Meetings between peoples
The Multicultural World Heritage of Gammelstad
Lars Elenius
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Lars Elenius
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LARS ELENIUS b. 1952 is Professor of History and Education at Luleå University of Technology. His research includes areas such as ethnicity, minority policy, nationalism, cultural heritage and regional change in northern Europe. Between 2002 and 2016 he led a transnational project to write a history book and an encyclopaedia on the Barents Region. The connection between ethnicity and heritage has been examined in a number of Swedish and international publications in recent years.
Introduction

It began with phone call from Beatrice Norberg. She is a museum educator and works to raise the profile of Gammelstad Church Town amongst tourists, school classes, business leaders, researchers and others. Her inquisitive voice at the other end:

“Why do we see so little about the minorities in what is written about the Church Town?”

I considered for a few moments but had no good answer. As a historian I know that Sámi-speaking and Finnish-speaking minorities for a very long time have lived alongside with the Swedish-speaking majority population of northern Sweden. But they have often been placed in their own ethnic reservation, geographically distant from Gammelstad. This also applies to other minorities. Their history in the Luleå area has remained invisible, since the nation-state always wants to write the history of the majority. But both the Church Town itself and the church congregation have always been multicultural. It is against this background the book has come into being.

In the meetings that took place with Beatrice and museum director Ann Lindblom Berg at the open air Museum Hägnan & Gammelstad Visitor Centre, a project took form – Communicating Gammelstad Church Town as a world heritage. We considered that different kinds of visitors are interested in different aspects of the World Heritage Site. Therefore we decided to make four thematic studies to focus on different parts of World Heritage Site. They are presented in the form of four publications. In addition to this part about multi-culturalism, the thematic studies look at isostatic rebound causing the land to rise and the landscape to change, the design and social functions of houses and variations in clothing fashion. The administrator responsible for social planning and heritage at the County Administrative Board in Norrbotten, Jeanette Aro, immediately backed the idea. So did Region Norrbotten (formerly the county council) and the Luleå Culture Board, and subsequently the Swedish National Heritage Board.

During the work on this publication I have had the pleasure of cooperating with many local archives and libraries. In the archive at Norrbotten Museum I had special help from the director of the department for the photo library and collections, Anna Lundgren, archivist Karin Tjernström, and photo library assistant Berit Åström, among many others. Hans Öqvist gave me access to Rutvik village archive. Interviewees Arne Alman, Bertil Öström, Birger Sundström, Birger Åström, Eva Sjöblom and Sven Sundström have contributed their personal recollections and their experiences of contact with minorities. They have also passed on received knowledge associated with Sámi and other minorities in the villages around Gammelstad, where they grew up. Sören Andersson has talked of his experiences from a long and hard working life as a reindeer herder. The interviewees have together enriched the narrative with oral source material. I would like to give special thanks to all of you who contributed.

Anna Åström has contributed with a text about Italians in the Church Town. Those who formed a reference group in reading the text were Ann, Beatrice and Zara Johansson and Linda Stenman at the Visitor Centre. Archaeologist Kjell-Åke Aronsson, Ájtte Swedish Mountain and Sámi Museum, has scrutinised and given valuable comments on the content. Sámi spelling has been corrected after examination and comments from Nils Olof Sortelius, language consultant at the Sámi Parliament. Thank you, everyone!

Lars Elenius
In the middle stands the massive stone church and like a solar cross on a weather map, the roads disperse in different compass directions towards the large villages. They have Swedish names, but as early as the Late Iron Age Sámi, Finnish and Swedish ethnic groups met here. Rivers, lakes and mountains were named by the ethnic groups who lived in the landscape, but the names could change when new linguistic groups settled there.
The vanished minorities in the World Heritage Site

As soon as you enter the Church Town in Gammelstad you feel the collective power in the small church cottages. The buildings are strikingly low, and joined to each other in long rows. This gives the impression of a spiritual node joining people into a community.

The community layout is typically mediaeval. The surrounding villages have Swedish names like Rutvik, Björsviken, Gäddviken, Bälinge and Avan. According to the first known ordinance on residents in the church cottages, dated 1695, it was only permanent residents with a homestead in Luleå parish who were entitled to build a church cottage near the church. Since the farmers in the villages around the church were mainly Swedish speakers, Church Town in old Luleå came to be perceived as “Swedish”. There were for example Sámi among the farmhands and maids who were employed on the farms. But they were not landowners and therefore not entitled to own a church cottage in Gammelstad.

Through ownership conditions, groups with other languages and cultures have been airbrushed from the Church Town. They lived in Luleå parish but due to their invisibility they are not part of the World Heritage Site. They have gone under different names in different periods: Lapps, Finns, Kvens, Sámi, Tornedalians (Swedish Tornedalen Finns), Sweden Finns, Gypsies, Roma, Jews, Jutes, Danes, Norwegians, Muscovites, Russians.

The terms for Sámi-speaking and Finnish-speaking groups in the Nordic countries have been confusing. Sámi-speaking groups in the early Viking age were called “Finns” by the Scandinavians, a term that indicated that they were hunter-gatherers and had no permanent dwellings. As recently as the 11th century, the Catholic priest Adam of Bremen described how Hälsingland was the northernmost Christianised area where “skrithiphinoi” (skiing Finns) also lived. The term “finne” has been kept into the modern era in Norway as a reference to the Sámi.

When a joint Swedish realm was established in Sweden and Finland in the 12th century, Swedish usage made a distinction between “Lapps” (Sámi-speaking) and “Finns” (Finnish-speaking). The area where the Finnish-speaking
Finns lived is now called Finland and the areas where the Sámi lived "the Lapp lands" (Swe. lappmarkerna/Sam. Sápmi). The Norwegians too adopted the term "lappar" to some extent, with reference to Swedish Mountain Sámi. Today, the older terms "finne" (Norway) and "lapp" (Sweden) have been replaced by the ethnic group’s own term “same”.

The term “lapp” (Eng. Lapp or Laplander) is today considered derogatory by most Sámi people. In this publication the term “lapp” is used in different historical contexts, for example to describe special geographic areas, place names, proper nouns, administrative terms or nouns with the ending “lapp”, while “Sámi” is used in a modern narrative context. The term “finne” is also perceived as derogatory by some Finnish-speaking people. In the long-term historical perspective, here the term “finne” is used to describe Finnish-speaking groups who in a broad cultural perspective have been bearers of different kinds of Finnish-speaking culture.

What Finns and Sámi have in common is that in the Swedish state they have been culturally subordinated minorities in relation to the dominant Swedish-speaking group. Until the Middle Ages, Norwegians called the Finnish-speaking peoples living on the coast of the Bothnian Gulf “kven” while the Swedes called them “finnar”. This was the Swedish name for Finnish speakers regardless of whether they lived in southern Finland, Värmland, the Stockholm area or in Tornedalen (The Torne River Valley) in Norrbotten. When Tornedalen was absorbed into the Swedish kingdom therefore, “kven” as an ethnic term around the Bothnian Gulf disappeared, but the ethnic group remained. Those living in Tornedalen today call themselves “tornedalingar” (Eng. Tornedalians). They are a national minority in Sweden. However, the term “kven” survived as an ethnic category in northern Norway, to where Tornedalians and North Finns moved in the 18th and 19th century to escape famine and to find alternative livelihoods. Finnish speakers there continued to be called “kvener” by the Norwegians. They are today a national minority in Norway.

Those living in the villages around Gammelstad and in the Lule river valley spoke different languages. They had specific clothes and habits. They each had their own history. Among them, the Sámi and Finnish-speaking groups stand out through their long-term presence in the area. Their cultures have been influenced by adaptation to the northern climate, long-term nearness to each other, and the fact that they were on the Bothnian Gulf when the first Swedish-speaking groups settled there. It is above all their history we concentrate on when the history of minorities in the World Heritage Site is told.

**Luleå parish in history**

It is not meaningful to limit oneself to the area around the church when reconstructing the minorities that have been part of the World Heritage Site. The church cottages, closely packed together in blocks round the church, are divided into more than 550 rooms with one or more owners. The church cottages form a microcosmos of the owners who have traditionally lived in
the villages around Gammelstad. By extension, they represent the whole parish. Nowadays, church cottages are owned also by people who are not permanent residents in the municipality.

The first recorded mention of Luleå parish is in 1339, as a chapel belonging to Piteå. Slightly over thirty years later, the parish is already described as autonomous and encompassing the Torne, Kalix and Lule river valleys with associated Lappmarks. There was then a Sámi-speaking population living in the entire area. In Tornio and parts of the Kalix River Valley, the Finnish-speaking population dominated, of which we also see clear traces in the Lule River Valley. Swedish speakers were a minority.

Tornio was separated from Luleå by 1413 and from Kalix by the 1480s. After 1654, Råneå became a separate congregation. The parish in Luleå was then limited to the river valley proper, and Jokkmokk and Gällivare lappmarks. This vast area was equal in size to the area of Uppland, Sömland and Västergötland provinces. The Swedish-speaking population was above all concentrated to the coastal area and villages along the river. Sporadic elements of the Finnish-speaking population were found in the coastal area and spread in the upper reaches of the river valley as settlers. At the same time, the Sámi seasonally migrated in the entire area.

The congregations in Gällivare and Jokkmokk were ultimately separated 1693 and Överluleå parish in 1831. Eventually, the last separation led to today’s Boden and Luleå municipalities. The large parish that the Church Town in Gammelstad represents has never been a statistical entity. Municipal boundaries have changed, and people have moved and interacted. With the historical change in parishes, the presence of ethnic groups has also changed radically. It is that change which will be depicted here. The monumental mediaeval stone church in the old Luleå represents a diversity of languages and cultures that for a very long time formed the cultural space in the parish.

The Lule River gets its name
The rivers can be regarded as the most fundamental parts of north Swedish
nature in the perspective of industry and transport. One can therefore assume that the names of rivers are of considerable longevity. You do not change the name of river overnight. Therefore, the names of rivers are of particular value when attempting to determine how ethnic groups have begun to use them populate the area. Linguistic researchers largely agree that the names of the big rivers north of Ångermanland province are mainly Sámi in origin, while others assert that Pite and Torne rivers have originally Finnish names. From Ångermanland and southwards, the river names are Scandinavian in origin.

The oldest written records regarding Luleå are variants such as *lula* or *lulu*, which probably come from the Sámi *lulle*, which means the compass direction “east”. In the Sámi language, the points of the compass follow the direction in which the rivers flow, so in Lule Lappmark, east has in practice being more or less southeast. In North Sámi, the points of the compass turn even more, so that *lulli* actually means “south”. The easterly term was used for the Lule River below the confluence of Stora and Lilla Lule River at Vuollerim. Below the confluence the Sámi population has long been Forest Sámi.

One theory on the origin of the name Lule is therefore that it was the Mountain Sámi term for the Forest Sámi as “those who live in the east” or “east dwellers”. By the Mountain Sámi they were called lullilahá or lulliha. So the river name would be an internal Sámi attribute meaning “Forest Sámi River”. It was eventually abbreviated to Luleju. The linguistic scientific reconstruction of the oldest Sámi name for the Lule River is Lulejujukke, based on lule (east) and jukke (older term for jokko = river). In the Sámi language, linguistic development has altered it to today’s Julevådno. Luleå is called Julevu.2

Of course, we must ask ourselves what the term Forest Sámi meant perhaps 8,000 years ago. At that time a deep sea inlet reached inland all the way up to Vuollerim. If we take as our starting point that the Sámi were first following the ice age to start using the area, and gave the river its Sámi name, they were probably as much Coast
Sámi as Forest Sámi. We cannot make pronouncements on ethnicity so far back in time. It is nevertheless beyond doubt that Coast Sámi lived on the Bothnian Gulf during the Iron Age, when Finnish- and Swedish-speaking fishermen and traders began to visit the area, and farmers began to settle at the rivermouths in the early Middle Ages.

The Finnish-speaking and Swedish-speaking settlers in the Lule River Valley did not adopt the Sámi river name Julevädno, which in Finnish would have been Julevjoki and Swedish perhaps Julelven (the Jul River). Instead it became the older form Lulejukke, which was transferred to the two languages. In Finnish it is called Luulanjoki and Swedish Lule älv. The fact that the older form was absorbed into Finnish and Swedish indicates a relatively early encounter between three linguistic groups, before the Sámi language changed its name for it to Julevädno.

The Sámi who lived at the mouth of the Lule River in the beginning of the 7th century did not call the sea the Bothnian Gulf. That is the early Svea (Swedish) name for the bay that ends farthest up in the north. In a similar way, the Finnish name for the bay is Perämeri, the sea lying beyond, or Pohjanperä, meaning the bed lying beyond. The Sámi language lacks the southerly perspective towards the Bothnian Gulf as a sea inlet with a bed. Instead, the sea is regarded as lying nearby. In the case of Sámi, there is not the explorative sense of a sea inlet that comes to an end.

First signs of Scandinavian culture

If we move on to the early part of the 6th century we can detect encounters between groups with different cultures and languages along the coast of the northern Bothnian Gulf. There were as yet no nations called Sweden, Norway, Denmark or Russia. Different
Olaus Magnus’s classic picture of salmon fishermen on the Torne River from the 16th century, illustrating the old-time fishing culture in Tornedalen. Up until the Middle Ages, the Finnish-speaking population on the Bothnian Gulf coast were called “kvener” by the Norwegians and “finnar” by the Swedes.

groups of people with loyalty to clans and families competed for territory and economic power. In present-day Sweden, one can distinguish Götaland and Svealand as the predominant provinces. North of Uppland lay Nordlanden (the North Lands). Finland did not yet exist as a concept, but the Sveas called it Österland (East Land). There was as yet no developed state that controlled the territory.

At the Sangis River, which lies between the Lule and Torne river valleys, there is an ancient burial mound which is the earliest palpable trace of Scandinavian presence in the northern Gulf of Bothnia area. It was probably constructed in the 7th century or somewhat later, to a dead Scandinavian warrior who was buried together with his shield and his sword-like knife. At the time, the grave lay on a sandy promontory where the Sangis River emptied into the sea. We do not know whether the warrior in the grave was a temporary visitor or whether he belonged to an early settlement. He was probably an armed trader. The ritually placed burial mound by the sea, with the shield and knife, bears witness to his being the leader of a military foray of the type that, a hundred years later, Europe would call Vikings.

In view of the extensive Viking expeditions in the east, which the Sveas would soon develop, one can assume that this was an early example of such a voyage along the coast of the Bothnian Gulf. If the grave had been a sign of a permanent Scandinavian population, more everyday items would have been present in the burial mound, and there would have been more nearby burial mounds at the settlement. Here, the burial site is a sterile sandy promontory with only warlike attributes in the grave. One can see the 7th century burial mound as an expression of an early encounter between Sveas, Sámi and Finns near the northern rivers, but also a sign of confrontations with the population which then lived here, or between different fur trappers competing for commodities.

Sámi and Finnish place names
When considering the original Sámi name of the Lule River, one might ask to what extent Sámi names for natural phenomena survive in the river valley. A hunting and fishing population must have had a need to name the lakes and watercourses. Through a

A gaff for salmon fishing from a boat.
Land Survey database of place names, one can trace how Sámi, Finnish and Swedish nature terms are used today on the topographic map. You can then see the way in which the language groups have named the landscape in their mother tongue. The municipalities chosen are Luleå, Boden, Jokkmokk and Gällivare, which correspond to the area of what was the former large parish of Luleå until 1693, when the mountain municipalities were separated.

The Sámi endings -jávrre or -jau-re (meaning lake) correspond to the Swedish -sjö or -träsk. The equivalent in Finnish is -järvi. When searching the database for lake names ending in these suffixes, in Luleå one finds no lakes that end in the Sámi or Finnish suffixes. In Boden, upstream of Luleå, one finds 10 lakes with a Sámi suffix, for example Dábmkjávrre, which is the Sámi name for Lake Rödingsträsk or Vuollejávrre with the Swedish name Vitbergsträsket. There is only one lake with a Finnish-language origin. It is Vit-tjärvsträsket just outside Boden, whose name includes both the Finnish -järvi and the Swedish -träsk.

The Sámi suffixes -várre or -vare and the Finnish -vaara correspond to the Swedish suffix -berg (mountain), for example in names like Jalggisvárre in present-day Boden Municipality, which has the Swedish name Slättberget. In Luleå there are no mountains with such Sámi or Finnish suffixes. In Boden there are 17 mountains with -várre or -vare as a suffix. They are all situated in the northern half of Boden Municipality. There are no names ending in the Finnish -vaara.

When passing the Lappmark boundary there is a radical transformation in linguistic patterns. Now, Sámi and Finnish appear as the predominant languages. In Jokkmokk Municipality there are 659 lake names ending in -jávrre or -jaure, evenly distributed up to the Norwegian border,
but only 4 lakes ending in the Finnish -järvi. In Gällivare there are 233 lake names ending in -jávrre or -jau-re and no less than 875 names ending in Finnish -järvi. In a similar way, in Jokkmokk there are 271 mountains ending in -várre or -vare and four ending in -vaara. In Gällivare, 181 mountain names end in -várre or -vare and 390 in -vaara.5

The conclusion one can draw is that based on the geographic area of the former large parish of Luleå there are two distinct language patterns. They have developed from the 17th century to the present day through in-migration of Swedish and Finnish speakers into the area. Below the Lappmark boundary there is an almost total predominance of Swedish, with the occasional Sámi element in the northern part of Boden Municipality. Above the Lappmark border, Sámi dominates in Jokkmokk and Finnish in Gällivare.

One explanation for the different language patterns emerges when examining how trade developed in the Lappmark areas. As early as the Viking age, the Finnish-speaking Kvens had developed trade and close relations with the Sámi. Torne Lappmark developed based on their settlement areas along the Torne and Kalix river valleys. Through tributaries to the Kalix River, parts of present-day Gällivare Municipality came to be included in their sphere of interest. West of the Kalix River, Swedish speakers became the dominant settlers. The language boundary between Finnish and Swedish came to lie where we also find the coastal Scandinavian burial mound in Sangis, documented back to the Iron Age.6 Lule Lappmark therefore came to incorporate both the Råne and Lule river valleys. The later colonisation by settlers in the interior followed the traditional trade areas of the respective language groups. That is the reason why nature related place names

Lappgårdan in Alvik lies slightly higher in the forest right on the outskirts of the village. The water spring adjacent to the former Sámi settlement is now enclosed with a cement pipe. According to village records, a Sámi man named Siggan lived in cottage on the site.9
in present-day Gällivare Municipality are so influenced by the Finnish language, which is not at all the case in Jokkmokk Municipality.

**People’s collective memory of the Sámi**

On the outskirts of many villages around Gammelstad there are popular recollections of Sámi settlements. The visible traces of them have often been eradicated by expanding fields or growing forest. Nature takes back and carefully embeds an old house foundation or the hollow from a goahte (Lapp hut) in dense Haircap Moss. Within 300 years or more it has returned to the forest’s general anonymity. Nor do the vast fields stand undisturbed. Along the edges, building plots are parcelled and rows of modern homes in pure white wood paneling appear, with trendy irregular windows and designer front doors. In the dark of the rural winter, facade lighting underscores the urban nature of the homeowner’s dream. The virgin white house leaves the feeling of an American docusoap. There is not a trace of a Sámi settlement having been nearby.

In other places, slaughterhouse storage has been built or piles of gravel have taken over the site of an old settlement. Traces of the Sámi have been swept away. But within the great oblivion of material transience, memories still live on in the villages through the place names. Names such as Kåtaholmen or Rengärderget have been given to places that at one time were the dwelling site of a Sámi family or a Sámi individual. At the place called Lappgärda, gärda means an enclosed and protected area in the original meaning of a farmstead or enclosure. It indicates that the person or persons who lived here had an enclosure for goats or sheep in the forest. They may also have grown crops there.

Memories have been astonishingly resilient as if with their lingering names referring to “Lapps”, reindeer and goahte huts they have wished to challenge today’s blind fixation on the future. For as long as the oral tradition has been strong, the cultural memory has been passed on from generation to generation. Parents have told their children, and taught them to read the landscape around the home property and the village. The place names Lapptallen (Lapp Pine) or Kåtatjärnen (Goahte Lake) come with a story, which has passed on the popular memory of when “Lapps” were part of everyday life. Today we see how that type of transfer is fast fading.

Sámi presence is still tangible through place names in the present-day municipalities of Luleå and Boden. It applies to about 60 place names with the syllable ren (reindeer) that exist, for example Rengärderget, Renholmen, Rengårdsalsmyran or Lill-Renholmsgrundet. They tell of traditional reindeer husbandry areas and associate to the groups that have worked with reindeer for millennia.

Sámi presence is even more palpable in place names with the element kata (goahte) or lapp. The kata-names
On this map from 1671, the small island of Renskår (Reindeer Skerry) is marked north of Mannön.

are seldom in the immediate vicinity of villages: they are often places that have served as dwellings during fishing, such as Kåtaudden, Lappkåtaviken and Lill-Kåtaträsket or Kåtaheden, lying between former lakes which have now become marshlands. Here we are speaking of Sámi settlements of a more or less permanent nature. Obvious fishing sites can be seen at Greater and Lesser Kåtaholmen, located by the sea at Rörbäck. They were low islets surrounded by water at recently as 300 years ago. Since Kåtaholmen refers to a name of an islet, we can draw the conclusion that it was named after Sámi goahte huts on the islet at that time. Due to glacial rebound the two islands are no longer surrounded by water. We may assume that the islands have been seasonal settlements for individual fishing Sámi people. This applies also to Kåtaholmen island with nearby Kåtaholmsgrundet in the old outflow past Bensbyn. The same applies to Kåtaudden on Långön island further out at sea. In Sweden, one traditionally speaks of Mountain Sámi and Forest Sámi based on their reindeer herding methods, but with regard to the kåta-names or lapp-names on the coasts and on the archipelago islands, such as Lappön island north of Hindersön, one might equally use the term Coast Sámi. They lived seasonally or temporarily in the coastal area.

In the western end of the municipality lie the lakes Inner and Outer Bjursträsket with the village of Bjurstråsk on the isthmus that cuts the lakes from each other. At the southern end of Outer Bjurstråsk lies the bay Lappkåtaviken alongside a marsh called Lappkåtamyr. This is a typical lake-based Sámi settlement. The Swedish word bjur which is included in the name of the lake means beaver. The lake was certainly once used in hunting for precious beaver skins. There are other kåta names further inland between Niemisel and Morjärv. They lie in typical Forest Sámi locations where a combination of reindeer husbandry, hunting and fishing was practised.

The hundred-odd lapp-names in Luleå and Boden municipalities are dispersed fairly evenly across the coastal area and the interior, sometimes in more concentrated form associated with lakes with names like Lappräsket and Lappavan or specific parts of lakes such as Lappviken. This suggests more permanent settlement with one or more families cooperating.

As has been shown, there are many Swedish names that describe Sámi activities and Sámi settlements near villages in the Lule River Valley, in the form of place names containing lapp, kåta, ren or similar. However, there are in principle no place names that beyond doubt come from the Sámi language. This indicates that Sámi settlement was sparse. Indeed, the Sámi led mobile and seasonally related lives, which meant that places which were not permanently inhabited may have been taken over by farmers. Along the Lule River there is excellent salmon fishing, which must have attracted Sámi fishermen long before Swedish and Finnish-speaking settlers constructed their first seasonal settlements, which could then become permanent.
It was fishing in rivers and lakes that was the main livelihood of the Finns. They could travel long distances for seasonal fishing in mountain lakes, which the Swedish-speaking farmers also did. A temporary fishing settlement was in Finnish called kalakenttä.

...
a Torne Lappmark Birkarl trader, although according to an official register he was a resident of Niemisell. The combination of the Finnish *niemi* and the Swedish *sel* means that the Finn or Finns who named the place became at an early date trumped by Swedish settlers who used the Swedish word *sel* for flatwater instead of the Finnish *suanto* or the Sámi *sávu*. The fact that the place was also a traditional settlement site for the Sámi is underlined by the name of Lappkäringudden (Lapp Woman Point), a promontory in Lake Degerselet near the village.

The village of *Vittjärv* lies 5 km north-west of Boden and takes its name from Lake Vittjärvsträsket, which also gives its name to the mountain Vittjärvsberget. Here too we see the characteristic encounter between Swedish and Finnish name forms. The Finnish *järvi* means lake, as does the Swedish *träsk*. We can imagine an early Finnish-speaking fisherman or farmer giving the Finnish-speaking name. In 1543, the village name was spelt *Wikerff* but it eventually took the form *Witz Järff* and ultimately its present-day name. A number of older spellings indicate that the prefix *Vitt-* comes from the Tornedalen Finnish *vitta*, which means “twigs”. So the Finnish name would mean Twig Lake or Bush Lake.

Finally we have the village name *Kallax*, which comes from the bay at the mouth of the Lule River. Here too we see a lone Finnish place name surrounded by Swedish names. In a tax register from 1553 it is spelt as it is today, but it comes from an older Finnish spelling, *Kalalaksi*, meaning “Fish Bay”. It is probable that Finnish fishermen used the bay as a traditional fishing site. The seasonal settlement eventually became permanent, as well as the name of the bay. Fishing has always been a predominant industry in Kallax, even after farming made its entrance. As recently as the mid-16th century, there was only one homestead in the village. It was owned by Morten Skinnare and he is mentioned in the late 16th century as
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trading at Tornio fair. Another testimony about contact with Tornio (in Finland) is from the farmer Laurenss Nilsson of Antnäs. According to court records from Stockholm, he was a witness on 4 September 1482 in an inheritance dispute about salmon fishing in the Torne River. At the end of the 18th century, a register of catechetical meetings concerning nearby Måttssund states that one of the men in a household could read Finnish. The examples show that from earliest times there were regular contacts with the Finnish-speaking cultural area in those coastal villages that we usually consider to have been homogenously Swedish speaking.

In the village of Hortlax in Piteå, 50 km further south along the coast, we see a coastal Finnish settlement corresponding to that in Kallax. Hortlax, like Kallax is a name of Finnish origin, meaning Dog Bay. Also the coastal village of Rosvik in Piteå Municipality has been identified by linguists as having an originally Finnish name. This is said to have come from Ruotsilahti which means Swede Bay. If so, this is one of few examples of Finns indicating Swedes as an ethnic group in a place name. In general, it is Swedes who have given finn- or lapp-names to places in the landscape.

The linguist K.B. Wiklund held that the encounter between the Finnish, Sámi and Swedish languages in the Bothnian Bay area was probably before the 9th century, and that the Finns must already have been in contact with the Norwegian Arctic Ocean and the Torne river valley, as well as with Luleå and Piteå, because the Finnish name forms Luulaja for Luleå, and Piitime for Piteå were probably loaned from Sámi to Finnish before the Viking age.

The Finnish-language names probably came about slightly earlier than, or in parallel, with the first Swedish settlements. More extensive early settlement by Sámi and Finnish speakers would probably have generated more place names that to some extent kept their original linguistic forms. Possible earlier Finnish or Sámi place names have been replaced by the Swedish-speaking settlers with Swedish elements as in the names Niemisel and Vittjärvsträsk. The Swedes have often created completely new Swedish names associated with farming.

It should be pointed out that the naming that has become permanent and retained is not necessarily the earliest naming. Everywhere in the coastal area we must also reckon with early Sámi names for lakes, bays, mountains. In the Kalix and Torne river valleys, this applies also to Finnish nature related place names.

The name Finnavan, which on the map is spelt “Finnåfwan”, is the name used by Swedish speakers to refer to the Finns who used the ava or lived beside it. On the map from 1671 there is an indication of how the two bays Sunderbyviken and Gammelstadsöviken were once connected.
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Gammelstadsviken was originally named Finnavan

One clear example of how Finnish-speaking fishermen may have frequented the coast is the area around the bay Gammelstadsviken. One older name for the bay is in fact Finnavan, a name found on a map from 1671. An “ava” (as in -avan) is a shallow or narrow inlet in a lake or watercourse that has been cut off from a larger body of water. On a copy of the map, more than hundred years later, Finnavan has been struck through and Stadsviken (Town Bay) written instead. Finnavan is undoubtedly an older name that was used before the church site was promoted to a town. Luleå was founded in 1621. It cannot have been called Stadsviken until after that year. That is why the cartographer in the late 18th century found Stadsviken to be a more appropriate name, but in the older version of the map, the water is still designated “Finnavan” and it is clear that this refers to the entire bay which leads up to the church.\textsuperscript{14}

The fact that the name exists on one of the oldest maps of the Luleå river valley reinforces the evidence that it is an early name, perhaps the oldest Swedish name, for Gammelstadsviken. There is probably a reason why it was called \textit{ava} on the oldest map, and subsequently \textit{vik} on later maps. If one examines the rising land due to glacial rebound, a sound once connected Finnavan to the Lule River, until some point between the 10th and 13th centuries. The name thus probably came about sometime in the early Middle Ages when the ava still had a narrow connection with the river. The term \textit{vik} must belong to a later phase when the water was counted as a bay in relation to Björstbyfjärden.

It is true, the word “finne” is an older name for “lapp” or current day “Sámi”, but in Swedish sources from the 13th century “lapp” is used to depict a Sámi. This indicates that Finnavan came into being when “finne” meant a person who spoke Finnish. From the beginning of the Middle
Ages, Swedes called Sámi-speaking people “lappar” and Finnish-speaking people “finnar”.

Prästviken (Priest Bay) is another name used in later times. It refers to the establishment of the church and the estate of the church glebe around the inner part of the bay. The name Stadsviken was relevant between 1621 and 1649 when present day Gammelstad was called Luleå and the Church Town constituted the newly-formed town. When relocated to its current site, the old Luleå was transformed into the old town (“gamla staden”). Not until then could Gammelstadsviken come into being.

However, the land continued to rise and Finnavan became a separate lake in the northern part of Gammelstadsviken closer to Rutvik. In court records of a demarcation dispute between farmers in Rutvik and the church glebe on 28 June 1596, Finnavan was mentioned. The priest Anders Petri Grubb then heard testimony from villagers about the boundary between the village of Rutvik and the glebe. They had heard from their parents that “the right boundary would be Råhällan in the Rutvik forest, the Redstone north at Finnavan” and “an unusually large pine east of the little fishing stream out on Skutön island”. The stream was called “Fin Afuabäcken”.

Land Survey records from 1769, over 150 years later, show that Finnavan had become a lake. It now had the alternative name Börstentjärn (Börstingstjärnen on present-day topographical maps). Today, Börstingstjärnen and Finnavan are completely separate. What is left of Finnavan is a number of overgrown pastures just under a kilometre north of the low-lying area that remains of Börstingstjärnen. They lie 200 m west of the E4. Birch forest is taking over Finnavan as a haymaking area and the barns are in different stages of decay.

**Finntorpet croft at the Church Town**

It is not only the name of the bay that tells of a Finnish background to the early settlement of the area around Gammelstadsviken. It is strengthened by the mention in 1553 of the fact that a smallholding called Finnesetther in the Gammelstad church glebe then paid a tithe in cereal and six hayloads. This was a small farm that had some cows, perhaps a horse and probably sheep and goats. Since the element finne says that the ava and croft were named after people who spoke Finnish, we see here the traces of such an early smallholding, perhaps at the same time as the Finnish Kalaht, Fish Bay, was settled by Finnish-speaking fishermen who gave the village of Kallax its name. It is interesting in dating that place names containing the suffix -säter or -setr (or in this case -setther) are thought to originate from the Viking age, that is the timespan 800‒1050 CE. Such place names are very unusual in northern Sweden. 16

The croft Finnesetther on the Gammelstad church glebe no longer exists. It was probably absorbed into the glebe or the Royal demesne that Gustav Vasa formed in the 16th century. According to the dictionary “Ordbok över svenska medeltidspråket”, säter denotes a settlement or dwelling, especially a summer settlement or summer pasture. 17 A search in the Land Survey database of place names shows that in Norrbotten County there are only six names ending in -säter, compared to 31 in Dalarna.

In Kalix Municipality we find the
This is what Finnesetther would have looked like at Finnavan if we think of it as a fishing settlement for Finnish seasonal dwellers, one of whom eventually built a croft. The picture is from a fishing settlement at Jerisjärvi in northern Finland, consisting of old timber buildings. In Finnish culture, the word *kenttä* signifies a summer pasture site, but this was not necessarily associated with livestock farming. There also existed the *kalakenttä*, which referred to a seasonal fishing settlement.

Lappsäter on the border with Haparanda. In Piteå Municipality there is *Grevsäter*, the name of an area near Hortlax, *Åsäter* as the name of a small community near Roknäs and *Storsäter* near the village of Altergård. In Älvsbyn Municipality there is a geographical name *Fjällsäter* and in Arjeplog there is the name of a small community *Sjösätter* close to an old summer pasture. The examples show that names could be used for both Finnish and Sámi settlements like in Luleå and Kalix, or for seasonal settlements as with the summer pasture in Arjeplog, but also for permanent settlements.

Finnesetther is interesting since it was established at the place where the church was built, and where the church glebe took its land when the parish was established in the 14th century. It is feasible that Finnesetther was originally a seasonal settlement for fishing, in the same way as in Kallax. Eventually, fishing was combined with agriculture and became a permanent settlement. Between 1558 and 1563, Gustav Vasa expropriated the rectory property in Gammelstad, and ran a stud farm which was called Lule gård (Lule Farm). The priest was banished to a rectory in Uppland and a state bailiff managed the farm. When the farm was returned to the church just five years later, it is possible that Finnesetther was absorbed into the church property.

Swedish and Finnish settlement apparently took place in parallel at the mouth of the Lule River. The Finnish-speaking fishermen settled the ava (shallow bay) that had been formed and it was given the name Finnavan by the Swedes because they knew Finns live there. What the Finns themselves called the ava we do not know. No Finnish name has survived. The fact that in the 1670s it was still called *Finnavan* on official maps must mean that at the time the name was still living tradition from a time when Finnish culture was strongly associated with the place. Another piece of evidence of the long Finnish tradition is that the name occurs in land parcelling documents that concern properties between the glebe at the church and the farmers of Rutvik.

Details crop up here and there in sources that indicate Finnish ethnicity. One then understands that there
must have been a good number of such people with “concealed ethnicity”. This applies for example to the soldier Pehr Hansson Dragon in Måttsund. In parish records for 1798 it is stated that he “reads Finnish both in books and otherwise”. He was generally called “Gammel-Dragon” (Old Dragoon) and had campaigned with Karl XII. Pehr was known to possess special bodily and mental powers to cure illnesses, and was what we would today call a “healer”. He died at the age of 110.20

Possible early Finnish settlement on Porsön island
Influences from Finnish-speaking people in the neighbourhood of Gammelstad have previously attracted scant interest in the cultural historical descriptions of the area. The Finns have been placed in Tornedalen with a surrounding mental geographical fence. In reality, the settlement of the Lule River estuary has been by Swedish and Finnish speakers in parallel. This leads us to the question of the name Pyrte.

The birkarl traders had social status as both wealthy farmers and citizens. They could be Finnish- or Swedish-speaking. The picture is of a “Finnish inhabitant from Tornio parish” who was portrayed at the very beginning of the 19th century.
At the end of July 1374, the Archbishop of Uppsala visited the Bothnian Bay area to judge where the boundary between Turku diocese and Uppsala diocese should be drawn. A letter about the demarcation was signed by him: “Ratified by His Reverence father in Christ Mister Biurger, by the grace of God Archbishop of Upsala, on the first day of the Month of August in the church parish of Lulo in Norrabuttn at a town called Pyrte, of Upsala diocese”. Researchers have discussed where Pyrte was situated. Some have suggested Piteå, and that “Lulo” might have been a chapel in Piteå parish, but stronger arguments have pointed out Porsön, right at the entrance to Gammelstadsviken.

Until at least the 17th century there were wealthy Birkarl traders in the villages of Björsbyn and Rutvik, who used the sound Sellingsundet as an approach route to their villages. The sound between Porsön and Björsbyn was formerly called Köpmanssundet (Trader Sound). On the shore there was a rock called Köpmanshällan (Trader Rock). Until the late 1950s or early 1960s an iron ring is said to have been attached to the rock to enable mooring ships. Nearby lay Skutön island. In the mid-1960s, a haymaking marsh north of Porsön still went under the name of Hamna (approx. “harbour”).

In toponymy, one explanation for the name Porsön is that quantities of pors (Bog Myrtle, myrica gale) grew on the island. Another, as yet untested alternative, is that the name is related to shipping around the northern part of the island. The Latin word portus means harbour and could be the origin of the name Portesön that was used at the beginning of the 18th century. In these two alternatives, the starting point has been at the name comes from the Swedish language, but there is also a third alternative linked to the Finnish language. There is an oral tradition that a Birkarl trader called Paul lived on Porsön. It is said that he there constructed a house that was so tall that “its gable” could be seen from out at sea.

The description of the Birkarl house on Porsön invites a new interpretation. We speak of a transition period before Luleå had become a town and before the present church was built on the hill Berget in Gammelstad. This was the transition period in the 13th and 14th centuries when Finnish and Swedish-speaking people met at the estuary of the Lule River to fish, and to trade with the Sámi. In the 14th century it became compulsory for them to operate under the Swedish king’s charter to be able to trade. They were then called “Birkarlar”, the term for farmers who had the special privilege of being able to trade with the Sámi.

If we assume that the Birkarl trader was Finnish-speaking rather than Swedish speaking, the Latin Pyrte/Pirte could come from the Finnish word Pirtti, which means a large timber cabin. In Swedified form, such a cabin or the large communal room in the cabin is called Pörte (Log Cabin). The old transformation from Pirtti via the Swedified Pörte to Portesön to Portön and Portzön, arriving at the current day Porsön is quite feasible as an alternative interpretation of the name. The Finnish-speaking name for the island might reasonably have been Piirtisaari, which translated to Swedish is Pörtesön (Log Cabin Island).

Let us leave the topic with this rather bold Finnish-language hypothesis on the interpretation of the name Pyrte and let future research determine whether the name was originally Swedish, Finnish or perhaps Sámi. To lock wholly on to Swedish culture has until now blocked interpretive possibilities that are not Swedish-speaking. The names Finnavan for Gammelstadsviken and Finnesetther as a farm are supported by sources. If a Finnish pörte-style cabin on Porsön is added as a hypothesis, understanding increases of why the oldest recorded name of the bay at the church site is Finnavan.
Rivers, lakes and mountains were named by the ethnic group that lived in the region, but the names could be changed when new language groups settled in the area. When the Swedish state established in the Bothnian Gulf area, the place names began to be established on maps.

CHAPTER 2

Settlement and matrimony

Hunting and fishing provided the fundamental livelihood of those living in the northernmost Bothnian Gulf area in the early Middle Ages, and so important that the population had to pay tax in the form of skins instead of according to the viability of farming. The Sámi storage hut was built on posts in order to protect the contents from wildlife. When built on a single post, the store was called njalla and when built on four posts, áitte. The corresponding names in Finnish were niiilaitta (one post) and aitta (four posts). In northern Sweden, the Swedish names for such stores were härbre or stolpbod.
At an early date, Finnish-speaking and Swedish-speaking traders developed lucrative trade with the Sámi. Those in authority in the newly established capital town of Stockholm were aware of this profitable trade. By the 13th century at the latest therefore, the royal power in Sweden under Magnus Ladulås seized the right to trade with the Sámi. Until then, those trading with the Sámi had acted autonomously and demanded gifts of the Sámi in return for trading: an informal taxation linked to families with local influence. Now that right was delegated to special so-called Birkarl traders, who had the royal privilege to collect state taxes and trade with the Sámi.

The Birkarl traders were trading farmers who were entitled to keep the profits from trade and in return pay a certain fee to the king. Their trading areas coincided well with the river valleys and the areas above the farming region called Lappmarker (Lappish lands). For the Sámi, the Birkarl traders brought with them salt, flour, homespun wool, pots and other necessary products as well as ornaments, spoons and crafted products in silver. They also brought cash. Riksdaler with a weight of two “lod” (20-100g) were a standard, and sometimes the only means of payment that the Sámi would accept. The Sámi sold the skins of different animals, above all reindeer skins, and mittens and shoes made of reindeer skin, reindeer meat, dried fish and different handicraft products.

The first recorded mention of the Birkarl traders in 1328 concerns a dispute with farmers in Hälsingland concerning the right to freely travel through forests and across land to trade with the Sámi. The Birkarl traders’ trade with the Sámi was organised as shares or lots linked to certain Sámi individuals. That meant they had a monopoly on trade with particular Sámi people, and the right to...
levy tax from them. In a statute issued in Piteå in 1424, it is said that if another “Lapland traveller” saves “the life of a Sámi, his wife, children or servant by providing a reindeer, net, food, axe, kettle, pot, or other implement needed for a livelihood” he might take over the tax levy, and trade with the Sámi person for three years. The right then returned to the proper lot holder.

Trade between Birkarl traders and Sámi was thus strictly regulated. The quoted statute had clear feudal elements, but at the same time it is clear that the Sámi were not owned by the farmers in a feudal sense. The wealthy Sámi traded with Norwegian and Swedish traders and sold for example dried fish from Norway to Birkarl traders from Sweden, and they also sold to less wealthy Sámi who did not make trading journeys themselves. They can be described as professional traders in a similar way as the Birkarl traders, but in the capacity of reindeer owners rather than coastal livestock owners.

Nils Andersson Kråka, who was a Birkarl trader in Sunderbyn, wrote in an account from 1595 that at Epiphany the Birkarl traders travelled up to the four Sámi communities of Sjokksjokk, Jokkmokk, Tuorpon and Sirkas, where in all over 200 Sámi lived. For Annunciation Day, 25 March, today known as Waffle Day, the Sámi travelled down to the upper villages. Every second year they came to Harads, which was the highest of the villages, and alternate years to Bredåker, situated further down. Another ancient trading site for Birkarl traders and Sámi is Heden, just outside Boden. An important side income for the Birkarl traders was regular fishing at Laxholmen in Edefors, the Crown had fishing facilities from the 15th century or earlier, on the map referred to as “Kongafiskiet”. Revenue from salmon fishing helped finance the construction of Gammelstad church.

On the map of the Lule River Valley from 1671 the farming villages are marked as green islands in the sketched savanna of wilderness. They become smaller and smaller the further upstream one comes, and stop at Storsand below present-day Vuollerim. That was where the boundary for cultivation ran.
On Laxholmen island at Edefors on the Lule River stands Lapptallen (the Lapp Pine), a tree stump with an inscription from 1753. Nearby there are a multitude of ancient remains of trapping pits and dwelling sites with cooking pits.

Settlement and matrimony

It appears that in the 16th and 17th centuries, the commerce of the Birkarl traders took place mainly with Sámi living in the interior. In no known sources from this period is trade with Sámi from the coastal areas mentioned. Yet there are many traces in nature that show that Sámi were living and active in coastal areas. Up until the end of the 19th century, different Sámi communities let their reindeer forage in winter on the large lichen-rich sandy moors around the mouth of the Lule River. Then there was a long break until the latter part of the 20th century before they were regularly used for forage again.

Finnish colonisation upstream the Lule River

The Finnish-speaking colonisation of the landscape in Norrbotten occurred in two phases. The first more or less permanent settlement process emanated from Tornedalen (The Torne River Valley). As early as the end of the Viking era, a Finnish-speaking population was established there, whom the Norwegian referred to as kvener (Kvens) although the Swedes called them finnar (Finns). Continued settlement took place upstream along the Torne and Kalix rivers, which are connected by the Tärendö River about 200–250 km from the coast. Throughout historical time, the two main rivers have been a connected water system, which explains the Finnish-speaking predominance also in the upper reaches of the Kalix River Valley. Swedish speakers settled on the coast and about 100 km upstream. From there, Finnish cul-
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The early Finnish settlers in the Lule River Valley used the crossbow as a hunting weapon until the 16th century. Above, a picture of a crossbowman from Finnish Lapland.

In the first early colonisation and settlement in the coastal area, places with more lasting Finnish populations were given place names based on the Finnish language, such as Kallax, Hortlax and possibly Pyrtesön. This happened in an early phase, when the Crown did not have control over the area. In the first phase, encounters with Swedish settlers must have stopped Finnish settlement further south. This was probably because the groups of Finnish speakers moving along the coast were small, but also because they were hunting and fishing, not farming. A coastal language boundary between Finnish and Swedish eventually formed at Sangis, between the Kalix and Torne rivers.

In the second phase from the beginning of the 14th century, the northern Bothnian Gulf area came under the administration of the Swedish king. The influx of Swedish speakers then increased considerably at the coast and in the lower parts of the Lule and Kalix river valleys. The coastal Finnish-speak-
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Inland settlements now changed to become more inland-oriented at lakes and rivers, except in the Torne River Valley where the coastal area too was markedly Finnish-speaking in the villages. Inland settlements increased further when in the 17th century the state encouraged farmers to settle in the Lappmark areas. In 1673, a statute called the Lappmark Proclamation was made. A special boundary was drawn up to separate the Lappmark areas from lower land. It meant that those who cleared a settlement above the Lappmark boundary would enjoy 15 years’ exemption from tax. It drove an influx of Swedish and Finnish-speaking settlers above the boundary. In addition, many Sámi became farmers to defend the right to use their Sámi taxation area and to enjoy the tax exemption that came with a new settlement. This changed the conditions for settlement in the entire Lule River Valley.

One example of Finnish influence in Jokkmokk is that the first settler in Storsand was a Finn by the name of Henrik Henriksson, as was later confirmed by his paternal grandson, Sheriff Nils Nilsson of Randiijaure in 1741. Henrik was from Hovlös in Råne River Valley. He had settled in Storsand to provide boat transport for passengers to and from the silver furnace in Kvikkjokk and to offer them overnight accommodation. The job also included delivering letters. For his undertakings he became tax exempt. Since the silverworks in Kvikkjokk started up in 1661, the settlement probably started around that time. On the map of Luleå Parish from 1671 there is a “Stoor Sanden” drawn as the highest settlement in the Lule River Valley at the time. It was thus a Finnish settlement.

Referring to the Lappmark Proclamation, two other Finns, Henrik Eriksson and Anders Eriksson, requested permission in 1689 to settle at the rapids “Storluleåforsen” at Porsi above the Lappmark boundary in order to “pursue their cultivation of fields and meadowlands”. They were also given the right to “exploit some salmon fishing in the rapids” since it was considered that the Sámi had not previously fished salmon there. In court in Jokkmokk the Sámi Pål Andersson and Pål Pagesson of Sjokksjokk community protested the requested settlement since it was situated on their Sámi taxation area, but they lost.

The Lappmark Proclamation of 1673 greatly increased Finnish settlement of the upper parts of Lule River Valley. The Sámi settlement of Luovvaluokta in Tuorpon Sámi community can illustrate how also Finnish and Swedish settlements could look in the Lappmark areas.

The settlers were required to break ground for buildings and farmland, but hunting and especially fishing were a vital part of Finnish culture. Here we see net fishing at Laxholmen on the Lule River.
Settlement and matrimony

At the time it was generally considered that farming and reindeer husbandry were not in competition with each other and that therefore settlements did not constitute an intrusion into Sámi livelihoods. This was wishful thinking. It would turn out that reindeer eating newly harvested hay and trampling down hay drying racks would become a constant cause of disputes between the Sámi and the settlers. In addition, the farmers competed with the Sámi for fishing in the rivers and lakes. When the farmers harvested or burnt forest, reserve foraging land for the reindeer was ruined. The lichen in the threes was reserve fodder for reindeer in winters when foraging was difficult. The harmony that the district courts described in their findings quite simply did not exist in reality.

Some of the places Finns moved to in order to set up settlements include Hovlös, Edefors and Storsand in today’s Luleå Municipality, Ångesån in Överkalix Municipality and Åträsk in Piteå Municipality. Grels Mattson was born in Pyhäjoki Parish in Pohjanmaa, in present-day Finland, and appears to have worked as a charcoal maker in Masugnsbyn and Svappavaara before registering in 1684 as a settler in what was called Siggevara Lapp (=Sámi) community in Jukkasjärvi Parish of the day. Four years later he was in Gammelstad and in early summer he set off northwards to Jokkmokk and then on to Purkijaur settlement. He was looking for a place to settle, but soon travelled down to Storsand, there to help the Finn Jöns Jönsson with haymaking. He had plans to join the “Mårdsle Finns”, who had the oldest settlement from 1671 in Lule Lappmark. Instead he borrowed a boat to get to Edefors and then back to Storsand and up to Porisi where the “Hovlös Finns” had recently started a settlement. There is evidence that he started a settlement in Kuouka which his son Jakob Grelsson later took over. The establishment of settlements in Storsand and Porisi shows the way in which mining

The Sámi who lost their reindeer could be forced to move from their Sámi communities. Of the families who migrated from Jokkmokk Municipality between 1758 and 1880, 80 per cent of those in the western Mountain Sámi communities of Sirkas and Tuorpon chose to move to Norway. The corresponding proportions in Sjokksjokk and Jokkmokk were 39 and 14 per cent. There were few before the 20th century who moved to the coastal area around Luleå.
Settlement and matrimony operations in mountain areas and the smelter in Kvikkjokk, in combination with the Lappmark Proclamation, impacted migration patterns along the Lule River.

The need of transport in connection with the start-up of the mine smelter in Kvikkjokk gave rise in the 1660s to a new Finnish settlement in Storsand. It is likely that Henrik Eriksson operated boat transport downstream to Harads. No settlements were established upstream on the Lesser Lule River, so it was probably the settled Forest Sámi there who operated transport on up to Kvikkjokk. The mine provided new jobs for Finns, Sámi and Swedes. The settlements also show how the Lappmark Proclamation displaced settlements further up along the river valley. The two Hovlös Finns mentioned earlier and other settlers moved upstream across the boundary with Lapland to receive settlers’ privileges, having lived in Storsand for twenty years. By the end of the 17th century, six new settlers had moved into the same area.

The Finns Henrik and Anders both came from the village of Hovlös in Råneå Parish. This shows the way in which multicultural content was embedded in different inland villages in a similar way as immigrants today live in different residential areas and towns. By establishing a settlement in Storsand they spread their Finnish culture in a north-westerly direction. For those who had a command of several languages it meant that the increased activities in Lappmark areas meant that they could serve as interpreters, but they could also become settlers. One example is the interpreter Anders Nilsson Finne who in 1699 was approved by three Sámi in Tuorpon as a settler at Tjåmotis on condition that in return he helped share the payment of Sámi taxation. As Filip Hultblad has shown, Finnish influence was considerable when the first settlements were started above the Lappmark boundary along the Lule River Valley. Finnish influence was even greater in Gällivare Lappmark.

Sámi migratory patterns
Increased mobility along the river is indicated also by the fact that Sámi moved downstream along Lule River to the villages closest to Gammelstad Church Town. In Purkijaur lived the Sámi Olof Rim with his son Lars in a Sámi taxation area (Swed. lapskatteland). According to records from 1678, they pursued farming of some description there, even though they were not called settlers. The kin also occurs in registers of household catechism examinations in Nederluleå in the 19th century. One instance is Nils Rim, who at the beginning of the 19th century was registered in Kallax with his wife Cajsa and daughter Maja. A note in the register of deaths states that in 1797, Lars Pålsson Rim of Björbyn had been “burnt to death in his cottage in a fire”. In Sunderbyn lived Brita Michelsson Rim, who was married to Nils Nilsson. She died at the age of 80, three years before her husband.

From Alvik we hear of Nils Mickelsson Rim, who died in autumn 1805 “of a stroke out in the woods and fields”. One of his sons died young in Bensbyn, another in Gäddvik. The Sámi shoes of reindeer skin were widely also by Finns and Swedes in inland areas. The box is for storing shoe hay.
notes about the sons dying in different villages indicate mobility among the Sámi. They took temporary jobs on farms in different villages and moved from place to place. The authorities complained that the Sámi came down to the coast in summer to take on herding jobs or other temporary work, but when winter came they did not remain on the farms, making a living in other ways. It was more probably more difficult to find work in winter.

Catechism examination books show that in the 18th century the Sámi had become a non-migratory population in the villages around Luleå. Their families could comprise up to 9 children, such as that of the “parish Sámi” Anders Larsson, who was registered in Gammelstad but lived in Notviken with his family. There were also single mothers with children and not infrequently single elderly men and women. The family situation was complex, has with other ethnic groups. It was not solely a case of Sámi moving down to the coast from the Lappmark areas. In some cases, Sámi moved in the other direction from the Luleå region to the Lappmark areas.

In 1968, culture geographer Filip Hultblad published his dissertation on nomadism and agricultural settlements in Jokkmokk Municipality. In it, he investigated mobility among the population in the municipality between 1758 and 1880. Here his primary material is reworked to see how population mobility in the Lappmark areas looked in relation to coastal communities in Sweden and Norway. Hultblad made a family register based on the men as the head of the family. It reflects a patriarchal pattern in the method to analyse migrations, but can be used to see how families moved. It was usually entire families that moved. With that limitation in the sampling it is nevertheless interesting to see where the in-migrants came from.

In-migration increased considerably from the middle of the 18th century. Among the 679 families he records as having moved into Jokkmokk Municipality between 1758 and 1880, 281 people have stated the communities from which they came. The others were already second or third generation in-migrants into Jokkmokk Municipality. It shows that 33 per cent came from Överluleå Parish, 15 per cent from Nederluleå Parish and Luleå town and 15 per cent from Gällivare. A quarter, representing smaller percentage points, came from different places in Norrbotten and 13 per cent from dif-

Seasonal migration by Sámi between the mainland and the coast increased during the 17th and 18th centuries. It was common for women and men to take employment herding cows for farmers in the summer. On the picture, Sigga Pålslotter Sunna from Sjokksjokk.
ferent places in Sweden outside the county of Norrbotten. Of these first time in-migrants, 66 per cent were single men. Jokkmokk was thus a typical magnet for male workers of the same type as the Orefields in Gällivare and Kiruna became when iron ore extraction began.

The Sámi Nils Larsson of Sunderbyn was included in the 15 per cent who moved from Nederluleå Parish to the Lappmark areas. He was the oldest sibling in his family. As an adult he moved in April 1790 to the Lappmark areas. If he accompanied other Sámi on their way northwards is not known. Another example is Paulus Rim, who grew up in the early 19th century in Sundom. He married a Sámi girl from the same village, and shortly before their 30th birthdays they both moved to Jokkmokk in 1840. It has not been investigated what it was in the Lappmark areas that attracted them. It can have been relatives who were prepared to employ them in reindeer herding, but they could also have been attracted by the offer of tax exemption if they started a settlement.

Out-migration from Jokkmokk is also of interest. Hultblad’s research shows that in the westernmost Mountain Sámi communities of Sirkas and Tuorpon, more than 80 per cent of the families moved to Norway. In Sirkas, 3 per cent moved to the coastal area of Norrbotten, but none from Tuorpon did so. In Sjokksjokk, 39 per cent moved to Norway and 18 per cent to the coastal area of Norrbotten. In Jokkmokk the corresponding figures were 14 per cent and 0 per cent. We find that the Mountain Sámi who migrated from Jokkmokk Municipality it was not primarily Nederluleå and the other coastal municipalities of Norrbotten that were attractive. It was Norway that exerted the biggest pull. However, 21 per cent moved from Sjokksjokk and 57 per cent from Jokkmokk to the part of the river valley that lay between the Lappmark boundary and the coastal area, to what we usually term the inland or the interior. Since Hultblad followed family migrations based on the men as the heads of families, the material in no way captures the single women who had seasonal work or

There are not many pictures of Sámi wedding couples in the Lule River Valley. The wedding couple on the picture appear to have been relatively wealthy in view of the dress ornamentation.
who moved permanently to the “lower country”.

Sámi matrimonial patterns
in Nederluleå

When we see the increasing Sámi population in the villages around Gammelstad Church Town in the 17th and 18th centuries, we do not know who belonged to a previous permanent coastal Sámi population and who were in-migrants. Beyond doubt, a certain Sámi population must have lived at the mouth of the Lule River when Finns and Swedes began to settle there, but we see no physical traces of any of the three groups during the 1st millennium CE. Their lifestyles aimed at hunting and fishing were probably so similar that it would in any case be difficult to see the differences between the ethnic groups. Even if for example hunting wild reindeer was a Sámi speciality, wild reindeer hunting occurred also among the other groups. It was however the Sámi who developed the husbandry of semi-domesticated reindeer.

We see one example of farmers hunting wild reindeer in the court records of Luleå Assizes on 23 March 1666. There it is written that “Jan Påwelsson in Alvik petitions his neighbours Erich Erichsson and Christopher Pedersson over a reindeer they have caught in reindeer snares”. The fact that it was an issue regarding trapping in reindeer snares must mean that it was about a dispute over wild reindeer hunting, not over reindeer domesticated by the Sámi. If that were the case, the issue would have been formulated in another way.

At the beginning of the 18th century, there was a well-established Sámi workforce in Gammelstad, Luleå and the surrounding villages. They mostly worked with tasks that were considered taboo and were avoided by the Swedish population, or they were given less qualified work such as herding cows. This latter applies especially to female Sámi. Sámi status in society also affected matrimonial patterns. This is seen in matrimonial records in Nederluleå Parish. The records include the occupation of those marrying, but for the Sámi, their ethnicity is always added in the form of the term “Lapp” in connection with the occupation.

The most common terms are “Lapp servant” or “Lapp farmhand”. Sometimes the term is simply “the Lapp” or “the Lapp man” and for women “Lapp girl” or “Lapp woman”. Of the 11,256 individuals who married in Nederluleå Municipality in the years 1770–1879, there were only 89 men and 68 women who were termed “Lapps”, that is, under 1.5 per cent.

The fact that the Sámi women are fewer in number than the Sámi men can be due to the fact that more Sámi men than women lived in Nederluleå Municipality right from the start, or that more men than women moved from the Lapland municipalities to the “lower country” or coastal area. It can also be a case of some of the Sámi women marrying people other than Sámi without having been described as Sámi. In that case they lost their Sámi identity in the matrimonial reg-

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**Diagram 1. Sámi herders in 1805-1835 and Sámi men’s other industries in Sweden, 1805-1855**

![Diagram showing Sámi herders and other industries](image-url)
Matrimonial registers show that, in principle, Sámi women in Nederluleå only married Sámi men. The two women were pictured in Svartlå by Fritz von Dardel in 1858.

They cover all the Sámi in the counties of northern Sweden, of which those in Norrbotten constituted 64 per cent in 1870. There we can see that it was above all men who were considered to have an occupation. Women were expected to marry and become housewives, and their work was not included in the statistics.

However, there are statistics covering both male and female herders. It is unclear whether the statistics concern solely herders in reindeer husbandry or whether herding cows for farmers is also included. As we have seen, as early as the beginning of the 18th century it was established Sámi seasonal occupation to herd farmers’ cows in farming areas. Since the primary material speaks of “itinerant herders”, it is quite probable that this in fact referred to cow herders in rural areas. It is not strange that cow herding attracted Sámi women and men. Within reindeer husbandry, herding was an established occupation for those who did not have reindeers of their own from which to derive a livelihood. It was not a big change to start herding cows.

The diagram shows that herding was dominated by women during the first decades of the 19th century. It is unclear why women are not included in the statistics after 1840, but one can see that the proportion of male herders increased somewhat after 1840, which can be connected. The number of Sámi men with and without reindeer, however, remained fairly constant. Both among herders and among Sámi men without reindeer, there was
a need to travel to the coast to find work and later get married there.

Among the 68 recorded Sámi women who married in the years 1779–1869 there are only two cases of them marrying someone other than Sámi men, so one can assert that women kept solely to their own group. Among men, there were more marriages outside their ethnic group. For the sake of simplicity therefore, in Diagram 2, men’s matrimony has been chosen as a starting point to show how often the Sámi married or did not marry each other. Among the 89 men, there are only five marriages where the bride’s ethnicity is not recorded. For women, there are none lacking such details about the bridegroom. All 68 newlywed Sámi women except two are thus included in the diagram. They were married to Sámi men.

Contact between Jokkmokk and the coast is occasionally evident in the marriages. On 15 October 1780 for example, the “Lapp man” Pehr Andersson, Jokkmokk, married the “Lapp widow” Ingrid Larsdotter, Gammelstad. This shows that married Sámi couples lived in the church town itself. Sometimes, no abode is given, and one may then assume that they were nomadic Sámi. One example is of two “Lapp servants”, with no given abode, who in the 1770s married respective-ly a “Lapp servant” and a “Lapp widow” from Jokkmokk. Sometimes both the bride and bridegroom are recorded as living in Jokkmokk. One can then assume that they took the opportunity to marry in Gammelstad in connection with reindeer migration down to the coast.

It was not unusual for Sámi in the same village in Luleå Parish to marry each other. This was the case in 1790 when “Lapp farmhand” Lars Andersson married Anna Hansdotter, both residing in Sunderbyn. On 3 March 1795, “Lapp farmhand” Anders Matsu son, Alvik, married “Lapp servant” Helena Pålsdotter of the same village. Two days later, on 5 March, “Lapp man” Anders Janit of Smedsbyn, married “Lapp widow” Gunnil Mickelsdotter of the same village.

Sometimes a male Sámi married a woman of another ethnicity. On 28 March 1773, “Lapp farmhand” Pål Nilsson, no given abode, married Si grid Michelsdotter in Alvik. It is probably no coincidence that she was from Alvik. One of the traditional Sámi
migration routes down to the coast passed through Alvik. It was not unusual for settlers to marry across ethnic boundaries. In July 1817, for example, the settler Nils Abrahamsson of Hatten, married “Lapp servant” Cecilie Nilsson, Holmträsk.

The Sámi men who married across ethnic boundaries belonged to the lowest social class. In April 1864, Johan Knutsson of Björbyn married Elsa Lena Larsdotter, from Ängesbyn. He was stated to be a “lodging Lapp herder” and she a “Lapp herder”. The following year the “Lapp” Lars Anton Andersson, Gammelstad, married the “lodging man’s daughter” Lovisa Öhman, Vitån. Since it is only the Sámi who are described with their ethnicity, we do not know the other party’s ethnicity, but in view of the general demography in the coastal area one can assume that they were often Swedish-speaking. They can in some cases be Finnish-speaking, but since the parish books were kept in Swedish with Swedish sons’ and daughters’ names, no ethnicity can be identified from them. The number of Sámi marriages was greatest in the 1820s. After that, the variations were considerable. The villages around Luleå where newly married Sámi lived during the investigated hundred-year period are Brändön, Alvik, Gammelstad, Sunderbyn, Unbyn, Smedsbyn and Gäddvik.

As stated, it was during the 40-year period around 1800 that the Sámi men to greater extent married outside their own ethnic group. We must remember that the 1808-1809 war with Russia led to many male casualties both due to direct acts of war where men of the Luleå region were involved, and – perhaps even more – due to the diseases that followed in the wake of war. There was a deficit of men in the first decades after the war. After 1830, the marriages are almost solely internal Sámi marriages.

One might think that the considerably higher number of Sámi marriages up until 1830 was due to the fact that at the time Överluleå and Nederluleå (“upper and lower Luleå”) formed a joint parish and that most marriages then took place in Överluleå near the Lappmark boundary, but this was not the case. When for example Sámi marriages peaked in the 1820s, in half of the cases either the bride or the groom was from a village in Neder-
In the villages along the Lule River Valley in the 18th and 19th centuries, a population grew that was a mixture of Sámi, Finnish and Swedish speakers. Combinations of the three languages were used in many families in Överluleå Parish into the 20th century. The drawing is from the journey by Prince Karl XV in northern Sweden up to Kvikkjokk in 1858. The prince with his black beard can be glimpsed in the carriage.

There was a general conception that the Sámi represented something wild and untamed. They were considered heathen, in contrast to Christian people. They lived a nomadic life, in contrast to farmers with a fixed abode. The areas in the forests and mountains where they lived were associated with wilderness. When for example the Sámi were described as “itinerant herders” it was because they were considered wild and uncontrollable elements in the organised social structure. Since settlements were started up in nature that was as yet uncultivated,
the settlements were counted as bordering on wilderness. From the end of the 18th century, the category of crofter was added as an occupation in the matrimonial registers. With the advent of crofters, nature had become more domesticated. Even though Crown crofts were often sanctioned in forested areas, they were part of a system for the emerging industrial society.

It can be useful to search for the statistically vanished Sámi in the new groups “settler” and “crofter”. Examples of how the Sámi could balance on the line between categories are when the settler and “Lapp farmhand” Lars Pålsson from Högberg, Hatten, on 23 April 1820 married “Lapp servant” Maria Pehrsson from Sunderbyn. Two years later, the “Lapp settler” Michael Andersson Silfversparre, Rödingsträsk, married “Lapp servant” Gunilla Paulsdotter, who came from Jokkmokk. If the settlers continued with reindeer husbandry as a side occupation they could continue to maintain their Sámi identity. This was the case with Silfversparre in Rödingsträsk, who continued to maintain a Forest Sámi identity.

In other cases, the Sámi settler could within one generation be completely absorbed into a Swedish settler identity, but with Sámi roots. Diagram 3 shows how the relationship between the three closely tied occupational designations changed in matrimonial registers in Luleå Parish from the end of the 18th to the end of the 19th century.

After 1869, “Lapp” is no longer written as an occupation for the Sámi population in matrimonial registers in Nederluleå Parish. It was not that the Sámi were eliminated as population – it was instead that those who were employed as farmhands or servants were no longer counted as “Lapps”. Anders Petter Furtenbach from Selet is a clear example of what happened. When on 15 April 1827 he married “Lapp man’s daughter” Elsa Anundsdotter, he was working as a day labourer in Selet and in an explanatory note in the matrimonial register was described as a “Lapp man”. His wife later died, and when in 1871 he remarried, now to a servant from Vänträsk in Överluleå, his designation was changed to “crofter’s son”. That must mean that in 1827 he was already the son of crofter, but that his Sámi background at the time led to him being registered as a “Lapp man”. At his
wedding over 40 years later, his Sámi background was no longer counted, and he was registered under the category “crofter”. In Diagram 3, he is thus one of the people contributing to the displacement from the category “Lapp” to “crofter”. In the 1820s he belongs to the group Sámi. In the 1870s he has joined the group crofters.

Furtenbach’s Sámi background was eliminated when he changed occupations in a society that had become radically modernised. This was the case with all the coastal Sámi who lived in Nederluleå Parish in the 19th century. Therefore, they were assimilated into the Swedish population. It was modernisation that swept them along in its inexorable tide.

In the 19th century there were still Sámi who lived in the forest in wooden shacks or peat goahte huts and made a living doing temporary jobs or begging. Some had constructed an enclosure, a prepared area where perhaps they could grow root vegetables, later potatoes, combined with hunting and fishing and occasionally odd jobs on farms. When the land parcelling reform was introduced in the mid-19th century, large areas of common land around villages became private land. This may have contributed to the disappearance of Sámi enclosures, since the land was transformed from common village property to private property.

With the emergence of modern society, the niche disappeared in each village where the Sámi had been able to make a living. The Sámi in villages came to be part of the past in the farming society. Some became settlers or crofters. Others took employment in the occupations that emerged with industrialisation and modernisation. Administrative routines for reporting on Sámi were also changed. When the old type of sub-parishes was terminated as a form of organisation in the municipal reform of 1862, registration of the Sámi in catechism examination registers ceased. After 1869, “Lapp” ceased to be given as an occupation in matrimonial registers. There too, Sámi identity ceased to be visible in source material in Nederluleå. The Sámi did not disappear as individuals, but were integrated in the emerging industrial society, and became Swedes.
In the 17th and 18th centuries, increasing numbers of Sámi became excluded from reindeer husbandry. Some moved down to the region to beg, others took different types of temporary work. A Sámi proletariat was created who worked for the burghers of Luleå as well as for the farmers in the villages around Gammelstad. Some lived permanently in their own goahte hut or their cottage outside the village. Others took seasonal jobs on farms. In church registers they were often designated “Lapp servant” and “Lapp farmhand”.

Sámi who worked on farms often took work as so-called *getare*, herding farmers’ cows in the forest in summertime. They were called “Lapp farmhands”, “Lapp herders” or “Lapp servant”. Increasing world trade changed habits, among the Sámi too. For example, it became common to drink coffee and smoke tobacco, brought from the colonies of European nations.
Coastal Sámi in the villages around Gammelstad

At the start of the 18th century there were two comparable urban centres very close to each other. Gammelstad was the first urbanisation and Luleå the new town which replaced Gammelstad. People were drawn to the new Luleå, looking for a livelihood connected to expanding shipping and trade. There was a need for both female and male workers, crofters and employees in the service sector. The villages round about attracted those looking for farm work. Historians have always emphasised colonisation of the Lappmark areas as the most important migratory trend of the 18th century. The intellectual construct has been that the Lappmark Proclamation of 1673 created an opportunity for young people to move above the Lappmark boundary. They received tax exemption for 15 years and the chance to start a settlement and form families.

However, based on Filip Hultblad’s investigation of migratory patterns in Jokkmokk Municipality, we see also that there was a migratory flow from the Lappmark areas down to the inland and the coast, albeit much smaller in scope. Of the Sámi families that moved from the two Mountain Sámi communities closest to the Lappmark boundary in the years 1758–1880, in Sjöksjökk it was 20 per cent and in Jokkmokk almost 60 per cent who moved to the “lower land”.

When one combines in Luleå Parish different sources such as place names, spoken recollections from local residents, inventories of ancient remains, catechism examination registers and matrimonial registers, along with the minutes of court proceedings, a distinct Sámi population emerges who lived near villages around Gammelstad. In his work on parish history, the priest and historical researcher Albert Nordberg has described how in the beginning of the 19th century, Sámi still lived in every village in the parish. It is confirmed by catechism examination registers for Nederluleå Parish, where from the year 1820, Sámi were registered separately for each village under the heading “Lapp folk”. In catechism examination registers for the years 1820–1831 there are a total of 168 adults and children registered under that heading. During that period, present-day Boden Municipality was included in the parish up as far as the Lappmark boundary.

There seems to have been a need for
the authorities to distinguish the Sámi from the rest of the population. They were often considered vagrants, since they did not own land, and as regards working life they were a mobile labour force. In the earliest registers, “Lapps” are registered as resident in Harads, Smedsbyn, Bredåker, Sunderbyn and Ängesbyn. It is quite possible that some of them lived in goahte huts in the forest and were therefore not included in any farming village. In 1832, when Nederluleå became a municipality separate from Överluleå, Sámi settlements in the villages were described in more detail. In the years 1832-1862, Sámi in Nederluleå were mentioned in Ersnäs, Antnäs, Måttsund, Smedsbyn, Bensbyn, Rutvik, Persön, Bensbyn, Ängesbyn, Börjelslandet, Sunderbyn, the Old Town and Björbsbyn.37 There were seldom more than a handful of Sámi in each village, which shows how marginalised they were in the fast expanding coastal communities.

The priest Lars-Levi Laestadius was born in Jäkkvik in southern Lapland to a mother with Sámi roots. During his time as a priest in northerly Karesuando, he published a book in 1824 about how cultivation could be improved in the Lapp areas. He had deep knowledge of Sámi culture from the north to the south, and divided the Sámi into six different categories. According to him, Fjällappar (Mountain Sámi) were those who lived high up in the mountains and travelled to Norway in the summer. Halv-Fjällappar (semi Mountain Sámi) moved up to the mountains in summer, but kept to the forest rim and returned to the forest in winter. Skogslappar (Forest Sámi) stayed in both summer and winter in the forested part of Lapland and were more semi-nomadic, unlike the completely nomadic Mountain Sámi. Fiskar-Lappar (Fishing Sámi) lived near lakes and lived mostly on fishing. Fattig-Lappar (destitute Sámi) were those

Forest Sámi and Fishing Sámi often kept their goahte hut dwellings even though the storehouses were built of sturdy timber. In that way a seasonal settlement for fishing could gradually become a permanent settlement. Coastal Sámi lived in close symbiosis with farming villages and carried out tasks for payment. They could live as employed household servants on farms but also live independently in a goahte hut, shack or cottage outside the village.

In catechism examination registers from 1820 to 1873 in Nederluleå Parish, one can monitor the Sámi population in villages.
who had lost reindeer and did not fish, but made a living from begging in both Norway and Sweden. Among them he included Socken-Lappar (Parish Sámi) who had occupations such as knackers/assistant knackers in the villages. That meant that they skinned dogs, horses and cats for payment. The social situation of the so-called Parish Sámi was similar to that of the landless crofters, since they often lived on non-freehold property (chattel property) on the outskirts of the village or in the forest outside the village. They were enlisted for duties that were taboo to the farmers, such as slaughtering horses, or for low status jobs such as slaughtering dogs or employment as an executioner.

Of Laestadius’s categories, it was “fiskar-lappar (fishing)”, “fattig-lappar (destitute)” and “socken lappar (parish Lapps)” who were more permanently in the lower part of Luleå Parish. One category that he did not include was the seasonally employed herders. They were given employment on farms to herd cows in the forest during the warmer six months. A more collective term for the Sámi who made their living in different ways in the coastal parishes would be Coast Sámi. They could have a fixed dwelling in the form of goahte hut, a shack or even a timber cottage on the outskirts of the villages. They could also live in the home of a burgher in town or on a farm during temporary employment.

The term “socken-lapp (parish Lapp)” occurs only in exceptional cases in Nederluleå. In Albert Nordberg’s register of Sámi in the parish he has written in Gammelstad “socknelapp” Anders Larsson, who was born in 1737 and died at the age of 50. He lived in Notviken. A few years later, the Sámi Lars Nilsson Snalla lived in the same place, and bore the title “Sochne-Prophossen” (Parish executioner). That meant he was employed to mete out the corporal punishment of condemned persons, or decapitate those sentenced to death.

There are more examples from Luleå of Sámi who have received payment for carrying out punishment and executions. One such example is
Lång Påhl, who was paid to carry out public punishment, often floggings and sometimes executions, in the 1690s and early 18th century. Another is Thomas Andersson, who around the same period was paid for the same type of task. These above-mentioned are among those who might be called “parish Lapps”, since they were enlisted more regularly for certain tasks.40

There were also people of a Sámi background who achieved more prominent positions in society. One of them was Anders Larsson, who was the son of the Sámi Lars Andersson and his wife Margareta. Anders was one of the three parish constables in Luleå. He died at the age of just 33 when he came in the way of the large church bell during ringing and was thrown down from the tower to the ground.

Many of the Coastal Sámi who appear in records in the 17th to 19th centuries are those called “fattiglappar” (destitute Lapps). They had no possibility to make a livelihood and in many cases were unmarried and without close contact with relatives. They were not alone in their poverty. In Gammelstad in 1823 for example, cereal was granted as alms to 80 people who received different quantities of barley according to their need. In addition there were 26 destitute people who it was decided had to be boarded out or go begging from door to door. Five of them were taken into the poorhouse and others were boarded out to farmers who received an average of two barrels of barley and 1-3 riksdaler for receiving an impoverished person.

According to the parish council meeting of January 1814, the destitute Sámi servant Elsa Maja Anundsdotter had to go from farm to farm. She was called Snöskalle-Maja (Snowhead Maja) because she was completely bald. Maja was born in Luleå at the end of the 18th century and during her adult life had moved between Haparanda and Stockholm, making a living from selling dolls she had made herself and from begging. This gives a little perspective on how mobile life could be for those who had no permanent livelihood.

It is stated that she was severely affected by falling sickness, today called epilepsy. It is described that she “fell” several times a week and seems to have spent a long period around Gammelstad, surviving by begging. The decision on her moving from farm to farm meant she should live in different homesteads in the villages according to a rolling timetable. First she was driven to the village of Skattmark, where she was allowed to stay for as many days as there were homesteads, then on to the next village. Her fate was inhumane and sad, constantly on the move, constantly rootless. She finally died of tuberculosis in Gammelstad, probably in the poorhouse.41

Other elderly Sámi ended their days living in a goahte hut outside the village. That was the case with Olof Larsson, who according to the register of deaths was found dead, 70 years old, “in cold weather” between his shack and the village of Gäddvik. So he froze to death on the way home to the shack or to the village. The wife of the “Lapp man” Knut Andersson “died from a cartwheel that ran over her throat when she was about to stop the horse from running down a slope”. She was 56. Pål Andersson from Jokkmokk had two children who were found frozen to death on Lulefjärden Bay on 10 March 1767.42

In certain places, several Sámi families seem to have lived close together, for example in Sunderbyn and Notviken. Reindeer-owning Sámi sometimes moved with their reindeer in
winter down to the coast and its rich lichen-covered moors. They would erect their lávvu tents (Lapp tents) close to the villages. The Sámi with whom the villagers around Luleå came into contact were thus very much an assortment of characters. There was a vast difference between on the one hand a wealthy reindeer owner employing several servants in their household and a “destitute Lapp”.

The Lávvu Tent Stone in Måttsund
At the foot of the hill Byberget in Måttsund stands Bertil Öström’s homestead. He built it when he moved back to the village in 1984 having spent many years working on water supply issues in many parts of the world. Less than 75 m above his house lies a relatively large, flat stone which the villagers have always called “Kåtastenen” (the Lávvu Stone). It lies slightly recessed into the ground among blueberry sprigs and on the west side you see a regular natural hollow of perhaps 4 m². Tradition says that the Sámi had a winter lávvu tent on the stone, which contributed to providing warmth, roughly like a heated stone floor. Bertil heard another version from his father – that the lávvu stood in the hollow itself, in a way embedded, and that was in order to avoid draughty floors and get more warmth.

At the time, the forest was thicker and there were no houses below the

Oral tradition in Måttsund has it that the Sámi had a winter dwelling on or next to a particular stone in the village. The stone gave heat when a fire burned on it. One reason why the Sámi have left so few archaeological traces of their presence is that they migrated seasonally with mobile dwellings. They left no traces.

In Sámi culture, children learned early how to get around during the different seasons. Watercolour by artist Gerda Tirén.

Sámi in the Luleå region
lávvu. The lávvu stood secluded on the outskirts of the village. Perhaps it had already been a lávvu site when the first settlement sprang up. The location indicates that. During the early Middle Ages, it was right beside the sea inlet which then ended just below Bertil’s present home. The water is not in sight today. Large fertile fields extend across what was the bed of the sea inlet. Bertil’s paternal grandmother, who was a child at the turn of the 20th century, has told of how they used to row across to Öberget on the other side when they had business there. At the time there was a land route to the island, but from the Måttsund side it was easier to go by boat across the shallow water.

Bertil’s house lies just 200 m from the family’s former smallholding, where they had seven cows. A cousin keen on genealogy has traced the paternal side of the family five generations back through links to the homestead. That goes back to the 18th century. It adds a time perspective to the continuity of contacts between the Sámi and farmers in the village, contact that has existed but was broken long ago. Neither Bertil nor his father ever saw a dwelling raised at the stone, neither a more permanent peat goahte hut, nor a temporary cloth lávvu tent in wintertime. The name dates back long before their time.

Quite close to the Lávvu Stone there is another example of Sámi traces that nowadays are completely forgotten in the village. Just above Bertil’s house, where the forest begins, the Swedish National Heritage Board in investigations confirmed the existence of a relict field. In the upper part, a piece of flint was found that was identified as either a flint for a flintlock rifle or a fire-lighting flint. The broad scope of interpretation means that the discovered flint in principle can be dated from the Bronze Age to the early 19th century. The relict field is clearly described in an earlier archaeological inventory, and people in the village remember that it was called Lappgärdan (the Sámi enclosure), but that name has now faded into oblivion. Bertil knew that the Lávvu Stone lay

“Father said in Luleå Swedish dialect, that this is a Kotastein. That means Lávvu Stone. During my father’s time no traces remained of it. The path up the mountain was called the Lávvu Trail when I was a child”, Bertil Öström of Måttsund tells us.
within sight of his kitchen window, but not that a Sámi enclosure stood just outside his plot. This shows how quickly memories can fade.

Lappgårdan in Måttsund is about 30 x 30 m and may have been a small enclosure for goats or sheep, but it can also have been a field where for example barley was sown. We cannot discount that Sámi who were living more or less permanently on the outskirts of villages attempted cultivation, which they learned from farmers. Recent decades’ research in cooperation between archaeologists and palynologists, with analyses of pollen samples in connection to prehistoric dwelling sites, shows that such attempts were made well before farming villages were established.45

Another similar relict field lies perhaps 100 m diagonally up the mountain. It is the remains of an old barley field that belonged to Bertil’s family. Long and narrow, it measures 20x60 m, extending down the hillside. Bertil’s father told him that it was a field formerly used because it was easier to keep free from frost on the slope in the forest. The soil was turned with spades and never saw a horse-drawn plough. If the seeds froze in the other fields further down, they still had seed barley thanks to the little

Quite close to the Lávvu Stone according to village tradition, lay Lappgårdan (the Sámi enclosure) a small area which the Swedish National Heritage Board classed as a relict field. It may well be that Lappgårdan in Måttsund is an example of early Sámi arable farming in the vicinity of farmers’ dwellings. On the picture, the relict field which Bertil Öström’s forefathers kept in the forest as insurance against frost when growing barley.
Lake Kammarhamptjärnen lay below Lappgärden and offered fishing. Today it has become vastly shallower and has divided into two separate small tarns. On a dry area in the middle of the low-lying marshy area, somebody has erected nest boxes for the water bird goldeneye. In forest dwelling culture in the past, eggs were regularly collected from goldeneye boxes.

The Sámi enclosure in Rutvik
In Rutvik also there is a Sámi enclosure. Shortly after leaving Rutvik on the old road to Gammelstad, turn off on to a dirt road heading north. It is closed off to cars by a barrier. After just under 500m, turn right on to a path that follows the slope along the north side of Antberget mountain. On either side of the path grows dense, slender pine forest which is difficult to penetrate.

In one area the slender trees have
been felled haphazardly, forming a mat of trunks and branches. In the middle of such a felled area, just over 50 m further along the path, the forest opens up into a large grassy area. This is the Sámi enclosure in Rutvik. It looks like an anomaly in the pine forest, with its strikingly verdant, semi-tall grass bright green under the debris of branches and slender trees lying on top.

Heritage researcher Artur Enström, who managed the market garden in Rutvik and lived in the so-called Tur Homestead, writes that in his childhood in the 1910s, the Sámi enclosure was an open, grassy area with the remains of the foundations of a small house. Below lay a good water spring. The place was later called the Nils-Andersa enclosure and belonged to the property Rutvik 16. The name Lappgärden (Sámi enclosure) is not included on the 1749 map of Rutvik. We can therefore assume that the place was cleared and settled at a later date.\(^48\)

In the 1987 inventory by the Swedish National Heritage Board, it is described as cleared area covered by grass, blueberry sprigs, juniper bushes and pine saplings. One could still see the remains of a stone foundation in natural material that measured 5x4 m. In the south-east corner could be seen the remains of a stone chimney and a basement pit. The remains at the time were already thickly covered by peat.\(^49\) Today it is impossible to see a trace of the house foundations. It is also difficult to search because the ground is covered by the multitude of small trees and branches from the recent clearance, all left where they fell, all tangled together.

At one time, the dwelling site was in an excellent location on Lake Kammar-Hamptjärn, which is today a wetland area with two separate, overgrown lakes. When the Sámi enclosure in Rutvik was in use, there was certainly a path down to the lake where there was a boat for fishing. If you continue along the path from the enclosure towards the village, after 200 m you arrive up on Klinten, which is the highest point on Antberget mountain. From there you can continue down the mountain to the Framigårds Homestead, to which estate the land belongs today. Before the land parcelling reforms of the 19\(^{\text{th}}\) century, it stood on common village land.

There is a long tradition of Sámi presence in Rutvik, which can explain why an individual Sámi made his dwelling at Lappgärden and lived there close to the village. This is where the Birkarl trader Måns Olofsson lived, who in 1539 was sentenced for having sexual intercourse with a Sámi woman. In 1549 the Birkarl trader Ture Ersanson was sentenced for the same misdemeanour.\(^50\) The Birkarl traders regularly travelled up to the Lappmark areas in midwinter to trade with the Sámi. In early summer they fished on certain lakes in the Lappmark areas. They had close relations with the Sámi, with whom they certainly stayed in the Lappmark areas. In the
years when, in late winter, the Sámi
came down to the coast to let their
reindeer forage and to trade, they
sought out the Birkarl traders they
were in contact with in the villages.
Relations were mutual.51

They also became very common at
the end of the 17th century that old or
destitute Sámi became so poor that
it was difficult for them to survive in
the upper areas. They then made their
way down to the coast to beg. As early
as 1661, the court in the northern area
of Västerbotten County, which includ-
ed Luleå, approved a general ban on
in-migrated “Lapps’....intolerable va-
grancy” which through “begging and
threatening behaviour” caused people
in general risk and anxiety. They were
to be spoken to and forced to stay on
their “taxation areas and homes in the
mountains”. In 1675, the County Court
in Luleå Parish sentenced the farm-
er Olof Knutsson in Rutvik to pay
fines because in contravention of the
royal resolution he had allowed the
Sámi Nils Eriksson Galt to stay at his
house. Previous to this, Galt had been
banned from the parish and his dwell-
ings had been burnt down.

The judgement shows that there
were farmers who stood up against
national and regional authorities and
received the Sámi as they had always
done. In 1695, the County Governor,
Count Douglas issued a “proposal”
that all Sámi should be “driven away
from here to the Lappmark areas “,
and he appears to have been referring
to the Sámi who lived on church land
in Gammelstad. A further, similar or-
der to drive “Lapp people” back to the
Lappmark areas came from County
Governor von Kothen in 1773. The fol-
lowing year, an order was issued that
all Sámi should be registered by age,
occupation and similar in the annual
census.52 We see by the above that for
a very long time, destitute Sámi had
been migrating down towards farm-
ing regions to find work, and also to
beg. Those who had long-term rela-
tions with the farmers in the villages,
and who found ways to make a living,
could erect a goahte hut or cottage
near the village.

In nearby Rutvikssund there are
journals from the mid-19th centu-
ry. They come from the Pellgårda-
na properties. There one can read
all sorts of brief notes about weather
and precipitation, about events and
deaths in surrounding villages. Notes
for the year 1870 include “Stock finn
Lapp, sketched Lapp in sled”. We do
not know what the note means, only
that there was a Sámi who was called
“Stock finn Lapp” and was part of so-
cial life in the village, probably an el-
derly man. Later in the year there is
short notice in the journal that “Stock
finn Lapp” had died.53

House remains at Lappnäset
Another area in Rutvik linked to the
Sámi is Lappnäset (Lapp Point). This
designation can be seen as early as
the 1749 map of Rutvik. There is also
a drawing of an area called Renängen
(Reindeer Meadow), which today
is no longer on the topographic map,
nor is it in the collective memory.54
Lappnäset lies 2 km east of the centre
of Rutvik, some way beyond the sep-
rate neighbourhood called Brännan.
The name has been in everyday use at
least since the mid-18th century and is
to this day, which indicates the long
continuity of the location.

Lappnäset lies exactly where the
forest gives way to large open areas
of farmed land. You can walk to the
place along a farm road. The culti-
vated land belongs to a nearby farm.
On the way there, you pass three
newly-built homes in a row which
stand on plots directly adjacent to the
fields. The plots are flat, with culti-
vated lawns and on three of the pines
that have been saved in a row there
hanging three equally new nest boxes
which are exactly similar. It is evident
that the old farming region is gradual-
ly being transformed into a commut-
er region.

On the place where it is thought a
Sámi settlement once existed lies a
collapsed wooden tower which the
sons on the farm created as youthful
monument many years ago. Piles of stones lie there from when the well-kept fields were cleared for farming. Together with the clearance cairns lie what in its inventory of ancient remains in 1988 the Swedish National Heritage Board described as two house foundations. There lie also a discarded galvanised sheet, some large cement rings and a large rusty tank that seems to come from a boiler. The stones that vaguely mark the two house foundations and remains of chimneys, as described in the inventory of ancient remains, are today much overgrown by moss. It is extremely difficult to determine what are natural stones, clearance stones and parts of former house foundations.

Nevertheless, there is a strong feeling of being at a former dwelling site. The place has been carefully chosen, on a dry, jutting promontory of pine forest. About 300 m to the south west lie narrow elongated and overgrown haymaking meadows that have not been used for many years. The place was previously called Lappnäsänget (Lapp Point Meadow) and is today almost impenetrable because of the waist high, dense Timothy-grass with its purple stamens growing in profusion. One of the old barns has collapsed in all four directions, as though hit by a cluster bomb. To imagine what it looked like perhaps 300 years ago, you have to put aside the vast areas of farmland and replace them with dense forest and wetlands. The narrow fields with surrounding birch forest help conjure up the proportions from the time when Lappnäset had a Sámi population. During the inventory of ancient remains, village dwellers in Rutvik stated that Sámi lived there at the end of the 19th century.

About 1½ km north-east of the area lies Kåtaheðen (Goahte Moor) which also has a clear Sámi connection. There is no doubt that the Sámi kept reindeer in the area and had dwellings there. Whether they were Mountain Sámi who migrated there seasonally, or Coastal Sámi who were semi-nomadic within a more locally delimited area, we do not know. We must distinguish between those who lived in goahte huts or lávvu tents and

Lappnäset in Brännan near Rutvik is on maps as early as the 18th century. It is classified as a so-called Lapp settlement in the 1987 inventory by the Swedish National Heritage Board. In the inventory, it was possible to distinguish two house foundations and the remains of chimneys. They were mixed with clearance stones and were overgrown by lingonberry sprigs and moss.
those who built cottages for themselves. Those who cleared space for an enclosure around their dwelling, that is to say an open grassy area or small field, can be assumed to have had a more permanent dwelling, like a small timber house or a shack. In other cases it may well have been a more basic goahte hut, or even a temporarily erected lávvu tent in winter for migratory Sámi passing through.

Sámi dwelling sites in Björsbyn
In Björsbyn, too, there are mementoes of Sámi dwelling sites in close proximity to remains from earlier mediaeval settlements. Björsbyn is one of the oldest farming villages in what eventually became Luleå Parish. One of the earliest parts of the village lay at the foot of Gammelåkersberget mountain (Oldfield Mountain), which took its name from an open pasture area called Gammelåkern. As the name indicates, it was one of the early mediaeval fields in the village. Within an area a few hundred metres wide there are the remains of several mediaeval dwelling structures. In relation to the shore line that ran here at the end of the 10th century, they were right on the coast and up on the mountain.57 There are no archaeological finds that link the structures to that time, but to the 15th century. Therefore we can consider the farming settlement in Björsbyn a mediaeval phenomenon.

We do not know the when the first settlement was established. Hunting and fishing combined with livestock keeping and trade most probably occurred before arable farming. It is at this later stage Gammelåkern comes into the picture.58 Birger Sundström was born in Björsbyn and guides around the remains that bear witness to the oldest settlement. His fa-

To the Sámi who lived in the forest it was important to have access to water springs or running water which did not freeze in winter.

Up in the forest above Björsbyn lies the place called Lappgärden. Birger Sundström, born and raised in Björsbyn, shows where it lies in a glade close to what is now a very narrow stream. You can detect a lighter shade in the ground, but there is otherwise no visible trace of the dwelling.
ther helped in excavations in the 1920s, when archaeologist Gustaf Hallström investigated the area. Finds included coins from the time of Eric of Pomerania, dated to the beginning of the 15th century.

At the beginning of the 19th century, a Sámi lived here too, and was called Gammelåkers Lapp because he had his dwelling at Gammelåkern. He is mentioned in a now vanished journal that the farmer Erik Ersson of Björsbyn wrote in the 1830s. Birger read the handwritten journal before it was lent to a person who then lost it. He remembers the text “... I made a cast-iron pan for Gammelåkers Lapp.” It is only thanks to Birger remembering the text in the lost journal that we today know that a Sámi lived there. From that, one understands that many traces of Sámi dwellings must be completely obliterated.

Higher up on the mountain Per Hindersaberget on the other side of the old village road to Bensbyn, there is a place in the forest called Lappgärdan (the Lapp enclosure). It is found on the Swedish National Heritage Board map of ancient archaeological discoveries, but without Birger’s memory of the place it would be difficult to find. He is now 84 years old and has wandered around in the forests since he was a child. When you walk higher up in the forest and follow the course of a small, almost dried-up stream you get to the area. It is some way into a deep and damp mixed forest of birch, pine and spruce on a gentle uphill slope.

Thick tree trunks mean that what was once an open place, an enclosure, has been completely overgrown for a long time. We stop at a raised area just above the course of the stream and he makes sweeping movement across the pines. “Here it is. It was called Lappgärdan.” It is not possible today to detect what was once here. It is a flat, dry plateau very close to the running water of the stream. It is slightly lighter and greener in appearance than the surrounding forest, like a glade. You can detect a shallow depression in the ground. In places, brushy clumps of spruce saplings, and sometimes pillar-like spruce trunks in the middle of the glade, as if they have seized the opportunity and are flourishing in the middle of the old dwelling site.

Birger has heard from older villagers that Sámi who lived in the enclosure were ejected from the Sámi communities because they had no reindeer. Therefore they made their way to the outskirts of farming villages. It is said that they were often elderly, single men. From the later part of the 17th century there are descriptions of how Forest Sámi often sought out a river or lake where they could fish and hunt, but they had no permanent dwelling, moving from place to place according to the season. Every Sámi, rich or poor, had a fishing net. The Sámi who settled down on the outskirts of farming villages were sure to have hunted grouse and other animals using traps. Impoverished Sámi used to pick lingonberries, blueberries, crowberries and other berries which they mashed together with fish bones and ate.

Forest Sámi women would pick cloudberries, which they put in a
Sámi in the Luleå region

birch-bark vessel and dug down in a marsh or below the moss. In winter they would dig up the vessel and sell the berries to Mountain Sámi in exchange for reindeer cheese or reindeer meat. But the fact that Coastal Sámi settled close to villages indicates that they looked for ways to live in symbiosis with the farmers. This could involve handicraft in which they specialised, day labouring according to the season, or begging. We see from the migratory patterns that those who ended up as Coastal Sámi in the area of Gammelstad Church Town were both Mountain Sámi and Forest Sámi.

The first inventory by the Swedish National Heritage Board contains a comment that Lappgärdan in Björsbyn was the dwelling site of the Stor-Lapp. In the most recent inventory in 1987 there is no trace of either a mill or a Sámi dwelling. A little way further downstream along the water-course stood the more recent Kvarngärdan. At this latter place there is said to have been a mill and shingle mill – a water-powered machine for making wooden roof shingles. Both facilities were beside the stream, which was previously much larger and more powerful.

Coastal Sámi dwellings outside the villages seem to have been an assortment from simple goahte huts to timber houses with brick chimneys. We cannot regard Sámi culture as being static and unchanging. The Sámi modernised their lives just like everyone else. Those who stuck to traditions or for different reasons did not have the drive or resources made do with a goahte or a lávvu. The Forest Sámi goahte was six-walled and made of planks, sometimes from spruce or pine brush, sometimes from spruce bark or peat. We can assume that the goahte huts built in villages near Gammelstad were built in that way. Sámi who lived in the forest outside villages had their dwellings on common village land until the land parcelling, which took place in the mid-19th century. After that, the land was owned by the individual farmer. This may have affected conditions for Sámi to remain dwelling there.

We do not know how old the Sámi dwellings outside the villages are, only that they existed near the other structures. The few written sources that are preserved show that there was close...
contact between the settled farmers and the Sámi. From the short notes, we understand that the Sámi were a part of the farmers’ everyday life. This is exemplified by the farmer Erik Ers-son in Björsbyn who in the 1830s had made a cast-iron pan, ordered by a certain “Gammelåkerslapp”. Such a commission demanded payment in the form of work, in natura or in the form of cash, or even extended credit. Regardless of which, it indicates a long-term day-to-day relationship. The Sámi were registered and resident in villages.

Court records give insight into everyday life
We gain only anecdotal insight into the life of Coastal Sámi in the villages of Luleå when we search in written sources. They are briefly mentioned in catechism examination registers in the form of year of birth, marriage, children’s births and deaths, which are sometimes numerous. Infant mortality was high. Finally, their own date of death. How they lived we can only guess from comments in the margin, such as for example that an old man in Sunderbyn “aged around 90” burned in his goahte in the month of July, 1761. According to the comments he had “for a long time been staying at Sunderbyn and there had his goahte” when fire spread. The old man who was “disabled and alone”, could not get out and “was burned alive”.64 The tragedy that is embedded in the brief comments is easy to imagine, but it is more difficult to delve into everyday life. Who helped the Sámi man in daily chores? How did he see to his hygiene? What contact was there between the Sámi and the settled farmers? In what context did they go to church in Gammelstad or the new town of Luleå?

It is practically only in court records one can gain more detailed insight into the relations Coastal Sámi had with the villagers. In those cases it is about the Sámi sentence for crimes. The law-abiding ones, which most of the Sámi population were, remain silent. However, among those that are described in the minutes of court proceedings we gain more details from everyday life. This applies for example to the murder of a Sámi woman named Anna Nilsdotter in Rutviksund in 1696. In the region she was generally called Lapp-Anna and she was murdered on Lassgården farm in the village by the soldier Per Qvick, who over a long period had become persuaded to commit the murder by the lady of the house and the maid on the farm that provided for him as an enlisted soldier.

At the extra court session held on 26 January 1697 in Luleå Parish Assizes, the background to the murder was pieced together. The accounts of the accused give a few snapshots of Anna Nilsdotter. The picture that is painted is hardly flattering, but it is also an upsetting picture of how heartless the treatment was of marginalised people. To see the wider picture, we must wind back the clock three years before the murder took place.
In 1694 a woman known as Lapp-Anna was “flogged and publicly lashed” at the church in Gammelstad for theft. She was flogged on her back. Public flogging meant she had to sit at the courthouse door with her back bared while everyone leaving the building gave her one or two lashes on her back. The person paid to meet out the punishment of Lapp-Anna was another Sámi, called Lapp-Påhl. He received 2 Riksdaler and aquavit to the value of 8 öre for the work carried out.

Two years later she was punished with a flogging again for theft. The person now carrying out the punishment was the Sámi Thomas Andersson. It seems that at the time, the job of executioner alternated between two Sámi. Thomas received 3 Riksdaler and aquavit to the value of 8 öre for the punishment carried out, slightly more than Lapp-Påhl. Anna when questioned said that the stolen items were hidden in Sunderbyn, but they seem to have been well hidden. The three constables and the sheriff had been there searching three times before they found any of the stolen goods. We do not know whether it is the same Anna as was murdered in Rutvikssund in September of the same year. The sentences for repeated theft are well in line with the description of the Lapp-Anna who was murdered.

That which contradicts it being the same person is that in the court records it is stated that the murdered Lapp-Anna managed to evade two court sessions where she was to be accused of theft. Since Anna was murdered in September, the two court sessions would apply to the winter and summer of 1696. In that case there were two different people called Lapp-Anna. The first was the woman who was flogged in 1694 and 1696. The second was the woman who escaped two court sessions but was murdered.

Gang of thieves in Rutvikssund

Here we speak of Anna Nilsdotter, who lived in a shack in the forest somewhere near Rutvikssund. There she lived with her two underage children born out of wedlock. That is all we are told about the children. We do not know how old they were or who the father was. Her name then was Lapp-Anna. She probably stole to make a living for herself and her children. It seems that Elin Eriksdotter, the lady of Lassgården farmhouse in Rutvikssund house, and the children in the shack were the comfortless hub around which her life would largely revolve.

At the time of the murder, the maid Barbro also lived on Lassgården farm, who had grown up on the farm and was brought up by Elin. Elin’s 20-year-old son Erik and a foster son called Olle, 12 years old also lived there. In addition, Elin had for payment received a sickly and confused woman called Margareta. She was the sister.
of the Sheriff’s wife, which was somewhat ironic since the farm turned out to be a thorough nest of thieves. But it was also this underestimated Margareta who eventually came to reveal what happened.

In the court records, the lady of the house is consistently referred to as Mrs Elin, since she was married. Her husband, according to sharp tongues in the region, had left her because she was so mean and inclined towards theft and dishonesty. The Sámi woman who was called Lapp-Anna, was rank and file in the gang of thieves that Elin controlled and lived off. Elin could be described as a female and regional variant of Peachum, the masters of the thieves in The Threepenny Opera.

For example, at the beginning of the year, Anna had been in the storehouse of the poorhouse in the Church Town, and there had stolen three barrels of barley. It appears, that unaided she transported the barrels alone to Elin in Rutvikssund. It appears this was a strong woman who was clearly prepared to fight for her survival. It is not apparent whether this transport took place on a sleigh that she pulled or in some other way. However, it was Elin who bought the barley at a bargain price.

Between thefts, Anna would wander from farm to farm, begging for food. On such occasions she would sometimes sleep over on Lassgården farm. We do not know her age, but since she had two underage children, and until 1712 children reached their majority at the age of 15, she must have been at least 30 years old, probably more. We do not know who the father was, whether it was another Sámi or someone in the nearby farming villages. The fact that she lived in a “Lapp shack” in the forest indicates that she continued to live in the traditional, simple Sámi way. In view of the children, she probably had some kind of contact with the relatives she and the man had, but this is not stated. Neither is there mention of how her children managed when she was wandering far away with overnight stops.

In spring 1696, the enlisted soldier Per Qvick was billeted in the farmstead. This means he and his wife Anna could live there and be provided for on the farm. From the confession of the persons accused of murder on Lassgården farm, it is apparent that everyone, including the soldier...
Anna Nilsdotter is said to have had two children in the shack in the forest where she lived. They died of cold and hunger after she was murdered. Here, a Sámi boy from Jokkmokk, drawn 150 years later by Fritz von Dardel.

On 26 January 1697 an extra session of the Luleå Parish Assizes was held in connection with the murder of the Sámi woman Anna Nilsdotter, commonly called Lapp-Anna. The courthouse stood on the north side of the church.

and his wife, regularly stole hay and barley from nearby barns, and also sheep owned by other farmers. Anna belonged to an organised gang of thieves. According to the maid, Barbro, and public testimony, Anna had carried home everything she stole to the mistress Elin “and received food and lodging again”. To consort with Elin was a long-term insurance for herself and her children. If all the thieving were revealed, the consequences would be dire for everyone involved. They would be publicly flogged and have to pay fines for the stolen goods but also be shamed in front of other villages and parishioners. Why the fear of discovery was so directly aimed at Anna, it is not clear. She had probably been part of the organised stealing for a long time. When the constable was looking for her in connection with the theft of barley in the poorhouse store, the lady of the house Elin had hidden her in the cattle shed.

Elin and Barbro feared a trial and “that this committed thievery would become evident and that Lapp-Anna would confess which others had been with her, bought, concealed and hid loot with her, and other matters they had shared …”. If Anna had threatened to reveal them is not known, but one should also consider that in the 17th century, the Sámi were feared for their powers of sorcery. The long planned murder of Anna bears witness to a strong fear of having her alive. Sometimes the plan was to buy mercurium, that is to say arsenic and poison her, sometimes it was to kill her with the help of a leghold trap.

The soldier Qvick becomes involved in the murder

It was the arrival of soldier Qvick that made the murder plans more concrete. Fairly soon, both Elin and Barbro began to persuade him to murder Anna. Since both he and his wife had almost immediately become involved in the thefts, Elin and Barbro also influenced Qvick’s wife to bring him in line. He was slow, and did not want to, but finally one day at the end of September he gave in. The maid, Barbro, was to lure Anna onto a path around the bay on her way to her shack. In the meantime, Per Qvick would cut across the bay and lie in wait at a special “room” in order to shoot her with Elin’s husband’s gun.

Anna Nilsdotter is said to have had two children in the shack in the forest where she lived. They died of cold and hunger after she was murdered. Here, a Sámi boy from Jokkmokk, drawn 150 years later by Fritz von Dardel.
Everything went well until the crucial moment arrived. Qvick lost his nerve. He could not bring himself to shoot and walked past her without a word. She walked to her shack and her children. The soldier was scolded for this when he got home. The women attacked him and hit his nose when he claimed he had not seen Anna in the forest. A few days later, a new plan was prepared. Now the maid Barbro asked Anna to bring a bottle to the cattle shed in the evening when she was milking. Anna would then be given some milk. The 12-year-old foster son Olle came along and lit the way with a lantern in the cattle shed and Qvick’s wife was standing on watch when Anna came in the evening and entered the cattle shed.

Per Qvick then arrived with a hammer hatchet that he had picked up on the porch. Inside the building, Per accused her of lying about him. She asked what she was supposed to have lied about. Then he hit her a few times on the head so that blood splashed over half the milk pail in the dim light. The maid and Per dragged the dead body out of the barn where she and Qvick’s wife split her homespun skirt, which they later made into two aprons, one each. Then they threw the body into a pit dug earlier “a stone’s throw” from the cattle shed, and filled it in. One bizarre detail is that Anna had come there earlier and watched when Barbro was digging her grave and wondered why she was digging so deep. Barbro had answered that they were going to put stones in it.

After the murder, those involved spread a rumour that Lapp-Anna had gone with two soldiers to the forest and they were stealing here and there as they went. Nobody cared about...
Anna’s two children in the shack. They died “mostly from hunger and cold” as the record of the court proceedings laconically put it. The murder was detected later in autumn by the fact that senile sister of the sheriff’s wife was moved into the Sheriff’s home. There, she had lucid moments and could then tell that she had heard what really happened to Lapp-Anna.67

Among villagers close to Lassgården farm in Rutvikssund it was said that Lapp-Anna lived at Lappnäset, about 2½ km east of Lassgården farm. Her route home should then have followed some kind of road or trail from Rutvikssund out towards Jan-Ol’s farm. On the map of 1645 it is the easternmost farm from Rutvikssund towards Lappnäset. From there, there can only have been a footpath home to the shack. This sounds reasonable in view of the fact that the place was called Lappnäset, but in the minutes of the court proceedings there is one detail which means one can question where the shack stood. In it, Per Qvick says that the maid was going to take Anna a roundabout way to accompany Anna some of the way to her shack in the forest. At the same time, Qvick was to cut across the bay and stand on guard when she passed on her way home and there shoot her.

The only way one can reasonably imagine is Vargsundet which in those days came right up to Rutvikssund. If Qvick cut her off by crossing Vargfjärden bay to stand on watch, it indicates rather that he stood by the old church road between Rutvik and Björsbyn and there stood waiting for her. If one crosses Vargsundet from Lassgården farm in Rutvikssund, that is where one arrives. In that case, the shack where she lived with her two children would more likely have been in the forest between Rutvik and Björsbyn. One kilometre east of Vargfjärden there was also, according to village tradition, a so-called Lapp settlement. It is marked in the 1987 inventory of ancient remains by the Swedish National Heritage Board.68 If that is where Anna and her children lived, however, we will never know.

The fact that Anna was a beggar and was murdered has a striking parallel to the murder of a homeless Roma beggar in Jönköping in autumn 2018 that attracted attention. The beggar was systematically dehumanised through derogatory attributes until he was finally murdered in the park where he usually slept. It is relevant.

To cross the stream without a boat at Rutvikssund there is only the bridge at Rutvik marked on the map. If Anna lived at Lappnäset it was a natural route to take, but it was also possible to walk back on the other side of the stream and arrive at the east side of Vargfjärden.
that at the end of the 17th century, an official campaign took place to ban Sámi begging in the coastal parishes, which likely contributed to making farmers unfavourable towards the Sámi. This certainly contributed also to how Anna became demonised by the accomplices on Lassgården farm. If she carried out some kind of duties for payment on the other farms is not stated. In the case of Lassgården farm it was a question of selling stolen goods at a cutthroat price for occasional food and lodging.

Life was of course not like that for everyone. The Sámi bellringer in Jokkmokk, Andreas Lundius, described in the 1670s how impoverished Sámi made handicraft products which they sold in Swedish towns. They could for example make birch-bark baskets which they tied together with roots, first boiled soft in large copper kettles containing lye. The roots were also used to make rope which could be used in net fishing. The Sámi population was as differentiated as the Swedish.

Anna Nilsdotter was not well regarded in the region, but the meticulous legal process carried out from the Court of Assizes up to the Court of Appeal to try her murderer shows that she was nevertheless regarded as equal under law. The murderers were punished to the same extent as if the victim had been a Swedish farmer. Her body was exhumed in the field to be buried in the churchyard. Per Qvick, Elin and Barbro were sentenced by the Court of Appeal to death by beheading. The women’s bodies would then be burnt at the stake. Qvick’s head was then to be displayed on a pole to the public. His body would be drawn and quartered. Elin’s 20-year-old son was condemned to run the gauntlet nine times. Qvick’s wife would be flogged at the door of the courthouse.

Forbidden pregnancy in Gäddvik
The trial for the murder of the Sámi woman in Rutvikssund shows what the situation was like for the destitute Sámi living in the forest. Another legal case took place a few years later in the village of Gäddvik. It gives us an insight into what everyday life could be like for female Sámi herders. It revolves around the young Sámi woman Karin Olofsdotter, who in summer 1706 was one of those who were down at the coast to find work. She was about 16 years old and getting by through doing odd jobs.

We do not know what she was doing in the summer, but in mid-October she was a servant of the burgher Hans Ersson Biörn, who was a judge in the new town of Luleå. According to a register of residents in the new town, he had a fairly large house at The North Harbour where the theatre now has premises. In 1704, he also had at his disposal salmon fishing at “Gräsiälsgrundet” together with judge Erik Ersson Orre. One reason why Hans Ersson Biörn had Sámi employees may have been his background. His paternal grandfather was probably called Påhl, and was a Birkarl trader in Björsbyn and came from the so-called Björn farms, hence the name Biörn. The Biörn family had an old tradition of trading in services and goods with the Sámi.

In the same house as Karin there lived a 23-year-old Sámi farmhand called Olof Larsson, who seems to
have had relatively long-term employment, since it says that he “served in town”. The two young people were both sleeping over in Hans Ersson Biörn's house at The North Harbour one night in October. This gave rise to the court proceedings in which they were involved. He later recounted in questioning before the court trial in Luleå that Karin “came to him in the night in bed” and began to tickle him. They then lay together and she stayed with him all night. In bed he promised that if she should become with child he would take care of her as if married.

Each one testified individually that after that they never lay together, neither did they talk to each other. Nevertheless, Olof reported that he had “often” seen her. This means that they both had jobs in town in the autumn. This shows that Sámi, just like others, lived in the new Luleå and moved in and out according to the jobs they had. They may also have seen each other in Gammelstad when on errands. Later in the autumn, Karin was serving in the home of the same Hans Ersson Biörn for two weeks, helping to gather moss. This may have been reindeer lichen for the utility reindeer used for trading trips up to the Lappmark areas, but it may also have been moss for cows to eat, which was not unusual at this time.

At the end of the year and into January Karin had short-term jobs in different places. She noticed the child growing in her belly but did not talk to Olof about it. From the end of January to the end of March she was employed by some that she accompanied to the Lappmark areas. They were probably traders who travelled up to trade with the Sámi, possibly the same Ersson Biörn whom she had occasionally worked for earlier. Her knowledge of the Sámi language must have been an asset in that context since she could interpret between the traders and the Sámi.

In the 17th century, destitute Sámi could travel in late autumn down to the Swedish villages and towns to beg. Around the time of Ascension Day at the end of March, they
Frequent work for Sámi women in the Luleå area was herding cows in summer. The men found work as farmhands in the villages or doing odd jobs in town. The watercolour dates back to the 19th century, probably at Bergvik, with the Luleå skyline in the background.

On the map from 1686, Johan Ersson is the owner of Norsgården farm. His son Johan Johansson employed Karin Olofsdotter as a herder in spring 1707. She was then pregnant. Support from other Sámi women
In late winter, Karin again travelled down to the coast and got work as a maid for the farmer Johan Johansson on Norsgården farm in Gäddvik. When the snow had melted and the cows could be let out again to graze in the forest, she found work as a herder. Karin had a small contact network of other Sámi women who worked on farms in the area. On the other side of the river, Gunnila Andersdotter worked, who was also born in the Lappmark areas. For the past six years she had worked as a maid in “the countryside” or “the country” as everything below the Lappmark boundary was called.

Hans Rehnorn’s large farm lay on the road to Gammelstad. He was administrator of the Lappmark areas. One of his employees was Ella Pålksdotter, with whom Karin was in touch. She was also a Sámi. It is clear that Karin did not trust the maids on her own farm to reveal her condition. She was now in her seventh month and had not told anyone else that she was pregnant. No one had discovered anything. She was carrying this big burden alone.

On Saturday 18 May, free from work on the farm, she took a boat and rowed across to Gunnila on the other side of the river. She now revealed that she was pregnant. Gunnila then asked whether the mistress knew this. Karin lied and said she had told her. She said that she had not had the...
The old Norsgården farm on the picture was partly from the 17th century. It has now been demolished.

Courage to tell her father and mother, which Gunnila urged her to do.

The following day, Karin travelled with the farmer and family in Norsgården to church to celebrate the day of prayer. There she met other Sámi and talked about how they “were playing and carrying on” with each other. Then a young farmhand from the country came, who she did not know, and threw her onto the ground so hard that she noticed directly that she had hurt her back. She slept over with the farmer’s family in Gammelstad, probably in Norsgården farm church cottage, which is now the show cottage on the south-west side of the church, which Luleå Folklore Society owns and which is used during the guided tours in the Church Town.

The following day was a Monday and the actual day of prayer. All the farmers’ servants were still in Gammelstad, but she was feeling so bad she was not able to go to church. On the same day she travelled home with the others. It is clear that she had parallel identities. She formally identified with the farmer’s staff, the collective she was living in and with which she shared everyday working life. The private collective that was closer to her comprised the young Sámi people she had got to know in the Luleå region. They were the ones she sought out outside the church to be together for a while and to hear gossip. They were the ones with whom she played youthful games. It was with a young Sámi man she had become pregnant. Now she needed advice and support: in her forbidden pregnancy she turned to her female Sámi friends. We can assume that according to context, she alternated between Sámi and Swedish, the two languages she knew.

**Miscarriage in the forest**

Now things moved fast. On Tuesday she went back to the foraging cows in the forest, this time together with the farmer’s daughter. The next day she was alone with the cows. Things did not feel good. Already at midday the cows wanted to go home, but she felt it was too early. Her pains began and when she came down to a marsh called Lilltjärn she lay down between two tufts and gave birth to her child. She passed out during childbirth and when she woke up, the child was lying next to her. When asked by the judge, she said that she saw no sign of life in the child. She sat for a while near the marsh and cried with her
child in her arms. Then she took a knife and cut the umbilical cord. Then she tied it together with a thread. Then she took the foetus, wiped it a little with moss so that animals would not pick up its scent. It was a well formed little boy. She was again asked by the judge whether there was life in the child. “No, there was no life. I wiped its body, but not the face and not the ears. I did not try to open its eyes.”

Once she had wiped it she lay it on a tuft of moss and spread three small leafy twigs over it so that she could find it again. She did not dare to take it home because of the farmer’s family. Then she set off home with the cattle. She struggled across the marsh, fighting to get home. In court she was remorseful. “God have mercy on me, I was foolish!” “In what way?” “That I lay the child on a tuft and ran away”. During her walk the afterbirth came, which she left where it was. In the evening she went to bed with the daughter of the house, without saying anything about what had happened.

The next day she was again out with the cows in the forest, but not to the place where she had given birth to the child. It was not until another day later she went with the cows to the place, these three Sámi girls were together, one can assume they spoke their Sámi mother tongue. They were alone and did not need to hide it for anyone. Karin was now peppered with intimate questions. Had she shown the child to people on the farm? How big was it? What had she done with the child? She gave no direct answers to the questions.

In the night, the three women lay stark naked beside each other in Rehnhorn’s farmhouse. Ella burst out: “I don’t think you have had a child since you dare to lie naked among us!” Gunnila now examined Karin’s breasts and tried to milk them, but no milk came. They were quite virgin white. Karin replied: “I have had a child.” Later they played around and “had fun, wrestled and jostled”. Karin looked quite well and showed no sign of having been ill. When a while she was alone with Ella she told her that the child had died, that she had had a miscarriage.

The next morning they went their separate ways. When Karin came home, the mistress was sitting spin-
ning wool. Three uneaten meals were there waiting for her, and she was asked to eat, but could not manage it. Elisabeth asked whether she was ill, but Karin answered no. In the tentative conversation that now began she said that she had understood when she came back from the Lappmark areas that everyone would talk bad of her. “About what?” She explained that the farmer on Rehnsgården farm knew that the priest’s wife in Gam-melstad had accused her. “What is it others know that I do not know? What have you done?” Silence. “Are you with child?” It was not until now that Karin, through silence, confessed to the mistress.

And now it occurred to Elisabeth how thin Karin looked. “It’s not my fault”, Karin replied quietly. “Did it die before its time”? “Yes.” With that, she drew Karin to the door and walked to the cattle shed. The clerk of the court wrote in the minutes about the mistress Elisabet that she was so affected that everything turned black, and that she had almost fainted. Karin walked alone into the forest. When she came home in the evening Elisabeth came up to her and wondered whether perhaps she was lying about her pregnancy. She wanted to examine Karin’s breast, but then Karin climbed over a fence, back to the forest. An hour later she was home, lying in the shed.

Then Ella had come to Norsgården farm to seek out Karin to hear more about what had happened. The night before had given her no rest. Together the search for the foetus at Lilltjärn

Despite searching in old maps and hiking in the terrain using Norsgården as a starting point it has been impossible, 300 years later, to find the marsh which the villagers called Lilltjärn in the beginning of the 18th century. Already then, the former lake had become a marsh. As regards the terrain it is most likely that the marsh Lilltjärn, to which she drove the cows down, lay to the north along the road to Gammelstad. In the forest down towards the river there are still moist forest areas, fens and marshy ground. The landscape fits the description of how she drove the cows “down towards the marshes”. Towards Karlsvik there are mostly large, dry sandy moors, even though there may have been small marshes there 300 years earlier.

“I do when it came over me in the forest!” The mistress Elizabeth too was in the shed and urged Karin to find the child. “I have been searching all day and do not know where it is, and will not find it again,” answered Karin.

“Having washed it, she lay it on a moss tuft in the open and spread three small leaf boughs on it that she might find it again.”
There are however other details which speak for Karlsvik. Being interviewed at Norsgården in autumn 2018, Birger Åström, 99 years old, talked about how the cows behaved when he was a child. At the time, they still let cows out into the forest to graze. As a child in the 1920s, he was often asked to herd the cows, and he tells that they always set off towards Karlsvik, never northwards. “They used to call from Karlsvik and were angry – now the cows are here. Then we had to go and fetch them,” he said. On the other hand, Birger has no recollection of any marshes in the direction of Karlsvik, even though he has often run back and forth in the forests as a child, looking for lost cows. Lilltjärn may possibly have lain in the low-lying areas in the direction of Notvikken, but we will probably never know where the place was where Karin gave birth to her child.

In spring 1707, those on Norsgården farm in Gäddvik knew exactly where Lilltjärn was. On the Sunday morning, the mistress Elizabeth wanted the two maids Karin Johansdotter and Gertrud Nilsdotter to go to the forest with Karin and look for the child. Karin then ran away again. When she came back later she said she had been lying in a hay barn all the time. Now she went with the two other maids to the forest. At Lilltjärn she sat on the tuft where she had placed the child, and cried. She repeated as earlier how she had wiped the child with moss, but now she said that the umbilical cord had broken by itself and that she did not need to cut it with the knife as she had previously said. That was evidently something she had made up to make the story more credible. The maid Karin Johansdotter reported that she had seen two or three birch twigs lying on the tuft. She also said that there was a hollow on the tuft where Karin had taken the moss when she wiped the child, and where she later put back the moss. She wanted to touch the hollow with a twig, but Karin protested. “You must not think that I have laid a child there!”

Everything was now revealed to those most closely involved and was known all over the neighbourhood. Karin was arrested by Constable Ru-
dolph Hahn, who gave the task to “two reputable wives” who themselves had given birth to examine her body. They could not find any sign of pregnancy. Both breasts were white and firm, with the left one slightly more slender and soft. One of the women, Margetha Olofsdotter, also went with Officer Hans Larsson to Lilltjärn to search for the baby.

**Karin’s trial**

On 13 June, Karin was summoned to an extra court session owing to the serious nature of the crime. The entire chain of events was examined and those involved as described above in turn gave their testimony. There were mitigating circumstances, such as her youth and that during the trial she had never strayed from her main narrative, but justice must run its course in the lower courts. Luleå district court sentenced her to death in accordance with His Majesty’s decree of 1681 and 1684 banning infanticide. The verdict was then sent to the Court of Appeal for assessment. It was normal procedure for the district court to sentence according to the letter of the law, and it was up to the Court of Appeal to consider mitigating circumstances.

In the beginning of July, less than a month later, Svea Court of Appeal, having studied the proceedings of the district court, requested that the County Governor should determine Karin’s knowledge of Christianity and that she knew the regulations regarding childbirth that belong to the Christian faith. At the turn of the month between September and October, the Court of Appeal requested further information regarding details of the interrogation, this time from the County Court. Karin’s mistress Elisabeth Eriksdotter had said under oath that Karin had told her that the priest’s wife at the church had claimed to have knowledge of Karin’s condition. The name of this wife however was not included in the investigation documents.

Now the Court of Appeal requested that she should be interrogated in the presence of Karin in an additional session. There was also mention of a “Lapp farmhand” Olof Larsson who had promised to marry her if she should become pregnant, and added as a parenthesis “if he and she should with the life be blessed”. Now they

From the proceedings of the trial on 13 June 1707: “Karin Olofsdotter with sighs thus admits her wrongdoings – beginning thus her statement that 14 days after the Feast of St Michael …”. She then tells her story to the court.
wanted to know if the promise still applied, with a clear suggestion that it could be a mitigating circumstance which could save her life. And they wished to know Karin’s age.

The daughter of a Sámi smith
On 2 November a new trial took place in Luleå District Court. Karin’s father, Olof Andersson, was now present and was called to the podium to witness. He could not say exactly how old she was, but thought she was probably 15 or 16 years old. That could mean she was still a minor aged 15 when she became pregnant, which could be a mitigating circumstance for Karin. We do not know whether he consciously tried to keep the age of his daughter down in hopes of saving her life, or whether he quite simply could not keep track of her exact age.

Like many other Sámi, Olof had found work in the mining industries that started up in different parts of Norrbotten in the 17th century. Most Sámi were employed to transport building materials, people and ore with the help of reindeer. It was the Sámi who came to form an important element in the transport chain that was built up from the mines in mountain areas down to the coast. Strenuous, time consuming work that ended the lives of many reindeer when they were driven too hard with heavy loads. Even though the Sámi were paid for their work, it was not seen as a desirable job. The mine foremen were known for driving their employees hard. This resulted in many Sámi fleeing to the Norwegian side of the border to escape the demands of mining operations.

Olof found work as a smith at the
newly discovered silver deposit on the treeless mountain Kedkevare, just over 50 km north-west of Kvikkjokk, in the middle of the most inaccessible mountain areas. There was no forest to use as building material, and there was a shortage of firewood. Storms would hit the bare mountain with full force. A little mining community grew up there, and that is where Karin was born.

It turned out that there were links between Karin’s parents and the administrator of the Lappmark areas, Hans Rehnhorn, who actually owned the farm near Gammelstad where Karin stayed overnight with Gunnila and Ella after her miscarriage. Rehnhorn had spent 22 years working at the mine in Kedkevare and the smelter in Kvikkjokk. He remembered when Karin’s father married, and that they had a child at the time. Olof then said that it was Karin’s sister he was thinking of. She was born earlier. Karin was born in the time of mine manager Fagg, before mine manager Barthold Sadlin came to the mining community. At the time there was no priest there, and therefore Olof had travelled down to Randijaur where he met the priest Daniel Elm, who christened her.

Now a discussion began in court between Karin’s father and Rehnhorn about her age. Olof said that Karin was born around Easter, before mine manager Barthold Sadlin came to the works, which was in 1690. Rehnhorn asserted that it must have been a year earlier, but finally they agreed that she was born at Easter time in 1690. That meant she was 16 years old when she became pregnant.

Long-term Sámi and Swedish relations
We see here how Gammelstad Church Town cannot be seen as an isolated geographical phenomenon separate from the mountain world. At the time there was regular traffic between coast and mountain. Up to 1693, Jokkmokk and Gällivare had been part of Luleå Parish. The example of Karin’s family shows how personal relations could exist between those who lived in the furthermore mountain areas and those who lived on the coast. It was certainly not by chance that the Sámi girl Ella Pålsdotter sought and found work on Rehnhorn’s farm near Gammelstad. Through his long-term work as administrator of the Lappmark are-
Trade journeys between the coast and the market in the Lappmark areas have long traditions. In 1845, Norsgården still had seven reindeer for transport. In the old kitchen there was a special spot for reindeer herders who needed a place to spend the night. We see here an unbroken tradition from the time of the Birkari traders. On the picture we see Luleå traders on their way to a market in Luleå Lappmark.

As and work at the mine on Kedkevare and in other places he had formed contacts with the Sámi and certainly exchanged services and favours on many occasions.

It is probably not by chance either that Karin Olofsdotter looked for work on Norsgården farm. In an account book it states that in 1845, Norsgården had seven reindeer, of which two were newly-born calves. The Sámi who took care of the reindeer on behalf of the farm was called Lars Andersson Svensk and he was registered in Jokkmokk. The farm had its own reindeer mark. The present-day owner of Norsgården, 99-year-old Birger Åström, was interviewed in autumn 2018 about the relations the farm owners have had with the Sámi. He then said that those who lived on Norsgården in the past had traded up in the Lappmark areas. “Norsgården had one or two reindeer. It was a Sámi called Andersson in Jokkmokk who took care of them. They were reindeer purely for different kinds of transport,” he says. From when he was a child in the beginning of the 1920s, he has a vague memory that on the floor in the old kitchen there was a special spot that was reserved in case some reindeer herder came who needed somewhere to sleep. There then existed historical relations between Sámi and those who lived on Norsgården. On the district economic map of Luleå for 1859-1878, nearby Karlsvik is called Lappskatan, probably because it was a traditional place for the Sámi to erect their lávvu tents when they were visiting Gammelstad and Luleå. There was plenty of reindeer lichen on the nearby moor, Nordanthilleden, which was important if they were staying for a while.

The Kedkevare mine opened in 1661 and was never profitable. It was part of Luleå silverworks, which in addition to the mine in Kedkevare and a deposit discovered later in Alkavare also comprised a silverworks in Kvikkjokk. It was originally run by Bergskollegium, which managed to lease it out for five years to two Luleåburghers. Here too we see how coast and mountain were in contact. Later the silverworks was managed for a while by Västerbottniska Bergslagsocieteten with 300 part-owners, but in 1702 operations were closed down. Karin was 12 years old at the time, and it is possible that the family then moved down to Luleå. Olof was a smith and
must have abandoned reindeer herding long before. When the works closed down he was around 60 and needed to find a new job. He moved to the coast to find something else.

**Olof Larsson breaks his promise**
Now Karin's confirmation priest in Gammelstad, Master Johan Uneus, appeared before the court. He said he had questioned and examined her, but judged her knowledge of “the articles of Christianity” to be poor. The fact that she had been confirmed by him in the church in Gammelstad tells us that she had lived in the region in periods over the last 2-3 years, since one could not be confirmed until the age of 15. We know that Karin at the age of 16 searched for different jobs in Gammelstad and Luleå and in autumn became pregnant.

Now came also the question of what the priest’s wife had said, or had not said, about Karin’s condition. Since she was about to give birth and was confined to her bed, she was unable to attend, but had given her testimony in the presence of her husband and two witnesses. Uneus now said to the court that his wife had no recollection of meeting Karin, let alone talking to her. When his wife now afterwards spoke to the servants among others, it appeared that Karin, having come back from the Lappmark areas to Luleå at the end of March, had gone to the rectory in Gammelstad to find summer work herding cows. She had been in service with them for two weeks in spring, but after that had “run from there”. That was when she sought and was given work in the home of the farmer Johan Johansson in Gäddvik, herding cows in the forest.

Finally, the young farmhand Olof Larsson was called forward, he who had slept with Karin one night in October in the house of the burgher Hans Ersson Biörn in Luleå. In the court proceedings in July he had admitted sleeping with her and that in bed he had promised to marry Karin if she became pregnant. In its findings, Svea Court of Appeal had indicated that the young couple could be pardoned if he took her to be his wife. They did have a child together, even if it was stillborn and Karin had left it in the forest. Now the judge asked his position on the promise of marriage he had made to her. Apparently he had changed his mind completely. He had no wish at all to marry her or have her as his wife. Even after repeated questioning he replied with a definite no. The court wanted to know why.

It was evident that he felt deeply hurt. “If she had behaved admirably over what had happened, but how should I take this? Where is the child that I made?” The court tried to persuade him, but he unconditionally refused to marry her. Karin had her pride. “He may come with whatever considerations he wants to. It is and will be with me as God and our masters make it. God will still be merciful with me. As much as you want to have me is how much I want to have you.” Olof replied “that if she had said to me that she was blessed with a child, and had given birth in a beautiful way, I would immediately have taken her”. Karin answered: “I ask of you nothing.” Thereby the trial was over, and the earlier death sentence of the district court was ratified.
The miscarriage and the accusation of infanticide
Something remains unexplained about the entire issue of Karin Olofsdotter’s pregnancy. She had intercourse with the Sámi farmhand Olof Larsson, as both of them confirmed. She says she became pregnant, but this was so well concealed that in the seventh month no one had discovered it. She told no one anything until the week when she had a miscarriage. Then, the Sámi friend Gunnila was told. A few days later, she gave birth in the forest but nobody could see the dead foetus. The farmer’s family, she herself, the constable and other people searched for the foetus, but did not find it.

Nevertheless, one must believe it. She told Gunnila before the miscarriage that she was pregnant. Both the mistress and Gunnila thought after the miscarriage that Karin had become “mycket swang”, that is, much thinner. She herself asserted all the time that she had given birth to a still-born son. She seems to have been greatly troubled by her conscience for having left the child in the forest, as descriptions from the trial relate in detail. She sighed, cried and cursed herself for her stupidity. Still, 300 years later, one can but believe her story and be moved by it.

When two “reputable wives” in Gammelstad at the request of the Sheriff examined her body, they found no sign of past pregnancy. Her Sámi friends did the same and noted that her breasts had no milk and “were completely white”. They asked her whether she had really been pregnant. The judge wondered how she had been able to get home after the difficult birth. Her entire story was in doubt.

Svea Court of Appeal heard Karin’s case for the first time on 10 July 1707. In the notes for the verdict, she is called “... The child murderer Karin Olofsdotter. while playing near the church, which led to her miscarriage a few days later. The father of the child was not, as we see in the records, punished for having intercourse. Only she was. The unknown man on the church hill was not punished for causing the miscarriage. Instead, she was accused of having murdered her child and sentence for it. This is exactly what the situation looks like for many women around the world to this day. On 2 November 1707, Karin Olofsdotter was sentenced to death by Luleå County Court.

The final judgement of the Court of Appeal
Now it was up to the Court of Appeal to make the final decision, but there are no records of what that decision was. A study of the court records for Svea Court of Appeal in the national archives in Stockholm shows that the series of court records regarding criminal cases does not begin until 1756. The earlier ones have disappeared. However the registers and notes for 1707 and 1708 remain, except for the month of December, 1707. Through the register, the notes for the decision of the Court of Appeal for 10 July and 28 September 1707 have been found.79 This made it possible to follow the case through Svea Court of Appeal and up to the County Court.
decision in Luleå on 2 November, but there it stopped. The register and notes for December 1707 are missing, and under 1708 there is nothing about Karin Olofsdotter. The Court of Appeal probably made its decision in December 1707, the only month that is missing from the archive concerning the two years in question!

The answer to the mystery was found in an item about Luleå Parish accounts for the beginning of 1708. According to Albert Nordberg, the year’s accounts begin with a notice that “Lapp Lång Pähl” received 2 Riksdaler, and 15 öre in aquavit, because he “did the Excution of a Lapp woman, Karin bi Name” because by her own admission she had given birth to a stillborn child in the forest. The punishment was witnessed by Constable Rudolph Hahn. It was he who originally arrested her and reported her to the court. There is then no doubt that it was about Karin Olofsdotter, the maid employed in Gäddvik.

The Swedish word “excution” meant in 18th-century Swedish to carry out, so when Lång-Påhl “did the excution” it meant he carried out the punishment. The statement that the executioner “did the excution of a Lapp woman, Karin by Name” and that Constable Rudolph Hahn was called to witness the punishment means she received a flogging. For the flogging a 1-metre willow canes were used. With each pair of canes, the executioner delivered three strokes, which were counted out loud. Then the canes were thrown at the feet of the constable, who was to “look on”, and a new pair was taken. The highest number of flogging strokes was 40. Until the latter part of the 19th century, the flogging pole stood outside the door of the courthouse in Gammelstad, the building which later became the municipal offices. Lång-Påhl received the same cash payment as when he flogged Lapp-Anna, which further confirms that it was a flogging that Karin received. Before the trial, Karin Olofsdotter had lived in the home of carpenter Jöns Jönsson for seven days at the rate of 9 öre per day. The accounts then show that Karin escaped with her life, although broken by the circumstances into which the pregnancy had led her.

There is a little irony in this tale in that it was Lång-Påhl who meted out the flogging both of Lapp-Anna and the “Lapp woman” Karin Olofsdotter. One Sámi flogging another Sámi in public. In itself, this is no more upsetting than if a Swedish executioner should flog a Swedish woman, but it does clearly emphasise how the Sámi minority had adapted to the predominant Swedish order. At the same time, it shows what low social status the Sámi had because it was taboo jobs exactly like this that were often offered to them. There is also a class aspect which should not be forgotten. It was mainly the poorest who were flogged in public, regardless of whether they were Swedish, Sámi or other.

We do not know what happened to Karin after her punishment, but her case gives a detailed and sometimes intimate description of how the Sámi were drawn into the emerging Swedish agricultural and industrial society in the 18th century. It gives an alternate picture of the Sámi as something other than purely reindeer herders. The Sámi found work in mines as craftsmen and in the ports doing a variety of jobs. They could also be soldiers. Many women were employed as maids in the villages in rural areas. The men were employed as farmhands. The Sámi workers would often seek out other Sámi for support and community, in the same way as emigrating Swedes did when they arrived in North America 200 years later. The Sámi participated to the full in church life in Gammelstad as part of the farming family on the farms where they worked. Even the Sámi who lived like landless crofters in the villages were required to go to church like everyone else, occasionally attending church in Gammelstad.
In the 20th century, many other minorities have been added to the immediate surroundings of the Church Town. This is not least because refugees from different parts of the world have come to Luleå at different points in time. During the Finnish War of 1808–1809, Gammelstad and Luleå were occupied by Russian soldiers. At the same time, national minorities such as Roma and Jews are conspicuously invisible in historical sources.

At an early date, Finland was caught up in the Second World War. As a result of this, a total of about 70,000 Finnish children were transferred to Sweden. The first Finnish refugee children came to Luleå in 1942. The photograph is from the transit home at Storgatan 17, which was where the children first arrived.
The multicultural Church Town
In the previous chapters we saw how the Sámi and Finnish-speaking minorities in different ways populated Luleå Parish. Also in Gammelstad Church Town itself, some Sámi are described as permanent residents. This applies for example to the widow Ingrid Larsdotter who lived there with her husband. When he died, she remarried in 1780 “the Lapp man” Pehr Andersson, who came from Jokkmokk. Also the “Lapp servant” Catarina Larsdotter lived in Gammelstad. In 1781, she married “the Lapp man” Lars Nilsson, who was living in Luleå.\(^8^2\) Another example is the Sámi Anders Larsson. As mentioned earlier, he was one of three constables in the parish, and living in the Church Town.\(^8^3\) In 1762, two-thirds of the newly established Luleå town was destroyed by fire. The newspaper *Inrikes tidningar* blamed the fire on “the carelessness of Lapps, who lit the fire in a barley storehouse on the estate of Judge P. Wallman.”\(^8^4\) We do not know how much truth there is in this, but the item shows how common it was with Sámi in the urban scene also in the new Luleå.

There was often talk of “vagrants” who settled near the church in Gammelstad. In 1688, Chief District Judge Henrik Wijnbladh made the stipulation that a register should be made of those who came to live in the old town on church and town property. Some of them also had cattle where they lived. In the opinion of the Chief District Judge, they would need to receive the permission of the parson or the magistrate to remain living there. The common residents included seven soldiers, of whom one was called Lapp Anund. It must have been his wife who 6 years earlier was summoned to the court in connection with a dispute with another woman. In the court records for 1682 it is described how the “Lapp woman and soldier’s wife Ingrid on the church glebe” was in conflict with the widow Elin over a job as a cleaner. In a heated exchange, Ingrid had threatened to cause evil to Elin. Other examples of “vagrants” were “Hustro Karin Ryssens (Wife Karin the Russian’s),” “Styrmann Olof Finne (First Mate Olof the Finn)” and “Juth Margeta (Danish Margeta)” whose different epithets spoke of ethnicity or nationality other than Swedish.\(^8^5\)

The Finnish-speaking populace were not registered as a special ethnic group. They become visible in the cases where they have been given the epithet “Finne”. From Nordberg’s examination of the death records we learn that the Sámi Andreas Larsson...
from Avan was murdered in Gammelstad in 1870 by a Finn who apparently lived there. The Finn was going to teach him to read fortunes. People were also sought for appointments in the Church Town who had the special multicultural skills that were required. When for example a bell-ringer was to be chosen in 1767, the parson mentioned especially the merits of Olof Laestadius: “his knowledge of Lappish being an important reason, to teach the many Lapps who are in the Parish.”

Also the parson Albert Nordberg, who wrote the history of Luleå Parish and the Church Town, had some knowledge of Sámi.

Slowly a permanent urban population took form, which also attracted professionals of other nationalities. The mayor of Gammelstad in 1636 and 1637 was Tor Halvorson, who was said by the priest Andreas Canuti to be a Norwegian man. That a Norwegian was living in Gammelstad and in addition was the mayor shows how the town’s governance was more internationally influenced than we usually imagine. He was not the only Norwegian in the Church Town. In the 1690s a man lived there called Michel Nilsson Jute, probably the cooper in the register of residents in Gammelstad from 1688. His epithet “jute” he had because he was Norwegian and at the time, Norway was part of Denmark. The Danes were generally called jutar (Jutes).

Jut-Michel, as he was called, is
known because he was summoned to court for having insulted the Swedish nation. He had then lived in the region for a long time, among other places in Svartbyn, before he moved into the Church Town. One evening, the soldier Michael Flygare had visited him, and together they had sat enjoying a pipe of tobacco, and during the discussion the subject of the Swedish provinces of Jämtland and Skåne had come up. Since Sweden had taken possession of Jämtland in 1645 and Skåne had finally become Swedish in 1660, the events were not so many decades back in time. The discussion became more and more heated.

According to the words of Michael Flygare in court later, the “Jute” had declared that he had been a soldier under the King of Denmark when the lands discussed became Swedish. He was reported to have uttered “coarse and disdainful words” about the Swedish king and the “victoria” he had won in the last war over Skåne. He had apparently also expressed that “the King of Sweden had sucked many countries under him, like a bloodhound, but the King of Denmark is still preserved.” After the violent discussion, Flygare had found it difficult to sleep at night, and talked about Jut-Michel’s outburst to the carriage driver Erik Springfält. Then he turned to the County Court regarding the anti-national outburst.

Jut-Mickel said that Flygare’s accusations were based on lust for revenge. Jut-Mickel had suggested that Flygare perhaps stole a “woman’s hat” from Lars Tunnbindare’s shed. Flygare denied that it was about revenge. The case was tried at the summer assizes in 1691. Jut-Michel could now present favourable testimony from farmers in Svart-

A Finnish female herder near Luleå was portrayed by Fritz von Dardel in 1858. Below the picture is written in pencil “Herder from Hohananti in Finland”.

In summer 1809, Russia occupied the whole of present-day Norrbotten. The Russian general, Nikolai Kamenski, occasionally stayed at the rectory in Gammelstad.
bryn, where he had earlier lived, and also from the court records to acquit him of the charges. The charge of treason was serious and could result in a death penalty even though the words uttered only came in a heated discussion over a pipe of tobacco. Since Michael Flygare upheld his accusations, the judge decided to consult the County Governor on the matter. It is unclear how the issue was resolved.89

In the final stages of the war with Russia in 1808–1809, Gammelstad Church Town was occupied by Russian military forces. The officers lived in the Church Town instead of in Luleå, since Gammelstad lay on the old coast road where the troops travelled.

There were even marriages between women in the Church Town and Russian officers. The sisters Brita Cajsa and Anna Charlotta were the daughters of the Army surgeon Lars Åhman, who lived in Gammelstad. The two women were renowned for their beauty and at the Russian base in the Church Town in 1809 they made the acquaintance of two Russian officers. A year later, they moved to Russia and were married there. It is said that they both became very wealthy. There were also Russian deserters – soldiers who remained in the parish but who were quickly assimilated into Swedish culture. There were also Russians who fell in the war and were buried in mass graves, among other places in Persön and Alvik.90

At the end of the 1920s, ethnological interest in Gammelstad increased. In 1930, the Nordic Museum sent out questionnaires about church towns and religious feasts in northern Sweden. In connection with this, in 1930 the regional daily Norrbottens Kuriren organised an essay competition about religious feasts and their celebration in Norrbotten. In the responses that were sent in about celebrating religious feasts in Gammelstad, the information was solely about the traditions and customs of Swedish-speaking people. The Church Town then appeared homogenously Swedish. In only one of the entries was Sámi presence mentioned, and it was about the Sámi in villages.

It was the then 78-year-old Margareta Hansson who described her life in Ångesbyn in the 1860s, when she was young. Having described how religious feasts were celebrated in Gammelstad, she added: “now I have said what I know about religious feasts, but I shall describe a little about
young Lappish people.” She then described how they used to take part in dances in Ängesbyn. On the particular occasion she writes about, there participated eight Sámi girls from Råneå, three Sámi from Smedsbyn, two from Björsbyn, several from Sun-derbyn and some from her own home village, Ängesbyn. The two musicians from Persön played dance music and the Sámi youths took part exactly like the Swedish ones. This gives another picture than that of “destitute Lapps”. “Good looking, all of them, girls and boys. Fine clothes every one. There were not many farmboys who dressed as fine as them. The same with the girls.”

The image of the Sámi in old and new Luleå
We have seen that in many ways the Sámi had a special status in the history of Luleå Parish and Gammelstad. One interesting aspect is the nature of the official, national image of the Sámi presence in Luleå. The first town was founded where the church was placed in the parish, on a mountain between the larger villages at Lule River estuary. After only just over 20 years, the town was built up in another place, 10 km closer to the sea, where conditions were much better for a harbour. The church cottages and the burgher quarters around the church were now called Gamla staden (The Old Town) or Gammelstad. The new site closer to the sea took over the name Luleå and gradually grew into the town it is today.

In the two urban centres, different urban visions are reflected. Gammelstad came to be associated with the long Christian presence, cemented by tradition, in a northerly, harsh landscape. The new Luleå came to represent the growth of the modern day shipping town which freed itself from its rural background. The symbolic difference between the two urban
In Eric Dahlberg’s engraving of “Old Luleå” the throng of church cottages from Läw’s model has been eliminated and the hill with the church on has been flattened. You get the impression of a lively, well-planned town. The impact of Sámi culture on the urban scene is profound. It is teeming with reindeer driving in different directions, and the foreground is flanked by hunters on skis. He knew that the Sámi were exotic to the international audience.

In 1661, the architect and military man Eric Dahlberg was commissioned to portray all the towns of Sweden in a huge project given the name Suecia antiqua et hodierna, which translated means “Past and Present Sweden”. It was a work of topographical plates with copper engravings and was originally intended as a gift to foreign countries. The purpose was to picture Great Power Sweden in a form that was as grand and modern as possible. Since due to glacial rebound it had been necessary to move both Piteå and Luleå closer to the sea, Dahlberg chose to portray both the earlier and later urban centres.

To create models for the engravings, the artist Gustav Läw was sent north in 1695 to produce pictures of the towns on the Bothnian Gulf. His drawing of Gammelstad is realistically done. He has drawn the conspicuous cliff where the church stands, with a conglomeration of church cottages around it.

The road to the new town of Luleå and the road from the south, from Gäddvik, is marked with a horse transport with a carriage on each side. The direction towards the Lappmark areas is also given, where a man is
drawn in a geres sleigh (Swe. ackja) behind a reindeer. You are given the impression of small, sleepy country town in fairly hilly terrain. His drawing of the new town of Luleå shows that it is only half constructed on the west side of the church, and that it is very much seafaring in character. The harbour is praised in the caption as being remarkable in size.

The interesting thing is what happened to the minority perspective once Eric Dahlberg had Läw’s drawings in his hands and transformed them into engravings. Dahlberg had travelled internationally, spending a dozen years in Germany. He had been on long overseas trips to France and Italy, and been in Queen Kristina’s retinue in Rome. He had a continental view of what was interesting in Sweden, in addition, the town pictures had a rhetorical function. They were to sell the image of Great Power Sweden as both an interesting part of Europe and as a country under expansive development.92

The two goals became extremely clear in the portrayal of Gammelstad and Luleå in that he went far further than Läw’s sketches in polarising the two urban centres. In the picture, Gammelstad, or “Civitas vetus Luhlae” (Luleå Old Town) as the heading read in Latin, he has altered the topography. The church is no longer on a marked hill, and the congregation of small church cottages now gives the impression of small, well-planned townhouses in a more extensive and airy urban plan. Above all, it is teeming with Sámi people, compared with Läw’s model. They completely dominate the foreground and form the visual framework of the church and the Church Town, which form the central motif of the picture. In the right foreground, three men in geres sleighs are driving in single file with a lone hunter on skis standing watching. On the left side, a man is hold-

If Läw visited the Church Town on an ordinary weekday, it was sure to have been as deserted as it looks. It is only in the middle-class burgher quarter one sees smoke rising from two chimneys.

In Dahlberg’s version, there is scope for vision. The summery inlet of Gammelstadsviken gives the impression of a lively port. In the foreground it is instead the depths of winter, with a galloping reindeer.

With regard to certain details, Dahlberg follows Läw, such as the four houses in the foreground. But here, people are out and about and the lush trees on the churchyard give a cultivated impression.
have seen, in the late 17th century and the 18th century, there were repeated regional bans on begging. In certain cases, Sámi dwellings were torn down, and the farmers who accommodated the Sámi were fined.93

On the contrary, Eric Dahlberg re-
inforced the Sámi presence around Gammelstad Church Town. It was used to mark reminiscence of the historical old Luleå. For the intended public on the Continent, it also contributed to giving Sweden an exotic touch, something Nordically wild and original. In the foreground, we see the untamed wilderness in a stark winter environment. In the background, the Christian middle-class town with small shops and boats down by the shore facing the Bothnian Gulf, and

With Dahlberg, the contrast between the old and new Luleå is total. Here we see no sign of the Sámi, even though it is less than 10 km between them. The square is large and as flat as the Piazza San Marco in Venice. On the shore to the left, several boats are under construction. In the foreground, people are gathering leaves instead of hunting.
by extension, the Continent. The Sámi wilderness is in contact with European civilisation, but nevertheless as a peripheral landscape on the outside.

That the Sámi came into town with their products was a change compared to how trade had previously been managed by the Birkarl traders. At the end of the 16th century, the Birkarl trader Nils Andersson (Kråka) from Söderby (Sunderbyn) recounts that they visited the Sámi in their winter settlements at Epiphany in January. On Annunciation day at the end of March every second year, the Sámi came down to Harads and alternate years to Bredåker, where they met the Birkarl traders. They brought with them reindeer skins, reindeer skin shoes, squirrel skins and fish. The Birkarl traders brought among other things homespun wool, blagarn (short fibre flax), flour, bread, axes, doorlocks and small copper pans. They also brought scythes just under half a metre long which the Sámi sold on to Norway. From Norway, the Sámi brought dried fish which they sold to the Birkarl traders.94

The Birkarl traders constituted a trade consortium of coastal farmers who owned shares in the trade with Sámi, but the Sámi were not passive subjects of the Birkarl traders. The well-off Sámi were also traders. In earlier times, they paid private tributes to the Birkarl traders. This was a type of trade tax.95 Tributes were converted into state tax when the Birkarl traders lost their exclusive right to trade with the Sámi, and were forced by Gustav Vasa instead to become Lappland bailiffs. When present-day Gammelstad was founded as Luleå town in 1621, the Birkarl traders were forced to move from their homes in the villages into town. In practice they kept their homes in the villages but adapted to the new regulations and formally became town dwellers.

When the town of Luleå moved to its present location the former Birkarl traders became even more clearly urban dwellers, but the traders on the coast continued their journeys up to the Lappmark areas even in the 19th century.96 At the same time, some of the trade moved into the modern town. In Eric Dahlgren’s published picture of “Civitas nova Luhle”, The New Luleå, the foreground is completely different from that in the picture of Gammelstad. It is a summery picture with hinds or deer trotting about, but the deer can also be incorrectly drawn reindeer. No Sámi are in sight now, but if one looks closely one can see two roaming reindeer on the shore. In the foreground one can see five men in the verdant forest, one of them on a horse. They are busy with some form of leaf gathering from the trees. On the inlet at the north harbour, two sailing ships are on their way out.

At the long quay, which bends round towards Gültzaudden, lie about 15 sailing ships at anchor with an endless row of shops standing wall-to-wall. On the shore to the left in the picture lie the keels of three ships under construction. There is a buzz of activity. The square between the harbour and the church is more reminiscent of the Piazza San Marco in Venice than the square of a little coastal town in northern Sweden. Right at the centre of the town, an impressive town hall or courthouse towers, competing with the church for attention. Above it stands the text Curia (Court-house). The picture heralds the arrival of modernity. The picture of the new Luleå at the start of the 18th century showed that the Sámi had no place there. They were now expected to be Swedish.

**From visibility to invisibility**

Eric Dahlberg’s polarised image of Gammelstad a “Lapp Town” and the new Luleå as the traders’ “modern town” was not in line with reality. The Sámi continued to be part of the street scene even in the new town. Besides the Sámi who lived in the Church Town itself and in the villages around, many Sámi, even in the 19th century,
still travelled down to the coast to do business with traders. They then travelled to the new Luleå where the commerce was. Some then were accommodated by their trade contacts, while others erected lávvu tents in places where the reindeer could forage.

The tradition of Lappmark trade thus moved in to the new Luleå.

Home owner Nils Fredrik Sundström of Hertsön, who was aged around 15 in the mid-1870s, mentions that at the time there were four trading houses in Luleå that pursued trade with the Sámi. One of them was run by Alderman Nils Sundström, who was born in 1797 and described as a forceful man. Vice consul Paul Govenius had a shop in Gällivare also and traded with the Gällivare Sámi. He could speak Sámi, and Sundström

In 1877 an industrial and handicraft exhibition was held at the grammar school in Luleå. In the background we see the residence of the County Governor with the two annexes. In the foreground, a Sámi family has been placed in the middle of modernisation and the nationally flapping flags. The intellectual emphasis is evident. Everyone is discussing with each other.
writes: “fun it was to see this always well-dressed gentleman surrounded by and conversing with the Lapps, since they were in large numbers with hundreds of reindeer in Luleå to transport goods.” Govenius was the trader who at the time had the biggest trade turnover. Both Sundström and Govenius had their business facilities on Skeppsbrogatan Street at the North Harbour, which had a long row of stores alongside the quay for the storage of the traders’ goods.

On Rådstugatan Street, the trader Nils Erik Bergström had his imposing wooden house in Russian-Finnish style with horizontal panelling, which his father had had built – the Bergströmska Homestead, which still exists. His father was the son of a farmer from Råneå and pursued extensive Lappmark trading in among other things tar, farm produce, reindeer skins, herring and reindeer skin shoes. The son, Nils Erik, took over the business with the house in Rådstugatan Street as his business premises. It is one of few wooden houses that survived the fire in 1887 and the house is today a listed building.

Benjamin Forsberg too, who lived on the corner of Kyrkogatan-Köpmangatan, traded in Lappmark products, as did the tanner Rutberg who ran his business at the south quay in Luleå. So there were many Sámi who were in contact with traders in Luleå. The Sámi were to a certain extent employees of the traders as transporters of goods, but also pursued their own trading. When they were staying in the coastal area they lived in their lávvu tents in the area between Gammelstad and Luleå.

From the above description we have seen that in the 1870s, the Sámi still periodically constituted a lively element in street life in Luleå. It was a time when reindeer were of crucial importance in transportation. Up until the 1890s, there was still no road between Luleå and Jokkmokk. At the same time, the construction of the railway to the coast and Gällivare was quickly becoming populated in the form of a fast growing shanty town. There was a great need of transport by reindeer in winter.

When the railway reached Luleå in 1888, the Sámi presence in the town decreased drastically. There was quite simply no longer a need of their transport services. It was not only Sámi transport by reindeer that ceased. Also the Sámi who had been using Kallax moor and Nordantill moor at the mouth of the Lule River for seasonal reindeer foraging stopped using those areas around 1900. From interviews with Sámi in the survey of 1912–1916 and in the 1919 and 1930s Lapp delegations, we see that it was the Forest Sámi in the Lule River Valley who had been using the coastal area until then. It was reindeer owners from Udtja, Kåikul and Rödingsträsk, as well as Mountain Sámi from Sirkas. In addition, the Forest Sámi from East and West Kikkejaur in Piteå Lappmark had sometimes used the area.

Many factors thus contributed to the Sámi becoming invisible in the urban settings. After the turn of the century in 1900, there was an end to both trade journeys and the regular winter migrations with reindeer. At the same time, the Sámi in village populations became assimilated into Swedish culture, as matrimonial statistics show. A romanticised view of Mountain Sámi also emerged from the late 19th century. A true Sámi lived in the mountains, not on the coast. Sámi presence in connection with Gammelstad Church Town and Luleå town therefore disappeared from the collective consciousness.

In the period up until 1890, the multicultural content in life in general seems still to have been self-evident. How this found expression in practice we must often guess, but there is one shining exception: the famous journey of Crown Prince Karl XV in North Sweden in 1858. Also on this journey was the artist Fritz von Dardel, who was a gifted illustrator and in addition liked to draw and paint popular
motifs. His drawings and watercolours from the journey show how both Sámi and Finns were a natural part of everyday life in the Lule River Valley.

Sámi reindeer husbandry in modern times
When in the 1960s a large reindeer herd was photographed at the Bergnäs Bridge in the middle of Luleå it was seen as a news item. No one thought of the long tradition behind the event, since neither reindeer nor Sámi had been seen for such a long time. But the fact that the reindeer were absent from the mouth of the Lule River throughout the first half of the 20th century did not mean that reindeer husbandry had ceased below the Lappmark boundary. It had just been moved somewhat higher from the coast than previously.

One of those who pursued reindeer husbandry in the nearby Râne River Valley in the first half of the 20th century is Sören Andersson from the village of Flakaberg in present-day Boden Municipality. The Flakaberg group in Gällivare Forest Sámi community had its main settlement just south of the Lappmark boundary. Its main settlement was on the east side of the Lule River, while the Forest Sámi group in Rödingsträsk, which belongs to Udtja Forest Sámi community, had its main settlement on the west side of the Lule River. Both groups herded their reindeer between spring, summer, autumn and winter areas, and reindeer husbandry was carried on both above and below the Lappmark boundary.

Sören worked in reindeer husbandry in the Flakaberg group through his entire adult life. His family foraged reindeer east of the Râne and west of Àngesån River. He was 88 years old at the time of an interview in autumn 2018, and was then living in the town of Boden. According to Sören, throughout the 1940s and 50s, they never migrated further towards the coast with their reindeer than to the town of Râneå. It was never needed, because the foraging was good, for example at Niemisel among other places. They never had lávvu tents or goahte huts anywhere. “We lay in different shacks, there were old shacks everywhere. I spent three Christmas Eves in one of the shacks.” At other times they slept in bakery cottages owned by farmers to whom they returned year after year. In later years they had a mobile barrack as a temporary overnight place. He tells us that many farmers owned reindeer and he tended the reindeer for them. When he thinks back, he realises in a way how his life has actually been. “It’s been a dog’s life, if you think about it. You would die if you had to live like that today. And just crispbread and meat as a diet.” He says it without sen-
timentality. Just a statement of fact with an objective smile. He is now spending his retirement in a house in the centre of Boden with all modern conveniences. The standard of living has advanced in giant leaps since he was a child, just as it has for others who lived in the country in those days.102

His mother tongue was Sámi, and he had to learn Swedish after starting school. “I remember so well when I was going to learn to tell the time. I knew the time, yet I didn’t. It was in the wrong language.” He experienced Sámi as a little island in a sea of the Swedish speakers where they were living. In Mårdsel on the Råne River, Sámi stopped to the west. To the east, you encountered the Överkalix dialect when you left Suobbat. He estimates that in his childhood there were several hundred Sámi-speaking people in the villages round about. Now he thinks there are just six people left there who speak Sámi. One example of how Swedish has taken over

According to Sören, many farmers owned reindeer which the Sámi tended for them. The picture was taken in 1937 in Kalix Forest Sámi community.
place names is Lake Muggträsket inside the Överkalix municipal boundary. That is its name on the tourist map of Norrbotten printed by Generalstaben in 1974. In Sámi its name is Guhkkárjávrre, a name that does not exist on the map, not even in the place name registry of the Land Survey. Sören explains the meaning of the Sámi name of this narrow, extended lake. “It has two meanings in Sámi. Guhka means ‘long’ but guhkkár is also used for tobacco pouch.” He traces with his finger the map of Norrbotten northwards from Muggträsket. “But Hällberget! What bloody mountain is that? It’s called Gieddevárre for heaven’s sake!” Giedde means a natural pasture and reindeer foraging site where there was a lávvu tent pitch. Sören points with his finger just above. “Vitberget! Buovddavárre it should be. There is a natural explanation for that. It has a bald pate sticking up just above the treetops.”

Sören’s life as a reindeer owner and reindeer herder shows how little remained of Sámi culture in the coastal area in the 1940s and 50s. The Forest Sámi kept with their reindeer in inland areas closer to the Lappmark boundary, not at the coast. Their presence in principle disappeared from the collective consciousness of those who lived in the villages around Gammelstad. But this did not mean that their rights to pursue reindeer husbandry at the coast were rescinded. In the government report Customary Sámi Lands (SOU 2006:14), the large reindeer lichen moors around Gammelstad, Kallax and Luleå are reserved as areas where the investigators consider that reindeer foraging rights are “predominantly probable” even if the landowners do not consider there to be proven reindeer foraging rights. This applies also to a disputed area between Boden and Harads that extends as far as Niemisel.

Regarding a 50 km wide rectangular area from Boden down to the sea, the Sámi considered that there are reindeer foraging rights, but there the investigators consider that it is “not proven or less probable”. In the middle of the area there is a small round enclave, less than 10 km in circumference, where reindeer foraging is forbidden. It lies east of the Lule River between Sävast and Södra Sunderbyn.

The case has been tried in court between landowners and the Sámi communities of Udtja and Gällivare, and the court found in favour of the landowners. The verdict came into force based purely on the landowners’ material. Additionally, not all the landowners were parties in the case, so for those who were not involved, the question of reindeer foraging rights is untried.

Sören Andersson’s nephew has continued with reindeer husbandry and during the 21st century has had reindeer in winter in the forests around Luleå and Gammelstad and out on the islands in the archipelago. He has
In Flakaberg, the Forest Sámi culture was combined with Swedish farming culture. On the picture, two ájtte stores, where after the autumn slaughter, reindeer stomachs filled with blood are hung up to dry.

experienced repeated conflicts with property owners, who among other things have complained about reindeer coming onto the plots of their summer cottages. From Sámi history at the coast, this is the thin thread that takes us back to everyday life at the Church Town a few centuries ago.

The open air museum at Gültzaudden
Minorities too have become the object of museums’ interest. On 16 February 1886, a group of serious men gathered in the meeting room of the County Administrative Board Luleå. Their titles included Knight, Lieutenant-Colonel, County Secretary, Senior Clerk, Mayor, Director, Headmaster and Grammar School Teacher. This meeting resulted in the formation of Norrbotten Museum Society which was the first society of its type in the county. The statutes state that the purpose was to preserve and compile ethnographic and natural historical items from the county and to publish descriptions of the heritage of Norrbotten County. The regional emphasis in the society’s activities was marked by the County Governor being voted the permanent chairman. This was in the middle of the most tumultuous phase of industrialism. Two years later, the arrival of the main railway line in Luleå was celebrated, and it in turn was linked to the main line to Gällivare and Kiruna. Prosperity was knocking on the door.

The collection of Sámi items was initially a special issue for the society. For a long time the general opinion had been that the Sámi as an ethnic group were about to succumb to civilisation. It was a question now of saving something of their characteristic close-to-nature culture for posterity. As early as 1890, the board was made aware of a rival activity with regard to Sámi activities. The forester Hugo Samzelius had advertised in the local newspapers a campaign to collect Sámi items for the Nordic Museum. The museum society perceived this as a rival activity and urged mem-
Luleå council building was constructed in 1691 and demolished in 1861. Based on the drawing below, a copy was erected on Gützaudden in 1921. It served as the County Museum until the present-day museum was built.

However, a Lapp camp was set up on the stony hill farthest out on the northernmost part of Gützaudden, which faces Mjölkudden and the North Harbour. The first parts were built for the Jubilee exhibition in summer 1921 and among other things comprised a lávvu tent which stood on the east slope towards Bergviken. In the years that followed, two
complete Lapp camps were built up adjacent to each other. Based on the lávvu tent, a Mountain Sámi settlement was built up, which in addition to the lávvu comprised a njalla store standing on a hewn tree trunk, a drying rack and a goat shed. The Mountain Sámi settlement lay in the southern part of the wooded hill nearest the festival site and the town hall. On the northernmost part, looking out towards Mjölkudden, a Forest Sámi settlement was built that comprised a square Forest Sámi goahte, an ájtte store on four legs, a drying rack and a reindeer enclosure for milking and separating reindeer. The settlement stood on a fine spot, separated from the festival site and with a view of the setting sun in the summer months.

Within a few years then, the Heritage Association built up both a Mountain Sámi and a Forest Sámi dwelling site in an ambitious way to exemplify Sámi culture in the county. However, the two Sámi settlements were a sorry tale. They were vandalised time after time. Therefore the lávvu tent was fairly soon dismantled and it was replaced in 1926 by a peat goahte, but also other Sámi buildings were sabotaged. From the fact that it was only the Sámi settlement that was subjected to vandalism in the open-air museum, one can draw the conclusion that it was based on hostility towards the Sámi. One might call it xenophobia if one considered the long period during which the official approach adopted was that the Sámi belonged above the Lappmark boundary and that they were intruders in the coastal area. In reality, the Sámi were neither foreigners nor intruders.

In the beginning of the 20th century, the Sámi were considered to be in an organic union with nature. The Sámi who did not work in the reindeer industry were therefore not considered authentic Sámi. One example is when two Sámi together with two Swedes in the Reindeer Forage Commission of 1907 were photographed against an arranged backdrop to underline their union with nature.
During the emergence of Luleå Parish they had constantly been present as a self-evident part of the cultural environment, even in the coastal area.

The vandalism of the two Sámi settlements became public knowledge when the well-known archaeologist Gustaf Hallström in autumn 1926, after a visit to Gültzaudden, put forward strong criticism of how the Sámi settlement was mismanaged. At the time, Hallström was working as an antiquarian at the Swedish National Heritage Board. Already in 1924 he had visited the Sámi settlement with great curiosity and become bitterly disappointed, particularly with the Mountain Sámi section which he considered built in an ugly way and ethnographically incorrect. He paid the visit as inspector of Gültzaudden recreational area at the remit of national antiquarian Sigurd Curman. During the visit he turned to the then director of Norrbotten County Heritage Association and two members of the board and mentioned the shortcomings. Out of consideration to the association’s reputation, he made no written report in return for the promise that the shortcomings would be rectified. When he returned in 1926, it looked exactly the same, with the difference that the lávvu tent had been dismantled and replaced by a newly built peat goahte.

It is relevant that the Heritage Association had been given state funding for its efforts for Sámi culture. Once he had returned to Stockholm, Hallström gave his critical views to the national antiquarian and wrote a detailed report about Gültzaudden as a recreational area, and in particular about the Sámi cultural environment. In addition, he had given interviews in local newspapers stating his critical views on the Sámi camp. His main criticism was that the Sámi camps were amateur-like and incor-

Using as a model Skansen open-air museum in Stockholm, a Lapp camp was built up on Gültzaudden Point. However, the lávvu tent was vandalised time after time and soon replaced by a peat goahte.

The archaeologist Gustaf Hallström delivered bitter criticism of the Lapp camp on Gültzaudden. He considered it constructed in an ugly way, and said that it was mismanaged by the Heritage Association.
The two-storey storehouse from Kukasjärvi represented Tornedalen culture. It was seen as a self-evident part of the county’s heritage. The buildings were maintained but the Tornedalen Finnish mother tongue was not.

The Heritage Association was completely taken aback by this. The County Governor Gösta Malm, who was the chairman of the association, in his disappointment wrote a letter to Curman in which he criticised Hallström for going behind the back of the association. The criticism in addition had been trumpeted out in public through “rather sharp statements” in the press.108 Later in the autumn, Hallström travelled north and then, at the special request of Sigurd Curman, paid a visit to Luleå to meet representatives of the Heritage Association. It was time to mend fences. Among other people, he met the Lapland Bailiff Claes Östergren who had had main responsibility for the construction of the Sámi camp. According to Hallström, the atmosphere was good during the talk.109 Not long afterwards, Östergren handed over to Norrbotten County Heritage Association as requested a statement regarding Hallström’s earlier written criticism. A copy of the written article was sent by the Heritage Association to the national antiquarian, but the Association decided not to respond to the criticism in the local newspapers.110 Östergren explained in his statement that no one currently on the board had received knowledge of the verbal criticism that Hallström had put forward in 1924 and that no one from the board or the Lapp section had been present during the visit in May 1926. He explained also that Hallström had not understood that the peat goahte represented a Fishing Lapp camp, not a Mountain Lapp camp, and that what was described as a sheep shed belonging to it was not a sheep shed, but a goat tent. “… for just occasionally, it happens, that a Fishing Lapp keeps sheep, a Mountain Lapp never…”111 Here, the Lapland Bailiff rapped the city dwelling ethnographer on the fingers, who in his reply was forced to back down a little from his criticism and admit his mistake about the sheep shed.112 Basically however, Hallström was proven right in his criticism. A year later, the Association stated that it was difficult to keep the Sámi buildings in good condition because of the repeated vandalism. It was decided to tear down the most vulnerable parts.113
Once Norrbotten Museum was completed in 1935, interest in Sámi heritage was concentrated there. The following year, the Association asked the permission of Luleå Municipality to take down the Forest Sámi lávvu and the Sámi njalla store. By the early 1970s, when all the heritage buildings on Udden had been moved to their current site at Hägnan in Gammelstad, no Sámi buildings were erected on the new site, although the Tornedalen two-storey storehouse was transported there as a separate building. Sámi cultural heritage had now been made completely invisible in the new open-air museum managed by Norrbotten Museum, which was built near the vicarage directly adjacent to Gammelstad Church Town. In 1992, it passed into municipal ownership.

The presence of the other national minorities
As a result of the 1808–1809 war against Russia, Sweden acquired two new minorities. They were the population of Tornedalen on the Swedish side of the Torne River, which became a small Finnish-speaking minority on the border with Finland. The other was the ethnic Finns in Finland who, following the Second World War when they immigrated to Sweden as a workforce, came to be called Sweden Finns. Luleå’s proximity to Finland was demonstrated by events during the Second World War.

In March 1941, the town council in Luleå proposed undertaking to sponsor 10 orphaned Finnish children in the Finnish town of Kemi at a cost of 3,600 SEK a year. The proposal was rejected by the magistrate, but commitment to Finnish war children continued. When Finland was drawn into the Continuation War against the Soviet Union in June 1941, evacuation of Finnish children to Sweden began. Already in October, the Aid Committee for Finland’s Children was
founded in Luleå. Those behind this initiative included Helny Wanhaninen and Eva Jonzon. The former was married to agriculturalist W.L. Wanhaninen, who was a well-known spokesman for the cultural rights of the people of Tornedalen. The latter was married to Bishop Bengt Jonzon. The Luleå branch of the Swedish Women’s Voluntary Defence Organization and other voluntary organisations contributed by collecting money.

In Luleå Municipality, there was a debate in autumn 1941 on the suitability of receiving war children and on plans for a system of child sponsorship. In Finland, both County Governor Hillilä of Lappi County and school head Koskimies of Rovaniemi were opposed to the transfer of Finnish children to Sweden. The arguments included psychological considerations. However, the inexorable nature of the Continuation War meant that such considerations had to be abandoned and that both were carried out – war children were received and contributions to child sponsorship were sent. In January 1942, 47 people had volunteered to receive children, a number that ultimately reached over 300 recipients. In spring 1942, the first Finnish war children were received at the train station in Luleå. They were accommodated in a transit facility before being boarded out with the individual families.

It appears that in the initial phase, the applicants’ wishes to accommodate children were received by telephone and written down by hand on squared note paper. The wife of a sawmill worker in Bodträskfors wished for a “boy, 2 years”, a home owner in Börjelslandet “girl 4-6 years”, a housewife in Vallen “child/boy not girl/6 years”. One note is about a senior teacher in Oulu whose three children needed to be placed. There was a girl aged only a couple of months, a sister who was two years old, and the brother who was three. The terse text was
Those who received children could be sent thank-you letters from the children after the war, or from the Finnish parents. The boy on the picture sent a photo of himself from the children’s home in Finland where he lived after his return. The silhouette below is writing-paper logo of the Mannerheim League for Child Welfare used in correspondence with Swedish foster parents.

“Mother dead – bombing.”

By the beginning of March 1942, 80 children had been placed in and around Luleå and Gammelstad. By the end of April, a further 47 children had been placed according to the lists of the Aid Committee for Finland’s Children. All social classes were engaged as support families. There were home owners, mechanics, housewives, policemen, teachers, priests, shop owners and others. In Södra Sunderbyn, the mining company LKAB set up a home for Finnish children. After the cessation of hostilities, the Finnish war children began to be sent home as long as they had a home to go back to, but by April 1948, 11 children still remained. Eight of the Finnish war children were adopted by the foster parents in villages around Luleå and so did not return to Finland.

In Gammelstad Church Town, shoe shop owner Per Östlund in particular was engaged in different forms of aid. He contributed money to sponsoring children and came to play an important role in organising matters during the war. When at the end of the Second World War the Germans hastily retreated from northern Finland into northern Norway, they burned villages and towns as they went. A large wave of Finnish refugees walked across to Sweden bringing their cows and portable household items. Many of them were housed in Tornedalen, while others walked on until they found somewhere.

On Skeppsbron Street in Luleå a Centre for Finnish Livestock was set up. Experts on feed, livestock and construction issues were enlisted in a special management group for dealing with the refugee question. Per Östlund became accommodation superintendent for the refugee facility and for a live-in facility for Finnish animal keepers, both located in the old Notviken. In his work, he distributed household items, clothes and hygiene articles to the refugees, as well as iron stoves, mattresses and blankets, along with all the equipment needed to tend and milk livestock.

Up to February 1945, the villages around Luleå received over 1,500 cows, over 100 horses and 450 sheep. All these animals were provided with fodder every day. One of those who worked at the chief constable’s office in Gammelstad, allocating the Finnish refugee families with their livestock to different farms, was Anna Vikström from Södra Sunderbyn. She later married Birger Åström of Norsgården farm in Gäddvik. He was also one of those who received Finnish refugees and their cows. “They could have..."
their cows in the summer cattle shed. So they themselves lived in the bakery cottage. There were two men and two women. I believe they were married. They only spoke Finnish,” he says.

Besides receiving war refugees, they occasionally employed Finnish maids who had seasonal jobs on the farm. On another farm in Gäddvik, two Finnish sisters were employed as maids by two brothers who shared ownership of the property. The sisters each married one of the brothers and they remained in the village. Employment of Finnish maids in the villages around Luleå in the first half of the 20th century was not specifically related to the war. It can rather be compared to the Sámi and Finnish maids who in the 18th and 19th century had seasonal jobs on farms. But the war years certainly contributed to opening the door to an increase in this type of Finnish work migration. In Gäddvik, Finnish labour was not uncommon. Friendship ties were forged and people visited each other in both Sweden and Finland.

Among the national minorities, the Jews and the Roma are the most invisible in the cultural heritage of Gammelstad. For religious reasons, Judaism was long forbidden in Sweden. There were nevertheless a number of itinerant Jewish traders in Sweden in the 17th century. According to an ordinance from 1685, all Jews were to be expelled from the country, but in the 18th century, Jews received the right to reside and own properties in Stockholm, Gothenburg and Norrköping. The Jews were thus forbidden to settle in other places in Sweden. It was not until 1860 the government decided that “Swedes of the Mosaic Confession” were entitled to live where they wanted. In sources that concern Gammelstad and Luleå, no Jews can be seen. On the other hand, the Jews were affected by the antisemitism that found expression particularly during the Second World War. For example, in 1943 a teacher at the school in Svartöstaden received a reprimand from the school council for spreading anti-Semitic propaganda in school.

Swedish attitudes towards the Roma have been even tougher than against the Jews. In the 16th century, Archbishop Laurentius Petri issued a letter ordering the priesthood not to deal with the Roma, neither bury their bodies nor baptise their children. A nationwide ordinance was issued in 1637 to hang the men and expel the women and children wherever they
were found. The ordinance was not followed, but the attitudes towards the Jews, Roma and Sámi show what a long tradition of xenophobia has existed in Sweden.

Neither are the Roma particularly prominent in sources in Luleå. A woman interviewed in Gammelstad tells us that in the 1950s, a Roma child was in her school class for a few weeks, but she then disappeared and did not come back. Eva Sjöblom, brought up in Gäddvik, said in an interview in autumn 2018 that the area between Karlsvik and Notviken was a place where people could live temporarily. As a child she had heard that the Sámi used to wander around there. She had no idea what was meant by “wander around there”. Neither was this anything she had experienced herself, but it explains why Karls-
ous. They were called vagrants. People looked down on them a little because they travelled around and did not have a permanent dwelling like we did in Gäddvik. It was like that in those days.” In a child's perspective she wondered what it might feel like to actually not have a fixed dwelling that was “home”.

As regards the many traders who have been active in the Church Town down the centuries, there are also Italians, especially during youth feasts. The Italian traders sold goods that were in big demand among young people such as bear mascots, whistles, rings and glasses. In addition they could sell odd items such as balloons.

The Roma were recurring visitors close to Gammelstad. Some used to stay between Karlsvik and Gäddvik. Here a Roma orchestra is playing in present-day Hermelinsparken in Luleå in 1906.
Minorities in the world heritage site

Italian traders can be traced in Gammelstad Church Town at least as far back as the 1920s. Fragmentary accounts show that Gammelstad and the surrounding villages have never been culturally homogenous area, but have always had elements of other ethnic groups and nationalities.

The World Heritage Site
and the minorities

The World Heritage Site in Gammelstad has a long multicultural history. The name Luleå itself, where the Church Town grew and the town was founded in 1621, is the Sámi name for the river, which indicates early Sámi presence. The Sámi have always been conspicuously present in the Church Town and in the villages around. This is however a history which is conspicuously forgotten. This is because nationalistic rhetoric going right back to the 17th century has trumpeted the message that the Sámi belong in Lapland, not on the coast. According to the same type of nationalistic rhetoric, the Tornedalians have been placed in Tornedalen and the ethnic Finns in Finland. The description of minorities’ settlements and lives has shown that this has not been the case.

There has never been a homogenous Swedish population either at the mouth of the Lule River, in the area surrounding the Church Town, nor in the parish as a whole. As early as the Iron Age, Sámi, Finnish and Swedish speakers in the coastal area came together to fish, hunt and trade with each other. At some point, the groups must have been equally numerous, but very quickly, the farming groups expanded. They were Swedes who came to dominate the lower part of Lule River Valley. In the upper part, from the 17th century on, there was a gradual shift from hunting and fishing to farming. Those who became settlers were Sámi, Finns and Swedes.

We have also seen that from the 17th century on, many Sámi moved down to the coastal area. That which has been described as a one-sided colonisation of Lapland met a narrower stream flowing in the other direction. Some of the Sámi who were living above the Lappmark boundary tried to get to the coast to find work. They worked with loading and unloading goods in the new town of Luleå, or did seasonal work herding cows in the forests, or as maids and farmhands on farms, as executioners, and sometimes in administration. Some survived as beggars.

The fact that the farmers around the Church Town have been Swedish-speaking in modern times has lured us into thinking that the culture around Gammelstad has always been Swedish. The historical narratives above have shown that it has never been like that, either in the villages, in the town of Luleå or in Gammelstad Church Town. It was quite common in times past to hear Sámi, Finnish and Swedish spoken in a wide variety of contexts. At other times one could hear Romani, Danish, Norwegian, Dutch, Russian or other languages. The culture has never been homogenous and static, but has been affected by different ethnic groups that have always been on the move. It is movement that is the natural condition, not immobility. This is borne out not least by today’s major movements of people, both in times of peace and times of war.
Notes

5. Lantmäteriet, the service Kartsök och ortnamn. https://kso.etjanster.lantmateriet.se/
8. Lantmäteriet, the service Kartsök och ortnamn. https://kso.etjanster.lantmateriet.se/.
9. The information about Lappgärдан in Alvik comes from Arne Alman, Alvik.
18. Lantmäteriet, the service Kartsök och ortnamn. https://kso.etjanster.lantmateriet.se/. Hortlax is, like Kallax, from the beginning a Finnish-speaking place name with the meaning The Dog Bay (Swe. Hundviken).


32. Åström, Rolf. *Nederluleå, Vigda 1706-1850*. (Luleå forskarförening, Luleå. Printed manuscript with excerpts out of the primary sources, which are kept in the archive of Luleå forskarförening, Luleå.


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43. Riksantikvarieämbetet, Fornsök. RAÄ Nederluleå 674:1, Måttsund.

44. Riksantikvarieämbetet, Fornsök. RAÄ Nederluleå 675:1, Måttsund.


46. Interview with Bertil Öström, Måttsund, Luleå kommun, 2018-09-27.


49. Interview with Sven Sundström, Rutvik-Brännan, 2018-08-03.


68. Riksantikvarieämbetet, Fornsök. RAÄ Nederluleå 444:1, Rutvikssund.
70. The account about Karin Olofsdotter is based on the court transcripts, see Riksarkivet (digital copy of the original source). AIb Domböcker och protokoll vid urtima ting, Luleå tingslags häradsrätts (1680–1830) arkiv, Domböcker och protokoll vid urtima ting och extra förrättningar. Protokoll vid extraordinarie ting i Luleå sockens tingslag 13 juni 1707.
73. Interview with Birger Åström in Norsgården, Gäddvik, Luleå kommun, 2018-09-16.
74. The mining area between the two mountain peaks is today named Silbbatjåhkkå.
75. Written information through mail from Eva Sjöblom, daughter to Birger Åström from Norsgården.
76. Interview with Birger Åström in Norsgården in Gäddvik, Luleå kommun, 2018-09-16.
82. Åström, Rolf. Nederluleå, Vigda 1706-1850. (Luleå forskarförening, Luleå. Printed manuscript with excerpts out of the primary sources).
91. Norrbottens museum, Luleå. FOAN 12, Nederluleå socken, Kyrkstugor, Enskilt arkiv 393. Informant is Margareta Hansson, Ångesbyn.


102. Interview with the former reindeer herder, Sören Andersson in his home in Boden, Bodens kommun, 2018-04-17.


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Maps

Tables and diagrams
Diagram 1. Sámi herders 1805-1835 and Sámi men’s other occupations in Sweden 1805–1855 (sources, see diagram).
Diagram 2. Sámi men’s marriages by ethnicity in Luleå Parish 1770–1879 (sources, see diagram).
Diagram 3. Men’s marriages by occupation and Sámi ethnicity in Luleå Parish 1770–1879 (sources, see diagram).

Photographs and illustrations

Cover picture
The cover photograph was taken by Ludvig Wästfelt in Jokkmokk around 1943–44. It shows Anna Länta, born 1899. Ájtte Mountain and Sámi Museum.

Chapter 1. Meetings between peoples
Photographs and Illustrations


p.21. Property boundary between the Priest’s glebe in Gammelstad and Rutvik. Detail from a map of the boundary between the Luleå priest’s glebe and the land of Sunderbyn and Rutvik, 1769. Lantmäteriet, Historical maps.


Chapter 2. Settlement and Matrimony


p.32. Seine fishing, from a boat and from the shore at Edefors. Photo: Gustaf Holmström 1933. Norrbotten Museum.


p.39. Two Sámi women in Svartlå, called Marie (left) and Inga, her mother (right) Watercolour by Fritz von Dardel, 1858. Nationalmuseum. Photo: Lars Elenius.


p.41. Woman with child and other people around the carri-
Chapter 3. Sámi in Lule region


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Sometimes we imagine that communities in olden times were static and unchanging. This is of course not the case. In Meetings between Peoples, historian Lars Elenius looks at how dynamic and multicultural the old Luleå Parish actually was. We encounter personalities on the international stage, such as the Russian general Kamenski who spent time during the Russian occupation northernmost Sweden in 1809 living at the vicarage in Gammelstad. Even more fascinating is the story of the two sisters who moved at the same time to St Petersburg with two Russian officers and were married there. Another is the fate of the Danish cooper who lived in Gammelstad at the end of the 17th century and was charged with treason for insulting the King of Sweden in a heated discussion.

Most touching perhaps are the two trials that concerned two Sámi women at the end of the 17th century and the early 18th century. Anna Nilsdotter, called Lapp-Anna, was brutally murdered by serving staff on a farm in Rutvikssund. Her two children were left to starve in the shack in the forest where they were living with their mother. Karin Olofsdotter was only 16 years old when, in a middle-class home in Luleå, a Sámi farmhand made her pregnant. Seven months later, when she was herding cows on a farm in Gäddevik, she gave birth to a stillborn child which she left in the forest. The district court sentenced her to death for infanticide.

Elenius uses court records, household strategies examinations and matrimonial records to reconstruct Sámi presence in Gammelstad and the lower river valley. As recently as the mid-19th century, many in the population could speak Sámi, Finnish or Swedish. We can also trace the collective memory regarding Sámi settlements in villages such as Rutvik, Alvik and Måttssund. There are place names there such as Lappgärdan as a topographical reminder of Sámi who lived there. The book also sheds new light on the early Finnish-speaking population in the coastal area. We learn for example that the first known name of Gammelstadsviken was Finnavan.

From the history of the 20th century there are accounts of how Finnish war children in all haste had to leave Finland that was in the throes of a war with the Soviet Union. The first war children arrived in 1942 and were boarded out to families. Some of them remained even after the war. We see from the historical sources that the World Heritage Site in Gammelstad has a long multicultural history. The book upends our perception of the Church Town as a homogenous Swedish cultural heritage.