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A Network of Missionaries and the Establishment of Knowledge: Creating Space

Introduction

The theme of this article is the institution of mission vis-à-vis the Sámi in Northern Norway during the 18th century, with special focus on the way it was organized. Apart from the religious objectives, these missionary activities launched by the Danish–Norwegian state also served as a device for consolidating its power in Northern Norway in general and within the county of Troms in particular. The organization grew rather fast and came to include a lot of persons who through their different tasks and roles established themselves as a new social segment. A number of persons possessing local knowledge and great competence in religious work were recruited to this network. Many of them were localized at Trondenen, a medieval stone church which had been the centre of a canonry. It was held by the Bishop of Nidaros until 1731, and still served very important functions connected to the organization of the mission. Other members of the missionary network were settled throughout the region of South Troms (Lysaker 1978: 206–207).

During my work within the field of Sámi culture and focusing, in particular, on the coastal Sámi settlement and the management of cultural and social identities in Northern Norway, I come to acknowledge that we as scholars are to a great extent influenced by ideas in line with the ideas that Sandra Harding (2006) has repeatedly elaborated concerning the western perspective or the colonizers' view. In spite of the great changes in research approaches which the various cultural disciplines have undergone over the last thirty years, I maintain that regarding our ideas about the population of Northern Norway, there are still a number of central areas where a natural incorporation of Sámi viewpoints is lacking or is only slowly being implemented. The same holds true for a gender perspective.

In order to apply a more adequate approach, I have found it useful to draw upon the viewpoints of the geographer Doreen Massey. She regards space as a product of interrelations within a sphere where different trajectories coexist in such a way that space is always under construction (Massey 2006: 9). For my purposes, this appears as a fruitful perspective in seeking to chart the network of

local competence that was established, and to analyse how these different areas of social space, pertaining to various ethnic and social groups, were being transformed and restructured as a result of the activities of the missionary network.

After presenting Massey's approach, I will focus on the establishment of the mission and the role that it played for the building of state power in the area. Then I will look more closely into some examples and present some perspectives related to the question of how the missionary organization came to influence the state's policy towards the Sámi population of this area and their way of life.

The Network in South Troms

The efforts of the Danish–Norwegian state in establishing an organized mission vis-à-vis the Sámi people in Northern Norway has a global aspect. The Sámi were just one of many people as an aim for mission within that period. The process of organizing this mission in the county of Troms, which I will present here, is but one example of this global process, which we will also consider as a part of colonizing or state consolidating measures. However, this process also has an important local dimension, since it took place locally within a region of Northern Norway, and contributed to the inner restructuring and reorganization of this very region. The establishment of this kind of network within the region of South Troms was a central part of the state's efforts for norwegianizing the Sámi population of the area. In this way, it challenges the way we approach or conceptualize a 'region', when it moves through such fundamental processes of social and cultural change.

In her article *Global Sense of Place*, Doreen Massey (1994: 155–156) discusses a spatial approach as a *process*. Her article concerned an investigation based on contemporaneous data, but I would claim that it can also be useful for discussing the historical processes which a place undergoes in such a perspective. With her approach she also aimed at making the concept of 'place' operational for social research by pointing out that several processes may be in progress at the same time, representing a kind of joint action or social interaction. Furthermore, the conceptualization of place does not necessarily imply that various areas have to be delimited by fixed borders. She also pointed out that a place does not have one unique identity, instead she regarded it as a mixture and full of internal conflicts. Nevertheless she does not deny the uniqueness of one place. Peculiar aspects will be renewed continually, but this peculiarity does not result from a long internal history. As summed up by Britt Dale, the uniqueness of a place should be conceived as resulting from a long range of causes. Dale has pointed out that Massey's hypothesis of the development of a specific local community cannot be explained from a set of single mechanisms. Instead, we have to look at the development from an opposite angle – influenced by a long range of political, cultural and economical processes operating on different geographical levels (cf. Dale 2006: 161).

By a comprehensive discussion in her book for space Massey (2006) has further developed her processual approach to the concept of space as a process, by underlining the multiplicity that in her opinion characterizes it. Firstly, space should be recognized as a product of interrelations as constituted through interactions. Secondly, she proposes that we should understand space as a sphere of possibility based on contemporaneous plurality – as a sphere in which distinct trajectories coexist and which therefore is characterized by a coexisting heterogeneity. As such, space should be regarded as a product of interrelations and an assertion of the existence of plurality. Multiplicity and space are recognized as co-constitutive, something which is summed up in the following way: without space, no multiplicity – without multiplicity, no space. Her third proposition was that we should recognize that space is always under construction. If we read ‘place’ as a product of ‘relations-between’, which are necessarily constituted by embedded material practices that have to be carried out, it follows that it will always be in a process of being made. Thus, she claimed that space is never finished and never closed, something which permits the imagining of space as a simultaneity of “stories-so-far” (cf. Massey 2006: 9).

Massey concluded that in such an intertwining space there will always be possible connections or linkages which may be contrasted, and which will flourish through mutual influence, i.e. relations that will, or will not, be carried out. In her conception of space as a fluid, open plurality, Massey also underlined that space has to be “... multiplicity ...” – a manifold of loose ends and lacking links. For the future to be open, space also has to be, maintained Massey (2006: 11–12).

This notion of space as an open manifold of relations which are steadily established and constructed, and which makes out a contemporaneous plurality, embedding various material practices and trajectories, seems highly relevant for the study of the networks established by the missionary organization and the relationships that it encompassed. The movements, journeys and marital relations in which the missionaries and their kindred were engaged, as well other various efforts implemented by them, may be conceived as “trajectories” within such a locally defined space. Their trajectories may highlight their career or chosen positions as part of such an ever-ongoing construction of a local space, given as a product of relations.

By studying the efforts of the missionaries, we can observe that their trajectories will be crossing as Massey (2006: 9) said: “... in the sense of contemporaneous plurality ...” In this sphere, the coexisting trajectories given by the mission organization are in a state of being together in the same space, as well as the glimpses of information that we gain about the Sámi population which were the target of the missionary activities.

What is then accumulated, mediated, and passed on, through the networks established by the missionaries, and through these shifting constellations of trajectories and relationships? At an elementary level, glimpses of information are presented about the Sámi population and their religious and cultural behaviour. But this would presumably be integrated into a broader and deeper knowledge

about local topography, social geography including specific ethnic and social relations, information about local kinship and descent relations, local ways of behaviour etc. To understand how this competence relating to local conditions, and in itself contributing to a newly-constructed 'local space' was passed on or mediated, it might also be fruitful to apply the concept of 'habitus' as formulated by Pierre Bourdieu:

“... The habitus, a product of history, produces individual and collective practices – more history – in accordance with the schemes generated by history. It ensures the active presence of past experiences, which deposited in each organism in the form of schemes of perception, thought and action, tend to guarantee the 'correctness' of practices and their constancy over time, more reliably than all formal rules and explicit norms...” (cf. Bourdieu 2009: 54).

Though 'habitus' according to Bourdieu is conceived as mediating past experiences, and thus presents actual options for action that are in line with historically generated schemes, he nevertheless underlines that it must not be conceived as rigid and constant, but always open to change, adaptation and revision, according to new premises, and recent experiences. The revision is never radical, because the 'habitus' in itself operates on the basis of the premises already established in a previous state. Bourdieu characterized the premises with a combination of constancy and variation, which varies accordingly to the individual and his or her degree of flexibility or rigidity (Bourdieu 2006: 161).

These features seems highly relevant when analysing the flow of information and knowledge that characterized the newly established missionary organization, set up in a region which was previously poorly known by the members, and where they were confronted with many unforeseen challenges.

At least, the missionaries might be regarded from two angles. In the first perspective, they might be conceived as a group or organization within which they occupy individual positions and create a social, cultural or religious space through their activities and interrelations attached to their professional tasks. In the other perspective one may focus on their roles as heads or parts of a household, where they are interrelated to a high degree by family or kin relations in such a way that these interrelations also contribute to creating a social space.

The Establishment and Organization of the Danish–Norwegian Mission

The Missionary Collegium was established in Copenhagen in 1714, as a separate governmental department directly under the authority of King Frederick IV. At that point, the king of Denmark was the only Lutheran monarch whose realm encompassed several nations which included Non-Christian peoples (Greenland-

ers, Sámi, Africans and Indians) (Nørgaard 2005: 42). The primary aims were to organize the mission in Tranquebar in India, but already from the start the mission to the Sámi people was included. Later, the mission to Greenland was established within the same department. The administration of the mission to the Sámi – the *Seminarium Scholasticum* – was subordinated to the *Missionary Collegium*, and placed within the school of the Diocese of Trondheim in Norway. By taking this international dimension into consideration, the organized missionary efforts vis-à-vis the Sámi might also be viewed from a third perspective, at an international or global level.

Thomas von Westen (1682–1727) was the central person in building up the mission of the Sámi people in “Fin- eller Lapmarken” – the Sámi habitation areas covering the northern areas of Norway (Steen 1954: 372). His studies and social relationships can serve as a background for understanding his later career. Raised in Trondheim, von Westen completed his studies in theology at the University of Copenhagen with a degree in 1699, at the age of 17. He later studied languages, including Sámi, to which he had been introduced during a longer stay as a private tutor with the family of the circuit judge *Jakob Dass* in Helgeland, in the present-day county of Nordland (Steen 1954: 153). From 1709 he was rector in the parish of Veøy in Romsdalen in the Western part of Norway where he in 1713 participated in establishing a study group within the framework of the State Church, bearing the name “The Seven Stars¹”. Their aim was to reform the church and discuss Pietistic ideas. This group formulated plans on how to organize the mission of the Sámi Population in Northern Norway.

Together with his qualifications, his participation and the work within the “Seven Stars” group appear to have been the principal reason why Frederick IV appointed von Westen in 1716 to organize the mission, especially with the tasks relating to the border issues and the religious conditions in Finnmark. In this work he displayed intensive engagement and put in a great effort. Partly he got in conflict with the established ecclesiastical organization about how to conduct the mission and how to build a separate missionary service/organization to serve the Sámi population. He became quite ill and died in 1727 very poor, partly resulting from his lack of control over his personal finances. His widow survived him to the age of 91 and died in 1746.

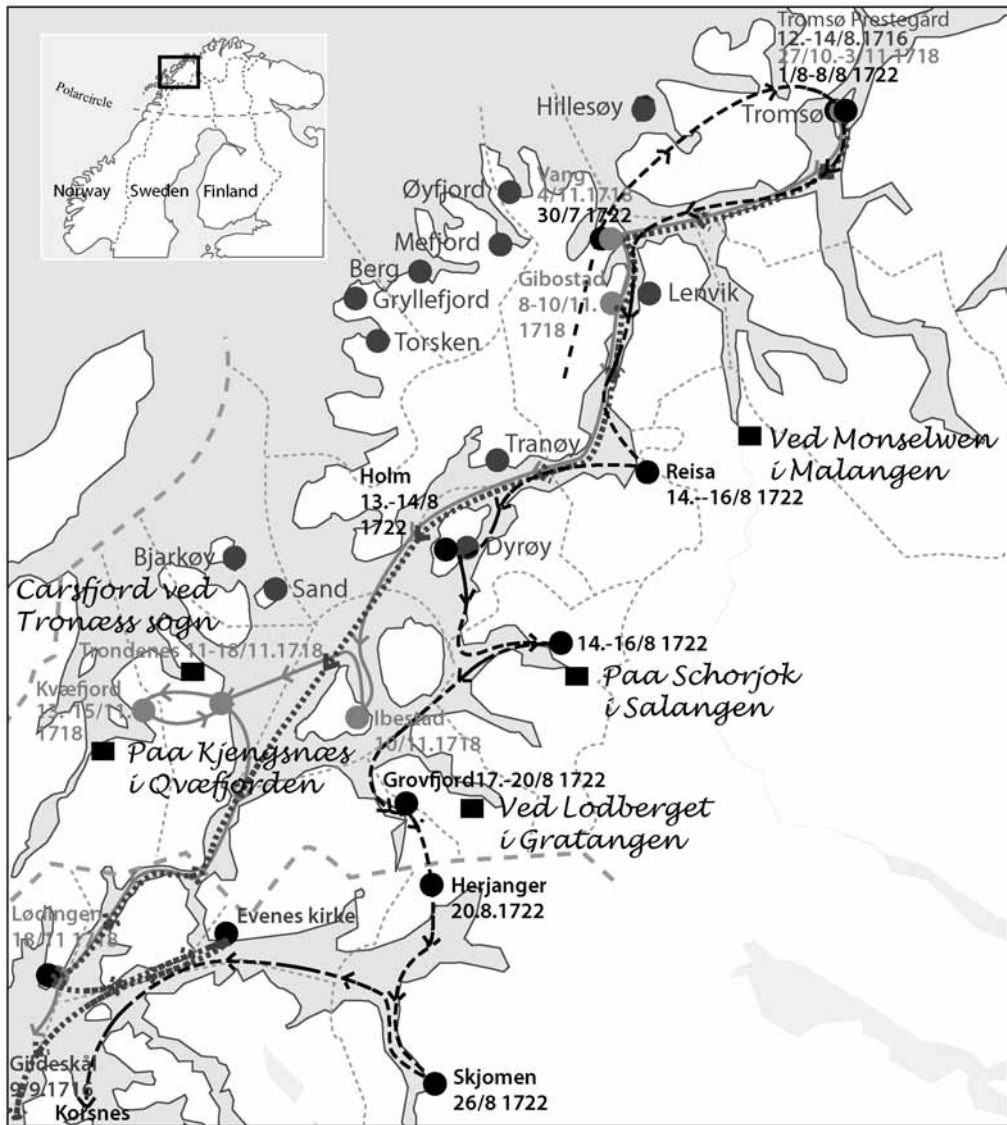
During a ten-year period, von Westen established quite a large organization covering the area from Trondheim to Varanger. This whole area was divided into 13 missionary districts where he engaged missionaries, schoolmasters, part-time teachers etc. In order to accomplish their tasks of educating and converting the Sámi population, these people studied at the *Seminarium Scholasticum* in Trondheim. In addition to theology, they read the Sámi language, which von Westen regarded as a necessary tool for making contact with the Sámi population.

1. “The Seven Stars” is the Norwegian term for the Pleiades star constellation, and in this context it referred to the composition of the group having seven members.

Von Westen's Efforts to Develop the Organization in the County of South Troms

Thomas von Westen put in a great effort for establishing the mission in the whole area with Sámi settlement in Norway, stretching south to the county of South Trøndelag. In the course of his work there were certain persons who quite early became important to von Westen and his organization. There is reason to believe that *Isak Olsen* (ca. 1680–1730), who was a teacher and cartographer, played a more central role connected to the development in the county of South Troms. He knew the Sámi language, worked as a Sámi schoolteacher in East Finnmark and had accompanied the Vardøhus bailiff on his travels to Kola during the years 1714–16. He had reported about the conditions from the border areas and made drafts of maps. Through his marriage to the widow Riborre Danielsdatter Hveding (1685–1776), he must also have acquired a closer connection to, and a better understanding of local conditions in the county of Southern Troms. Riborre was a daughter of the Ibestad rector Daniel Jenssen Hveding and his wife Birgitte Olsdatter. Riborre had earlier been married to John Steffensen, a merchant who had a trading site at Rolla in South Troms (cf. Nissen 1949: 447–455; cf. Hansen 2003: 310–313). Information about the county of South Troms is found in a more encompassing report written by Olsen in 1718, as well as a map he designed from the neighbouring areas (Løøv 1994). According to probate inventories he left a big collection of historical, religious and linguistic literature after his death (cf. Lid 1949). Another important colleague was *Jens Kildahl* (1683–1767), who was a vicar and missionary living in Ofoten, in the county of Nordland, south of Trondenes. Through his marriage with a local Sámi woman, Kildahl gained intimate knowledge of the Sámi traditional religion, which he later passed on to von Westen. In the initiating phase of the mission these three missionaries – together with a few others – formed a central group within the organization, which may be regarded as an upper level.

From a general perspective, we may emphasize some administrative measures initiated by the missionaries which served to ease the social conditions of the population in north. By addressing the government authorities, von Westen brought about an end to the death penalties imposed for pagan acts, as well as the practice of selling liquor outside the churches in connection with services. The last-mentioned practice had been introduced in the beginning of the 17th century. The other main area of results was that he again made information and education the main focus of the mission, according to Pietist ideas and practice with focus on the individual. This emphasis on individual education led to the establishment of schools, at first mainly to christianize the Sámi population. But already from the next decade, in 1736, the elementary school was introduced on a more general level, to the Norwegian population as well. In Northern Norway this emphasis on education for an ethnic population resulted in the establishment of a regional seminar – a teachers college at Trondenes in 1824.



Graphic: Ernst Høgtun/Tromsø Museum Universitetsmuseet 2010

- 29/5 - 5/11 1716
- 14/6 1718-april 1719
- - -> 29/6 1722-5/5 1723
- Churches
- Skanke's descriptions of chapels and schools in the district of Senja
- - - - - Circuit borders 1648

Figure 1. Map of the travels of Thomas von Westen during the years 1716, 1718–19 and 1722–23 in the southern part of the County of Troms. Localization of churches, chapels and schools in the mission district of Senja and Vesterålen are reconstructed after Skanke from about year 1730. Sources: Hammond 1787, Falkenberg 1943, Rydving 1995, Hansen 2003. Graphic: Ernst Høgtun, Tromsø University Museum 2011.

In the early phase of this project, Thomas von Westen recognized that also the Sámi population south of Finnmark were in need of his missionary work. In order to implement and develop his organization he travelled from Trondheim to Northern Norway three times between 1716 and 1723. The two first journeys were from Trondheim to Vadsø and back, one in 1716 and the next from the summer 1718 until spring 1719. The last one was to Tromsø in June 1722 with his return in May 1723. On the map I have reconstructed his travels within South Troms.

Already on his first journey, while he was travelling through the south part of Troms County, he engaged a missionary, a schoolteacher and two assistant teachers to conduct the mission for the Sámi population within that area. The next two times that he travelled within this area of study, he held meetings with the Sámi at their localities, and together with them made plans for future work. From these plans we can reconstruct that he wanted to establish assembly houses and schools localized at places where the Sámi population was settled. In South Troms, this was inland in the fiords and on the island of Hinnøya. Some of his work is described by *Hans Skanke* (1679–1739), one of the missionaries working mostly in the Diocese of Trondheim, first as a teacher at the cathedral school from 1709 and then as its headmaster from 1729. From his descriptions of about 1730 we learn that the sixth missionary district of Senja and Vesterålen, was divided for the missionaries and schoolteachers into three parts: Inner Senja, Outer Senja, and Vesterålen (cf. Falkenberg 1943: 11–13). According to Skanke (cf. Falkenberg 1943: 29) we are informed that chapels and schools were to be located within this mission district: “... – 1) ... at Schorjok in Salangen, 2) Lodberget in Gratangen, 3) at the River Monselwen in Malangen, 4) in Carsfjord in Tronæss-Sogn (parish), 5) at Kjængsnæss in Qvæfjorden ...” (cf. Figure 1). These localities are all within what we know to be areas of Sámi population.

Thus, chapels or schoolhouses were to be built at two localities in the northeastern part of the island of Hinnøya: one at Kjengsnæs in Austerfjorden – a Sámi fjord – in the community of Kvæfjord, and the other in the bottom of Kasfjorden – today within the community of Harstad. Andreas Olsen, a former school inspector of the community of Tromsø, has reconstructed the story about the old Sámi school in Kasfjorden (Olsen 2006), which confirms this plan from the beginning of the 18th century. Relating to the information given about the neighbouring area in the west – Vesterålen – we learn that these schoolhouses or local assembly houses (“... Forsamlings-Gammer...”) were planned to be built within the tradition of the local architecture, as turf huts (cf. Hammond 1787: 842).

From an overall perspective, we can conclude that the observed initiatives of Christianizing the Sámi population led to several results which changed the authorities’ comprehension and knowledge of the population, as well as their economy and the whole area. The strongholds of the mission were localized within the fjords – areas opposite to where the ordinary clergymen resided, and which they earlier had visited only seldom. The missionaries and schoolteach-

ers were engaged to conduct their tasks within localities of the Sámi population. The mission organization promoted local people and the missionaries to build chapels and/ or assembly houses and thus established schools within these areas. The teaching of reading and writing in Sámi language – for children and adults – in order to enable them to confirm their Christian faith, was initiated by von Westen and followed up by the missionaries and the schoolteachers. Another important result, especially from the governmental point of view, was a considerable enhancement and deepening of knowledge about the Sámi settlement areas in general – and especially concerning the inner parts and mountain areas. Earlier this kind of knowledge had been quite superficial. The reports of the missionaries' travels, their visits, and other accomplishments which were returned to the Missionary Collegium in Copenhagen, laid ground for further studies of the northern areas during the later part of the 18th century. This knowledge and competence also paved the way for later investigations of the inland areas, which were undertaken during the years 1742–1745, when the question of drawing a precise border between Denmark–Norway and Sweden–Finland in the northern areas came on the agenda, and resulted in the final border treaty of 1751. Similar investigations were also carried out even later, as part of the preparations for colonizing the inner parts of county of Troms, viz. the valleys of Målselv and Bardu from the 1780s onwards (Storm 2010; Ramm 1813–1817).

Establishment of Local Knowledge

How was the mission organized locally, and what role did it play for the establishment and mediation of locally based knowledge and competence? How was this local knowledge acquired and passed on?

The establishment of the mission required personnel – numerous persons to conduct the different tasks initiated by Thomas von Westen. From the outset, missionaries, schoolteachers, assistant teachers etc. worked parallel with and alongside the ecclesiastical institution and its clergy. But very soon they alternated between the organization of the mission and the church, perhaps mostly of economic reasons. The networks among the missionaries can be reconstructed from written sources which are described in detail by Hans Hammond (1787). Later the theologian Andreas Erlandsen (1859) wrote a biography of the lecturers in theology, rectors and conectors at "Thronhjems lærde Skole" Thronhjems learned School and the Seminarium Lapponicum focusing upon the 19th century, and Adolf Steen (1954) who himself was a missionary and a secretary of the Sámi mission, made an in-depth study of the Sámi mission and the work of Thomas von Westen during the 18th century.

Steen (1954: 389, 391–421) wrote a detailed overview of the missionary districts and the missionaries during the period from 1716 to 1814. In the biographical information there is a list of all the missionaries, their kindred and relationships with names, years, education and background – as well as their

place of origin and their work in the mission, positions etc. The close relationship that existed between quite a few of them can be recognized through their choice of spouses, as well as the contact they must have had through their tasks. It is possible to study further their practice, positions, later career, relationships and marriages. They were closely connected in various ways to the mission and the work of von Westen, through their education at the Seminarium Scholasticum, and by relationships, kinship ties or marriages. As we can see from the overview presented below, the missionaries applied for ordinary ecclesiastical positions when they had finished their duties within the mission. In some cases they held the two types of positions simultaneously. In the counties of Troms and Nordland, most of the missionaries appear to have continued in positions within the ecclesiastical institution.

Within the sixth district of Senja and Vesterålen, a region stretching from the large islands of Vesterålen and Hinnøya in the west to the areas of the inner fjords such as i.a. Grovfjord, Salangen, Lavangen and Sørreisa in the east, and south from the border of the fjord of Ofoten to the fjord of Malangen in the north, there were within the period of study eleven missionaries, in addition to teachers and their assistants. I will here give a presentation of nine of those missionaries who did their service within the district of Senja. Three were recruited from Sweden or Denmark, and four from the southern part of Norway. Only two of them were born within the county of South Troms: *Peder Krogh Hind* at Trondenes and *Johan Lorentz Burchard* in the community of Kvæfjord. In the neighbouring district of Vesterålen, there were two more recruited locally – the brothers *Willats* and *Jens Dreyer*.

The majority of the missionaries within this district were recruited from families with fathers holding positions in ecclesiastical service as clergymen and their mothers were regularly daughters of clergymen, merchants, government officials or farmers settled in the region. As demonstrated in the overview below, several of the missionaries were closely related to Thomas von Westen or *Knud Leem* (ca. 1696–1774) – an important missionary and clergyman in Finnmark. Not only was the mission in itself an encompassing, professional task which called for cooperation between the participants, it also resulted in other kinds of relationships between them, mediated by family ties and marital relations. It seems that the role of the spouses/ wives was also important for conducting the tasks. We can see that the missionaries and clergymen most often married again when their wives died. Some of them were married two or three times. It seems that through these close relations and through the contributions of the clergymen's wives competence must also have developed regarding Sámi culture and settlement, which has generally been overlooked. From the 19th century we have their own descriptions of their experiences, and they can serve as a gateway to a more intimate understanding of the conditions especially in which the women could execute their duties in their encounter with the local communities (Mamen 1976). Their relationships may have strengthened their local belonging, but they could just as well have pulled in the opposite direction to other, more important and, for their husbands, more remunerative positions in areas to the south.

Overview of missionaries of Senja district during the period of 1718–1788:

1) Kjeld Stub (1654–1724) Spydeberg, vocation as missionary in Porsanger 1716, *missionary in Senja and Vesterålen 1718–20*, Curate Skjerstad 1720, where he paid the costs of a teacher serving the Sámi population on his own account. Married to 1) Ingebjørg Leem, Grytten.

2) Erasmus Wallund, Denmark (1688–1746), *missionary to the Sámi population of Senja and Vesterålen 1721–24*, curate Skjerstad 1724. Married to 1) Dorothea (Dorette) von Westen (1692–1746) sister of Thomas von Westen, 2) 1729 Anne Margrethe Arentzberg, Salten.

3) Leonard Sidenius, Jemtland, Sweden (1702–1763), *missionary in Ibestad, Senja and Vesterålen 1725–28*, Vicar in Buksnes, Vesterålen 1728, rector in the same place 1740.

4) Erik Nielsen Berg, Århus, Denmark (†1760), *missionary in Senja and Vesterålen 1728–35*, vicar Vega 1735, rector Steigen 1752. Married to 1) Anne Pedersdatter Morup, Koldinge, Denmark, 2) Bergitte Cornelia Arctander, Lødingen.

5) Peder Krog Hind (†ca 1776) born at Trondenæs, he was vicar in Tranøy at the same time as he served as a *missionary in Senja and Vesterålen during the period 1743–1756*. He became rector in Hemnes, the county of Nordland 1756. Married to 1) Maren Brose (†1794).

6) Elling Rosted, Bergen (1720–1796), missionary among the Sámi population in Tysfjord (the district of Lødingen) 1749, vicar Torsken 1750, *missionary in Ibestad parish Senja and Vesterålen 1757–59* and at the same time vicar and later rector of Tranøy 1759. Married to 1) Mette Sophie Nielsdatter Schytte, 2) 1754 Margrethe Hammer (1728–82), 3) 1785 Johanna Helm, Dverberg.

7) Jens Kildal, Hægeland (1683–1767), accepted by the Collegium in 1720 as a missionary in Salten, (1721–58) and Lødingen (1721–26) – both in the county of Nordland. He lectured in the Sámi language at the Seminarium scholasticum / (Seminarium Lapponicum) in Trondheim until spring 1721, unordained missionary Salten deanery 1721, he accompanied von Westen on a part of his third mission journey (1722–23), *missionary in Senja and Vesterålen 1759*. Married to 1) Karen Arnesdatter (†ca 1730), Herjangen. She was a Sámi; 2) Dorthe Pedersdatter (1712–47), Kjøpsvik, Tysfjord. Both were from the county of Nordland

8) Johan Lorentz Burchard (1733–1824) born in Kvæfjord with practice and examination in theology 1758, *1760–71 missionary and curate at Trondenæs, 1765 also missionary at Ibestad*, rector Skjervøy 1771, Kvæfjord 1780–1815. He was married to Rebekka Elisabet Kildal (b. 1745) daughter of Simon Kildal the Elder (1701–61) and Maren Heggelund (1707–51).

9) Jens Kock, Sulen, Hitra (1757–1849), vicar Dverberg and *missionary in Senja and Vesterålen 1785–88*, missionary East-Finnmark 1788, rector Kjøllefjord 1788, dean / rector East-Finnmark deanery 1791, rector Folda, the county of Trøndelag 1801. Married to 1) Maren Heggelund Krogh (ca 1768–1849), Sand.

Those nine missionaries succeeded each other following the chronology of the list. There is a gap for the period 1735–1745, from which there is no information available about any missionary in the district of Senja and Vesterålen. The district of Senja and Vesterålen encompassed as we defined earlier three parts within a quite extensive geographical area with several vicarages. Three of the missionaries – Sidenius, Rosted and Burchard were localized to Ibestad vicarage which meant the inner part of the district. Burchard combined the position as missionary and curate at Trondenes as a missionary in Ibestad in the year 1765.

From other sources we know that the position of a missionary implied quite a lot of travel – by boat, on foot or in other ways to carry out their tasks. They travelled to meet the Sámi population along the coast, in the valleys, or in the mountains throughout the year. As we can deduce from the list, most of them served as missionaries for a period of two years, and then became more stationary, with a position in a vicarage or parish, and later in a rectorate. Some of them combined missionary positions with ecclesiastical ones. The reasons for such choices are worth to studying further; were they caused by lack of personnel or by economic considerations based on their own obligations as heads of households, among other reasons.

From the place names we can reconstruct the geographical space in which they acted, and how they thereby contributed to the creation of social space in a twofold way – both the social space defined by their professional duties as missionaries, and the social space stemming from their interrelationships of kinship and marital connections.

Localization of the Network

The clergymen previously stayed at the church of Trondenes. During the period of mission, we can claim that the missionaries travelled quite extensively, all year round to the various settlements with churches, chapels, assembly houses or schoolhouses in order to accomplish their tasks. The island of Tranøy was church property and subordinate to the Diocese of Trondheim. Until 1731, Tranøy curacy was organized under the church of Trondenes, when it was transferred to Ibestad vicarage, which had been given the responsibility for clerical service to the Sámi population of Astafjord parish. This parish encompassed the inner areas on the mainland, from the county border in the south and extending northwards through the fjords of Gratangen, Salangen and Lavangen. Thomas von Westen ordered that the duties of lecturing, teaching and other related tasks should be delegated to the curate of Tranøy (Eriksen 1972: 12–13). During the introductory period of the mission we know that the missionaries lived on the islands of Rolla, Dyrøy and Tranøy. The missionary Stub who worked in the period 1718–20 and Wallund during the years 1725–28, lived at Upper Selset at Rolla. About Nielsen Berg who worked from 1725–35 and Schytte during the year 1742, we have no information so far. Wegner lived at Tranøya as well as

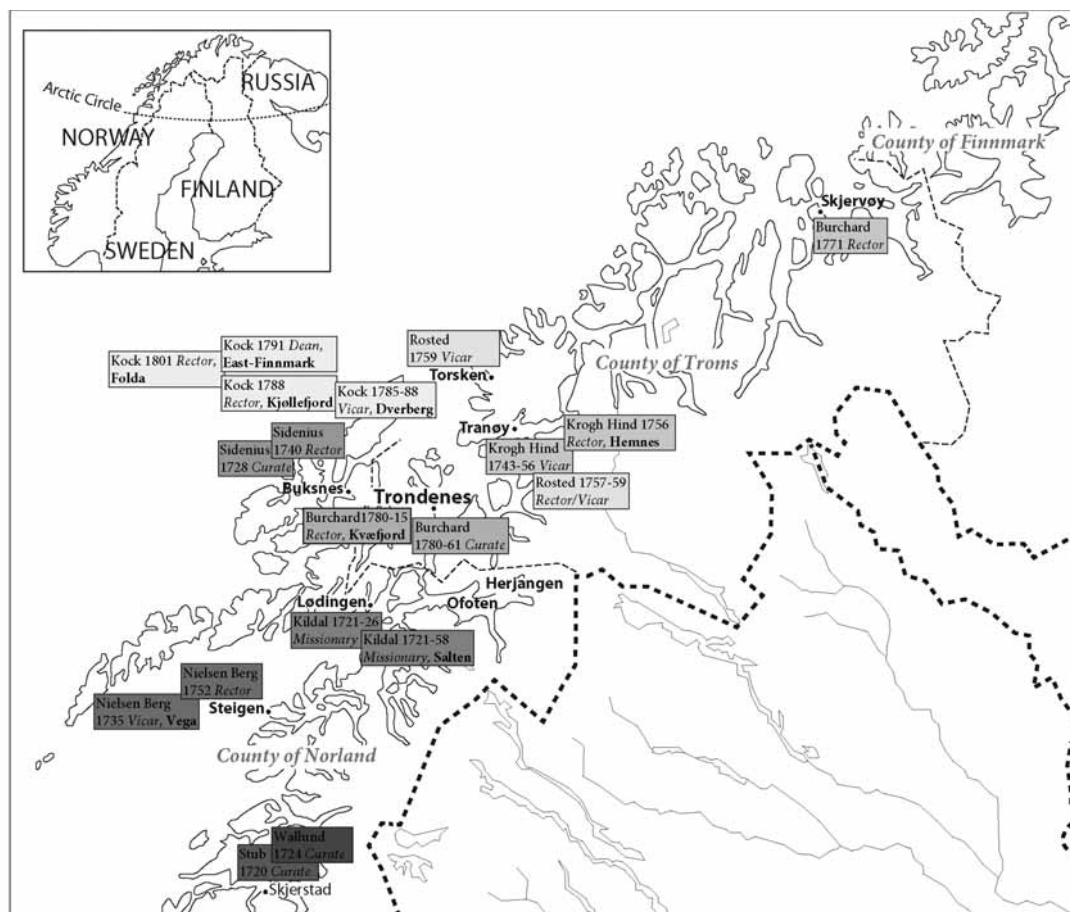


Figure 2. Map of the localized positions of the missionaries when carrying out their duties in the mission. Graphic: Ernst Høgtun, Tromsø University Museum 2011.

J. Shelderup during the last years of the 1740s. Peder Krog Hind who worked during a longer period from 1743–56, resided at Trondenes, but according to Arthur Brox (1956: 473–79), he lived at Tranøya. Elling Rosted lived at Tranøya during the years 1757–59/61.

The Families of von Westen and Kildal

By studying some of these missionaries in the network more closely, we can find examples of their being related to each other by marriage or other relationships.

We may start with the family of Thomas von Westen. He was the son of the pharmacist Arnoldus von Westen in Trondheim and the latter's second wife. The father came from Denmark and had an ancestor in Lübeck. Thomas von

Westen was one of altogether 12 brothers and sisters. We also know that one of his sisters was married to *Erasmus Wallund*, who was one of the first missionaries within the district of Senja. Thomas von Westen married Anne Pedersdatter who had previously been married twice, and had a daughter from her second marriage. The wife survived him and later moved to live with her son-in-law Thomas Hammond whose son became the well-known biographer Hans Hammond – known for his comprehensive work on Thomas von Westen (cf. Hammond 1787).

The second kindred we may focus on, is the family of *Simon Kildal the Elder* (1701–61) who was a younger brother of Jens Kildal. The daughter Rebekka Elisabeth of Simon Kildal and his wife Maren Heggelund was married to *Johan Lorentz Burchard*. The son-in-law of her sister Abigael Kildal and Jens Kock (1757–1832) also became a missionary, the last one mentioned during the period of my investigation. Simon Kildal the Elder (1701–1761) served as a missionary in Saltdalen, county of Nordland 1726–28 and in Karlsøy, county of Troms 1728–30. He was ordained as clergyman in Karlsøy, Troms 1730, rector in Flakstad, Lofoten, Nordland 1742, in Trondenes 1745 and became finally dean/rector in Senja deanery 1751 (Steen 1954: 408). Simon had even two more brothers *Sigvard K.* (1704–71) and *Søren K.* (1690–1762) who both also became missionaries. They served as missionaries respectively in Lødingen, Nordland and in Skjervøy, Kvænangen, Karlsøy, Lyngen and Ullsfjord 1723 – all located in the county of Troms (Steen 1954: 408–409). Their parents were *Ole Sørensen Kildal* (–1724) and his wife *Guro Kristensdatter*. They all grew up at Kiledal, Hægeland, in the southern part of Norway (Heide 1966: 25–39). Simon the mid-most (1761–1822) – a son of Simon the Elder from his third marriage with Maren Testman Kaurin, was born on the day of his father's death. He became a vicar at Trondenes. His son also named Simon the younger (1796–1839), became the first head at the Trondenes Teachers College from 1826.

By unfolding these two kindreds of von Westen and Kildal respectively, we gain an insight and can connect to the concepts of space – or in this case the region – as constituted through interrelations of organizing the mission, not only at Trondenes but all over the region of southern Troms. The travels and work of the missionaries can be viewed as trajectories in social space, comprising their encounters with both the Sámi population and their colleagues, both professionally and mediated through personal relationships and kinship.

As the missionaries reported to von Westen – who again reported to the state – through their relationships and kin, a new kind of knowledge was established – about the Sámi population, their way of life and their settlements. But reporting within the network also contributed to the building of local competence among the missionaries and their counterparts within local administration.

Here we may observe that space was in a process of constant construction, just as Doreen Massey claims. The understanding and the conception of the northern areas changed by way of the missionaries' travels, their visits to the Sámi population, their teaching of children and grownups, saying prayers,

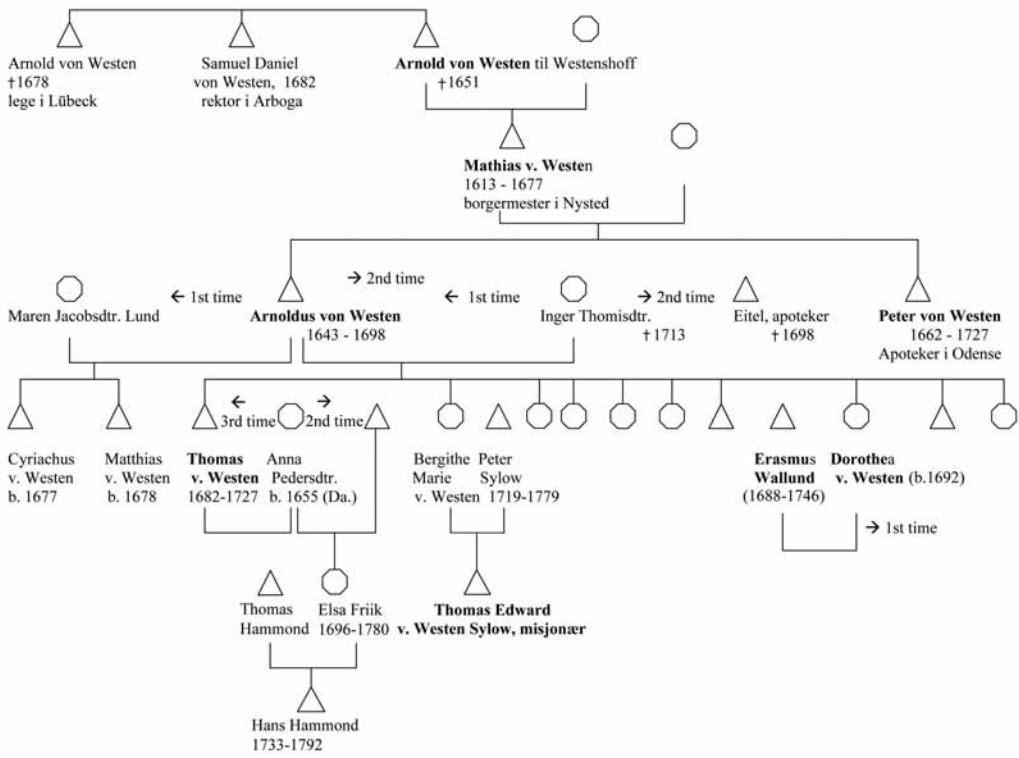


Figure 3. Kindred of Thomas von Westen. Graphic: Ernst Høgtun, Tromsø University Museum 2011.

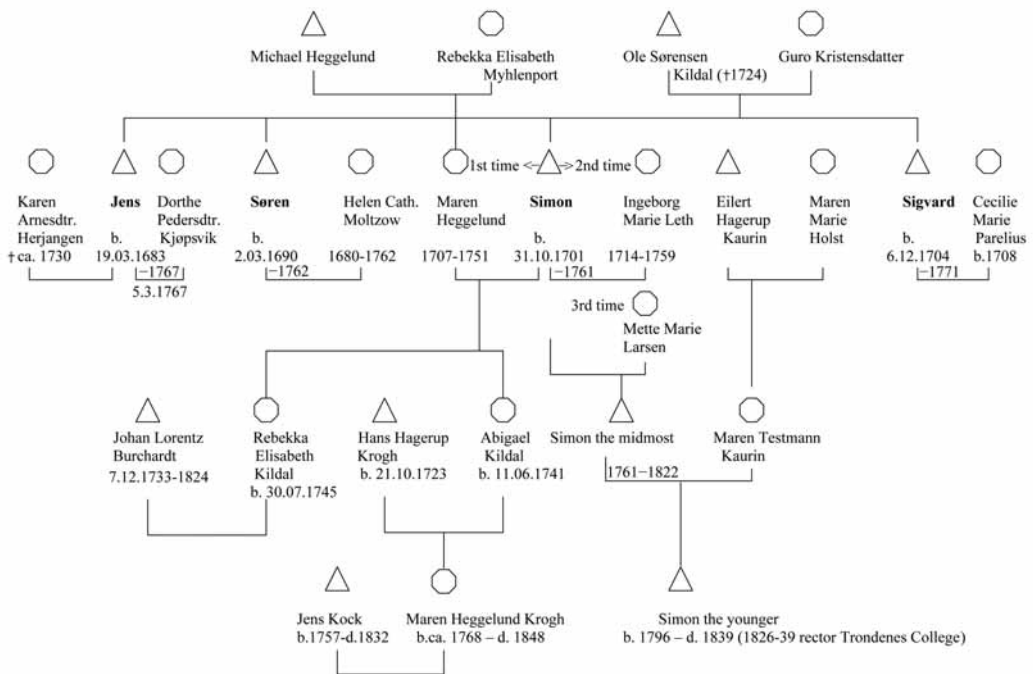


Figure 4. Kindred of Jens Kildal and Johan Lorentz Burchard. Graphic: Ernst Høgtun, Tromsø University Museum 2011.

and to the bishop, delivering reports of the state of the situation. The state was in a process from having focus primarily on the coastal areas to including the inner parts as well – something which in its turn opened up an arena for further studies, preceding and preparing for the border treaty of 1751, as well as the colonization of the inner parts of Bardu from the 1780s onwards (Storm 2010; Ramm 1813–1817).

Competence in the Sámi Language

According to Thomas von Westen, command of the Sámi language was the key to make contact with the Sámi population. How many of the missionaries within the district of Senja and Vesterålen had knowledge of the language and who used it? We do not have much information on this. For only two of the eleven missionaries mentioned, we can document that they had knowledge of the Sámi language – *Jens Kildal* and *Johan Lorentz Burchard*. Kildal had been educated in the language before he started as a missionary in Salten, in the county of Nordland. Steen writes that Kildal lectured in Sámi at the Seminarium Scholasticum in Trondheim until 1721, when he went as a missionary to Ofoten (Steen 1954: 407). Of Burchard who grew up in Kvæfjord, it is said that "...as a young boy he spoke Sámi as his mother tongue ... (cf. Heide 1978: 481)." When we look at the clergymen in the same area of study, we find no systematic overview, but there exists information concerning the clergyman Simon Kildal at Trondenes noting he was able to speak Sámi (cf. Qvigstad 1907: 23). For the remaining missionaries we assume that they studied Sámi at the Seminarium scholasticum (Steen 1954: 198).

Women's Roles in the Network

From the 19th century we have first-hand written information in which the clergymen's wives tell about their experiences, their lives and the tasks of their husbands (cf. Mamen 1976). By looking into the marriages of the missionaries we can reconstruct some information about the roles of the wives and how they supported their husbands. By studying, among other things, stories, diaries, letters of the work accomplished by the husbands – the missionaries – we can find some information of the wives and their participation in the work of the mission.

From the area of South Troms and North Nordland we have a few examples and I present one which is closely connected to my studies. The role of the clergymen's wives can be illustrated by information on *Karen Arnesdatter*, the wife of Jens Kildal in Ofoten. She was lecturing among the Sámi women. She was paid an annual salary of 20 Riksdaler for this work (cf. Hammond 1787: 425, 836–46; cf. Falkenberg 1943: 225; cf. Kolsrud 1947: 195; cf. Steen 1954: 121; cf. Heide 1966: 28). The appreciation of her work can be deduced from the

amount she received, which was in line with the wages of the more experienced schoolmasters. That she in her work especially directed her emphasis on women is unique information, which could be interesting to study further.

Karen Arnesdatter was a Sámi woman from Herjangen. Her father was appointed to a guardian of the holidays “*Helligdags-Vægter*”. According to Hammond (1787: 838), Jens Kildal, through this relationship by marriage, he achieved his intention of gaining everyone’s confidence. What did she accomplish? Here I find it necessary to pose the question about her role within the mission. In his thesis, Knut Kolsrud (1947: 194–199) discusses, on the basis of written sources, the situation of the Sámi population in the fjord of Ofoten, and the cooperation and social life which characterized that society. From the information to which we have access, we know that Jens Kildal had acquired considerable knowledge of the Sámi way of life and the old religion from his wife which he later passed on to von Westen (cf. Hammond 1787: 843; cf. Steen 1954: 121). We do not know of the education of Karen, but from her yearly monetary compensation we must assume that both her own knowledge and an exchange between the spouses must have taken place. And we can assert that her knowledge of his theological learning and tasks/duties was recognized locally.

This small piece of information about the story of one of the missionaries’ wives, like Karen Arnesdatter, underlines the perspectives of Harding (2006) who in her approach to science and social inequality discusses feminist and postcolonial issues. We recognize from our example that it is necessary to focus more interest on the role of the women as participants of the processes of the mission. Here, their stories can contribute as trajectories of understanding the social space of the mission.

Concluding Remarks

Through my studies I have come to investigate how the state or the Danish–Norwegian monarchy during the first part of the 18th century initiated studies on different levels which were laying the groundwork or preparations for a “silent revolution” relating to the consolidation of the nation-state as such, and how this consolidated state apparatus was to establish a tighter grip and fundamental control on the various groups of people living within its borders in the northern part of Norway. My aim has primarily been to identify these persons who were dedicated to the mission and ascertain where they were localized. How was it possible to carry out these extensive tasks?

The network that has been charted and the wider marital and kindred relations which have been revealed seem to provide an essential part of the answer. These interrelationships must have contributed to the construction, mediation and further development of local cultural competence which was acquired for the establishment of such a task. These developments and the mediation of required knowledge about the region and various local conditions appear to have

been passed on and transferred by the very kind of mechanisms and processes that are brought into focus in a more general way by Bourdieu's concept of habitus. Such transmissions lay behind the way the mission was organized locally, and at the same time contributed to the restructuring of social space.

In line with Doreen Massey's hypothesis of the development of a local community – or in this case – a region – I have pointed out that the space of the mission is constituted by interactions being in progress on a multitude of levels: All the way from the governmental bureaucracy, through the decision of responsible community authorities, and down to the local missionaries or schoolteachers, and by no means least, their wives. The trajectories of the missionaries, their relatives and kin which have been charted both by way of studying their encounters with the Sámi population, and through relationships between themselves and their kin, display a sphere characterized by multiplicity or coexisting heterogeneity. The development of the mission and the recruitment of missionaries, as well as the development and change of local knowledge and competence, gives at hand that the apprehension of space was under construction and restructuring. This was influenced by a wide array of processes, ranging from new governmental policies applied from the top, through the various decisions and implementations made by von Westen and the other missionaries to their mutual social relationships and encounters. A major outcome of these transformations was that the region was constructed anew, as an object for new kind of investigations of a new kind during the last half of the 18th century. This constituted new social structures and a new space to which the Sámi population had to accommodate itself.

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