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**Translating Swedish colonialism:
Johannes Schefferus's *Lapponia* in Britain c. 1674-1800.**

The first anthropological work by Oxford University Press was published in 1674.¹ The book, *The History of Lapland*, was the English translation of Johannes Schefferus's *Lapponia* published in Frankfurt the previous year. Although there had been scattered references to 'Lapland' in classical and medieval sources, Schefferus's text was the first attempt at compiling a comprehensive account of Sápmi and its inhabitants, the indigenous Sámi people.² Through its endorsement by influential brokers including the Royal Society and Oxford University, *The History of Lapland* was widely studied in the British Isles with references to it cropping up in numerous sources including poems, songs, newspapers, geography books and philosophical tracts. The book fueled interest in the Sámi, who frequently appeared in non-Scandinavian works on religion, historical progress, and early racial studies in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and often featured in these discussions alongside other colonized and Indigenous peoples.

Despite the curiosity in Britain about the Sámi prompted by Schefferus's text, the history of the Sámi and their epistemological representation in the early modern period has tended to be studied almost exclusively in relation to the Scandinavian countries and to a lesser degree Russia, with the exception being works charting how Sápmi was constructed in foreign travelogues.³ Adopting a wider transnational perspective, I will in this article analyze how *Lapponia* was part of an emerging pan-European interest in anthropology and a new scientific drive to map and construct both places and peoples. These processes were, as this article will show, permeated by colonial agendas. As several contributors to this special issue argue, the Nordic countries today are often imagined, both internally and externally, as being untainted

¹ The article was written as part of the research project 'Collecting Sápmi: Early Modern Globalization of Sámi Material Culture and Sámi Cultural Heritage Today, funded by the Swedish Research Council (421-2013-1917). I would like to thank the anonymous reviewers and Jonas M. Nordin and Carl-Gösta Ojala for their feedback on my article.

² Sápmi (northern Sámi) is the term that I use for the land of the Sámi. For further discussions of this contested term see for example Ojala 2009.

³ For works that have charted the construction of the Sámi in travel literature, see for example Barton (1998), Davies (1999), Fjågesund & Symes (2003), Burnett (2012), and Naum (2016).

by colonialism (Burnett & Höglund 2019, Keskinen 2019, Loftsdóttir 2019). By analyzing the construction of the Sámi in *Lapponia* and the book's circulation in both England and Scotland before and after the creation of the United Kingdom in 1707, I will in this article respond to the lack of historicity behind the notion of Nordic colonial innocence by providing a case study of Swedish colonialism and the circulation of Swedish colonial depictions of the Sámi to a wider sphere beyond Scandinavia in the early modern period. I will do this by showing that the compilation and publication of *Lapponia* was an intrinsically Swedish act of colonization aimed at both domestic and international audiences. This act was done in order to claim Sápmi, a contested territory that crossed state borders, for Sweden and to respond to transnational and colonially colored curiosity about the Sámi and their land.

I will also argue that as *Lapponia* travelled to Britain it was reframed in translation for a British readership. Translation, as Walter Benjamin's seminal works have shown, entails transformation (1996 [1916]). People and their cultures are transformed as they are translated and this study will therefore chart how the construction of Sápmi in *Lapponia* was then translated into *The History of Lapland* (1674, 1704) in England.⁴ While some of my analysis concerns the translation of the main text, the main focus is on the discursive presentation of the book's prefaces about Sápmi and its inhabitants for British audiences. The prefaces are of key importance since they were designed to entice new readers by summarizing the importance of the book and connecting it to topical cultural discussions. The new English-language prefaces differed substantially from Schefferus's own preface to *Lapponia* and therefore functioned as transformative 'paratexts' by providing new British entry points to Schefferus's work.⁵ In the final part of the article I will chart how a couple of *joiks* (traditional Sámi songs) included in *The History of Lapland* featured in British debates on savagery in the eighteenth century. I will end by discussing the colonial implications of constructing and translating the Sámi as curious and 'savage' objects for a transnational audience.

Creating the Sámi: Swedish Nation-Building and Colonialism

⁴ There was also an abridged version published in 1751 that focused on the religious practices of the Sámi. It does not contain a preface and will not be discussed in detail in this article.

⁵ A classic definition of the preface as 'paratext' is provided by Gérard Genette *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation* (1997).

In 1671 the Swedish Lord High Chancellor, Magnus Gabriel de la Gardie, put in a request to the Swedish College of Antiquities (Antikvitetskollegiet) that someone should compose ‘*de vita et moribus lapponum*’ – a study of the life and customs of the Sámi people. He stipulated that it should contain not only information about the customs and traditions of the Sámi but also a description of their natural landscape and the role they had played in Swedish wars (Löw 1956, 12-3). The Swedish College of Antiquities, established in 1666, saw its role as being to survey and disseminate information about Swedish and Gothic antiquities, and as a result of Gardie’s request now also included the Sámi and their land within its remit. The commissioning of the study that would become *Lapponia* thus indicated the growing interest that Swedish scholars and officials took in the Sámi and their land. It was an attempt to comprehensively map Sápmi as being both a geographic and demographic property of the Swedish national imagination, as Jonas M. Nordin and Carl-Gösta Ojala describe in their article “Mapping Land and People in the North” in this issue. Colonialism, as Said defined it, is “not only about soldiers and cannons but also about ideas, about forms, about images and imaginings” (1994 [1993]). Those with the power to name a landscape and its inhabitants, those who have the power to inscribe and construct a place, are often also those that desire to control and possess it.⁶

De la Gardie’s prescribed areas of investigation reflected the multiple and entangled colonial agendas that underpinned Swedish geographical and anthropological interest in Sápmi and which scholars such as Gunnar Ahlström (1966), Gunnar Broberg (1987), Gunlög Fur (2006), Sverker Sörlin (2002) and Ojala & Nordin (in this issue) have charted. First, it was an inventory of a region that contained potential natural riches such as fishing waters, animal furs and minerals, which Swedes had begun to exploit. Narrating a landmass that was contested by the Scandinavian nation-states and Russia was a way of signaling that it belonged to Sweden (Ojala & Nordin 2019). Territorial expansion and colonization, politically guided by a supporting scientific, economic and legal narrative, was therefore a way of making a northern periphery productive. It was not done in order to make the region flourish in its own right, but in an attempt to make it beneficial for the state (Sörlin 2002, 77).

⁶ Following Said’s landmark *Orientalism* (1978), there is a large body of work that chart the relationship between geography, anthropology (with its mapping of human variety) and colonialism including, to name but a few, Derek Gregory, *Geographical Imaginations* (1994); A Bodlewsja and N. Smith (eds.) *Geography and Empire* (1994); D.P Miller and P.H Reill, *Visions of Empire: Voyages, Botany and Representations of Nature* (1996); Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (1992); D. Livingstone and C. Withers (eds.) *Geography and Enlightenment* (1999), and Felix Driver, *Geography Militant: Cultures of Exploration and Empire* (2001).

The formal encouragement of physical settlement by Swedish and Finnish peasants in Sámi territories through the *Lappmarksplakatet* (lappmark decree) of 1673, constituted an attempt to establish a settler coloniality in which non-Sámi actors would possess and transform the landscape.⁷

Second, the study of Sámi customs and beliefs was designed to assist a missionary agenda of converting the Sámi to the Protestant faith and ‘civilizing’ them. The Swedish Crown maintained that it had a duty to educate and control all people it considered to be its subjects. Carl IX ordered, for instance, a number of Lutheran churches and courts to be established among the Sámi (Rydving 1995, Fur 2006, Lindmark 2006). In the colonization of Sápmi, the Swedish state therefore wanted to carry its religious beliefs and customs to Sámi land. The introduction of churches and missionaries to Sápmi constituted a translation of Protestantism into Sámi culture. “A colony”, as Robert J.C. Young writes, “begins as a translation” (2003, 138-9). The ethnographic study of Sápmi in *Lapponia* therefore has to be set in a context not only of settlement but also of heightened tension between Scandinavian missionaries and Sámi people. Ceremonial Sámi drums were confiscated by Lutheran ministers, sometimes by brute force, to be either destroyed or else put in cabinets as exotic curiosities for the enjoyment of metropolitan observers (Rydving 2004).

Third, in light of harmful rumors on the continent that the Sámi’s alleged magical skills had helped the Swedish monarch Gustavus Adolphus to win unjust victories against his Catholic enemies during the Thirty Years’ War, it was deemed important to produce a work that would explain the Sámi’s role and status in the Swedish kingdom for international readers (Löw 1956, 12-3; Burnett 2010). The attempt to control and incorporate Sámi culture into Swedish colonial culture was therefore targeted at both domestic and international audiences. Together the agendas underpinning *Lapponia* constituted the beginning of *Lappology* in Sweden, a key support mechanism for Nordic colonialism built and maintained through the study of the territory and inhabitants of Sápmi – or ‘Lapland’ as it was termed – which was devised and promoted primarily by outsiders (Kulonen 2005, 189).

The Sámi and their land had featured in a limited way in earlier wide-ranging works such as Anders Bure’s *Orbis Arctoi* (1626), Olaus Magnus’s *Historia de Gentibus Septentrionalibus*, and Jacob Ziegler’s *Schondia* (1532). De la Gardie’s request differed by calling for a work that was solely focused on Sápmi and the Sámi. In light of the fact that few

⁷ For an account of settler colonialism and anthropology see Patrick Wolfe, 1999. *Settler Colonialism and the Transformation of Anthropology: The Politics and Poetics of an Ethnographic Event*. Cassell: London & New York.

scholars in Scandinavia had visited the region, De la Gardie requested that questionnaires should be sent to ministers located in Sápmi. This reflects the growing importance placed on in situ knowledge in this period. The county governor of Västerbotten county, Johan Graan, whose father was one of the first Christian Sámi ministers, was given a decree to oversee this process (Rasmussen 2016, 303). Questionnaires were by this time an established transnational method of collecting knowledge about territories deemed to be little known whether within Europe, such as the Swiss Alps or the Scottish Highlands, or in overseas colonies (Cooper 2007, Boscani Leoni 2013). They had for, for instance, been circulated in the Spanish Empire to collect information about the Indies. In England, the Royal Society frequently used questionnaires, following Francis Bacon's earlier guidelines, to find out information about other countries. Informants were often educated ministers who also had amateur interests in natural history and language studies (Boscani Leoni 2013).

The questions sent out to Lutheran ministers in Sápmi ranged from queries about the Sámi's origin, their language, food, customs, traditions, animals and landscape. These ministers were therefore colonial agents of the Swedish state whose work included collecting information about the Sámi, narrating their culture and converting them to the Swedish religion. The ministers' accounts were often a border-making exercise in which the Sámi's difference – physical, cultural and moral - was emphasized (Naum 2016, 497). The ministers' reports were sent to Uppsala where the information was collated, analyzed, edited and polished.

The man at the centre of this incipient mechanism of *Lappology*, with primary responsibility for translating the culture of Sápmi into Swedish culture, was Johannes Schefferus, professor of rhetoric and politics at Uppsala University and a member of the College of Antiquities. Schefferus was born in Strasbourg in 1621 and was invited to Sweden by Queen Christina (Löw 1956, 9-13, Scheffer 1918, Burius 2018). He started work on *Lapponia* in 1671, and finished his writing and illustrations in May 1673.⁸ The printing of the work took place in Frankfurt am Main. The original intention had been to produce it in Stockholm but the demands of a large print run meant the production site was changed to Frankfurt, where Schefferus had good contacts and where the printers were known for their superior technical skills (Löw 1956, 14).

⁸ Schefferus was not content with the first edition of *Lapponia*. He therefore started work on a larger and more comprehensive edition. His notes are included in his private example of 1673's *Lapponia*. The source for many of the new additions was the Sámi student Nicolaus Lundius (Löw 1956, 19).

Schefferus had little prior knowledge about the Sámi and had not visited Sápmi himself. He therefore relied heavily on the ministers' reports. In particular the reports of Olaus Graan, Nicolaus Lundius and Johannes Tornaeus in Torneå; Samuel Rheen, former minister, in Pite Lappmark; as well as Olaus Petri Niurenus's work that his sons Zacharias and Erik Plantin had disseminated (Schefferus 1673, preface). These men were imbued with the requisite formal authority and effective clout to mediate Sámi society and culture for Schefferus. Schefferus's authorial and editorial role, in turn, was to harness and present the narratives generated by these men and to adjudicate on the most correct representation of the Sámi.⁹ In addition to the field reports from his network of ministers, Schefferus also consulted secondary sources ranging from classical accounts (by Plinius the Elder; Solinus, Tacitus; the Byzantine writer Prokopios; Jordanes's book about Goths) to Nordic medieval writers (including Saxo, Snorre Sturlason and Ericus Olai), early modern writers (such as the brothers Johannes and Olaus Magnus) and foreign travelogues. Alongside these textual sources, Schefferus consulted Sámi artefacts in both his collection, which he kept at his own museum in Uppsala, and artefacts in the collection by the College of Antiquities and in De la Gardie's private collection (Schefferus 1673, preface & Löw 16-9).

Schefferus's complete original text, which was primarily written in Latin with some Swedish quotes, manifested both a linguistic and epistemic dominance over Sámi culture. While Sámi knowledge and culture itself was translated from its original languages into Latin, quotations from the network of ministers remained in their original Swedish since Schefferus wanted to prove that he was true to his trusted network of sources (Löw 1956). The harnessing of Sámi culture through Swedish and Latin translation suggests a desire to 'collect' the members of that culture on behalf of the Swedish nation-state. Young emphasizes the power relations that permeate translations when he remarks that "someone or something is being translated, transformed from a subject to an object" (2003, 140). The colonized, he writes, "is also in the condition of being a translated man or woman" (2003, 140).

Sámi people were not fully absent from the production of the work, and nor were Sámi languages absent from the completed text. Two *joiks*, for instance, were also presented in Sámi (Schefferus 1673, 282-4). Some Sámi individuals were university students and clergymen in this period (see also Nordin and Ojala in this issue). Schefferus's network included, for example, a Sámi student at Uppsala University, Olaus Matthiae Lappo (Olaus Matthiae Sirma) who had converted to Christianity and was an important broker of Sámi

⁹ See also Sjöholm (2005, 11).

knowledge. There were also un-named Sámi whom Schefferus alleged he met when they were visiting the market in Uppsala (Schefferus 1673, preface). It cannot be ascertained whether Schefferus actually met these unnamed Sámi or not. His claim, however, shows the importance he placed on in situ knowledge and actual encounters with the people he portrayed. While Schefferus's work was, to some degree aided by Indigenous informants, it is necessary to keep in mind the asymmetry of power relations that dominated the intellectual milieu at Uppsala at that time – a milieu in which Schefferus was in charge of an apparatus that not only of linguistically translated but also culturally constructed the Sámi.

Othering the Sámi

Schefferus made the claim early on in the pages of *Lapponia* that Sámi land belonged to Sweden although he also admitted that the territory surpassed Sweden's borders (1673, 13-14). The thorny and ambiguous relationship between Sápmi and Sweden was further demonstrated by Schefferus's narrative construction of the region as different and alien while at the same time claiming that it belonged to Sweden. It was, he wrote, a region separated from Sweden through its forests and bogs; a region that Swedes had little prior knowledge of despite the Sámi paying tax to the Swedish state (1673, Dedication). In his preface, Schefferus also informed his readers that a key reason for writing *Lapponia* was to address the rumor circulating in Europe that Sámi soldiers deployed by Sweden during the Thirty Years' War used magic against their enemies, a rumor which he believed diminished Sweden's honor. Yet, Schefferus acknowledged the long history of the Sámi being associated with supernatural and heathen practices. A major theme of the book was likewise Sámi religious practices including the use of the Sámi drum by Sámi noaidis (shamans)¹⁰. Schefferus also described in great detail how the Sámi were a people in the service of the Devil who often made a pretense of being Christian (1673, chapters VII-XI).

Schefferus therefore walked a precarious line between feeding transnational interest in the Sámi's religious practices – the desire to read about allegedly deviant, primitive and forbidden practices – while at the same setting out to debunk exaggerated myths about the Sámi. The Thirty Years War issue was resolved through Schefferus's discursive construction of the Sámi as a people inherently unsuited to warfare. Unlike Anders Bure, who in 1632 described the Sámi as “very good souldiers [sic]” and referred to the “memorable battell fought neer Leipzig” (Bure 1632, 13), Schefferus argued that the Sámi

¹⁰ The Sámi terms for the drum are: Goavddis (Nsa;) Goabdes (Lsa) and Gievrie (Ssa).

would be useless in warfare since they were timid, peaceful, cowardly and could not live anywhere else but “Lapland” since the lower-latitude Swedish climate and diet did not suit them. There were Sámi in Uppsala and Mälardalen but Schefferus had little interest in them (Nordin 2017). Instead he constructed the Sámi as a *northern* other. His othering of the Sámi can also be seen in his emphasis of their different origin (from Swedes), different appearance, language and habits (1673, 42, 70-2).¹¹

In this grammar of difference, The Sámi were written into the imagination of Swedish and international audiences as a people who inhabited a part of Sweden yet were fundamentally different from the “true” Swedish population. Swedes, and particularly Swedish monarchs, are portrayed as civilizing agents who try, albeit not always successfully, to convert and civilize the Sámi (Schefferus, 1673, 42, 70-85). At the heart of colonization, as Jean and John Comaroff have argued, is this discursive act of “conceptualizing, inscribing and interacting with [colonized people] on terms not of their own choosing” (1991, 15). This was done by constructing Sámi beliefs and culture as either false or impoverished in comparison with a normative Swedish civilization through the application of categories of civilization and savagery in the presentation of the Sámi. *Lapponia*’s readers therefore learned both about the exotic Sámi and about idealized Swedes who attempted to civilize the Sámi. *Lapponia* was an account that sought factual representations of a little known region while at the same time provided a space onto which the fantasies and fears of its Uppsala-based author and his informants were projected.

Translating *Lapponia*

Lapponia quickly acquired an international audience aided both by its initial publication in Latin and by the subsequent translations of it to English in 1674, to German in 1675, to French 1678 and to Dutch in 1682 (Löw 1956, 21). Early modern Europe had a very active system of knowledge circulation, which was enabled by print and transport infrastructures and motivated by a widespread passion for collecting artefacts and new information (Daston & Park 2001, 218).¹² *Lapponia* was, for example, known about in English scientific circles before it was even published in Frankfurt. The English envoy extraordinary in Denmark Thomas Henshaw informed Henry Oldenburg, the secretary of the English Royal Society and

¹¹ The Finnish population, on the other hand, were depicted as being related to the Sámi and they are both perceived as sharing the addiction to sorcery and superstition (1673, ch. II).

¹² For a study of early-modern literary exchanges between Britain and Scandinavia, see Poole & Jackson (2012) and Seaton (1935).

the society's scientific intelligencer, in December 1672 that he had requested from "our Masters Envoyé in Sweden... two Copies of Shefferus (sic) relation of Lapland" (Henshaw 1672, 354). A couple of months later, he sent an update to Oldenburg that the work was now finished (1673, 451). Oldenburg was also instrumental in the translation and circulation of *Lapponia* in England. He presented the work to a large audience through his review of it in *The Philosophical Transactions*, the world's first scientific journal, in April 1674 in which he summarized the different sections of the book (No 102, 31-8).

Having built up interest in the work, Oldenburg concurrently worked on commissioning an English translation. He utilized strong links that existed between the Royal Society and Oxford University and assigned John Fell, the Dean of Christ Church, to oversee the translation. Fell was the driving force behind Oxford University Press and often employed his students at the Press (Larminie 1973, 79, Barket 1978, 15, Bill 1988, 33). Fell delegated the task of translating *Lapponia* from Latin into English to a young student called Acton Cremer. Fell had a reputation of being a strict moralist and Cremer reportedly got the job in order to keep him too busy to attend to his romantic liaison with an older woman (Bill 1988, 34).

The full title of the English translation was *The History of Lapland: Wherein are shewed the Original Manners, Habits, Marriages, Conjurations, & c. of that People. Written by John Shefferius, Professor of Law & Rhetoric at Upsal in Sweden*. It was tremendously popular and, as will be discussed below, was quoted from and discussed in a wide range of British texts. Key to the book's success as a printed product and translation was that it was from the outset imbued with scientific clout and legitimacy through the patronage of the Royal Society and of Oxford University, and of the prestigious production apparatus of the latter's University Press. For example the book was showcased, together with Sámi artefacts including a drum, at the Royal Society in 1681 by Schefferus's student Johan Heysig Ridderstjerna (Seaton 1935, 191).

The first translation of *The History of Lapland* was markedly different from the Latin original. In its migration to England the text's meaning and purpose had also moved and transformed, reflecting the view that a translated text is also a transformed text which emerges from a new context (Bassnett & Lefevere 1990). Although it depends on the original text for its status, the translated text is loaded with new meaning due to its material and discursive reconstruction in new sites of knowledge production situated in new cultural spheres (Agorni 2000, 91-92, Stockhorst 2010, 23). For instance, the 1674 translation was significantly abridged. The many Swedish quotations from informants, which Schefferus had included in

his otherwise Latin text in order to verify and strengthen his statements about the Sámi, Cremer omitted. This omission was made out of linguistic necessity since Cremer did not know any Swedish (1674, Preface). This meant that the array of voices and testimonies in *Lapponia* were significantly reduced and streamlined. What was left were quotes in Latin by foreign scholars, who did not have the same local knowledge, along with Schefferus's judgement and conclusions on his different informants.

In addition to the main body of the text there was a new anonymous preface that differed in significant ways from Schefferus's original preface.¹³ This preface is fundamentally important since it reveals the motivations and aspirations for the translated publication. While Schefferus had taken the opportunity to explain the rationale behind his publication, which was to dismantle war rumors that diminished Swedish honor, while also giving attribution to his informants (Schefferus, 1956, 32-3), readers consulting the English 1674 preface received a different set of information.¹⁴

English-language readers did not learn the name of Schefferus's informants. Nor did they learn of his deep and detailed domestic Swedish concern with the war rumors, apart from a mention that Lapland was a region without a martial tradition and a vague reference to 'extravagant falsehoods' (1674, Preface). Instead, it was the *exotic* character of the Sámi and the northern climate and location of Lapland that was at the heart of the English preface:

Military Action, and those public murders in which other Histories triumph, have no share here. Hunger, cold and solitude are enemies that engage all the fortitude of this People: and where so much passive valor is necessary, we may dispense with the want of Active. Admire the barbarity and darkness which reign in Lapland, there appear strictures of light, which will *entertain the eye of the most knowing observer*; as the Stars are no less remarkable than is the Sun it self. However the Reader will not fail to meet here with what may *gratify his curiosity*. Warmer Climates having all the comforts and necessities of life plentifully bestowed upon them, are but a more distant home; where we have little else talk'd of, than what we daily see among our selves; *but here it is indeed, where, rather than in America, we have a new World discovered*: and those extravagant falsehoods, which have commonly past in the narratives of these Northern Countries, are not so inexcusable for their being lies, as that they were told without temptation; the real truth being equally entertaining, and incredible. (1674 preface, my italics).

¹³ The translator is unknown. The imprimatur was R. A. Bathurst. The imprimatur authorized or endorsed the printing of a work.

¹⁴ There were also some changes to the illustrations of the Sámi in the *History of Lapland*. These illustrations also circulated in Britain and were, for example, published in Moses's Pitt's *Places next to the North-Pole* and his *English Atlas*. An analysis of this circulation, and the transformation, of the illustrations is unfortunately beyond the scope of this article.

That ‘Lapland’ is portrayed as barbaric is not surprising considering its long transnational pedigree of being depicted as a mysterious hinterland, as *Hyperborea* or *Thule* in classical sources, or as the abode of superstition and witchcraft in medieval and early modern sources. Richard Hakluyt’s (1552-1616) *Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques, and Discoveries of the English Nation* described for example the Sámi as “neither know[ing] God nor yet order” and, referring to what he regarded as the Swedish “civilizing mission”, noted that the Sámi ‘refuse...all studies and letters of humanitie” (Qtd. Hannaford 1996, 165). Other English references to the Sámi include “Lapland Sorcerers” in Shakespeare’s *Comedy of Errors* (1594) and “Lapland Witches” in Milton’s in *Paradise Lost* (1667) (Qtd in Farley 1906, 12, Burnett 2010). In *The Anatomy of Melancholy* (1857 [1621]), Robert Burton referred to the Sámi as “the devil’s possession to this day” (600). He compared the Sámi to the Irish, who like the Sámi were branded with negative connotations of savagery and were a colonized people within Europe (600).

The History of Lapland promised to be a reliable survey that was stripped of the extravagances and falsehoods that had marred earlier accounts, yet it would nevertheless deliver entertaining and incredible narratives – the discovery of a thrilling “new World” that surpassed even America. It would “gratify” the “curiosity” of wanting to find out new information and learn about unknown destinations whether in the Americas or ‘Lapland’ (1674, Preface). This strong emphasis on curiosity was central to the Zeitgeist of the seventeenth century and the scientific revolution. Curiosity, formerly condemned for being the root of sin through Eve’s eating from the tree of knowledge and causing the Fall, had undergone a renaissance in England in the sixteenth century with Hobbes even defining curiosity as the quality that distinguished man from beasts (Daston & Park 2001, 307). Whereas earlier medieval writers had argued that knowledge was only to be sought in the Bible and in Classical sources, and had stressed the importance of restricting the vision of the eye, the curious and wandering eye was now increasingly celebrated and made acceptable through being linked to scientific and utilitarian agendas by scholars such as Francis Bacon (Ball 2014 10-2, Harrison 2001, 279). The inquisitive “eye” of “the knowing observer” that the preface of *A History of Lapland* evoked could therefore safely roam to the very north of Europe in the desire for new knowledge since the book was framed as a scientific enquiry that was grounded in empirical knowledge.

The preface also touched on a growing realization in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries of a plurality of worlds, which posed a direct challenge to the Classical navel of the Mediterranean as *the* center of learning and culture. In tandem with this was an increasing

interest in and willingness to learn about other cultures. On the frontispiece to *Instauratio Magna* (1620), Bacon quoted the Prophet Daniel (12:4) to show that it was a prophecy that Classical learning was to be challenged through overseas exploration: “Many shall go to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased” (Qtd in Harrison 2001, 281). On the book’s frontispiece are ships depicted as travelling past the Pillars of Hercules, and hence crossing the borders of the Classical world. Bacon noted likewise, in *Novum Organum*, the impact that overseas expeditions and, in particular those of Columbus, had had on how knowledge was imagined and experienced (Bacon 1620, 151). Columbus, as Philip Ball has pointed out, had given readers a tantalizing insight into a new world that stimulated their curiosity in overseas peoples, artefacts plants and animals (Ball 2014, 146). Having initially travelled into the Americas, the early modern imagination was primed for the discovery of curious new lands within Europe.

Encountering ‘curious’ people could entail an acceptance for alterity, and new “curious” cultures and traditions had the potential, as Barbara Benedict writes, of being transgressive and could impact on established tastes and customs (Benedict 2001, 5,14). Foucault, in his text ‘The Masked Philosopher’, emphasizes just this this liberating potential of curiosity:

Curiosity is a vice that has been stigmatized in turn by Christianity, by philosophy, and even by a certain conception of science. Curiosity, futility. The word, however, pleases me. To me it suggests something altogether different: it evokes ‘concern’; it evokes the care one takes for what exists and could exist; a readiness to find strange and singular what surrounds us; a certain relentlessness to break up our familiarities and to regard otherwise the same things; a fervor to grasp what is happening and what passes; a casualness in regard to the traditional hierarchies of the important and the essential. (Qtd. Daston & Park 2001, 9).

Yet Curiosity had colonial underpinnings and consequences since it entailed estrangement and often came with a desire for objectification, possession, and was used to justify the exploitation of supposedly new lands and peoples (Benedict 2001, 71, Gregory 1994, 31). This is the period of Britons claiming dominion over the “New World”. Having already established plantations in Ireland in the sixteenth century, the English founded in the seventeenth century settlements in North America and in the Caribbean. The English Royal Society took also an active interest in ethnographic discussions about Indigenous peoples both within and outside of British colonial territories, including the Sámi.

‘Curious’ foreign artefacts whether they were Sámi drums used to market *The History of Lapland* at the Royal Society, or a Jamaican strum drum in the Society’s president Hans Sloane’s collection, were collected in order to imbue new owners with status since they

symbolized the owner's "knowledge of the world" (Benedict 2001, 17). In this new culture of curiosity, artefacts formed an ensemble of knowledge guided by books about foreign locations such as *History of Lapland*, which provided the reader with the opportunity of stepping into the role of the "explorer, investigator, conqueror, owner" (Benedict 2001, 247). People and cultures deemed to be curiosities were in this process transformed into objects of study by metropolitan consumers.

Sustained and growing English interest in *The History of Lapland* was serviced by the publication in 1704 of a second, more substantial English translation.¹⁵ Published in London, it was translated from the latest Latin edition and used copper-cuts by Monsieur Boss from the French translation of 1678. Included was a new map created by the renowned geographer Augustin Lubin (Löw 1956, 22). This was a far more comprehensive edition. The translator had had access to additional material provided by Schefferus, who did not stop working on his text following its initial publication. Information by Swedish informants were now restored to the English text. In addition to these improvements, the new preface began by placing Schefferus at the heart of the book's empirical research and added the false claim that Schefferus had travelled to 'Lapland':

Mr Scheffer the Author of this History, was imployed by the Chancellor of Sweden, to travel into Lapland, and write a particular History of that part of his Master's Dominions; which he did with all the fidelity and Exactness that belongs to a just Historian (Preface).

In an intellectual climate that challenged Classical knowledge it was important to present new observations as robustly empirical. Thus the exaggeration of Schefferus's role was made in an epistemic context where it was preferable that the author of curious tales should have first-hand experience of the curious incident or object under investigation, and that he moreover held a respectable social standing and professional qualifications (Benedict 2001, 38-9, Daston & Park 2001, 219, Outram 1991). Hence Schefferus's knowledge and influence being further asserted by his introduction as a "just Historian" employed by the Swedish chancellor to write the book.

The new translation included new texts as appendices: an account of Charles XI's travels to Lapland together with the mathematicians Spole and Bilberg; Olof Rudbeck's

¹⁵ It was printed by the well-known booksellers and printers Thomas Newborough, whose business was in St. Paul's-Church-yard, and by Richard Parker, whose business was situated in the Royal Exchange. For information about them see Plomber (1922, 216, 230).

expedition of 1701; and an account of the history of Livonia. The preface to the new translation did not refer to Lapland as “barbaric” as the 1674 preface had done. Instead, a new image of the Sámi emerged as a pristine people:

Here we meet with a People oppress'd with Want, and punish'd with Cold and other Inconveniences of a frozen Climate. Their industry is the effect of Necessity, and their Arts are only calculated to guard off the Injuries they are otherwise expos'd to. Their customs are suitable to their Climate, and untainted with the Luxury of softer Regions.

It was the northern climate that provided a Spartan and harsh existence for the Sámi. This existence is elevated since it is uncorrupted, or in the words of the English preface, “untainted with the Luxury of softer Regions”. Interestingly, there are no similar statements in Schefferus’s preface. Schefferus discusses in some of his chapters, in a matter-of-fact tone, the Sámi’s health and their appearance – the former sometimes approvingly, the latter often pejoratively. The inspiration for the more deliberately positive tone in the newer English preface is instead likely to have come from the new appendix *Nora Samoland* by Olof Rudbeck. Rudbeck had been commissioned by the Swedish king to travel to Sápmi in 1695 to carry out an inventory of the region’s natural landscape. He broke with earlier notion of Sápmi as sterile and hostile by emphasizing the positive and utopian possibilities of the territory, portraying the Sámi as “contented”, “happy”, healthy, peaceful and as enjoying nature’s larder of delicious berries, fish, wild animals and minerals (1704, 2-6). Rudbeck’s positive image was no doubt influenced by his father, Olof Rudbeck the Elder. The latter had in *Atlantica* (1679-1698) placed Paradise in Kemi Lappmark and argued that Magog, the grandson of Noah, and his flock had emigrated to Lapland, following the Flood, from where they had conquered Sweden and moved south (Stadius 2005, 19).

Rudbeck remarked that it was not surprising that people wanted to inhabit such a plentiful territory (1704, 6). It is worth noting that his expedition coincided with Sweden’s attempt to increase settlement by farmers through tax-cuts and freedom from conscription. Accompanying this process was the construction of the Sámi as a static people who needed, as Pratt puts it, “The European improving eye” to make “‘empty’ landscapes... meaningful”. (Pratt 1992, 61, see also Naum 2016, 503). Schefferus, in contrast with Rudbeck’s account, had been more pessimistic about the potential richness of the land. *The History of Lapland* was therefore not a monolithic text, but contained a concurrence of varying colonial narratives of the Sámi and their territory

The Reception of *The History of Lapland*

The early modern 'curious reader' belonged to an educated but socially diverse group including aristocrats, physicians, merchants, clergymen and lawyers (Daston & Park 2001, 218) and it is evident that *The History of Lapland* circulated among different layers of British society. It was a common presence in a gentleman's library, as illustrated by its frequent presence in auction catalogues. The 1674 translation was found, to name just two examples, in the personal libraries of The Earl of Roseberry and Sir Clement Cottrell Dormer (Adams 1724, Baker 1764). For those not able to afford their own copy, extracts were circulated and discussed in a wide range of secondary sources including newspapers, Atlases, philosophical tracts and travelogues.

Despite *Lapponia* containing information about the Sámi in only some parts of Sweden and Finland, British commentators paid little, if any, attention to regional variations in their discussions of *the History of Lapland*. The book acquired instead the reputation of being *the* authoritative source on 'Lapland' and became a key source to British discussions of Sápmi in the eighteenth century.

The History of Lapland contained information about a large number of aspects of Sámi culture including the Sámi's origin, language, customs, religion, food and relationship to nature and animals. By far the most popular chapters were those that addressed Sámi religious beliefs. A third and greatly abridged English edition of *Lapponia* of 1751 focused on this aspect. Sámi people therefore continued to feature in English discussions of the supernatural and these discussions, if anything, increased in prominence in this period. For instance, sexually charged poems mused on female witches bestriding brooms or stirring cauldrons such as "A Gentleman in Lapland to his Mistress in England" (1733) or William Thompson's *Sickness* (1765). This British fascination with forbidden and deviant practices was a central part of the "imagined geography" of "Lapland" and there was a strong and thrilling desire for the territory to be conceived of as a primitive other (Said 1995[1978], 54-5).

British commentators also expressed their disapproval of the Sámi's beliefs and culture. An example is found in Edmund Bohun's *Geographical Dictionary* of 1688. It is worth quoting Bohun in full since he touched upon several important and entangled themes: Sámi land as a land divided by different rulers, the relatively recent discovery of natural resources, and Schefferus's publication of *Lapponia* in 1673:

Lapland...is the most Northern part of *Scandinavia*. Bounded on the North with the Frozen Sea, or the North Ocean; on the West with the Kingdom of *Norway*; on the South with *Bothnia* and *Finia*, (two Provinces of *Sweden*) and on the East by the White Sea. It was heretofore divided into three Kingdoms; and is now at this day divided between three Princes, the Emperor of *Muscovy*, the King of *Sweden*, and the King of *Denmark*, of which the King of *Sweden* has the greatest share. Johannes *Schefferus* lately put out a very exact Account of these Countries [...]. There have been, not long since, found in it, Mines of Brass, Iron, Silver and Lead, besides diverse sorts of precious Stones. As this is one of the Hyperborean People, who are buried the greatest part of the year in Snow and Darkness; so they are extremely Rude, Ignorant, Poor, and Barbarous: so fearful, that they will start and be in a fright at the noise of a Leaf: infamous for Witchcraft, and Conjurations; yet Christians in Profession, and so revengeful that they will throw themselves sometimes into a River, to perish willingly with one they hate in their Arms, if they can but so destroy him. The more Northern are the most barbarous (1688, 222).

Bohun's final sentence neatly illustrates the association between barbarity and northerness that went back to biblical and Classical sources (Burnett 2010). Bohun had also adopted Schefferus's claim that many Sámi merely pretended to be Christians while in reality practicing pagan rituals. Schefferus had moreover convinced Bohun that the Sámi were somehow a timid people yet paradoxically willing to kill themselves if that meant they could also destroy their enemy.

Growing belief in empirical knowledge and science put pagan or supernatural beliefs under increasing attack. Although the term 'the Scientific Revolution' suggests a clean break with the past, this was not necessarily the case. Among the new men of science there were those who continued to believe in the supernatural and in the active presence of the Devil (Hutton 160). Schefferus, while refuting exaggerated depictions of the Sámi's beliefs and practices, did not refute in *Lapponia* the interventions of the Devil. In England, the popular writer and propagandist Daniel Defoe set out in a number of works to differentiate spurious popular beliefs in the occult from phenomena that could not be explained as being anything other than the work of the Devil. In his *A complete system of Magic* Defoe noted that the Devil was particularly fond of remote northern locations including Scotland and "Lapland" (1727, 227). From *Lapponia* Defoe derived the observation that the Sámi consulted with "good Spirits" when they needed "Relief and Assistance" (323). The English physician, geologist and member of the Royal Society John Beaumont, moreover, was a strong believer in spirits and referred extensively to *Lapponia* in his *Treatise of Spirits* (1705).

The philosopher John Locke took an interest in both Swedish rural witchcraft trials and in the Sámi's shamanistic beliefs. Locke's contact in Sweden, the English diplomat John

Allestree, who resided in Stockholm, recommended Locke should read the newly published *Lapponia* and sent him a pair of Sámi boots and drawings of the Sámi worshipping the Devil. In a later letter Allestree strongly recommended Schefferus's book since it was based on material held in the King's library (Talbot, 55). Having read *Lapponia*, Locke praised its authenticity and the fact that it was based on information by Swedes who were well "acquainted" with Lapland (Locke 1732, 515). The correspondence between the two men also reveals, as Ann Talbot has argued, the gradual shift toward seeking sociological explanations for supernatural beliefs as resulting from, for instance, the effects of climate and poverty (60-1). The Sámi's alleged lack of development was thus presented as making them more susceptible to such beliefs.

Translating Savagery

In the second decade of the eighteenth century the esteemed and widely circulated English periodical the *Spectator* produced a number of articles on Sápmi. The articles discussed both Sámi witchcraft and, most influentially, in 1712, two Sámi *joiks*, the traditional form of song of the Sámi. These had been written down by the Sámi minister Olof (Olaus) Sirma who had studied at Uppsala, and were included by Schefferus in a discussion of Sámi marriages and courtship in *Lapponia* (*Spectator* no 366, April 30 and no 406 June). Sirma's *joiks*, known as the 'Lapland songs', were published in journals and books throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and inspired new poems including Longfellow's 'My lost youth' (Farley 1906). The songs, which were initially published in their original Kemi Sámi and in Latin translation in *Lapponia*, were translated not only into English but also French and German. Herder, Burns and Wordsworth were among the poets and scholars who included them in their songbooks (Rasmussen 2016, 301, Wretö 1983, 61 and Farley 1906).¹⁶ The Sámi were now constructed not only as worshippers of the Devil but also as a people capable of expressing gentle sentiments and arts.¹⁷ The 'songs', as they were perceived in Britain, were described as examples of the "artless love which nature inspired" (*Spectator* 16 June 1712) and they were regarded as displaying "sentiments of lore and poetry, not unworthy old *Greece* and *Rome*" (*Spectator* 30 April 1712).¹⁸ This comparison with the Classical world signaled

¹⁶ In Sweden and Finland, Johan Ludvig Runeberg and Frans Mikael Franzén expressed interests in the songs.

¹⁷ Sirma, despite being a Christian minister, was himself accused of possessing a drum (Rasmussen, 2016). This rumor that circulated in Sápmi, does not seem to have reached Britain.

¹⁸ *Spectator*, issue on 14th of July 1711, witchcraft in Lapland and 30 April 1712, translation of Lapland love song.

the emerging interest in exploring territories hitherto not valued internationally for their cultural output, and the view that their cultural discourses could be on par with if not better than Classical texts.

The traditional function of *joiks* in Sámi societies was to express relationships to both nature and people. They did not function as text-based poetry since they were often improvised, contained few lyrics, and often included mimicry of animal noises. *Joiking*, through its association with shamanistic practices, was forbidden by the Scandinavian states as part of the effort to colonize the Sámi and convert them to Christianity. The published *joiks* were stripped of this colonial heritage by not being accompanied by any discussion the persecution of the Sámi. Schefferus had presented the *joiks* as modes of communication during courtship rather than the more elevated form of conventional music and even remarked that the Sámi “don’t know what a Fidler or Musick is” (1674, 275; DuBois 2016). In *The Spectator*, on the other hand, the *joiks* were presented as songs. They were further transformed by being given a stricter shape in order to both appeal to and to shape the taste of the educated British reader, since the *joiks* in *The History of Lapland* negatively reminded the author in the *Spectator* of the ‘loose and unequal... Pindarics’ by ‘British ladies’ (Qtd. Farley, 7). This reflected the overarching mission of editors of the *Spectator*, Joseph Addison and Richard Steele, who not only presented new literature and philosophy to their readers but also set out to refine their readers’ manners and taste.

The transformed and “decontextualized” *joiks* (DuBois 2016) were thus held up by British intellectuals as a symbol of north European literary genius and they were used to illustrate the poetic genius of ‘savage’ northern peoples. Little or no attention was given to the fact that Sirma was educated at Uppsala University and was a Christian minister or that Schefferus expressed scant regard for Sámi music and culture. The Janus face of this British celebration of northern ‘savagery’ was that it reinforced the image of the Sámi as a primitive and less developed people, albeit a people who possessed some noble attributes. In Scotland, the professor of Rhetoric and *Belles Lettres* at Edinburgh University, the Rev. Hugh Blair, used the songs in his defence of the *savage* genius of the ancient Highlanders in his discussion of Ossianic poetry. In contrast with *The Spectator* it was the loose form of the *joiks* in the Latin edition that appealed to Blair:

Surely among the wild Laplanders, if any where, barbarity is in its most perfect state. Yet their love songs which Scheffer has given us in his Lapponia, are a proof of that natural tenderness of sentiment may be found in a country, into which the least glimmering of science has never penetrated. To most English

readers these songs are well known by the elegant translations of them in *Spectator*, No. 366 and 406. I shall subjoin Scheffer's Latin version of one of them, which has the appearance of being strictly literal (Blair 1795 [1763] vol 2. 202).

The poet Thomas Gray, who addressed the vogue for northern locations in his poem *The Progress of Poesy*, noted them in a footnote to the second edition of the poem (1768) where he discussed the correlation between poetry and savagery: "Extensive influence of poetic Genius over the remotest and most uncivilized nations: its connection with liberty, and the virtues that naturally attend on it. (See the Erse, Norwegian, and Welsh Fragments, the Lapland and American songs". (Qtd in Farley 1-2). Here Gray was referring to, apart from his own poems and the Sámi songs, the works of Macpherson, Evans and Percy in Britain, and the songs of Indigenous peoples in North America.

Whereas the Scottish Highlanders of the Ossianic poems, a people to whom the Sámi were often compared, had actually lived in the past (albeit early modern Highlanders were believed to possess some remnants of ancient culture and characteristics), the Sámi were held up as a contemporary example of 'savages'. To Blair, for instance, they revealed what "barbarity is in its most perfect state" and to Percy they inhabited one of the "remotest and most uncivilized nations". This is where the depictions of the Sámi as noble savages and as heathens – two images that *The History of Lapland* helped to circulate - correlated. To be a heathen was also to be a 'savage' because the alleged absence of Christian beliefs was read as a sign of the Sámi's lack of development.

Ethnographic texts such as *The History of Lapland*, initially presented as curious and exotic accounts of Indigenous peoples, were transformed in the later 1700s into knowledge that could be used by scholars to illustrate the universal development of societies and the ontologies of Europeans. Indigenous people served as useful discussion points in ruminations about European nations and development in the drive for more systematic explanations of human variety, as humanity itself became, as Silvia Sebastiani has shown, the subject of historical enquiry (2013, 34-71). This was part of a process discussed by André Lefevere, along with later postcolonial thinkers such as Dipesh Chakrabarty, in which European countries equated the facticity of non-European peoples with European schemes of classification and presented European thought as universal thought (Lefevere 1999, Chakrabarty 2000). Although the Sámi were, of course, within Europe they were constructed as being inherently different to other European subjects. They were presented alongside other colonized and indigenous peoples as 'savages', who were of interest since they, in the words of the Scottish philosopher Adam Ferguson, held up a

"mirrour" to the life of ancient Britons (Ferguson 1768, 122; Burnett 2013). Distance was thus both spatial and temporal (Brewer 608). It also had a 'cumulative temporality' in that European commercial citizens were portrayed as superior because they had progressed (Wolfe 1999, 45). In tandem with seeking universal trajectories, scholars concurrently mapped difference through the lens of progress (Buchan & Burnett, 2018 and Brewer & Sebastiani 2014, 606-7).

It was particularly in Scottish 'stadialist' debates that the Sámi were brought up as an example of a 'savage' people. Scottish moral philosophers, influenced by the ideas of Adam Smith in his *Lectures on Jurisprudence* (1762/1763), developed an influential model of historical progress, in which all human societies progress through stages of development from 'savagery' to 'civilization'. Scottish philosophers asked why this people, in contrast with other Scandinavian inhabitants, had not – in their view – progressed. They dwelled in particular on the nomad lifestyle of the Sámi, reflecting the reindeer-herding of some Sámi, and the alleged lack of agricultural practices. In these discussions of temporal distance, there were strong ideas about what constituted accurate and reliable information (Brewer & Sebastiani 2014, 607). *The History of Lapland* was considered one of the key authoritative texts that rendered the Sámi knowable to these non-Swedish intellectuals. In Schefferus they could, for example, read in the chapter on the region's climate and nature that the Sámi did not till the soil. The philosopher Adam Ferguson, inspired by Montesquieu and Buffon's climate theories, argued in *An Essay on the History of Civil Society* that whereas northern climates were beneficial for the development of industry and science, the extreme cold of Sápmi prevented progress. This passage follows on from Ferguson's discussion of how cold weather created indolent personalities, and we can here see some of the associations which Fergusson made between climate, national character, progress and even the colonization of the Sámi:

The Laplander... like the associate of his climate [the reindeer] is hardy, indefatigable, and patient of famine; dull rather than tame; serviceable in a particular tract; and incapable of change. Whole nations continue from age to age in the same condition, and, with immovable phlegm submit to the appellations of *Dane* [Norway ruled by Denmark], of *Swede*, or of *Muscovite*, according to the land they inhabit; and suffer their country to be severed like a common, by the line on which those nations have traced their limits of empire (1768, 173-4).

The British antiquarian John Pinkerton, another Scot, cited *the History of Lapland* in his discussion of northern peoples. He put forward a negative and racialized image of the Sámi, who he presented as a weak and colonized Indigenous people that had failed to stand up to the invading 'Teutonic' Swedes. The Sámi were, he wrote, "radical savages, who are

incapable of progress in society” (1789, 123). Schefferus’s insistence on their peaceful nature was here interpreted as weakness and something that was not to be admired: ‘for they are so weak, so peaceable, and their soil so wretched, that they could have vanquished no nation, and no nation could envy them their possessions in *climes beyond the solar road*’ (1789, 175). The last part of the sentence mocked fellow Scotsman James Thomson’s elevation of the Sámi in the poem *The Seasons* (1744 edition), which contained that line. While these British authors did not necessarily condemn the colonization of the Sámi, and indeed there were those such as Pinkerton who approved of it as beneficial and natural, they nevertheless noted the Sámi were a people ruled by others.

To conclude, this article has argued that knowledge about Sápmi was collected, translated and constructed by scholars and ministers in the seventeenth century as part of a colonialization program by the Swedish state and civil society, and as a response to international curiosity in the Sámi people. Using Schefferus’s *Lapponia* as a highly significant example of this process, it has also charted what happened to colonial knowledge when it circulated in Britain in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Translations are unwieldy creations whose meanings are not stable, and which transform their subject matter in order to appeal to new cultural concerns and fashions. Schefferus, aided by a network of informants, compiled a scientific investigation that he hoped would debunk some of the earlier myths of the Sámi. Yet, his writing also contributed to a renewed imaginative othering, objectification and exotification of the Sámi who became perceived both in Sweden and abroad as curious objects worthy of scientific study and as objects who provided – through their alleged primitive culture – vicarious thrills for educated readers. *The History of Lapland* was, as many colonial works are, mired in ambiguity and at times clashing narratives. From the translation and its appendices, British authors picked out and emphasized two concurrent images of the intriguing Sámi: that of the worshipper of the Devil, and that of the primitive northern poet. Underpinning both images was the construction of the Sámi as a ‘savage’ who existed in a dehistoricized landscape frozen in time. Niranja has noted that translation fixes and contains colonized cultures and this is what happened to the Sámi (1992, 2- 3) through Schefferus’s work.

By constructing the Sámi as static savages, both domestic knowledge-producers such as Schefferus and international commentators including many in Britain were also denying them a future. During the Enlightenment the Sámi were incorporated into universal taxonomies and theories that removed them from the future of their own lands by depicting them as stagnant and incapable of progress. In the nineteenth century these ideas developed into extinction narratives. Once Indigenous people were, as Gregory aptly puts it, “*textually removed from the*

landscape, it was...easier to do so *physically* as well.” (1994, 30). The false prophecy of the Sámi as a people without a future was a narrative that came to underpin and structure Swedish colonial policies toward the Sámi throughout the nineteenth century and into the twentieth century (Lundmark 2010). Beyond Sweden, the knowledge about the Sámi that emerged in such key texts as *Lapponia – The History of Lapland* – made a significant contribution to debates on progress and the fate of Indigenous and colonized peoples across the globe.

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