets forstaaelse af skoleloven i dette punkt. Det er min agt, hvis denne gaar ud paa, at reskript af 26 oktober 1818 fremdeles er gjældende, at forelægge vedkommende lærere denne kjendelse med forespørgsel, om de er villige til at bøje sig derfor. I benegtende fald vil jeg da overlade sagen til paatalemyndigheden for om muligt at faa spørgsmaalet afgjort ved dom" (AS XIV N)

The goal of the school system was changed to a more general preparation for life and as a way to discipline. One of the main personalities behind the school reforms, Hartvig Nissen, argued for the need of schooling as a way of counterbalancing the new labor movement (Dokka 1967). An interpretation of the development is that a society with increasing built-in tensions tried to consolidate itself by trying to create "one policy." "Invading" organizations and a divided State made that target difficult to achieve. The State had increasingly to take responsibility as "one system" in order to gain control. One important tool in the process was the school system which had to be used as a preparation of new citizens of the nation; citizens loyal to the nation and with the necessary knowledge to be part of the development towards an increasingly urbanized and industrialized state.

In addition to a main or general school system, targeted at all "normal" children, a more specialized institutional system was developed for those considered to be in need of more specialized schooling and care. Particularly targeted were children with behavioral problems. New educational institutions¹¹² were established as support of the general school system and as an alternative to the prison system.¹¹³ The educational institutions could recruit children before they had committed crimes and regardless of age. The first institution, Toftes Gave north of Oslo, was established in 1841 and from 1878 moved to Helgøya on lake Mjøsa, the next one, Ufnæsøen, close to Bergen in 1882. In 1875 the children at "Toftes Gave" could be divided into three main categories;

1. Children who had committed a crime and alternatively would have served a prison sentence
2. Children who were vagabonds, begging or without supervision
3. Children with discipline problems in the ordinary school system (Thuen in Aasen and Telhaug 1992, Tove Stang Dahl 1978 and Sørli 1886 PS).

Norway was one of the last countries in Europe to develop educational institutions, but the first country to develop a system for public child protection (1896).¹¹⁴ The legal development gave, at least partly, public financing for institutions and boarding schools for children with "special needs." Many of the institutions started were because of that, partly financed by voluntary contributions and partly through public support (Seip 1994 and Aasen and Telhaug 1992).

Various philanthropic groups initiated the start of educational institutions in England and on the continent. Several Norwegians traveled and studied such

¹¹² See discussion of terminology in 1.2.

¹¹³ According to the Criminal law of 1842, children above the age of 10 could be sentenced to prison. The law was changed with the new Criminal law of 1896, which changed the criminal minimum age to 14 years.

¹¹⁴ "The law of treatment of neglected children" ("Lov om behandling af forsømte Børn" N) was passed in 1896 and activated from 1900.

institutions. Most important as a model was "the Fellenberg Institute" in Switzerland. Philanthropic groups initiated the Norwegian educational institution system. With the English "Reformatory Act" in 1854 the principle of partial state support of educational institutions was established. The law inspired Norwegian philanthropic groups to lobby for a similar development and the result was the law of 1896 (Thuen in Aasen and Telhaug 1992).

According to Platt (1977) the discourse about educational institutions around the turn of the century centered around:

- Segregation of young offenders to protect them against negative influence.
- Protection for their own good
- Care without red tape and court involvement, not punishment
- Care without time limits ended when the behavior of the child had developed sufficiently
- Care without being sentimental. Punishment accepted if good for the young one and when other methods had failed.
- Military discipline, physical activity and constant supervision
- Educational institutions should be situated in the countryside and function as farms.
- Treatment should consist of work, education and religion.
- The child should only receive basic instruction in industrial and agricultural work.

Norwegian institutions were small and more "family" like than institutions in England and on the continent (Thuen in Aasen and Telhaug 1992). The main idea was that the institution should function as much as possible like a home. Military discipline was not used. The keyword was love and not military-like discipline¹¹⁵ (ibid).

In the newspaper, or rather newsletter, Nordkap, a petition was printed in 1885 for starting a "children's home" or educational institution for Saami children in Kvænangen in Troms (earlier mentioned in 6.3). This was prior to the formal start of the "Mission for the Saami", but some of the same people later involved in the mission were behind the petition. The petition argued for support of **the work of the Church and the schools in order to bring Christian and civil enlightenment to the Saami. Friends of "the inner mission"**¹¹⁶ were asked to support the establishment of a "children's home": "....., establishing a children's home would be the most happy and successful tool in order to create a Christian life among the Saami and give them a feeling of the well-ordered house life. If one in this aspect should achieve something, a main importance would be to influence the growing-up generation as much as possible, which

¹¹⁵ Thuen use the word "dressur" which is the same word that would be used to describe the training of animals, like horses or dogs.

¹¹⁶ A voluntary Christian mission established to encourage Christian enlightenment and life. Established in 1868 as a nation-wide organization (Pryser 1985 and Astås 1994).

will be possible in a children's home, in which the activity will be that the children when they leave it will be able to educate their surroundings and teach them the same good habits and order as they have been taught in the children's home. Because the foundation, of what the house life is founded, mostly depends upon the educational influence the female as a housewife enacts, one has thought at first in the children's home only to recruit female children. To those recruited one wants to communicate a good thorough Christian enlightenment and teach them sensible farm work and beneficial female activities, with the goal that they will be able to fill a Christian house mother's calling in their home communities" (Hall, Megrund et al 1885 PS).¹¹⁷

The petition illustrates the wish to educate the Saami community to "the well ordered house-life". Female children educated in "sensible farm work and female activities" would, as Christian house mothers, be the foundation of enlightened Christian communities. Such statements illustrate the view that the Saami communities were considered to be less socialized and more in need of education than Norwegian communities; "Everyone who knows about the condition among the Saami understands the considerable hindrances the scattered population, the language and the people's lack of sense for enlightenment and sensible domestic life is for the work to bring the Saami to a higher development in Christian culture. Those who know will have to admit that there is still a lot left to do. The Church and the school have to be anticipated to need and willingly receive the help in that deed from the Inner Mission"(ibid).¹¹⁸ In other words, the State of Norway was in need of socializing the Saami to be good Christian Norwegians living in permanent housing and working as farmers. Particularly the migratory life style of the Saami was alien to the "modern nation" which was the goal of the development. Co-operation between the State and lay organizations was thought of as necessary in order to achieve the desired development.

An article, published in 1886, after a meeting of the clergy in Varanger, illustrates the difference between this approach and that of educational

¹¹⁷ ".....at Oprettelsen af Barnehem vilde være det heldigste og mest virksomme Middel til ogsaa blandt vore Lapper at skabe et kristeligt liv og tilbringe dem Sans for et ordentligt husliv. Skal man i denne henseende udrette noget, er det nemlig af Vigtighed at øve den størst mulige Indflydelse paa den opvoksende Slegts Opdragelse, og dette vil bedst kunne ske ved et Barnehem, hvis virksomhed gaar ud paa, at Børnene, naar de forlader det, kan være skikkede til at virke opdragende paa sine Omgivelser og lære dem den samme gode Skik og Orden, som de har tilegnet sig i hjemmet. Da det Standpunkt, hvorpaa huslivet staar, væsentlig beror paa den opdragende Indflydelse kvinden som husmøder udøve, har man tænkt for det først i Barnehemmet at optage kun Pigebørn. Disse vil man søge at meddele en grundig kristelig Oplydsning, og man vil oplære dem i forstandig Landstet og nyttige kvindelige Sysler, idet man stadig har for Øie, at de skal blive skikkede til at udfylde en kristelig husmoders kald i sin hjembygd" (N)

¹¹⁸ "Men enhver, der er kjendt med Forholdene blandt Lapperne og ved, hvilke overordentlige hindringer den spredt Bebyggelse, de sproglige forhold og folkets mangel paa Sans for Oplysning og ordentlig husstet hidtil har lagt ivenfor arbeidet paa at hæve lapperne til et højere Standpunkt af kristelig kultur, vil indrømme at der endnu staar meget tilbage at gjøre, og at Kirken og Skolen der maa antages at ville modtage den hjælp i Gjærningen, som maatte kunne ydes den af den Indre Mission" (N).

institutions. In the article it was argued for the establishment of an educational institution for "neglected and degenerated"¹¹⁹ boys in Finnmark, all of whom it was thought could be found in the fishing communities along the coast. In other words among the non Saami population (Sørli 1886 PS).¹²⁰ While institutions for the Saami were targeted towards females that could function as role models for the rest of the Saami community, institutions for Norwegians were targeted towards those in need of receiving discipline in order to adapt to a society they already belonged to.

The inauguration of the first Saami children's home, in Kvænangen, Troms, was reported in Lutheran Church Bulletin¹²¹ (1886 I PS). The presence of the representatives of the State Church and the local congregation was emphasized. Support for the children's home came from both representatives of the State Church and Her Royal Highness Princess Eugenie. In other words it was very much supported by the establishment. As shown earlier, both nationalistic and social Darwinistic motives seem to have been part of the argumentation behind the home.

I have only reviewed one of the yearly reports from the Saami children's home in Kvænangen¹²² (Kvæangens Saami Children's home¹²³ 1894 PS). In 1894 the home had 29 Saami girls from 4 - 16 years. They all came from poor families among coastal Saami.¹²⁴ The education in the home was partly in ordinary school subjects and in addition weaving, knitting, sewing, orderliness, cleanliness, farm- and housework. The children were thought of as potential change agents"; "....it is its hope (the children's home), that one with time, after the children leave the children's home, will be able to track the fruit of its activity in the many Saami homes in Finnmark, where at present all sense of work, orderliness and cleanliness is lacking"¹²⁵ (ibid:6). Humanitarian motives

¹¹⁹ "vanartede og forsømte" (N)

¹²⁰ In some cases most of the population in the fishing communities might very likely have been Saami; however, a substantial part of them would be Norwegian. Sørli does not at all mention the Saami as part of the "neglected and degenerated" boys.

¹²¹ "Luthersk kirketidende" (N)

¹²² The following illustrates the difficulties in localizing those yearly reports. I found the 1894 report in the file from 1916, in the archives of the Saami mission, in the State Archive in Tromsø. The rest of the yearly reports were missing. As the children's home was independent of the Saami mission, I will assume that they possibly exist in the library of the University of Trondheim or possibly in the collections of Tromsø museum. It is also possible that they exist in one of the other State archives as part of archives of one of the organizations giving the home financial support. It is also possible that the reports exist as part of private archives. Archives from some of the Royal supporters would be one possible source.

¹²³ "Kvæangens lappiske Børnehjem" (N)

¹²⁴ The yearly report describes the children's background as "poor, down-and-out Sea Saami" ("fattige, forkomne Søfinner" (N) (page 4). The expression Sea Saami, or as I prefer Coastal Saami, is commonly used in order to separate those Saami from the reindeer herding Saami. In some cases, like in Vahl 1866, the Saami are divided into three subgroups; Mountain Saami "Fjell Finn" (N), Coastal Saami and River Saami ("Elvefinner" N).

¹²⁵ "....er dets Haab, at man med Tiden, eftersom Børnene forlater Hjemmet, ogsaa vil spore Frugt af dets Virken i de mange Lappehjem i Finnmarken, hvor nu al Sans for Samarbeid, Orden og Renslighed ganske mangler" (N).

were also important in order to create institutions to educate those with special needs like physically handicapped, deaf and blind children. The curate¹²⁶ Jens Otterbech argued for institutions for "those children in need."¹²⁷ He particularly mentions education of deaf children,¹²⁸ vagrant children and physically handicapped (Otterbech in Gundersen 1914). A home for physically handicapped Saami children was established in Tromsø in 1913 by the Saami mission.¹²⁹

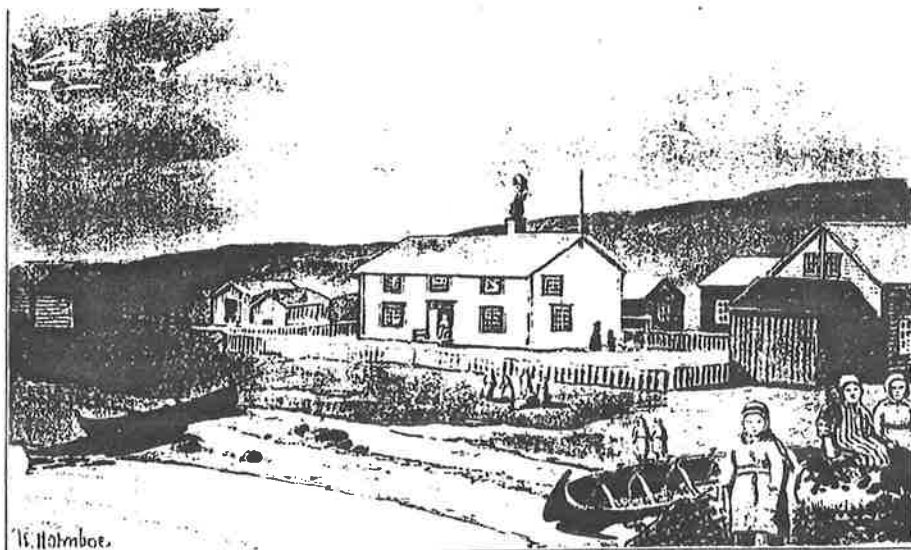
¹²⁶ res.kap. (N)

¹²⁷ "Smaa nødlidende" (N)

¹²⁸ Interestingly, he mentions the teacher, Elias Hofgaard, and his education of the deaf girl, Ragnhild Kaata, as the inspiration for the later work to educate the famous case of the American girl Helen Keller.

¹²⁹ The financing of a home for physically handicapped was started in 1910 by the board of Rotsundelv children's home. At that time the plan was to have the institution at Rotsundelv. The property in Tromsø, Bjerkely, was purchased jointly by the Saami Mission (Norsk Finnemission) and Rotsundelv children's home (Steen 1963).

Kvænangen Saami Children's Home



Kvænangens lappiske Barnehem.

Kvænangens Saami Children's home was established 23 of August 1886. The home was founded by agent Sogge. Painting by Th. Holmboe (Kvænangens Saami Children's home¹³⁰ 1894 PS).

¹³⁰ "Kvænangens lappiske Barnehem (N)

6.7. ORGANIZED FEMALES AS THE FOUNDATION FOR MISSIONARY WORK

Missionary work in Norway was supported by a large number of female missionary organizations. The female organizations were sometimes opposed by conservative theologians. One of them, Hans Landstad, argued that public exposure of females was "unnatural" and that they were too sensitive for such work. In addition, he found that mixing females from different class backgrounds and levels of sophistication would not work (Landstad 1864 PS).

Even if there was some opposition in the Church and Christian organizations to female organizations, it seems like they were very much supported by the establishment. When the first Saami children's home was inaugurated in 1886 it was supported by a number of female organizations and Her Highness Princess Eugenie (Lutheran Church Bulletin¹³¹ 1886 I PS). Even if such organizations were invisible in that females were not represented in board/leadership positions, they must have been important as a source of financial and moral support. Due to that influence, I would assume that their opinions could not be ignored and had to be taken into consideration when policy had to be decided. The fact that Princess Eugenie supported the home probably also strengthened the position of the female support organizations. Even if Royal, she remained a female and functioned as an example of a female with considerable power and opinions which had to be taken into consideration.

Kvænangen Saami Children's Home's¹³² yearly report of 1894 (PS) shows that a major portion of the contributions, both financially and in natural goods, came from females and female organizations. Most of the contributions were small, but they were many, and together they gave the children's home the necessary financing. Typically of the time quite a lot of the contributions were channeled through males but collected by females. I will give a few typical examples: Adolf Lund in Senja sent kr 100,- which had been collected by his wife and her friends at a bazaar, and Lars O. Gresset Aure in Kristiansand sent kr 14.50 from Torset Female Association in Aure. Nevertheless, some of the collected money came directly from female organizations. One example is Martha Nygaardstuen at Kolbu, who, on behalf of Lehnbygden's female association, contributed kr 10,-.

Female Christian organizations have to be understood in view of the development towards emancipation. It is possible that they in some way acted

¹³¹ "Luthersk Kirketidende" (N)

¹³² "Kvænangen lappiske barnehjem" (N)

as "change agents" in the Church and through their practical actions influenced the Church. Still, it is interesting that the organizations in most cases were initiated by males. The situation in Inderøya, a peninsula in the Trondheimsfjord, demonstrates this. All of the 10 female organizations started by Inderøya Missionary society¹³³ were started by males (either parsons or teachers)¹³⁴ (Ystad and Sakshaug 1973). Even if initiated by males the membership in the organizations was all female, and it is natural to conclude that the activity of the organizations was influenced by that. In Inderøya attempts to start similar organizations for males were unsuccessful.

The Lutheran Church Bulletin (1887 I) published a review, or rather description, of a book by the conservative Hertzberg.¹³⁵ "Female calling, education and deed" and "the explosives" of the female question was discussed in the review. The background for the discussion was socialist ideas of emancipation and the ideas of Herbert Spencer¹³⁶ and John Stuart Mill.¹³⁷ Even if against emancipation the article argued for females being active in organizations and professional life, though not to the extent that family life was negatively influenced. The female's first and most important obligation should be towards her family. It is also interesting that the author, as a conservative, felt like he had to take the "radical view" into consideration. It was not any longer possible to ignore the voices for emancipation. Mill's article "The Subjection of Women" clearly expresses his views as an early spokesman for emancipation (Mill 1869 in Jaggar and Rothenberg 1993: 150-158).

Hertzberg's book (1887) was a discussion of the question of female emancipation. He was critical to Mill but did not reject him totally. He was positive towards females in intellectual female work like deaconesses, medical doctors, telegraph operators and telephone operators. As a conservative he was critical to the new capitalists. From the perspective of Norway in 1887, capitalism and modern industrial production were a new and radical development (see Hodne 1975 and Pryser 1985). Conservatives like Hertzberg were critical to the development of a large urban labor class. Even if arguing for the home as the main priority of the female, Hertzberg argued that female qualities were needed to supervise and carry out practical work within the field of education and care of the poor. What he was against was female participation that would give her public exposure and particularly towards

¹³³ "Inderøy Misjonsforening" (N)

¹³⁴ One of them was at one point dissolved and restarted by a female, Kari Gløersen, in 1894 (Straumen kvinneforening N) Translated ; Straumen female organisation (Ystad and Sakshaug 1973).

¹³⁵ Hertzberg Nils Christian Egede (1827 -1911) teacher theologian and member of parliament ("Stortinget" N) (Jansen, MCMVXXXIV).

¹³⁶ Herbert Spencer (1820 -1903)

¹³⁷ John Stuart Mill (1806 -1873).

"raw and terrible characters"¹³⁸(Hertzberg, 1887:221). Interestingly enough that was one of the arguments used to start the male deacon education.

The modern society increasingly utilized females in new positions. It might be said that what was new was not females doing those tasks but that those tasks were increasingly in the realm of the public. With that happening, female attitudes gradually "invaded" the State and values of "caring" became increasingly important as opposed to disciplining. In addition, of course, male positions might have been threatened. The public had been dominated by males, and some of the new positions became "invaded" by females.

Geremek's question; "Can feelings have a history ?" (1994:248) relates very much to the situation of the increasing responsibility and realm of the State (Habermas 1989). Attitudes always present, but earlier dominated and perhaps suppressed by disciplining/correcting, again became more visible and vocal. It is quite possible that the tensions of the situation might be understood along the dimension of male/disciplining and female/caring (Nodding 1984).

¹³⁸ "dens raaeste og hæslegste Skikkelser" (N)

6.8. CHRISTIANITY AS MORAL GLUE

On the 7th September 1888 the Bishop of Tromsø wrote to the Church Department in Oslo concerning a Saami girl in custody in the prison of Tromsø. She was prosecuted for giving birth in secrecy and infanticide. In the letter, he pointed out that the girl to an incredible extent lacked knowledge of Christianity. A situation that he found was the same for a large part of the Saami population and due to the lack of teaching Christianity in their own language (AS X).

The Bishop was focusing on what was considered to be one of the major criminal problems of his time.¹³⁹ The female murdering her child was the ultimate immoral creature (Christie and Bruun 1985, Frykman 1977 and Nielsen 1980). Not only those traditionally being part of the Church, but even those critical and not dedicated to the religious dogmas of the Church probably shared that concern. For the Bishop, knowledge of Christianity was the moral cure to that problem. This cure was not possible without teaching the Gospel in the language of the Saami.

Eilert Sundt's (original of 1857 reprint 1976) famous book, "About the condition of morals in Norway"¹⁴⁰ addressed more generally the lack of morals in Norway. Among his conclusions was the one that there was a connection between the quality of information and schooling and morals. One of his recommendations was to enhance the quality of information through employment of more theologians. The Bishop's argument fitted nicely with the much published and discussed writings of Sundt. It was simply the accepted "truth" that "good morals" could be acquired through religious teaching. Like Sundt, the Bishop gave a reflected description of the living conditions and traditions of the people living in his district. He wanted to convince the Ministry of the necessity of teaching and preaching in the Saami language, and did so in a scholarly way. The importance of translations into the Saami language and preaching in Saami was emphasized (Lutheran Church Bulletin¹⁴¹ 1889 I and 1890 I PS).

The fight against low morals, prostitution and indecency was not particularly connected to the question of the Saami mission. It was an important part of the moral fight of the Church all over the country (Kiær 1894 PS, Lutheran

¹³⁹ Infanticide and birth in secrecy was considered to be one of the major criminal problems during a period of several hundred years. Because of that, an analysis of reaction towards those "crimes" might serve as a method to analyze the change in methods of punishment (Nielsen 1980).

¹⁴⁰ "Om sædelighetstilstanden i Norge" (N)

¹⁴¹ "Luthersk kirketidende" (N)

Church Bulletin¹⁴² 1888 I and AS XIV PS). Bishop Skaar emphasized the importance of Christian values in order to avoid immoral practices like prostitution and drinking . The later was, in his opinion, particularly a problem in the fishing villages. The argument was continued by the next Bishop in an appeal for action to both the Ministry and the parliament in 1895 (AS XXII)(Johansen in Sørli with more 1984). This was also a case where values were shared even by those not identifying with the Church except as a tool to uphold certain important values like the importance of the family.

Translation of the Bible to Saami language was one of the top priorities of the Norwegian Saami Mission.¹⁴³ In order to be able to read the Bible translation, a basic training in reading was obviously necessary. In an article in the yearly report of the mission from 1895 (printed 1896 PS) Bishop Skaar described the work to develop a translation. For the Church, Tromsø Teachers College¹⁴⁴ and others occupied in the work, the translation was painstaking work. Spreading the Gospel required making "the word" available in the language of the Saami, which meant that the Saami language had to be described and used grammatically. Among the central persons in the process was Professor Friis in Oslo, one of the Saami who was pardoned after the uprising in Kautokeino (Aadnanes 1986) and Just Quigstad at the Tromsø Teachers College.¹⁴⁵ The translation was necessary in order to spread the Gospel to the Saami, and the Gospel was thought of as necessary in order to fight against bad morals and to give the Saami a better life.

¹⁴² "Luthersk kirketidende" (N)

¹⁴³ "Norsk Finne-mission

¹⁴⁴ "Tromsø seminarium" (N)

¹⁴⁵ "Tromsø seminarium" (N)

6.9. CARING AS MORAL GLUE

Krogh-Tønning (1879) emphasized in his book, about care for the poor, the importance of practical caring as a way of communicating the Gospel. Practical caring done by Christians, like a deaconess, would be an efficient way of communicating Christian moral values. In his book he describes a visit by a deaconess to a poor and sick mother; "At this time, not a single, straightforward and clear word about spiritual matters has been uttered between the sick and the deaconess. Do you think that this visit has been without spiritual benefit for the sick? A love, that speaks louder than words, has been given. From that love, the sick has been given an impression, and this impression has served her well. Just about when the deaconess is out through the door, she folds her lean hands, and we can hear her whispering prayers; "Oh God, God, how much I want to thank you from my whole heart because you visited me in my distress through this, your female servant" " (ibid:53).¹⁴⁶

The same kind of argument saturates the archives from the Saami mission. This is particularly true from the years after the First World War. Before the turn of the century it seems like practical caring as a way of communicating the Gospel was more in competition with preaching the Gospel. Still, it is important to acknowledge that they both were thought of as roads towards the same target: "to save souls."

One might also say that the work could be done out of two different main motives: to save one's own soul or to save the souls of "the others". Most often, of course, those involved probably thought of both. As Christians they had a moral obligation to care and to preach, and that work might inspire others to turn into Christians. I do realize that the selfish motive of "saving one's own soul" as a result of converting others is not a motive accepted from a Lutheran point of view. Even if it was an obligation to convert others, it was not possible, nor accepted, "to trade" with God like that!¹⁴⁷ (Bøckman 1981: 118-119). Still, on the more practical individual level, I do believe that many people felt like they would receive their reward from obeying and fulfilling the word of God.

¹⁴⁶ "Der er denne Gang ikke bleven talet et eneste ord ligefrem og udtrykkelig om aandelige ting mellem den syge og diakonissen. Men mener I, at dette Besøg derfor er aandeligt Gavn for den syge? der gives en Kjærlighed, som taler højere enn Ord. Af den har den syge faaet et Indtryk, og dette indtryk har gjort hende godt. Neppe er Diakonissen ude af Døren, saa folder hun de magre Hænder, og vi hører hende hviskende bede: "O Gud, Gud, hvor gjerne vilde jeg takk dig af mit ganske Hjerte, fordi du besøgte mig i min Nød ved denne din Tjenerinde." (N)

¹⁴⁷ For a short description of the theological differences between the Lutheran and Catholic traditions on the matter see Tjørholm (1998)

6.10. MALE MORALITY AND FEMALE CARING

Speaking from the terminology of the feminist Nel Noddings (1984), there are great differences between what she defines as ethical caring and intuitive caring. The first is based upon the male "logos" and the latter upon the female "Eros." Ethical caring is related to logic, rules and laws and has a different dimension than the intuitive, which is always based upon close personal relationships and encounters.¹⁴⁸ Applying those categories to the Saami mission, the mission might be said to be characterized by the male "logos," arguing for communicating the Gospel, the rules of God and, through that, developing social services. Their interest in teaching in Saami language was based on two factors. First, the message of God, as it could be read in the Bible, said that the Gospel should be preached in all languages. In other words, using the Saami language was a matter of following the word of God. Secondly, from the point of view of social Darwinism, "helping the Saami to reach a higher stage in the development" made it necessary to use the Saami language.

Social Darwinism might also, at least for those of a secular liberal orientation, have led to the opposite conclusion, that there was no reason to use time on those "to disappear." Writing like that I wish to emphasize that I do not think that the supporters of the Saami mission believed in what they thought of as the theories of Darwin. For many of them he was, most likely, a person they identified with theories alien to Christianity. Conservative Christians probably represented, one of the major counter-forces to Darwinism. Still, social Darwinism was another matter. Society was saturated with thoughts of those less developed and those more sophisticated.

The intuitive, the female, was, following the argument of Noddings (1984), developed through practical caring and personal relationships. It was about problems those used to giving care could relate to, but not necessarily those who had a more distant relationship to caring. Male preachers were probably more distant from the practical caring than females, who had care as some of their traditional activities. The caring of females was, according to Noddings, intuitive and compassionate rather than based upon rules, commandments and abstract theories like Darwinism.

In addition came "The rise of the professional society" (Perkin 1996), which had further removed the Church from "intuitive caring" and made it concentrate upon "ethical caring." It might be said that with the increasing professionalism in medicine the Church was further removed from care work than before. After all, the medical professionals of the early 17 hundreds, like at Egede's time, were to quite some extent the parsons of the Church (Holck

¹⁴⁸ See the discussion in chapter 6.7. "Organized females as the foundation for missionary work"

1996). At the time of the Saami mission medicine was a much more specialized practice and theologians were to a greater extent concentrating upon the Gospel and to a lesser extent upon practical caring and medical questions.

I realize that I am greatly simplifying the use of Noddings's categories; however, those categories might illustrate the development and the tensions existing not only in the Saami mission, but also in the Church and the whole society.

The change came, in my interpretation, with the gradual female involvement in public society. While earlier male theologians had been dominant in the Church and in the mission, an increasing number of females became involved in the support organizations of the Saami mission. Later on an increasing number of females started to work for the mission with care work, both in institutions and among those in need of care in their own homes. The females were, due to traditions and religious reasons, not represented in the leadership of the mission. Still, as I will argue, they heavily influenced the organization towards practical caring.

6.11. THE PROFESSIONAL SOCIAL AND HEALTH WORKERS

Social work as a profession did not become a concept before around the turn of the century (Soydan 1993). Deacon and deaconess education was established first for females and later for males during the last part of the century. The development of nursing education (Nightingale 1860 reprint of 1997) (Mathiesen 1997) also gave a professional basis for "social work." "Social workers" and nurses, at least those working outside of institutions, had in many cases fairly similar tasks. What would today be thought of as part of nursing education, like matters of health and hygiene, were important parts of the education of "social workers." Nurses often worked professionally with social problems. The deaconess education was centered around nursing; however it also included taking care of the poor: "The cause of the deaconess is the Christian Congregations' Nursing (and, from an extended point of view, its care for the poor)" (Høyer 1885 PS ¹⁴⁹). The deacons received training partly as lay-theologians, partly as what we today would call "social workers," and partly as nurses (Stave 1990).

In my opinion the deacon education must be regarded as being the first modern professional "social worker training" in Norway.¹⁵⁰ The fact that it was partly an education in nursing and within the tradition of the Church seems to have made it invisible in historical descriptions like Rasmussen (1991). In Rasmussen's description, education of professional social workers in Norway started in 1920 with "social courses."¹⁵¹ Elmér (1991) describes in a similar way the development of social worker education in Sweden from 1921, and Hermansen (1991) in Denmark from 1937. In my opinion, it is important to acknowledge that "social workers" were also educated in other educational institutions than the "schools of social work." Thus education of "social workers" started long before it started in what we today call "schools of social work" (see 1.3).

Within the Church the need for developing deacon education was a topic of discussion. German experiences with deacon education and work were the model. The first education was a nursing education for females; "The congregation's deaconesses have as their aim to supervise and care for the poor, sick and other helpless in the congregation"¹⁵² (Bugge 1873:147 PS). It was argued that such tasks were better suited for females than males; "The female has a faster eye, a gentler heart and a softer hand than the male"

¹⁴⁹ "Diakonissesagen gjælder den kristelige Menigheds Sygepleie (og i utvidet Forstand: dens fattigpleie)" (N) (Høyer 1885:9 PS).

¹⁵⁰ I do wish to emphasize that the training of monks and nuns in the monasteries of the Catholic Church was an even earlier "professional" training in "health and social work".

¹⁵¹ "Social kurser" (N)

¹⁵² "Menighetsdiakonissen har til Opgave at tilse og pleje fattige Syge og hjælpeløse i menigheden" (N)

¹⁵³(ibid). The motives for deaconess work were partly the need of the poor and partly that it was " the best and easiest outlet for the Church's main aim of saving souls" ¹⁵⁴ (Bruun 1866 PS). The same view was expressed in the invitation to support the establishment of the first deaconess education in Oslo (Nickelsen, Bruun et al 1867 PS). The deaconess education was a success and was, in 1899, reported to be in great demand (Lutheran Church Bulletin¹⁵⁵ 1899 PS).

One of the reasons for starting a male deacon education was that there were tasks females "could not" carry out; "We need our deaconess in the common congregation work and the connected care for the poor. In such tasks, they have done a blessed work. Nevertheless, there are tasks that are outside of the female's capability, I will restrict myself to mention the deacon work in our large and sparsely populated congregations. It included work for finding a richer way of spreading the Gospel and for private spiritual advice. Other examples are the continued work in the many homes and in the orphanages, which now are built among us, and the many tasks in the work with male youth. If I add what is needed of manpower in our institutions for the poor, in the mission among drunks and tramps, among paroled prisoners, in the prisons and in the end, the, in our time, strange cases of distress which come from the all too successful work of non-believers and forces deteriorating the structure of society, it has to be admitted that there are for the Church great tasks that can only be carried out by men, and then men that both practically and theoretically have a thorough education for their work" ¹⁵⁶ (Johnson, Blom et al 1889:363 -364 PS). As can be seen from the above invitation for starting male deacon education, many of the tasks of the new education were more in the tradition of social work and lay preaching than in nursing. Still, what characterized both the education and the need for it was that it was crossing what we today would consider to be the borders between those professions.

¹⁵³ "Kvinden har et hurtigere Øje, et mildere hjerte og en blødere haand , end Manden " (N)

¹⁵⁴ " ...den bedste og letteste Udgang for Kirkens hovedvirksomhed, den at frelse Sjæle" (N)

¹⁵⁵ "Lutherskkirkevidende"(N)

¹⁵⁶ "Allerede det almindelige Menighedsarbejde og den dermed forbundne Fattigpleie, hvor dog vore Diakonisser er saa nødvendige, og hvor de hos os har nedlagt et saa rigt velsignet Arbejde, allerede der foreligger Opgaver, som ligger utenfor Kvindens Rækkevidde. Vi indskrænker os her til at nævne Diakonvirksomhed, som i vore store og spredte Menigheder trænges til en rigere Ordets Forkyndelse og privat Sjælesorg fremdeles Arbeidet i de mange hjem for gamle og vaisenhusene, som nu reiser sig hos os, og endelig de mange Opgaver, som arbeidet blandt den mandlige Ungdom stiller. Føier man saa hertil , hvad der udkræves af Arbeidskræfter til vore Fattiggaarde rundt om i Landet, til Missionen blandt Drankere og Løsgjængere, blandt løsladte Straffanger og i Straffeanstalterne, samt endelig til Bekjæmpelsen af de for vor Tid eiendommelige Nødstilstande, som skrver sig fra vantr og samfundsnedbrydende retningers alfor frugtbare arbeid iblandt os, saa vil det lettelig indsees, at der foreligger for kirken en hel Række af større Opgaver, som kun kan optages af Mænd, og det af Mænd, som, baade theoretisk og praktisk er grundig uddannede til sin Gjærning" (N) (Johnson, Blom et al 1889:363 - 364 PS)

The need for both deaconess and deacon workers proved to be great (Lutheran Church Bulletin¹⁵⁷ 1894 I PS, 1893 I PS and Halvorsen 1899). One of the first deacons became important in the Saami mission. His name was Bertrand Nilsen, and he was employed as a lay preacher by the Saami Mission in 1897. At that time the Saami Mission¹⁵⁸ wanted to employ a trained theologian. Nielsen was employed because no trained theologian was available (Steen 1963).

The employment of a deacon gave the Saami Mission a professional trained within basic theology, sociology and nursing. Nielsen was employed as a lay preacher. In his yearly report of 1899 to the Saami mission, he clearly expressed his concern for those in need of care (Steen, 1963). As a professional within the field of care it was natural that he focused upon such problems. The board of the organization saw that as a possible goal for the future; however, the main goal had, in their opinion, to be to bring the Gospel to the Saami in their own language; "Our real goal is to bring the word of God to the Saami in their own language" ¹⁵⁹(Steen 1963:46).

Those words focus upon one of the main challenges of the Saami Mission around the turn of the century. How should resources be used ? Was it possible to combine preaching the Gospel with care for the needy ? Was it possible to focus solely on preaching the Gospel without doing care ? The employment of the deacon, Bertrand Nilsen, demonstrates the built-in tensions of professional care and professional preaching. For quite a few, of course, there existed no tensions between the two. For others, it was a matter of priority.

The field of spiritual advice is today acknowledged to sometimes be in the borderline territory between therapy and advice/discourse about existential/spiritual matters. At the end of last century an article was published in Lutheran Church Bulletin discussing the relationship between "psychiatry and spiritual advice" (Romer 1891 PS). Such discussions probably also existed within the Saami mission. The borderland between psychiatry, social work, molding a nation, carrying out civilization tasks, spreading the Gospel and existential questions was unclear. The more professionalism and nationalism developed, the more difficult it became to define those borders. Earlier, when medicine, "social work" and theology were in reality part of the same profession, the need to specialize and define borders between the various professions did not exist.

¹⁵⁷ "Luthersk kirketidende" (N)

¹⁵⁸ "Norsk Finnemission" (N)

¹⁵⁹ "Vor egentlige Opgave er den, at bringe Guds Ord til Finnerne paa deres eget maal" (N)

6.12. THOSE IN NEED AND THOSE CONCERNED

Some of those reading my text might say; "he should have started with those in need, after all, that is what it is all about." Possibly not. I do think that caring quite often is more about those caring and those organizing the care than those defined as in need of it. It is possible to identify large interest groups like women, and trained professionals like deacons, deaconesses, nurses, medical doctors, theologians with some kind of training or studies within the field of social/health/care work.¹⁶⁰ People with professional background and those often working with practical caring, like women, naturally saw the need for involvement in care. The "professionals" had their professional identity centered around both the work they carried out and the need for it. To put it quite simply, you hardly ever find a shoe salesman arguing for the need of people to walk barefoot.

In addition came the clients themselves and various concerned individuals, some of the latter were close family. Most of the clients had no possibility of influencing the development of care. In the records of "the Norwegian Saami Mission," "The Lutheran Church Bulletin" and various contemporary publications, the clients consisted of physically handicapped, old people in need of care, and children in need of care. None of those were able to influence the development themselves. Mostly they became visible after institutions were started. After 1900, applications for placements make heartbreaking reading.

Applications and, for that matter, a lot of the funds needed, came from individuals: some of them family members and some of them others. In some cases the applications and funding came from individuals who were able to influence the development not only of the Saami mission, but also the development of public services. On the 19th of May 1909, after reading the yearly report of 1908, Enok Sandvik Alvøen wrote a letter to the deacon Bertrand Nilsen: " I also understood that you know several physically handicapped in Finnmark, and that your love also includes them. When I, in 1903, traveled from Finnmark, with the steamship, I met a 30 year old physically handicapped outside Tana. She was immobilized in both legs and had to be carried in a box. I told her about the large baby carriages that physically handicapped can use in Bergen, and she asked me to order one for her. Regretfully I have to admit that I lost her address and I have not been able to trace it. Perhaps she is one of the six you know up there ? If you are able to identify her, I would be grateful for her address. As you possibly remember I have a physically handicapped son, who is not able to move his legs the least bit. He had a stay at Sophies Minde in Skaadalen and is by now able to function on his own. Many unhappy helpless could be happy and able to function on

¹⁶⁰ Otterbech, who studied the matter in Germany, is one example.

their own if they received the appropriate education. There are such abilities and power among the physically handicapped, that the poor nation of Norway should not reject using them or losing them. In October, they are planning to have an exhibition in Bergen. Perhaps you know somebody from your part of the country that could send something to the exhibition. You know it would benefit their cause if the exhibition could be generally supported even from the highest north. It might well happen that the exhibition will get attention, because there are those who both can write and talk and work and compete with healthy, but that should not prevent others less able to make a contribution to the greater and common cause. The goal and gift of mercy is God's concern, and honor should not be given to any single individual. The duty is also for physically handicapped to contribute their modest part to the common best. Everybody should have and feel that they contribute to the common best. Physically handicapped should also have the blessing and benefit of their own work. If you know someone and if they could get a chance to send something to the exhibition, then it could possibly contribute to the honorable goal of a home for the physically handicapped in Finnmark. Thus it could be known and acknowledged also here in the south.

As you might have seen from the journals, both the press and private persons, particularly the physically handicapped themselves, work to be understood and create general interest for the cause. It is not impossible that the State will give them increased financial support for education. Our son, Thoralf, is participating somewhat in that work, and it makes us happy to see that his articles are printed in several journals.....¹⁶¹ (AS XXIV).

¹⁶¹ "Jeg saa og, at de kjænder flere vanføre i Finnmarken, og at deres kjærlighed ogsaa strækker til dem. Da jeg i 1913 reiste fra Finnmarken paa dampbaaden, traf jeg en ca. 30 gammel vanfør pige udenfor Tana. Hun var vanfør paa begge ben og maatte bæres i en kasse. Jeg fortalte hende om større barnevogne som vanføre maa bruge her ved Bergen, og hun bad mig bestille til hende en. Jeg miste desverre hendes adr. og jeg har senere ikke kunnet faa opspurgit den. Kanske hun er en av de 6 de kjender der oppe? Kan de udfinde hvem jeg mener, vil jeg være takknæmmelig for hendes adr. Som de muligens erindrer, har jeg en vanfør søn der ikke kan røre sine fødder en smule. Han har været paa Sofies Minde i Skaadalen og er nu en selvhjulpne mand. O mange ulykkelige hjælpeløse kunde blive lykkelige og selvhjulpne mennesker, om de fik den udannelse, der passer dem. Der er tildels saadanne evner og kræfter blandt de vanføre, at vort fattige Norge ikke burde forsmaa at tage dem i bruk, eller miste dem. I Oktober tænker de at faa istand en udstilling av sine egne arbeider og at holde et samtalemøde i Bergen, kanske de kjender nogen fra eders kanter, der kunde have lyst til at sende noget til udstillingen. De ved, at det vil gavne deres sag om udstillingen kan faa almen tilslutning endog fra detyderste nord. Det kan vel hende at udstillingen vil vække opmærksomhed, da der er dem som baade kan tale og skrive og arbeide konkurandsdyktig med friske; men det maa ikke holde andre mindre dyktige fra at yde sin skjærv til det store og fælles maals løsning. Maalet og naadegaverne er Guds sag og burde ikke spesielt komme nogen enkel til ros, men pligter ogsaa for vanføre at yde sin ...del arbeide til det fælles bedste. burde alle have og kjænde, og glæden og fordelene av sit eget arbeide bør tilligemed velsignelsen ogsaa de vanføre faa have. Kjænde de nogen og kunde de faa leilighed til at faa sende noget til udstillingen, saa muligens kan det ogsaa bidrage til at deres ædle maal et hjem for vanføre i Finnmarken kan blive kjendt og forstaet ogsaa her i syd. Som de av bladene muligens har seet, arbeider baade præsseen og privat især de vanføre selv, paa at blive forstaet, og at vække almen interesse for sagen, og det er ikke usandsynlig at staten mere end hidtil vil ofre dem støtte til udannelse. Vor søn Thoralf er lidit med i dette arbeide, og det glæder os at se, at hans stykker tildels gaar gjennom flere blade....." (N).

Both Mr. Alvøen and his son were active as supporters of the cause of the physically handicapped, his son because he was handicapped and Mr. Alvøen because he had a son who was handicapped. In addition, Mrs. Alvøen was probably involved in one of the numerous female support organizations for institutions or other philanthropic work. For that matter, she might have supported the institutions of the mission. Mr. Alvøen wrote his letter on the paper from Alvøen paper mill.¹⁶² He was a probably the owner of the mill and a man with quite some influence. I do not know the result of Mr. Alvøen's letter nor the result of the exhibition in Bergen. Nevertheless, his example underlines the pressure towards doing something for the physically handicapped. It was probably more difficult to argue for the need of other groups like those with mental problems, those with alcohol problems and so on. Nevertheless, the fact remains that support and pressure from concerned individuals must have been an important factor behind the development of institutional care.

¹⁶² Watermarked Alvøen which was one of the major paper mills in western Norway at the time (Alvøen is mentioned in Hodne 1975)

6. 13. PRACTICAL CARING TAKES POWER

There are at least three different forces that worked towards the increasingly important social or care dimension of the Saami mission. One was the lay organizations' support of various institutions like children's homes, old people's homes etc. Most of those organizations were female organizations giving their contributions to "practical caring." The finances of the Saami mission and the possibility of "fund-raising" seem to have been earmarked for "practical caring." The other one was the professional care workers like deaconesses and deacons. Educated in care, they naturally saw the possibility and need for such activities.

In addition, of course, came the theological argument for the Christian obligation to do practical caring / to help those in need. That part can be divided in at least two parts. Partly caring was done to convert others to the Gospel through showing true Christian action. Partly it was done independent of that, as a moral Christian obligation. Caring was done as a way of saving the carer's soul. From that perspective caring could be done regardless of the potential of conversion. From the point of "saving souls," it was natural to invest in a way where the return on the investment could be greatest. From that point it could be said that it was important to save as many souls as possible. On the other hand there were "souls" in greater need of assistance than others, like the deaf and dumb. It might be said that a Christian had a greater responsibility towards those than towards others. For quite a few people the Saami probably represented one such group with a greater need than others.

In the period 1891 - 1900 the income of the Saami mission decreased (Lye, 1996, II). In Lye's interpretation, that might have been due to increased missionary activity by other organizations than the Norwegian Saami Mission. Organizations operating in support of social activities like the "Saami Children's Home" in Kvænangen seem to be among the ones gaining in strength. In addition there were a number of other missionary societies targeting "heathens" in a number of countries like Madagascar, India, South Africa and so on (Comaroff and Comaroff 1991 and 1992, Danbolt 1947,¹⁶³ Fuglestad and Simensen 1986 and Simensen 1986).

In the years after 1900 both the support for the mission and probably also the number of contributors increased. From that point the mission became more and more involved in social activities. In 1903 Kistrand Nursing Home was started and later both a children's home (1909) and an institution for the physically handicapped (Steen 1963). It might be said that the mission had no

¹⁶³ Danbolt discusses the period 1800 - 1830

other choice than becoming involved in social welfare activities. Otherwise it would have developed into a "window plant" with no water. Contributors gave a major part of their donations to social activities. Without focusing upon care-giving activities, the missions would not get funds for other activities like preaching. The recommendation of the general assembly of the "Norwegian Lutheran Inner mission"¹⁶⁴ for their "Finnmark Mission" in 1914 illustrates the development from "preaching the word" to "practicing the word." The recommendation was made after an appeal from the western branch¹⁶⁵ for co-ordinated activity in Finnmark. In the recommendations the Finnmark Mission was divided into "preaching work"¹⁶⁶ and "social work."¹⁶⁷ It was emphasized that funds received for social work should be administrated separately. While preaching should be co-ordinated, but done by the independent Inner Missions, "social work" should be administrated and carried out as a joint activity. At that time the Inner Mission's "social work" consisted of youth schools and old people's homes. The "big muscle" of the organizations was to be "social work" (AS XXX).

The Inner Mission was at that point researching the possibilities of and need for, a two year long "Inner Mission School."¹⁶⁸ The school was thought of, as an educational institution for preachers. "Social work," on the other hand, was professionalized through educational institutions for deacons, deaconesses and nurses. The separation between social work and preaching was becoming greater and greater. Each was developing into a speciality separated from the other.

In 1914 the deacon, Bertrand Nilsen, submitted a suggestion for photos to be used at the national Church exhibition. Several missionary societies were going to participate. The "Norwegian Saami Mission" was going to present "its face" to the Church and the general public. His suggestions show how he wished to focus on the social welfare part of the mission. The suggested photos were;

- 3 Saami from the meeting at Tomasvand
- The meeting at Tomasvand
- Bishop Skaar (the founder)
- **A family outside a turf hut (a girl on crutches)**
- **The small children from the children's home outside in the grove**
- **The boys from the children's home planting potatoes**
- **By the spinning wheels at the children's home**
- The name of the mission
- **The children's-home summer barn and cows**

¹⁶⁴ "Det Norske Lutherske Indremissionsselskap" (N)

¹⁶⁵ "Det vestlandske indremissionsselskap" (N) functioned as an umbrella organization for a number of south-western Norwegian organizations.

¹⁶⁶ "Evangelistarbeidet" (N)

¹⁶⁷ "Det sociale arbeide" (N)

¹⁶⁸ "Indremissionsskole" (N)

- Cutting peat bog at the children's home
 - Drying peat bog at the children's home
 - Old Berit (from the nursing home)
 - Marit Olsdatter (from the nursing home)
 - All the children at the children's home
 - The children's home in Rotsundelv
 - The children in the dining hall
 - Nils at the door of his turf hut (as he was before he came to the home for physically handicapped)
 - The three first at the home for physically handicapped
 - The nursing home in Kistrand
 - The workshop for creations in paper at the home for physically handicapped
 - Anne Marit Johnsdatter (the nursing home)
 - A physically handicapped boy in Børselv
- (AS XXVIII)¹⁶⁹

As can be seen (photos connected with social welfare activities in black), nearly all the suggested photos had to do with the social welfare activity of the mission. As Webb (1997) points out, photos taken by missionaries served as a way to "visualize and legitimize their work" (ibid:15). In order to finance the mission it was crucial to be able to "sell it." Portraying the social activity of the mission was probably the most efficient way of doing that. From a market perspective it might be said that "the product" the missions could sell was their social activities.

¹⁶⁹ In Norwegian:

- Stevnet ved Tomasvand
- Biskop Skaar N.fs stifter
- Forsamlingen ved Tomasvand
- En familie utenfor en gamme (en pike med krykker)
- De smaa barna paa barnehjemmet ute i lunden
- Guttene paa barnehjemmet sætter poteter
- Ved rokkene paa barnehjemmet
- navnet paa missionen - Norsk finnemission
- barnehjemmets sommerfjøs og kjø
- Torvskjæring paa barnehjemmet
- Torvtørring paa barnehjemmet
- Gamle Berit (fra pleiehjemmet)
- Marit Olsdatter (fra pleiehjemmet)
- Barneflokkken fra barnehjemmet)
- Barnehjemmet i Rotsundelv
- Barna i spisstuen (barnehjemmet)
- Nils i gammedøren (som han var før han kom til vanførehjemmet)
- De tre første fra vanførehjemmet
- Pleiehjemmet i Kistrand
- Papirløid paa vanførehjemmet
- vanførehjemmet i Tromsø
- Anne Marit Johnsdatter (pleiehjemmet)
- En vanfør gut i Børselv

Moving on to 1917, we can see how the professionals gradually obtained a more important role in the Saami mission. In 1917 the mission had several "homes."¹⁷⁰ At the children's home in Rotusundlev they had three deaconesses and "a girl." In May 1917 the position as leader of the old people's home in Kistrand was vacant. The mission wanted to employ a fully employed nurse for the position (AS XXVI). The more institutions, the more professionals were needed. In addition they functioned, as the deacon Bertrand Nilsen, as preachers. Those who had a deacon training probably had a particular influence. They both had the training in care and nursing and a basic training in theology and as preachers. Trained in the word of God, they knew how to argue for care from a theological point of view. Trained to see social welfare problems, they gradually moved the organizations' focus from propagating the Gospel with words to practical caring.

Once institutions got started they had their own momentum. They were costly to run and required concentrated efforts of fund-raising and professionals who focused upon social welfare problems.

The deaconal work, the care work and institutions were supported by an increasingly active number of female organizations and individuals, and became a force that moved not only the Saami mission, but also a number of others, from preaching the Gospel towards practical caring. I am not claiming that preaching the Gospel was ignored, but the activity of the organization became dominated by care work. Care work, from a theological perspective, can be understood as practicing the Gospel. Most of the institutions of the Saami mission were established after 1900; however, the development towards starting those institutions started well before the turn of the century.

¹⁷⁰ "Hjem" (N). Today the word institutions would probably be used instead of "homes".

III

DISCUSSIONS AND REFLECTIONS

"In Buluwesi I taught the children how to play hopscotch. We have a much more complicated way of playing hopscotch in Sweden than they do in Buluwesi ". (Swedish ornithologist describing his visit to the Indonesian island of Buluwesi).

CHAPTER 7.

SOCIAL WORK, MISSIONARY WORK AND THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE PUBLIC SPHERE

"O povertà - così sei desolata ! " (Italian)

"Poverty be thou accursed !"

**(Fazio Degli Uberti, *Liriche edite ed inedite*, (ed) Renier, Florence
1883:178 quoted in Geremek 1994:31)**

7.1 MAKING SENSE OF THE COMPLEXITY

The text so far has been concentrated upon analyzing historical material from two different time periods. Those time periods have largely followed Habermas's discussion of "The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere" (1989).

I have a description of these two time periods along three main dimensions; The development of society and the transformation of the public sphere, the religious development or the development of the "High Church" and lay movement, and of attitudes and approaches towards social welfare and social problems. Attitudes towards poverty have been discussed using the understanding of Geremek (1994) as a framework. With that background I have described two missions. One of them was also an attempt to establish a colony by a theologian working as a colonial administrator. Egede was, at the start of the colony in Greenland, most of all the leader of a colony established partly in order to do trade and exploit local resources like whale and seal.

Missionary work has often been part of national or commercial efforts to colonize and dominate other cultures (Axelson 1976, Berentsen 1994 and Comaroff and Comaroff 1991); however, there are also examples of the opposite. In northern Norway too, there were conflicts of interest between the State and the mission. The situation in Norway just before the turn of the last century was complex since the missions, to some extent, were part of "the system." Many of their leaders were employed by the State (Steen 1963). This was the case both for those employed as clergy and as teachers in the Seminary of Tromsø.¹ In Greenland the national, commercial and missionary efforts were completely integrated. Egede was, in the beginning, trader, missionary and representative of the King all in one person (Fenger 1879 and Bobé 1944).

In the rest of the text I will also use material from a previous study (Wallin Weihe 1999) of David Rosen, a Danish missionary who worked in India (1818-1831 and 1834-1838), and as a colonial administrator at the Nicobar islands in the period 1831-1834. Using that material I will be able to use examples from the beginning of the 1800s, which is a period placed midway between my two other time periods. Missionaries - all missionaries not only the ones I have studied - have the Gospel and a sacred duty to bring their message to those who have not heard it. In one perspective they had, through the Gospel, superior values to those they enlightened through the words of God. They were convinced that the words of the Gospel would give those they brought it to a better future. Even if the Gospel remained the same in all the three periods, the theological interpretation of it and the society the missionaries came from changed substantially. The attitudes and approaches towards social

¹ The teachers college in Tromsø

welfare and social problems changed accordingly. As I have tried to show, not only due to the official and formulated policy of the missions, but also in conflict with it.

The work of a missionary is to spread the Gospel in another culture. Part of that has often been to convince "the natives" of the superiority of the Christian faith through good deeds. At the same time one might say that the good deeds have been carried out as a moral obligation necessary for the salvation of the missionaries and their supporters. I am well aware that a theologian might say that such a view is not part of the Christian tradition. From those critical to my statement it can be said that it is not possible to "trade salvation" with "good deeds" (Bøckman 1981:118-119). My point is that, even if misunderstood, "trading salvation" with "good deeds" might still be expressed and experienced as a necessary duty by the individual Christian in order to gain salvation. It might be claimed that social workers of today have similar even if differently phrased "Messages" or "Gospels" communicated through "good deeds." Many social workers will argue that their work is based on ethics based on Christian values. Others will argue that social work is based on a different foundation even if they might find common ground with parts of Christian ethics.

Axelson (1976:14) emphasizes the triangular loyalty conflict of every missionary: loyalty towards the Gospel, loyalty towards those sending him/her and his/her own culture (his own country) and loyalty towards the people he/she is serving (missionizing). For each individual missionary that would be a very personal moral dilemma, for those being missionized it would be, as Axelson emphasizes, a simple question of the missionary being loyal to them or not. Put in other words, if he/she would show solidarity with them or "the other." I will return to solidarity as a dimension of the development of social worker ethic in 8.5.

From a theological perspective the power of God, the "discipline" required by the commandments and the message of the Gospel, was the main force behind the missions. My discussion does not take that, from a Christian perspective always present power, into consideration. I am only discussing what is in the secular field or, to put it another way, what humans can analyze, but I acknowledge that for many of those involved God was the most important power. Particularly that was so in my first historical example. The shipping regulations of the Greenland company illustrate that: "Because all happiness and blessing comes from God, and is given to those who fear and seriously call for him, everybody should pray to and honor his Majesty the God. Everybody should live as Christians and listen with great devotion to His Word in the morning and evening when His Word is preached, sung and read. Everybody should pray that the whole travel should be accompanied by God to his honor, the benefit of the company and country, to the benefit of all those who travel

together and then that all the poor heathens by him should be converted and visited. With the same devotion should everybody behave at the meals, breakfast, dinner or evening meal. At all meals it should be read and after the meals a verse from a spiritual psalm song"² (Sollied and Solberg 1932:3-4). God was a power to be acknowledged in all situations. He was all present and all powerful. Whatever man did God had to be taken into consideration. Those who did not obey or show due respect to God should be punished accordingly, in extreme cases with their life, otherwise with physical punishment "punished by the mast or the pole"³ or ticketed.⁴ For Egede as a preacher and colonial administrator, such a view was not only part of pursuing a better life on earth, but also necessary for abiding by the law of God. He believed in a life, not only of this world, but also in a life after death.

"Discipline" and "disciplining" seem always to have been one important aspect of building the structures of society. Foucault has described how that has been one important aspect of punishment (1979),⁵ the clinic (1994)⁶ and what can be defined as knowledge (1972).⁷ Donzelot (1997) has brought those theories even one step further and described how "The Policing of Families" brought discipline and surveillance into the private sphere. Both in my description of the context and in my four examples the element of "discipline" and "disciplining" have been visible along several different dimensions. Using the terminology of Foucault I can divide them at least along the following dimensions:

- The attempt to discipline through the Gospel
- The attempt to discipline through practical caring
- The attempt to discipline through education
- The attempt to discipline through language
- The attempt to discipline through the use of correctional measures
- The attempt to discipline through European-type middle class settled life
- The attempt to discipline through giving a national identity

² "Eftersom ald Lykke og Velsignelse kommer fra Gud, og gives dem, som hannem frygte og alvorlig paakalde, saa skal alle og enhver hans Gudommelige Majest. frem for alting ære og tilbede, og sig stedse paa et Christeligt Levnets Fremdragelse beflitte; Morgen og Aften, naar Bønnen eller og Prædiken paa Skibet eller i Landet holdes, og Gud Allermægtigstes Ord siunges, læses eller prædikes, da skal enhver skikke sig dertil med allerstørste Andag at høre Guds Ord, og bede Gud om Naade, at hand det heele Selskab paa den foretagne Reise vilde ledsage til sin Guddommelige Ære, Vores Rigers og Landes Gavn og Beste, Compagniets Nytte og Fremtrav, og til alle samme Reiser vedkommendes felles Velfærd; og derhos at Gud Allermægtigste de arem hedninger allestedes med sin Naade vil besøge og omvende. Med samme devotion skal og enhver, naar paa Skibet spises, enten til Froekost, Middags eller Aftens-Maaltid, til og fra Maaltid læses, og efter Maaltiderne et Vers af en Aandelig Psalme siunges". (D) The Company Shipping regulations for the Royal Greenland Company section two dated the 5th of February 1723.

³ "straffes for Masten eller Pælen" (D)

⁴ The Company Shipping regulations for the Royal Greenland Company section three dated the 5th of February 1723.

⁵ Original 1975

⁶ Original 1963

⁷ Original 1969

All of which can again be divided into subgroups which in some way or another are connected with each other. Part of the use of education would be the educating of change agents, who were educated to a certain identity including loyalty to; God, the mission, the superiors, the national cause, the colonial cause and/or the Crown. Language, practical caring, discipline through correction and the Gospel would be part of all that .

Using a foucauldian perspective includes deliberately choosing a language that emphasizes power, discipline and the importance of structural changes in society. Such a perspective illuminates that the Church and the missions must be understood as part of a larger society. Power would not be in the individual but part of the interaction between individuals. Power would not have a source, but be created as part of human interaction. Interaction(s) that would not only take place in the missionary fields, but also in the countries the missions originated in and where they received their support. Thus the disciplining would happen, in different ways, in both places.

Reading Foucault and Donzelot might make the reader blind to other dimensions like compassion, solidarity and caring. I will return to those dimensions in my discussion in chapter 8. In this chapter I will discuss them as part of the solidarity within the bourgeois society and as part of the practical caring initiated by the increasingly active female members of missionary organization. As shown in chapter 6 females were not represented in the leadership of the Saami mission, but they still influenced the practice of the organization.

The development can be compared to a root-system, barely visible with thin roots or tubers in my first historical period, somewhat visible in my middle period and developed into a small tree in my last period. Today it has developed into a large tree. Still, even at that time the imprint of many of those active in the support of missions was not visible in the declared policy and documents of those missions. Admittedly a study of the support organizations might have somewhat moderated my picture. However, I do not think it would have been substantially changed. One of the reasons that I am of that opinion is that a substantial part of the discourse in the organizations must have been oral and in many cases possibly just through a non-verbalized common understanding. An understanding that led to practical action and not necessarily words. Even when it led to words they might not be reflected in the statements of the organizations. In the case of the Saami mission practical action seems to be better reflected in the bookkeeping of the organization than in the official statements.

In some cases I am even of the opinion that attitudes of the public might even have been in opposition to what was decided and put in print in the

organizations they belonged to. The ladies supporting the various social activities of the Saami mission were a good example of that. The organization wanted to give priority to preaching the Gospel, but the donations of the supporters were for social action.

As Geremek (1994:248) points out in "Poverty: a history:" "some attitudes and types of behaviour are more socially acceptable at certain periods than others, and the intensity with which they are expressed will also vary from one period to another." It is natural that attitudes varied with variables such as class, position, professional background, ideology and sex. As well as the missions changing with society, ideology and changing theological views, it is likely that the missions changed when new groups became involved in them. Thus, involving the lay public, and gradually also females, must have given "room" to attitudes always present, but not visible within the sphere of scholarly theology.

Missions and their support organizations have represented an arena for expressing a multitude of attitudes. In addition the missions must have represented a symbolic action, or to put it another way, a rallying point for people far outside those who were organized. Visiting Lille Lyngby Church, the Church of Rosen after he returned from India to Denmark, in the fall of 1998, I was struck by all the leaflets giving information of various missionary activity in far-away countries. Today as in earlier days the missions have a significance not only in far-away countries, but also in the "home countries" of the missions.

That significance cannot be studied by looking at the missions and their support organizations. It is, as the French historian Lucien Febvre (ibid) points out, a question of feelings and attitudes. In my case it is a question of the significance of the missions for that development. It is always difficult to research the question of behavioral patterns: "The task here is doubly difficult, for patterns of social behaviour tend to be very long-lasting: they become entrenched, often outliving the ethical and cultural codes and attitudes in which they had their origin. As a result, one is liable to assume that patterns of behaviour reflect genuine attitudes when in fact they have long ceased to do so" (ibid).

Even more difficult is pointing to the significance of missions. In order to do that I have to simplify. Missionary work is the archetypal work with "the other." It is working with the strange, different and those not knowing the blessings of the Gospel, civilized life and our kind of life style, and it is about solidarity and compassion with those vastly different from ourselves. Lastly it is about having a cause, something to rally around, possibly for groups that otherwise would not have been involved in the public and political sphere.

7.2. GOOD MORALS AS THE ROAD TO SALVATION AND A HAPPY LIFE

The struggle to make humans "behave," "do the right things" keep a certain "order," or in Foucault's terminology "disciplined," has been an important part of all my historical examples. In Christian terminology "sin" is what is done against "God's will." Thus sin might be due to either bad thoughts, words or deeds (Bøckman 1981). As Bøckman points out "words and deeds" will be what we can relate to from a social point of view. "Dirty" or "sinful" thoughts are impossible to relate to except for the individual having them. One of the central questions in Christian ethics is the development of personal conscience or awareness. The building of a moral disposition is the basis for being able to do the "right" things and gain an ability to make moral decisions and actions. Education is an important factor in that development.

Christian terminology is different from the "language" of "social work," or for that matter of psychology and sociology. Nevertheless, "social work" is occupied with people's ability to do the "right things" and how they adapt to the norms of society. With Foucault's terminology social work is occupied with how to discipline people.

Naturally that understanding and disciplining is contextual, as is theology and, for that matter, missionary work. Grenz and Olson (1992:9) define theology "as the intellectual reflection on the act, content and implications of Christian faith. Theology describes faith within a specific historical and cultural context, and therefore it is unashamedly a contextual discipline. Because of its contextual nature, theology poses an ongoing task."⁸ The same definition could, with small alterations, be used for social work.⁹ We only have to exchange the word "Christian faith" with "helping others to a better life," "theology" with "social work" and "faith" with "helping others" or "caring."

After all, "helping the other" is a decision based upon certain values. Values often removed from what is materially beneficial for helping the individual and society. Sometimes, of course, "helping the other" might be understood from the perspective of "if I help you, you have to help me." In other cases the help is really to avoid the discomfort of having "the undisciplined annoying

⁸ Theology can be defined in many ways. Miller (1995:5) defines it "as the pursuit of the knowledge of God."

⁹ I realize that the concept of "social work" might be confusing. Kendall (in Turner 1986:XV) writes about a "common core of knowledge" and a "pluralistic conceptual base." Payne (1991) emphasizes that there is no agreed definition and that the answers might vary according to time, social conditions and the cultures within which the questions are raised. It is indeed difficult to identify the "core of common knowledge." Indeed it might be said that social work is as disciplining as theology and as dogmatic as religious faith might be. It is, beyond doubt, occupied with helping people, with caring and welfare. Sometimes that has to be understood as part of the disciplining a society needs to develop in a certain way. In other instances it has to be understood as a protest and fight against the very same discipline.

others" around. In many cases, however, words like compassion and pity will have to be used to describe the relationship to "the other." In addition it will be a matter of trying to make "the other" understand and develop the right "moral disposition" and adapt to the kind of "moral" society the social worker envisages. That part would be the same both for the social worker and the missionary.

In all my examples such a struggle to develop the "right moral disposition" as the basis for doing "the right things" is visible. The missionaries struggled to develop personal conscience, or awareness, among the people they targeted. As the other represented cultures far different from the background of the missionaries the process was difficult. Often difficult to the extent that the missionaries were not even aware of many of the difficulties they faced.

The "right things to do" will vary from society to society. As pointed out in chapter 8.3. "the right things to do" might be connected to the relationship between humans, to the relationship between man and nature, or both (Lidegard in Hindsberger 1997). Good morals can also be understood as something that is connected to each individual and his or her relationship to the spiritual. What Hindsberger describes as taboos might be something the individual has to obey in order not to endanger the whole community through the anger of nature.

In Hindsberger's interpretation the traditional Greenlander was characterized by what he calls "life morals"¹⁰ and not "rule-oriented morals."¹¹ While the latter came from Christianity the first was based upon each individual's spontaneous reaction towards his fellow beings. Or in the words of Hindsberger: "It was not something one had to do, but rather something one just did."¹² Sharing and surviving together was an important part of all communities in Greenland. The dependency upon "the other" was an important part of the existence in the communities. Hindsberger does not address what happened to those who did not join the system of sharing, but it is quite likely that it meant not being part of the community. As the community was the basis of existence, and in many cases of survival, not obeying the "unspoken" rule of sharing could have grave consequences. Even if not existing as codified moral rules, such "life rules" must have been close to that.

Hindberger points out that the taboo system of the Greenlanders¹³ can be compared, even if they are different, to the rules of Christianity (like the ten commandments). In Hindberger's interpretation the Greenlander's taboo

¹⁰ "livsmoral" (D)

¹¹ "regelmoral" (D)

¹² "Det var ikke noget, man skulle gøre, men noget, man bare gjorde" (D)

¹³ Rasmussen (1905, 1925 and 1979) gives several examples of old rules of living of Greenlanders. Many of them can be understood as part of a taboo system.

system can be related to certain life forces. Their understanding of Christianity can be understood from this background. Obeying the taboo system was necessary in order to be on good terms with the life forces. Obeying the rules of Christianity ensured, from that point of view, the possible protection of life forces under the control of God.

Moving on to my Indian example the situation was vastly different (Wallin Weihe 1999). Rules existed from the point of view of Hindu traditions,¹⁴ Muslim traditions, Catholic traditions and possibly also a number of other traditions. Mentioning all those traditions I want to point out that good morals, or obeying the rules of the religion, was the road to salvation and a happy life.¹⁵ The missionaries and their kind of Christianity represented yet another tradition in a country with a long history of having new moral systems introduced. Codified or written rules were nothing new in India. The Nicobar example (ibid) is more like the one in Greenland and so is the Saami. In none of those traditions did any prior written rules exist. However the idea of good morals having an importance was not new. Whatever we call it, there existed forces that it was necessary to please in order to have a good life either in this life or perhaps in the next. Breaking taboos could have consequences, not only for the individual doing so, but for the whole community. After all, doing something that could offend forces controlling nature would harm not only the individual, but the whole community. In that way breaking the taboos, or for that matter not sharing according to the tradition, would be a way of not showing the solidarity necessary in order to be experienced as part of a community.¹⁶

¹⁴ I am deliberately writing "traditions" as all those religions have, and had, their own complexities and sometimes conflicting traditions.

¹⁵ From a Hindu point of view if not in this life then in the next incarnation.

¹⁶ "If it was experienced in the community that one or more persons breaking the taboos resulted in the animals harvested not arriving at the places of hunting, those persons would probably be understood as not showing solidarity to the community" in the original version "Hvis det nemlig var den almindelige opfattelse på bopladsen, at en eller flere personers overtrædelse af tabuer var årsag til fangstdyrenes udeblivelse, ble overtrædelsen sandsynligvis betragtet som manglende solidaritet fra den eller de pågældendes side" (D) Hindsberger(1997:14)

7.3. THE STORY OF POVERTY

Geremek has, from a European perspective, described and discussed the history of poverty from the middle ages and up to the present day. European or western Missionary history represents a special chapter in that story by representing Europeans operating in other cultures.

Converting the other to God and to care according to the message of the Gospel was the main target, but, as I have shown in the previous chapters, a complexity hid behind it. Helping the poor and needy was partly a matter of a human obligation to help those in need, partly a Christian obligation, partly a matter of mutual survival, partly a matter of using care as a tool in order to convert to Christianity, to civilize and in some cases to make into obedient disciplined citizens of a colonial state (see Bosch 1991, Geremek 1994).

The later part of helping was mostly a matter of making the machinery of the modern world and colonial economy efficient. However, the "High Church" and the Christian lay-movement consisted of both those in favor of that development and those against it. The motives were complex and sometimes conflicting, even within what was experienced as one organization.

I begin in what was the Orthodox period of Lutheran Christianity. Egede was a patriarchal father figure caring for the Greenlanders. In a rather father-like way he scolded them, cared for them and educated them in the right moral way. Religion and State were the same. Accepting God meant accepting the King, which again meant accepting Egede - those not accepting were breaking both the secular law and the law of God. The Greenlanders' own best was decided by God and his earthly representatives.

I realize that I am simplifying. The reason for doing so is that the world of Egede met the world of Pietism, which emphasized the personal conviction and inner feelings of those converted, and answered to no-one but God (Astås 1994). In Greenland the Pietistic were represented by Moravian missionaries, in Denmark by forces in the Church and in the emerging lay-movement. Those two forces had in theory fundamentally different approaches to "the other." However, as I will argue in the next chapter, meeting the other face to face will often give power to another intuitive relationship.

Egede lived in a period in transition from Orthodox Christianity to Pietism. A period characterized by tensions between the lay movement and the scholarly "High Church," and those addressing and those having a discourse with the other. From an Orthodox point of view the poor had to be taken care of, and in quite a few cases disciplined, by a patriarchal Church and State. From a Pietist view care and inner discipline rather than outside discipline was a

Christian obligation rather than a State/Church one. Change had to happen from inside a person rather than be disciplined from the outside. Those two dimensions have never really left us. They are still there and range in attitudes spanning from corrections to the therapy room.

Still, there were strong counter-forces to the "rule" of Egede. He was the leader of a colony which was established by a trading company. Admittedly a trading company he had initiated, but still an independent company under the leadership of merchants in Bergen. When Egede suggested using more force against the Greenlanders, even turning them into slaves, the merchants overruled him. They did not want that kind of power used against the Greenlanders. Seemingly they did not want so because they did not want to have that kind of colony and did not want such power used. One interpretation is that the merchants represented the emerging bourgeois society challenging the idea of the "all powerful" supreme ruler. They were not against the use of force, they issued, according to the rules given by the King, certificates to privateers fighting the powerful Dutch, but they reacted against slavery and cruelty towards the local population.

The reaction of the merchants in Bergen is interesting because it illustrates that the bourgeois society took a moral stance of its own. Seen from today's perspective they seem more "enlightened" than Egede. Possibly they were inspired by the ideas of Pietism which challenged the old ideas of Orthodox Lutheranism, possibly they just reacted against having that kind of power exercised and were afraid of losing control with the independent-minded Hans Egede. I realize that it might be argued that they might have been afraid of cost, but they did not argue that way. Their argument to Egede was simply that it was not right to have that kind of society and that such treatment of "the wild" would be unacceptably cruel.

Moving on in time to my study of the missionary David Rosen, his time was one of immense complexity (Wallin Weihe 1999). Partly the new modern, more urbanized, society gave new challenges. Partly the enlightenment, science and new modes of production challenged the Church and the interpretation of man and phenomena like poverty and "being in need." In Denmark Pietism and Grundtvigianism were two of the dimensions. Even more complicated was the picture in England where a traditional Anglican tradition was challenged by Anglicans emphasizing the Catholic origin of the Church of England. The view on poverty and "those in need" varied accordingly, from the Catholic "caritas" and solidarity with the poor through self chosen poverty, like in monastery traditions, to the patriarchal Church defining needs and disciplining to inner conviction and change in the Pietist tradition (ibid).

Adding to the complexity were the lay organizations. In my opinion, as I will further argue later, they gave an arena to practical action, quite often gradually moving the Church and missions towards practical caring. Part of that development was not reflected in the written, and perhaps not even in the oral, discourse of the organizations, but rather in practical action. The many opposing views of Christianity and society created possibilities for that complex movement to initiate change, often with far-ranging consequences.

David Rosen expressed strong national feelings, however it was most of all my last historical example that was characterized by intense national feelings. In Norway the movement to create a uniform Norwegian was a strong force both inside the Church and outside of it. The Saami mission was born in such a climate. At the same time there were other forces like the romanticized Rousseau, social darwinism, female emancipation and the socialist movement. There were always counter forces and even some dispute of what the national should be. In the Saami mission one of the main dimensions was of those advocating the strong leadership of the Church and its leaders, and those advocating a more democratic organization opposing centralized rule.

The lay organizations were an even more powerful force, new professional groups were coming and society gradually changing into what was to become the modern welfare state. The Church and the missions were partly radical and partly conservative. The border between opposing views was often blurred. Lay organizations invaded the State and the State invaded the lay organizations. Practical caring of the needy was more and more taking power. The dimensions from discipline to care and compassion were more and more visible.

The bourgeois society had developed tremendously. Solidarity with those within increasingly created social schemes to take care of larger and larger groups. Needy groups, such as various groups of handicapped like the blind, retarded, physically handicapped, mentally sick and so on, represented problems across the borders of social class and ethnicity. Such groups were acknowledged more and more as a public responsibility. That process had started much earlier. Rosen argued for taking care of them and blamed those not doing so as being immoral. At the time of the Saami mission his views were accepted. The care and the institutions started were established and run according to what was defined as good care. The State was becoming more and more involved in social issues.

The division between the honorable, or innocent, needy and the amoral needy to be blamed, existed even at the time of Egede. What really was new was the diagnosis, the surgical division of the needy into subgroups, the professionals

entering the scene and the increasing involvement and discourse of organisations and the "public."

Portraying "the other" in far away countries might have had an impact upon attitudes towards poverty in the home countries, partly because of the social implications in the support organizations. Having a cause meant having something in common and a reason to feel solidarity towards each other. Missions were "glue" in the Christian congregations, in the missionary support organizations and in the lay movement.

Portraying "the primitive other" might have helped to portray the sophisticated European civilization. The effect of that might have been increased solidarity with those coming from one's own culture, but it might also have resulted in increased negative attitudes to those Europeans not fitting into the bourgeois European ideal.

In many cases, like the Nicobars and Greenland, the others were portrayed as innocent children. One dimension of that was that they had a potential to be educated and civilized. Their poverty and their needs were regarded in a positive light, as opposed to the ugly poverty and deviance of many European poor. Even at the time of Egede that was somewhat the case. The unsophisticated, boozing, primitive European soldiers were portrayed as less human than the innocent Greenlanders. Thus, having the "primitive other" might have resulted in finding another even more "primitive other" in one's own culture. A primitive other to be educated, disciplined, corrected and even, in extreme cases, executed.

Yet another dimension was the primitive other as a Rousseau-like ideal. From a Christian perspective they were not illuminated by the Gospel, but still closer to God than many "primitive" Europeans. Their childlike compassion for each other and life in harmony with nature was closer to creator than the life in industrial man-made towns.

Even from a social darwinist point of view "primitive wild man" could often be seen as more sophisticated than the "primitive corrupted man" living in the large urban sections of Europe. Though there were exceptions certain groups of primitive man were thought of as more primitive than others. Still the point remains that "the primitive other" was contrasted to the missionaries' own culture, making the bourgeois society most often seem more sophisticated, civilized and advanced, and certain unpleasant groups of unworthy even more unworthy.

Those involved in the Church and the missions at the time of the Saami mission were most certainly critical to the theories of Darwin, or rather the

popularized versions of them, and social darwinism. Nevertheless, they might have been inspired by some of the thoughts on the primitive and sophisticated, on the developed and less developed. Those thoughts were so much part of their time that they could hardly remain uninfluenced by them.

7.4. THE SPACE OF SOCIAL WORK AND THE WELFARE STATE

The study of colonial urbanism and use of space has been the subject of a number of publications in recent years (King 1995). Some of the studies focus upon architecture and some of them upon the politics of space. As far as I know studies of the space of missionary/colonial social work and welfare have yet to be made. The study of Comaroff and Comaroff (1991) is one exception; however they focus mostly upon the use of space from the point of view of seizing power. They describe the work of WMMS¹⁷ and LMS¹⁸ missionaries in southern Africa at the beginning of the eighteenth century; "The mission was to establish itself at the heart of the indigenous social order, beside the ruler - just as the Church and State stood side-by-side in Britain. From there, it would spread the "kernel" of truth, and work profound, civilizing transformations.....The politics of space were integral to this process. In setting up their first encampment among the Thlaping, Cambell and Read¹⁹ appear to have been acutely aware of the symbolic impact of seizing the centre" (ibid 1991:200). Comaroff and Comaroff go on to describe the struggle between the local chief and the mission about the location of the mission.

It was not only a question of "seizing a center," but also of making a center. That was particularly the case in Greenland. As From (1975) points out, creating concentrations of population around missionary stations made the population easier to control. The Church in the middle and the population centered around it meant that the Church, represented by the missionary, would have the possibility to control the population. Nansen (1891) was of the opinion that the Greenlanders practiced another moral when they were outside the control of the missionaries. Thus living a life in the settlement meant practicing another moral and another life than when living separate from it.

In From's interpretation the process of concentrating the population was accelerated by the Moravians, who in the 1830s had around a quarter of the Greenland population centered around their missionary stations. As he points out, that process was alien to the hunting, fishing and trapping economy of Greenland and started a destructive process of dependency and dramatic poverty. In From's interpretation trade depended upon a population living their traditional life style of hunting, trapping and fishing. The products of those activities were the ones sought by the traders. Even admitting those conflicting interests concentrations of population also had positive aspects for trade. After all, having concentrations of population made it easier to trade and

¹⁷ Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society formed 1813

¹⁸ London Missionary Society founded 1795

¹⁹ Two missionaries

keep the population in dependency upon the traders. For this reason it might be claimed that traders and missionaries to some extent had the same interests.

Rydving (1993:102) points out, discussing religious change among the Lule Saami from the 1670s -1740s, that: "From the migration routes, the places for hunting and fishing and the 'goathes'²⁰ the religious rituals were concentrated to a couple of buildings, which for the majority of the Saami lay in areas where they usually did not travel." Such change, which was the same that Egede started in Greenland, must have had far-reaching consequences on many levels. One of them was that places of worship were connected to trade with the trading company, or among the Saami, the Norwegians, and not as before "space for hunting, fishing and reindeerherding"(ibid:103).

Understanding such struggles is complicated. The use of space will have different meanings in different cultures. It is also important to acknowledge that within cultures there are differences in the use and understanding of space. Differences partly hidden and partly visible to those within the culture, and even more hidden for those from another culture. Thus an important symbolic struggle, from the point of "one culture," might be invisible to the other culture. A fight thought of as won by one culture might be thought of as lost, or of no importance, by another.

Use of the concept of culture is always difficult, because it might hide the fact of differences and similarities across cultural borders. I will use one very simple example; what might be an important fight to a male might be of no importance to a female. The use of space is very much part of that kind of complexity. As pointed out by Rydving (1993) men among the Saami had a different space for their life than women. As I will return to, the interpretation of the space of the female compared to the male might be seriously flawed by the biased view of the male describer (see 8.2). Still, that there existed differences between the male and the female experience and use of space seems to have been characteristic to all my examples.

The use of space is illustrative of the attitudes and priorities of my examples. Egede struggled to survive in Greenland. First of all he had to build a dwelling for himself, his family and the rest of the colonizers. After that came the Church. The Church was the important symbol of Christianity.

In the Nicobar islands (see Wallin Weihe 1999) one big building was planned. It was the dwelling of the resident or the leader of the colony. That building symbolized the Danish power. All the other buildings were for storage and for the "crew" of the mission. In India the typical missionary stations seemed to

²⁰ Tents brought with the Saami on migration (Lule Saami)

include some kind of dwelling for the European missionary and a Church that most often functioned as a school, community house and place of worship.

All this had changed by the time of the Saami mission. Buildings were quite often purchased and used as institutions. In some instances the Saami mission built their own buildings, usually to serve purposes as nursing homes, old-people's homes or institutions/homes for children. Buildings purely for religious purposes were rarely built.²¹ The context was very different. In Norway Churches belonging to the State Church already existed. There was no need to erect buildings for that purpose. Nevertheless the buildings illustrate the priority of the mission. They were visible demonstrations of a mission active in a variety of social welfare activities, and illustrated the mission's use of money. Very likely it was easier to contribute to something visible, that can be seen as a building, than to an emissary preaching God's word. From a religious point of view faith needed to be demonstrated through practical caring. Buildings were visible proof of that caring.

The buildings of the colony/mission in Greenland, the colony in the Nicobars and the missions in India represented European architecture. Hamadeh in AlSaiyad (1992:242) writes how European architecture in north Africa served "to promote, often with the best intentions, the idea of an exotic, static and disorderly people in contrast to advanced and normalised European society". Even if the Saami mission often used existing housing this served as a contrast to the traditional nomadic dwellings of the Saami. In publications of the mission the traditional Saami "lavo"²² or peat bog houses²³ were often contrasted to the institutions of the mission.

For those at "home" the missions also existed as important communicative signals. They symbolized the "space of Christianity." The paradigmatically Christian Lutheran society needed to define its space in relation to the equally paradigmatic others', societies whose traditions could be used to criticize Lutheran Christianity. Societies alien to values like the "husband-wife- child" living in one family unit, and alien to what can be called the disciplined society necessary both for the "paradigmatic industrial society" and the "paradigmatic European family unit farming society" (Metcalf in King 1995). Buildings sharpened the contrast between the nature of the modern European society and the societies the missions operated in.

Axelsson (1976:18-20) describes missionary stations in Africa as being an export article never reproduced in the home country of the missionary. He

²¹ There are some exceptions. Some "bedehus" (N) or "praying houses" were built. Most of them probably served a number of functions as some kind of "community houses".

²² Rather like an American Indian "tipi"

²³ "Jordgamme" (N). Directly translated earthen hut or turf hut. When I chose to translate it as "peat bog house" it is because those dwellings were made from peat bog.

describes the dwellings of the missionaries, the workers, the school, the Church and the dispensary. The dwellings of the missionaries were always of a far higher quality and standard than those of the Africans. Apart from signaling who would be the superior, the buildings also signaled the superiority of the European culture.

Not only did the missions have their buildings in the cultures being missionized, but also, at least in the last of my historical periods, increasingly in their home countries. As Axelson²⁴ points out (ibid:25-26) they increasingly built community buildings. In Norway that would be the so-called "prayer houses"²⁵ and "missionary houses."²⁶ Such houses and "public meeting" places undoubtedly had both practical importance, providing a public space, and a symbolic importance for the struggle and independence of the movement(s) owning and using them.

Ethnologists use the concept "cultural landscape." According to Ehn and Løfgren (1982) the way we experience that landscape is charged with experiences of closeness and distance, history and social relations and judgment of beautiful and ugly, scaring and snug. A dimension of that would also be what would trigger off the individual's curiosity and what would offend. That process would, of course, not be static. It would be dynamic, adaptive and change through time. What was in the beginning considered to be exotic, offending or scaring might change to be beautiful and even an important symbol of one's own culture. The process of interpretation would be individual, and different for the same person at different times (Hammersley and Atkinson 1995).

From the point of view of a nomadic culture permanent structures, like those established by the missions, might even be experienced as something far less desirable than the structures they used in order to live their own kind of life.

The ships used by Egede, and Rosen in the Nicobar islands, were symbols of power. In both places ships must have represented important symbolism of a different kind than buildings. They could be moved around, they transported things and they were sort of islands of another culture.

Pinch (1995), in a review article, writes about "objects of attachment." Every object triggers, from Pinch's point of view, some kind of emotional reaction. From the point of local culture "Objects of attachment" might even be things not even visible for the missionaries. What by one culture would be

²⁴ Axelson use examples from Sweden. The situation would be rather similar in Norway, though some national differences undoubtedly existed. Discussing the use of public meeting places in Norway, Denmark and Sweden with scholars from other Scandinavian countries seems to indicate regional differences.

²⁵ "bedehus" (N)

²⁶ "missionshus" (N)

experienced as ugly and not important might by another be experienced as the opposite. For the missionaries that would be true, of course, not only of the objects the missionaries brought with them and built, but also of the objects they brought back. The latter would be illustrative of their stereotypical ideas of "the other." Wiener (1994) finds that artifacts in museums might give us more information about the representing than the represented. From that perspective, using the illustrations of the publications from the missions, or the artifacts they have left in museums, might give us valuable information.

On the other hand, as Carrier (1992), points out, those illustrations and artifacts might tell a lot about the "framework of expectations and assumptions" of the missionaries' own culture. In that way they would tell as much about the "stereotypical other" as about the "stereotypical own." In an article by Barringer (1996:70) she writes about accounts from the missionary C. W. Hattersley²⁷ to his home supporters; "....like other missionaries writing for home supporters, he made a great deal of dramatic story of the rise and fall (all too literal) of the successive structures at Namirembe. All accounts stressed the sacrificial giving and practical labor of the native Christians." Such accounts often used images created by both words, pictures and sometimes artifacts. "The sacrificial giving and practical labor of the native Christians" communicated how Hattersley saw the ideals in his own culture. Buildings erected, farms, hospitals, missionary stations and so on communicated a lot about ideals of the missionaries' own cultures. What they selected to communicate home even more so.

Even from the point of view of the present it can be stated that "meanings from the past are encoded in the built environment and manipulation through spatial representations and architecture to create the socio-political present" (Low 1995:749). The remains of the missions I have studied only exist from the Saami mission. In my opinion those spatial representations are of minor importance compared to other representations of "the Norwegian" as opposed to "the Saami." For instance, Churches probably served as more important "monuments" than the social institutions of the missions. Modern social institutions probably serve as more active reminders of the Saami missions than the old ones. Still they serve as some kind of "reminders." Having traveled to some extent in northern Norway it has struck me again and again how local people emphasize the origin of those institutions; sometimes mentioned with pride, at other times mentioned as a reminder of oppression and domination of Norwegian culture.

Then, of course, what is left tells us something of the values in the time passed since the structures were built. Churches are left as monuments, social

²⁷ Charles William Hattersley (1866 - 1934) was a missionary in Uganda. He was influential through his books and photographs and had a major role in the development of education in Uganda.

institutions are rebuilt and changed. The old "prayer houses"²⁸ of Norway, and some of them were erected by the Saami mission, are rapidly disappearing. I will not give the answer to why that is happening, but I will point out that such changes are important communications of values and ideas.

A further exploration of material possessions, from a social psychology point of view, is made by Dittmar (1992). She explored the individual ownership and the psychological meanings and functions of possessions and property. Even if Dittmar explored modern western culture her views are, in my opinion, of importance in order to understand cross-cultural interactions like the ones in my examples. The question, which will remain unanswered, will then be: what was the difference in the meanings of possessions for the missionaries/colonizers compared to the meaning for the local population? Gaining an understanding of that difference and the implications of such differences would be of great importance in order to understand the cross-cultural communication.

²⁸ "bedehus" (N)

7.5. MISSIONARY WORK AS PUBLIC SPACE

The support organizations of missions developed in the period after 1800. Still, it has to be acknowledged that they existed even before that in other versions. The Pietism movement that supported the Moravian missionaries did not make specialized organizations to support missions in foreign parts. They supported missions as well as religious and social work in their own countries. Pietism gave ideology to the lay movement. Personal conviction and practical caring was far more important than scholarly education and being addressed from the State and the pulpit. In that way they legitimized lay organizations and public independence from the State.

When King Christian VI of Denmark and Norway enacted a law prohibiting all religious meetings not arranged under the supervision of the Church (Danbolt 1947), he acknowledged the lay movement as a threat both to the Church and to the structure of the State. Still, missionary work targeted towards those in far-away places was no threat to the authority and structure of the State. By nature a lot of that work was also international. Those belonging to Pietism had their own center in Halle in Germany and their missions operated partly in Danish colonies and partly in other foreign parts (Bosch 1991). Nevertheless, they also provided a platform partly in the established structure of the Church and partly outside of it. Even after the independent lay movement part was made illegal the emphasis upon personal conviction and action led to independence.

For the supreme rule of the King the new bourgeois society represented both a challenge and an alliance. For the King the bourgeois society was important as an alliance against the noble class. They represented his power base and gave an economic base for his rule. At the same time the bourgeois society crossed national borders and sometimes disputed the authority of the supreme rule of the King and the words that addressed them from the pulpit.

The earlier mentioned situation, where the directors of the company overruled the suggestions of Hans Egede, represented such a challenge at least to the power of Egede and possibly even to the King. At least that might have been the interpretation from the point of view of Hans Egede. For the King it might have been beneficial to have forces counteracting independent-minded preachers like Egede.

Personal conviction could be practiced and felt regardless of sex. Even if females could not talk in public, they could gather and they could feel and they could initiate practical action. From the view of Pietism practical caring was an important part of the Gospel. Those who could not participate in the public discourse could participate in practical action like caring. In addition, of

course, they talked, even if they did not talk in the public space with males. Females talked together and they talked in private with their husbands. They talked in "the female room" and they discussed matters concerning missions, personal conviction and most likely more and more matters concerning the structure of their own society. It is difficult to research the female sphere. It was oral and often in a semi-private sphere. The male discourse was more in the public space, while the closely connected female seems to have been mostly in an invisible private sphere.

Still, those two parts both found arenas for discourse and ways of influencing through the public space of the new bourgeois society. The emerging lay organizations were one of those arenas. In my opinion they provided females with a public space they otherwise would not have had. Males had other areas of discourse. Some of them completely in the secular field (see Qviller 1996) and some of them undoubtedly connected to commercial activities. After all business and trade needed markets, transportation and meeting places, and all of that was mostly in the sphere of the male.

Support organizations of missions did not represent controversial arenas of discourse. Still, they discussed questions of great political significance, not only for those living in far-away places but also in their own home countries. At the time of Rosen lay organizations and the public discourse had grown in importance. Even if there were legal restrictions they were rapidly falling apart. The importance of "the other" in foreign parts had grown with increasing trade, the enlightenment and the increase in written communication in the bourgeois society.

At the time of Egede there were no missionary support organizations. However, Egede actively communicated with people outside of the colony. At times such communication was felt to be a problem by the trading company. In a letter to Egede dated the 7th of June 1723 the company directors criticized Egede for communicating by letter with people outside of the company leadership: "We will ask you to address yourself to us, whatever reason you have, in order to have confidence and love between us and the inhabitants of the country, those having business in the country and particularly the leader of the colony. We cannot accept, without permission and knowledge, any correspondence or private trade" ²⁹(Sollied and Solberg 1932:55-56). Egede's independent communication represented possible alliances and challenges to the directors of the company. The attempt to censure him illustrates that a possibility for such alliances existed even at the time of Egede.

²⁹ "Imidlertid will wij bede at i wille adressere Eder til os, om hvis endten udj een eller anden maade maate behøve, thj dend fortroelighed og Indbyrdes Kierlighed som bør vere imellem os og Landets Indbyggere og i sær oberhovedet, eller de som udj Landet hafver at byde og Raade, kan icke uden worris forregaaende wille og widenschap tillade nogen særdeelis Handeel eller Particulair Correspondence." (D)

Social problems and social unrest had exploded with the increasing urban population and the new economic order. Lay organizations were no longer only occupied with the other in foreign parts, it was the time of "Inner missions." What had earlier been a discourse of those in foreign parts was also developing into a branch concentrating on social questions of national and local importance.

It was nothing new that Christians were occupied with social problems. What was new was who was involved in that discourse and the amount and type of social problems. Axelson (1976:25-26) points out that the popular movement behind missionary work in Sweden represented a movement often in opposition to the "establishment." That was most likely the same in Norway. Still, quite a number of organizations, like the Saami mission, had strong ties to the establishment. In many cases "independence of" might be a better way of phrasing than "in opposition to." From the point of view of the establishment the organizations represented new forces - sometimes with ties to those in political opposition.

Prior to the Saami mission, the "Inner Mission"³⁰ was active in the Saami areas of Norway (Lye 1996 II). After a short while, the Bishop- initiated Norwegian Saami mission was challenged by a competing mission. The competing mission was based in Stavanger with close links to the Christian lay-movement. This mission was critical towards the lack of democracy in the Bishop-dominated mission. In addition it wanted to start more social activities and to take a tougher stand against the policy of "Norwegianizing"³¹ the Saami population. The supporters of the new mission were particularly critical of the policy of trying to make the Saami speak Norwegian. The Bishop became a symbol of those who wanted to work within the system of the State as opposed to those who wanted to challenge it and fight it.

The motives and ideas behind the missionary work have to be understood from a complexity of organizational interests, sometimes opposed to, and sometimes in cooperation with, "High Church", professional interests, nationalistic interests, etc. Even though it was started by "High Church" interests, i.e. a Bishop in the Norwegian State Lutheran Church, the Saami mission is also an example of the great influence of organizations which are to a large extent dominated by females.

³⁰ "indremissionen" (N)

³¹ I could have used the word "assimilate". Norwegianize is a constructed word which, I find, illustrates the process of assimilation into the Norwegian culture very well.

Even if not present among the theologians of the "High Church," females might have had some influence. The difference was that they became organized in the lay movement and in the missionary organizations.

Theological interests of spreading the Gospel and the interests of humanitarian work interact, and the latter becomes more powerful (put in other words "takes power"). I have concentrated upon the time from the establishment of the mission in 1888 until 1900. The reason is that an important part of the discussion about social/welfare activities of the mission can be traced to that time. After 1900 it seems as if welfare activities such as various institutions for handicapped, children, the elderly, etc. became an increasingly important part of the activity of the mission. The sources³² from that period are extensive and worthy of their own independent work.

Lay organizations and the new bourgeois society had also provided new groups, like organized females, with a platform to participate in that discourse. Their participation became more and more visible towards 1900. As can be shown by numerous examples missionary organizations became more and more an arena of the female. Paradoxically always with a male leadership. Females were not supposed to be leaders in such organizations - they should not talk in the public space. Nevertheless they influenced and changed the policy of those organizations towards practical caring. They politely listened to preachers addressing. The preachers emphasized the importance of spreading the Gospel through preaching the word. The females gave their support to institutions of care. Through their own action they emphasized the importance of practical caring. For them, independent of all theology, the importance of the Gospel was care and solidarity.

Many of those females, perhaps most of them, were among those that would never be involved in the movement towards emancipation and radical social action. Most likely they were regarded as one of the major conservative opposing forces to emancipation and radical social action. Still, they had power and they influenced in a major way. Perhaps they were even invisible to those they influenced. Most likely even invisible to those females active for social change in a radical secular field. Females dominated many of the missionary associations. As mentioned in chapter 6 there were many attempts to start male support organizations of missions. They never had the same success as the numerous small female support organizations. Males had alternative arenas of public discourse. In the time before 1900 some of them were connected to the national cause.

³² There exists both a rich archival material and several printed publications like Berg (PS)

Of course there was nothing new about females playing an important role both in the political discourse and in communicative action. My point is really that the changing society for a while created platforms for discourse that were nearly all male dominated._

7.6. LOCAL IMPORTANCE

Numerous times I have been asked questions like "Did they achieve anything ?" "what is the effect of what they did today ?" To answer the question I will start with my last historical example. Many social institutions in the northernmost county of Finnmark in Norway were started by the Saami mission. Even today many of the social institutions operating in the county can trace their history back to the Saami mission.

Institutions are visible symbols of what was started (see Steen 1963). The tracks of the traveling preachers, the nurses and deacons have all disappeared. What is left from them are notes, yearly reports, some letters and so on. In the social field they undoubtedly played an import role in initiating social welfare. The examples are many, one of them the work with those sick from tuberculosis, and vaccination programs. Other examples are institutions for children, the handicapped and the elderly, economical and practical help for those in need, and nursing services. Sometimes those activities were started by the Saami mission, sometimes in cooperation with other organizations and quite often in cooperation with public bodies. Today most of the activities that exist function as integrated parts of public services.

I find it quite obvious that the Saami mission was one of the main forces behind the early development of social services in Finnmark. Social services for the Saami would not have developed as early as they did without the support and initiatives from groups outside of Finnmark. That does not mean that they would not have developed, but the structure and starting point of social services was influenced by the mission. That structure was not all positive. The social services initiated by the Saami mission were modeled according to the state-of-art Norwegian knowledge of the time. Saami traditions were not part of them. The values communicated by the mission were modeled on Norwegian values.

However, those values were not uniform. There were tensions in the organization between the lay movement and the "High Church," between country and town, between eastern Norway and western Norway, between those in favor of the new national language and those in favor of the old standard Danish Norwegian, and conservatives and radicals inspired by socialism and pacifism. The diversity of values and tensions within the organization must have influenced the situation of the Saami. If they had been faced with one uniform "High Church" mission their situation would have been, from the point of Saami independence, much more difficult. The divided Saami mission gave the Saami more influence in their own affairs than one

uniform Saami mission in cooperation with one uniform national state would have done.

The Saami mission can easily be accused of having been part of the suppression of the Saami people, an important part of the Norwegian "imperialism" and "nationalism" destroying the Saami culture. Those working for the mission wanted to bring the Gospel to the Saami, and they worked very actively to do so. It is also quite obvious that the Saami mission was influenced, and had to take a stand for or against the national policy of "Norwegianizing." The Saami mission was divided when it came to that question. Within the mission there existed strong forces both supporting what was thought of as Saami rights, and forces actively working for "Norwegianizing." Still, even those who wanted the Saami to become integrated in the nation of Norway supported certain Saami rights. In the time period I am focusing upon the Saami mission served as a moderating force against a harsh national policy of discrimination and assimilation of the Saami culture.

That moderating force possibly had importance in giving the Saami the possibility to get organized and find alliances outside their own group. Even if the mission was mostly occupied with the religious and social, it provided a platform for political protest and organizing.

One important part of the work of the Saami mission and the Church was the production of publications in the Saami language. Such publications most likely helped to preserve a Saami identity as opposed to a Norwegian. Retrospectively there is good reason to believe that one of the most important, perhaps the most important, part of the Saami missions' work was in the field of protecting the Saami language.

As I will return to in chapter 8 such involvement will, even if well intentioned, be faced with a number of problems. After all, helping to create a written standard for another language might be a process of putting a language under foreign linguistic control. Still, that process also had positive aspects, among them to help create a Saami tradition for the use of written communication in their own language. In a longer time perspective that must have been of crucial importance to help preserve a Saami identity separate from the Norwegian.

Moving back to the Indian and Nicobar situation it is much more difficult to know anything about the effects. In India a number of congregations were started. Some of them exist and prosper today. Some of them undoubtedly have disappeared. Of course it is not possible to point to effects of David Rosen's work separate from that of the missionary association he was part of. Still, it is important to acknowledge how divided the mission he worked for in India was. Even if a "High Church" British missionary association it was divided and

represented a diversity of different approaches, both to colonialism and Christianity.

From an Indian point of view those divisions must have led to a possibility for increased independence and numerous possible alliances. Some of them would be moderating forces to the sometimes harsh policy of the British East India Company. Judging from Rosen's statements he seems to have been one of the moderates. After he returned from India he even advocated Indian independence. In the Nicobars Rosen struggled to survive. There is no reason to think that his mission had any effect on the islands. However, as I will return to, his fight for survival and for creating a Danish empire might have been of some importance in Denmark.

Egede in Greenland was another matter. His importance as "the apostle of Greenland" is well documented. He was undoubtedly important as a colonial servant and in propagating the Gospel. Still, he was in no way alone. His mission, and those coming with him to do trade and represent the crown as soldiers, undoubtedly had local impact in Greenland. The story of Greenland is one of colonialism and of one dominating culture changing another one. Egede can not be blamed for all of that. He was just one person, possibly at times a moderating force to many of the more negative forces that accompanied him, and other times he represented an even tougher policy which was moderated due to outside forces. He was paternalistic and had no hesitation in using forceful methods when he thought of them as being in the best interest of God. From a Christian perspective he brought the Gospel, which has to be thought of as "the truth" and an undisputed good thing. From a more secular point of view he brought a new social order that had a lasting effect upon the development in Greenland.

7.7 THE IMPORTANCE OF THE MISSIONS FOR THE BOURGEOIS SOCIETY

In my opinion Rosen's attempt to colonize the Nicobars (Wallin Weihe 1999) had little or no effect locally. The colonizers did some trading, they tried to grow some vegetables and they interacted somewhat locally with the Nicobars, but most of all they struggled to survive and a lot of them died. The whole attempt to colonize the islands, was from the point of view of ensuring a Danish colonial presence in Asia, a tragic mistake.

What can be understood as a heroic struggle to survive was one of many lost battles, but even lost battles can have importance as points to rally around. In Danish history the battle of Dybbøl, where Denmark lost against a force of Prussians and Austrians, is of great importance as a rallying point. For Danish nationalism it might even be said that it was "the important battle."

Today Rosen is mostly forgotten. Only a few historians and historically interested know about his stay in the Nicobar islands. At his own time his heroic struggle was one of many. For contemporary Danes it might have been different. He was one of those who helped to give the nation, and, perhaps even more so, those involved in missionary support organisations and Christian congregations, an identity. He fought and lost, but still he dared to fight.

Rosen was, to use a picture, one of the nails that was used for building the nation. His stay in India possibly functioned in the same way. Locally it had little importance, but in Denmark it might have had some. Another example is his fellow Danish missionary Haubroe and Haubroe's wife who both died in India. For many active Christians in the congregations, in the lay-movement and in the support organizations of missions, they gave their lives to create a better world. Their death signalized that the work and struggle for spreading the word of God, and possibly of the western civilization, was important. It was so important that Mr. and Mrs. Haubroe died in a far away country in order to carry it out.

Perhaps their importance in Denmark was even greater because they died. Dead heroes are perhaps better heroes than those living, with all their faults as living beings. The death of the wife of Hans Egede might have had a similar importance. She died in Greenland after sharing hardship with her husband. The dramatic story of hers and Hans Egede's life undoubtedly had a great symbolic value.

Axelson (1976:30) writes about the first Swedish missionaries and emphasizes that the missions often were characterized by trial and error. In some unhealthy places in Africa up to 30% of them died annually. Still, they were replaced by others. The missionaries were heroes of the popular movement,

they were important symbols both alive and perhaps even more so when they sacrificed their life. At Egede's time the popular movement only existed as part of the Pietistic movement,³³ at David Rosen's time it had started to be a force to be reckoned with, and at the time of the Saami mission it was an avalanche. The congregations and lay-organizations gave identity to many, it is my impression often to groups of people that otherwise would not have been drawn into the social sphere. That is particularly visible at the time of the Saami mission (chapter 6), but it was most likely also the case around the time of Rosen and possibly even at the time of Egede.

One very important difference between Rosen and the missions I am focusing upon in this dissertation is that he in India operated outside of his own nation's territory. He worked in a British missionary society in a British-dominated India. The Saami mission operated in Norway and was supported by Norwegian organizations and the Norwegian establishment. Egede operated in what he regarded as old Norwegian or Norse land and in a part of the kingdom of Denmark-Norway. As Axelson (ibid:91) points out, the Nordic missionaries operating in the colonies of other nations were not granted to be loyal to the colonial authorities. To put it in other words, at the time of the Saami mission the popular movement supporting missions had an already established tradition of being critical of the authorities.

Norwegian missions in Africa at the end of last century and the beginning of this century are good examples of that. Fuglestad and Simensen's (1986) work on Norwegian missionaries in Madagascar and Simensen's (1986) work on Norwegian missionaries in Madagascar give examples of the difficult loyalty conflict of the missionaries. A conflict that no doubt was communicated to those supporting them at home. In that way it gave the popular movement a tradition for being critical towards colonial authorities. As both the above examples illustrate, and Axelson (1976) emphasizes, they still had to co-operate with those authorities. Thus the lesson of part of the popular movement, both in their home countries and in the missionary field, was to seek for whatever independence they could at the same time as they had to co-operate with the authorities. I write part of the popular movement, because the movement was never united into one, but rather functioned as many different movements, frequently both in internal conflict and in conflict with each other. The Saami mission is one good example of that.

The importance of Grundtvigianism is well acknowledged in Denmark. The number of local congregations and lay organizations rallying around religious organizations had important political implications in Denmark. Missionary

³³ Axelson (1976:87-89) emphasizes that the Pietistic movement or rather movements was only to a limited extent a popular movement(s). They did not have any great appeal among the masses and their opposition to the establishment was only moderately radical.

organizations were part of them. They all helped to create solidarity between those involved and they became a political force that could no longer be ignored.

Rosen and other missionaries like him not only had importance in Denmark, but also in Britain. For the British East India Company the movement they represented in Britain was a force to be taken into consideration. They influenced politicians and questioned important parts of the policy of the Company. They also gradually changed parts of that policy.

Analyzing the importance of missionary work for the bourgeois society is complicated. As previously mentioned I am of the opinion that the civilized self was contrasted to the primitive other, and the developed man contrasted to the underdeveloped man. At the same time there were dimensions of compassion and solidarity for the fellow man, and curiosity and a wish to learn from those living under other conditions. As Geremek (1994) points out, some attitudes will be more socially acceptable at certain periods than at others, and, I would like to add, we will be more open to learn from the other at certain periods than at others. The "primitive other" has at times been the ideal and at other times just the opposite.

7.8. COMMUNICATION AND ACTION

We all communicate. That is being a human. The new thing that happened with the developing bourgeois society was that written communication and publications exploded. Habermas postulates that the process developed from being addressed to a kind of communicative action as the bourgeois society developed independent communication channels. I think Habermas's analysis makes good sense.

As pointed out by Axelson (1976:26-27) publishing, subscribing and providing a public arena for reading - and listening - was very much part of the missionary organizations. With that undoubtedly came discussing, drinking coffee, eating together and acting together. The lay-organizations gave power to those who alone would be powerless. Their written communication tied numerous small independent organizations together in large networks.

The females active in the support organizations of the Saami mission had, in my interpretation, crucial importance for the development of the mission. Not through what they said and what they wrote, but through what they communicated with their action. It is possible to claim that the male-dominated bourgeois society dominated and monopolized written communication. The female discourse existed to a greater extent on another level. Of course there were exceptions. As I have mentioned in my background chapters there were important female authors of the time, the bourgeois females wrote letters and they were very much present. Still, the fact remains that they were not present in the political and religious discourse to the same extent as men.

As I will return to in my next chapter, it is quite possible that the sphere of "male" thinking to a greater extent dominated the mechanized, disciplined society of trade and production. Which meant that other values, like those in the field of the social and care, to a greater extent were ignored. Using feminist terminology "female values" were suppressed. I will give a further discussion of the male- female dimensions in 8.4.

The communicative action of those involved in the missions and their support organizations helped, in my interpretation, to involve new groups in action of political importance.

8. REFLECTIONS UPON ETHICS AND COMMUNICATION

"-----We might think it strange. "He doesn't play our game at all"
- one would like to say. Or even that this is a different type of
man. (Cf. PI II, vi, p. 182b)"

"-----Es würde uns vielleicht befremden. "Er spielt gar nicht
unser Spiel" - möchte man sagen. Oder auch das ist ein anderer
Typus. (S. PU II, vi, S. 182b)"

(Ludwig Wittgenstein, 1949 -1951, published 1993)

8.1. COMMUNICATION

In the introduction to Wittgenstein's "Tractatus Logico Philosophicus" Bertrand Russell wrote " These difficulties suggest to my mind some such possibility as this: that every language has, as Mr. Wittgenstein says, a structure concerning which, in the language, nothing can be said, but that there may be another language dealing with the structure of the first language, and having itself a new structure, and that to this hierarchy of languages there may be no limit, Mr. Wittgenstein would of course reply that his whole theory is applicable unchanged to the totality of such languages. The only retort would be to deny that there is any such totality" (Russell in Wittgenstein 1994:xxii)¹ Wittgenstein himself wrote in his preface that his book could be summed up in the following words: " What can be said at all can be said clearly, and what we cannot talk about we must pass over in silence" (ibid:3).

The introduction of Bertrand Russell was later criticized. In a book review by Ramsey² in 1923 he claimed that it was based upon the misconception that Wittgenstein was concerned with the possibility of a "logically perfect language" (Monk 1990:215- 216). Later on, in 1929, Wittgenstein abandoned the idea that there had to be a commonality of structure between world and language.³ I do not wish to give any full discussion about either Wittgenstein's development or his philosophy. The reason for giving some short glimpses into the basics of his thoughts⁴ is that they have importance for communication. Russell's words in the introduction, even if claimed to be based upon a misunderstanding, are of equal importance. They can be understood as important by themselves, independent of Wittgenstein's text.

According to Marx "It is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence, but on the contrary it is their social existence which determines their consciousness" (Marx in Burke 1989:4). Understanding communication then would have to include understanding the social-economic situation of the humans interacting. The power of the missionaries, their position as representatives of a European culture with economic interests and actions, would be part of that.

¹ Bertrand Russell wrote his introduction in 1922 to the English translation (translated by Ogden and Ramsey) published the same year. I have used a later translation prepared by Pears and Mc.Guinness in 1961 in a reprint from 1994.

² In the philosophical journal "Mind" 1923. In Ray Monk's words " The review remains to this day one of the most penetrating criticisms of the work" (Monk 1990:215)

³ Ibid:274

⁴ Wittgenstein is difficult to understand. He developed his philosophy considerably . A short description of his later works has been published by Hanfling (1989).

"Interpretative sociology" focuses on "the symbols and categories through which reality is defined and understood" (ibid:5). Berger and Luckman (1991) focus on the problem of meaning in their book "The social construction of reality." Burke (1989)⁵ understands man as a symbol-using animal. His perspective is a perspective about perspectives, or as he coined it "logology" or "words about words" (ibid:4). His understanding emphasizes, as Berger and Luckman, the importance of interpretative procedures to understand human behavior. Even if none of those authors particularly focus upon cross-cultural interaction, their work has obvious importance for understanding such interaction.

Burke does not separate between action and language. Situations are defined by the concepts available. At the same time it "selects and narrows that experience. It acts as a filter and a screen" (ibid:12). Two different "constructions of reality" interacting create another reality than that created when those realities exist without interacting. Still, that reality depends upon the perspective. The "common ground" is different dependent upon the prior reality of the person. In other words the common ground does not exist in the sense that a totally shared reality is created. Two persons may be in a situation but their filters and screens might make them interpret it differently. "Adding" more people to a situation means that the complexity increases. In a way it might even be said that what is first experienced as "a situation" will turn into many and complex situations.

Zeilich-Jensen (1974) points out, in his dissertation, the importance of systems of location among the Central Inuits for an understanding of their religious views. Reading the dissertation I was struck by how substantially different their world view was from my own. Their way of localizing themselves both in space and time was divergent from my own. Such differences are often invisible and difficult to put into words. Still, they will have consequences for communication. Historically speaking they must also have been of consequence.

Other differences of the same type, in other cultures, are discussed in the dissertation of Dahl (1993) and in Wallin Weihe (1997 I). My point is that such differences are beyond translation of words. To quite a large extent they have to be lived in order to be understood. It might even be said that they are beyond the conscious logic.

⁵ Burke (1989) was edited by Joseph R. Gusfield and he writes in the introduction; "In this introduction and in the readings selected I hope to introduce a very orderly mind at work understanding the complexity of human ordering of a complex world" (ibid:1). Those studying the works of Burke have often been "repelled by the seeming lack of clarity, the sudden lapse of frame, and the apparent absence of organized relationship between one part of a book or section and another. He has seemed in the words of one literary scholar, "a critic for the adventurous" (ibid). Using Burke I am well aware of the difficulty in understanding. Nevertheless, I find his thought on language and man as a symbol-using animal illuminating.

As Levi Strauss (1962 and 1987) points out, myths might be a way to communicate. In his opinion each culture has its own system of concepts and categories derived from experience. Following his understanding the concepts and categories will be imposed by the surrounding natural world. Thus the greater the difference of the natural world of those communicating, the greater challenges in understanding the concepts and categories of the other.

Rorty (1997) discusses the contingency of the individual. He concludes that each individual creates his/her individuality by coming to terms with the stamp that chance has given us, and we through ourselves create an "I" by redefining the stamp with words that at least marginally are our own.

Rather simplified in Greenland the local population represented one culture and the Danes/Norwegians another. Both those "cultures" represented their own complexity. Danes/Norwegians came from a country that included a number of people who today would be defined as German. They came from different parts of the Kingdom, from different social backgrounds and training. Even if they came from the same geographical place they might have had a significantly different background. The same might have been the case with the Greenlanders. Their culture had its own complexity even if hidden from the Europeans. Thus in interpreting the historical material I will easily be trapped in concepts that make me, at least partially, blind. Needless to say I can only point out that I know about my partial blindness, I can never tell what I am not seeing.

Categories such as "Norwegian" and "Danish" hide the differences that might exist within them. They make us blind to similarities that might exist across those categories. Similarly, as numerous authors have pointed out, the concept of "culture" is immensely difficult to relate to. Perhaps it is more political than practical, hiding similarities, excluding and simplifying (Wallin Weihe 1997 l).

What we know from the sources is that Egede worked actively to try to achieve an understanding of the complexity of the other. Even if there were severe limitations in his awareness he made a considerable effort to gain an comprehension and is acknowledged to have made valuable observations of "the other." I myself am using in my text Egede's understanding of the other. His blindness was not necessarily the same as mine. In my case I am trying to use a map drawn by a half blind in order to navigate in twilight. I like the map metaphor because it illustrates the difficulties in understanding and in interpreting the simplified awareness of the map maker. An awareness that must have left out quite a few details.

The Greenlanders had some earlier experience with Dutch whalers and traders. Egede's expedition actually even recruited Dutch translators in order to relate to the Greenlanders (Sollied and Solberg 1932: 14)⁶. The Greenlanders had some knowledge of the European, but contact had been rather limited; partly through trading and probably partly through hostilities. Some of the "traders" most likely operated nearly like military units trying to "harvest" whatever they could get hold of. It is quite likely that all strangers, including Egede, were met with a significant suspicion. Still, some of the Dutch had stayed in close enough contact with the Greenlanders to gain an understanding of their language.

At the beginning of Egede's stay it was not even possible to communicate through an interpreter. Communication had to be made through signs and through actions. Nevertheless Egede, the rest of the colonists and the Greenlanders communicated and made some kind of understanding of the complexity of each other.

In the Nicobar islands (Wallin Weihe 1999) we are not only faced with the complexity of communication between "two cultures," but with a situation where members of several different "cultures" interact quite often through the use of interpreters and a third language neither of them are fully in command of. David Rosen and the other Danish colonizers were dependent upon a crew of Indians, Indo-Portuguese and later on Chinese and Malays. Interpretations were through interpreters not familiar with the culture and language of those they were interpreting on behalf of. Colonizers tried to relate to Nicobars through the use of Portuguese, Malay, English, French and sign language. The Danes would probably be most familiar with English but their crew would come from different backgrounds. In the documents of Rosen both English and French is used and background sources show that both Chinese-, Portuguese- and Indian-speaking members⁷ were part of the expedition.⁸ Mainland India was a "world" with large ethnic, religious and language groups with a long tradition of interaction, sometimes harmoniously and sometimes in conflict (Rothermund and Kulke 1990). Rosen worked as a missionary for USPG, an English missionary society. He learned English and after a while got some command of the Tamil language. It is possible that he sometimes had to use Portuguese, which functioned as the "lingua franca" between Europeans and Indians at the time. His own language, Danish, was of no importance.

Northern Norway was much less complex. The Saami population had a long tradition of interaction with the Norwegian population. Still, we have to be

⁶ In a letter to the directors of the trading company of Bergen from the board of the colony dated 15 of July 1721 they informed that they had recruited a Dutch translator in order to communicate with the Greenlanders.

⁷ The Indians consisted of both Muslims and Hindus. Possibly they came from a number of different language groups.

⁸ Rosen (1839 PS) and AS (IV R)

aware that there were several Saami language traditions. In Northern Norway we can distinguish between at least three geographically separated traditions. Those traditions were so different that understanding across them caused difficulties. In addition to Norwegian and Saami part of the population spoke Finnish. In the east a few people spoke Russian. A mix between Russian and Norwegian was used in the important Pomor trade with Russia.

One of anthropology's most durable and perhaps necessary assumptions is the association between language and local identity. The power of "The Word" of the sacred Bible was the most important tool of the missionaries. God's word had to be communicated and that was done through translation; "The simple reading and study of the Bible alone will convert the world. The missionary's work is to gain for it admission and attention and then let it speak for itself" (Moffat 1842 quoted in Comaroff and Comaroff 1991:215).

Steady (1996) questions the association between language and local identity through examination of linguistic policies and education programs of a Dutch mission⁹ among a local population¹⁰ in East Sumatra. Her conclusion was that the mission, through linguistic standardization, vernacular education and Bible translation produced around that population's identity "a set of linguistic resources for rule and resistance" (ibid:447).

In all my examples the missionaries did some kind of language standardization and translation work. Both in Greenland, India, and among the Saami the missions worked actively to standardize language and to translate Biblical texts. In the Nicobars Rosen started some rudimentary linguistic work, but never advanced to the stage of translating any Biblical or religious texts. However it was his clear ambition to do so. Lack of funding, health problems, time and possibly even skill prevented him from doing so. His fellow Danish missionary, Haubroe, worked in India with translations into Tamil (see for example his report of 1827 AS LII R).

It is possible to claim that they, through that, developed a set of linguistic resources "for rule and resistance." In Greenland the work did not progress that much during Egede's time but he can be understood as a "stepping stone" for those continuing his work. In the Nicobars the language work never really took off, but, as can be seen from Rosen's publications, he attempted to collect words and had the ambition of gaining an understanding of their language. In India the situation was very complex, but the missionary society he was employed by did extensive translation and standardization work of local languages.

⁹ "Nederlandsch Zendelingengenootschap" (DU) (Abbreviated NZG) (the Dutch Missionary Society)

¹⁰ The Karo Bataks

"The creation of a standard form of the Karo language, transcending differences of local dialect also strengthened the sense of Karo cultural unity. Karo everywhere, in the lowlands as well as in the highlands, spoke a common language, this in turn was proof of their common heritage and history. At the same time, Karo linguistic solidarity also reinforced the "naturalness" of distinctions between Karo and neighbouring groups - Toba, Malay, Javanese, or Dutch - each of which had its own linguistic heritage" (Steedly 1996:460). In the case of the Saami mission, both in my described period and what came before and after, translating religious and Biblical texts required extensive standardization. The Saami language had several local variations and the translations "created" a more uniform standard. A similar process happened in Sweden, and later on with the Saami language used in southern Norway.¹¹

It is possible to claim that the standardization process helped to unite the Saami into one group and in that way strengthen Saami resistance against the Norwegianizing of their culture. On the other hand such standardization reduced the uniqueness of the local and put the language...."under foreign linguistic control. And, eventually, they re-presented it back to its speakers, in its now orthodox form, as the gift of civilisation" (Comaroff and Comaroff 1991:223).¹²

Such foreign linguistic control could never influence large language families such as some of the dominating languages in India. They already had well-established written traditions and standardized versions of their languages. For those belonging to smaller language groups, like the Saami and the Greenlanders, the situation was different. In the Nicobars standardizing by missionaries never developed during the stay of Rosen. During a stay in Siberia in the summer of 1997 I visited a Nganasan family living at a place called Paiturma. The older member, who I was told was of shaman background, told me that he thought a standardized written language was alien to the traditions of the Nganasan culture. In his opinion the backbone of the Nganasan culture was the oral tradition, which he thought would be "killed" by the development of standardized written language. The Nagansan culture has no written language, but there are those trying to standardize the language in order to translate the Bible into their language.

Rydving (1993:127) discusses the importance of a person's name as an aspect of identity. During my stay in Siberia I visited Nenets living east of the Jenitsei river. All of them had a Russian name and in addition Nenets names. The later was not told to outsiders. In Rydving's discussion a similar double name system was discussed: "The double name meant, above all, that there was no risk that the foreigners would get access to the indigenous names and through

¹¹ The Saami language is quite complex and it can be divided into several different languages (Sammallahti 1998)

¹² Comaroff and Comaroff describe the development of missions in south Africa.

them to the identities they represented. The Saami name of the individual was in this way protected from being sullied and used for malevolent ends by Scandinavians"(ibid). I do not know to what extent name-giving was part of any of the missions I have discussed. However, I would like to emphasize the importance of a person's name for his/her identity. Thus giving a person a "Christian European" name would possibly have great symbolic significance for the person. If the person kept, or had an additional secret indigenous name, it would also be of importance.

For the Italian philosopher Giambattista Vico¹³ the only way humans can relate in a meaningful way is through what they themselves have done, or in Latin "factum verum" (what is done is the truth) (Olsson 1995). In Gunnar Olsson's understanding the problem in understanding other cultures is a problem of the chemistry in the glue. In his opinion the relationship between signifier (S) and signified (s) is dependent upon a social cultural glue through which words and objects, expressions and meanings are glued together. The problem is then that the chemistry in the glue might be different in different cultures; the same metaphors will result in different metonymies. He concludes (ibid:21); "In all its many possible interpreted implications the conclusion is still one. We are living - today as always - in a time when the world and concepts, Object words and meaning do not fit together. To find the road we have to depend upon maps of the invisible, maps which themselves are invisible. But who knows? Unthinkable thought! Maybe the map metaphor itself is obsolete, the geography changed to metagraphy. The history of the perspective shows that as soon as a creation has become a habit, it's no longer functioning as questioning what we take for granted, but as a technique for preserving it".¹⁴ It is a complex process in which even the signifier might become unfixed. From that point of view it would always be a process with at least the potential of partly reversed roles.

Because only part of such a process would be conscious it is difficult to analyze; "It is the realm of partial recognition, of inchoate awareness, of ambiguous perception, and, sometimes, of creative tension: that liminal space of human experience in which people discern acts and facts but cannot or do not order them into narrative descriptions or even into articulate conceptions of the world; in which signs and events are observed, but in a hazy translucent light; in which individuals or groups know that something is happening to them

¹³ An interpretation of Giambattista Vico: A study of the new knowledge is made by Tristram (1983)

¹⁴ Olsson (1995:21) "I alla sina mågtidiga implikationer är konklusionen ändå entydig. Vi lever - nu som alltid - i en tid då värld ock begrepp, objekt ord och mening inte passar samman. För att hitta vägen måste vi lita till kartor över det osynliga, kartor som i sig är osynliga. Men hvem vet? Otänkbara tanke! Kanske kartmetaforen själv blifwit obsolet (My note Olsson is using an old-fashioned Swedish way of writing the last two words - it emphasises his point), geografin förvandlas till metagrafi. Perspektivets egen historia visar, att så snart en uppfinnning blivit en vana, fungerar den inte längre som ett ifrågasättande av det för- givet-tagna, utan som en teknik för dess bevarande"(S).

but find it difficult to put their fingers on quite what it is" (Comaroff and Comaroff 1991:29). Often, I would argue, we do not understand or notice what is happening. The example of translation of the Bible is illustrating. Often translation must have violated both the "native" language of the missionary and the local language. As Comaroff and Comaroff (ibid:218) write about a translator of the Bible; " He had created a counterpart of the scriptures, at least as he read them, in the tongue of the natives - as he had come to understand it. In short, he had transposed the Bible into a cultural register true to neither, a hybrid creation born of the colonial encounter itself."

Still the most important part was probably the work to create " a medium capable of bearing the powerful , transforming truths of the Gospel" (ibid). Part of that process was also the creation of linguistic innovations and increasing use of both the terminology and symbolic order of the missionaries. A considerable reconstruction of the past was going on as part of that process. Both people and places were given new names. The disciplinary effect of that process must have varied depending upon the power of the mission, the culture being missionized and, I am certain, a number of other factors.

Both the local population and the missionaries had to move into unknown territory. They must both have been aware of some of the limitations and possibility of misunderstandings. They both had to explore communication by means of maps they could not understand. Both must have developed a sense of the logic of the other. It is natural that attempts to come to terms with the other grew diverse with time - depending of course on the power and importance of the other. Their positions were different. The missionaries tried to create change and the others were aware of being the targets of the attempt to change them.

Reading Rasmussen (1905, 1925 and 1979), Hindsberger (1997) and the writings of Levi Strauss (1966,1973, 1987 and 1991) illustrates how different the "maps of understanding" can be in other cultures. Even if understanding the single words and grammar of the other, understanding can be substantially different.

In Greenland Egede was both a missionary, a colonizer and an apostle of civilization. He was the representative of the Kingdom and Denmark, ruling on behalf of a King given his power by God. In the Nicobars the Danes were colonizers and in a position of leadership, the crew were under the command of a foreign European culture they themselves were colonized and dominated by . The Nicobars were from the colonizers' perspective "natives" to be colonized and taught the benefits of modern civilization. Regardless of population the colony was important to the great cause of creating "the empire." The Nicobars and the Greenlanders were subjected by the Danes.

They were, from the Danish Colonial powers' perspective, colorful, primitive "natives" to be taught the blessings of the Royal Danish power and Christianity. The colony was partly established in order to promote Danish trade and shipping and "harvest" the natural resources of Greenland. From that perspective the "natives" represented a possible labor force and a potential nuisance if they resisted Danish development. If the locals could not be civilized others could be "imported." Partly the colony had a symbolic value. The "empire" of Denmark showed its "greatness" through having colonies. Both in Greenland and the Nicobars the "natives" held their "power" due to knowledge of local matters and of how to survive and harvest natural resources in conditions that were experienced as extremely difficult from the perspective of the colonizers.

India was different. The Colonial powers were to some extent critical of the missionaries. Europeans did not agree upon the blessings of missions: Quite a number of colonial administrators and traders felt that the missions might be offensive to the local population and create "problems." The local population had at least some members with considerable influence and power. Religious leaders, landowners and political leaders were among them. Some of those powerful locals used the missionaries as part of their own "power play" and some of those "without power" used the missionaries and the new religion to gain a better position. For the missionaries such use was sometimes easy to understand. Expressions like "rice Christians" illustrates that many of the "converted" became so due to lack of food (rice).

The Saami mission was initiated by the Bishop of Tromsø. The mission was independent of the State Church but still part of it. My understanding is that the mission was part of the tools used by the Bishop to pursue goals, both of controlling the lay movement and pursuing a policy that he found to be in line with the teaching of the Bible. His interpretation of the Bible created a conflict with those pursuing the goal of Norwegianization. While he was in favor of teaching the Gospel in the schools in the Saami language, the school authorities wished to pursue a more vigilant policy of using the Norwegian language. Still it is important to acknowledge that the mission was a Norwegian mission, a mission very much part of the fabric of the nation of Norway. Norwegian nationalism and the Saami mission pursued the same goals in trying to make the Saami change to a more "civilized" state. They also agreed to the long term goal of creating a Norwegian identity as opposed to a Saami. However, what that Norwegian identity should include was a matter of conflict within the mission. Conflicts around the question of loyalty to the State goals of Norwegianization and of loyalty to the authoritarian structure of the Church and the State created a split in the mission. For those of the opinion that Norwegian identity had to include local rights and pursuing local rights, it was important to support the Saami using their own language and having traditional

rights. Their rights as opposed to the "system" became a matter of principle with both religious and political dimensions.

Adorno has pointed out that the language of the subjected has been stamped out by domination. In his opinion they have a language mutilated and dependent upon the one which has subjected them (Adorno 1974:102). To what extent that happened must depend upon how massive the domination was. From a Marxist point of view it might be claimed that; "severe oppression creates an ideological vacuum in a victimised group which has no clear choice but either to live without ideas or accept the repertory of ideas of the dominant group" (Kölig 1994:118). The situation of the Saami, or for that matter indigenous populations like the Aborigines in Australia, American Indians and Siberian "small peoples",¹⁵ might have been somewhat like that.

Nevertheless it is even possible to claim that groups like missionaries, who mostly did not assimilate, were the other par excellence, and that their presence heightened the local society's sense of self.¹⁶ Several anthropologists, among them Fredrik Barth, think that groups define themselves by exclusion. Group identity formation then involves both the process of "articulation of group boundaries that excludes others and the development of internal criteria for solidarity" (Talbot 1995:699)¹⁷ (see also Barth 1994:31-45). At least it is possible to claim that the missionaries' presence might have strengthened the local culture's sense of self in a large culture like the Indian. It is entirely a different matter in a small culture like the Saami being the subject of a massive policy of Norwegianization. In the Nicobars and Greenland, conditions were different. In the Nicobars the colonizers might have been a dominating force locally, but only for a very short time. The same was true in Greenland. In both places the colonizers (In Greenland colonizers/missionaries) had to co-operate with "the locals" in order to survive. That co-operation was in the Greenland case partly ensured through the use of force.

An interesting aspect is also the value and transaction of knowledge in a society. In a cross-cultural situation knowledge would be a transaction of knowledge across the cultural boundaries in addition to the transaction within each culture. The missionaries would have their own judgment of value and their own understanding of the transaction. Their understanding of "the other"

¹⁵ In Russia the expression "small people" is used about the small ethnic and language minorities living in the country. A number of them live in the Russian north. Among them are the Nganasans, Dolgans, Nenets and Evenks living in Taimyr in Siberia (see Wallin Weihe 1997 V).

¹⁶ Talbot (1995:696) uses exactly those words describing the influence of Indo-Muslims; "Unlike earlier conquerors or immigrants who had been gradually absorbed into Indian civilization, Indo-Muslims retained their distinctive religious and linguistic practices derived from the high culture of Islamic civilization. Because they were "largely unassimilating," Muslims were the other par excellence, and their presence heightened Indian society's sense of self."

¹⁷ These aspects of ethnicity have been described as us-hood and we-hood by Thomas Hyland Eriksen (1992)

would probably most of all be influenced by their cultural background, but also to some extent by the interaction with "the other." The same would be true for the local population, who would regard the missionaries as "the other". The picture would, of course, be more complicated when it was used by lay preachers with the same cultural background as the local population. The missionaries would then, as was often the case for the Saami mission, be interpreters and messengers of another culture.

Peel (1995) gives an interesting example of the different role of "native" missionaries. The Yoruba Mission (Africa) of the Church Missionary Society (CMS) counted Yoruba "natives" among its agents from its inception. The journals of these African agents, who were both insiders and outsiders to the society they were writing about, show "an intense awareness of the narrative implications of mission. A particular aspect is their sensitivity - much greater than that of the European missionaries - to the narratives of their pagan fellow countrymen whom they sought to convert" (ibid:590).

Barth (1990) describes in an article "Transactions of knowledge and the shaping of culture in Southeast Asia and Melanesia." In the article he describes how, in a part of New Guinea, the value of knowledge was "enhanced by veiling it and sharing it with as few as possible" (ibid:641). Moving on to Bali he found the opposite to be true. The value of knowledge was to lay bare its essence. Barth gives names to the two different roles. The "Guru" who "realizes himself by reproducing knowledge" and "the initiator" who is "hedging it." He continues; "The guru must provide continuously; he should explain, instruct, know and exemplify, and thereby he implants elements from a prolific tradition in the minds of pupils and public. The initiator guards treasured secrets until the climatic day when he must create a performance, a drama which transforms the novices" (ibid:642)

Barth describes the complexity of the understanding of knowledge and the different role it might have in different societies. How the missionaries understood and interpreted that situation must have varied. To reconstruct from historical material is virtually impossible. My sources give impressions of the picture they wanted to "paint" to a European public and not necessarily, probably not, the complex understanding the missionaries developed locally. I would like to emphasize that this was often because communication to some extent had to be adapted to those receiving it. Part of the local complexity would be of such a kind that it would be difficult, if not impossible, for a European public to understand it. Then, of course, simplifying always means that something had to be selected and something left out.

People in different societies are not "equipped with structurally similar arrays of statuses, alters, scenes and occasions through which they can define

situations and structure interaction sequences, thereby generating the regularities in their encounters" (Barth 1972:209). Stereotyped repertoires "are maintained by persons' own efforts and the sanctions by others and that they depend on a hierarchical concept of congruence within repertoires" (ibid:212). Understanding "the other" and influencing "the other" within one's own culture is one thing, and doing it towards "the other," and in situations where others are influencing one's culture, is another.

Of great significance is the attitude and efforts of the missionaries towards the "gurus" and "initiators" of the culture they tried to influence. I realize that Barth's concepts (1990) belong in another setting. Still I do think that all cultures to some extent have persons in central positions for transactions of knowledge. In Greenland Egede reacted strongly against the practices of the "shamans".¹⁸ At least he was locally in the position to discipline them and probably influence their visible practice considerably. In India the situation was far different. The locally important persons were not possible to discipline in a similar way. They belonged to a local power structure and the missionaries needed to relate to them, if not as equals, at least as persons whose power had to be acknowledged. In many cases they were also, quite possibly, much more powerful than the missionaries

The situation in the Nicobars could have been like that in Greenland. Rosen, of course, would never have used the methods of Egede. Still his power and ability to define the situation would have enabled him to influence the locals in a much more far-reaching manner than in India. Interestingly, during the British period most Nicobars converted to Christianity. At Rosen's time the main struggle was against malaria and not with influencing the locals.

In Finnmark, towards the Saami population, the situation had another complexity. There was a large Norwegian population, a mixed population, a Finnish population and a Saami population. A significant independent Saami lay movement existed within the State Church. Those transferring knowledge were partly within the movement of the Church and the divided Saami mission and partly outside. As the Saami mission partly consisted of Saami lay missionaries, part of the process of influencing was in the hands of those belonging to the Saami culture. Still, even those probably identified with, and became disciplined by, the central dogmas of their Norwegian leaders. Some of the lay teachers accepted at least parts of the teachings of the divided Læstadian movement.¹⁹ It is also important to acknowledge that the missionaries most of all related to the realm of religion. Their definition of

¹⁸ "Angekutters"

¹⁹ It is important to realise that the Læstadic movement did not exist as one movement but as many and divided movements. Some of them were in conflict with the teachings and leadership of the State Church and some of them loyal to it (see chapter 6.4).

what was in that realm varied. They understood their own civilization as Christian. As their own civilization changed so did, in my opinion, their understanding of what Christianity was.

All of the missionaries were men, and what happened in and regulated, the female sphere might have been invisible to them. That would be so both in their own home countries and even more so encountering other cultures. Still they tried to influence female attitudes and often felt that they made strong alliances with females on certain moral questions. Egede emphasized how he made alliances with female Greenlanders in the fight against the practice of having several wives. Saami missionaries emphasize the importance of various kinds of care and the fight against alcohol abuse. In both of those questions they most likely made strong alliances with Saami females.

One important aspect of missions was what they considered to be their "civilizing mission". It might be claimed that missions in that way justified colonialism. Ortner (1995:178) describes the situation in colonial India; "One of the ways in which the British justified their own dominance was to point to what they considered barbaric practices, such as sati, and to claim that they were engaged in a civilizing mission that would save Indian women from these practices". In both Greenland and in India the missionaries used "barbaric practices" as an argument for their "civilizing mission" which of course might be said walked "hand in hand" with colonialism. On the other hand this is oversimplifying. The colonial power, particularly in the time of the British East India Company, was highly critical to the civilizing mission. They wanted to do trade and not to civilize. In fact for a long time the missionaries were the ones arguing for civilizing and the colonial servants against it. The British East India Company had no other moral than keeping the machinery of the company well lubricated in order to produce a maximum profit at the lowest possible cost. Like bureaucracies of today the bureaucracy of the East India Company functioned like a large mechanical organization. Like today's bureaucracies the machinery consisted of humans in interaction with other humans. Which meant that the seemingly mechanical-like organization was influenced to quite a great extent by those humans, their attitudes and interaction.

8.2. MALE VOICES

Understanding communication from the perspective of the female can be said to be for a male researching what is "hidden in the shadow of the visible." Particularly this is so researching what is in the past from printed sources. Most of my sources relate to the male part of the culture and to the extent they relate to the female it is through the eyes of males from another culture.

Talle (1988) points out that development might in different ways significantly alter the spheres of operation for men and females. Many of those changes would come from development in economy and technology; "In general, the transformation of their societies' economies from subsistence to market-oriented production has meant a loss in female decision-making power vis-a-vis men.....while men are extending their spheres of operation and areas of interaction more and more widely, women's confinement to the domestic field is being reinforced" (ibid:1).²⁰ In all my examples the missions existed as part of the development towards more market-oriented economies. They represented part of the interaction with the "outside" and "colonizing" society.

From a more feminist point of view the missionaries represented the outside and the male as opposed to the local and the female (Jaggar 1994).²¹ Even their religious views might be understood in the same way. Christianity might, as Oelschlager (1991) states, be understood as an anthropocentric religion as opposed to the more nature-based non-anthropocentric religions of those being the targets of the missions. Using other words, the female was more connected to nature, fertility and the earth than the "imported" or "invading" views of the missionaries.

The European part of the discourse of the "female" as in opposition to the "male"²² underwent changes with the introduction of industrialism; "With the reorganization of production and perception in the age of the revolution, novel distinction arose in the construction of gender; And they raised the problematic "nature of woman" to consciousness in Europe as never before" (Comaroff and Comaroff 1991:105). Biology was used as an argument for inclusion or disqualification. European attitudes towards male-female must have influenced the attitude towards "the other." In the interpretation of Smith-Rosenberg and Rosenberg (1973, quoted in ibid), European men were freed from the constraints of instinct and bodily functions while females were shackled to it.

²⁰ Researching Maasai Pastoralism. The above statement applies more generally to "many parts of Africa".

²¹ See the chapter on "Environmentalism" (several authors).

²² That discourse was most likely influenced by class. A considerable part of the public was not part of the middle class and academic discourse.

From that point of view it might also be claimed that "the primitive other" had more in common with females than males. Not in any other way than that they both were regarded as more shackled to their bodily functions than the superior European male. Still, as Comaroff and Comaroff (ibid:107) emphasize, the discourse at the beginning of the eighteenth century included a number of contradictions. "Women were held at once to be sensitive and delicate, yet hardy and longer-lived; passionate and quintessentially sexual, yet innocent and intuitively moral."

The stereotypical picture of females was that their world was another than that of a male. When Nansen (1891) described the Greenlanders he gave a picture of a division of labor according to sex. Females stayed at the place of dwelling, made cloth, food and tended the place of living. Males hunted and in some cases functioned as shamans. From a European middle class point of view such a picture corresponded very well with their own ideals. The Greenland author Vebæk (1990) disputes this picture and points out that some females functioned as hunters and shamans. In her opinion many of the traditions of the Greenlanders point to females as strong and important personalities, contradictory to the view of many early European researchers. Similarly Rydving (1993) emphasizes the one-sidedness of Scandinavian descriptions of Saami religion: "it was not possible for the male missionaries to get acquainted with the religious world of the women."

Following Carrier (1992) Nansen understood the Greenlanders through "a framework of expectations and assumptions" characteristic of the views of his time period and European background. I myself, of course, also run the risk of misinterpretations. My possible misinterpretations will be influenced by my time just as much as Nansen was influenced by his time. It will be a fundamental illusion to think that we have finally reached the age of objectivity and interpretations independent of the male - female dimension.

For social work the ever present possible blindness of the observer will have to be acknowledged. Taking care of the needs of the other makes it necessary to be continuously critical to the social workers' "framework of expectations and assumptions."

8.3. RELATIONSHIP TO NATURE

According to Adorno a necessary condition for human freedom is the ability to master nature. In his opinion human relationship to nature is dialectic and humans have to acknowledge themselves as part of nature in order to gain their freedom (Adorno 1992 and Lübcke 1988:14). Seen in this perspective another culture's acknowledgment of their nature can never be successfully imported. To the extent it is, it will possibly function to alienate a culture's relationship to their own nature and imprison them. Dominating cultures, like the western civilizations, can force other cultures to adapt to the western relationship to nature. I believe that the western cultures do so to a great extent and that the process of doing so started when they started to dominate the world.

In my opinion, our present day relationship to nature mostly can not be interpreted as dialectic. Most of us probably experience ourselves apart from nature. I realize that such a claim is possible to dispute and that the picture of attitudes is complex (Kellert 1996). Still, I think that we, as members of anthropocentric cultures, mostly experience ourselves as independent of, and in many ways superior to, nature (Oelschlager 1991).

The shamans of the Greenlanders did not, in the interpretation of Lidgaard (in Hindsberger 1997), occupy themselves with issues concerning the social relationship between humans, but rather with man's relationship to taboos, which usually did not have anything to do with human morals. Said in other words, the relationship to nature, and not the relationship between humans, was focused. The hunt and the relationship between the hunter and the animals was of crucial importance in order to be able to make a living. The writings of Rasmussen (1905, 1925 and 1979) give ample proof of that importance.

The missionaries I am discussing came from Denmark and Norway. They came from agricultural and merchant/trading cultures, Egede from a mixed fishing and agriculture and merchant/trade economy. He was from a family of theologians. Rosen was from a small town, his father a customs officer. Some of the Saami missionaries were from a mixed fishing, agriculture, merchant/trade and small industry culture. Planting, harvesting, processing, trading and civil service were keywords in their world.

For the Nicobars, the Saami and the Greenlanders the keywords would be different. All of them might be understood as members of non-anthropocentric cultures understanding themselves as part of the cycle of nature rather than apart from it (Wallin Weihe 1993 III). Even if they harvested, processed and traded, use of nature had a significance far beyond that. It might be claimed that nature was the most important part of their spirituality and understanding

of reality. Man was part of, not apart from, nature. Dependency and being part of, rather than independent of, characterized their relationship to nature. The Indians probably had something more in common with the type of economy the missionaries were used to. Still harvesting in India was possibly different from harvesting in Denmark. Even doing the same might have a different meaning in different cultures. The connection to spirituality and how the human saw himself as part of, and as separate from, nature might have been vastly different.

In all cases there were forces in nature outside of the control of humans. Nevertheless, the experience of control might have varied. Even if a storm might destroy a harvest in Denmark, the consequence in Greenland might be even more dramatic. If the hunter encountered a storm he might die, and so would those depending upon his success as a hunter. The farmer might starve, but he rarely encountered such dramatic consequences as the Greenlanders. The hunter in Greenland did not plant and harvest, but had to be where the prey decided to go. Thus, if the seal disappeared so would the hunter.

To gain an understanding of humans and their needs, their life and relationship to their surroundings has to be understood. The lifestyle of the Saami and the Greenlanders was substantially different from that of a bourgeois Dane or Norwegian. Such differences will, in my opinion, easily result in "care" being thought of as in the best interest of the other, but experienced as attempts to discipline. The children's home in Kvænangen for Saami children and Egede's use of educational institutions for Greenland children could be examples of such "care."

8.4. POWER AND CARING

Power and caring are concepts which can in a feminist terminology be understood as belonging to different worlds: the feminine and the masculine (see for example Hallberg 1992 and Noddings 1984). Caring is a concept that is easy to relate to feminine qualities, and power to masculine qualities. Using concepts like this, I put my historical examples into the terminology of today's discussion of caring and the power of caregivers in relation to those cared for.

I will emphasize that I am not looking at the concept of power from a theological aspect. From the point of view of theology the starting point would be, from a Christian point of view, "..... a fundamental fact: The power belongs to God himself (Ps 62, 12)" (Steen 1997:18). From a theological point of view one of the challenges would be in the "balance between power applied with authority, based on God's plan and will for human community and power applied through self-sacrifice, which is also a sign of God's will" (ibid:19).²³ The theological discussion is complex and worthy of its own discussion. In numerous ways it ties into the discussion about caring in modern philosophy and ethics. Still, it is a "navigation" done with the Bible and with an understanding and acknowledgment of God that is not taken into account in most of today's discussions of caring and power.

One of the theologians who has presented thoughts that tie into the modern discussion of caring is Friedrich Schleiermacher. He "elevated the intuitive life, a special human experience called "feeling," to the center of religion. Hence, he looked to "feeling" for the foundation of religion" (Grenz and Olson 1992:39). From his point of view religion has little to do with dogmas (ibid:41). The discussion of caring presented by the feminist thinker Nel Noddings (1984), which I will return to later, can easily be tied into the thoughts presented by Schleiermacher. For Noddings, intuitive caring, based upon feelings or the intuitive, had a quality far different from the logic of what she named ethical caring. The latter would be linked to dogmas and the first to "feelings." Feelings are difficult, if at all possible, to describe. In the words of Wittgenstein (1993:6); "How is one to define a feeling ? One can only recognize it within oneself." Most of us would probably acknowledge that the "feeling" part of our life is an important part of our life.

Power can be defined as situational ability to define valid norms and behavior and enforce obedience. What we experience as awareness and understanding will be part of power. The greatest power will be achieved if the understanding and awareness is undisputed. A doctor or a preacher can enact power when he/she can decide the normality or morality of a person and if

²³ Steen does not discuss caring, but "Partnership and Power in co-operation between Churches in the South and the North". Nevertheless, the problem of power and caring can, in my opinion, be related to his discussion.

what that person says makes sense. Power might be exercised to the full consent and advantage of the patient/client - and it might be exercised in a way that is considered to be abusive. What careworkers consider to be of "good judgment" can also mean manipulating people (Benhabib 1992:54). In missionary work the missionary could manipulate people into the missionaries' kind of world. Not only his view upon the Gospel, but also his kind of civilization and his kind of power structure. Thus the result could be obedient members of a "colonial society," which is the same process many social workers will be involved in, adapting and disciplining into a "colonial society" of other values and ideas.

In Bourdieu's understanding the dominant conception consists of things that go without saying, come without saying and are not normally the subject of explanation or discussion. In Comaroff and Comaroff's (1992:23) words; "This is why its power has so often been seen to lie in what it silences, what it prevents people from thinking and saying, what it puts beyond the limits of the rational and the credible." From that point of view, discussing power and care makes it necessary to see what we are prevented from thinking and saying.

The preachers, like Egede, Rosen and the missionaries of the Saami mission, were in contexts that gave them close personal contact with others. Quite often those were situations where the other was in need of some kind of care. The missionaries were all men, however they sometimes acted through others and quite a few of those "invisible" were females. In the period of the Saami mission a number of nurses were employed in order to care for sick people in their own homes. Even if they did not have status as "missionaries," they played an important role as messengers and workers of the mission.

The incredible growth and change of professional caring occurring at the end of last century was influenced by the involvement of numerous female organizations. Caring always done by females, and in close relationships, influenced the development of human-oriented activities to the extent that they sometimes were profoundly changed. What was supposed to be propagation of the Gospel then turned increasingly into care activities. Of course it might be said that what propagation of the Gospel is really about is "practicing the word" rather than just saying it. Still, it is an important change of perspective.

Geremek (1994:250) is occupied with the complexity of charity ; " The act of true charity, charity in the fundamental sense of *caritas*, or love, must be completely disinterested; nevertheless, in social attitudes to charity, motives of self- interest are often intertwined with genuine love of one's fellow man: true charity and contemptuous pity exist side by side. The alms given to a beggar who makes an ostentatious display of his poverty and his infirmity may be inspired by a mixture of pity, which is a spontaneous and temporary reaction,

genuine compassion in the face of need, and the hope of obtaining one's just reward on the eschatological plane. Similarly, philanthropy, as well as expressing a genuine desire to help one's fellow man, can also be a way of displaying one's wealth and affirming one's social prestige. Thus charity is a complex feeling, and its practice involves a number of different motivations." Of course actions might be understood both on the individual level and on the society and group level. Missionary work might be seen as a potent symbol of compassion, charity and affirming of social prestige, not only in the other culture, but also in the culture the missions originated in.

The Saami children's home in Kvænangen²⁴ undoubtedly functioned as a symbol of someone's achievement, and in that way influenced the status and self-identity of those individuals involved both in running it and financing it. The caring done in contact between the individuals running the home and the children they took care of can be understood in the same way. The pride of achievement and managing to raise the children to be "well-functioning members of society" was another part of it.

In pictures from the Saami mission tidiness, cleanliness and hygienic aspects are often focused upon. It might seem like those aspects of care were focused upon and not the relationship between the one caring for and those cared for. It is important to realize that diseases, like tuberculosis, were a major problem at the time. Cleanliness and hygiene were a matter of life or death. Focusing upon those aspects was at the time quite natural, but does not mean that the relationship between the "carer" and "those cared for" was without importance.

Nel Noddings (1984) writes about care as the relationship between the one caring and the one cared for. She describes caring as a feminine quality (Eros) as opposed to the masculine (Logos). From her understanding, caring involves a displacement from the one caring to the interests of the one cared for. She divides the concept into intuitive caring, which happens in direct relationships, and ethical caring. The latter is less involved and is the kind of caring we would participate in towards people to whom we do not have a direct relationship. The archetypal intuitive caring would be the one in which a mother is involved with her child. Preaching the Gospel can be understood from those terms as ethical caring, while practicing intuitive care in direct relationships is intuitive caring. The preacher's moral message from the pulpit would then be of a different character than the care that happened and developed in personal relationships involving the social and physical needs of "the other." The work of a missionary would often include both of those dimensions. Egede's work in Greenland and the work of the missionaries of the Saami mission certainly did so. Even if Noddings' understanding is

²⁴ "Kvænangen lappiske barnehem" (N)

disputed, care ethics have raised "caring, nurturing and the maintenance of interpersonal relationships to the status of foundational moral importance" (Friedman 1993:147). One of the main differences in the moral discussion seems to be a divergence concerning the relevance of justice to care. For Noddings justice belongs to the masculine world and is alien to qualities in caring. Others will find separating the two artificial. For Hallberg (1992) the core of feminism is to make the personal political.

Wærness (1984) writes about "taking care of" which is to help someone in need and "caring about" which is to feel with and together with. She also focuses on the power in the relationship between the cared for and the one caring. This way of using the concept is common in Scandinavia. However, the complexity of "to feel with" is little discussed. The core of caring is, in my understanding, to allow oneself to be emotional towards a person one wishes to help.

In the Saami mission the concern was for the poverty of the Saami, alcohol abuse and lack of Christian values.²⁵ In some cases that concern was linked directly to the situation of a specific individual being. In several of the letters concerning the upgrading of housing situations, placement in old people's homes etc., the missionaries had to relate on an individual level to those they wanted to help. Of course this might be understood as strategic thinking and as a way of using care to propagate the Gospel. Obviously it functioned like that, but at the same time there must have existed a personal relationship and a genuine compassion for the other. Even those removed from the personal dimension argued for care, partly as a Christian duty and partly from the point of view of being humans with compassion for others. The sources often seem saturated with the message that the essence of humanity and Christianity was care for the other.

In Egede's mission caring was partly about survival. Without helping the Greenlanders Egede would not receive help from them. Partly it seems to have been emotional attachment and concern for the other. When Egede writes about caring for individual children I get a picture of a man with genuine compassion for the other. Strategic thinking might have been part of it, and Egede argues strategically for institutions for children. He wanted to educate a young generation that could change the ways of the Greenlanders to what he considered to be better. Still, most of that caring seems not to be attached to strategic thinking. The thought of not caring was simply not there. Those in need had to be taken care of, quite simply because the alternative did not exist. Care was being a human, it would not be human not to care.

²⁵ Sometimes the lack of the right kind of Christian values. As can be seen in the disputes between the Læstadic movement and representatives of the State Lutheran Church, there were considerable differences in the opinion of how to believe, practice the belief and what to believe.

His son, Nils Egede, wrote in his diary,²⁶ some years after his father's mission,²⁷ about helping starving Greenlanders "To see the poor people die is not possible" (Bobé 1944:22). He helped them with food even if he had very little himself. For him it was just not possible not to help a fellow human dying of starvation. In another situation he gave help to a starving mother, a widow with children; "In their distress I had to give them something, because I knew that the high Directors of the Company would not complain because the distress was so tough among the poor people" (ibid:26).²⁸ In other words, he appealed to the high Directors' ethical caring. Probably he was right. The directors would be experienced as cruel and inhuman if they had not accepted him helping a starving mother, a widow with children who had had nothing else to eat than the leather of her shoes and the skins of her boat. Describing the scene in such an emotional way made it impossible not to accept helping her.

Nils Egede "knew that the high Directors of the Company would not complain." Still, if he had put it in other words, just reporting his use of money, they probably would have complained. After all they were businessmen and not in charity. But even in business there are limits to what needs can be faced without helping. Not helping would be experienced as cruel and inhuman. At least that would be so if Egede's description became known to the public. So even if they were cruel and inhuman they could not, due to business, be faced with an increasingly active public experiencing them as cruel and inhuman. Nils Egede and his father before him were part of a public discourse that made it impossible to ignore the increasingly active reading public. From that perspective Nils Egede lived in an age where those who could write and send messages had power, even in far-away Copenhagen.

Using the emotional language of Nils Egede would make it very difficult indeed not to help. Still, governments hardly ever make decisions sacrificing the well-being and comfortable life of those at home. I realize that being there and taking decisions that involved his own personal well-being gave Nils Egede a moral integrity that few of us would oppose. He was helping even if he knew that he and those under his responsibility could themselves be faced with starvation.

²⁶ 1759 -1761

²⁷ The situation must have been rather similar to that facing his father. For Nils Egede the closeness and understanding of the Greenlanders must have been greater than it was for his father. Unlike his father he spoke the Greenlandish language.

²⁸ "Over denne Elendighed motte ieg endelig lade dem faa lidt, hvilke ieg med goed Samvittighed kunde gjøre, thi ieg viste vel, at de høye og respective Directeurer ikke vil fortryde derpaa, naar Nøden var saa haard blandt de arme Menisker" (D)

In my historical material it can be seen how "care" was used as a tool to discipline and to attempt to create a Norwegian culture. Again the Saami children's home in Kvænangen is a good example. The goal was partly to use the children as "change agents" in the Saami culture; "As it has been the happiness of the board, in the nearly 8 years the home has existed, to give a helping hand where the need is greatest, it is its hope that with time, when the children leave the home, to trace fruit of its activity in the many Saami homes in Finnmark, where by now all sense for work, order and cleanliness is lacking" ²⁹ (Kvænangen Saami Children's home³⁰ 1894:5 -6 PS). The "backward Saami" had to be taught how to live a more orderly working life.

As earlier described, Egede argued in the same way when he argued for educational institutions for Greenland Inuit children. The examples are interesting because they show the complexity of motives. On the one hand the argument was for helping those in need and on the other hand using those helped as change agents. It seems, though, that while the argument for "change agents" was the most important for Egede, the motives became more complex for the Saami mission. Educating "change agents" was still part of the motive behind some of the work, but in addition came the individual need of care for children, and care of the disabled and the old.

Egede was acting in situations where he had to solve practical problems. He cared for those that were sick and dying and argued for helping those in need and for ways to achieve a better life for the Greenlanders. The problem with his care was his strong belief in his own superior values and that he had the right to define what was in the best interest of the other.

The social darwinism of the last century was a dominating belief among many care workers of the time. From that perspective the Saami represented a culture at a lower level of development than the Norwegian. As earlier argued other views existed, based upon the Saami being a culture with its own rights and values. In addition some even regarded the "free nomadic life" of the Saami as something more superior, closer to nature and God than the urbanized life of modern secular man.

The feeling that Rosen belonged to a culture with better values and more sophisticated ways was clearly expressed in his writings. He found the Nicobars lazy, ignorant and full of superstition. At the same time he emphasized their good nature and the close emotional relationship he developed towards some of them. Egede described the situation in a similar

²⁹ "Som det har været Bestyrelsens Glæde i de snart 8 Aar, Hjemmet har bestaaet, at række en hjælpende Haand der, hvor Nøden var størst, saa er det dens Haab, at man med tiden, eftersom Børnene forlader Hjemmet, ogsaa vil spore Frugt af dets Virken i de mange Lappehjem i Finnmarken, hvor nu al Sans for Arbejde, Orden og Renslighed ganske mangler" (N)

³⁰ "Kvænangen lappiske barnehjem" (N)

fashion. Both of them expressed ideas that made "the others" seem like children with child-like innocence and need of upbringing. Both of them regarded themselves as patriarchal figures responsible for the well-being of "the other. "

Rosen's description of the conditions in India was far different from his description of the Nicobars and Egede's of Greenland. He described the attitudes and social organization as cruel and unjust and with a lack of caring for those in need of help. Both Muslims and Hindus were described in very negative ways. In India he was faced with cultures having "long histories" and systems of thought in competition with his own, often with powerful alliances both in the colonial administration and among local rulers and merchant interests. In the Nicobar island the situation was from his point of view different; The "natives" did not have any powerful alliances and were innocently primitive. They did not know any better, while the Indian leaders knew better and pursued the evil and unjust.

Thrasymachus says in a dialogue with Sokrates " Justice is the interest of the stronger" and means that norms/standards for justice are set by the ruling elite acting in its own interest (Pitkin 1993:169). Needless to say, I disagree with Thrasymachus; however, I do agree that power and justice are often exercised like that. The power to define who is in need of care, and what kind of care, is a crucial factor. The discussion of Saami rights in the last century is illustrating of that, and was seen particularly in the discussion about the use of the Saami language.

In cross-cultural historical examples it is easy to see that the power " to define " the situation was of crucial importance. Those "living in their own world" would often be defined so broadly that it would even include those we do not share a language with. A Greenland hunter not understanding the blessings of civilization, living a settled life and having one wife instead of several, would not understand his own best and could then be treated accordingly. Likewise a Saami pursuing his or her nomadic life instead of living the life of a farmer would not understand his own best.

The ability of the carer to be able to see the need for care from the client/patient perspective is a necessary condition for good care. Even when not in agreement about what that care would be, it is necessary for the carer to communicate her/his willingness to understand the perspective of the one cared for. Looking at historical examples that part is hidden. It is not possible to know to what extent the ones taking care were able to understand the perspective of the one cared for. Obviously difference in age and cultural background might be important.

Foucault describes the development of natural science as classifying, dissecting and judgmental (Martinsen 1993:50 and Foucault 1994³¹). Karna Lindén (1991) describes how medical treatment and diagnosis according to such principles might create sickness rather than healing. Using the terminology from daily life it is possible to say that people might be treated as "things." Objectively defined needs will be met, like the need for nourishment measured in calories and vitamins: a certain type of medicine is given at certain intervals: a certain kind of economy is provided according to some kind of standard etc. The element of feeling with and together with will have no room.

All my historical examples are prior to today's more "extreme" specialization and professionalism. In my historical examples that was still a thing of the future, but some of the attitudes were visible at least during the period of the Saami mission. They were about to surface, and many of the institutions constructed by the Norwegian society reflect that kind of logic.

Noddings (1984) argues against justice as part of caring. I will argue that justice is a necessary part of caring. After all, emotions are not only positive nice feelings. Sometimes they involve feelings like hate, despair and rage. Abuse happens and can, in many cases, be understood from the conditions care is carried out under, and from the personal situation of the carer. In some cases the carer will not have the necessary skills and sometimes he or she is just abusive.³² Regardless, insight will be important and the one cared for is always in need of having a certain legal protection. The personal must never be allowed to develop into a situation where the rest of us do not care about the relationship. At the same time there exists the danger of a development of seeing abuse in a purely offender/victim perspective. We need to deal both with the individual abuse and the conditions that make abuse happen.

³¹ Original 1963

³² I realize that persons being "just abusive" represent complicated personal pictures. This experience might include everything from the rude and unpleasant to physical and sexual abuse.

8.5. UNIVERSAL VALUES AND CULTURAL IMPERIALISM

As a social worker I have often been faced with people who do not share my values. I have felt it particularly difficult to deal with people from other cultures.³³ They have, in my home country Norway, been Muslims from Asia, Gypsies and the indigenous Nordic population of Saami. Working in other countries they have represented other groups, both from the majority culture and from a multitude of minorities. In all of those cases these groups have had values sometimes substantially different from my own. However, I have always experienced some common ground - some shared values and a sort of intuitive acknowledgment of the human-ness of the other.

As a result of my studies I have been convinced that some universal values exists. I do believe that those values have to do with the acknowledgment of the value and humanity of "the other." In individual relations, experiencing the suffering "other," the universal value would be to take care of or to try to help. Ignoring that suffering would be understood as inhuman, immoral and cruel. In other words solidarity with the other would be a universal value.

In 1743 the Greenlanders were contaminated by smallpox. The number of dead was extremely high. Egede involved himself in caring for the sick. Anything else would most likely have been impossible for him. For the Saami missionaries there were numerous situations where they were faced with the needs of sick, handicapped, children and old people. They too involved themselves. They argued for helping the other and, faced with the practical situations of care, they tried to help. As in the example of Egede anything else would most likely have been experienced as impossible.

It is easy to understand those feelings, and for that matter to have them oneself, in individual relations. Strategic long term thinking and arguing for helping those distant to oneself is another matter. Still, that was what happened when the Saami children's home in Kvænangen was planned and later started. Most of those supporting the home were not faced with those in need. Still, that did not prevent them from supporting the home. I realize that such support might have been given from a complexity of motives. I do believe that solidarity with the other was one of those motives.

³³ I realize that many social workers, including myself, come from middle class culture and work with clients representing the labor class and the poor. Differences in values between social workers and clients can be great even if they come from what is experienced as one national or ethnic culture. Among other factors might be educational background, sex, sexual orientation etc.

Missionary organizations have most of their members distant from the missionary field. Both in the case of Egede and in the Saami mission the financial support came from sources far away. Some of the motives for that support undoubtedly had to do with cultural imperialism.

Missionary work is based upon the assumption of the universal; "Indeed, it was precisely because all human beings shared the potential to know things by their correct name that they could become heirs to God's Kingdom, a universal civilization with no cultural barriers. This in turn mandated a "benevolent" ideological imperialism: those who already had the knowledge were morally bound to teach those without it, so that they too might realize their potential. It was a mandate that made bold assumptions about the ("indexical") properties of language and the possibility of knowledge that transcended human differences" (Comaroff and Comaroff 1991:216).

In Scandinavia most social workers are representatives of the public authorities.³⁴ That does not necessarily mean that social workers share all the values of the public authorities.³⁵ Social workers have to do their work according to the rules, laws and regulations of the Scandinavian culture, and they are educated at schools/colleges basing their education upon those values.³⁶ In a way social workers are playing a role in adapting/changing the value of minorities to that of the dominating culture.³⁷ I believe the same can be claimed to be true in countries where a larger portion of social work is done by social workers outside of the public sector.³⁸

It might be claimed that such adaptation processes will be necessary for the clients so that they can develop values which enable them to function in society: still, it is a one-way adaptation. A dominating "imperialistic culture" might be said to impose its values upon those who are different and from minority cultures. Missionaries operate in a different context.

³⁴ There are a few exceptions, but nearly all social workers are employed by the public. Those who are employed privately are most often working in institutions dependent upon public funding.

³⁵ Social Workers are often accused of being politically radical. They have a tradition of being critical to the establishment. One recent example was the Norwegian social workers' stand against membership in the European Community, counter to the ruling party's support for entrance into the European Community.

³⁶ I am simplifying - most lecturers would probably say that they try to educate students to be critical towards the establishment. At the same time how to become efficient parts of the bureaucracy has been an important part of the curriculum. In certain subjects traditions from US social work have been dominating. Thus it might be claimed that the "radical social workers" have been advocates of the "reactionary" policy of adapting an American school of thought alien to the traditions of Scandinavia and Europe.

³⁷ Which is not necessarily the same as the majority culture. It is very likely that the values are those of the middle /upper class of the country/the culture.

³⁸ Like in the USA.

They operate in other cultures. Most often they represent a more powerful society which relates to a less powerful one, which is certainly true in Finnmark among the Saami, in Greenland and on the Nicobar islands. It was probably less true in India, but even there they tried to impose their values upon a population under European rule.³⁹

Social work ethics is occupied with the tension between being representatives of society and their responsibility to clients (primacy of client's interest, maximization of self determination, respect for privacy and the confidentiality of information⁴⁰)(Linden 1991, Lingås 1993 and 1992, Banks 1995 and Aadland 1988).⁴¹ Those tensions are particularly striking when different cultures interact.⁴²

The more radical approaches to social work strongly advocate working with clients in order to change destructive social structures (Payne 1997). In the vision of the Indian social worker Ramachandran⁴³ (1988:18) "These social workers will not see themselves as the saviors and liberators of the marginalised poor but as partners with the poor. They will work, not for the poor, but with the poor in the process of liberation."

The Ethical Guidelines developed by the International Federation of Social Workers (IFSW) are one example of a large number of international agreements made by international organizations. The Ethical Guidelines' uniqueness lies in their foundation upon discourse ethics and solidarity.⁴⁴ In the thinking of IFSW, solidarity with oppressed groups is a crucial part of social worker ethics and a possible way to achieve some universal values, while at the same time respecting differences in values.⁴⁵

³⁹ The British East India Company (BEIC) was, from a practical point of view the dominating power in India after 1800, however colonial rule did not come, in the more modern sense of the word, until later.

⁴⁰ From NASW Code of Ethics of 1990 (included in the appendix of Lingås 1992). Principles in the Guidelines from IFSW are similar in the way that they emphasize self determination and individual rights.

⁴¹ I have reviewed those books in a number of articles; Wallin Weihe (1992 I and II, and 1994.

⁴² For a discussion focused on Greenland see From (1975)

⁴³ Ramachandran acknowledges that Indian professional social work in 1988 was dominated by curative work with individuals rather like in the western world. His visions are about the future. Many European and American social workers express similar visions (Payne 1997 and Jordan 1990).

⁴⁴ IFSW Ethical Guidelines are not necessarily practiced on the national level. The guidelines do not use the word solidarity; however, that principle seems to be a crucial part of the intentions leading to the Ethical Guidelines. The United Nations' Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other international conventions derived from that Declaration are part of the "foundation" for the guidelines. Tensions between social workers' responsibility towards the individual client, groups of clients and society are central.

⁴⁵ "We acknowledge that a detailed set of ethical standards for the member associations would be unrealistic due to legal, cultural and governmental differences among the member countries" (IFSW 1994:2)

Some feminist thinkers argue for the possibility of universal values. One example is Baier, who argues for a universalistic theory of trust "at the same time emphasizing the importance of context sensitivity" (Morgan in Odegard and Stewart 1995:51). I share Baier's belief that trust is an important part of the universal. In my opinion both trust and care are fundamental universal qualities which are necessary in order to bring the universal into the political sphere.⁴⁶ The necessity of that has to be understood from the context we all share (see also Baier in Hanen and Nielsen 1987).

⁴⁶ Jaggar (1988) claims that emotions, observation, reason and action all are necessary in order to build theory. I believe she is right and I think that emotion will have to be a necessary part of a moral theory.

CONCLUSIONS

On Putting Things In Order
File this, throw out that
Alert the Secretariat
In re each claim and caveat
To better serve the Cause of Alphabet.
Throw out this, file that

File this, throw that out,
We know beyond all doubt
how Perfect Order reconciles -

And now throw out the files.
(Burke 1989:1)

THE CODA

"This is less a conclusion than it is a coda¹, a restatement of our original theme to mark the end of the first movement of a larger work". Such are the first words of the conclusions of Comaroff and Comaroff (1991:309). I realize that my work will hardly compare to music. Possibly more to a complicated puzzle.

Thus I will not repeat those words, but I will repeat some of my own curiosity. Because that is what my journey started with. My reason for repeating it is mainly that it is necessary to describe the journey to where I am when I conclude my work. Before I do so I will emphasize that the landscape seen depends upon the journey made. There is more than one possible way to navigate, and navigation will depend upon the changing conditions. Conditions which, in my case, are both the moving platform from which I am making my interpretations, and the literature and sources chosen for it. Which means that another traveler might be able to see another landscape. At least he or she will be able to see a different sunset and paint the landscape in different colors. Using other sources and literature and interpreting from another moving platform will undoubtedly give other nuances and perhaps even landscapes.

Writing like this I want to remind the reader that the poetic is part of communicating and interpreting language, history and a particular narrative. Even if I do not use the metaphor of music, like Comaroff and Comaroff, I do acknowledge the poetic qualities and potential of language.

People do change their minds. They are not always consistent in their opinions. One of my sources in Wallin Weihe (1999), the missionary David Rosen, illustrates that point very well. In his later publications he is immensely more critical and radical than in his earlier ones. Then his situation was different. Being in India and in the Nicobar islands made it necessary to adapt to those situations. Perhaps those situations had their own logic. Being part of the situation was different from viewing and analyzing it from a distance. Rosen was at later times part of another logic, another situation and had to other considerations. Hans Egede shows similar inconsistency in his views. Before his departure to Greenland he argues for not using force towards the Greenlanders; during his stay he at one point even argues for turning them into slaves. After his stay he moderates his attitudes and seems more liberal. Most likely his suggestions of turning the Greenlanders into slaves illustrate the despair he felt during his stay.

I am often uncertain about what kind of persons "my" missionaries were. After all what I am left with is only paper, sometimes created images of the writer,

¹ Final passage of a work of music usually elaborate or distinct.

opinions presented to the public, reports and letters. I do not in any way want to make a statement of "knowing the truth" or understanding a person, rather of having some thoughts of changing truths and changing interpretations of truths.

I think that Habermas is right to point out the importance of the public discourse. However the complexity of that discourse is immense, and particularly complicated when moving across cultural borders. I do not think it is possible to write about one public discourse or "the" public discourse. Still, I am of the opinion that it is possible to look into those complicated discourses and focus on certain matters like the social.

As Geremek (1994) points out, attitudes on helping the poor and/or disciplining them seem to involve a number of different motivations. The balance of acting out those motivations has changed through time. One important factor in the change seems to be the structure of society. Missionary work reflects both the society it is done in and often even more so the society from which it originates.

My starting point, Egede in Greenland, coincides with the development of a reading public. I do not think that is by chance. The new national states and their trading economies necessitated moving outward, both in order to trade and in order to consolidate and develop national interest spheres. At the same time the public discourse increasingly challenged the establishment. That happened partly in the economical sphere and partly in the sphere of religious ideas. Both of those had their own connections to the social field. For most practical purposes it was not possible to separate between those spheres. In Denmark - Norway there were three main impulses - the Pietistic Lutheran Christianity, the Orthodox Lutheran Christianity and those "who did not care." Quite likely the latter frequently existed among the lower classes like soldiers, sailors and so on. Some of them came to Greenland and lived their life quite independently of the preaching of Egede and the Moravian missionaries.

I do not want to claim that the lower classes were less religious than the higher classes. My point is that those working as sailors and soldiers lived a life separate from the world of the higher classes. In my opinion a life that most of all was often characterized by daily survival. I also want to point to the fact that questions of theological importance were not necessarily important for the common man.

The soldiers and sailors are interesting because they stayed outside of the official written public discourse. They most likely, at least among the colonizers in Greenland, represented a kind of amoral majority with a life with a logic independent of the values represented and preached by Egede. In

my historical sources I get glimpses of those "awful people", but I never hear their voices. In Egede's words they drank too much, quarreled and had sexual relationships outside of marriage. They represented the "bad" and he was repelled by them. Studying the impact of the missions and colonization on the Greenlanders, it is entirely possible that the interaction between those people and the Greenlanders had a far greater impact than that of Egede and his fellow missionaries. It is also possible that those "bad" people showed a greater acceptance of traditional Greenland values than Egede did. Possibly they did not even care what kind of God the Greenlanders believed in and what kind of Shaman practices they had.

Another question is what kind of influence the Greenlanders and their beliefs and practices had upon the colonizers. I do not know the answer to that, but I know that the Danes at times depended upon the Greenlanders to survive. Their life and their way of organizing themselves must have been something the Danes had to take into consideration and sometimes even to copy in order to survive. In order to survive it was necessary to depend upon the help and assistance of the Greenlanders. Caring under such conditions must be understood from that background.

At the time of Rosen (Wallin Weihe 1999) the European world had substantially changed. The reading public had grown in size, industrialization was developing, trade was developing and the economical and political situation changed drastically. Rosen was part of a Danish tradition, but worked for a British missionary society, in an India politically dominated by British trading interests. He came from the Church of Denmark and was employed by a Church of England increasingly in internal conflict, politically and religiously challenged by a complex lay movement.

In addition he had to relate to a secular trading company, competing religious movements like Catholics, various Indian religious traditions and, as Egede, a European underclass consisting mostly of soldiers who often "did not care". Rosen complains about their lack of morals in one of his publications (Rosen 1851:211 -212 PS). The influence of the secular and those who did not care, like the "primitive and barbaric" British underclass of soldiers, was one of the great concerns of Rosen. Again it is difficult to know how they influenced the Indians they met. Quite likely Indians were most frequently faced with the "primitive and barbaric" British underclass of soldiers. Theologians and administrators had influence, but in other ways than the British underclass. Again, as in the case of Egede, we do not know how "primitive and barbaric" they were. Possibly they even showed a greater acceptance of traditional Indian values than Rosen did.

The influence of India in Europe and on Europeans in India is another matter. Europeans in India had to relate to a complexity of cultures, which undoubtedly had some influence upon their views. Some of what they experienced was communicated home and possibly some of that influence had some impact.

The bourgeois had grown a lot in size at the time of Rosen. The public discourse, the number of written publications and so on had developed. The State Churches were increasingly challenged by outside forces. At the same time the State Churches were invaded by them. Rosen and his fellow missionaries were under the control of SPG, but they were influenced by financial contributions independent of the Church of England and many of them had loyalties and education outside of that church.

Even if "social work" did not seem to be an important part of the missionary work in India at Rosen's time, it did exist. It existed partly towards poor Indians becoming part of the congregations of the missionaries, and partly in order to take care of other fellow Europeans. For the British East India Company involvement in the social was necessary to keep the economic machinery going, and also partly in order to show a social profile towards an increasingly active public in Britain. Several social reforms resulted as a result of such pressure. Quite a lot of the pressure happened due to the missionaries' increasingly active stand against primitive and barbaric practices of the heathens as opposed to the developed Christian European civilization.

As I have argued in chapter 7, part of the female part of the bourgeois society was nearly invisible at the time of Rosen. Still, they were there and most likely had quite a marked influence. I have earlier claimed that their involvement in missionary associations most likely had impact on the social profile of the organizations. The Nicobars were different from India. Rosen worked as a Danish colonial governor on a small malaria-infested group of islands. Most of all he and his fellow colonizers had to survive. As can also be seen from India, Rosen had some visions about the creation of a kind of Christian caring community. A kind of welfare state under the paternalistic leadership of a European Lutheran Christian.

The Saami mission happened in a less complicated world than India. It was a Norwegian mission in Norway, controlled by the Norwegian State Church. It happened at a time of intense Norwegian nationalism. Still, it was influenced from the outside. What happened in Sweden had importance for what happened in Norway. The lay movement increasingly challenged the church and at a later stage created a split in the Saami mission. An increasingly active female movement contributed to the mission, but mostly towards the social activities of the mission. The Church had the limited target of preaching the Gospel, but

ended up with an increasing number of social activities. The development had a momentum of its own. Social professionals, like deacons, were recruited, institutions started and more and more of the activity of the organization turned into being some kind of practiced "social work. "

As in my two previous cases the influence of the mission, which represented its own internal complexity, was one thing and the influence of all those outside of it was another. The Saami mission had to cooperate with, and relate to, a large group of Norwegians, some of them representing authorities and some of them the local Norwegian population. Many of the later in various conflicts of interest with the Saami population.

THE ALWAYS PRESENT INTUITIVE APPROACH

Some decisions and actions taken by humans can be understood from the point of the planned and intended. Other actions must, in my opinion, be understood from the intuitive and emotional. Of course I realize that even those actions might be understood from the point of view of individual psychology. My point is that in human encounters some of the most important decisions will often be made, not from visible logic, but from the point of view of the emotional. From that point of view it might be said that some of the strongest signals in human encounters come from communicative action. In our own personal lives affairs of the heart can be illustrating. Most of us will readily admit that falling in love and having a child cannot be understood purely from the point of view of logic.

Understanding "my missionaries'" encounter with the people they interacted with will have to take this highly personal dimension into consideration. Those making decisions removed from the personal encounter with "the other" probably also sometimes decided upon their actions from the point of view of the intuitive and emotional. Still, as Noddings (1984) points out, another logic seems to be dominant when we are not faced with personal encounter with "the other". Still, human decisions concerning others are always made in interaction with others, or at least influenced by others, though often not those the decisions are made about. Thus no human decision can be totally removed from the emotional and intuitive.

Among the important dimensions of care and intuition seem to be the male-female. In my examples all the missionaries have been males. However many of those supporting them have been females. As lay organizations grew in strength the female dimension became more important. Females have also been part of the male world. In all my examples - with the exception of the Nicobars - there were, even if often invisible, females present as part of the missions/colonization. Even for David Rosen in the Nicobars the male-female were not absent. Even men seemingly operating alone without females will not, in my opinion, be outside of the dimension of male -female, or, as Noddings phrases it, eros and logos.

THE ALWAYS PRESENT CURIOSITY AND SCIENTIFIC INTEREST

Egede, Rosen and many of the pioneers of the Saami mission² made considerable contributions to the understanding of "the unknown." Many of their descriptions reflect an interest in the other and their world far beyond what was meaningful from the point of achieving the target of colonizing and converting souls.

To quite a large extent missionaries were under the influence of the Enlightenment and the ideals of the needs of the society to be created with the new modes of production and trade. In addition I believe curiosity has always been part of the behavior of the human animal. People have always been curious, wanted to investigate their surroundings and make sense of it. From my point of view, curiosity and scientific interest targeted upon organization of people, the social sphere, charity and what can be described as social work, is the point of my interest. Man can be reduced to an object of study and he can be the subject of a study.

God can have a role as creator and he can be thought of as a construction. Man can have ambitions of understanding it all and living with a mystery. Social welfare and caring for the other can be based upon the logic of the needs of production and the machinery of society, on compassion and solidarity towards the other, and on the commandments of God. The scientific interest can be focused upon the word of God, on a logic to be found in nature and in numerous other combinations.

The utilitarians may seem like children playing in the sand box. Trying out different ways of organizing - part of it in the realm of the social - in order to make a well-functioning society. Registering, taking statistics and measuring the temperature of society in order to find the best cure in order to create the utilitaristic society they envisaged. James Mill, John Stuart Mill, Bentham and Malthus were part of those influencing the world Rosen operated in. Other thinkers influenced the time of Egede and the Saami mission. At the time of Egede the logic to interpret from was made by God. At the time of the Saami mission social Darwinism, Enlightenment philosophers, Utilitarians and several more had given supplementing maps to navigate from. Still, curiosity was an important driving force. Sometimes focused upon God, sometimes on objects to be observed, sometimes on the other human and quite often in a combination of all the above. Sometimes, though, those understood as missionaries were mostly interested in science and less in God and the social. Darwin might be thought of as being the most famous example of that.

² Most important Just Quigstad

THE ALWAYS PRESENT POWER GAME

In all my examples there exists a complexity of at times slightly different interests, and at times opposing interests. A complexity sometimes hidden and sometimes visible. The missionaries and colonizers represented their own complexity of interests. They had to relate to and sometimes make alliances with, other often very complex interests in their own home culture. Again sometimes interests in opposition to each other. At the same time, when working in the field, they had to relate to another complexity of interests. Some of the latter were local and some of them represented by other European interests.

Quite often maneuvering in that complexity probably made it necessary to argue and take action in a number of sometimes even seemingly opposing ways. After all what was "the possible" in one situation might not be possible at all in another. Thus arguing with military and civilian authorities locally might be quite a different matter from arguing with organizations and supporters at home, yet another matter than relating to the local population and even different from centrally placed authorities. Each situation might be different and merit an independent strategy.

Even if part of certain power structures, the complexity of interests alone might also give power to the navigator (the missionaries or colonizers). After all opposing interests must quite often have made visible the fact that the navigator had to make some decisions of his own. Thus the navigation must sometimes have made it necessary to navigate in ways independent of all those opposing interests. In some cases possibly also in ways not anticipated nor desired by the missionary or colonizer himself.

I do not think that such complexity can be easily found in the sources. Quite likely the power play was often hidden - sometimes consciously and sometimes not even visible to those participating in it. There are also things which can be written about and things which are beyond what is possible to make visible. Sometimes because it is too provoking and sometimes because there is no need to put it down in written words. Each time will have certain attitudes and values that are just known and never spoken about. Those kind of "invisibilities" and "of courses" will quite likely vary both with time and culturally. In that way they might be invisible to the historian.

ACTION TAKES POWER OVER IDEOLOGY

At the time of Egede the number of organizations was quite limited. They existed, but were few in numbers and did not seem to play any significant role in the development of his mission. Still, the Pietistic movement challenged him on several levels. For one thing it represented another understanding of theology, and for another it represented a power outside of the control of the state. Its leaders were placed outside of Denmark. Gradually the Pietistic movement gained popularity and support among the increasing reading public.

The Pietistic movement was highly ideological. Its members had ideas and interpretations of the Bible somewhat different from the "establishment." At the same time they "invaded" and became part of the "establishment". Thus the difference between the Pietistic movement and the establishment sometimes became unclear. One of the challenges from the Pietistic movement was its anti-scholastic tradition. The practical and emotional challenged the scholarly, distanced wisdom of the establishment. The Pietistic movement was in no way alone in challenging the establishment. Ludvig Holberg challenged it in his own way with his amusing play Erasmus Montanus. Holberg and the Pietists were dramatically different forces, what they had in common was only that they challenged established ways.

The Pietistic movement continued to be an influence during the time of Rosen. It invaded the Church of England-controlled SPG by providing them with missionaries, many of them educated in the Pietistic center of Halle in Germany, and sometimes by funding (see for example AS LIV R). For the Church of England that invasion was only one of many. Other impulses, from the Catholic Church, scientific interests, from secular forces and from a complex lay movement, were part of "the invasion."

When I write about ideology I am relating to the declared and visible. I think that some ideology is reflected more by action than by published words and documents. Thus the official documents and writings of missionaries and their supporters might tell one thing and their practical actions another.

"Digging" in the archives, looking through the lists of contributions, letters and the book-keeping gives another impression than looking into the image created by the leaders. In the situation of the Saami mission that is quite visible. Thus the males representing the organizations seem to argue in one way, while the females not participating in that organizational discourse seem to have made the organization move in another direction. Supporting "the social," and gradually building up various social institutions, the Saami mission found itself moving towards practical caring while having the ideology of

preaching the Gospel in another way. The more support for the social, the more of the activity got centered around practical caring. The development can be compared to an avalanche. It gained momentum and gained a logic of its own.

Neither are the large underclass present in my archives. Their influence, their way of organizing themselves is not part of the visible discourse. Still, they undoubtedly had some kind of influence.

PROFESSIONALISM, IDEOLOGY AND CURIOSITY

As Meyer and Scott (1992) point out, professionals have an important role in organizations. In my studies the missionaries were the professionals. However their background varied. Some of them were theologians and some had training both in theology and health/social work. Even those trained in theology sometimes represented professionals with their focus upon fields far outside of what today would be acknowledged as theology.

Historically speaking theology was one of the few professions and those who received the training represented diverse interests, many of them within fields like anthropology, natural sciences and medicine. Theology was the science or study of God. Since "What is God" has been answered in different ways throughout history the answer to that has at times been "everything." Which meant that "everything" was the study of theology (Miller 1995).

Perkin (1996) discusses "the meaning of the professional society." The creation of a professional field of care, medicine and social work reflected the creation of another kind of society. Other professionals both followed them and came before them. Engineers, military officers, navigators, architects, map makers and a long line of others. Professionalism happened at different times in different fields. The boundaries between those fields have changed. They have never been stable and often been unclear.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

According to Ahrne (1990:23): " Our world has grown from multiple processes of various kinds. Only limited areas are the outcome of conscious planning, and even they may not look today as they were intended. The social world is more like a rough landscape which is the result of a long chain of development: a mountain crumbling away, a forest growing, a desert spreading, a motorway under construction. A landscape is the coincidence of several phenomena with different origins and nature and, in fact, with little in common except that they happen to be near each other at a certain point of time."

The historian Tim Knudsen (1991:10) expresses himself in a similar way; "The modern state can be considered as a complex of institutionalizations in each culture which could be compared with a coral reef. Like coral reefs are shaped by deposits over a long period of time, states are shaped by their own institutions. Nobody envisaged the final results we see of now. Rarely did Europe's Princes have in mind a precise model of the sort of state they were producing, and even more rarely did they act efficiently to produce such a state. No one designed the principal components of the national states - treasuries, courts, central administration, and so on. They were usually formed as more or less inadvertent by-products of efforts to carry out more immediate tasks, especially the creation and support of armed forces. "

Both Ahrne and Knudsen point to the limitations of planning and how the result will quite often be quite another than anticipated. If Egede, Rosen and Skaar had been able to take a look at our time, and retrospectively at what they initiated, they would most likely have nodded in approval of Ahrne's and Knudsen's statements. Ahrne (1990:66) is of the opinion that "It was probably meaningful to divide the world of two hundred years ago into separate societies. Today, however, it is not possible to tell where one society ends and another begins". Possibly he is right, but I am of the opinion that he is only right for quite isolated societies like the Greenlanders and Nicobars. Even in those cases there was some interaction with other cultures. Even if they represented distinctively separate societies, they were still humans and acknowledged each other as humans.

The common humanity was probably, at least in close interaction - living and depending upon each other, of far more importance than the differences. The differences were possibly of greater importance the greater the distance between the humans was. Thus for those in Copenhagen, London and Oslo the others were primitive, exotic and sometimes nearly inhuman savages.

For those sick, starving, freezing and sometimes dying close to each other the common humanity, suffering and caring was probably the most important. For those not part of that situation, understanding the other represented an entirely different situation. For them they were faced with cultures so different that they were not even defined as cultures, but just primitive and not developed. They were not faced with humans they could relate to, but humans described by others and living a life probably quite often beyond understanding. A life that they could only relate to by understanding and interpreting it from their own experiences and values. The problem was not only of understanding the other, but also of practicing what sometimes was decided by others in far-away places. From that point of view the problem of the missionary was rather like what Lipsky describes in "Street-Level Bureaucracy" (1980).

It is possible to find a number of "unintended consequences" in my historical examples, some of them with important consequences for the development of social services. In Giddens' opinion "human history is created by intentional activities but is not an intended project" (Ahrne 1990:12-13). I do not agree with Giddens statement. Human history is in my opinion an intended project. However, the complexity of intended activities rarely leads to the history intended, though sometimes it does. Sometimes the result and the history created is like the intention. Both in the Nicobars, among the Saami and in Greenland the result was that the population converted, forced or not, to Christianity.

Perhaps it did not happen in the way they envisaged, and in the Nicobar islands several years after the departure of the colonizer Rosen, but it happened. History does not stop. It goes on. Neither is it possible to define the beginning of the history of man, or for that matter social history. What happens in a hundred years from now will be different. Another society will no doubt appear. As us, and as those prior to us, they will have to find solutions to social issues.

As pointed out by From (1975), writing about Greenland, social problems have to be understood in view of a historical development. I believe the historical development, even if often difficult to interpret, is important as part of the understanding of social problems. Admitting that, I wish to emphasize that gaining such an understanding is not necessarily helpful in order to predict the development of social problems. After all, looking into the future is entirely another matter than looking into the past.

From a Christian missionary point of view, the sensible or the normal would be to live in a Christian society. Quite often a Christian society would be seen as the same as a European society. This, of course, would mean that the European way of life would be seen as superior to that of those in "need of the

enlightenment" of the Gospel. Using words like "the European society," I might seem blind to the fact that Europeans themselves came from complex societies. The missionaries themselves had their own tensions and controversies regarding what was Christian and European. Those differences existed both among the missionaries and in various ways through the relationship towards other Europeans.

In order to better the conditions of members of a society, it might be necessary to distribute wealth in a new way, organize society in new ways, give people another understanding of moral values and to give them the self-discipline necessary to achieve "a better life." The "tools of the trade" vary historically. "To discipline and punish"³ might be part of it. Others emphasize caring and welfare efforts. It might be said that the social work of today and the missionary work of yesterday differ mainly in that the missionaries displayed their values more openly. At least that was true regarding the most central Christian values, or what might be called "the dogmas of the faith." Apart from that, part of their values and attitudes were visible while some were hidden - some of them unspoken values in the realm of the unmentionable. This is a realm always changing, but possibly more visible today than at the time. Other realms are possibly totally invisible today but were visible yesterday.

Motives of social welfare are mixed with motives of conversion and religious enlightenment. It might be said that social welfare goals are integrated as part of the goal of religious enlightenment. At the same time, the Norwegian Saami mission might be understood as part of the movement to create a Norwegian national identity and at the same time a sometimes conflicting Saami identity. The latter occurred due to the mission's support of the use of Saami language as a "birthright."

From the point of view of the history of social work, the question of when professional social work was started is often asked. Certainly caring is as old as man. Professional caring is another matter. Some kind of caring was part of missionary work from an early stage. Disciplining and educating others to morals and practices thought of as leading to a "better life" is also as old as man. Most often the target of "a better life" has been from the perspective of those in some kind of power position. Though sometimes it has been from the perspective of those challenging those in a "power position." Caring, professional disciplining and educating is old. It is as old as man. Different cultures probably always had different traditions when it came to caring and disciplining. When such traditions met they sometimes syncretized and sometimes one won over the other.

³ Foucault (1979)

POSTSCRIPT

The charm dissolves apace,
And as the morning steals upon the night,
Melting the darkness, so their rising senses
Begin to chase the ignorant fumes that mantle
Their clearer reason

(Shakespeare reprint of 1968)

POSTSCRIPT

Having written such a long text is for me like having made a long walk - a very long walk. I feel a great pleasure in coming to my point of destination. At the same time I have got so much into the rhythm of walking and traveling that I feel like continuing. Perhaps not repeating the same journey, which I believe is impossible, but taking other walks exploring the landscape further.

I realize that I have to explore numerous details in my landscape. Naturally such an exploration will have to be a selective process. At the time of writing the postscript I have yet to decide which details that will be. However I hope that my dissertation somewhat reflects my curiosity.

I compare my dissertation to a long walk. Both walking, researching and writing are processes mostly done through the use of thinking. Not always conscious thinking. Quite often through a process so integrated and so much part of oneself that it is hardly conscious. At times I have been bored by writing. At such times I have sometimes forced myself to continue and sometimes to explore something else.

I have gained considerable knowledge of myself through those reactions. Some of that knowledge I will readily share with others and some of it I have probably better keep to myself.

ENGLISH SUMMARY

In this thesis discusses "social work" as part of missionary work during Hans Egede's mission in Greenland (1721 -1736) and the starting period of the Norwegian Saami mission (1888- 1900). The discussion is focused by connecting it to Habermas's discussion of "The structural transformation of the public"(1989). The discussion includes an analysis of the complexity of contemporary ideas. Missionary work as seen as both in alliance with and, in the last period, partly in conflict with motives of imperialism and nationalism.

The last part of the dissertation includes a discussion of ethics and communication relating the historical material to important questions of ethics and communication of today:

- What relationship exists between power and caring ?
- Is it possible to operate with universal values ?

In this part I focus on the interaction between the missionaries and the local population and try to create an understanding from the point of view of "the local population." The dissertation concludes that in close interaction, living and depending upon each other, the common humanity was of far more importance than the differences.

Among other findings the study shows that the official writings and documents of the missionaries and their supporters might tell one thing and their practical action another. The case of the Saami mission is particularly illustrative of that. The males representing the organization seem to argue in one way, while the females not participating in that organizational discourse seem to have made the organization move in another direction through their support of "the social."

GREENLANDIC SUMMARY

KALLAALLISUT NALISARNEQARNERA

Ilisimatuutut allaatigisaq manna tunngavissaqarluni allaatigisaqarfiuvoq "inooqatigiinnermi sulinerup" ajoqersuiartortitaqarnermi ilagisaanik. Siunnerfeqarfiuvoq paasinnissutissaqarnissamik ataatsimoortillugit pingaartittakkanik soqutigisaasartunillu, ajoqersuiartortitsinnermi suliniutaasartut inooqatigiinnermilu suliniutaasartut tamatuma ilaasut ingerlanneqartartut tunulequtarisaatut. Ilisimatuutut allaatigisaq aallaaveqartinneqarpoq misissuinnermik Hans Egedep Kalaallit Nunaanni ajoqersuinnermik suliaqarsimaneramik nunasiaqalernissamillu suliaqarsimaneramik (1721-1736) aamma Norgemi Samet Ajoqersuisuisa ukiuni 1888-1900 aallartisarnerisa nalaannik. Ilisimatuutut allaatigisaq aallaqqaammut aammattaaq ilaqartinneqarsimagaluarpoq qallunaamik ajoqersuisumik David Rosenimik taassumalu Indiami ajoqersuisutut sulisimaneramik aammalu qeqertanik Nikko-bariske Øer nunasiaqalernissamik sulisimaneramik (1818-1838). Immikkoortortaq tamanna naqitertinneqarsimavoq immikkut nalunaarusiatut (Wallin Weihe 1999), ilisimatuutulli allaatigisami matumani naggasiullugu sammineqartuni najoqqutaralugit tunngavigineqartut ilaattut atorneqarsimalluni.

Ilisimatuutut allaatigisaq tunngaveqarfiuvoq naqitikkani najoqqutassanik allagaateqarfinnilu ittujaarsukkanik. Avinnilerlugu suliaavoq oqaluttuarisaanerup pissusersiorneranik aammalu itisoorsuinerulluni pissusersuinnermik oqaluttuarisaanermin najoqqutassat aallaavigalugit. Ilisimatuutut allaatigisami immikkoortut naggataatungaaniittut attaveqatigiittarnernik ileqqorinnissanillu pissusiusarsimasunik tunngavissuinnermik ilaqartinneqarput.

Oqaluttuassartap allaatigineqarnera pissusersiorneqarneralu aallaaveqartinneqarput Habermasip inuiaqatigiinni pigissaarnerusut qaffakkiartorsimanerannik sukumiisumik allaatigisaanik aammalu Geremekip pitsuussutsip qanoq pissuseqarfigineqartarneranik akiorniarneqartarneranilu suliniutaasarsimasunik sukumiisumik allatigisaanik. Taakkua saniasigut tamakkunani suliaasarsimasuni allaatigisaasarsimasut aallaviusarsimasut assi-giinngitsut arlallit atorneqarput. Tamanna erseqqinnerulersinniarnearpoq ilisimatuutut allaatigisap immikkoortuini naggataarutaasuni.

Ilisimatuut allaatigisap ilaani sammineqarput ajoqersuiartortitsisarnerit ajoqersuisut namminneq kingoqqiffiini qanoq ittunik kinguneqartarsimaneqartarsimanerat. Atuakkiortup ujakkartersimavai aaqqissuussilluni suliaqarfiusartut ajoqersuiartortitsisarneri tunulequtaasartut suleqatigiikkaat amerlasuut aaqqissuunneqamerini toqqammaviusartut pingaartut, politikikkut nalinginnaasumik oqallinnermi saqqumilaarpallaarneq ajoraluartut. Ilaatigut erseqqissisinneqarput aaqqissuussilluni suliaqarfiusartut arnanit akuuffiunerusartut Samet Ajoqersuisoqarfiini inuiaqatigiinni inooqatigiinnermi suliniutaasarsimasunut sanilliullugit qanoq atuuttarsimanersut. Tamanna pisarsimavoq, massa aaqqissuussilluni suliaqarfiusartut pisortaqaarfiini sinniisoqartanngikkaluarluni. Ilisimatuutut allaatigisami aammattaaq qulaariviginiarneqarput nalinginnaasumik oqallinnerit, ilisimatusarnermi alapernaatsuunerit, atorfeqartunik sulisoqarnerusalertiartorerit, naalagaaffiup tamarmiunerusunut atuunneruleriartornera, aammalu aningaasarsionernut tunngassuteqartut suliniutigineqarlutik aallartinneqartunut qanoq sunniuttarsimanersut. Ajoqersuiartortit suliniutigisarsimasaasa nunap tamarmiusup politikkerisaata ilaatut aammalu naalagaaffimmut tamarmiusumut akuliukkiartorniarnep ilaatut atuakkiortup ersersinniaraluaraa, taamaattoq aammattaaq tikkuarpaa takussutissaqartartoq ajoqersuisut suliniutaasa ilaat illuatungiliuttusartut, ilaannikkullu tamatuma tungaanut avissaartuuffiusarsimallutik. Tamanna minnerunngitsumik Samet Ajoqersuisoqarfiisa Norgep oqaatsitigut politikkerisaanut tunngatillugu taamaassimavoq.

Atassuteqatigiittarnerup sammineqarnerani attorneqarput suliaqartarneri toqqaannartumik attaveqartarsimanerit pisartut, aammalu inunnut avatangiiiserisanut qanoq pissuseqartarsimanerit. Inuilaap tungaanut aammalu inuit pilersissimasaasa tungaanut pissutsit allaatigineqarlutik sammineqartut ilagaat. Naggataagut itisiliinerulluni allaatigisaqarnermi atuakkiortup pingaartuutissimavaa "ajoqersorneqartut" qanoq misigisaqartarsimanerat. Inuit ataatsimoortukkaat tamakku ajoqersuisut allaatigisarsimasaanni malunnannginnerusarsimapput. Taamaallaat siumugassaasarpup ajoqersuisut "allanik" qanoq allaatigisaqartarneri qanorlu paasinnittarsimaneri. Atuakkiortup pingaartuutillugu erseqqissarumavaa oqaluttuassartami najoqqutassani killissaqarfiusutut pissuseqartoq tamanna, peqatigalugu uparuarsimallugu oqaluttuassartanut ilanngunneqarneq ajortut allaatigineqartarsimasut, nipituuliorlutik saqqummerneq ajortut najoqqutassani ilanngunneqarsinnaanerit soqutiginau.

Ileqqorinnissamik pissusiusarsimasut allaatigineqarneranni
pimoorussiviuneruvoq isumaginninnerup pissusersiorneqarnera arnanut
tunngasut itisuuliornerulluni issusiat aallaavigalugu. Aammattaaq
sammineqarput inooqatigiinnermi suliaqarnermi pingaartuutinneqartartut
qanoq ittumik nunarsuarmi sumiluunniit atuuttuusutut
naatsorsuunneqarsinnaanersut. Ilisimatuutut allaatigisap ilaa tamanna nalitsinni
ajornartorsiutissaasartut malunniuttartut qanoq ittuusarnerannut
tunngassuteqartuutinneqarpoq. Erseqqissisinniarsarineqarpoq
ajornartorsiutissaalertarsimasut isumaginninnermut kulturikkullu qanoq
issuseqarnermut tunngasut oqaluttuarisaanermi sukumiisumik misissuiner
attuumassuteqarnerannik pissusiusut.

NORWEGIAN SUMMARY NORSK SAMMENDRAG

Denne avhandlingen er en diskusjon av «sosialt arbeid» som en del av misjonsarbeid. Den tar sikte på å skape en forståelse av de sammensatte verdier og interesser som lå bak både misjonstiltakene og de sosiale tiltakene som ble drevet som en del av dem. Avhandlingen tar utgangspunkt i en studie av Hans Egede's misjonsarbeid og koloniseringstiltak på Grønland (1721 -1736) og oppstartingsperioden av Samemisjonen i Norge fra 1888 -1900. Opprinnelig inkluderte også avhandlingen en del som tok for seg den Danske misjonæren David Rosen og hans arbeid som misjonær i India og kolonisator på de Nikkobariske øyer (1818 -1838). Denne delen har blitt publisert som en egen rapport (Wallin Weihe 1999), men er brukt som en del av grunnlagsmaterialet for de avsluttende drøftinger i avhandlingen.

Avhandlingen baserer seg på både publisert kilder og arkivkilder. Den er delt i en historisk drøfting og en mere filosofisk drøfting med utgangspunkt i det historiske materialet. De avsluttende delene av avhandlingen inkluderer en drøfting av kommunikasjon og etikk .

Den historiske beskrivelsen og drøftingen tar utgangspunkt i Habermas analyse av fremveksten av det borgerlige samfunn og Geremeks historiske analyse av holdninger og tiltak mot fattigdom. Ved siden av dette har en rekke forskjellige faglige innfallsvinkler blitt brukt. Mest er dette synliggjort i de avsluttende delene av avhandlingen.

En del av avhandlingen diskuterer effekten av misjonstiltakene i misjonærenes hjemland. Forfatteren ser på organisasjonene som sto bak misjonstiltakene som en viktig arena for organisering av mange grupper som ofte ellers var lite synlige i den offentlige politiske debatt. Den belyser blant annet hvordan støtteorganisasjoner dominert av kvinner dreide Samemisjonens virksomhet over mot sosiale tiltak. Dette skjedde til tross for manglende representasjon i organisasjonenes ledelse. Avhandlingen forsøker også å belyse hvordan den offentlige debatt, vitenskapelig nysgjerrighet, profesjonalisering, fremveksten av nasjonalstaten og nye økonomiske forhold påvirket de tiltakene som ble startet. Selv om forfatteren ser misjonstiltakene som en del av nasjonal politikk og forsøk på å integrasjon i nasjonalstaten påpeker han også områder der misjonstiltakene sto i opposisjon og noen ganger splittet i forhold til dette. Ikke minst gjaldt dette Samemisjonens forhold til Norsk språkpolitikk.

Den kommunikasjonsmessige drøftingen trekker inn både den kommunikasjon som skjedde i direkte samhandling og den som skjedde ved hvordan man forholdt seg til sine omgivelser. Både forholdet til natur og det

menneskeskapte rom er en del av diskusjonen. I den avsluttende filosofiske drøftingen har forfatteren lagt vekt på å diskutere opplevelsen til dem som ble «misjonert.» Denne gruppen er i begrenset grad synlig i kildene fra misjonærene. Der finnes kun misjonærenes tolkninger og forståelse av «de andre.» Forfatteren ser det som viktig å understreke denne begrensningen i det historiske materialet, samtidig som han påpeker viktigheten av at ikke historien blir skrevet uten å ta hensyn til dem som er tause i kildene.

Den etiske drøftingen konsentrerer seg om å diskutere omsorg med utgangspunkt i feministisk filosofi. Den tar også for seg i hvilken grad verdier i sosialt arbeid kan være universelle. Denne delen av avhandlingen knytter opp mot aktuelle problemstillinger i vår egen tid. Den forsøker å synliggjøre relevansen av den historiske analysen i forhold til problemstillinger knyttet til omsorgstiltak og kulturmøter.

NORTH SAAMI SUMMARY

SÁMEGIEL ČOAHKKÁIGEASSU

Dát dutkamuš digaštallá "sosiála barggu" oassin miššuvdnabarggus. Ulbmilin lea joksat áddejumi daid ovtastuvvon árvvuin ja beroštumiin mat ledje duogážin sihke miššuvdnadoaibmajuiide ja sosiála doaibmajuiide mat jodihuvvojedje dain oassin. Dutkamuša vuolggasadjin lea lohkan Hans Egede' miššuvdnabarggus ja koloniserenrahčamušain Ruonáeatnamis (1721-1736) ja Sámemiššuvnna álggahanáigodat Norggas 1888 rájes 1900:i. Dán dutkamušas lei álggos oassi mii sisttisdoalai maiddái dánskalaš miššoneara David Rosen ja su barggu miššonearan Indias ja kolonisahtoran Nikkobarálaš suluin (1818-1838). Dát oassi lea almmustahttojuvvon sierra raportan (Wallin Weihe 1999), muhto lea geavahuvvon oassin vuoddoávdnasis dán dutkamuša loahpaheaddji guorahallamiin.

Dutkamuša vuoddun leat sihke almmustahttojuvvon gáldut ja arkiivagáldut. Dat leat juhkkujuvvon historjjálaš guorahallamii ja nubbái eanet filosofalaš guorahallamii mas historjjálaš ávnnas lea vuoddun. Dutkamuša loahpalaš osiide lea váldon mielde kommunikašuvnna ja etihka guorahallan.

Historjjálaš válddahusa ja guorahallama vuoddun lea Habermas' analyisa borgárlaš servodaga čuožžileames ja Geremek' historjjálaš analyisa guottuin ja doaibmajuin geafivuoda vuostá. Dása lassin leat geavahan moanat iesgudetlágan fágalaš áššebeliid. Eanaš dát leat oidnosin dahkkon dutkamuša loahppaosiin.

Oassi dutkamušas digaštallá miššuvdnadoaimmaid váikkuhusaid miššonearaid ruovttoriikkain. Girječálli geahčada organisašuvnnaid mat ledje miššuvdnadoaimmaid duogábealde, dego dehálaš lávdin organiseret mánga joavkku mat muđuid uhcán dihttojedje almmolaš politihkalaš digaštallamis. Dát čuvge ee. mo nissoniid rádden doarjaorganisašuvnnat duvdiledje Sámemiššuvnna doaimmaid sosiála doaibman. Nu geavai vaikko sis lei váilevaš ovddastupmi organisašuvnna jodihangottis. Dutkamuš geahččala maiddái čuvget mo almmolaš digaštallan, diedalaš sáhkkiivuolta, profešunaliseren, nášunalstáhta čuožžileapmi ja odda ekonomalaš dilit váikkuhedje daid doaibmajuiide mat bohte áigái. Vaikko girječálli oaidná miššuvdnadoaibmajuid oassin náššuvnnalaš politihkas ja geahččaleapmin ovttaiduhittimii nášunalstáhtii, son maid čujuha surggiide gos miššuvdnadoaibmajut ledje vuostálaga ja muhtumiin ge mánggasuoragin dán ektui. Ii unnimusat ge dát guoskkai Sámemiššuvnna gaskavuhtii dáčča giellapolitihkkii.

Digaštallan kommunikašuvnna hárrái fátmasta sihke dan kommunikašuvnna mii lei njuolgga ovttastallamis ja dan mii geavai oktavuodain iežas birrasii. Sihke lundui gaskavuodat ja olmmoš ráhkadan latnja leat oassin digaštallamis. Loahpalaš filosofalaš guorahallamis girječálli lea deattuhan geahčadit mo sii vásihedje dan ahte sin ledje "jorgalahttán". Dát joavku illá oidno miššonearaid gálduin. Doppe leat dušše miššonearaid dulkomat ja áddejupmi "duoid nuppiin". Girječálli mielas lea dehálaš deattuhit ahte historjjálaš ávdnasat dás leat gáržžit, seammás go son čujuha man dehálaš lea ahte historjá ii čállo almmá válddekeahtá sin vuhtii geat gálduin leat jávohaga.

Etihkalaš guorahallama váldu lea digaštallat ovddasmorraša feministtalaš filosofiija vuodul. Dat maid geahčada man muddui sosiála bargguid árvvut sáhttet leat oppalaččat. Dát oassi dutkamušas goalostuvvo áigeguovdilis čuolmmaide min iežamet áiggis. Dat geahččala fuopmášuhttit ahte dat historjjálaš analysa lea dehálaš čuolmmaid ektui mat gusket ovddasmorašdoaimmaide ja kulturdeaivvadeimiide.

**ABBREVIATIONS, PRINTED SOURCES,
ARCHIVAL SOURCES, OTHER SOURCES AND
BIBLIOGRAPHY**

**«SOCIAL WORK» AND MISSIONARY WORK AS
PART OF THE POWER GAME**

ABBREVIATIONS

Notes:

Abbreviations can often be quite confusing. Different institutions like the Council for World Mission (CWM) and Rhodes House Library (RHL) will, for example, sometimes use different abbreviations writing about missionary societies. In such cases I have mentioned both abbreviations used in my listing though I have chosen the use of one of them. Translations also might pose a problem. I have chosen to abbreviate from English though some of the institutions undoubtedly would have preferred abbreviations based on their national language. In some cases two institutions abbreviate in the same way and in such cases I have chosen to make abbreviations that prevent mix ups.

AS Archive Sources

BEIC British East India Company

CMS Church Missionary Society (at UBL Special Collection, Birmingham UK)

D Danish

DPC Danish Polar Centre

DU Dutch

F French

G German

HMQD Her Majesty the Queen of Denmark's Private Archive (Copenhagen, Denmark) Hennes Majestet Dronningens Håndbibliotek (D)

IASSA Institute for Advanced Studies in Social Anthropology (University of Gothenburg Sweden)

IFSW International Association of Social Workers

IN Inuit

KNO The Coordinating Committee of Northern Affairs

L Latin

LMS London Missionary Society

LUL Lund University Library (Lund, Sweden)
Universitets Biblioteket i Lund (S)

MF Micro fiche

NAD National Archives of Denmark (Copenhagen, Denmark)
Rigsarkivet (D)

NAN National Archives of Norway (Oslo, Norway)
Riksarkivet (N)

N Norwegian

NASW Norwegian Association of Social Workers

OUL Oslo University Library (Oslo, Norway)
Universitets Biblioteket (N)

OXUL Oxford University Library

Pbk. Paper Back

PS Printed Sources

R Rosen

RHL Rhodes House Library Collections

RL Royal Library (Copenhagen, Denmark)
Det Kongelige Bibliotek (D)

S Swedish

SA Samii

SAT State Archives of Tromsø

UBL University of Birmingham Library (UK)

UG University of Gothenburg

UK United Kingdom

UL University of Lund
ULB University Library of Bergen
ULL University Library of Lund
UO University of Oslo
USA United States of America
USPG The United Society for Propagation of the Gospel (London, UK)
UTRON University of Trondheim
UTRONL University of Trondheim Library
UTROM University of Tromsø
UTROML University of Tromsø Library
WMMS Wesleyan Missionary Society
WWF World Wide Fund for Nature

ILLUSTRATIONS

Chapter 3

Gin Lane engraving from 1751
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Reindeer in winterlandscape
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Poor boy
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Albertine in the waiting room of the police doctor
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The Weekly Journal published by The Association against legal protection of
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Catching sealdogs
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Dwellings and boats of the Greenlanders
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Saami languages (map)
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Sovereignty and tax districts in the border areas of Denmark/Norway,
Sweden/Finland and Russia 1613 - 1751/1826 (map)
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Shaman with his drum
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Shaman drum from Folldal in north Trøndelag
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The two Saami participants on Nansen's expedition across Greenland
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G.F. Lund of the Evangelical Lutheran Church dressed like a Saami
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Kvænangen Saami Children's home
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ARCHIVE SOURCES (AS)

In the text Archive Sources are listed AS and number , archive. Those which mostly concern the time period of Rosen have been marked with an "R". For example AS I R or AS VIII R. Material concerning the period of the Saami mission has no such marking. Material concerning the Saami mission starts with AS X. Readers should be aware that there will be listed another AS X R and so on, which will concern the time period of Rosen. The reason for doing the listing like this is practical. At the time of writing I thought the number of archive sources would be more limited and had listed them all in one list. As it turned out that I got more sources I changed my listing as above rather than making changes in the whole manuscript by introducing a new system of numbering. Published or printed archival material is listed under printed sources. All the sources listed as archive sources (AS) are handwritten sources.

David Rosen's expedition to the Nicobar islands and his work as a missionary in India

Archive Source VII R (AS VII R)

Det Engelske Herredømmets Indflydelse paa Hindufolkene (David Rosen) (The English Rule and its influence upon the Hindu Population)

Private Archive after Joachim Fredrik Schouw (partly with numbered pages)

National Archives of Denmark (NAD)

(Rise Hansen, 1980, page 280)

Archive Source IV R (AS IV R)

Mandatsliste over det paa Skonnerten Cimbria værende Mandskab mønstret den 5te Julii maaned 1831. Written in Danish, translated; "List of the Crew of the schooner Cimbria, enlisted 5 July 1831

From the National Archives of Denmark, Copenhagen (NAD)

2. Kollegiets diverse sager

b. Gouvernementet i Ost Indien og Nikkobarøerne vedkommende 1827 -1838.

Nikkobar expid. vedk.

(Veildende Arkivreg. II Rentekamret, Genraltoldkamret og

Kommercekollegiet 1660 -1848: 332)

(Rise Hansen 1980:104)

Archive Source LII R (AS LII R)

Letter to the Rev. Roy Secretary of the SPG District Committee in Madras from Haubroe and Kohlhoff (Half yearly returns) dated 30th of July 1827 Tanjore

(page 78 -85)

Proceedings of the Madras District Committee of the SPG

USPG X 83 b

Rhodes House Library Collections (RHL)

Oxford University Library (OXUL)

Archive source LIV R (AS LIV R)

Letter from the Rev. Schreyvogel to the Rev. Roy Secretary of the SPG District Committee in Madras

Dated 11 of May 1827 Trichinopoly

(page 99 -101)

Proceedings of the Madras District Committee of the SPG

USPG X 83 b

Rhodes House Library Collections

Oxford University Library (OXUL)

The Saami mission

Archive source X (AS X)

Tromsø Bishop

Copy book no. 20 11.01.86 - 08.02.90

State Archives of Tromsø, Norway (SAT)

Archive source XI (AS XI)

Tromsø teachers college

Copybook 1855 -1860

Brev fra bestyrer Fredrik W Hvoslef til stiftsdirektionen. Translated;

"Letter from the dean Frederik W Hvoslef to the board of the Bishopric"

State Archives of Tromsø, Norway (SAT)

Archive source XII (AS XII)

Tromsø teachers college

Killengren J, Tromsø Skolelærerseminarium the 27th of March 1873

Translated, "Tromsø teachers college the 27th of March 1873

From Box 29, The Archives of Tromsø teachers college

State Archives of Tromsø, Norway (SAT)

Archive source XIII (AS XIII)

Tromsø teachers college

Esendrop Instruks udfærdiget efter Res. af 25de Januar 1853 for lærerne i de saakaldte Overgangsdistrikter

Translated; "Instructions given after the resolution of 25th of January 1853 for teachers in the so-called transfer districts"

From Tromsø teachers college archive box 27

State Archives of Tromsø, Norway (SAT)

Archive source XIV (AS XIV)

Tromsø Bishop

Copy book 1890 - 1895 entry no 101

Letter to the Church department dated 20/2 1894

State Archives of Tromsø, Norway (SAT)

Archive source XV (AS XV)

Tromsø Bishop

Copy book 1890 - 1895 entry no 25

Letter to the Church department dated 26th of February 1892

State Archives of Tromsø, Norway (SAT)

Archive source XVI (AS XVI)

Tromsø Bishop

Copy book 1890 - 1895 entry no 39

Letter to the Church department dated 3d of March 1891

State Archives of Tromsø, Norway (SAT)

Archive source XVII (AS XVII)

Tromsø Bishop

Copy book no. 20 11.01.86 - 08.02.90

Letter to Finnmark County (in Norwegian "Finnmarkes Amt")

State Archives of Tromsø, Norway (SAT)

Archive source XVIII (AS XVIII)

Tromsø Bishop

Copy book no. 20 11.01.86 - 08.02.90

Letter dated 14th of March 1887 to the parson Andorsen (In Norwegian ; Sp. Andorsen) (I am somewhat uncertain about the spelling of the name due to the handwriting)

Numbered 132

State Archives of Tromsø, Norway (SAT)

Archive source XVIV (AS XVIV)

Tromsø Bishop

Copy book no. 20 11.01.86 - 08.02.90

Letter to the Church department (in Norwegian; K.Dept.) dated 15th of March 1887

Numbered 133

State Archives of Tromsø, Norway (SAT)

Archive source XX (AS XX)

Tromsø Bishop

Copy book no. 20 11.01.86 - 08.02.90

Letter to the Church department (in Norwegian; K.Dept.) dated 15th of February 1887

Numbered 84

State Archives of Tromsø, Norway (SAT)

Archive source XXI (AS XXI)

Tromsø Bishop

Copy book no. 20 11.01.86 - 08.02.90

Letter to Petter Pedersen Bakkejord and several more 5th of March 1887

Numbered 118

State Archives of Tromsø, Norway (SAT)

Archive source XXII (AS XXII)

Tromsø Bishop

Copy book no. 21

Letter to the Church Department and the Parliament (In Norwegian; Kdpt & Storting.) dated 7/5- 1895

Numbered 114

State Archives of Tromsø, Norway (SAT)

Archive source XXIII (AS XXIII)

Tromsø Bishop

Copy book no. 21

Letter to the Church Department (In Norwegian; Kdpt) dated 1895

Numbered 52 (yearly report)

State Archives of Tromsø, Norway (SAT)

Archive source XXIV (AS XXIV)

Tromsø Bishop

Copy book no. 20 11.01.86 - 08.02.90

Letter to the Church Department dated 21 sept. 1888

Numbered 206

State Archives of Tromsø, Norway (SAT)

Archive source XXV (AS XXV)

The Norwegian Samii Mission

Copybook no 1 a

Entry dated 18/2 - 1913 letter to barrister O. J Hesselberg

(in Norwegian ORsakfører O.J. Hesselberg

State Archives of Tromsø, Norway (SAT)

Archive source XXVI (AS XXVI)

The Norwegian Samii Mission

Copybook no 1 a

Entry dated 22/5 -1917 letter to L. Larsen, Saltøya

State Archives of Tromsø, Norway (SAT)

Archive source XXVII (AS XXVII)

The Norwegian Samii Mission

Box no 10

Letter from "The Finnmark mission of the independent Church"

In Norwegian "Frikirkens Finnmarksmission" dated Flekkefjord 2/6-1914

To " Mr. headmaster Quigstad" In Norwegian to "Herr Rektor Quigstad"

State Archives of Tromsø, Norway (SAT)

Archive source XXVIII (AS XXVIII)

The Norwegian Samii Mission

Box no 10

Letter from Bertrand Nielsen dated 28/2-1914 D/S Flora

"Forslag angaaende fotografier som bør utstilles paa den kirkelige utstilling"

Translated to English, "Suggestions about photos that should be displayed at the Church exhibition"

State Archives of Tromsø, Norway (SAT)

Archive source XXVIV (AS XXVIV)

The Norwegian Samii Mission

Box no 138

Folder marked 1906 -1917

Letter from Enok Sandvik Alvøen to diacon Nilsen (Kistrand) 2 pages

State Archives of Tromsø, Norway (SAT)

Archive source XXX (AS XXX)

The Norwegian Samii Mission

Box no 10

Folder marked 1914

Recommendations to the General Assembly from the central board of the Norwegian Lutheran Inner Mission in Oslo (Kristiania) 2-5 of July 1914

Printed in Norwegian, translated; "Indstilling til selskapets generalforsamling fra hovedbestyrelsen for det Norsk Lutherske indremissionsselskap"

State Archives of Tromsø, Norway (SAT)

PRINTED SOURCES (PS)

Sources not published in English have translated titles . All translations are done by me, which means that other and more official translations might exist. In the text printed sources are marked PS. In case of translations quotations will be in the original language in footnotes. In such cases the language of the text is marked with an abbreviation for the language, All abbreviations are listed alphabetically in the list of abbreviations. The Norwegian letter æ is listed as an "a."

In some few cases I have received the publications from other researchers. In those cases the name of the researcher is mentioned in parenthesis. Sources listed in published guides to sources will have references to those guides in parenthesis. Some of the printed sources are included in the bibliography. The reason is that they sometimes can be used both as sources (for instance because of quotations from letters etc.) and as points of view and interpretations by others. Most books, even books used partly as sources, are only listed in the bibliography. I have made exception for a few major sources like Egede (1741 reprint 1926 PS) and some books only used as historical sources. Nevertheless, even those books are in addition listed in the bibliography.

The publications in PS are from the newspaper Nordkap, from Lutheran Church Bulletin, The Danish Journal, The Norwegian Census, the yearly reports of the Norwegian Saami mission , a children's home and a , as mentioned above, a few books.

B, D and E

Bergh J., Om kirkelig fattigpleje, **Luthersk Kirketidene** (translated title Lutheran Church Bulletin), Saturday 19th of March, 1881 and Saturday 26th of March 1881

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