

BAIKI

the Home that Lives in the Heart

Issue 6

Winter 1993



Photo: Per Eidsjeld



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WILHO KUOPPALA

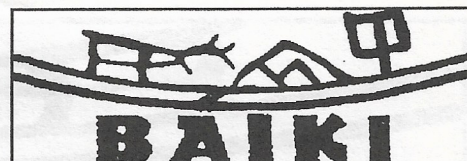
This issue is dedicated to Wilho Kuoppala, Kenai, Alaska, who passed away October 28, 1992. In August, Mr. Kuoppala wrote *Baiki*:

"My father's side of the family left from Lumijoki (near Oulu) and went up the Kemi River to Pelkosenniemi, 50 kilometers north of Kemijarvi, dating back to 1653. It's mentioned that one of them had three Sami wives at one time (so maybe there were three separate tents, one for each, which they kid about). I've been back there on five separate visits. I was born and raised in the Copper Country of Michigan and have lived in Alaska since 1948."

Mr. Kuoppala homesteaded in Nikiska and lived on that homestead until his death. He was known for his prize-winning strawberries and potatoes and developed a variety with blue skin, the "Wilho Blue," that was named for him. His family will fly into the Nikiska area this spring and his ashes will be scattered on his land.

THE YEAR OF THE INDIGENOUS PEOPLE

The United Nations General Assembly has proclaimed 1993 The Year of the Indigenous People. Some of the suggestions for the Year include: 1) Increasing U.N. assistance to indigenous initiatives to address problems involving human rights, the environment, development, education and health; 2) Funding concrete projects in indigenous communities for the benefit of indigenous Peoples; 3) Promoting an international trade fair of products made by indigenous Peoples; and 4) Establishing networks of indigenous Peoples' organizations and communities for the sharing of information and experience in particular fields.



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THE COVER

Norwegian photographer Per Eidsjeld visited the Jokkmokk Market in Swedish Sapmi. The Market has been a mid winter gathering place for the exchange of Sami traditional crafts and skills since the Middle Ages. The photo of the reindeer commemorates the Sons of Norway Reindeer Festival at the Minnesota Zoo, March 7, 1993.

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WHERE WE ARE FROM:

SWEDEN

BETWEEN SWEDE and SAMI

Mark B. Lapping

This article is reprinted by permission of the author. It originally appeared in Gurli Aagaard Woods, ed., Scandinavian-Canadian Studies, vol. 2, Association for the Advancement of Scandinavian Studies in Canada: 1986.

Sweden's policy toward the Sami minority has been grounded in a "parallel theory" of development wherein, it was argued, both Swedes and Sami livelihoods and lifestyles were essentially compatible. But this rarely occurred. The record of Swedish/Sami interaction has been characterized by dominance/subservience often punctuated with conflict and confrontation. Much of the true nature of relations between the two communities can be observed through an examination of land use and tenure conflicts.

Central to Sami values (like those of other indigenous peoples) is the land, which has been inextricably related to the realities of reindeer herding and through which identity, heritage and solidarity are rooted and expressed. Sami land rights have been recognized for centuries by the Swedish Crown. Throughout the 1500s, for example, "Lapp villages" [Sami siidas] and territorial rights received special recognition by the Crown. Taxes, moreover, were defined in a manner more consistent with the notion of tribute to the sovereign rather than as leasehold fees. The Border Codicil signed in 1751 as part of the treaty between Sweden and Denmark-Norway constitutes the fullest early legal recognition of Sami rights to land in northern Sweden. The treaty established the nomadic rights of the Sami people between the two countries and a taxation scheme was elaborated to guarantee that the Sami would not be forced to pay taxes to both nations. But in reality the integrity of Sami land rights was consistently compromised and largely extinguished whenever competition for the land occurred in spite of the existing legal framework. In essence, "parallel development" was negated when necessary. When conflict emerged the record clearly indicates that Swedish interests were to predominate, largely because they were perceived to be "superior." Much of the justification for this has been attributed to the pervasive social Darwinism of Swedish policy towards the Sami. This cultural policy which permeated so much of Swedish life, found its paradigm in the thought of Supreme Court Justice Knut Olivecrona who wrote, in 1884, that "Those people unwilling to give up nomadic life must remain on an inferior cultural level, must make way for more civilized settled groups and, in the end, grow smaller and smaller until they become extinct. The history of mankind is proof that this has been the case in all parts of the world, and the nomadic Lapps must be subject to

the same law of nature and die out, unless they, in time, become willing to cultivate the land or engage in other occupations requiring permanent settlement. The State, whose interest must lie in the promotion of a higher civilization, is completely justified in favouring land cultivation."

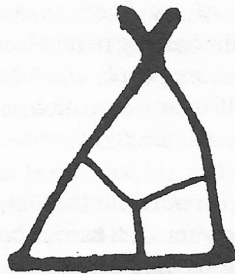
Indeed, among the Sami some movement toward farming and permanent settlement had occurred, and these people joined their

Swedish counterparts in the fencing of the range and in "privatizing" lands which formerly fell under Sami usufructory control. This situation was officially recognized in the "Lapp Ordinance of 1673" which drew important distinctions between Sami who were nomadic and traditional, and a growing "Lapp peasantry." As homesteading intensified throughout northern Sweden the Sami became a minority, even in their historic herding areas. Homesteading activity was promoted by the very same central government which theoretically sought to protect Sami rights. Crown lands, which included "protected" Sami lands, were often transferred to Swedish farmers with little regard given to the needs of the Sami people.

The 1820 land ordinance for the province of Jämtland [see map, back cover] is illustrative of this policy. By 1841 opposition to this practice mounted and certain lands in Jämtland, termed the "reindeer herding mountains," were reserved solely for Sami benefit and use. Elsewhere the practice of partitioning and title transfer continued, especially in the provinces of Norrlands and

Lapland. Opposition from the Sami and their allies arose again and by 1867 the government was forced to curb its own activities. In that year a "cultivation boundary" was created north of which Sami rights were to be protected. Yet in reality homesteaders consistently failed to respect the boundaries and local officials and authorities were largely mute in the face of violations. Swedish farmers were to be found everywhere. The final compromise of Sami land rights came with the expansion of mining developments in Sami areas during the nineteenth century.

This short assessment summarizes the first phase of Swedish/Sami interaction wherein it was the avowed goal of government to protect Sami land rights through the control of Swedish settlement of and intrusion upon traditional Sami lands. This sequence of events suggests the utter futility of such an approach given both the dynamism of internal Swedish economic development and the



"THOSE PEOPLE UNWILLING TO GIVE UP NOMADIC LIFE MUST REMAIN ON AN INFERIOR CULTURAL LEVEL, MUST MAKE WAY FOR MORE CIVILIZED, SETTLED GROUPS AND GROW SMALLER AND SMALLER UNTIL THEY BECOME EXTINCT."

(Lapping continued on page 4)

(Lapping continued from page 3)

large-scale failure of policy-makers to follow through with an effective course of action.

The second phase of interaction, which is still very much in progress, is typified by measures to control the Sami. The hallmark of this policy orientation has been and remains the various reindeer herd rationalization laws.

The first reindeer Grazing Act was passed in 1886 though a revision of the 1751 [Lapp] Codicil. The significance of the first Grazing Act lies in the fact that it categorized only full-time, nomadic herders as possessing rights to grazing lands. Other Sami, even though they remained Sami under the law, no longer possessed grazing rights in the reserved lands of northern Sweden. [A revision enacted] in 1898 changed this situation in that it also recognized that grazing rights could exist for more settled Sami villagers who were nomadic for only some portions of the year. But one of the results of the initial law was a reduction in the number of Sami involved directly in herding activities.

The pendulum swung back again in 1928 with the third Grazing Act in that it further abandoned an ethnic definition of Sami and substituted instead economic criteria: reindeer herding was an occupation relegated to Sami; but only those Sami who were herders could claim and exercise their land right. Sami who were not engaged in herding, and those who lived in villages and continued in herding only on a part-time basis, essentially lost their right to grazing lands. When the state defined a true Sami as a "herder," an "occupation-culture" split was created. This dysfunction remains one of the key issues in connection with the question of Sami survival, for as Swedish legalities whittled away at the entitled Sami population, rationalization programs reduced the number of animals permitted to graze on reserved lands.

A modification of this rule was made in the fourth Herding Act which came into effect in 1971. Non-village and village Sami could now, at least to some extent, define tenure and management strategies. But the legal definition of a "village" still fails to coincide with the Sami's traditional collective entity, the "siida." This illustrates, once again, that policy is built upon Swedish conceptualizations rather than on Sami realities. The reform has been largely cosmetic, then. The overall effect of the herd rationalization laws has been the reduction

of the herd and the number of herders and the semi-legal estrangement of non-herding from herding Sami.

Here, then, is another source of conflict between Swedes and the Sami: the imposition of standards, values and norms of one culture or community upon another. For centuries herding has been the Sami way of life. Sweden has helped make it the Sami way of business! The goal of herding has been transformed from one of survival and subsistence to production and profit maximization. Obviously the transposition of money as the central object of value and motivation to a land-based pastoral culture will foster a number of strains and stresses within any culture. The acceptance of a monetary-based system involved a major restructuring of the entire social life of the Sami, and one result has been the creation of class [distinctions].

The Swedish government has defined the culture of the Sami as owing itself entirely to the herding of reindeer. Accordingly, only those people who herd reindeer as their full-time occupation are granted Sami status and the rights of their herding kinsmen.

Sami rights were, for the State, a barrier to be circumvented, a barrier between the Swedish people and the natural resources which supported their growing affluence. The State managed to "rationalize" its exploitation of resources and the denial of Sami rights largely by promoting a social Darwinist logic.

In other areas of resource conflict, such as trapping, hunting and fishing, the record is very much the same as with herding. The social Darwinism which still permeates Swedish herding laws may be characterized by the following ethnocentric equation: nomadism does not qualify as a civilization and is therefore inferior; thus nomadism must yield to a higher civilization. Nomadism is a Sami form of livelihood; therefore, the Sami are not civilized and lack the grounds to make land ownership claims in a society seeking to meet the needs of its citizens. A gross oversimplification of Sami culture and livelihood, as well as an ethnocentric value judgement, are evident in this line of thinking. Hugh Beach in his seminal *Reindeer Herd Management in Transition* has clarified the reason for such a problem: "It is easy to see how the misconception that real Samis are only herders and that herding is the only true occupation of Samis was not simply a



Giant Slalom



Speed Skating



Bobsledding



Ice Hockey

THE OLYMPICS SAMI PICTOGRAPH SPORTS LOGOS

Shown above are four of the eleven official sports pictograms of the Lillehammer Winter Olympics '94 inspired by Sami rock carvings. Printed with the permission of the Lillehammer OL '94 AS Committee.

(Lapping continued on page 20)

NILS-ASLAK VALKEAPÄÄ:

A MESSAGE

FROM AN ADVANCED CULTURE

Frode Nielsen

The following article is an excerpt from "The Official Bulletin of the XVII Olympic Winter Games." It is reprinted by permission of the Lillehammer OL '94 AS Committee.

"Western cultures judge other cultures on the basis of comparisons with their own. This usually leads to Non-Western cultures being classified as primitive relics of a prehistoric age. Peoples with different cultural backgrounds are regarded as primitive creatures - and this leads to the products of such Peoples being called primitive art..."

When you meet Nils-Aslak Valkeapää in his proper element - out in an open landscape, round a camp fire - you soon understand where he finds his inspiration.

"I'm out in the countryside all day long, on foot or on skis. Without all this," he says, presenting the splendor of the frozen expanses with a sweep of his arm, "I wouldn't have been anything at all. I am part of nature, not its master."

Through his work, Valkeapää - known to his own Sami People by the name Aillohas - has created an enviable breadth in his form of expression. He is not the first Sami author to have illustrated his own works and expressed himself by means of joik compositions. Maybe it is the Sami love of the free, open landscape that is reflected in his art and that refuses to let itself be pigeon-holed in any Western genre.

Aillohas, "Little Ailo," derived from the ancient Sami name for the sacrificial site to the Sun, is a man of many talents. In 1991 he was awarded the Nordic Council's Prize for Literature for his work "The Sun, my Father." This was the first time ever this award had been given to a Sami writer. Valkeapää worked on the book for six years. The final result consists of 500 pages of pictures and

poetry that tells the story of the wide-ranging culture the Sami People has had down through the ages and up to the present day.

Nils-Aslak Valkeapää has produced 6 books and 13 records with his own and traditional music. He has exhibited his art in several countries and taken part in a number of film productions as composer, poet and actor - also in the Oscar-nominated "The Pathfinder." Now he is concentrating his artistic efforts on a new book and on projects connected with the Lillehammer Olympics.

Aillohas hopes that his and other Sami contributions to the Lillehammer Olympics will convey more of the Sami philosophy of life to the outside worlds. "Much would seem to indicate that the West has forgotten that all of us do not only live in nature, but live together with nature. Since Sami nomadism is a part of nature, living in peaceful coexistence with it, isn't there every reason to consider this form of life as being advanced? It ought to be extremely important to encourage young people to adopt such a life-style, with a global situation in mind," the Sami artist contends.

"The plundering and impoverishment of the American Indians has roused indignation throughout the world, and the behavior of the white intruders has been condemned. Yet even though the Samis have been exposed to a similar sort of suppression, the main communities of Norway and the Nordic countries have not been censured in the same way. This is perhaps because people want to keep quiet about the murder, violence and plunder that has taken place in the land of the Sami People," Valkeapää says. Aillohas is looking forward to the Lillehammer Olympics. Not because he, together with other Sami people, will be presenting his own culture, which may be regarded as exciting or exotic. But because he has a message, an important message.



As inspiration for the official Olympics cultural pictogram, designer Sarah Rosenbaum of Oslo's DesignGruppen '94 used a Sami petroglyph of the goddess Máttar áhkku, the source of all life.

Sami Joik To Open 1994 Winter Olympics In Norway

Rudolph Johnson

Over two billion viewers of world-wide television will see Nils-Aslak Valkeapää joik to mark the opening of the Lillehammer, Norway Winter Olympics of 1994. The ceremonies will start on February 12, 1994 at 4 PM local time just when daylight shifts into darkness. This date will also mark the closing of the International Year of Indigenous People. Participating in the ceremonies will be a group of Native Americans who will do a Buffalo Dance.

Sami and indigenous themes will dominate the Olympics and various indigenous people from around the world will be present. Martin Urheim is the project leader. There will be a *sijddaen*, a Sami village constructed on the grounds with lavuu and other dwellings to represent the life-style and culture of the Sami people. There will be a herd of 160 reindeer with various types of reindeer racing to be held on nearby Lake Mjøsa.

SWEDISH GENEALOGICAL RESEARCH:

THE HUSFÖRHÖRSLÄNGD

THE CLERICAL SURVEY

Phyllis Pladsen

Generally speaking, Swedish genealogical research is much like research in any other country; one uses the birth, marriage and death records to trace one's family backward and forward in time. However, in the late 1600's, the Swedes created the **husförhörslängd**, a type of record that is unique to Sweden (you will also find the **husförhörslängd** in Finland because Sweden ruled Finland for more than 100 years). A direct translation of **husförhörslängd** is "household examination roll"; it is more commonly called the "clerical survey". The clerical survey was begun in 1686 when the state church of Sweden - the Lutheran church - decreed that every priest was to "examine" his

parishioners once a year; he was to visit every family and test them on their knowledge of the catechism, and their ability to read and recite. However, the records of these visits soon became a vehicle for keeping track of the daily events in the lives of the parishioners.

Some people tend to think of the clerical survey as a census record and, at first glance, it looks like a census; the people are recorded in family groups, with their birth dates and birth places, and with the relationship given of each person to the head of the household. However, there the resemblance ends. A census is static; a snapshot taken at a particular moment in time. The

CLERICAL SURVEY RECORD

ARJEPOUG PARISH IN NORBOTTEN:

1 *74-jutes* **JUTIS** - a village in Arjeplog

Personens namn, ålder, ombete, yrke och näringsfag, (barns namn, födelse- och födelseort, nationalitet, (om föräldrar), lyra (örögsläkt, blida, dödsstämme).

2 **FODELSE** - birth date and place; since the pastor did not record any birth places on this record, these people were born in the parish

3 **AKTENSKAP** - marriage information

4 **FLYTAD** - moved from

5 **PIG. (pigan)** Sara Greta Larsd. (Larsdotter) (**Lapp**). Recording the barest of information was her pastor's way of showing disdain for a Sami. "Illegitimate" children and their mothers were often treated in the same manner.

| År. | Mån. och dag. | Födelse- | | Åktenskap. | | Flyttad | |
|------|---------------|----------|----------------------------|------------|------------|---------|-----|
| | | Ort. | Ort. (Svensk i Län, Sued.) | Gift. | Åktenskap. | Ort. | År. |
| 1840 | 24 | | | | | | |
| 1845 | 24 | | | | | | |
| 1865 | 24 | | | | | | |
| 1868 | 24 | | | | | | |
| 1870 | 24 | | | | | | |
| 1875 | 24 | | | | | | |
| 1876 | 24 | | | | | | |
| 1875 | 24 | | | | | | |
| 1881 | 24 | | | | | | |
| 1852 | 24 | | | | | | |

Carl Petter Västlund
Maria Charlotta Sundström
Anna Maria
Brita Carolina
Eron Lila
Carl Fredrik
Anna Maria Charlotta
Wendela Hirsén
Olga Sofia
Carlberg

1851 *24*
1859 *24*
1859 *24*



clerical survey is dynamic, an ongoing record; information was added to each book *as events happened*. The birth of a child, a death, someone moving to another farm or another parish - each event was recorded in the clerical survey as it happened. With the clerical survey we get an intimate chronicle of our ancestors lives .

Although it is not necessary to know Swedish to be able to research the Swedish records, knowing some of the basic words is helpful. A very brief list of the most necessary words follows:

födde = born, **döpt** = baptized, **vigde** = married, **dödde** = died, **hustru** = wife, **barn** = child, **socken** = parish, **län** = county, **gård** = farm, **dotter** = daughter, **mor** = mother, **fader** = father, **flyttad** = moved, **gift** = married, **fattig** = poor, **fattighjon** = pauper

In the following discussion I am assuming that you will be doing your research with the microfilms of the Swedish church records at one of the many Mormon (Church of Latter Day Saints) Family History Centers which are located all over the world. However, even if you go to one of the archives in Sweden, you will still be using the microfilms; the original

books are rarely used today because of their fragile condition.

The best way to use the clerical survey is to use it in conjunction with the birth, marriage, and death records. Most of us have the birth date and birth place of one of our ancestors (if you do not have this basic information, you have some work to do before you can research in the Swedish church records); you will begin by going to the baptism records of the parish where your ancestor was born. When you order the microfilm that contains the vital records of the parish, you will also want to order the clerical survey record that covers the time period of your ancestor's birth. Since the clerical survey was kept in books separate from the vital records, it is usually on a separate microfilm.

In the baptism record you will find the child's name, birth and baptism dates (in Sweden, usually only a day or two apart), names of the parents and of the witnesses and, most important, the name of the place in the parish where the family lives. You now have all the information necessary to find the family in the clerical survey. Also, because so many immigrants changed or "americanized" their names, the name by which you know your ancestor may not be exactly the same as the name you will find on the baptism record; by getting the baptism record first, when you search the clerical survey you will be searching for the name as it was used in Sweden. In addition,

you will be able to search the clerical survey for a group - father, mother, child - rather than one individual.

I strongly advise you to make a photocopy of the baptism record (most Family History Centers have a copier that will make copies from microfilm). In the beginning, most people find the old handwriting difficult to decipher, and you may not interpret the place name accurately. If you have a copy of the baptism record with the place name on it, it will be fairly easy to match it up with the names in the clerical survey.

Next, you will go to the microfilm containing the clerical survey.

The place names - and these places can be anything from a large manor farm to a village to a small farm - will be listed at the top of each page of the book, or along the left side of the page.

Some of the books contain an index of the places in the parish; if that is the case, you will simply go to the page given in the index. If not, you must go through the book page by page until you come to the page with the place name you are seeking. When you find the correct place name, you will check that page - and any following pages with the same name - until you find the family you want.

In addition to being identified by their relationship to the head of the household, many people are identified by occupation or trade, or "position" in the com-

(Pladsen continued on page 21)

THE BEAR HUNT

written and illustrated by Mel Olsen

The passages from The Kalevala are from the Eino Friberg translation, Helsinki: Otava, 1988.



Bear Ceremonies are found throughout the Arctic. These early spring observances share many similar elements and are important to indigenous peoples in Russia, Siberia, Japan and North America.

Among the Sami People, the Bear Ceremony in its complete form has probably not been practiced in this century but detailed accounts written by missionaries in the 15th and 16th centuries document the fact that at that time there were three-day events all across Sapmi. Rune singers and regional elders perpetuate an oral history of the great hunts and the Kalevala draws on ancient accounts of the festival.

Centuries of survival on the northern barrens have fostered a collective cultural wisdom among the Sami who live in response to the land's resources and seasonal changes. Their place in nature is reconfirmed annually in festivities and rituals that follow the seasons. The Sami calendar recognizes two great seasons, winter and summer. *Talvidja* [winternight] on October 14 signals the beginning of the winter hunting time in the twilight cold. *Suvidja*

[summernight] on April 14 marks the end of the long winter and anticipates a gentler season of gathering from the land. The Bear goes into the den around *Talvidja* and emerges around *Suvidja*.

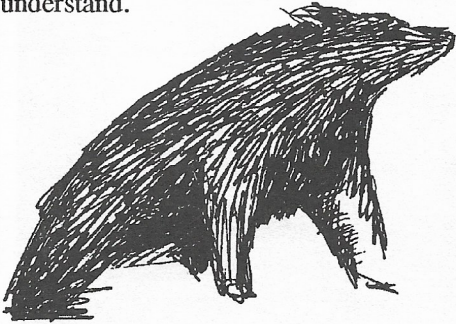
The primary creature that signals annual change is the Bear, the symbol of the compact between the People and *Ibmel*, God of the Heavens. The Bear Ceremony is an encounter with the Powers of Nature which are engendered in the confrontation of the Bear Hunt and the affirmation of the Bear Feast that follows.

The Hunt and the Feast, a three-day observance, take place in late March, which may be the most meager time for the *siida*. The hunters must take into account deteriorating snow conditions as well as the stirring of the hibernating Bear in the den. The Sacred Drum is consulted, for there must be spiritual approval. The hunt and the feast that follows must be performed with meticulous care to preserve the sacred trust.

Each *siida* prepares for the Bear Ceremony with a general spring cleaning. When the day of the hunt arrives everyone puts on their fanciest *gakti*. Spears and knives are prepared while the hunt leader makes his initial trek to the den. Alone he circles the den three times and then returns to the *siida* and the anxious hunting party. Ready for the Bear and carrying their most powerful amulets, the hunters' procession to the den is lead by the hunt leader who carries a sacred staff tipped with brass rings. He is followed by the *noaide* [shaman] with the Sacred Drum, then the other hunters and their dogs.

As they approach the den the hunters are cautious not to call the Bear by its sacred name in case he appears unexpectedly and discerns the identity of the hunters. In many cultures sacred words are forbidden and substituted with secular words referred to as *noa*.

Among the Sami, noa words for the Bear change frequently because the Bear soon learns them. "Honey Paws," "Forest Grandfather," "Old Man," and "God's Hound" have been used as noa to denote the sacred quarry. And there are accounts of Sami hunters who seek to confuse the Bear by speaking Norwegian, a language which according to Sami belief, the Bear can't understand.



*Little Otso, woodland apple,
Honeypaw, you dear stout fellow!
When you hear this good man coming,
Hear me stepping softly near you,
Knot your claws up in your fur
And your teeth inside your gums
So that they can do no harm
Even when you're on the prowl.*

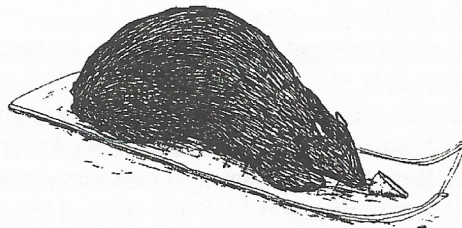
The procession circles the den and spears are set up at the entrance. The most fearless of the hunters burrow cautiously into the den arousing and tricking the Bear into charging out onto the spears. The reality may be a dangerous animal challenging skillful hunters and snarling dogs. In the end it is the hunt leader who is expected to make the kill.



The dead or dying Bear is encircled by all the hunters who offer their thanks for having escaped its wrath and who apologize for the confrontation. The Bear is switched with birch branches to neutralize the unpredictability of the wild, and the

branches are collected for later use. The hunt leader braids a branch into a ring, loops this through the Bear's jaw and the Bear's body is ceremoniously pulled away from the den. The birch loop is carefully preserved in a clean linen cloth. The body is covered with fir branches and left in the forest while the hunting party makes its victorious return to the village. Brass amulets tip the spears of the hunters to neutralize any dangerous force left there and ancient verses are joiked on the way back. These joiks, used only in the Bear Hunt, ask the Bear for forgiveness. The people of the siida hear the songs from afar and the atmosphere is festive by the time the hunters arrive. There is singing and good food into the night. The hunters sleep apart from their womenfolk for the supernatural forces surrounding the Bear are powerful and women have no defenses against such karma and are therefore in danger.

At sunrise the hunters divide into two groups. One of the groups returns to the forest for the Bear, joiking and praying that the spirits do not bring bad weather upon them until the Bear is in the siida. Wearing their most dependable amulets and brass rings, the men load the Bear onto a sledge



drawn by a select draft reindeer. A birch bark cone filled with alder bark chewed blood-red is placed at the Bear's nose where the sacred powers are the most strong and focused. The return to the siida begins.

At the siida a special tent has been outfitted for the butchering and the cooking of the Bear, tasks which are done only by men. And so the other group of hunters prepares to receive "The Sacred One" and the siida awaits the Feast.

Mel Olsen is a professor of art and art history at the University of Wisconsin in Superior. He is also a weaver and a printmaker.

*But our game is not an otter,
It is neither lynx nor otter,
But the prize himself is coming,
Glory of the backwoods marching,
The old man himself approaching,
Good old Broadcloth Coat parading.*

*"Where now shall I take my guest,
Where conduct my golden treasure?
Shall I house him in the hay barn,
Lay him in the litter room?"*

*Readily the people answered:
"Take our guest there over yonder,
There conduct our golden treasure
Underneath that lofty roof-tree,
Underneath that splendid ceiling,
There the food has been laid out,
Drink all ready for the drinking,
Floors all swept and floorboards scoured,
All the women in clean clothing,
Handsome with their bright headdresses,
In their whitely washen raiment."*



Next : The Bear Feast

[Editor's note: "The Bear Feast" will be accompanied by a bibliography of works on Sami symbolism and shamanism and a glossary of the symbols and concepts relating to the Bear Ceremony as presented in these articles.]



Solveig Arneng Johnson "Arctic Wedding"

A Survey of SAMI AMERICAN ARTISTS

Sami American artists are invited to submit work to *Baiki* which will become part of an Arts Registry to be used in a number of ways: in grant writing for possible art exhibits, in assessing artistic resources for future publications, and in presentations to the public about Sami American culture. Please send up to 10 plastic or cardboard mounted slides or up to 10 color or black and white prints of visual art work in any medium including painting, drawing, sculpture, ceramics, metal, prints, photography, crafts, or mixed media. Slides are preferred. Label the slides or prints with your name, address, dimensions, and media. Also please send a resume or biographical information. A brief statement about your work will also be valuable.

SEND TO:

Baiki Artists Survey
attn: Marlene Wisuri-Aho
5263 North Shore Drive
Duluth, MN 55804-2991

HAPPY BIRTHDAY, RUDY JOHNSON!

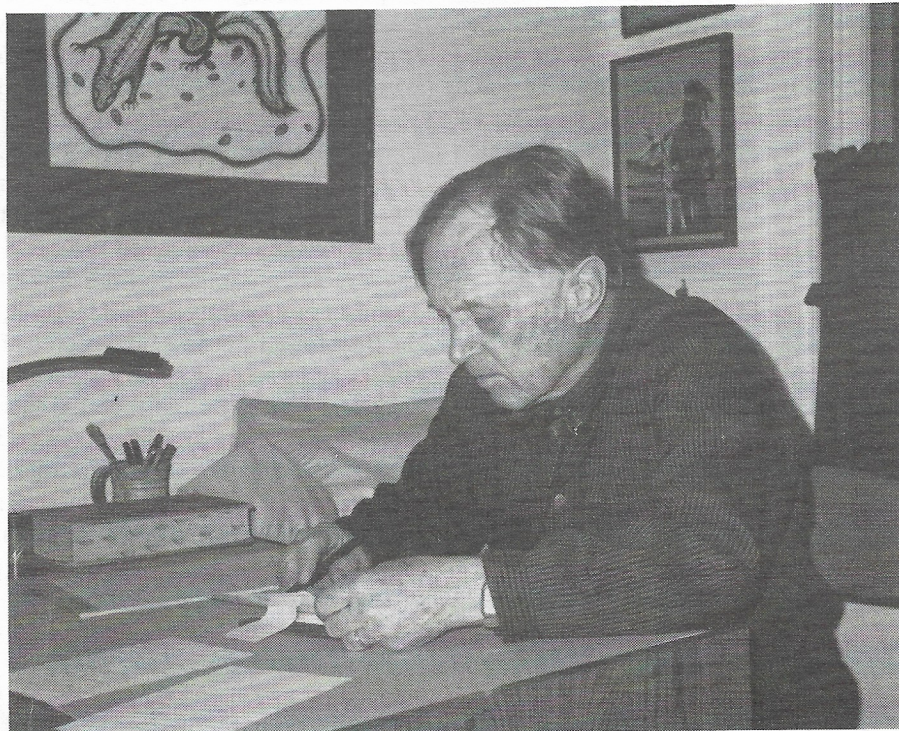


photo:Faith Fjeld

Rudy Johnson at his desk in Duluth.

On March 7th Rudolph Johnson will be 77 years old. Without Rudy, *Baiki* might never have happened.

In August of 1990 I began to hear his name. While visiting in the Lakselv home of Sami artist Synnøve Persen, I was told that there was another American Sami named Rudolph Johnson who had visited Nordkapp with his Norwegian-Sami wife Solveig Arneng. Together they had been researching their Sami ancestry. "Look him up when you're back in the U.S.," Synnøve's father suggested. "He's related to us." Returning to San Francisco I found a letter waiting on my desk from Roland Thorstenssen of Gustavus Adolphus College. "You should get in touch with a Rudolph Johnson of Duluth," Dr. Thorstenssen wrote. "He is another Sami-American. He's been writing articles and giving talks about your Sami culture for a long time." And so I wrote Rudy.

The resulting correspondence that developed between us laid the groundwork for *Baiki*. The five- and six-page epistles that flew between San Francisco and Duluth discussed Sami history, Sami religion, Sami identity in America, and the effects of forced assimilation on our nomad ancestors. Our letters compared what we knew of our own Sami culture with that of the American Indian Peoples. Masses of Xerox copies of articles and clippings from our personal files on Sami subjects exchanged hands.

Finally, in March of 1991, I paid Rudolph Johnson and his wife a visit. Rudy, Solveig and I sat together in their Duluth kitchen and decided that there must be many more Sami Americans out there like us pondering the same issues. And so, in that kitchen, the idea for this little newsletter *Baiki* was born. Four months later in July, the first-ever gathering of Sami-Americans was held at the Johnson's, and proofs of *Baiki's* first eight-page issue were inspected.

So thank you, Rudy, for being an Elder in the Indian sense of the word. Thank you for spending your life teaching and writing about our People, for writing editorials when the newspapers called us "Lapps," for wearing the gakti with pride, for making us all feel welcome in your home. Most of all, Rudy, thank you for answering my letters. Happy birthday! **Faith Fjeld, *Baiki* editor**

FAN LETTERS

"The Home that Lives in the Heart" is so true! My Mother's home town is New York Mills. My Mom knew Marvin Salo as a child. My Great Grandmother was Anna Greta Pelto Kivi. My Grandmother Maggie Kivi was a one-room school teacher from 1908-1920. During my last visit to Mills in 1987 I met a man who had been taught by Grandma. I have an elderly cousin John Maki still living there and one of Grandma's friends, Olga Nissi, both Sami. The more I learn about the Sami, the more at peace I am with myself. *Baiki* is an interesting comfort. I am happy you started the journal!

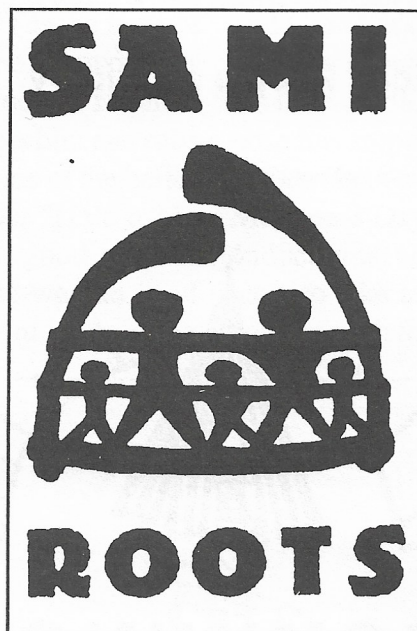
Debra Sund
5222 39th NE
Seattle, WA 98105

For the second year my sister-in-law in Michigan has given me a gift subscription to *Baiki*. This is because I am a librarian in the Local History and Genealogy Reading Room at the Library of Congress and she knows my special interest is Scandinavian immigration. Until now I have had no current materials for information on the Sami, so *Baiki* is very welcome.

Lee V. Douglas
HSS Library of Congress
Washington, D.C. 20540

I am richer for having discovered such a beautiful unique culture. My mother (who was adopted) told me her mother was born in Tromsø, Norway; [she] is short and has slanted eyes and high cheekbones. My father is African-American with a Blackcrow grandfather. I wonder if one could be Norwegian/African-American/Blackcrow Native/ and still be considered Sami? We are all one people so perhaps labels don't matter. It seems to me that in the Sami culture everyone is equally important. *Giitu, Baiki*, for helping me to realize my own self worth.

Kimberly Oliver
203-215 Carnarvon St.
New Westminster, B.C.
Canada

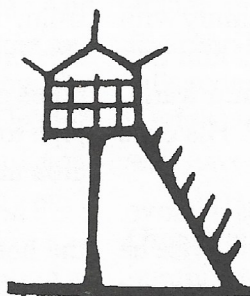


Kevisseller: Hans Ragnar Mathisen

SAMIS IN ESKO, MN

Re: early settlement of the Esko, Minnesota area, there were a number of families whose origins were from the Lapland portion of Finland (north of the Arctic Circle). I have a listing of the families who immigrated to Thomson Township between 1873 and 1890 and the list shows the following families and towns of origin in Lapland: **Muonio:** Alatalo; **Pello:** Pantstar, Point, Juntti, Krekula, Jolma; **Kaaresuanto:** Raattamaa, Toyra, Maranen. A little known fact of the Laestadian movement in the United States occurred in the small southern Minnesota town of Franklin. The daughter of Lars Levi Laestadius, Angelica Charlotta Jokela, moved to this Finnish community in 1880. She died in Franklin on September 19, 1900 and is buried in the Finnish cemetery there.

Rodney J. Ikola
2305 East Hwy. 37
Hibbing, MN 55746



FROM DOWN UNDER

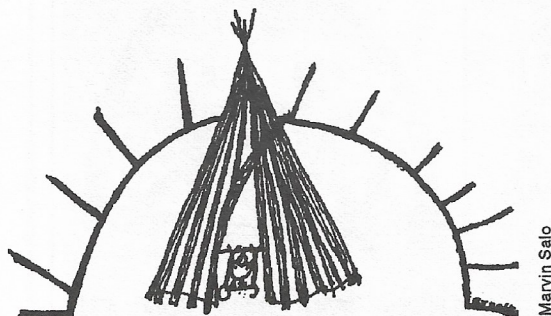
Here are a few ideas which might be of some interest now that you have a Sami American network in place: 1) Make this network grow and be vibrant. 2) Articulate the vision. The newsletter can facilitate this objective, Sami-Americans can set the pace. 3) Look for ways to work together. A number of areas are breaking down in the Western Societies. We need to apply alternative indigenous concepts to the problem areas where the present methods have completely failed, i.e. housing for the poor, famines, national medical systems, chronically unemployed, street kids, abuse of human rights, etc. 4) The indigenous Peoples should come up with a global vision for the environment to include a data bank for the earth's lands, forests, rivers, oceans, fauna and atmosphere and a system to monitor any changes. 5) An ecumenical spiritual statement should be put forth by the world's indigenous People. 6) A Global Communication Channel should facilitate communication. 7) Indigenous models should be set up for all aspects of Western or Asian societies. When a situation is begging for an alternative solution this model should be tendered for consideration. 8) Indigenous Peoples of the world will have to be active participants with the same societies that oppressed them. 10) List activities in both Western and indigenous societies that should be eliminated and present this to the U.N. with updates. 11) Indigenous People should be part of the U.N. peacekeeping forces.

Ed Oberg
23 Byron St.
Box Hill South 3128
Australia

We are very grateful for the response to "Sami Roots". Baiki receives a large number of letters and inquiries. Since space limits what we can publish, we try to respond personally. Please address correspondence to: "Sami Roots," Baiki, 2416 London Rd.#702, Duluth, MN 55812.

the story of the Sami-American People as told by Marvin Salo

illustrations: Marvin Salo and Johan Turi from "Turi's Book of Lapland"
transcription: Barbara Tan



THE BEGINNING OF LIFE

Chapter Two

T H E W I N T E R C A M P

Einar and his family are at their winter home down in a small valley with lots of clean white snow. You can hear the jays chirping in the trees. Einar is getting bigger and bigger and his crib is getting smaller. He's losing his clothes that Grandma has knit. But then there comes a turn of events. Einar's eyes start watering and his nose starts running and he's got a little fever. Kari says, "I think Einar is sick. We have something wrong here. We don't know what it is." Grandma looks at him and says, "Well it looks like it could be the croup."

The next night Einar hardly sleeps at all. He is very restless and cries and Kari has to get up. The night after that Grandma says, "Kari, you sleep tonight. I will take care of him." She rubs his chest with goose grease and puts a woolen cloth around his chest and around his neck making him look like a mummy with goose grease underneath. And as she tucks him into his nightgown, close to her chest to keep him warm, and as they sleep, Einar's breathing better. His eyes have quit watering.

Grandma says, "Ya, that's all it takes is love. You've got to give this child love, Kari, otherwise he gets sick." Kari says, "I give him all the love I can but

you must know how to do it better because you're much older and wiser. You have learned a lot more than I have. I wish I knew as much as you do."

One morning everybody waking up from their sleep look out the window to see the snow coming down. There is a slight wind from the northwest. Ailu says, "I wonder how the deer are. They should do pretty well covered by those trees now for this time of the year. That's where they have been feeding. I noticed they have been moving a little bit more to the south and southeast. I should take a look at them today and see how they are doing."

Papa says, "I'm going to come with you." So they put their skis on and go out to have a look.

"We should set a couple of traps and see if we can get something, maybe a fox or some animal we can get furs from." As the two men head out over the cold snow the skis creak under their feet, creak, creak, creak, and their poles go weak, weak, weak. And the smoke of Grandpa's pipe tobacco curls around his head as the frost claims an area under his nose and on his mustache.

They go through a maze of trees and there they find the herd. The herd is well. As they look at them Ailu says, "I wonder if my deer will remember me?" So Ailu

begins to urinate and as soon as the deer smells his urine in the snow it comes running to him. "Yes, he has not forgotten me. This is the deer I have used for two years now and he always remembers me. As soon as I urinate in the snow; he comes running." As he pets him and rubs his ears he says, "you are a good puller, one of the better pullers I've had." To Grandpa he adds, "He's a big castrated buck and he sure has been a good one for pulling. He remembered me, so I guess we can head back to the house and see if we can trap something along the way." So they circle around and their skis go swish, swish, and creak and creak go the poles.

The smell of tobacco rings around their heads and Grandpa's mustache is white with snow and Ailu's eyebrows are frosted up. He looks like a man of eighty with those white eyebrows. Ailu says, "Papa, this is really a nice crisp day but we have to hurry back because we only have about a half hour more of daylight.

In the winter the days are very much shorter in the northern part of Lapland in the Sami country where the Sami sings. The Sami sings his songs to keep him company throughout the night. The dark nights are very lonely and so he won't be lonely, he sings. And he joiks to himself and he says, "I have seen the light. I understand the day, I understand the night. I understand the stars in the sky that direct me to my home because there is not much daylight. I have to know how to travel in the dark."

Later in the lavuu Ailu is talking to Grandpa. Ailu says, "Yes, that's what you taught me the first time and put a stick in front of me and I fell over it in the snow, flat on my face. Why did you do that?" "So you wouldn't fall the next time on something that could really hurt you, and now you remember that and you don't fall on a stick anymore," says Grandpa, laughing.

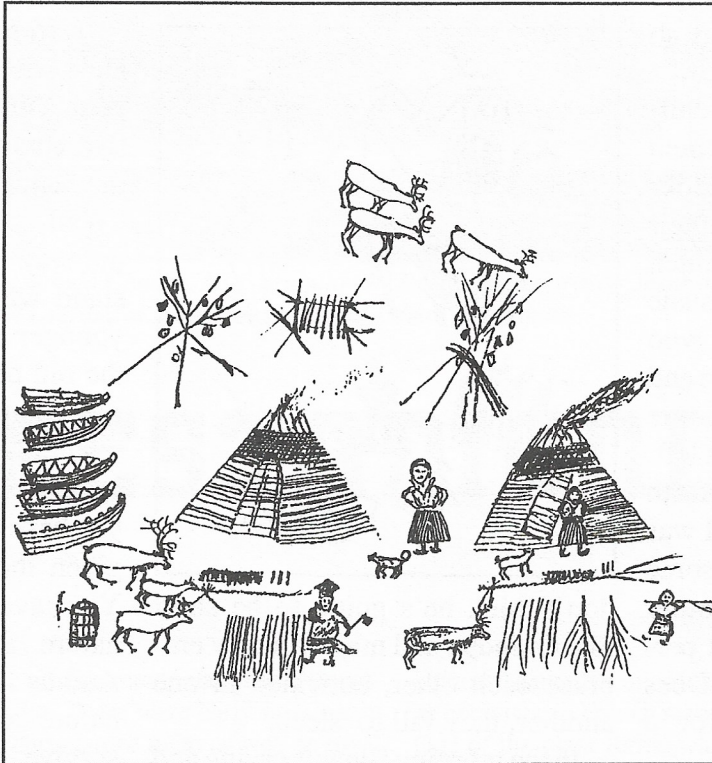
He takes a knife out and a stick and starts carving as

they sit by the fire with the smell of smoke and coffee and Grandpa's pipe in the air. They converse about the things that happened during the day. Einar is in his little cradle with his eyes blinking bright and his nose has stopped running.

Grandpa says, "You know, it's not too far from Matthew's Day and I think we should start looking and see what we have for food. On Matthew's Day we have to take count of our larder and make sure we have enough food. We have to have two thirds for the

people and one third for the livestock. I wonder how we sit this year. It looks like we might be alright, We will find out soon. Matthew's Day is on February 24th. Now remember February 24th," Grandpa tells Ailu. "And Kari, you remember it too," he says.

Kari says, "How could I forget it? What a beautiful day that was," she says as she looks at Ailu. They smile at each other and Grandpa says, "Well I know what you're talking about but I don't want to talk about it anymore because it might embarrass



both of you.

Grandma says, "No, you never embarrass anybody about that. That's a way of life. That's where life begins, that's where everything begins. That's why we are here. If it wouldn't have been for February 24th, Einar wouldn't be here. February 24th was one of the most lovely days we've had."

So Matthew's Day comes around and the people gather in the square and talk and have potluck. Everybody in the whole community gathers. They talk about what are they trapped or are going to trap. And the mothers talk about who had babies and who will have babies.

This is the first time Einar has been on display so Grandma fixes him a special woolen hat and a special bunting in his crib to be brought there. The ladies

(Salo continued overleaf)

look at him with amazement and say, "Oh, he looks just like Kari," or "Oh no, he looks like Ailu," or, "No he looks like Grandma." There are so many versions of who he looks like that Kari says, "I think he looks like Einar. He is himself. There is no other way to look at it. He is a Sami and he looks like himself." Grandma says, "Kari, you are so right, you are so right. Einar looks like himself."

She watches the other children play in the snow as the men are having ski races, eating, drinking coffee. They are having their winter frolic which is very much fun with the dancing and music and all the talk of trading, who had what and what was where and who needs what. Who needs more meat and who has more meat left.

As they trade back and forth one of the older men says, "I was in the woods and I found some real good runners for another sleigh. These birch are just perfect for a pair of runners. Does anybody need runners for a sleigh?"

Ailu says, "Yes, I would like to make another sleigh." The older man says, "What have you got to trade me? I'll trade you your little boy for these runners!" Ailu says, "No way, I'd rather walk than trade my little boy!" And they all laugh as the teasing and the comradeship got on. It turns out to be a wonderful day of being with one another and enjoying the fellowship. The evening grows near, darkness draws in and the winter frolic is over with and everyone is going home.

Ailu and Kari cuddle together

with Einar alongside. Ailu puts his arm around her and says, "What a wonderful person you are and how pretty you are. Every day I look at you, you look more like a wildflower just blooming, leaning for the sun. And when I look at our child he looks like a branch of an elder, strong and straight. But I think he's going to be a pine because he looks tall. He looks tall for his size now. I



don't think he's going to be short like Grandpa and me." As they embrace each other, entwined in one another, they fall to sleep.

In the morning Einar is crying and hollering. Ailu says, "I know that is the best alarm clock that we could have. He always gets up at six o'clock, always at six. We can tell time by him. He is a morning guy. When he has to go, he has to go and when he's gone, he tells us he's gone." Kari laughs and says, "Well, you do the same thing. Why can't he?"

As time goes on, Einar is growing taller and bigger. Grandma takes a bite of bread and chews it for awhile, then takes it out of her mouth and puts it in Einar's as he is starting to eat solid food. And Einar just loves

Grandma because Grandma always eats food a little bit sweeter than Mama does.

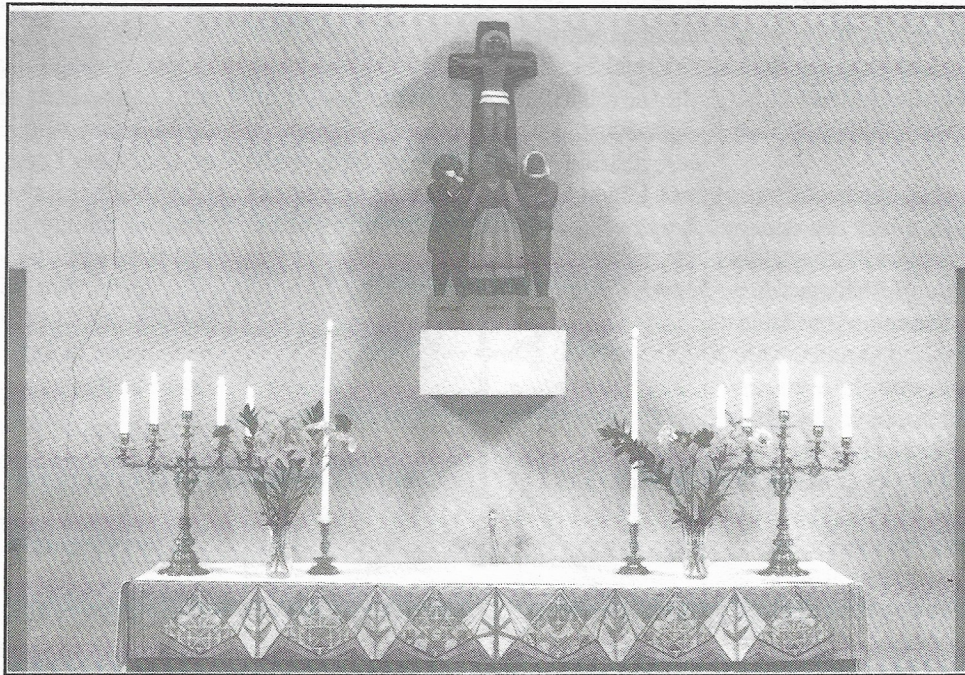
Kari says, "You're going to spoil him with all that food that you give him." Grandma laughs, "Well, a growing boy has got to eat. He's got to get strong and tall and he's got to have the right kind of food and environment to be intelligent."

Kari says, "You can stop now. He's with me. I know I'm intelligent. You don't need to tell me I'm that smart." And they laugh and they chuckle. And Grandma says, "Well, some of these young people the way they talk. I don't understand why they have to say the younger people are smarter than the old people. If it wasn't for us old people you young people wouldn't even be smart." Kari looks at Grandma and says, "Yes, you have taught me a lot. You have given me everything you know. You have taught me to lean toward nature, that nature will provide. And as long as I keep an eye on nature and understand it, I will survive." Grandma chuckles and says, "Well, if you lift your skirts nature will survive, too. I have to go to the bathroom." So she heads outside.

Spring is coming. The snow is starting to melt a little bit. The sun's rays are getting longer. The days are getting longer and icicles are forming on the snow. The snow gets crustier and is a little easier to travel on. The deer are getting restless. And Ailu tells Grandpa, "It won't be long and we'll have to start following our herd again."

(to be continued)

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The Karesuando Church. Altar sculpture by Bror Hjorth portrays Jesus on the cross with Lars Levi Laestadius, Maria in gakti and Juhani Raattamaa.

LAESTADIANISM

Rudolph Johnson

The people of Samiland, like other circumpolar people in pre-Christian times, were shamanistic. There were early missionary attempts by Russian monks to christianize them as well as royal decrees issued by Swedish monarchs to convert them. In Norway King Kristian IV ordered that all Sami be converted to Christianity or suffer the death penalty. The nature religion was banned and outlawed, the shaman drums burned and the joik was forbidden. This process was first carried out by the official Catholic church, and later by the state Lutheran church.

Lars Levi Laestadius, a Swedish Lutheran pastor of Sami ancestry, adapted the Lutheranism of the state church to better fit the culture and psyche of the people of Samiland. Laestadius (1800-1861) was born on a poor, new-settler farm in Arjeplog in northern Sweden. His father provided for the family by hunting, fishing, tar-making, and also had a farm and a few reindeer. The family lived in poverty, but with help from a half-brother, Lars Levi was able to enter the university at Uppsala in 1820, and he proved to be a brilliant student. Because of his interest in botany he was made assistant in the Botany Department while he pursued studies in theology. He was ordained a Lutheran cleric in 1825. His first parish was at Arjeplog, and he became the regional missionary for Pitelappmark. In 1826 he was made pastor at Karesuando, the most northerly parish in Sweden, where he served until 1849. In addition to his pastoral duties he continued his interest in botany,

authored a number of articles on plant life in Samiland and served as botanist to a French research expedition to Samiland, 1838-40. One of the plant forms which he first identified bears his name *Papaver Laestadianum*, which he discovered in the region where the boundaries of Sweden, Finland and Norway come together, *Treriks-Roysa*.

While in Karesuando he learned to speak both Finnish and the North Sami dialect so that he could deliver his sermons in these languages and his books and articles were written in Swedish.

Laestadius married a local Sami woman, Britta Catarina, and together they raised a family of twelve children.

For the first eighteen years of his ministry in Karesuando, Laestadius was quite an ordinary country pastor. Then, on a pastoral visit to Ase Lappmark in 1844 he met a Sami woman named Maria who had sought his religious counsel. She was very sincere and sensitive, but troubled in her spiritual development, and together they explored the problem and experienced a Great Awakening, a sort of born-again experience which changed their lives. Laestadius became a dynamic and charismatic evangelist who started a religious revival that spread throughout Samiland and even reached the sons and daughters of Samiland who had emigrated to the United States.

Laestadius was critical of the elitism and worldliness of the state church and preached a Christianity more in tune with the culture of

(Johnson continued on page 16)

(Johnson continued from page 15)

the north. He spoke with great force and his language was very blunt and earthy, appropriate to the audience of his day. His sermons have since been collected and published in several languages, including English.

One of his parishioners, Juhani Raattamaa, a Sami Finn from the upper Tornio Valley in Sweden, who had been his confirmation school pupil, became his successor. Together they examined the Bible and the works of Martin Luther and developed a body of doctrine known as Laestadianism. Central to their doctrine was the concept of sin and salvation, and they preached eloquently against the evils of liquor and immorality and set up a temperance society.

Laestadianism can be thought of as a sort of pentecostal revival movement, charismatic and fundamentalistic, also pietistic and evangelical, and one of its distinctive features was the *liikutukset*, an intense emotional religious ecstasy with speaking in tongues. Laestadius preached against liquor, immorality and vanity (fine clothing, ornaments, etc.) His message spread throughout Samiland and was taken up by various lay preachers.

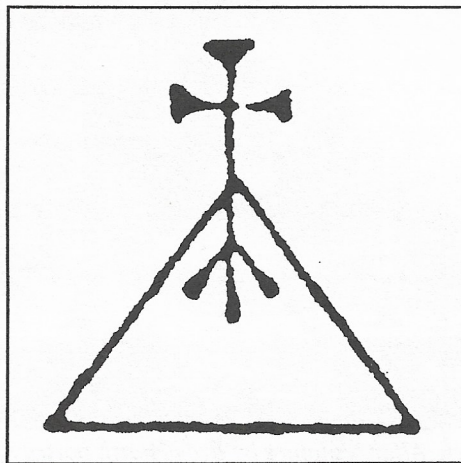
Upon the death of Laestadius in 1861, Raattamaa carried on his work for forty years and is known as the second father of Laestadianism. The Apostolic Lutherans of the United States have published a number of church history papers, and one of them "The Second Leader of the Northern Revival" is about Raattamaa.

We should note that in Samiland the Laestadians remained within the state Lutheran churches whereas in America they established their own denomination, the Apostolic Lutheran Church. A Swedish encyclopedia, *Bonniers Lexicon* (1961), numbers Laestadians as 30,000 in Finland; 30,500 in the US; 20,000 in Sweden; and 18,000 in Norway.

Some historians note that Laestadianism also had political overtones. In Kautokeino in 1852 there was an open rebellion by fanatical Laestadians as part of the November Revolution of 1852 in Kautokeino. The Norwegian pastor was assaulted and the local liquor dealer and the sheriff murdered. This provoked a military occupation by Norwegian army troops, the execution of several participants and life sentences for many others.

Emigration from Samiland in the nineteenth century brought many Laestadians

to the US. Some of the first Laestadian immigrants to arrive in the US were Finns and Sami from the Alta region of Norway who moved to the copper country of Michigan when the copper mines in Finnmark were nearing depletion. These immigrants first joined regular established Lutheran churches but they did not feel at home and



on occasion were even expelled from these churches because of their unrestrained emotionalism which upset the more sedate Scandinavian congregations.

May Lunde of Oslo made a study of the Laestadians of Calumet, Michigan, which was later published in a book *Essays on Norwegian-American Literature and History* (Oslo, 1986). She found that the Laestadians were excommunicated from the church in Calumet in 1872 and had to establish their own church under the leadership of Salomon Kortetniemi from Hammerfest. As the number of such churches grew there developed schisms and she counted at least seven sects of Laestadians in the US, each with its own name. This also happened in Samiland after the death of Laestadius.

A history of the Laestadian movement in the US has been published in Finnish, and a shorter English version by Uuras Saarnivaara, *The History of the Laestadian or Apostolic Lutheran Movement in America*, has been published in Ironwood, Michigan in 1947. We learn from this book that a number of immigrant Laestadian communities were springing up in the copper country of Michigan, some as early as 1864, and in such Minnesota towns as Red Wing, St. Peter, and Cokato. A book edited by Hans Wasastjerna, *History of the Finns in Minnesota*, published in 1957, also lists several such communities in Brainerd, New York Mills, Holmes City, Minneapolis and Thomson. Most of those referred to as

"Northern Finns" came from northern Sweden and Norway, and some were Sami Finns. We have learned from Carl Ross, who has written on Finnish immigration history, that Angelica Laestadius, a sister of Lars Levi Laestadius, lived in Holmes City, Minnesota and that she attempted to mediate among the various factions that had risen among the Laestadians.

It seems that Laestadians in America had many contacts with their coreligionists back home in Samiland, and we learn that Peter Raattamaa, a son of Juhani Raattamaa, became pastor of a church in New York Mills. The Laestadian churches, now known mostly as Apostolic Lutheran, number about 150, and they have set up their own seminary, although many churches are served by lay ministers. They have published a hymnal, a newspaper, several newsletters, and collections of sermons by Laestadius and others, both in English and in Finnish.

Rudolph Johnson is Senior Editorial Advisor to *Baiki*.

The above article is an excerpt from *Lapland Ancestry, the family history of Rudolph and Solveig (Arneng) Johnson*. The Johnsons trace their family history back to Laestadian pioneers, whose settlement in the New World was part of the historic movement of Samiland immigrants to the Lake Superior region in the latter half of the Nineteenth century.

It was while Laestadius was pastor at Karesuando that ancestors of the Johnsons, Carl and Anna Grethe, raised their family in the same parish. Family legend has it that Anna Grethe once worked as a maid in the Laestadius household and that the wife of Laestadius assisted her with her bridal trousseau. Laestadius himself may have conducted the wedding ceremony. According to Olaus Arneng, Johani Raattamaa was a family relative although the Johnsons have not established the lineage.

Several of the children of Carl and Anna Grethe of Karesuando went first to Norway and then to Carlton County, Minnesota. Two of the sons of Carl and Anna Grethe settled near Esko, and are mentioned in the history of Esko, Juhannusjuhla, published in 1966, as pioneers and founders of the Apostolic Lutheran Church there. They are listed as "Fred Carlson (Maranen) and Peter Carlson (Maranen)". This church now has a membership of 450 and celebrated its one hundredth anniversary in 1985. Maria, a daughter of Carl and Anna Grethe, married Lars Johnsen from Vaara, and lived in the Kalevala township of Carlton County in 1891; they were charter members of the Eagle Apostolic Church in their community.

The Sami Joik:

the Modern Sami Joik: the Symbol of Sami Cultural Revitalization

Richard Jones-Bamman

Despite nearly 150 years of dire predictions by scholars and others that Sami joik would soon cease to exist, this unique vocal genre is proving to be as tenacious as the culture from which it originates. It not only remains popular among Sami populations, but increasingly is finding a broader audience as well. Certainly some of this new notoriety can be attributed to a general popular culture trend which seems to constantly cast about for the new and exotic--witness the 'ethno-pop' phenomenon of the last decade which has made international stars out of such unlikely candidates as the Bulgarian National Radio Women's Choir. But a significant audience for newly produced joik and joik-inspired recordings is actually a by-product of what can be termed Sami ethnic revitalization, i.e., the conscious assertion by [The] Sami People that their culture differs from that of their Scandinavian neighbors, and that they have inalienable rights to encourage and maintain that difference, rather than be coerced into unwanted assimilation. In light of this development, joik can be seen as a symbol of Sami culture, one which is distinguishable on both sides of the ethnic 'boundary' which separates the Sami from Scandinavians. Not only are such recordings (as are now being produced throughout Sápmi) important for strengthening a people's sense of themselves, but they serve as an introduction to those outside the culture--they are a sonic reminder of those important differences.

MARI BOINE PERSEN

Perhaps the most visible Sami artist from this cross-boundary perspective is **Mari Boine Persen**. Mari Boine's achievements as a performer and songwriter often place her in the position of a Sami spokesperson. Her recent recording *Gula Gula* is a study in the potential of language and melody to address injustice and celebrate ethnic diversity, without resorting to polemic. It is not surprising that a sizable percentage of her audience must resort to the translations provided with her recordings, not being able to understand her Sami lyrics--what is surprising is how little this seems to matter in live performance. Her presence is commanding but not harsh; there is no preaching, simply finely crafted narratives interspersed with powerful metaphors and not infrequently, joiking. All of this is delivered in a musical mixture that includes acoustic guitars, electric bass, West African drums, and Chilean *quena* (flute) and *charango* (a small stringed instrument). Mari Boine, through her recordings and live performances, embodies and projects a positive Sami image which draws attention from both

Sami and non-Sami audiences. It is an image which simultaneously celebrates the uniqueness of Sami culture while placing it within a larger Fourth World or indigenous frame.

NILS-ASLAK VALKEAPÄÄ (AILLOHAS)

From the strictly Sami perspective, however, it would be difficult to find an individual artist who has been more influential on the current generation than **Nils-Aslak Valkeapää (Aillohas)**. With his seminal recording *Joikuja* made in the late 1960s, Aillohas demonstrated both his understanding of the joik tradition and his commitment to innovation, by joiking with acoustic guitar accompaniment. Not one to ever remain static with his art, Aillohas has brought joik into many different performance contexts since then, from jazz groups to symphony orchestras. What remains constant in these projects are his unmistakable vocal timbre and his compositional skills, which he harnesses to bring seemingly disparate genres together in a very convincing manner. His most recent work utilizes multi-media performance, creating a self-described "poetry concert." As demonstrated last April at the annual Easter Week festivities in Kautokeino, Norway, Aillohas not only joiked and read selections from his award winning collection of poems, *Beaivi, Ahcazan*, but painted a picture as well. He was joined by two Finnish musicians who have worked with him for the last twenty years (**Seppo "Baron" Paakkunnainen** and **Esa "Goahtelas" Kotilainen**), a translator who re-read the poems in Norwegian, and a remarkable young joiker from Karasjok, **Johan Anders Baer**. The resulting mix gave those in attendance much to contemplate and enjoy--it was both a celebration of Aillohas the artist and the collective culture which he lovingly articulated for his Sami audience. It is little wonder that every Sami musician/artist I met during my stay cited Aillohas as a primary inspiration.

It is equally important, however, to consider those Sami artists who have not necessarily reached the broad audiences that Mari Boine and Aillohas have, when surveying the emergence of modern joik. These include individuals who work to stimulate and challenge their culture, by introducing elements such as blues, rock'n'roll, jazz, country, even Afro-fusion--yet they are steeped in their regional traditions. No matter how startling the resultant blends may seem, at least one foot is firmly planted in Sami soil.

INGOR-ANTTE AILU GAUP

Surely one of the most innovative is **Ingor Antte Ailu Gaup** from Kautokeino. Beginning his professional career as a teenager with a Sami rock band in the late 1970s, Ailu has gone on to work in recent years with a Stockholm-based group, *Bolon X*, when he's not too busy as a member of *Beaivváš Sámi Teahter*. *Bolon X* effectively mixes West African, jazz and rock textures; hearing Ailu joik over and around this is a potent experience, to say the least. It demonstrates not only his delight in experimentation, but reinforces his contention that joik is powerful enough to stand along side other genres when it is well performed. In a recent collaboration made with saxophonist Jan Garbarek (*I Took Up The Runes*), Ailu's joiking is heard in a more jazz-tinged context, with a dose of Latin rhythms tossed in. In all of these activities, Ailu's commitment to traditional joik (i.e., unaccompanied) is not chal-

(Jones-Bamman continued overleaf)

(Jones-Bamman continued from page 17)

lenged in the least. He is perfectly capable of separating his experimental work from that which is part of his daily existence: joiking his family or something which strikes him, for example. Ailu easily negotiates the boundaries without losing sight of them, leaving all who have met him with a positive impression of the viability of Sami culture in our modern age.

LARS-JONAS JOHANSSON

Another young Sami musician who is exploring new performance possibilities for joik is **Lars-Jonas Johansson** from Tärnaby, Sweden. In the 1991 recording *Vaajesh*, his group *Almetjh Tjöönghkeme* brought together several styles of pop music, all using South Sami for the lyrics. Although this particular dialect is not nearly as widely spoken as that found in northern Sápmi, the singers in the band had made an effort to learn their language in school and with help from older people in the community. Even more significant, perhaps, is Lars-Jonas' emergence as a powerful joiker in a geographical area in which the genre was thought to have ceased long ago. This twenty-five year old has learned to joik and speak Sami in spite of the odds, and has brought this commitment to bear on his musical efforts. Thinking that a young audience would be easier to reach with hard rock as a vehicle, Lars-Jonas has written a number of songs which combine his distinctive joik style with driving rock'n'roll. By his own admission, one of his motives is to encourage other young Sami who feel disenfranchised (as he did) due to poor language skills--his message here is simple: it can be accomplished if it's important enough. The same can be said in regard to his development as a joiker. *Almetjh Tjöönghkeme's* music not only serves to demonstrate the strength and variety of Sami culture, but also stresses the importance of continuing to revitalize South Sami culture in particular.

FRODE FJELLHEIM

One other artist deserves mention here, largely because his musical background does not really include joik as an active component. He has, however, used the genre in recent years to reassert his own identity as a Sami. **Frode Fjellheim** grew up in the Karasjok region of Norway, but

did not speak Sami as a child--his family came from much further south, making it difficult to retain their dialect. He excelled on keyboards, playing both classical and rock music, and eventually moved to Trondheim to study at the conservatory. After graduating he stayed in the area working as a freelance musician. Several years ago he was asked by a Sami woman to work with some historical joik melodies preserved only in notation form in a large collection made during the early part of this century. This first attempt yielded understated jazz arrangements of the joik melodies for instrumental performance. Inspired by the results, Frode continued to work with the collected materials looking for suitable melodies that attracted him. The idea behind the project was to bring back a number of 'forgotten' joiks which had been relegated to the archives long ago. In 1991, his arrangements were recorded and released (*Sangen vi glemte*) and have since received very favorable reviews from Sami and non-Sami audiences. Last June he performed with a jazz ensemble at the an-

nual meeting of the National Organization of Swedish Sami (SSR), filling the hall with instrumental 'joiks' played on soprano sax, synthesizer and electric guitar--the response was phenomenal, bringing most of the audience to their feet. Through the reworking of these historical artifacts, Frode not only breathed new life into them, but rekindled his own sense of self as well.

The Sami joik is not only alive and thriving in its traditional milieu, but has become a valid component for experimentation as well. Joiking to rock or jazz accompaniment does not diffuse the power of the genre--on the contrary, it reminds listeners of the strength of the joik and the culture which produces and nurtures it.

Richard Jones-Bamman, an ethno-musicologist, teaches Scandinavian literature at the U. of Washington. He was a Fulbright scholar at the U. of Umeå in Sweden under a grant from the American-Scandinavian Foundation. His doctoral dissertation is on the Sami joik. © Richard Jones-Bamman.

BAIKI REVIEW

IN SEARCH OF THE DRUM

Ailo Gaup (Fort Yates, ND: Muse Publications 1992)



This is a novel about one man's search for ancient ancestral wisdom. His search for the Samishamanic drum in a dream takes him on a journey into himself and his culture as he travels to northern Norway. The book is rich with symbolism, but reading it is like driving on a smooth road pocked by deep potholes. The combination of insights and incongruities left me feeling wary, caught off-balance between world's of the author's imagination and the ancient wisdom. Which world is which in this book? It reminds me of books written by Lynn Andrews.

Two themes for passing on the wisdom run throughout the book: relationships and communication. Relationships between men and women, people and the earth, people and animal worlds, inner and outer worlds,

good and evil intent, insider and outsider, and the communication central to understanding and learning from each of these relationships.

The accompanying illustrations of Sami petroglyphs, photos and old lithographs seem to be interspersed at random. They divide the chapters with no connection to the text. The sometimes jarring notes of disrespectfulness toward women made me wonder how Sami-American men will react to this book.

This book has already generated strong reactions. Does it establish the image of Sami shamans and is the image accurate, imagined or a combination of the two?

[*In Search of the Drum* may be ordered through the "Baikers Exchange" column, page 23.]

Reviewed by Susan Gunness Myers. Susan Myers is a Sami-American who serves as communications director for North Hennepin Community College, Brooklyn Park, MN.

SAMI CONNECTIONS

Rovaniemi, Finland: Adult Learning Opportunities in Sapmi (Lapland): Are you thinking about a trip to Finland or Scandinavia this summer and you don't want to spend all your time with the relatives? Take a break and attend Finnish Language Camp for adults. The Summer University of Lapland together with the Folk High School of Inari is offering a Finnish language and Sami culture class July 26-August 6. The 50-hour program includes lectures on Finnish language and grammar, conversation and writing exercises, lectures on the culture of Sapmi (Lapland) and the Sami. I know what you're saying, "I can't go. I don't speak Finnish. No problem. The languages of instruction are Finnish, German and English if needed. The participants are divided into three groups: 1) no previous knowledge of Finnish; 2) elementary knowledge of Finnish; and 3) one year university knowledge of Finnish. Hey, you can do it. Look at it this way, this could be a good way to learn a little Finnish and a great opportunity to spend time in Sapmi and learn about the Sami culture. The cost of 2800 FM (about \$466.) includes classes, and room and board for two weeks. You must provide your own transportation. Some scholarships are available. So write and find out: Summer University of Lapland, Hallituskatu 20B, 96100 Rovaniemi, Finland. Or call 358-60-22-621 or fax 358-60-312-239. Application deadline is April 24, 1993.

Maple Grove, MN: Susan Myers hosted the first Sami Heritage Day February 6. Sami guests were **Barb Tan, Arden Johnson, Kurt Seaburg, Mary Oberg-Hanf, Darryl Nicholson, Jan Satre, Casie Brandon, Margie Myers, Alex Henningsgaard and Moppsy**. Good food, good conversation, a warming fire and good company created the perfect atmosphere for a successful party.



Albin Seaburg

Chicago, IL: Albin and Kurt Seaburg assembled an intergenerational art show at the Swedish Museum. Albin has produced portraits and paintings of Samis over the years and his son Kurt is a Minneapolis printmaker, landscape artist and portrait painter. A fabric hanging showing a Sami couple on skis with a reindeer was embroidered by Albin's mother, a Swedish Sami. The three generation show was unique. It opened January 15 and closed February 28.

New York Mills, MN: Leon Keranen is out of the hospital after having a kidney removed. During his stay in the hospital in Fargo he had a Sami flag pennant hanging on his I.V. stand. He said, "Now everybody at St. Luke's knows I'm a Sami!" We all send you best wishes for a speedy recovery.

St. Paul, MN: This is our first birth announcement! **Eric and Rosa Peltoniemi** had a baby boy weighing ten lbs, 24" long and "covered with lots of hair." His name is **Alexandro Kaarlo**. What a big boy! Congratulations to you all: Mom, Dad, sister and new brother. We welcome the newcomer to the growing Sami family.

Virginia, MN: Deckerd out in their Sami gakti, **Rudy Johnson** and **Faith Fjeld** spoke at the Unitarian Church January 17. **Sally Johnson, Gerry Luoma Henkel** and **Marlene Wisuri-Aho** came along. Marlene surprised her Aunt, **Hilma Torma**, a charter *Baiki* subscriber. After hearing the presentation, the minister, **Carol Hepokoski**, thinks she may have Sami ancestry.

Fargo/Moorhead, Scandinavian Hjemkomst Festival, June 23-27: This is an annual celebration of Scandinavian Roots and Traditions. **Marvin Salo** has been asked to demonstrate his birch bark weaving again this year and **Maija Oberg Hanf** (that's me) will be there with copies of *Baiki*. Stop by and see us!

Thousand Oaks, CA, Finnfest USA '93, July 15-18, California Lutheran University: Finnish festivities will receive a California embellishment with trips to the Universal Studios and the Gene Autry Heritage Museum among other things. We'll be there. Write: Finnfest USA '93, 4613 La Miranda Drive, Bakersfield, CA 93309.

Bemidji, MN: Salolampi Language Camp, August 8. Plans are in the making to celebrate **Sami Day** at the Finnish Language Camp. Guests from the Sami-American community will be invited to share their knowledge and experience. **Larry Sauko**, Camp Director, has been the driving force behind Sami awareness, Thank you, Larry.

Box Hill Victoria, Australia: Talk about Sami connections! My brother **Ed Oberg** turned 50 this year on **Sami Day**, February 6. This is the year that Sami Day is officially recognized in Finland, Norway, Sweden and the Kola Peninsula. So happy birthday to both of you, Ed and Sami Day!

SAMI TRADITION

How Reindeer Hide is Used in Making Sami Clothing

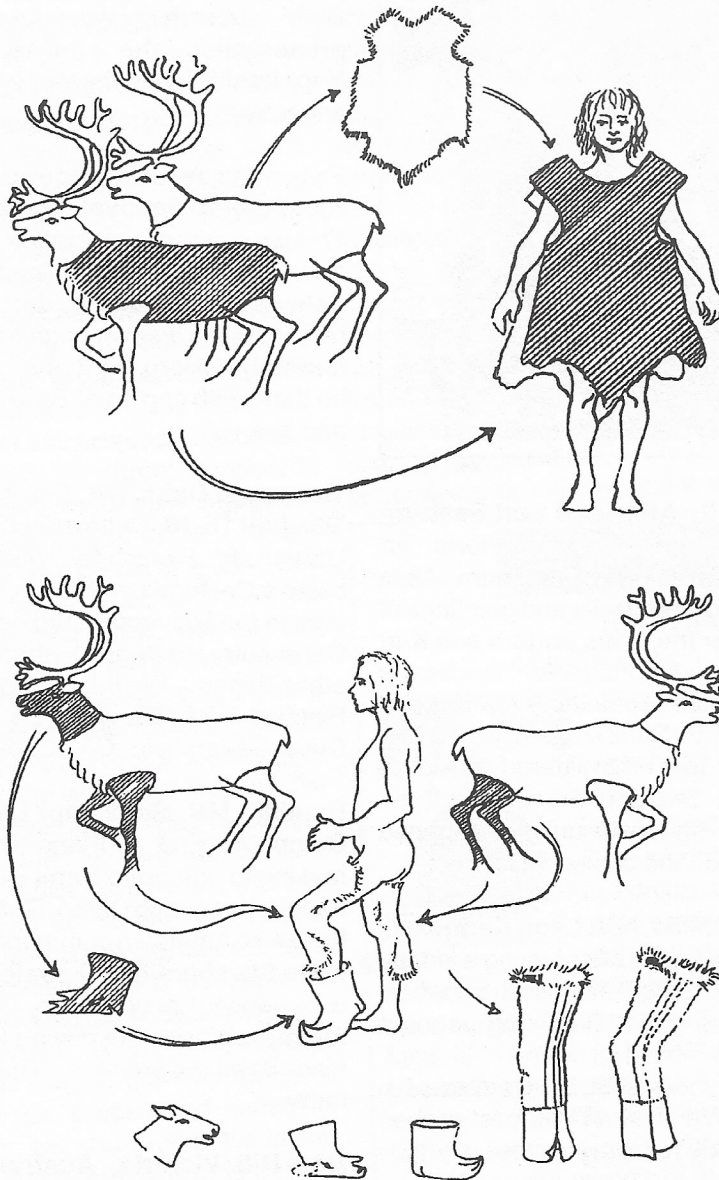


Illustration: Berit Marit Hætta
from: "The Sami People," Sámi Instituhtta: Davvi Girji O.S.1990.

(Lapping continued from page 5)

mistake born of ignorance, but rather, a necessity for the colonial exploitation of resources and the introduction of the rights of Swedish settlers on the same land."

In *Greetings from Lapland*, Nils-Aslak Valkeapää describes nomadism from the Sami perspective: "Nomadism captivates me first and foremost through its philosophy. By being part of Nature, Man shows respect for Nature. The fact that the Sami culture has extended reindeer herding more into a way of life than a means of living is undoubtedly bound up with this 'part of Nature' way of thinking. That reindeer husbandry has subordinated itself to the principles of the meat industry is a step towards the usual commercial mode of thought, which follows on from the idea 'Go out and make all the animals and birds your subjects.' In other words, 'Man is lord over Nature'. This ideology has landed the whole planet in a state which is optimistically called a 'depression.'"

The most contemporary articulation of the Swedish position, that of the 1971 Herding Act, tends to substitute for this perspective a legitimate concern to avoid a situation in which each herder would maximize individual returns at the expense of the land, a finite resource, which must sustain all herders. But such an orientation fails to consider traditional Sami behavior which has historically avoided such overgrazing. Expansion cannot long continue for this leads to disease, famine and the scattering of herds in such a way that pastoral control mechanisms could not function effectively. Such a failure would indeed create a situation in which total social breakdown would be unavoidable. The logical outcome of current Swedish rationalization policy, just may result in the very situation which the Sami have skillfully managed to avoid for a millennium. What an irony it is that those cultures which have created ecological moonscapes so devoid of life and fertility possess the power and authority to "manage" those who have lived in essential harmony with the great forces and processes of life since the beginning of time!

Mark Lapping is Professor and Dean of the Faculty of Planning, Livingston Campus, Rutgers University.

(Pladsen continued from page 7)

munity. Some examples are:

bonden = farmer, drang = laborer, farm-hand, pigan = unmarried woman, torpare = crofter, peasant, smed = blacksmith, skomakare = shoemaker, enkling = widower, enka = widow

The Sami people are identified by a variety of titles in the Swedish records. Some of those I have encountered are:

Lapp = Sami, nomad = nomad, fjall lapp = mountain dwelling Sami, fiskarlapp = Sami fisherman, renvardare = reindeer herder, lapp drang = unmarried Sami man, lapp pigan = unmarried Sami woman, fjallman = mountain man

Most of the Sami in Sweden will be found in the northern counties; Norrbotten, Vasterbotten, Jamtland, Vasternorrland, Gavleborg, and Kopparberg. However, due to the policies of the Swedish government, you will find Sami everywhere.

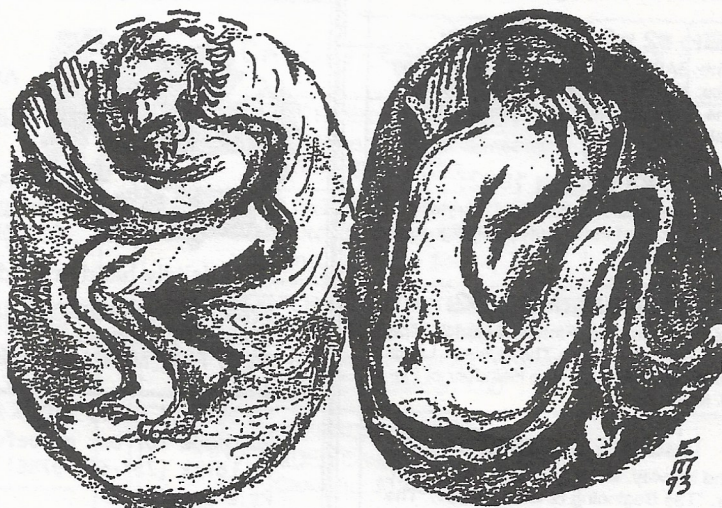
Once you have found your family on the clerical survey you will have birth dates for the next generation back, the parents of your immigrant ancestor. With that information you are ready to return to the baptism records of the parish - or another parish, if the record indicates they were born elsewhere - and find *their* parents. Of course, you will also want to follow the family backwards and forwards in the clerical survey records. Those records are available on microfilm up to about 1895. Since many of our ancestors emigrated before 1895, you may have the thrill of seeing the record that says "til Amerika".

Good Hunting!

(Editor's note: For information about purchasing the Swedish Genealogical Dictionary contact Phyllis Pladsen at 2185 Randy Ave., White Bear Lake, MN 55110. Or call 612-429-7377).

Phyllis J. Pladsen is a member of the Minnesota Genealogical Society, the American Swedish Institute and a member of several genealogical societies in Sweden. She has researched both her and her husband's Swedish and Norwegian families back to the 1600's. Phyllis teaches classes on Swedish genealogy at the American Swedish Institute in Minneapolis and does professional research, specializing in Swedish. She is co-author, with Joseph C. Huber, of a Swedish Genealogical Dictionary, a collection of almost 4,000 of the archaic Swedish words found in the old records along with samples of the handwriting.

THE SAMI WHO STAYED IN THE STORM



As is usual with the oral tradition, I heard different versions of this story. One version came from a student who had heard it from her grandfather. The other version came from a woman who said she was "coming out of the cave" in publicly proclaiming her Sami ancestry. This is the way I remember and retell the story, from the how it was told to me.

Storyteller: Grey Eagle (Ken Jackson)
Artist: Eldon Moilanen

It was in the beginning. The Sun of the Sun had been through great adventures and had married the Daughter of the Giant. The Daughter of the Sun had returned to her father, leaving the buried heart of a 2-year-old female reindeer calf beating in her memory.

Twin sons had been born to the Son of the Sun and the Daughter of the Giant. Each of the brothers wanted to be the one chosen to carry on the family that was to become the Sani People. They spent their time together, watching each other, so that neither would gain special favor with their parents.

One day the twins were out traveling when they were overtaken by a terrible winter storm, with bitter cold, fierce winds and driving snow. One brother took refuge in a huge cave, where it was said that others, not like them, were

already living. The other brother remained outside, braving the storm.

Only one brother was ever seen again. The one twin didn't come out of the cave. His ancestors may still be living in there, but they wouldn't be Sami, hiding like that in a cave.

The brother who remained outside became the ancestor of the Sami People. The lessons he learned in braving the terrible storm have been passed on from generation to generation, allowing the Sami People to survive their harsh environment.

The elders say that only by standing up to storms and battling the elements can the Sami survive as a People. Those that hide and seek safety in the cave are lost, since they are not Sami anymore.

All this was taught to the Sami by the brother who stayed out in the storm.

*Grey Eagle (Ken Jackson), poet, playwright and storyteller, lives and works in Seattle, Washington.
Eldon Moilanen, artist, lives and works in Willits, California.*

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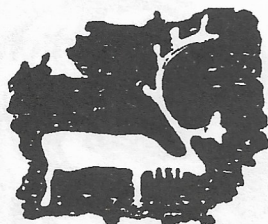
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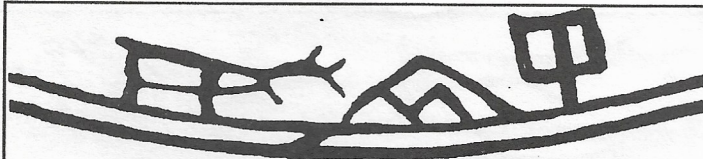
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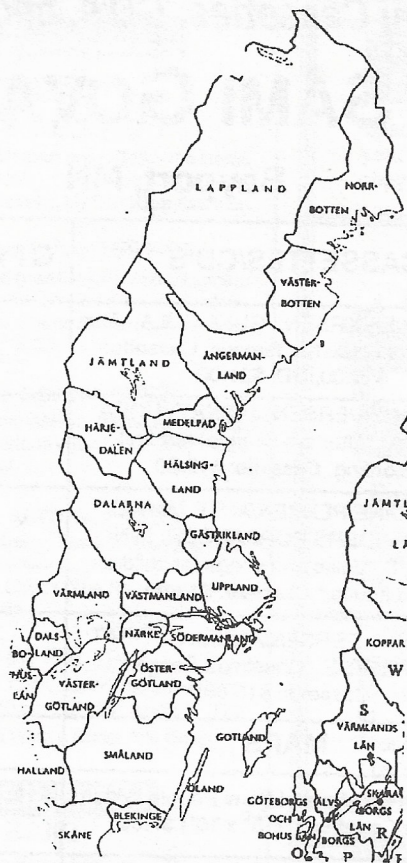
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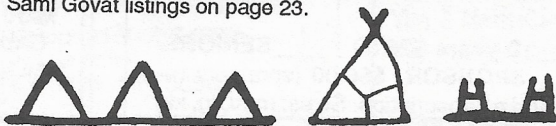
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MAP OF SAPMI WITHIN THE SWEDISH BORDERS

Until the Middle Ages Sami People inhabited most of the Scandinavian Peninsula. They shared the land and put no borders on it. The encroachment of non-Sami people who believed in land ownership and borders pushed the Sami People north. Many Sami reside in the Swedish provinces of Lappland, Norrbotten, Västerbotten and Jämtland. Sapmi has always existed wherever Sami People live and wherever the Sami language is spoken. This is the second in a *Baiki* series of simple maps of Sapmi. For maps of Sapmi with place names in the original Sami language, please see the Sami Govat listings on page 23.



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