

# **LIFE IN INARI IN THE 19<sup>th</sup> CENTURY**

## **-the nomad Saami view on life**

In the last few years, an increasing number of Saami, among others, have begun to take an interest in their roots. 'Where did I come from and where do I belong?' are questions that the Saami, for instance, are now asking. An awareness of our background takes us back to our roots and gives us the courage to survive in the modern world. Aside from studies of their own family - the "clan", closely related matters like tribal studies, have begun to interest the people inhabiting the Saami region, and a love of one's homeland is becoming obvious here, too. Proclaiming oneself a Lapp also reflects this same surge of interest.

My own interest in my roots dates back to the 1960s. However, Antti Hannunpoika Kitti's lineage society was not founded until 1998, after a good deal of discussion and correspondence. It was created to act as a link between relatives scattered throughout Finland, the Nordic region, and indeed the world. It was also established for gathering information on the Kitti "clan" as a whole. Through this, our first meeting, we are endeavouring to forge and strengthen the ties between members of the Kitti family. I sincerely hope that our common interest will lead to new friendships and the taking up of new hobbies.

Studying a lineage is, in short, a search for past generations. Its simplest outcome is a record of a patriarchal line of predecessors. Yet, when gathering information, one quickly becomes aware of how one's own view of the world automatically expands and one's grasp of the past deepens as one proceeds. When carrying out a lineage study, the researcher is also obliged to acquaint himself with historical facts, as well as to note that the events of the entire world are unavoidably reflected in the lives of his own forebears.

### **How did the search for our ancestors start?**

I am now going to give a brief account of the progress I myself have made in my particular quest. As far back as the 1960s, when my mother was still alive, I began to ask questions of her relatives and people acquainted with the family and to go through all the relevant available documents. I observed how this kind of thing also strengthens the ties between close relatives, giving one an opportunity to delve into completely new dimensions.

Next I found the Saami family register cards kept by Lapin Sivistysseura. Once I had found the first point of attachment in the 18<sup>th</sup> Century, by making use of the same cards I found additional information on the 19<sup>th</sup> Century and on Antti Hannunpoika Kitti's descendants. As regards the 20<sup>th</sup> Century, I have thus far only compiled a few scattered facts, chiefly from the family records (in the broad sense) in the Municipalities of Karasjok and Kautokeino.

I have not yet found time to delve very deeply into church records. However, these are the first and the easiest archival source, in addition to being the most comprehensive. In their registers the clergy entered the earthly and spiritual events in the life histories of their parishioners from the church's perspective. In addition to the church records, there is also an abundance of other documents, which can be used to go as far back as the 16<sup>th</sup> Century even. However, unearthing details about Antti Hannunpoika's parents and grandparents calls for a perusal of the records in neighbouring Norway. This is, in fact, next on my list.

Even when it is not possible to go very far back in time, we can obtain a deeper knowledge of the life of our predecessors from many other descriptions of the particular time and from written sources. I have noted that a lineage study is very much like the work of the classic police detective. An overview is obtained through many small fragments. At times a long search may yield nothing at all, but there again one may be overjoyed at unearthing an important scrap of knowledge. Although a critical approach is required in this kind of lineage study, imagination is also essential. Any evidence has to be reliable, otherwise one must bear in mind that conclusions drawn are mere assumptions.

I have included in this speech all the personal details gathered from archival sources which I have so far been able to obtain about Andaras Hannunpoika Kitti and his children. In addition, I have managed to glean new and even fresher facts by means of personal interviews and through some other channels. One of the society's aims for the future is to discover Antti Hannunpoika Kitti's descendants, using all possible sources.

Compiling information on the family's history consists of painstakingly collecting small fragments for piecing together into a comprehensive picture. Only rarely does one come across ready-made "data packs" from which one can separate out just the information one desires.

### All of us are needed

Antti Hannunpoika Kitti's lineage society was founded on 11 September 1998. According to the society's records it is Finland's first officially registered Saami lineage society. Registration formed the starting flag for the commencement of the investigative work on the family. Before this formal establishment of the "clan" data had only been sporadically collected on the Kittis.

One angle of approach in the systematic gathering of information has been to consult - as mentioned earlier - the Lapin Sivistysseura's Saami family registration card system. At this gathering of the "clan" we are making a start on collecting our own family cards, so please do take a family card and fill it in, either here or when you get home.

### Why Antti?

Lineage societies always have some starting point about which there is a consensus. This generally takes the form of either a date or a personality. In many cases the personality chosen will be an important figure, for one reason or another, from the family's perspective. For us this personage turned out to be an extremely important individual in the shape of Antti Hannunpoika Kitti. Whenever one started to talk about the Kitti "clan", Antti Hannunpoika Kitti would figure prominently in the discussion. Antti lived from 1786 to 1849. Thus, after some discussion, Antti was selected as the ideal person to provide the root of the Kitti "clan" and thus to act as the starting point for the recording of the entire family's history.

### Border closure of 1852 forces Saami to choose between Norway and Finland

Among the Kittis on the Finnish side, Antti Hannunpoika Kitti is the one who could be pinned down to Utsjoki. However, there is scant information available about him in either the archives or in the "old folks'" memories. We do know that Antti sired six children, all of whom survived to be adults, and of these Briitta, Klemet?, Hanssi and Jouni established their own families.

### Antti's children and grandchildren were:

#### Antti Hannunpoika Kitti 1786-1849

Her wife Antintyttö Jomppanen

Their children and grandchildren:

**Antti, born 1811; Briitta, born 1812; Klemet, born 1816; Hanssi, born 1818; Jouni, born 1823; Aslak, born 1827**

			I-marriage:		
Magga	1837; Magga	1852; Andaras	1844; Nilla	1863;	
Maret	1840; Ella	1855; Niila	1846;		
Uula	1848; B riitta	1858; Hanssi	1848;		
Mihkal	1852; Niila	1863; Magga	1851;		
	Rauna	1865; Inka	1856		
		Ristiina	1864;		
		II-marriage::			
		Hannu	1883;		
		Johan P.	1887;		
		Uula	1890;		
		Ristiina	1894;		

When the Kittis settled in Inari and Utsjoki in 1852, their home for a start consisted of an entire uninhabited wilderness where reindeer could freely roam. Antti Hannunpoika Kitti's children's families were mainly very large. Houses of the time were in general very cramped, probably consisting of only a single room. One feels here like agreeing with Samuli Paulaharju in his book of Lappish reminiscences. According to Paulaharju, there is more room outside than in (unofficial translation):

"The entire shore is as much a home as the Lappish tepee. On a sunny day, a Lapp may sit at his

work, just as he might in his own tepee... Along the shore one sees Lappish sleds, overturned, scattered hither and thither, and reindeer sleighs, wheelbarrows even. At the edges of stones and tree stumps, jackets hang, together with a worn and balding hide or two. On the northern fringe of the camp there is a "luõvvi", a roofed-over frame constructed from birch poles, where a variety of tools and requisites belonging to the tepee dwellers - bundles of shoe hay, a tar container, a saddle, a bag, reindeer reins, a balance - are in evidence. Under the shelter of the luõvvi's roof a store of dried reindeer meat is preserved, while from a birch branch depend a couple of dried reindeer stomachs. On the other side of the camp there are a couple of small tepees roofed with peat in which salted fish is stored. On the lake shore there is a seine net and some net racks. This is how the Reindeer Lapp's summer camp appears, the tranquil home of the inhabitants of the wilderness, far away beyond the fells."

What did the world look like, then, to the Kittis when they settled in Inari? The records offer us little detailed information on this. But by making use of some other sources we can gain some idea of the world and the circumstances in which our ancestors lived.

According to the records, Antti Hannunpoika was a reindeer herdsman, probably no major reindeer owner, but at least a man who supported himself and his family through reindeer and other products of nature. Before the border with Norway was closed to the reindeer herdsmen in 1852, Antti Hannunpoika most likely migrated up to the Arctic Ocean in spring, returning for the winter deep into the uninhabited lands on the Finnish side, where there was lichen for the reindeer, shelter for the people, and plenty of firewood.

Although Antti's place of birth is recorded as Utsjoki, his children were among those reindeer herdsmen who did not settle the fell lands on the Finnish side until after the border closure in 1852. Presumably there would have been immigration into Finland from Norway, had this not been prevented on the Finnish side. In regard to this, the Lapland committee says the following in its report (unofficial translation):

"Since the Lapps governed by a foreign power, on entering Finland were most often desirous of bringing large herds of reindeer with them, the Finns were reluctant to accept them as Finnish citizens, especially after the border closure legislated in 1852, as the "lichen lands" had to be preserved for the reindeer belonging to Finland's own inhabitants. It appears that only very rarely were there foreign Lapps who, bucking the law, slipped quietly into the country along with their reindeer herds..."

According to the records, the first Reindeer Saami moved to Inari as early as the 1860s. In 1865, three reindeer herdsman's families came down from Utsjoki. These were named West, Länsman and Högman. Despite the border closure occurring in 1852, migration did not gain much impetus until the 1880s. In the 1880s, members of the Jomppanen "clan" moved to the Menesjärvi district. Antti Hannunpoika Kitti's children and grandchildren also moved to various parts of Inari. The Länsmans moved to the Lismajoki area in 1865 and 1880. Some of Salkko-Niila's sons and daughters married Briitta Kitti's grandchildren and some Hannu's children, Hannu being Briitta's much younger brother.

The border closure between Finland and Norway in 1852 hampered reindeer herding in northernmost Lapland. When, after the closure of the border, the Reindeer Saami again settled in the area, in the same place but now in a permanent home, it was to be decades before life became stabilised. In the 1880s, the Jomppanens, Länsmans and Kittis moved to Inari. Since nomadic reindeer herding calls for large areas of land and because Utsjoki began to suffer from a serious shortage of good reindeer pasturage owing to the sudden influx of excessive numbers of people, Inari and especially the extensive and almost untouched "lichen lands" of western Inari, offered an attractive alternative. When the Kittis "clan" settled the area, some of the farms established in Inari's pine tree limit zone had already been abandoned because they were unable to sustain the farmers. These farmers, who had been among the first settlers, had moved away to Inari "church village" and Ivalo. Thus, the lands had become desolate and empty, so that our forebears arrived in an area that appeared completely uninhabited by people.

Even under the changed circumstances, incomes were derived from reindeer husbandry. Of Antti's children, Hannu, Jouni, Klemet? and Briitta moved from the Utsjoki side to Inari, with Hannu first moving to Lemmenjoki, Jouni to Marastotunturi and Klemet? to Inarijärvi. Antti Hannunpoika Kitti's children settled down in Inari in an almost virgin area in the northern and western parts of the parish. As these areas were almost uninhabited, there were none of the occasional flare-ups between the new settlers and the Reindeer Saami. For a start, most of the Kittis who had moved to Inari lived they had always done, in other words, changing their place of residence as and when the reindeer grazing dictated a move to better pastures.

With an increase in the size of the families, Klemet? turned to cattle rearing. There were at that time hardly

any meadows (in the modern sense) on dry ground in Inari's infertile areas above the tree line. Fodder ("bog hay") was mainly cut on boggy strips supporting a thin growth of sedges; such patches were generally scattered around human settlements at all points of the compass.

### Harsh conditions

Next, I am going to describe the conditions in which the people of the time were forced to live. The population of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century in the region was low, and people lived scattered over various parts of Inari. In summer, people travelled on the waterways and along paths. In winter they used the traditional reindeer sledges. A few main routes through the vast, uninhabited wilderness had been established long before. In summer, people either rowed along the main waterway routes, or poled their boats along. In winter, these ancient routes were covered by reindeer sledge. These long established thoroughfares were also plied by officials and representatives of the church going about their duties. Once a year, in winter, taxes were collected and courts held. The venue here in Inari was most likely Pielpajärvi. A couple of times a year the wilderness folk went to market on the Norwegian side, at either Possukoppi or Varang. Paulaharju says (unofficial translation):

"But in the shoreless land of mires and fells over which the populace is scattered, a local market has to be held in winter, when it is easiest to progress through the trackless wilds with a load of goods. The entire population of the district would visit the markets. Hot on the heels of the commercial travellers of the time the Crown appeared, to exact its taxes; a judge would appear to inform the Lapps about the law and to resolve their quarrels. The markets generally took place in the church districts of Lapland; trade was carried out on the land close to the church."

The post was carried to the Inari area once a month, from Kittilä right through the unpopulated sprawl of Repokaira.

What awaited our ancestors when they arrived here in the Inari region? They had come to the lands once used by their own forebears for trapping wild reindeer. Deep pit traps had been dug along routes frequently travelled by these animals, the traps being lined with sharpened stakes. We may still encounter such pits on the heathlands of Inari, or on narrow spurs of dry ground between lakes and mires. However, it appears that this method of catching wild reindeer ceased due to over-trapping as early as the 18<sup>th</sup> Century. When the Kittis arrived here there were only a few wild reindeer left.

One feels sure that our ancestors found rows of these wild reindeer pits when they arrived, and gradually settled, in the region during the 19<sup>th</sup> Century. Roving with their domesticated herds, they probably also bumped into the hungry stable population, which had been forced to turn to pine bark and cambium (*pettuleipä*) as a source of the raw materials for making bread. Historians calculate that over 2 million pine trees were used to provide these materials in the period 1740-1880.

Prior to 1852, there were few reindeer among the permanent inhabitants of Inari, the so-called Fishermen Saami. Around the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century, at best some 30,000 head could be found grazing in the Inari region. Prior to 1852, when the Saami crossed from the Norwegian side into Finland, it is most probable that a rather large number of reindeer annually grazed the areas above the tree limit in Utsjoki and Inari (Figure 1).

Settlement of the region by Reindeer Saami created certain problems, which to some extent affected the population living here. What happened was that the reindeer of the richer herdsmen tended to make a mess of the meadows owned by the local population, leading to quarrels.

The reindeer husbandry of the time was characterised by the larger owners caring for their herds themselves. Possibly it is in this era that the practice of *raitio* has its origins. *Raitio* meant that since the smaller owners were unable to care for their herds in the same way as the bigger owners, they were forced to "board out" their reindeer with the latter, a service they were naturally obliged to pay for. Thus, the smaller owners became dependent on the larger ones.

### Reindeer herdsmen and homesteaders

The Lapland committee of 1905 states that during the previous few decades the nomadic Lapps, like the Fishermen Lapps, had begun to establish new farms and Crown forest tenant farms, thereby becoming permanent residents. While nomads are forced to make use of a tepee on a temporary basis, the nomad and his family actually find a room surrounded by log walls much more comfortable. After acquiring a fixed

home, the Lapp begins to go in for cattle rearing, procuring a cow or two for his own use. At the same time, he begins to cultivate hay and potatoes, insofar as the climate will allow. When settled, however, Lapps tended to follow their previous activities of reindeer herding and fishing to an undiminished extent. The committee records the number of "actual" Reindeer Lapp families in 1905 as 6 in Utsjoki and 23 in Inari. In other words, many of the Inari and Utsjoki Reindeer Saami appear to have been descendants of Antti Hannunpoika.

We can gain an impression of our relatives' mode of life from the report of the same Lapland committee:

"The nomadic way of life and living under cramped conditions seem to have led to cleanliness and neatness on the part of the Lapps leaving much to be desired. The Lapp's living room is often poorly swept and smelly, and the dishes are as dirty as the Lapp himself. Many Lappish houses do not have a sauna bath, although the Lapp eagerly bathes when the opportunity arises."

Many of Antti Hannunpoika Kitti's descendants rapidly began setting up farms in various parts of Inari, although a few were established towards Karigasniemi, as for instance at Pyhäjärvi on the River Vaskojoki, where Nils Kitti set up a farm he called the Pyhäjärvi homestead, in 1884. Not to be outdone, Niila Kitti established the Uutela farm in the same place in 1902, and Närrijärvi, also on the Vaskojoki, acquired Niilo Länsman's Koskenniska Crown forest tenant farm. The farm on the Hopitosjoki estuary was established by Niiles Kitti in 1899. Niila Länsman, who was married to Briitta Kitti's daughter Magga, moved to Lismajoki. His farm was called Lismajoki farm, dating from 1907. In the same year, "Little Hannu", that is Hanssi Kitti's (born 1818) son, founded Hannula farm. In the direction of Näättä, Jouni Antinpoika Panne, who was married to Ella Klemetintytär Kitti, set up the Varpuniemi homestead in 1895. Niilo Kitti (son of Klemet Kitti) founded the Kitiinlompola Crown forest tenant farm at the long thin lake, or "*lompola*", along the River Siuttajoki into which Lake Paudijärvi drains. The Solmusjoenlompola Crown forest tenant farm was established in 1901 by Raudna Panne (Raudna was Klemet? Kitti's daughter), who later (1910) married Jouni Kitti's father, Lars Ole West.

1898 was a kind of heyday for establishing tenant farms, a total of 20 being founded in that year. The last surviving rental agreement was signed with Gaup's tenant farm, founded by Mihkal Gaup, whose grandmother was Antti Hannunpoika Kitti's daughter, Briitta Kitti. Among the Crown forest tenant farms, Lismajoki and Hannula later became new farms. There continued to be many Reindeer Saami setting up tenant farms, but most of the new farmers were in fact Fishermen Saami. Through the establishment of tenant farms by the Reindeer Saami, an increasing proportion of wilderness became inhabited. The spread of settlements into uninhabited regions ensured that there were hardly ever any rows between the settled, farming Saami and the Reindeer Saami. The only conflicts we are now aware of arose when the Fell Saami grazed their cattle too close to settled farmers' homesteads.

At Utsjoki, Magga (born 1851), one of Antti Hannunpoika's granddaughters, married Niiles Niittyvuopio. Magga was the daughter of Hans (born 1818), one of Antti Hannunpoika's sons. Niiles established the Karigasniemi homestead at Karigasniemi. Magga's sister, Inka (born 1856) married Uula Niittyvuopio at Karigasniemi, founding the Jokisuu homestead. The youngest of Magga and Inka's sisters, Kristiina (born 1864), married Petteri Guttorm at Karvasjoki.

As the above review of the settlement of Inari by Antti Hannunpoika Kitti's descendants and the establishment of farms indicates, these people were living in the Vätsäritunturi, Silisjoki, Iijoki and Paudijärvi districts at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century. Other members of the family could be found at Muotkatunturi, Peldoaivi and Pyhäjärvi, as well as in the upper reaches of the Vaskojoki, Repojoiki and Ivalojoiki rivers.

If there were meadows (in the classic sense) present in the places where the Kittis set up their farms or Crown forest tenant farms, they would begin to keep a cow and sometimes, though rarely, more than one. It was impossible to practise arable farming in the region in which Antti Hannunpoika's descendants settled; this was also the view of the authorities. The areas were simply unsuitable for cultivation. Owing to these difficulties, it is small wonder that there was a tendency to set up a Crown forest tenant farm. Many of the Reindeer Saami who moved into Inari at that time made use of two homes, one of which would be a permanent, log-built, one, the other movable. The former type was in general smaller than the houses the Finns lived in and also differed in its style of construction in being a ramshackle affair.

Our ancestors who had moved to Inari generally chose the centre of their reindeer grazing area as the site for their winter home. This would be better constructed than the summer home, which would be built next to some lake rich in fish, or on a river bank. They would move into their summer quarters, which would have a

modest growth of crops around it, at the end of the reindeer calving season in late May. A transfer would be made to the winter home with the first snowfall. For keeping cattle and feed, each house had a cattle shed and some Finnish-style barns. There was normally only a single room in the summer house, whereas there were several in the winter house, or at least a kitchen-cum-living room and a smaller room. The rooms were small, low ceilinged and with tiny windows. The logs making up the walls rested directly on the ground, without any "footing".

The Lapland committee of the time records that in terms of reindeer husbandry there is a sharp difference between the Lapps and the Finns, and indeed there are even discernible differences between Lapps engaged in different kinds of livelihoods. The Fell Lapp who lives of reindeer husbandry and nothing else is almost always to be found with his herd. He moves home as and when it becomes necessary to take his herd to new pastures. As recently as a few years ago these Lapps grazed their reindeer summer and winter, but in the last few years even the Fell Lapp, with a few rare exceptions, has begun to release his reindeer immediately after calving and marking, into their summer pastures, says the committee. The reason for the abandoning of the old custom of remaining with the herd during summer as well is said to be that almost all the Fell Lapps have established permanent homes during the last few decades.

Of the Crown forest tenant farms in Inari, 19 possessed more than 200 reindeer at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century. However, by no means all tenant farms were involved in reindeer husbandry alone. On the other hand, Inari's two largest reindeer owning farms both boasted 2,500 head. These appear to have been those homesteads belonging to Niila Magga and Salkko-Niila, the latter of whom was married to Briitta Kitti's daughter, Magga. According to records, at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century "Little Hannu" (born 1848) owned 2,000 reindeer, while Uula ? Pyhäjärvi (born 1871) possessed 1,200. Magga Niila and Salkko Niila also kept some cows on their farms, the first having three, and the second four.

The reindeer herding methods practised by our ancestors were the traditional ones. Reindeer dams were caught for milking using lariats and sometimes the animals were driven into specially constructed "milking pens", which had been in extremely common use previously. Traces of the old Lappish style milking pens are still evident among the fells of western Inari. Overall, the reindeer husbandry of the time was restricted in many reindeer herding cooperatives to just a handful of people. Most of the reindeer in, for example, the Paistunturi and Kaldoaivi cooperative areas belonged to a few people who relied on reindeer herding as their main source of income.

Permanent settlement of Inari by Reindeer Saami gradually began to show up as a spectacular array of conflicts and differences of opinion. Some of the Crown forest tenant farmers wrote to the authorities complaining that the Reindeer Saami let their reindeer herds at round-up time approach too close to their homes and that these did a lot of damage to the "lichen lands". They also protested that, when taking fodder to their animals, these same reindeer herdsmen, a "law unto themselves", ruined the postal routes.

The populating of the coniferous forests and fell areas on the Finnish side by Antti Hannunpoika Kitti's descendants can also be discerned from local place names. For instance, in the vicinity of the one-time Peldojärvi Lappish village in Enontekiö one comes across Kitti Guohtamaa, while south of the village of Angeli, in western Inari, a forest area was named "Jovnniilasa Gardevuovdi" after my grandfather Niila Kitti, and among the Muotkatunturi fell chain stands "Jovnniilasa roavvi". South of Lake Paudijärvi lies "Kittilompolo", the name of which refers to Klemet Kitti's son, who at one time grazed his reindeer in that area.

### **Celebrations and the daily routine**

In wintertime, life was different, as penned once again by Samuli Paulaharju (unofficial translation):

" – that which during summer lay scattered over the surroundings, or was stored in a *luõvvi* or outbuilding, was now pressed into service. Sledges were essential to enable goods to be transported as people moved from one place to another managing their reindeer. Winter, however, brought its own problems in the shape of large wolf packs, which from time to time would collectively attack the herd, scattering it and slaughtering dozens of reindeer. Generally, such packs, having once acquired a taste for blood, would then strike the neighbouring herd, causing the same kind of chaos there. Owing to the wolves, it was necessary for somebody to be with the reindeer the whole time."

Christmas and Easter were holy times for Antti Hannunpoika Kitti's children. They often drove by reindeer sledge to Pielpajärvi church at Christmas. This brought the necessary variation to the year's darkest season. At Easter it was already far lighter and more cheerful. At the church it was possible for the church-going folk to see our forebears dressed in black or white skins. Easter was a time of great celebration for our relatives. The markets were a hive of activity, reindeer being driven hither and thither and brisk trading going on the whole time. On market days there would be a church service and confirmation. In the court cabin, on the other hand, a judge would be reflectively resolving differences of opinion brought up before him.

Who knows, perhaps our ancestors were good at Lappish yodelling, or *joika*. Presumably among them there were also harbingers gifted with "second sight", which some would dub witches. Unfortunately, information about this is extremely scant and I do not venture to go into the matter at any greater length.

While, during the 19<sup>th</sup> Century, a homestead's nearest neighbours typically lived a great distance away, the great predators of the forest, brown bears, wolves, and wolverines, as well as a variety of smaller ones, lived virtually just over the garden fence. At the time when people began to acquire cattle, the great predators wasted no time in levying their own taxes.

### **Traditions and reminiscences**

What I chiefly remember of my own mother, Magga Kitti, who was born in 1898 and whose own grandfather, Jouni, was Antti Hannunpoika's second youngest child, is that she was an admirable raconteur. Listening to her innumerable tales of earth spirits, gnomes, goblins and other strange beings, one could almost feel their presence!

This also opened a window on the rich tradition of tale-telling, from which my mother's stories were derived, i.e. she had heard them from her own parents and grandparents. In particular, my mother's account of how a certain Saami had managed to catch a gnome's cow, has remained fixed in my mind. Cows taken from gnomes, we are led to believe, are extremely good milkers. I trust that this event will assist in emboldening members of our "clan" to continue to nurture the family's story-telling heritage and to record all they hear.

In conclusion, I would like to welcome all of you, on behalf of Antti Hannunpoika Kitti's lineage society (officially Antti Hannunpoika Kitti sukuseura ry.) most heartily welcome, to share with us the stages through which the Kitti family has passed and to add your own valuable input. The work has begun, but a lot more remains to be accomplished.

### **Inari 8.7.2000**

*Jouni Kitti*

Antti Hannunpoika Kitti sukuseura ry. puheenjohtaja  
President of Antti Hannunpoika Kitti's lineage society

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