

Illustrating the future

Representations of Swedish “Lapland” in early 20th century publications

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Abstract

In the early 1900s, Sweden looked to its north, to “Lapland” as its “land of the future” – an optimistic, utopian vision that tied Sweden’s emergence as a nation-state both to the north’s untapped resources as well as to its open, pristine landscape as a place of symbolic regenerative potentiality – a Nature in which Swedes could recreate themselves. At the same time, the Swedish publishing industry was emerging as a social force, and with it the proliferation of mass-produced images. Photographs, illustrations, engravings, and facsimiles, circulating with scant reference to an original, were powerful political and commercial agents in creating competing mythologies of space and place – one a “found”, natural paradise, one an invented utopia, ripe for development. This article examines the discursive formation of Lapland as it was transformed into such a landscape of desire through the mass production and circulation of visual images – in particular photographs – that were continuously recontextualized, recirculated, remediated, and consumed.

Keywords: Lapland, representation, imagology, mechanical reproduction, stereotype, postcolonialism, photographic images

Introduction

At the turn of the 20th century, the fledgling Swedish nation-state saw modernization and industrialization as keys to its future, and turned to its new, redefined north, to Lapland,¹ as its “land of the future” (*framtidlandet*);² a radical shift borne of urgency in the aftermath of dissolution. But the very concept of *framtidland* – the temporalizing of space – and its inherent ambiguity invited multiple interpretations from the start. What the “future” looked like was not uniform but was debated and contested.

For some, the future meant industrialization, epitomized by the newly opened LKAB (*Luossavaara-Kirunavaara Atiebolag*) iron ore mining com-

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plex centered in Kiruna, and the completion, in 1902, of the heavy-gauge rail line that would transport the ore from Kiruna to the ice-free port of Narvik, ensuring Sweden's role as an international economic player. To others, the opening of Lapland to heavy, extractive industries signaled the destruction of forests,³ the contamination of land and water, and the corporatization of northern land and resources, all of which ran counter their plans that Lapland be developed by small, self-sufficient farmers.⁴ This the Norrland question (*Norrlandsfrågan*)⁵ also included the issue of the Sámi – the already-in-place inhabitants of Lapland whose reindeer-herding practices cut a wide, multi-state path across the region.⁶

The contestation over how the future would look and the ideological work required to link Lapland to Sweden's economic destiny as well as to its national identity would be facilitated by print media, and as a result of the newly emergent Swedish publishing industry, this was on an industrial scale. The proliferation of print media at the turn of the century was accompanied by innovations in print technology, photography, and the mechanical reproduction of images, which would restructure the physical space of the north into a symbolic North. Because the work of nation and identity formation required a re-presentation of the North on a symbolic and emotional level, the affective relationship with the North, which linked Nature and Nation, was most effectively achieved through the visual, and by the turn of the 20th century, photographs, illustrations, engravings, and facsimiles of images of Lapland were becoming powerful political and commercial agents. These mass-reproduced images did not, however, form a unified vision of the North, but were multiple, mutable representations, with competing motivations and ideologies.

In the early 1900s, the vision of Lapland as the “land of the future” bifurcated into two competing mythologies of space and place – one a “found,” natural paradise; one an invented utopia, ripe for development; one a pristine landscape of symbolic regenerative potentiality; one a land of untapped resources vital to Sweden's future as a nation-state. Both these competing mythologies used the same imagery in constructing Lapland as a “landscape of desire”, a concept articulated by William A. McClung's about Los Angeles,⁷ in which land, art, and ideology were collapsed onto one another and consumed by a public hungry for more evocative, romanticized and aestheticized images. Conflating geographical landscape – part of the earth's surface viewed from some human perspective; landscape art – the representation of this geographical aspect, according to contemporary aesthetic sensibility; and social landscape – a metaphorical social “lay of the land” served to amplify the semiotic potential and potency in these images of Lapland. To this mix was added, by the early 20th century, the landscape photo, which, in the growing consumerist context, fully articu-

lated the notion of a “landscape of desire”. Early 20th century landscape photography feigned objectivity, releasing the world of art from the constraints of representation, while also adopting the conventionality of art: landscape photography thus claimed to mediate nature and art, and consumers ate it up.

This article examines the role of imagery in the mass-produced and mediated construction of Lapland as a landscape of desire, one which drew both consumers and producers into the culture of consumer capitalism.⁸ As discursive objects, these images have histories that can be traced through their illustrators, photographers, authors, and publishers. These overlapping, intersecting and often competing webs of connections and agents complicate any sense of immutability or uniformity attached either to the images or the concept of Lapland.

Applying the radical skepticism of imagology to deconstruct the notion of an essentialized, unified Lapland,⁹ I argue instead that a proliferation of imagery, especially in the wake of mass publishing,¹⁰ led to a multiplication of meaning, which was continuously distorted by replication, repurposing, and recontextualizing. The circulation of images in popular mediated forms and the attempt to create a unified vision of the northern landscape was constantly destabilized by the surplus of meaning that inhered in the layers of historical sediment of images, particularly those representing the inhabitants of the land – the Sámi – who were invoked in both narratives of national unity and ethnic/racial difference.

This article takes as its point of departure the recursive and intertextual images that were included in three significant texts of the early 20th century – *Lappland: Det stora svenska framtidslandet* (1908)¹¹, *Nils Holgerssons underbara resa genom Sverige* (1907)¹² and *Muittalus Sámid Birra* (1910)¹³. These books: *Lappland*, an encyclopedic description of the region, its natural resources, people, and environment, written and illustrated by several Swedish writers and artists and edited by state geologist and northern tourism promoter Fredrik Svenonius; *Nils Holgersson*, by Selma Lagerlöf, a children’s geography text framed in a fantasy narrative; and *Muittalus*, a literary and ethnographic work which recounted Sámi reindeer-herding life and culture, written by the former reindeer-herding, wolf-hunting Sámi author and artist Johan Turi in collaboration with the Danish artist and author Emilie Demant, despite being from disparate genres, were part of much larger, overlapping discursive fields. The images contained in them sometimes shared the same illustrators and were dialog with other images in circulation, and those which came before. Tracing the intertextual connections and subsequent iterations of images in and related to these texts as they permuted through circulation can reveal the conventionality of apparent immutability and thus the ideological strategies at work.

Traces, penitmentos, and palimpsests

By the beginning of the 20th century, the bourgeoisie of the metropole were looking to Nature, now a construct that stood in opposition to their own “unnatural” lives, as a site of authenticity – a place where one could divest oneself of the affectations of the urban world.¹⁴ Immersion in unspoiled Nature was reimagined as an act of re-creation and regeneration by which one could get “back” to a simulacrum of Nature and “find” one’s authentic self. Images of such an imagined, untouched Nature took on a particular northern aesthetic, which was increasingly realized in the large, empty expanses, virgin forests, and steep mountain slopes of the North. These natural landscapes became the subject of the many artists making the pilgrimage to Lapland to paint landscapes that would resonate and amplify a particular and particularly romanticized vision of Lapland as unspoiled, mysterious, and vast. Directed at southern audiences, such landscapes were moveable and reproducible and could be consumed, displayed, and domesticated. Sent as postcards, organized in scrapbooks, displayed as ersatz art in tasteful bourgeois living rooms, these industrially processed landscape images were constitutive of a middle-class sensibility toward a commodified Nature that could be remotely, and visually consumed.

Northern images often included reindeer-herding Sámi as part of the landscape. Representatives of “Arctic Primitivism,” their presence signaled an as-yet uncorrupted Nature, their “nomadic” lifestyle misapprehended as placelessness and timelessness.¹⁵ Best known of these romantic scenes are those by the various members of the Tirén family, in particular Johan Tirén (1853–1911), whose paintings of South Sámi reindeer herding in Jämtland were frequently reproduced in the new phenomenon of illustrated magazines, impressing on generations the image of the North and of the Sámi. The artistic conventions established in these landscapes – the use of classical perspective and the invisible subject’s eye-level, all-encompassing-yet-focused viewpoint – would transfer to the aesthetics of a new form of Northern landscape – the photographic image.

Few names are as closely associated with the photographic production of the mythic landscape of the Swedish far north as Kiruna-based southern transplant Borg Mesch (1869–1956), and indeed, Mesch’s work features in the three works under consideration in this article.¹⁶ From 1901 to WWII, Mesch, a new kind of entrepreneur and “culture broker” in the North, produced photographs of Lapland for advertisements, exhibits, promotional and touristic postcards, and provided photos for most books on Sápmi and the Sámi.¹⁷ Mesch’s photographs, themselves industrial products, provided a kind of documentary evidence for the industrializing

north and subsequent changes in the landscape, while documenting Sámi life – on migration and in the studio. Mesch is a critical link to another way in which the North was commodified, through the tourism industry.

The Swedish Tourism Association (*Svenska Turistföreningen*, STF), founded in 1885, appealed directly to the “nature-loving Swede”. STF was the brainchild of Fredrik Svenonius, a geologist for LKAB, who was also a general advocate for the opening of the north to both industry and tourism. Svenonius believed in the utopian promise of technology, and that through it and national tourism Lapland would be fully incorporated into Sweden. Thus, STF and Svenonius were driven by a deep pedagogical and patriotic impulse: for STF, “[b]ringing wilderness tourism to their fellow citizens was a way of producing a deep and more emotional attachment to the nation”¹⁸ overtly linking tourism and nationalism. Thus, love of Nature, enacted by trekking through it, was transformed into a patriotic act, conveyed in STF’s (imperative) slogan “Know your country!” (*Känn ditt land!*).

From its inception STF tilted northerly: most of its board members were northerners, and the pristine, “alpine” northern mountains offered up an unspoiled Nature best suited to realize a true, Nature experience. STF’s mission was also to provide the infrastructure for those seeking to travel to and recreate in the “Land of the Midnight Sun” and to offer helpful resources and information.¹⁹ STF heavily exploited images of the north to direct their members’ itineraries; their annual yearbook is full of photographs of landscapes as well as information about lodging, treks, and natural and geologic phenomena, and the most prolific photographer for STF was the Borg Mesch, whose photos created landscapes of desire for southern would-be tourists to Lapland.

But it was the railroad that would bring the tourists. In 1904, two years after the completion of LKAB’s rail line across Lapland, the Swedish State Railways issued a promotional poster for the rail lines that linked Stockholm to Narvik, dubbing it the “Lapland-Express.”²⁰ The poster beckoned tourists to experience the “Land of the Midnight Sun” and featured a romantic and already stereotypical photo of a lone Sámi reindeer herder standing under the midnight sun, framed between two trees much as the scenic landscape would be framed by the train windows. The poster encapsulates the divergent yet overlapping phenomena that would shape Sweden’s relationship to and imagining of the North: industry; tourism; the exploitation of nature; mass media; consumerism; trends in the world of art; and hierarchical race relations – and all of these would be rendered through images.

Lappland: Det stora svenska framtidslandet
and John Bauer's Lapland images

In 1908 the publishing house of CAV Lundholm released the large, edited volume *Lappland: The Great Swedish Land of the Future – A description in words and pictures of the nature and people of Lappland*. Work on the book had begun earlier, in 1903 or 1904, much of it spearheaded by Fredrik Svenonius. *Lappland*, a catalogue of the resource potential of the north, clearly defines Sweden's future on the basis of these resources and is generally consistent with the ideology of progress and the benefits of modernization and industrialization.

Lappland includes 260 small black and white photographs, many by Borg Mesch, as well as sketches, mostly featuring aspects in the landscape that emphasize the difference between the modern and the old: photos of churches, dams, mining, and timber industry stand in contrast to those of Sámi in their *kåta* [*Goahti* (N. Sámi), a hut or tent-like living structure] with their reindeer in the undeveloped “wilderness”. There are also thirty-two color plates, eleven of which are by the then-unknown aspiring artist who had no experience north of Stockholm, a third-year student at the Royal Art Academy – John Bauer. John Bauer is known today for his fanciful illustrations of forest creatures in fairy-tale collections, particularly in the Christmas annual *Bland Tomtar och Troll* [Among the Gnomes and Trolls]. In 1904, however, when publisher Lundholm tapped him to provide images for *Lappland*, Bauer's fame and his unique style were still some ways in the future. Despite Bauer's inexperience, and the fact that there were other seasoned artists, such as Johan Tirén, who knew both the land and the people, Lundholm tasked Bauer specifically with providing “ethnographic” images of Lapland.

As a condition of employment, Lundholm sent Bauer on a one-month trip to Lapland in the summer of 1904, and also insisted that before embarking on the journey Bauer visit “Reindeer Mountain” – the Sámi exhibit at open-air ethnographic museum *Skansen*.²¹ There, in contrast to the other costumed performers who served up ersatz experiences from a previous time in rural Sweden to visiting tourists in the park, the Sámi exhibit featured visiting Sámi families who would demonstrate “authentic” Sámi life – caring for reindeer, cooking on an open fire, making Sámi handicrafts. The touristic views from “Reindeer Mountain” – the performative displays – were replicated in photographic postcards and all contributed to the ever-expanding visual discursive terrain that presented an image of the Sámi that was locked in the ethnographic present. To compensate for his inexperience in the north, Bauer also studied Gustaf von Düben's 1873 authoritative *About Lappland and the Lapps (Om Lappland*

och Lapparne),²² which included paintings of the Sámi based on photographs taken by Lotten von Düben, Gustav's wife. *About Lappland* was based on and promoted the scientific racism of the day, and Bauer carried this book on his trip and consulted it.²³ Thus, with reference to Bauer's "ethnographic" portraits for *Lappland*, it must be noted that while he was literally in the field, he was reading von Düben rather than directly engaging with his Sámi subjects.²⁴

Lundholm had also hoped to arrange for Svenonius to accompany Bauer on his trip. Instead, Svenonius referred Bauer to his handbook,²⁵ and gave specific suggestions about images that Bauer should portray: Sámi children playing in the *kåta*; mountain (nomadic) Sámi; forest Sámi; hiking in the mountains in winter; reindeer crossing a river; interiors of Sámi *kåta*; crossing rivers by boat; Sámi religious ceremonies; wolf hunting; and the midnight sun. Once in Lapland, with nothing more than these vague directives, Bauer arrived in the Torneträsk area, specifically at the STF station in Abisko, and tried to begin his research in preparation for his eventual images. Most of this consists of photos from a few rolls of film. In Bauer's diary, we read of his frustration in making contact and photographing Sámi, complaining that they turn their backs on him and walk away or ask for payment for photos, and he notes taking shots in stealth. Bauer's relatively few photos of unnamed Sámi are stiff and contrived and exhibit the effects of staging. Thus, John Bauer, "unhindered by experience" was directed by Svenonius and influenced by already circulating representations of the Sámi in creating his own photos taken during his short visit.²⁶ His photos constitute the "data" that Bauer manipulated, once back in Stockholm, to (re-)construct his paintings for Lundholm – selectively using models from his own photos and aligning them with already-in-place conventions and expectations. The finished versions that appeared in *Lappland*, rather than "ethnographic" as later historians claim, are fully manipulated to create a fictional landscape – a fantasy landscape that masqueraded as ethnography.²⁷

The chapter in *Lappland* entitled "Scenes from the life of the Swedish Northern Sámi" (*Drag ur de Svenska Nordlapparnas Lif*), contains one such fantastical scene.²⁸ The title of picture 153, "Lapps scouting for reindeer in the valley of the Kårsa glacier" (*Lappar, som sökar renar i Kårsadalen*), is a reassemblage of Bauer's photos from the valley below the *Kårsajökeln* (Kårsa glacier) to which he has added a group of young Sámi boys from photos taken at a later date in Ripainenjoki, thus fitting the image into the chapter's theme and telling an imaginary story (Fig. 1). In addition to the obvious manipulation of photos to create the scene, a letter from Bauer to Lundholm along with notes in his diary further underscore its impossibility.²⁹ That is, Bauer encountered no Sámi boys or reindeer during this outing.



Fig. 1. Left: "Lappar, som söker renar i Kårsadalen" (Fig. 153 in *Lappland*) followed by Bauer's photos used to construct the drawing. Center: "John Bauers Lapplandsresa sommaren 1904. Utsikt över Kårsådalen", JM.1988-17-510. Right: "John Bauers Lapplandsresa sommaren 1904. Två pojkar framför en kåta i ett sameläger", JM.1988-17-478. Photographs from DigitaltMuseum.



Fig. 2. (Left) an excerpt of a manipulated image of a Sámi boy in *Lappland*, entitled "Pojkar från ett sameläger vid Ripainen, Jukkasjärvi", drawn from Bauer's field photos, and (right) that image recontextualized and repurposed for the story "Njunje Paggas äventyr" in *Bland Tomtar och Troll* (1907).

In these fictionalized and manipulated images Bauer created a narrative, inserting information that comes not from the photos or the encounters behind them, but from a pre-existing imaginary Sámi landscape. The boys themselves are sketched as caricatures, and the entire scene is echoed in some of Bauer's later images for *Bland Tomtar och Troll (BTT)*, for which he was working as he was finishing his images in *Lappland* for Lundholm – images such as those for the story “The Flower of Happiness on Sunny-mount Crest” (*Lyckoblomman på Solberga klint*) in *BTT* 1, from 1907. Similarly, in the same 1907 issue of *BTT*, for “The Story of Njunne Paggas” (*Njunne Paggas Äventyr*) by P. A. Lindholm,³⁰ Bauer repurposed and recontextualized his image of a small Sámi boy from a portion of the color plate “Boys from a Sámi camp at Ripainen, Jukkasjärvi” (*Pojkar från ett sameläger vid Ripainen, Jukkasjärvi*) in *Lappland*, itself based on a manipulation of several of Bauer's photographs from his 1904 visit (Fig. 2).³¹

Bauer's plates in *Lappland* fulfilled Lundholm's expectations and Svenonius' directives, supplying images of Sámi boys playing, several interior views of *kåtas*, and Sámi drinking coffee, milking goats, and fishing, and for these Bauer had taken photos, mostly around Jukkasjärvi, to later use in studio to create his plates for *Lappland*. But Bauer also provided several plates that are scenes from winter reindeer-herding, none of which come from his own photos or experiences during his one-month summer trip. For these images, Bauer relied heavily on existing work by Johan Tirén and Borg Mesch.³² Not only derivative, they are also further distanced from any kind of cultural accuracy by Bauer's apparent ignorance of Sámi seasonal, regional, and cultural clothing variation, and yet to a non-Sámi audience they retain a level of verisimilitude; fiction masquerading as ethnography.

It is from the simulacra of these winter scenes that Bauer extracted the image of a South Sámi man that is then repurposed as a stock figure and inserted into other scenes and other publications. This figure appears in three different images in *Lappland*: two winter scenes – Plate XXIV – “*Rast under flyttningen Sydappar*” (Fig. 3, right) and Plate XXV – “*Lapp med Herr (Renoxe)*”, and also in Plate XXIX – “*Kaffekokning i Skogen, Jukkasjärvi*” [Cooking coffee in the forest, Jukkasjärvi] (Fig. 3, center right), a slight variation of the male figure in a that appears to be sometime during the Fall. But Bauer reuses the image of this hunched-over South Sámi man with his back to the viewer in several other books beyond *Lappland*.

P.A. Lindholm had also contributed to *Lappland*, and, like his son Valdemar, wrote several books of South Sámi folklore and fiction. For a few years after Bauer's return from Lapland, and before his fame became forever tied to *Bland Tomtar och Troll*, he illustrated several books and stories for both father and son. For P.A. Lindholm's 1908 novel *Lappfolk*:



Fig. 3. John Bauer's imitating and re-use of images. Left and center left: from P.A. Lindholm's *Lapfolk: (Beijen pardnek)*, 1908. Center right: "Kaffekokning i skogen, Jukkasjärvi" in *Lapland* (1908). Right: "Rast under flyttningen, Sydlappar" in *Lapland* (1908).

(*Beijen pardnek*),³³ which depicts the clash between the Sámi and the newly arrived settlers in the north, Bauer again uses the South Sámi herder from *Lapland*, with slight modification, and in a different narrative context (Fig. 3, left center and left). Thus, Bauer's copies of copies, although intertextually connected, are contextually different and situated in texts with widely disparate themes, despite their apparent visual conventionality and continuity. In the process, the cultural specificity of the characteristic South Sámi *Gákti* (Sámi traditional clothing) and hat is decontextualized and delocalized, rendering the man generic – a "Lapp."

The image of this South Sámi man that Bauer returns to in his illustrations demonstrates the mobility and the semiotic mutability that such illustrations, detached from their immediate context, played into the larger, dominant cultural ethos. In the late 1800s, before the "Lapland Express" opened, "Sámi tourism" was concentrated in the South Sámi areas, which was accessible by rail much earlier. Promoted in touristic imagery, the South Sámi costume saturated mediated material, including photographs and postcards. The costume became a fashionable form of cultural appropriation, generally supplementing the cult of the natural, outdoors life.³⁴ Images in circulation at this time in popular cultural forms contributed to the South Sámi aesthetic in the Swedish imagination, which, in today's visual representations has been replaced by the Northern Sámi, and in particular the elaborately embroidered Kautokeino costume with its star-shaped hat. Bauer's replication of images of Sámi in the southern costume to portray scenes in and around Jukkasjärvi, as well as Selma Lagerlöf's inclusion of South-Sámi photographer Nils Thomasson's

photographs in her chapter on the Sámi camp around Luossajaure (see below), represent part of the process by which locally specific Sámi culture was made generic.

Nils Holgerssons underbara resa genom Sverige
and the images of John Bauer, Borg Mesch
and Nils Thomasson

In the summer of 1904 Selma Lagerlöf also traveled to Lapland, to what she referred to as “darkest Norrland,”³⁵ researching her book *Nils Holgerssons underbara resa genom Sverige* (trans. into English as *The Wonderful Adventures of Nils*). Lagerlöf, one of the best-known Swedish authors, received the Nobel Prize in Literature in 1909. Starting her career as an educator, she made her literary debut in serialized form, with the 1891 novel *Gösta Berlings Saga* [*The Story of Gösta Berling*] and was well-known in literary circles. She was commissioned to write *Nils Holgersson by Sveriges Allmänna Folkskolläraryörening* (Sweden’s General Folk School Association, SAF), whose key pedagogic focus was to infuse children with a sense of national identity by publishing books highlighting Swedish history and geography. To this end, SAF tasked Lagerlöf with writing a modern geography textbook describing the “new” Sweden: new because of the redefined geopolitical boundaries post-dissolution, and new because Sweden looked ahead – to modernization, in the new century.³⁶

Similar to the way in which the newly constructed northern rail line sutured Sweden together, north to south, and provided the mechanism and the metaphor for a unified nation, so too *Nils Holgersson* is a narrativized geography of Sweden whose northerly orientation presents a picture of a unified Sweden through a “bird’s-eye” view. This view is achieved through the overall imaginary frame of the book, in which the young Nils, in punishment, is transformed into a small, *tomte* (elf)-like version of himself. Nils then hitches a ride on the back of his family’s domestic goose, Mårten, and together they join a flock of wild geese headed north to their summer nesting grounds. The lead wild goose embodies a northerly aspect: her name – “Akka from Kebnekajse” – references not only a goddess figure in Sámi mythology, but also the highest mountain in Sweden, Kebnekaise located in Lapland.

The fantasy of Nils’ flight over Sweden conveyed a unified vision of nation, but for Lagerlöf it was Sweden’s abundant nature and natural resources that truly defined Sweden’s uniqueness, and it is this non-fictional aspect that she sought to highlight with her selection of images. John Bauer had initially been commissioned to provide the images for the book, but Lagerlöf ultimately rejected all but two in favor of the apparent

realism of photos, with Bauer's images only occurring in the fictional, outer framing. The photos, for the most part, celebrate the story of industrial progress: the mine at Falun, the ironworks at Sandviken, the sawmill at Alnön, even the mine at Gällivare. In this way, both *Lappland* and *Nils* are structured similarly, with the bulk of their chapters, illustrated with photographs, celebrating the resource potential of Sweden. In both books, the sections dealing with the Sámi are treated differently: Bauer's fictional "ethnographic" tableaux for *Lappland* are of a kind with Lagerlöf's contrived fictional story-within-a-story of Åsa at the Lapp camp in the chapter "With the Lapps" (*Hos Lapparna*).

Nils Holgersson takes place over a period of almost eight months, from March 20 to November 9. But the timeline of the book is determined by the nesting habits of the migratory geese in the north, where they stay from June 18 to October 1. That is, roughly half the chronology of the book takes place in Lapland. Despite this, by far the bulk of the narrative is spent on the migration, reflecting the books geographical pedagogy, with only two chapters taking place in the three and a half months spent in Lapland. Lagerlöf provides minimal descriptions of Lapps by means of an embedded secondary plot which centers around Åsa and her brother Mats who are searching for their missing father in the mines of the north.

During her own journey to the north, Lagerlöf visited Malmberget, Kiruna, Gällivare, Torneträsk, and the Sámi encampment in Luossajaure, and these presumably provided the background material for the descriptions in her text. Throughout, however, Lagerlöf's presumptions concerning progress, combined with her disdain for the Sámi, skew the book's putative *raison d'être* as a Swedish geography text. In the sub-chapter "Little Mats' burial" (*Lille Mats Begravning*), Lagerlöf inserts a parable of progress through the eyes of Mats and Åsa as they walk through the town of Gällivare with its church, railroad, courthouse, bank, pharmacy, and hotel. The houses in Gällivare were new and properly maintained . . . so that the children would have been forgiven for not thinking they were in Lappland.³⁷ Traveling still northward, they come to Malmberget, and find it, in contrast, composed of "makeshift huts of available material" mixed in with the large houses of the managers and uncultivated forest land. Beyond that, "lay great wilderness, with no plowed fields or houses; where there was nothing but Lapps drifting around with their reindeer."³⁸

Mats dies in the mine at Malmberget, and after Åsa buries her brother, she continues her search for her father alone, reaching the Lapp camp in Luossajaure, where she is repulsed by the Lapps' way of life and what she sees as their wretched living conditions. In this encounter Lagerlöf lays bare the prevailing belief in the mutual incompatibility and racial/ethnic irreconcilability of Swedes and Lapps. Lagerlöf's depiction of the Sámi



Fig. 4. Sameboställe, Borg Mesch, from Kiruna Kommun photo collection nr.10000432.

camp at Luossajaure reiterates the contemporary belief in the total segregation of the nomadic Sámi from Swedish society – the “*Lapp ska vara Lapp*” policy³⁹ – while she also presents the Lapps as living in an idealized relationship with the landscape, living in ecological harmony with nature.⁴⁰

Lagerlöf included two photographs in the chapter “With the Lapps” both suggesting a documentary-like depiction of the Sámi she encountered. Neither are photos taken by Lagerlöf herself, however, but are stock photos from postcards already in circulation. Inserted into the text of the fictional encounter in the Lapp camp, however, they purport to *represent* that encounter by their juxtaposition with the text. The first photo, “Lapp dwelling with mountain birch” (*Lappkåta bland fjällbjörkar*)⁴¹ features two unnamed men relaxing and smoking their pipes outside a *kåta*. The grainy image in *Nils Holgersson*, with “Borg Mesch photo” inscribed in the bottom right, references its status as a postcard or STF photo, or both. The original photo replicated in the postcard is now in the Kiruna Kommun photo collection, where it is entitled “*Sameboställe*” [Sámi housing], part of a larger series of such dwellings depicting the “Sami and their life”⁴² (Fig. 4).

In “With the Lapps” Mesch’s photo is disconnected from both the story and the specifics of the camp in Luossajaure. As with Bauer’s recycled

images, it reinforces the generic, substitutable nature of such images and the “timelessness” of a way of life it purports to represent and reflects what Baglo has identified as a “prevailing motif” in Sámi ethnographic and touristic iconography.⁴³

The second photo in the chapter – “Reindeer cow being milked” (*Reinkorna mjölkas*)⁴⁴ is by Nils Thomasson (1880–1975), a professional Sámi photographer from Jämtland – a South Sámi area. In his tourist photographs and postcards, especially early in his career, Thomasson, like Mesch, often conformed to ethnographic conventions in his “ethnic” postcard aesthetics, and, also like Mesch, he contributed to Herman Lundborg’s *Svenska folktyper* (1919)⁴⁵ to illustrate “typical” and generalized features of the Sámi people.⁴⁶ But, rather than creating photos of “types”, Thomasson conveyed an intimate and personal sense of the Sámi way of life, often photographing his own family members for his postcards, and these tended to create a Sámi identity and positive sense of self.⁴⁷ Thomasson’s “Reindeer cow being milked” depicts a herd of reindeer with a woman milking a reindeer cow in the lower right-hand corner. There is nothing in Lagerlöf’s text about reindeer, or reindeer herding, and this photo from the south has no geographical correlation to the Lapps at Luossajaure. Initially specific to place, time, and individuals photographed, when used in *Nils Holgersson* the image fits the generalized image of the reindeer-herding Sámi, locked in time and de-localized.

Selma Lagerlöf and *Nils Holgersson* are both part of a global cultural heritage, whereas the small detour to Luossajaure in *Nils Holgersson* is a side note, unremarkable and often left out of translations. The very unremarkable-ness of the episode reinscribes the racial discourse that undergirds both Lagerlöf’s textual descriptions and the photographs she selected, which, in the case of Thomasson’s photo genericizes the specifics and perverts the larger context in which Thomasson was an early advocate and activist for Sámi reindeer herders as well as a proponent of using mass media (his postcards) to articulate the Sámi cause and to convey a personal, sympathetic view into the culture.

Muittalus Samid birra and the images of
Johan Turi, Nils Nilsson Skum,
and Emilie Demant-Hatt

*An Account of the Sámi: A book about the life of the Sámi (Muittalus Samid birra: En bog om lappernes liv)*⁴⁸, is commonly referred to as the first secular book ever written in a Sámi language. A book that describes contemporary Sámi culture from a Sámi point of view, it is a milestone in Sámi Literature. Beyond that, it is important historically, culturally and politically in the

greater Sámi context, and as such, it has been extensively studied.⁴⁹ Much has been written about its author Johan Turi, about *Muittalus*,⁵⁰ and about Turi's collaborator, Danish artist and ethnographer Emilie Demant-Hatt.⁵¹ What follows here is a discussion of the images in *Muittalus* and the processes by which they were initially produced and their subsequent iterations and restorations, along with comparisons of Turi's images with those of Nils Nilsson Skum and Demant-Hatt. Because in this article the focus is on the images (and their creators) that were in dialog in various critical texts, the briefest of summary of the creation of *Muittalus* is presented here.

Johan Turi was from the reindeer-herding *Talma Siida*.⁵² Although raised among reindeer herders, he quit herding in favor of solo pursuits as a wolf hunter, a tourist guide, an artist, and an author. Turi thus lived and worked in a rather transient, liminal state; one with significant connections both to the reindeer-herding community as well as to the "outside" world. During Turi's chance encounter with Emilie Demant, who was on holiday with her sister in Lapland during the summer of 1904, Turi expressed his desire to write a book on Sámi culture, while Demant similarly expressed her desire to live with the Sámi during their migrations. Based on this, they would broker a deal: Turi would arrange for her to travel with his brother's family on the annual migration, and she would help him write and publish his book. Thus began a collaboration that would result, in 1910, in the publication of *Muittalus*, and *Med Lapperne i Højfjeldet* (1913) (With the Lapps in the High Mountains), Demant-Hatt's personal "ethnographic" description of her experiences living in two different *siida*.

Muittalus was a collaborative work, the realization of which was made possible by a network of patrons, language scholars, and printers who worked behind the scenes.⁵³ Most influential among these was Hjalmar Lundbohm, head of the LKAB. Demant met Lundbohm in 1907 and discussed Turi's book idea with him. Because of Lundbohm's interest in Sámi culture,⁵⁴ he financially supported its publication as well as Demant and Turi, who unlike Bauer and Lagerlöf, had not been commissioned by publishers, and it is arguable that without Lundbohm's support and his connections,⁵⁵ neither Turi, nor Demant would have begun, let alone realized, the fruits of their combined labor in published form.

That unlike Bauer and Lagerlöf, Turi was the initiator of the idea of *Muittalus*, which then found a receptive audience in both Demant and Lundbohm, and that both Turi and Demant, rather than being contracted for their work, struggled to see it to fruition, are significant to understanding how different *Muittalus* was from the other books in question, even before considering its radical content. The publishing houses of CAV Lundholm, which issued *Lapland* and Bonniers, which ultimately pub-

lished *Nils Holgersson*, were large corporations, representing conventional, institutional, corporate, and commercial interests. Turi was writing *against* institutional and in this case colonial imperatives and interests, and *Muittalus* represents the “first book in Sámi in which the colonized talks back to their colonizers,”⁵⁶ despite being backed by the very embodiment of the colonization of the north – Hjalmar Lundbohm. The collaboration of Turi and Lundbohm speaks to their complicated personal relationship and to the ways in which Turi interacted, much as did Nils Thomasson, in what was clearly a changing world, and how he sought to carry his message through modern forms of mass communication. It also speaks to the optimism that both Lundbohm and Turi felt about the future of Lapland, even as their visions of that future differed drastically.

Lundbohm, despite being the industrialist most responsible for opening up Lapland to modernity through the development of the LKAB mine complex, the encouragement of immigration of workers, and the building of the city of Kiruna, also supported the documentation and thus preservation of traditional Sámi culture based in his belief in the *Lapp ska vara Lapp* policy of keeping traditional reindeer-herding Sámi culture separate from and inferior to modern Swedish society. This belief was the driving force in the creation of Lundbohm’s ethnographic series “The Lapps and their land. Descriptions and studies”, (*Lapparne och deras land. Skildringar och studier*), of which *Muittalus* was the first.

It would be easy to dismiss the series, given its inception in such a racist ideology, but this would negate the legacy of many of these books, not least *Muittalus*, in the continued excavation of Sámi material from such sources. In roughly twelve years, Lundbohm published nine ethnographic studies – two authored or co-authored by Turi (I – *Muittalus* (1911) and VIII – *Lappish texts* (1920)); with VI (1917) being the Swedish translation of *Muittalus*; two are by Dement-Hatt (II – *Med lapperne i höjffellet* (1913) and IX – *Ved ilden: eventyr og historier fra Lapland* (1922)); and four are by women (the two by Dement-Hatt, and volume V – *Kåtornas folk* (1916), by Ester Blenda Nordström, and VII – *Västerbottenslapparna under första hälften av 1800-talet* (1918), by Sigrid Drake.) The original *Muittalus* (I) is in both Danish and Sámi, its translation to Swedish (VI) no longer includes the Sámi text and is translated from Danish. It is also evident that Lundbohm’s relationships with Turi and Demant-Hatt were critical to the entire series, as they are involved in six of the nine volumes. Of the nine volumes, only Johan Turi and Per Turi were indigenous authors, writing from insider perspectives.

For the illustrations, Turi and Demant-Hatt and the Sámi artist Nils Nilsson Skum contributed illustrations to most of the volumes (6 of the 9): Skum’s illustrations feature on the covers of volumes I, II, VI, VII,

and VIII, an editorial decision by Lundbohm based in part on Skum's fame, and in part on the accessibility of his images to a general audience, in contrast to Turi's imagery. Demant-Hatt's *Med lapperne i höjffellet* includes stock photographs by Borg Mesch as well as photographs she herself took while on migration, whereas her collection of folktales and legends, *Ved ilden: eventyr og historier fra Lapland*, contains 24 of her black and white linocuts in a style that is both expressionistic and also evocative of Sámi artist John Savio's woodcuts. Perhaps the most intriguing illustrations are those Lundbohm chose for the front and back covers of Kolmodin's *Folketro, seder och sägner från Pite lappmark* – sketches of the Sámi Stallo⁵⁷ figure by Johan Turi.

The hand of Lundbohm in the series is evident throughout: Lundbohm specified the books' formats and appearance, how many copies to print, the cover design, the illustrations, the type of paper to use, typeface, binding, distribution, and even solicited reviews.⁵⁸ It was ultimately Lundbohm who decided on the images in *Muittalus*, including the cover image by Skum. Turi had produced images to enhance and supplement his textual descriptions, but these Lundbohm placed in an appendix, de-coupling them from the text. The stated reason for this was that Turi's images required a different type of paper, but it is far more likely that Turi's style, lacking in conventional perspective and linearity, was considered inaccessible and primitive. In the original publication, Turi's images in the appendix were supplemented with an explanatory text written by Demant, rendering her the intermediary between the image and the reader. Finally, in keeping with publishing norms and conventions of portraiture, a studio portrait of Turi by Borg Mesch serves as the book's frontispiece.

Turi's images in the appendix, in contrast to the empty, abstract northern landscapes favored by Swedish artists of the time, are full of reindeer, and for Turi (and for Skum) there is no landscape without reindeer. Harald Gaski notes that in both text and imagery "Turi makes it plain that for him the core identity of the Sámi lies in their relationship to nature and to the reindeer".⁵⁹ Turi's line drawing images in *Muittalus* are filled with reindeer herds and all depict movement – migrations, autumn round-up, a wolf attack on a herd; all suggest movement across and in the landscape. Turi's images contain specific information about both the herds and individual reindeer. Figure XI in the appendix to *Muittalus* (Fig. 5), entitled "A *siida* migrating to Norway among the high mountains, in the spring and autumn,"⁶⁰ shows the herds migrating both in spring and returning in the fall – indicated not only by their direction but by the attention to detail in the small images of the reindeer who are shown with fully developed antlers in the fall, and small antlers in the spring migration. In other images there is a detailed specificity and accuracy in the daily ac-



Fig. 5. “The Migration to and from Norway”, illustration by Johan Turi from *Muittalus samid birra: Atlas med 14 tavler*, Stockholm, 1910.

tivities and people depicted. Aamold has described Turi’s drawings as “holistic and relational” – with the Sámi in an ecological relationship with the landscape and all that is in it,⁶¹ reflecting the spatial organization of Sámi subsistence activities.⁶²

Turi’s images have multiple, simultaneous points of view, are lacking conventional perspective and vanishing points, and most exhibit simultaneity. By contrast, Bauer’s images in *Lappland* and the photographs on which they are based, and the photos in *Nils Holgersson*, are static, employ conventional perspective with the subject’s position “off camera,” and give relatively little information about the reindeer or reindeer herding. Harald Gaski, writing about Turi’s later paintings that he produced for sale, suggests that their lack of perspective, and general rejection of conventions of linear time and space are the result of Turi’s exposure to the work of

the Expressionists. Turi's images in *Muittalus*, however, were completed before his trips to Copenhagen and other southern cities, suggesting that Turi's images in *Muittalus* reflects a Sami attitude towards nature, time, and space that is ontologically different from "Western" art aesthetics.

In 1913, Lundbohm published the second in the series: Emilie Demant-Hatt's⁶³ *Med lapperne i höjffellet*, which include many of her own photographs. Whereas von Düben's and Mesch's (and Bauer's) photos have rightfully been criticized for their clear demonstration of unequal colonial power relations, underwritten by racist pseudo-science,⁶⁴ Demant-Hatt's are not so easily explained. Unlike Bauer's static and forced images, and unlike many of Mesch's photos, Demant-Hatt's express a kind of intimacy, candor, and a shared relationship with her friends and hosts in the *siida*, and was thus able to resist some of the "the primitivist image-making of her day".⁶⁵ Feminist scholar Hanna Horsberg Hansen sees in Demant-Hatt's photos "equality and reciprocity rather than the inequality and objectification" and sees her subjects as people with their own agency "who themselves choose to be present through their work, their play, their clothes and their landscapes – and perhaps basically tell about their lives as people in the world".⁶⁶

Demant-Hatt's work has been recently "rediscovered" by contemporary Sámi scholars revisiting older ethnographic data to recover "alternative interpretations through multiple and concurrent voices that decentre and reframe existing imperial representations".⁶⁷ Post-colonial and feminist theories have opened up the possibility of "excavating" Demant-Hatt's and others' photographs for "hidden content".⁶⁸ Cathrine Baglo, working with photographic postcards of Southern Sámi from the late 1800s finds that their materiality makes them "unruly", denying the possibility of a fixed meaning.⁶⁹ Baglo sees photographs as "technologies of memory that may help reclaim a hidden or lost past," and Elin Anna Labba re-collects and recombines ethnographic and touristic photos by Demant-Hatt and others to reconstruct the story of her ancestors that was destroyed by the closing of the Norwegian-Swedish border (1919), which stopped reindeer migration and dislocated the *siida*.⁷⁰

Conclusion

Lapland as *Framtidslandet* – the land of the future – was part of the project of nation building based on a social policy in the south that depended on resource extraction in the north – a colonial relationship. It was also an ideological project – the discursive formation of Lapland that envisioned what that future would be; and in the early 20th century the discursive field was increasingly informed, contested, and played out through

visual technologies in creating Lapland as a “landscape of desire.” For those directly engaged in imagining and re-presenting “Lapland” at the turn of the 20th century – John Bauer, Johan Turi, Selma Lagerlöf, Borg Mesch, Nils Thomasson, Emilie Demant-Hatt – as well as those working behind the scenes such as Hjalmar Lundbohm and Fredrik Svenonius, the vision of the future in Lapland was optimistic, utopian, and in hindsight impossible. Retracing their visual productions reveals the many types of desire that inhered in their visual landscapes.

John Bauer’s fantasy worlds – imaginary wildernesses in which fantastic beings lurked – stood in metaphorical relationship to the construction of the “magical” North.⁷¹ Borg Mesch’s and Nils Thomasson’s photographs of Lapland for STF publications presented evocative and beautiful landscapes for consumption, either indirectly or directly experienced by tourists drawn to adventures in those pre-designated and illustrated destinations. Mesch’s and Thomasson’s photos of *Sámi* that were used in illustrating racialized typologies evoked another kind of consumption and desire – for the justification and maintenance of colonial and racial power. Johan Turi’s landscapes and his text in *Muittalus* were an expression of his desire to share the *Sámi* way of life and an alternative, ecological positionality in the landscape. And yet, Turi, Mesch, and Thomasson were all entrepreneurs – “brokers” between worlds in the contact zone, while they themselves were trying to find a new way to make a living in that zone. All of them used processes of mass reproduction and publication to achieve this.

Emilie Demant-Hatt’s own experience embodying a kind of “arctic desire”⁷², was motivated by her own childhood dreams of living with the Lapps. Contemporary feminist scholars, optimistically and nostalgically return to Demant-Hatt’s photographs and those of others to recreate lost family histories, to “excavate” for stolen past lives, and to “see the unseen” in the photos when looked at from a different perspective. Their desire to consume past photographs is not tied to consumerism, but is restorative and recuperative. Images of Lapland, thus, rather than creating a singular landscape of desire, resulted in a proliferation of landscapes, with many competing desires.

Notes

1. The anachronistic use of “Lapland” rather than the more current Lapland reflects contemporary use, as in *Lapland: Det stora svenska framtidslandet*. In this article I use “Lapland” only in the context of that book, elsewhere using Lapland. Lapland and “Lapp” are both seen as derogatory and no longer used, replaced by “Sápmi” and “Sámi,” respectively. Both the older Lapland and Lapland highlight the prevailing and persistent racial ideology in the 20th century. “Lapland” in a narrative sense, is a

place of the imagination, while Lapland is a province in northern Sweden even today, a legacy of race relations.

2. See Sverker Sörlin, *Framtidslandet: Debatten om Norrland under det industriella genombrottet* (Stockholm: Carlssons, 1988), revised in 2023, Teg Publishing.

3. See, for ex., Valdemar Lindholm, *När skogen dör* (Stockholm: Beijer, 1901).

4. This was the position of one of the most radical opponents of large-scale industrialization, Karl-Erik Forsslund.

5. On the *Norrlandsfrågan*, see Sörlin, *Framtidslandet*, 156–253.

6. Such traditional migration routes had been successively restricted by the imposition of national borders, and the passage of several laws intended to curtail such cross-border migrations: the Norwegian-Finnish border closing in 1852; Sweden and Finland in 1889; the 1886 Swedish Reindeer Herding Act, etc. Such restrictions continue into present day, including the border closures due to Covid-19.

7. William A. McClung, *Landscapes of Desire: Anglo Mythologies of Los Angeles* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000).

8. See William R. Leach, *Land of Desire: Merchants, Power, and the Rise of a New American Culture* (New York: Vintage Books, 1993).

9. Joep Leerssen, “Imagology: On Using Ethnicity to Make Sense of the World”, *Revue d'études ibériques et ibéro-américaines*, no.10 (2016), 13–31.

10. John Berger, *Ways of Seeing* (London: British Broadcasting Corporation and Penguin Books, 1972).

11. Olof Bergqvist, et al., *Lapland: Det stora svenska framtidslandet. En skildring i ord och bild.* (Stockholm: C.A.V. Lundholm, 1908).

12. Selma Lagerlöf, *Nils Holgerssons underbara resa genom Sverige*, Bd 1 & Bd 2 (Stockholm: Bonnier, 1907).

13. Johan Olafsson Turi and Emilie Demant, *Muitalus Samid Birra: En bog om Lappernes liv* (Stockholm: Nordiska bokhandeln, 1910).

14. Jonas Frykman and Orvar Löfgren, *Culture Builders: A Historical Anthropology of Middle-Class Life* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1987), 57.

15. Hanna Eglinger, “Nomadic, Ecstatic, Magic: Arctic Primitivism in Scandinavia around 1900”, *Acta Borealia* 33, no. 2 (2016), 189–214.

16. Thomas A. Dubois, “Borg Mesch: The Role of a Culture Broker in Picturing the North”, *Journal of Northern Studies* 8, no. 2 (2014), 46.

17. Dubois, “Borg Mesch”.

18. Svenonius referenced in Orvar Löfgren, “Know Your Country: A Comparative Perspective on Tourism and Nation Building in Sweden” in *Being Elsewhere: Tourism, Consumer Culture, and Identity in Modern Europe and North America*, eds. S. Baranowski & E. Furlough (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2001), 143.

19. Simultaneously promoting industrialization, preservation, and tourism was not necessarily seen as contradictory, as it would today. Svenonius embodied this, and even Karl-Erik Forsslund, who was virulently against large-scale industrial development, wrote for STF.

20. Martin August Christian Tisell, illustrator, *Lapland-Express to the Land of the Midnight Sun: Corridor Express Train Stockholm to Narvik* (Stockholm: Royal Administration of the Swedish State Railways, 1904). Photograph from Library of Congress Website, <https://www.loc.gov/item/2021669230/>.

21. “[...] they want me to paint the Lapps at Skansen [...] They probably first want to see proof of my ability.” *Jo de vill att jag skall måla aflapparna på Skansen och visa för*

prissarna som har lapplandsverket om hand. De vilja visst förrst se prof på min utom ordentliga förmåga. Letter to his parents, May 7, 1904. Brev Samling JMA.00233. Jönköpings läns museum. <https://digitaltmuseum.se/021029506233/brev>

22. Bauer writes in a letter, “*så skall jag dra igenom en lunta Lapplandsliteratur*”. <https://digitaltmuseum.org/021029509882/brev,2023-09-02>, “*Lunta*” here making reference to its large size, perhaps age, and academic nature.

23. In Bauer’s diary from Lapland he lists packing von Düben’s book along with other items, such as tea, cocoa and tobacco. Jönköpings Läns museum JM 26.340, *Utdrag Bauer ant bok Lappland*.

24. Bauer, in his diary from July 1 (pg. 20, *recto*), notes that while visiting a Sámi family in their *kåta* during an overnight trip, that the “*kåta* was full of people. I lay and read the thick and great ‘Düben’s Lapland’” (*Kåtan var full af folk. Jag låg och läste den tjocka och stora ‘Dübens Lappland’*), which, he adds, his hosts mis-identify as the Bible.

25. [...] *med min rese handbok (3e uppl.) som vägvisare [...] vidare att han i någon mån studerat sina ämnen på förhand*, From an unsigned letter (from Svenonius) to CAV Lindholm, 1904, <https://digitaltmuseum.org/0210212353394/brev>, (accessed 2023-03-02).

26. Michelle Facos, *Nationalism and the Nordic Imagination: Swedish Art of the 1890s* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 89.

27. Harald Schiller, *John Bauer, Sagoteknaren* (Stockholm: Sveriges Allmänna Konstförening, 1935), 68.

28. A. Lundberg, in *Framtidslandet*, 121–133.

29. Pgs. 15–16 of Bauer’s diary.

30. JoAnn Conrad, “The Tale of Njunje Paggas’: A ‘Lappish’ Stallo Tale from Sweden by P. A. Lindholm, Illustrated by John Bauer”, *Folklore* 131, no. 2 (2020), 204–224, DOI: 10.1080/0015587X.2019.1662235

31. JoAnn Conrad, “John Bauer på spåren” in *Arktisk Spår: Natur och kultur i rörelse*, ed. Lotten Gustafsson-Reinus (Stockholm: Nordiska Museet, 2020), 116–119.

32. See, for example Tirén’s *Rendrivning* (1904), or *Vargarna attackerar. Same med renhjörd* (1904); and Mesch’s photos *Samer och renar på Luossajärvi år 1901* and *Flyttande samer med renraid tar rast år 1901b*—Numbers 10002006 and 10002002, respectively, Kiruna Kommun Bildsamling <https://kiruna-mediagallery.imagevault.se/?orderby=default&take=100&searchterm=10002006&categoryids=4>

33. P.A. Lindholm, *Lappfolk: (Beijen pardnek)* teckningar af John Bauer (Göteborg: Åhlén & Åkerlund, 1908).

34. Sigrid Lien, “Assimilating the wild and the primitive: Lajla and other Sámi heroines in Norwegian fin-de-siècle photography” in *Disturbing pasts: Memories, controversies and creativity*, ed. Leon Wainwright (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017), 208–222.

35. Cited in Sörlin, *Framtidslandet*, 103.

36. Lagerlöf’s *Nils Holgersson* is reviewed by Anna Whitlock in the *STF årsskrift* for 1908, where she praises Lagerlöf’s book, and says that it shares with STF the desire to build a sense of nation Sweden’s youth, pgs. 389–91.

37. Lagerlöf, band 2, 339: “Almost all the houses in Gellivare were new and well and properly built. If they hadn’t seen the patches of snow up on the mountain and noticed that the birches hadn’t yet been felled, the children wouldn’t have thought that it was far up in Lappland.” (*Nästan alla husen i Gellivare voro nya och väl och ordentligt uppförda. Om de inte hade sett snöfläckarna uppe på berget och märkt, att björkarna ännu*

inte voro utslagna, skulle barnen inte ha tänkt på att det låg långt uppe i Lappland.)

38. “runt omkring låg den stora vildmarken, där ingen åker plöjdes och inga hus timrades, där det inte fanns annat än lappar, som drevo omkring med sina renar,” Lagerlöf, band 2, 340: all translations/paraphrasing from this section are mine.

39. See Roger Kvist, “The Racist Legacy in Modern Swedish Saami Policy” *Canadian Journal of Native Studies* 14, no. 2 (1994), 203–220.

40. This contrast and basic incompatibility of modern life with primitive, albeit closer to nature Sámi life, is played out in a conversation/argument between Åsa and the Lapp boy, Aslak. This is a trope also employed by Laura Fitinghoff in her *Barnen ifrån Frostmofället* (1907). The resolution in both is the same – the Swedish child returns to Swedish (better) life.

41. Lagerlöf, band 2, 355.

42. <https://kiruna-mediagallery.imagevault.se/?orderby=default&take=100&searchterm=Sameboställe>

43. Cathrine Baglo, “Puncturing Parts of History’s Blindness: South Saami and South Saami Culture in Early Picture Postcards” in *The Indigenous Identity of the South Saami*, eds. Hermanstrand, H., Kolberg, A., et al. (Cham: Springer, 2019), 93–119, 109.

44. Lagerlöf, band 2, 361.

45. Perhaps a belief in the objectivity of photography, or the need to drum up business as a photographer, or both, it also could have been seen as a way to be somewhat in charge of the representations, from the inside. Still, the effect of substantiating both a racial biology and an exoticizing tourist industry obtained.

46. See, for example, Herman Lundborg, *Svenska folktyper: Bildgalleri, ordnat efter rasbiologiska principer och försett med en orienterande översikt* (Stockholm: Tullberg, 1919).

47. Baglo, “Blindness”, 107, 110, citing Eva Silvén, *Friktion: Ernst Manker, Nordiska museet och det samiska kulturarvet* (Lund: Nordic Academic Press, 2021).

48. There are variants in the spelling of this work. The one used here is from the 1910 edition.

49. See: Mikael Svonni, “Johan Turi: First Author of the Sámi” *Scandinavian Studies* 83, no. 4 (2011), 483–490. doi:10.1353/scd.2011.00182011); DuBois (2010).

50. For a thorough description of all the processes involved to get *Muittalus* in print, see Barbara Sjöholm, “How the Book ‘Muittalus Sámid Birra’ was Created: Johan Turi’s Classic Sámi Narrative as a Publishing Project” *Scandinavian Studies* 82, no. 3 (2010), 313–336; and Thomas A. DuBois, “Editing Johan Turi: Making Turi’s Muittalus Make Sense”, *Western Folklore* 72, no. 3/4 (2013).

51. Barbara Sjöholm, *Black Fox: A Life of Emilie Demant Hatt, Artist and Ethnographer* (Madison Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 2017); Barbara Sjöholm, “The Art of Recalling: Lapland and the Sámi in the Art of Emilie Demant Hatt and Johan Turi”, *Feminist Studies* 40, no. 2 (2014), 356–393.

52. A *siida* is a traditional Sámi community organization (although modified by the imposition of national policies) based in an area circumscribed by their reindeer foraging areas and includes the concepts of land rights and resource management and group cooperation.

53. Kristin Kuutma, “Collaborative Ethnography Before Its Time: Johan Turi and Emilie Demant Hatt”, *Scandinavian Studies* 75, no. 2 (2003), 165–80. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40920444>.

54. Lundbohm, Demant, and even Turi to some extent were locked in an ambivalent

and romantic notion of preservation that typified the salvage anthropology of the time, which was rooted in the evolutionism that undergirded the *Lapp ska vara Lapp* policy.

55. Lundbohm was well connected with the art world, and also the publishing world, and arranged for reviews such as the book review for *Muittalus* that appeared in the illustrated magazine *Hvar 8 dag*, no. 6, 6 November 1910, 89–91, entitled “Johan Turi: Lappen som skildrat sitt folk: Hur hans bok kom till” complete with a photo of Turi in a pelt *gákti*, holding a wolf he has presumably shot.

56. Svein Aamold, “Johan Turi’s Ecology”, *Interventions* 25, no. 7 (2023), 10. DOI: 10.1080/1369801X.2023.2169625.

57. Stallo is a figure from Sámi folklore, sometimes compared to the Norwegian Troll. Stallo is a large, usually malevolent and evil humanoid creature, often cannibalistic and dangerous. However, Stallo can also be created by magic and sent out to commit crimes of violence and revenge against his creator’s enemies.

58. Barbara Sjöholm, “How ‘Muittalus Sámid Birra’ was Created”, 317.

59. Harald Gaski, “More than Meets the Eye: The Indigeneity of Johan Turi’s Writing and Artwork”, *Scandinavian Studies* 83, no. 4, (2011), 605.

60. Johan Turi, *Muittalus samid birra: Atlas med 14 tavler* (Stockholm, 1910).

61. Aamold, “Turi’s Ecology”.

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