JOURNAL OF NORTHERN STUDIES 1 • 2009, PP. 55–68

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Reconciliation or Power Struggle?

On the Consecration of the Chapel in Skibotn in 1931

ABSTRACT In the inter-war period there was a massive Norwegianization campaign in the northern parts of Norway. This campaign was a result of the ideology of nationalism as well as the fact that Norway recently had received its full independence and regarded a border security policy in the north as necessary. Since Finland had received its independence in 1917, some nationalist organizations in Finland wanted to expand the Finnish territory northwards to the Arctic Ocean. The ethnic aspect of this conflict was that a Finnish speaking minority, the Kvens, had settled in Northern Norway. Norwegian central authorities feared that the Kvens would feel a stronger loyalty towards Finland than Norway.

Religion was a central aspect of this conflict with implications for minority and security policy issues. On one hand the National church was regarded as a nation building tool by the state in the ethnically mixed northern border regions. On the other hand many of the Kvens, as well as the Sami, adhered to the pietistic and puritan Laestadian revival movement which was critical towards the National church. Although the Laestadians were officially members of the National church, the movement had their own assemblies and independent religious structures.

In this article I discuss the National church and the Laestadian movement in the light of nation building and minority policy in the northern borderland of Norway.

KEYWORDS Laestadianism, Kvens, Bishop Berggrav, Erik Johnsen, Norwegianization

On Monday, 22 June 1931, the chapel in Skibotn was consecrated as a chapel of the Church of Norway. The chapel, described by the Bishop as a "shed," was packed with people. Until then, it had been a Meeting House for Laestadian services. There were 350 people in a house that according to Norwegian building laws only should have taken 270. But the Bishop had implored the authorities to allow more people, and after some time, permission was given in the name of reconciliation (*Norvegia Sacra* 1932: 201 f.; Berggrav 1943: 127 ff.). The consecration ceremony was held at the time when the Laestadians used to have a "gathering," that is an assembly lasting several days. During the consecration both Norwegian clergymen and Laestadian lay preachers participated, as well as a Finnish Lutheran priest on travel in these areas.

In this article, I discuss how the aspects of religion and ethnicity influenced the relations between the National church of Norway[1] and the Laestadian revival movement[2] in the inter-war period. These relations were characterized at the same time by struggle for power and acts for reconciliation, even though all the Laestadians were members of the national church. My hypothesis is that both groups tried to put a stigma on each other by interpreting central biblical and ecclesiastical expressions in different ways. This could express their struggle for power without damaging the impression of reconciliation. I discuss this hypothesis by focusing on one variously significant event from the ethnic and religious meetings in Northern Norway in the inter-war years. This event is the consecration of the chapel in Skibotn, where the two leading figures, Bishop Eivind Berggrav and the Laestadian lay preacher Erik Johnsen,[3] met in a common service initiated by the Bishop.

The main questions I discuss are: did the Norwegian National Church and Bishop Eivind Berggrav in Hålogaland diocese use the consecration of the chapel in Skibotn to proclaim sovereignty in the area, and were the religious liturgy, texts, and psalms chosen to stigmatize the local inhabitants? Did the Laestadian leader, Erik Johnsen, counter-stigmatize in his sermon? And if so, was this an intentional action or a side effect seen in posterity?

According to Norman Fairclough discourses of ideology construct meanings that produce, reproduce and transform relations of dominance (Fairclough 1992: 87). I think the consecration of the church in Skibotn reveals ideological discourses of stigmatization and counter-stigmatization which must be read against the background of a Norwegian cultural borderland policy in the face of a perceived "Finnish menace" (see note 5).

The Reason for Conflict and the Norwegian Policy

In the inter-war period, there was a conflict in the northern parts of Norway on nation-building and minority politics. Officially, this led to a massive

Norwegianization campaign, that is a policy of assimilation. This campaign was a result of the ideology of nationalism as well as the fact that Norway recently had received its full independence and regarded a border security policy in the north as necessary. Finland had received its independence in 1917, and some nationalist organizations in Finland wished to expand the Finnish territory northwards to the Arctic Ocean. However, the Finnish government made it clear that it had no such intensions. The Norwegian authorities did not trust this statement, and this led to the establishment of relations between the Church, the military defence, and several government departments, including the department of foreign affairs. The goal of the Norwegian policy was to shield the Kvens[4] from Finnish exposure by isolating them. This was done by a huge cultural offensive that was meant to neutralise the Finnish nationalist propaganda (Ryymin 2004: 292). The offensive aimed at building a *cultural border* in the north. This border of churches and schools (and other cultural institutions of the state) should stand as a fortress, guarding Norway from cultural influence from other countries and preventing what Bishop Berggrav called the *psychological attraction* the Kvens felt towards Finland (Statsarkivet i Tromsø: Biskopen i Hålogaland 236: 1928–1937 Finske Fare, Brev til Utenriksministeren). This attraction arose, the Bishop believed, because the Kvens could see that there were a lot of well-functioning cultural state institutions in the north of Finland.

Theoretical Approach. Stigma and Counter-Stigma

In the meeting between "normal" and "abnormal," the "abnormal" is often stigmatized as inferior and less human. In Northern Norway in the interwar period, the state represented the "normal" and the Kvens were considered "abnormal" and actually dangerous, politically as well as religiously.

The sociologist Norbert Elias deals with socio-dynamics of stigmatization and what he defines as counter-stigmatization. He claims that the stigmatizing begins with a fear of the outsiders (Elias & Scotson 1999: 135). He shows how stigma is put on the outsiders through "gossip-channels," where housewives maintain the power of their group by the way they speak (Elias & Scotson 1999: 48). The relation between groups seems nice as they speak, but under the surface it is conflictual. The conflict appears when the phrase "nice people" does not mean what it says, but is a description of the outsiders (Elias & Scotson 1999: 35–36).

According to Elias, a counter-stigmatization can happen if the power-balance between different groups changes during a period of time (Elias 1999: xxxi–xxxiii). But I think it is possible that counter-stigmatization can be seen as a remedy to change the power-balance by building identity on

re-coded values. If so, this results in other values and a different hierarchy of status than in the rest of society. The Norwegian religious scholar Roald E. Kristiansen describes how areas such as language, clothing, life-style, and ways of gathering are given different values among Laestadians than in official society, for instance concerning the ideal of poverty (Kristiansen 1998: 158). The consequence of new codes for right behaviour then becomes a counter-stigmatization from the inferior. This is one explanation of the success of the Laestadian movement, as written about by the Norwegian historians Einar-Arne Drivenes and Einar Niemi. They describe a theory of cultural defence and preservation and refer to earlier historians who have explained Laestadianism as a political reaction against modernisation, secularisation, and cultural pressure (Drivenes & Niemi 2000: 158 f.). I think this perspective can be broadened, for example in the way Roald E. Kristiansen does when he states that the Laestadian movement is not a religion *for* the Kvens, but *from* the Kvens (and the Sami) *to* the national inhabitants in the area where the revival has gained a foothold (Kristiansen 1998: 164). From this point of view, the Laestadian movement can be seen not only as comfort and fortress for a stigmatized and inferior group, but also as a counter-message to everyone in society. They present a new ideological discourse according to Fairclough.

The counter-stigmatization seems to fit in the picture of re-coding when it claims opposite values as the highest norm and thereby turns the picture, questioning who is established and who is inferior. In Northern Norway in the inter-war years, I think it is possible to see this counter-stigmatisation in the religious discourses, where two Christian subject positions use the same ecclesiastical material. Both the National Norwegian Church and the Laestadians truly believed they had God and Martin Luther on their side.

The Ethnic Aspect

The geographical situation in Skibotn is important. As noticed in Knut Einar Eriksen and Einar Niemi's book about "the Finnish Menace,"[5] Skibotn had a strategic national and military position in the inter-war period. Already at the turn of the twentieth century, the Kvens (in Skibotn and all over Northern Norway) were considered a risk in which the Norwegian military authorities had a special interest (Eriksen & Niemi 1981). In 1936, the Norwegian journalist Arthur Ratche described the area around Skibotn as a natural borderline if the Finns wanted to cut the county of Finnmark from the rest of Norway (Ratche: 1936: 141; Eriksen & Niemi 1981: 285).

What kind of a society was the village of Skibotn then? It seems there were small social differences between the ethnic groups in Skibotn. Norwegians represented the national establishment, while the Kvens (and the

Sami) were outsiders on a national basis, and therefore also locally. The demarcation was built on the power "the established" had as Norwegians, which gave them the right to consider the Kvens as inferior and possible competitors in the area. This was based on what the established regarded as a threat to their Norwegianness.

This map below shows the location of Skibotn. As we can see, it is only a short distance away from the borders of Finland and Sweden. Skibotn is situated at the end of a valley that leads to the "Treriksrøysa" (i.e. the point where the three borders meet).

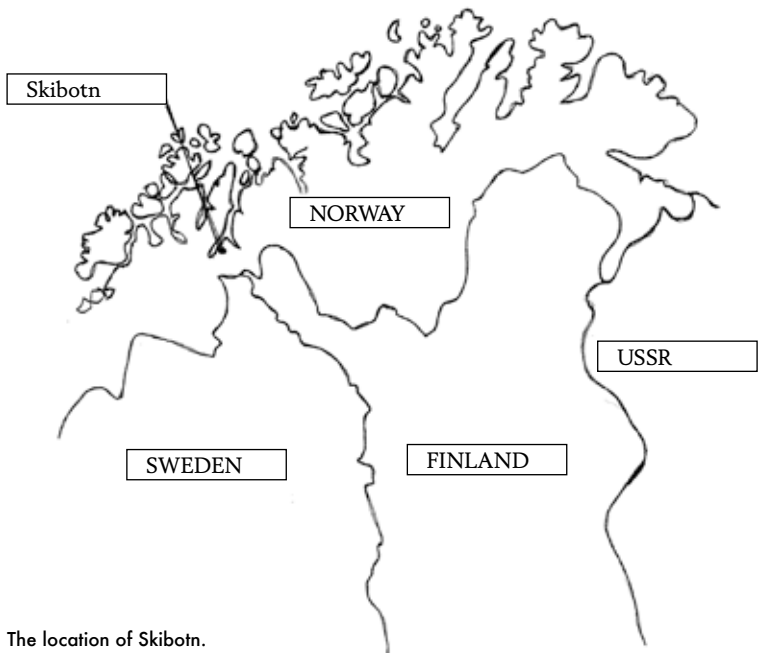

Fig. 1. The location of Skibotn.

In the inter-war years, there were three large ethnic groups in Northern Norway: the Norwegians, the Sami, and the Kvens. The ethnic aspect of the conflict was related to the Finnish-speaking minority, the Kvens, who had settled in relatively large numbers, almost 16% (Ratche 1936: 18), in the counties of Troms and Finnmark. Norwegian central authorities feared that the Kvens would feel a stronger loyalty towards Finland than towards Norway, and that the Kvens would side with Finland in case of a future conflict. The reason for this fear was the before-mentioned nationalist movement[6] in Finland and their expansive ideas. An example of this is shown in the map (Fig. 2.) used by the periodical *Aito-Suomalainen* ['The Real-Finn'].

Fig. 2. Map printed in *Aiti-Suomalainen* as reprinted in Eriksen & Niemi (1981: 185).

The horizontal lines cover what was Finland at that time. The dotted areas show what the nationalists thought belonged to "Greater-Finland." The black area is the sea and the white areas are Russia (USSR), Sweden and Norway. The area in the north is the Norwegian counties of Finnmark and half of Troms. This and similar maps concerned the Norwegian authorities even though they were probably not literally meant by the Finnish nationalists.

The Aspect of Religion

Religion was a central aspect of the conflict and had implications for minority and security policy issues. On one hand, the Norwegian state church was regarded a nation-building tool by the state in the ethnically mixed northern border regions. It was a suitable structure for local surveillance, with loyal clergymen all over the nation. Seemingly, the clergymen were sometimes caught in a conflict of loyalty between God and the State, but in the inter-war years it seems that most of them were loyal to the State and the Norwegianization idea. The Norwegian historians Knut Einar Eriksen, Einar Niemi, and Einar-Arne Drivenes show in two articles the discussions over time inside the church organisation and how the assimilation policy found a foothold in the inter-war years (Eriksen & Niemi 1982; Drivenes 2004). Eriksen and Niemi point at the double action of Bishop Berggrav: officially, he acted as a spiritual adviser, covertly, he was an agent for the assimilation policy and the surveillance of the Kvens, in close connection with civil and military authorities (Eriksen & Niemi 1982: 26).

On the other hand, many of the Kvens, as well as the Sami, adhered to the Pietistic and Puritan Laestadian revival movement, which was critical of the National Church and opposed the official minority policy. Although officially the Laestadians were members of the national church, the move-

ment had its own assemblies and independent religious structures. Sermons were often performed in Finnish, enabling the Kvens to keep their own language, customs, and traditions in their new home country. For a period of time, the movement became a fortress for minority culture and language as well as for conservative and puritan Christian faith within the national church.

The Consecration of the Chapel in Skibotn

The three main sources for this event in the literature are a reportage in the newspaper *Tromsø* 23 june 1931, *Alterbok for den norske kirke* 1922, and the sermon of Erik Johnsen (Olsen & Skorpa 1931). In the light of these sources I will focus on some contents of the liturgy and the sermons of Berggrav and Johnsen.

In the Church of Norway, the liturgy is determined by the Ministry of Ecclesiastical Affairs. The liturgy is found in the Altar Book, and the book in use in 1931 was licensed in 1922. The Altar Book tells how the priests should conduct services and ecclesiastical affairs and is to be seen as an ordinance. As we shall see, Bishop Berggrav did not follow all of the instructions in this book but made some valuable changes, which are described in the newspaper reportage.

The newspaper reportage is from the only daily newspaper in the region, *Tromsø*, and is the only one of its kind on the subject. The article does not say who the journalist is, but the newspaper belonged to the conservative side. The article is not the main subject but is printed on page 4 and continues on page 7. The reportage tells what hymns and prayers were used and gives a comprehensive account of Berggrav's sermon.

Erik Johnsen's sermon is printed in a collection of Laestadian sermons. Johnsen's sermon was translated from Finnish to Norwegian, which probably gave the sermon recorder sufficient time to take notes. Besides, it is a normal practice in the Laestadian movement that the preacher is allowed to proofread before printing.

It is important to have in mind that the two sermons were written down by listeners in the assembly; as texts, they are thus probably just the main impressions of the sermons.

The Liturgy

The Church of Norway has its own liturgy for consecration of churches and chapels. Bishop Berggrav, who led the service, chose to deviate from the standard liturgy. In the Altar Book it is said that at least five priests (excluding the Dean and the Bishop) should participate in a consecration (*Alterbok for den norske kirke* 1922: 190). But the Bishop asked three lay Laestadian

preachers and a guest priest from the Finnish church, pastor Miettinen,[7] to replace the required Norwegian priests. They all participated in the service. This choice gives an impression of reconciliation. I think it was of great importance to the Bishop that both the Laestadian laymen and the Finnish priest were easily seen. In this matter, the Bishop acted in a conciliatory manner, as Eriksen and Niemi have indicated.

In contrast, it is interesting to see which Epistle the son of Erik Johnsen, Erik Eriksen, was asked to read. This text is the fourth in the liturgy and from Hebrews Chapter 10. In Norwegian, this is expressed as "not leaving the congregation like some people do" (*Alterbok for den norske kirke* 1922: 197),[8] which can be seen as a political statement to make people stay in the Church of Norway instead of acting in separatist ways. There was an ongoing debate about this topic in the Laestadian movement.

The church prayer after the sermon of the Bishop connects the Church of Norway to God as His property and states that it is built on what is the only true belief. The prayer went as follows: "Show mercy to Your church in our fatherland and edify it in the belief in Jesus Christ" (*Alterbok for den norske kirke* 1922: 202). Based on these two parts of the liturgy I find it reasonable to maintain that the church regarded itself as a national unit and found it necessary for the inhabitants of Norway to stay put as members of the national church. In this respect, Berggrav's actions can be seen as a way of creating a stigma on *who* were right Christians and *what* was the "true church." A Christian was a member of the church, and the church was tied to the fatherland, in plain words: a Norwegian citizen.

The Sermon of the Bishop

The sermon of Bishop Eivind Berggrav was, as mentioned, reported in the newspaper *Tromsø* the following day (23 June 1931). According to the reportage, the Bishop began his sermon with this prayer: "We beg thee God that You sanctify in us a Temple where You can live. Be patient in prayer, and let God open a door that reveals the Secret of God."[9] It seems that the Bishop had chosen the First Epistle General of Peter chapter 2 verse 5 as Bible text: "Ye also, as lively stones, are built up a spiritual house, a holy priesthood, to offer up spiritual sacrifices, acceptable to God by Jesus Christ" (see *Tromsø* 23 June 1931; Olsen & Skorpa 1931: 123; http://www.artbible.info/bible/1_peter/2.html).

By referring to this text, the Bishop bears in mind how Luther considered the church to be the congregation (i.e. the community of many people), and not only a building. He speaks of the tradition in *our* church of preaching the gospel and administering the sacraments, showing how the regulations in the official Norwegian church are set to watch over this tradi-

tion. "This is the reason why you[10] and we are gathered in the consecration," says the Bishop. The Church of Norway has got a new home for the Word of God and the sacraments. In a way, he is saying that this house has at last been consecrated to serve the purpose it has been serving for thirty years already. Beside this, it is remarkable to see how the Bishop speaks of the Christians. Every time they are mentioned, they are referred to in plural; as congregation, assembly, believers, flock, human souls, we, and us. The church is a meeting spot for God and the people. There are no references to a Christian as a single human being.

With respect to power struggle or reconciliation, the Bishop seemingly wants to invite the people in to the national church and thereby into the national fellowship. This is definitively a conciliatory action, but as I see it, it bears an underlying stigma: at last, the chapel has become a real house of God; administered according to God's will by the state. Bishop Berggrav actually is saying in plain words that in every congregation there has to be order and right procedure. The undertone is: it is *we* who are the real church and it is *we* who are the real Norwegians. If you want to be a Christian, you have to be like us.

Erik Johnsen's Sermon

The Laestadian lay preacher Erik Johnsen spoke in Finnish and was translated into Norwegian. The sermon is printed in Norwegian (Olsen & Skorpa 1931: 119–126). He conducted his sermon after the solemn consecration-mass was over. In his sermon, Johnsen used the biblical text from The Gospel according to Matthew chapter 28, verse 18–20, which is known in Norwegian as "Misjonsbefalingen" ['The Order of Mission'].[11] Most probably, this means that he intended to talk about mission, that is the spreading of Christianity. From this starting point, he used a lot of Epistles as arguments for his sermon. His sermon is to be understood mainly as it is: a consecration sermon where he stands as a solemn Lutheran Christian, which corresponds with the Norwegian church dogma based on the Lutheran scripture *Confessio Augustana* (1530). He also refers to Bishop Berggrav in his sermon (Olsen & Skorpa 1931: 123).

But there are two interesting lines in his sermon that may signify a demarcation towards the national church as it was presented in the sermon of Bishop Berggrav; both lines are related to the rhetorical use of language that constitutes certain narratives. This corresponds with what Elias shows in his study of Winston Parva, where the narratives are used to stigmatize one part of the inhabitants (Elias & Scotson 1999: 17, 38). The first line regards the Church and the second line is about the Christians. What Johnsen says about the Church is interesting in a national Lutheran context. To him, the

church is the place where "The Word of God" is preached in the right way and the sacraments are in use (Olsen & Skorpa 1931: 119, 124). In the Lutheran Church there are only two sacraments, that is the Communion and the Baptism. Besides, Johnsen describes the Church as a worldwide church based on *one true belief* tied together in Jesus Christ (Olsen & Skorpa 1931: 122 f., 125). The idea of a worldwide church is to be seen in contrast to the Lutheran idea of national autonomous churches. Not once in his sermon does he refer to the church as a Norwegian or national unit. In this respect he gives an unspoken definition that differs from the Bishop's on what a Christian is and how to understand the church as a geographical unit. Furthermore, Erik Johnsen describes, with biblical references, the Christians as singular humans who with their own mouths are "confessors of Jesus Christ," with a "*personal belief* and responsibility for their own life," and as "guardians of the Word of God" (Olsen & Skorpa 1931: 119–121, 124 f.). "Sanctification" is the visible sign of Christian life for everyone that belongs to "The People of God" (Olsen & Skorpa 1931: 125 f.).

Based on the interpretation above, the question is whether the content of the sermon is related to reconciliation or to power struggle. Undoubtedly, Erik Johnsen wanted to make sure that he was a true Lutheran Christian, and in this respect, he showed conciliatory trait. Another trait of reconciliation is when he cites the sermon of the Bishop in his own sermon, thus connecting himself with the top authority in the Church. But there are also some traits of the ongoing power struggle: the main issue must be that Erik Johnsen preached in Finnish. By doing so, he made a clear front to the assimilation politics in Norway, which had a language-policy where everyone living in Norway had to speak Norwegian. By speaking Finnish he set a kind of counter-stigma where the outsiders were the preferred listeners. He turned the picture around because the translation of his sermon was needed by the Norwegian clergymen, as they had been placed as outsiders dependent on translation. In *Tromsø* Johnsen is referred to regarding the need for translating, as there were two mother tongues among the listeners. This can be understood as a gesture towards the Finnish pastor or as an explanation of why he had to translate it into Norwegian. It is well known that in 1920 in a big meeting with 950 participants in Kristiania (Oslo from 1925) he chose to speak in Sami even if to my knowledge there were no Sami-speaking persons among the listeners, except for his translator (Olsen 2004: 130; Molland 1968: 81). When it comes to the congregation in Skibotn, it is conceivable that most of them understood the Finnish language pretty well as it was in daily use in the area.

At last he interprets the expressions "Church" and "Christian" in a way that releases the listeners from the national fellowship of a church, giv-

ing the Christian believers an opportunity to decide themselves what true Christianity is. The Church is not the people of Norway but the people of God, and therefore it is not the state, but God, who decides right from wrong. This is counter-stigmatization in the terms of Norbert Elias: Erik Johnsen gives the congregation another expression, a new narrative that in his opinion is closer to the truth and the will of God.

Concluding Remarks

From the discussion above, it is plausible to claim that the consecration of the chapel in Skibotn is a proclamation of Norwegian sovereignty in the area. By using the Laestadian laymen in the service, which also could and should be seen as a gesture towards the national minorities in the area, the Bishop frames them in what is a national and officially prescribed ceremony. In a way, the Bishop takes their support for his church-view as granted, making the leading men of Laestadianism in Norway look like deserters to their own congregation. As the liturgy shows, the service is a celebration of the national church, with special focus on the masses. It is a stigma put on the people of Skibotn: they are Norwegians to the extent that they are members of a flock belonging to a national church. This is also reflected in the sermon of the Bishop. The newspaper reporter has definitely got the point, ending his reportage in this way:

> And then the chapel in Skibotn is consecrated. It stands as an outermost outpost for the Norwegian church and the Norwegian culture in a place where foreign influence on language and national character is strong.[12]

In his sermon, Erik Johnsen gives the congregation a different opinion on both the church and the Christians. What he says can be seen as an answer to Bishop Berggrav. The church is a worldwide assembly with confessing singular humans. In his sermon there is no national church, only Christians belonging to a confession. This means that the confessors themselves have to decide if the meaning of a sermon is correct according to the confession. This also means there are no official formulas that are valid unless the personal believers find it initiated in the Bible. Johnsen gives the congregation a counter-stigma tool: they have to decide themselves whether the preacher speaks the truth or not.

I find it reasonable to believe that both Berggrav and Johnsen saw the consecration ceremony as an important event in each of their settings, an event on which they put their personal political marks. The chapel became a national symbol in the nation's exposed areas, expanding the religious and cultural jurisdiction of the state. In addition, it became an ethno-political

symbol for the inhabitants, where their local preacher could speak to them in Finnish. Whether they intentionally wanted to put a stigma and a counter-stigma on each other is hard to say, but the analysis of their religious discourses shows that they certainly had different opinions on central ecclesiastical issues, even if the outward impression was meant to be that they belonged to a conciliatory unity.

NOTES

[1] The Norwegian national church has been a Lutheran church since it was instituted in the 1530s in the kingdom of Denmark-Norway. It is a unit independent of other national Lutheran churches (also the Danish), even though it has mainly the same confessional scriptures. The main difference is that in the Norwegian national church, the Concordia-book is not a confessional script. Among the Laestadians, it is considered as a confessional script, probably because the movement is of Swedish origin (the Concordia-book was a confessional script in the national Swedish Lutheran church and in Finland).

[2] The revival movement is named after the Swedish clergyman Lars Levi Laestadius and is rooted in the northern parts of Sweden, Finland, and Norway. This revival started in Karesuando in the 1840s, where Laestadius lived and worked. In the beginning, it spread mainly with the Sami movements and the migration flows in the Nordic circumpolar areas. This migration was mainly caused by the Kvens moving to the Norwegian coastline. As a traditional revival, the Laestadian movement focused on conversion. Furthermore, the movement preached total abstinence, and the languages used in preaching were mostly Finnish or Sami.

[3] Eivind Berggrav (1884–1959) was educated as a priest in 1908 and wrote a dissertation on Psychology of religion in 1924. In 1928, he was appointed bishop in the diocese of Hålogaland (Norways' three northernmost counties). His time as bishop in Hålogaland is described in his book *Land of Suspense. Visitation-Glimpses of North-Norway* ("*Spenningens land*") from 1936 (edited in English in 1943). In 1937, he was appointed bishop in Oslo. Erik Johnsen (1844–1941) was a lay preacher in the Laestadian movement from a settlement a few miles from Skibotn. His sermons to the congregations were in Norwegian, Sami, and Finnish, depending on who the listeners were. He became the leading figure in the western area of the Laestadian movement in Norway. He was eager to have a good relationship with the national church, and he often tried to demarcate against other Laestadian groups.

[4] The Kvens are today accepted as a national minority in Norway. The official ethnonym is *Kven* (sing.), *Kvens* (plur.), though also other names have been used. The Kvens are descendants of immigrants in Northern Norway with Finnish cultural background. The peak of the immigration was in the nineteenth century.

[5] *The Finnish Menace* is their own translation of the Norwegian expression *den finske fare*, which was the term used in Norwegian governmental letters on the tense situation between Norway and Finland.

[6] In the inter-war years, a lot of organisations were founded. The leading organisation was *Akateenminen Karjala-Seura* (AKS), which co-operated with the other organisations and groups founded on a nationalistic idea. This was a student organisation founded in 1922 that was organised as a militant fighting unit with a closed elitist structure. It was a

rather small organisation according to membership (never more than 2,000), but it had great influence in the political area (Ryymin 2004: 252f.).

[7] Some Norwegian newspapers name him *Methien*. See the newspaper *Tromsø 23* June 1931.

[8] There is a difference in the wording between the English and Norwegian translation of the Bible in this text, and the whole point on "not leaving the congregation" is diffuse in the English translation.

[9] My translation of: "Vi ber dig Gud at du vigsler i oss selv et temple i vårt indre hvor du kan bo. Vær vedholden i bønnen, og la Gud oplate en dør som åpenbarer Guds hemmelighet."

[10] In Norwegian, this is pronounced as *dere*, which corresponds to the plural form of the English word *you*.

[11] In English, the Epistle is known as "Order of Baptism". In Norwegian, it is known as both "Order of Baptism" and "Order of Mission." Erik Johnsen presents the text as "Order of Mission" (Olsen & Skorpa 1931: 119).

[12] My translation of: "Så er da Skibotn kapell innviet, og står der som den norske kirkes og den norske kulturs ytterste utpost på et sted hvor fremmed innflydelse i sprog og folkekarakter er sterk" (*Tromsø* 23 June 1931).

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