the North American Journal of Sami Living

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Fall1992

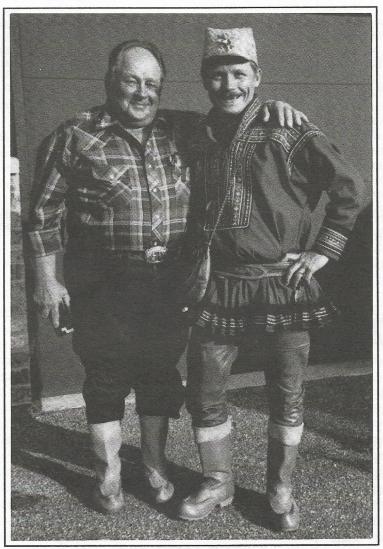


Our Land with Snow-Star Elle Hansa (Sami)

I have many thoughts about the situation and the task of the indigenous people of the world family. we can restore respect for the creator for the creation and for the creatures in a world blinded by materialism, greed and selfish ignorance. together we are many.







IN THIS ISSUE

Sapmi and Norway. The Alta/Kautokeino Dam. CSV. The Bear. Sami Bibliography. Grey Eagle. The Joik. Marvin Salo's "The Beginning of Life." Sami Roots. Ingor-Antte Ailu Gaup. Lingonberry Bread.

Sami Voices

Al Hunter (Anishinabie)

ring the joik over water sami women, sami men sing the children, sing reindeer man, reindeer woman raise antlers to the sun dance the samiland dance the samiland reindeer mothers suckle young feed the reindeer land feed the reindeer land sami woman, sami man raise hands to the sun dance the samiland dance the samiland ringing joik the reindeer dance the children dance old hands reach out old hands reach out old hands reach out dance the children, dance take the antler bone raise them to the sun dance the samiland dance the samiland dance the samiland, dance.





HAPPY BIRTHDAY

Happy birthday, *Baiki*. In just one year you have reawakened us. You have triggered our search for Sami roots. Because of you, we have started to learn our language and wear our gakti. Because of you, the Sami flag flies in America for the very first time. You have given us identity and a feeling of belonging. You deserve your beautiful name "the home that lives in the heart."

Thank you for coming along to the gatherings of Finnish, Norwegian and Swedish Americans. Thank you for introducing us to our brothers and sisters in Indian America. You have connected us all with each other again.

And as you have grown as a publication, so have we grown as a People. So happy birthday, *Baiki*. And "happy birthday to us!"

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

IT IS THE PURPOSE OF BAIKI: THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SAMI LIVING TO SERVE AS A MEDIUM OF EDUCATION AND COMMUNICATION BETWEEN SAMI PEOPLE FROM NORTH AMERICA AND SAMI PEOPLE WORLDWIDE, WE BELIEVE THAT OUR CULTURE HAS SURVIVED THE ATTEMPTS TO DESTROY IT AND THAT THE PUBLICATION OF SAMI ART, LITERATURE AND POETRY, AND THE PROMOTION OF SAMI MUSIC WILL HELP US TO REDEFINE OUR SAMI IDEN-TITY FOR OURSELVES AND FOR OTHERS. WE SEEK TO REAFFIRM **OUR CULTURAL AWARENESS AS** A SOURCE OF PRIDE IN WHO WE AREAND WHERE WEARE FROM. AS THE PEOPLE OF THE SUN WE BELIEVETHAT OUR INDIGENOUS ROOTS CONNECT US TO EACH OTHER AND TO THE EARTH.

GIITU TO THESE

READERS FOR BECOMING BAIKI SPONSERS:

SAMI COUPLE ON A JOURNEY, FOOD STORAGE HUT, LAVUU

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Ernst Jensen Los Altos, California

Mel Olsen South Range, Wisconsin

Marvin Salo Minneapolis, Minnesota

AND FOR ORDERING TEN GIFT SUBSCRIPTIONS:

Wilho Kuoppala Kenai, Alaska



is
very grateful
to the
NEW YORK MILLS, MN
REGIONAL CULTURAL
CENTER
for holding
a reception
in honor of
INGOR-ANTTE AILU

GAUP during

his recent visit.

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Issue 5

Fall 1992

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SAPMI AND NORWAY

THE COVER

Two Sami brothers, wearing each other's boots. Marvin Salo of Minneapolis, Minnesota and Ingor-Antte Ailu Gaup of Kautokeino, Norway. In front of Marvin's home October 1992. Ailu's hat was made by Marvin.

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WHERE WE ARE FROM:

SAPMI AND NORWAY

WHY BE SAMI?

Nils Jernsletten

The following article summarizes the situation in Sapmi before dramatic changes began to take place in its relationship to Norway. It is reprinted from Nordisk Nykolonialisme-Samiske problem i dag, Lina R. Homme, ed.(Det Norske Samlaget, Oslo 1969), by permission of the author. Translated by Arden Johnson, 1992.

Why be Sami? This is a difficult question. For generations our forebears were told that the only salvation was civilization. We were supposed to assimilate. We were to stop speaking Sami at home, that we teach our children Norwegian and otherwise "keep up with the times."

In writing against assimilation, my arguments are based on defending the Sami culture as a way of life. Out of habit I find

myself defending our right to choose our own values and to act from our own way of thinking. What irritates some "Norwegian" and half-assimilated Sami *now* is that some of us proclaim the right to take our Sami background with us into today's society along with the right to cultivate our own Sami version of Sami culture. This costs the Norwegian government money and for the half-assimilated "Norwegians" in Sapmi, this disrupts their hard-won acceptance and raises problems that were supposedly gone.

The development scenario of the dominant society is that modern conveniences and communication have made Sami culture weak and that there are now only a few old timers out in the tundra who speak Sami and wear gakti. Sapmi is considered by many to be an underdeveloped area. There is no industry and the standard of living is low by western European standards. Some of the hunting and fishing culture survives but only reindeer Sami can be said to have become professional, the reindeer being their only

source of income. The other groups, the sea, river and forest Sami have made their living in the same way the previous generation did: by using the resources of nature made accessible with simple tools. Most had small farms with a few animals. They hunted during the winter and took odd jobs. During the summer they picked cloudberries, fished the lakes and caught salmon in the river.

The Sami didn't have much money; they lived in a nature economy. They only recently have moved into a cash economy that comes from selling products. Before, the reindeer Sami got everything they needed from the reindeer. They used the meat, blood and bone marrow for food and the skins for winter clothes. Now they slaughter them for sale and purchase most of their food, clothing and tools. The reindeer is used less and less, transportation being cars, tractors and snowmobiles. Cloudberries, freshwater lake fish

and salmon are sold, and a few Sami make extra money by trapping ptarmigan. These are all sought-after commodities, so some large families have been able to get by rather well . I know a man with ten children who figured out that it didn't pay to have a steady job in highway construction. When the whole family picked cloudberries, fished the lakes, went salmon fishing and sewed moccasins and mittens for sale, the income was substantially more than if he

"worked." But for most Sami, this form of economy is no longer feasible.

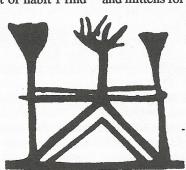
We have never asked for compensation for the loss of much of our traditional economic base. Norway has always officially viewed Sami rights to land and water as being naive. The Sami use land and lakes that are not used by anyone else without ever thinking about "ownership". But most of our parents accepted the view of the dominant society that we Sami were naive. It didn't mean much to them that the Sami were the best hunters and lake, river and fjord fishers. They saw to it that their sons and daughters were able to attend Norwegian schools so that they could leave Sapmi and secure jobs [because] at home it was no longer possible to make a decent living. The economic assistance that helps Samis leave their communities also strengthens the belief that the Sami way of life is out of date and a handicap for those who want to "get ahead".

The Norwegian schools we went to did not teach us respect for [Sami] cultural values. In

school we lost respect for what we had learned at home. We never heard about Sami things in school or read about them in books. Apparently we had never done anything worth writing about!

Recently the dominant society has showed increasing willingness to let us live as Sami and we have begun to discuss our situation. The discussions include many types of Sami:

- the traditional Sami who is Sami without even thinking about cultural problems.
- the passive Sami who assimilates with the rationalization that one has to keep up with the times.
- the Norwegianized Sami who feels that Sami culture is oldfashioned, romantic and incompatible with the education and standard of living required today.
 - the supporter of "authentic" Sami culture who feels that Sami



WHEN THE FAMILY FISHED THE LAKES, AND RIVERS, PICKED CLOUDBERRIES, AND SEWED MOCCASINS AND MITTENS FOR SALE, THEIR INCOME WAS GREATER THAN IF THEY "WORKED."

(Jernsletten continued on page 14)

⇒C S V≪

The Return of the Sami Spirit: Is It Happening Here?

C stands for the sounds of Sami Starting in father & mother too It embraces all beauty-Water, light and writings.

S stands for Sapmi.
It is with us at life's evening;
In our food, reindeer and all creationsIn love and in language.

V stands for movement,
Making the Sami People burst forth.
In adversity it has waited, patiently,
Bleeding and victorious too.

Anders Guttormsen

ČSV, the return of the Sami spirit, took place in Finland, Norway, and Sweden in 1974. One of its leaders, Niillas Somby, has called ČSV "a new spring."

It began in Norway at a conference on Sami literature. Sami artists, poets and writers met together at a time when their culture was thought to be dead. For generations their art and their literature had been ignored and trivialized, and the joik, the music that sprang from their hearts, had been labelled as sin. Lacking respect and artistic expression, the Sami had almost forgotten who they were and where they were from; many had assimilated. And then suddenly, everything changed: Anders Guttormsen stood up and read his ČSV poem. [chay-ess-vay]

The conference took place in the small community of Sirma, on the Tana River. Since then the river came to symbolize the rebirth of Sami spirit -"the place where we all began the struggle to be Sami once again," as artist Synnøve Persen puts it.

The letters "ČSV" of the poem stand for "Čajet Sami Vouigna," Show Sami Spiritual Identity! The ČSV Poem celebrated the life of a culture thought to be dead. The powerful words connected cultural identity with spiritual forms: the joik ("the sounds of Sami"), Sami art ("all beauty"), and nature (the Sami relationship to "food, reindeer and all creations").

Guttormsen's poem spoke of the future of the Sami People as well as the past. It was interpreted by those in Sirma as a signal to begin a Movement. At the time of ČSV, Synnøve Persen was a student at the Art Academy in Oslo. "We were the first generation of Samis to have a higher education. My parents' generation could hardly read or write; they grew up being told they were worth nothing and that they were supposed to assimilate, to be Norwegians. My Mother and I would be going somewhere on the bus she would stop talking Sami and start talking Norwegian when we went through towns. It was forbidden to learn Sami history and to study the Sami language, and when their history and their language was destroyed, they lost their selfrespect. It is easy to suppress a People who don't know about themselves - then you can do what you want. We began to ask each other, 'Why shouldn't we be Sami?' 'Why haven't we learned anything about our own history, our own language?' It became our policy in every situation to tell people that we were Sami. We had to build up our personal identity. We began to wear gakti. It shocked Norwegians to see real live Sami wearing Sami clothing in the middle of Oslo!"

Dr. Elina Helander was teaching and doing research at the University of Umeo, Sweden in 1974. "Suddenly there was this CSV Movement that no one could have predicted. There were no rules, no official definitions, no leaders. It was just there, and it spread everywhere. We spent all our time discussing our Sami identity. 'What is Sami politics? What is a Sami?' There was no sleep. There was hardly any energy left to study. I would ask my students where they had gone on the weekend. They had been all over - meeting each other and talking. I started the Sami Association at Umeo. We all became politically conscious and wore Sami clothes and jewelry. We began to read the classics, Johan Turi, Pedar Jalvi, Anders Haetta, Kirsti Paltto and Kertty Vuolab. All expressed good Sami thinking. We read the poetry of Paulus Utsi. He began to make CSV jewelry, and the students would hang around him. The Tana Family Singers made Sami pop records and The Youth of the Tana River recorded political joiks. All of this was revglutionary."

For many, CSV was a return to being Sami. It lead to the rebirth of the cultural awareness that had almost been lost. It began with the reading of a poem and spread from a river in Norway across Sweden, Finland and Russia. Perhaps today, twenty years later, it has also spread to North America.

THE ALTA/ KAUTOKEINO CONFLICT:

The People of Peace Become Environmental Activists

Niillas A. Somby

he plan by the Norwegian government to construct a dam for hydroelectric power on the Álaheaju/Guov'dagæino [Alta/Kautokeino] River, and the resistance and demonstrations against it, began in 1968. The construction included flooding a canyon that is sacred to the Sami People and putting Masi, a traditional Sami village, under water. We Sami pointed out our rights as indigenous people saying that the canyon was valuable to our culture. We argued that there was no actual need for additional hydroelectric power.

The plans to flood Masi were halted, but the Norwegian authorities continued with their plans to flood the canyon. When we realized that sensible argument would get us nowhere, we changed our tactics. We constructed a *lavvu* outside the Norwegian Parliament and began a hunger strike. Norway sent police to arrest us.

Dam construction was stopped in order to reconsider the case but the government decided to continue, promising to establish a committee to examine the rights of the Sami nation. After the construction was finished, Norwegian Prime Minister Gro Harlem Brundtland admitted in public that the Norwegian government was wrong in damming the river.

Niillas A Somby lead the resistance to the building of the dam. He is a photojournalist whose articles frequently appear in Sami Áigi.



Button calling for a halt to the Alta/Kautokeino project.

Please see page 16 for: "A Chronological History of the Alta/Kautokeino Dam Project."

SAPMIAND NORWAY

AND THE ENVIRONMENTAL CRISIS

In the past the relationship between Sapmi and Norway has been one of a colonized people to a colonial government. Many Sami emigrated from Norway because of this situation. But things seemed to change when Sapmi and Norway met face to face over the damming of a river. This environmental conflict became a turning point. The Alta/Kautokeino dam symbolizes the universal struggle between indigenous Peoples and national governments as to the use or misuse of the environment. National governments usually win. But while Norway won the battle it may be that Sapmi won the war. Although Norway built the dam over Sami objections, the Samediggi, the Sami Parliament, came into being as a direct result. In an effort to find out what has happened since this development, and whether the relationship between Sapmi and Norway did indeed change, Baiki spoke with Dag-Mork Ulnes, Consul General of Norway for the Pacific Northwest, and John Gustavsen, Sami writer and journalist whose special interest is environmental issues. Ulnes, based in San Francisco, is regarded as "Norway's activist diplomat." He received the Norwegian American Chamber of Commerce 1991 Annual Award. He is a native of Ski, south of Oslo. Gustavsen has just finished his first play about the real-life drama behind the writing of the first Sami book, Turi's Book of Lapland. Gustavsen lives in Tromsø, Norway.

Dag-Mork Ulnes:

Baiki. What are the major environmental issues facing Sapmi and Norway today?

Ulnes: The major problem is acid rain. Coal and oil is used for fuel in both the British Isles and eastern Europe. The smoke drifts over Norway and falls as rain or snow with a high sulphur content This acidifies our lakes and streams and has killed a large part of the trout population. Heavy industry in Poland and Eastern Europe also contributes to the pollution. Britain has made some effort to clean up the smokeBut there is very little Norway can do with countries that have a lot of economic problems..

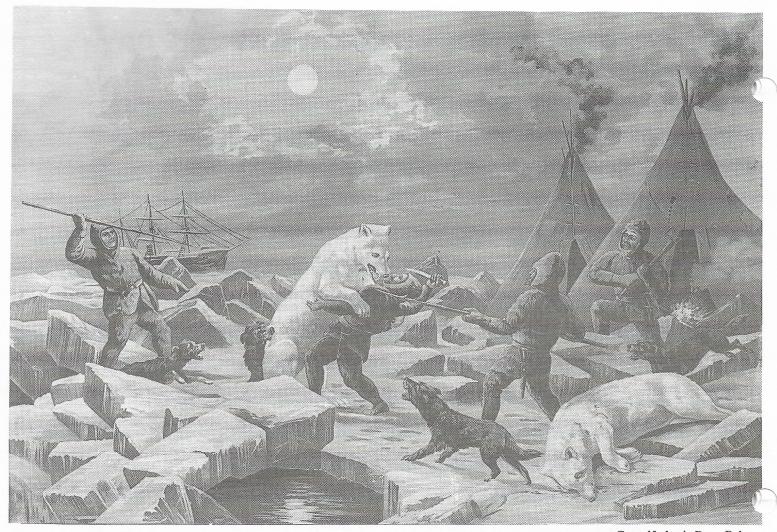
- B. We have heard that there is a great deal of pollution coming from Russia.
- *U*. That is the major problem in the Sami area. One of the world's largest nickel plants is just across the Russian border a few miles from Kirkenes. I was there in August. Effluvium from the plant is killing off the vegetation and the plant itself is very run down. Norway has offered to partially pay for the clean up but the Russian government has not accepted our offer, saying they do not have matching funds.
- $\it B.$ This brings up the problem of fallout from Chernobyl, which also came from Russia.
- U. Reindeer are the most important Sami industry. In what we call "The Chernobyl Effect" the lichen was contaminated by the fallout, and because reindeer live on lichen, people became concerned about eating reindeer meat. However today most people seem to have forgotten about Chernobyl, and the consumption of reindeer meat is back to normal. We are worried that there will be more Chernobyls. That's why we are pushing hard for international action that will guarantee that this sort of thing will not take place again.
- B. How is the Samediggi working with you on environmental problems such as these? Do you work together to solve them?
- U. There is now a very close relationship with the Samediggi through the political process and the government. The Samediggi is a major breakthrough. They make a lot of decisions that the Norwegian government immediately adopts. Norway would very much like to present our model as something that the American government should look at in their relationship to American Indians. We think we have something to offer.
- B. It is our understanding that Sapmi also has representation in the Storting. Is that correct?
 - U. Yes, there are people on the Finnmark bench that represent (Ulnes continued on Page 14.)

John Gustavsen:

Baiki. What are the major environmental issues facing the Sami People today?

Gustavsen. We have three major concerns. For us it is pollution from nuclear reactors on the Kola Peninsula, nuclear waste dumped from submarines, and radioactive waste from Russian nuclear power stations.

- B. Are there still some effects from the Chernobyl fallout?
- G. Yes, but no new problems. Right now we are facing a new situation in Russia. We have just gotten news that in the Barents Sea and the Kurent Sea very close to us, they have dumped a lot of old nuclear reactors. We are afraid that those reactors will pollute the water. There are four reactors on the Kola Peninsula and we are afraid that there will be another disaster at one of those stations.
- B. What is being done? Will the Sami deal directly with Russia about this through the *Samediggi* [the Sami Parliament], or will they go through the *Storting* [the Norwegian Parliament]?
- G. I don't know exactly what they will do. The Norwegian government is working on the case and has been dealing directly with the Russian Department of the Environment. The situation has just developed and the Samediggi is trying to get as much information as possible. We are very concerned. We have also just heard about a situation that has come to light on the island of Novaada Zemlgga. The indigenous people who live there are getting cancer but their medical records have been destroyed. We are now very afraid of what will happen in the future. There is a lot of cancer among the all indigenous people of the Arctic.
 - B. Do Sapmi and Norway work together on these problems?
- G. Yes, of course, but the Samediggi just gives advice you might call us an advisory parliament. The Alta issue changed the climate and Norway saw that things could not continue as they had been before. I would certainly say that the Norwegian government respects the Samis more than they did but we still do not have self-governing status.
 - B. How do you feel about the future of Sapmi?
- G. I think in so many ways things have gone forward but there will always be new problems when you are as small a percentage of the population as the Sami are. There will be new pressures. Central Europe is moving north. What is happening in Russia could develop into a coup d'etat. The nuclear and environmental dangers we face now are international in scope. This is the agenda we are all concerned about.
 - B. Thank you.



Grandfather's Bear Print

Ancient beast,
Beast of magic,
Beast of magic,
Magic old one. Hai! Ai!
Hai! Ai! Karhu!
Karhu, magic one,
One who first begins,
Begins and lasts forever,
Forever known to all my people.

Bierdne, fierce one, I will cleanse with juice of alder, Cleanse from hand your magic blood, Cleanse your blood with hand from alder, And your sacred soul stone.

Ancient beast,
Best of magic,
Best of magic,
Magic old one. Hai! Ai!
Hai! Ai! Karhu!
Karhu, magic one'
One who first begins,
Begins and lasts forever,
Forever known to all my people.

"Lapland Bear Song," Carol E. Staats

THE BEAR

Mel Olsen

randfather's print of the bear hunt had a magical quality in my earliest memories. He brought it from northern Norway at the turn of the century and gave it a place of honor in our new Wisconsin home. Its colors and characteristics were eerie in the northern winter light. His stories and memories were repeated long after the life of the experience had faded.

From primeval times Arctic Peoples have been influenced by the bear and what it symbolizes. Cultures in the northern latitudes around the world have shared an allegiance to evolving Bear Societies that have been connected to their survival as a group.

In Paleolithic times an Ice Age artist fashioned an elegant naturalistic profile of a bear on a glaciated boulder (near what is Finnhagen today). One of a number of petroglyphs on the tundra, it survives as a symbol of the Bear's status among the earliest Sami.

Societies that recognize the bear as a relative or cohabitant on the land probably represent Sami religion in its oldest form. The people recognize an animal that is mysteriously like them in many ways, one that skillfully ekes out its sustenance from the forest yet keeps its distance, an animal that doesn't represent a threat. Among the Sami all forms of life are sacred. Reindeer, rabbits, birds,

wolves and other animals have attributes that are perhaps comparable to their worth to the people as they struggle to survive from the land. Among the animals, the bear has been, from earliest times, the most noble of all. Not only does it maintain a sophisticated lifestyle, but it has been thought to be as intelligent as humans. It has as well, powers not possessed by man, which have made it a sacred figure. The bear communicates with all other animals, and is believed to have access to the five spiritual realms of the major Sami dieties or spirits. Access to these spiritual realms are explained in the legends that are retold as a part of the ceremonies related to the Sami bear hunt.

The animal nations are a gift and a blessing from the Great Spirit. According to the *Kalevala*, the Mother Earth takes an especial pleasure in nurturing the bear which was favored by Her:

Then she rocked the charming object And she rocked the lovely creature Underneath the spreading fir tree Underneath the blooming pine tree. Thus it was the bear was nurtured, And the furry beast was fostered There beside the bush of honey In a forest dripping honey.

In exchange for promising to be passive and not posing a threat to other animals, the bear is believed to have been granted several wishes at the time of its creation: cleverness, agility, a manlike stature, and claws and teeth to use as tools. From this time on, according to Sami legend, the bear became an herbivore and a good neighbor in the wilderness.

Thus the bear has been regarded as a diety by Arctic Peoples. Special attributes coincide with the seasonal cycles of nature (the mysterious winter sleep), and special embodiments are known to be spiritually potent (the nose, heart, skin and paws).

Siv Norlander-Unsgaard, in a 1984 publication *Time-reckoning in Old Saami Culture*, states that from ancient times it is critical in the Sami culture to "do things at the right time." With two seasons, summer and winter, the transition time between is the point from which is reckoned such things as animal husbandry, weddings, new growth and migration. As the primary symbol for this biocosmic rhythm, the bear goes into and out of the den in the week around the autumnal and spring equinoxes and is thus responsible for the return of the sun. In an old Skolt Sami myth, the bear draws up the

sun every morning of summer. Another myth regards the bear as the ferryman for the dead in observing the winter season and hibernation. With these and other relationships of the bear to the seasons, many clans in the past linked the bear with life span, ancestry, good fortune and the establishment of priorities.

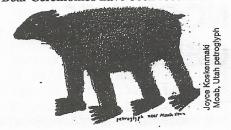
As a sacred animal, one of the important roles for the bear to fulfill is to help the people in their difficult struggle for survival. And so in a highly ritualized manner, the bear is the object of a ceremonial hunt. The killing of a bear has never been a trifling matter. The bear has access to the other spirits and animals of the forest. When it is conducted according to ancient primordial tradition, the bear hunt is supported by mythology that solemnizes the taking from and the giving back to nature. In return for ceremonial respect, the bear delivers special gifts to the People. A number of Old Norse sagas record sacred alliances between bears and humans both in combat and in daily life.



he bear is closely related to Sami cultural origins. The bear, as a sacred totem, reinvigorates their ancient bloodlines. A special part of the feast that follows the hunt includes a rite of marriage of the bear to a young member of the community and it is an honored guest as an ancestor of the race.

This relationship between the Sami People and the bear is well known and the blurred line between "Sami" and "bear" can be observed in journalistic records as well as in the old Norse sagas. In the 17th and 18th centuries, visitors to the north wrote of ceremonial practices involving the unique relationship of the Sami People to the Great Bear. In 1905 George Webb Dasent reported in A Collection of Popular Tales from the Norse and North German, "Even now in Norway it is a matter of popular beliefs that Finns and Lapps...can at will assume the shapes of bears; and it is a common thing to say of one of those beasts, when he gets unusually savage and daring, 'that can be no Christian bear'." And, according to Juha Pentikainenin Kalevala,

Mythology, even during the 20th century, Bear Ceremonies have been recorded.



ncient traditions and legends consider the bear to be a *noiade*[to be a shaman] journeying in the form of the primordial father, or an animal that looks like a person and walks on two feet. Pentikainen records Marina Takala as observing in the 1960's that a bear was slain in White Sea Karelia and a money belt was found under its hide. "No doubt," she writes, "it was a person in the form of a bear."

The ability to transform from human to bear plays a valuable part in the spiritual powers of a *noaide*. With the aid of the Sacred Drum, and sometimes wearing a bearskin, the *noiade* visits the five realms of the major Sami dieties or spirits to pray for help for the People. Again, this ability to ritually change is recorded in the sagas and in the writings of Christian missionaries in the 16th and 17th centuries. Called "beserkers" by these outsiders, the *noiades* were observed to chant, drum and "will" themselves into a state of ancestral reality.

And so the bear is given great respect by the Sami People. In both the hunt and the feast it is treated as a special guest whose power is alive and whose spirit is watching. The bear is spoken to with reverence, and, perhaps in remembrance of the common ancestral source, serenaded with songs and with joiks. And when the time arrives in late winter the People begin to prepare themselves spiritually for the hunt and the feast so they can continue to survive in balance both with each other and with nature.

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.

Next issue:
The Bear Hunt
and the
Bear Feast

A Genealogy Goldmine

NORWAY'S CENSUS

Solveig Torvik

If you suspect you are of Sami blood but your family has assimilated and forgotten its roots, there is one way to verify your heritage: the census. If you know the names of the ancestors in question, and where they were living before they emigrated, you can ascertain from the census records what language they spoke at home and what nationality they claimed. As in the U.S., the census in Norway is taken every ten years.

To cite an example, the December 3, 1900 Norwegian census is a goldmine of information. It lists everyone living or working at or visiting each house or farm on that day. The owner of the farm is listed first, then his wife, then their children and then the grown childrens' spouses, if the owner's children were married or living at home, and lastly, any hired help residing on the premises, and any visitors.

The census lists the date and place of birth religious affiliation and occupation of each person. It also asks is those being counted were raising corn or potatoes and if they owned horses, cows, sheep, goats, pigs or reindeer. It also states whether they raised a vegetable garden or had a fruit or chard.

The most important entries for the purposes of ascertaining Sami ancestry are found in the columns under entry number 15 and 16 near the end of the form. Number 15 asks the nationality of the person and the choices are Norsk [Norwegian], Lappisk fastboende [Lappish nomad], Finsk/Kvensk [Finn/Kven], and Blandet [mixed]. Number 16 asks which language is spoken in the home: Norsk, Lappisk or Finsk.

To obtain copies of the census records on microfilm consult your local public library's genealogical section. If your library does not provide this service, locate a Family History Center run by the Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter Day Saints (Mormon). The LDS Church has extensive church and legal records from Scandinavia going back hundreds of years. A phone call to the LDS ward in your city should enable you to obtain the address of the Center

(Torvik continued on page 14)

SAMI BIBLIOGRAPHY

The following titles will interest people who want to know more about Samiland and its people. I doubt that many are still in print but a good second-hand bookstore may have copies. And your public library will have some of the titles or can borrow them for you on interlibrary loan.

CLASSICS

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Manker, Ernst. PEOPLE OF THE EIGHT SEASONS.Beautiful photographs and drawings. Viking, 1963.

Marsden, Walter. LAPLAND. A Time-Life International Book, 1976.

FICTION

Friis, Johan. LAJLA. A popular romantic novel which was made into a movie. Based on the story of a Sami girl with whom the author was madly in love.

Frison-Roche, Roger. THE RAID. Harper, 1964. THE LAST MIGRATION. Harper, 1965. Two popular novels about the struggle of a Sami girl to resist Norwegianization in a boarding school.

Prepared by Rudolph Johnson.

BAIKI REVIEW

HEAR THE RAVEN

Grey Eagle (Ken Jackson)Kautokeino, Norway DAT, 1992.

A new book has just been published with text in both English and Samegiella, the first American Indian stories to be published in the Sami language. HEAR THE RAVEN is a collection of folktales told by Baiki's own Grey Eagle (Ken Jackson), Anishinabe. A poet, playwright and storyteller, Grey Eagle is the director of the Sacred Circle Storytellers of Seattle. We always need stories to tell us who we are and help us understand, accept and appreciate ourselves and our People. There is much

wisdom in these tales. Grey Eagle tells us we can learn from the raven's nastiness as well as his nobility, from his dumbness as well as his cleverness. Such stories have been told and retold to children by campfires and in living rooms. Samegiella translation is by Britt Rajala and Harald Gaski, a frequent Baiki contributor. Color illustrations are by Bjørg Momsen. This book will become a collectors' item. This book will soon be available through Baiki.

Reviewed by Rudolph Johnson.

ENDANGERED PEOPLES DOCUMENTATION CENTER

I am an Italian free-lance journalist specializing in the rights of ethnic minorities. I am currently trying to establish a documentation center dealing with endangered peoples, from Sami to Maoris. I read vour address in the 500 Years Resource Guide published by the South American Indian Information Center. I was looking for a magazine dealing with the Sami but all the ones I know are written in Scandinavian languages. In 1993, the International Year of Native Peoples, I would like to invite Sami representatives to Florence and I am also trying to found a local chapter of the German Gesellschaft fuer bedrohte Voelker. This would be a good conference for my town. I have also just released a booklet in Italian dealing with indigenous peoples of the Americas.

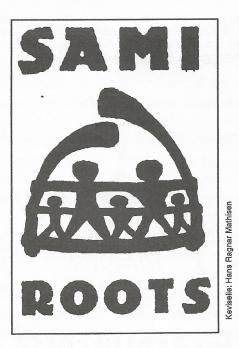
Alessandro Michelucci Via Trieste, 11 I-50139 Florence, Italy

'YOOPERS'

I have always said if you take the Lapp People out of this area you would lose a big percentage of the population. Maybe your magazine will give some more information about the Swedes, Finns and Norwegians here in Michigan. I am curious about some of my ancestors. Our family name has been changed many times. My great great grandmother Lisa was from Jukkasjarvi, Sweden and my grandfather was Erik Persson Sturk before the minister changed it. Dr. Erik Wahlberg from Soukolojarvi, Kuivakangas, Sweden is my cousin.

Wilho Eiland Kerttu Box 131 Atlantic Mine, MI 49905

[Editors note:] Baiki is gathering information about the Sami ("Lapp") People in the upper Michigan peninsula. We welcome any information: Please send to: Baiki, 2416 London Rd., Duluth, MN 55812.



STIERNA SIIDA

Baiki is to be commended on its ambition as well as its vision in advancing the visibility of the Sami throughout North America. I believe that there are many Finns and Scandinavians in the United States and Canada who have Sami heritage but who are not aware of it.SIIDA [the new Sami Immigrants' Descendants Association] will help provide that realization. The Stierna family which migrated to the USA in the mid-1860's is the only Stierna family. They came from Kuusamo, Finland and are all related to me. I've located several dozen and all are Sami!

> Elmer Josephs 4822 Tudor Dr. Cape Coral, FL 33904

[Editors note:] Elmer Josephs is editor of S*T*A*A*R: the Stierna Tribe and Associated Relatives Newsletter. His Finnish-Language History of Kuusamo is being translated into English by Timo Riipa of the Immigration History Research Center.

THE SEARCH

It seems I've been searching all my life. My name is Carol A. Aenne. I was born Carol Ann Hensel, the youngest child of Christina W.

Peterson. I was that my mother was "pure Norwegian." Her father was Ole Peterson. My grandmother Christina (b.1854) was from Sogndal, Norway. She immigrated to the U.S. in 1874. My grandfather Ole N Aarvold (b.1842) was also from Sogndal. He was the son of Niels Johannesen Fjaren (b. 1801) and Kari Pedersdatter (b.1799). But what of my grandmother's mother? I guess if I identify with the Sami people share their values, passion and vision- that I may be Sami. I need to know more. Can anyone help me?

Carol Aenne 17205 Grays Bay Blvd. Wayzata, MN 55391

VESTERHEIM MUSEUM

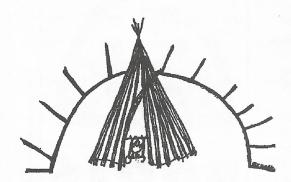
On a recent trip to Vesterheim. the Norwegian-American Museum in Decorah, Iowa, I talked with the director about Sami immigration to the United States. Vesterheim is an historical museum that collects and displays items which relate to immigration from Norway. They have set up a number of old historic buildings, log cabins, churches, school rooms, etc. and they display hundreds of artifacts that tell the story of immigration. I was told that they possess only a very few items which Sami immigrants brought along to this country. The Museum would very much welcome items Sami immigrants brought with them that are typically Sami. If you have any thing that might be of interest, please contact Vesterheim at 502 West Water St., Decorah, Iowa 52101. (319) 382-9681. Sami Americans should be represented in this museum.

> Rudolph Johnson 709 17th Ave. East Duluth, MN 55812

[Editors note:] 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 first installment of this series begins in this issue. Marvin Salo writes, "I shall try to describe how the Sami People came to the U.S. and got land and lived. This is the way I've lived and these are my memories. My story will continue for as long as I can think of things to put into it."

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



THE BEGINNING OF LIFE

Chapter One:

THE NEW MOON

There is a lady who is a mother. She is in labor and she is going to give birth; she is straining and working and sweating at this time of delivery. The midwife, who is also her grandmother, sits alongside and says, "Everything will be all right, everything will be all right." And the father sits there and he's watching the birthing process - the same that he has watched many, many times - since the reindeer give birth. And he's watching his new bride of just one year giving birth. He sits there and tells the midwife, "I hope it doesn't hurt, I hope it doesn't hurt." And the midwife says, "Give her this pipe to smoke and she'll feel better." And the mother takes a couple of good puffs and she does feel better.

He watches and they are waiting and again the contractions start, and here comes a little boy out; and the midwife says, "Now you are a father, now you can separate that one from the mother." And he takes his twine and he ties off the cord in two different places, and cuts in between.

Then the midwife takes the child in her hands and she cleans it with unsalted butter and washes the baby and cleans him up, her capable hands moving in a skillful manner and in a flash she gets everything all cleaned up and wraps him in a towel and a little blanket. And as she's cleaning him and she gets him all cleaned up, the first thing he does, he gives one good squirt into the heavens and he hits her face.

Well she laughs and says, "No! He's a boy and he acts like a boy... he's hollering himself into the world and he has peed himself into the world. This is going to be a good boy. This is going to be a good solid boy." And then she hands the little boy to his mother and says, "What are you going to call him?" And the mother says, "Well, we've already picked a name and we thought we would call him Einar. Einar is our favorite name and we will call him Einar. So Einar has entered the world.

So the first thing Einar does is he bellers, he cries and then he pees his way in and now he is cuddling up to his mother and is laying cheek to cheek with his mother and she's smelling his breath and he's smelling her breath and now they are bonding.

Then she takes his little cold nose and puts it to her breast and he starts to suckle and little humming noises come out and she is in complete bliss.

What a wonderful day it is to have a little boy who is born into the world, who is born into the Sami culture and into the Sami nation!

BAIKI 10

What kind of a man will he be? Will he be like us? she wonders as he suckles away. His little nose is getting warmer. It was cold when he first got on her breast but his little nose is getting warmer because it's getting heat from her breast. He suckles away and she keeps thinking, "my what a wonderful wonderful head he's got. What a beautiful face, dark eyes, real little red face, kind of wrinkled up, and his hands - he's got five fingers, four fingers and a thumb." And she inspects him and she wraps him up real tight into the blanket and she waits for him to fall asleep.

So the midwife takes the baby and puts diapers made of moss on him, a little jacket on him, and ties him up real tight into a cradleboard and the baby is sleeping and they're wondering what has happened.

The father and the mother of Einar are amazed and full of great joy because of the little boy that was born. And as grandma comes over and the uncles and the aunts come over, "My God, what a beautiful baby you have!" "What a gorgeous body, good hands, strong feet and sharp eyes." "...and no hair."

"Well, that'll grow," Einar's Dad says. "That'll grow, that hair will grow...so will the boy grow."

So as they talk they say, "Well, it's a good time to have a baby - a fall baby will survive much easier than a spring baby. This fall we have plenty of food, plenty of meat.

They start migrating to the south. Einar and his mother in their sled with the reindeer in the front and Grandma says to mother, "Well, it isn't such a bad trip even though you have that little boy with you." "No, he likes to ride with me. We have fun when we ride. But

that reindeer that I have this year, it likes to run too much. It's too fast."

And grandma says, "We'll put another one on there and then you'll go twice as fast and you'll get there before us." They laugh and have fun joking with each other and they tease each other and they romp around and they say, "Well, you know how it is. If you go too fast then you get there before you started and it's no use starting until you get there. And you never know where you've been until you get there.

And then when you come back from there you can tell, you can tell the people where you've been."

And that's the way the conversation goes. They have fun and make light of everything that's going on. And Einar is listening, he's listening to the conversation, he's getting the same way as his grandmother. His grandmother has a lot of fun and laughs and jokes and has a lot of fun so Einar is getting into the same frame of mind and this frame of mind is rubbing off on Einar.

Each day as they make their journey, grandma asks, "How did it go with Einar today? I just saw you twice when you fed him. He must be hungry now again. And I think Einar needs a diaper change too... I think we have trouble in the back." And grandma asks, "Can I have Einar tomorrow? We will get along real good with that slower reindeer I have, and you have so much on your pulka. As we travel I will start joiking about Christmas."

The reindeer slowly travel down, heading for their winter home. "Einar," grandma says, "let's go home." As they travel, grandma keeps telling Einar, "This year we have something to look forward to at Christmas. The presence of our first grandson. You are special, as special as the Christ Child at Christmas. He brings happiness to everybody and you do the same." Off in the distance Einar hears grandpa and his uncles and his father as they joik and herd the

reindeer toward their winter feeding grounds, the silence of the snow coming down, the clacking of the hooves as they head for their winter home.

Christmas means to have rye bread, butter and deer meat roasted in a caste iron kettle with juniper berries. You can dip your bread in the gravy. And

there is coffee, lingonberry sauce and lingonberry bread. As grandma and Einar come to the sod hut that is to be their winter home, preparations are already being made for Christmas. Einar's father bids his mother goodbye. He is going into the village to pick up supplies for Christmas and the winter ahead.

(Salo continued on page 14)



THE SAMI ANTHEM

North under the Great Bear Sapmi shines, ridge upon ridge, lake stretching into lake, rocky cliffs, craggy peaks point to the sky.

Streams laugh, woods whisper precipice drops steely point descends to stormy sea.

Frost bites hard in winter,
blizzards chased by crazy winds.
But we Sami love this
With all our heart.
Moonlight helps a traveler,
soaring borealis adds to joy.
Hoof steps, reindeer voices
in the brushover lake and tundra the sled glides
on.

When summer sun shines gold on wood, on sea, on shore, fishing boats glisten, rocking wavy seas.

Sea birds sail a glittering harbor, on silver streams-steersmen joiking.

Oars are shining, boat poles flashing from pools to rapids to falls.

Sapmi blood, oh Samisurvivors of the
killing bands, cheating merchants,
wicked taxmen.
Hail, resilient Sami!
Hail, the root and branch
of peace!
No wars flared
And spilled the blood
Of Sapmi's clan.

Our ancestors withstood cruel aggression in old days.
Family members, again we must combat oppression!
Children of the Sun!
No one subdues us if we keep our golden language, and hold our elders words of wisdom:
Sapmi for the Sami.

The Sami Anthem was written in 1906 by Isak Saba. This American English version was translated in 1992 by Arden Johnson.

SAMI CONNECTIONS

DULUTH, MN, FINNFEST '92. WELL, WE MADE IT BIG TIME. RUDY JOHNSON, LEON KERANEN, BETTY LAKE, CAROL RUOTSALA STAATS, MAIJA OBERG, ALYCE RUIKKA, MARVIN SALO AND FAITH FJELD INTRODUCED THE SAMI-AMERICANS TO THE FINNS. AND DID THEY EVER LOVE IT. THE ROOM WAS FILLED WITH PEOPLE WHO CAME TO HEAR ABOUT THE EMERGING SAMI-AMERICAN COMMUNITY.

CHICAGO, IL. SEPTEMBER 23-25.

FAITH FJELD, AILU GAUP, AND ARDEN JOHNSON ATTENDED THE INDIGENOUS VOICES BEYOND 1992

CONFERENCE THIS WAS THE FIRST TIME THE SAMI HAVE BEEN REPRESENTED AT SUCH A CONFERENCE IN THE U.S.

NORTHFIELD, MN. NOV 6-7. RUDY JOHNSON WILL ATTEND THE SCANDINAVIAN-AMERICAN STUDIES CONFERENCE AT ST. OLAF COLLEGE. SCHOLARS WILL PRESENT PAPERS ON SCANDINAVIAN IMMIGRATION.

OSLO, NORWAY. MARI BOINE PERSEN IS TOURING EUROPEWITH PETER GABRIEL AND 70 OTHER MUSICIANS. TWO NEW ALBUMS WILL BE RELEASED WITH MARI BOINE FEATURED ON TWO TRACKS.

NEW YORK MILLS, MN. AUGUST 29 WAS THE DATE OF THE FIRST OFFICIAL SIIDA (SAMI IMMIGRANT DESCENDANTS' ASSOCIATION) MEETING. 22 MET TO SET UP A CUL-TURAL ORGANIZATION. IT WAS DECIDED THAT WE WILL TAKE A YEAR TO FORMULATE GOALS AND GATHER MORE SUPPORT. INTER-ESTED IN GETTING INVOLVED? CONTACT PERSONS: NEW YORK MILLS: ALYCE RUIKKA, (218) 385-3995: IRON RANGE: RODNEY IKOLA, (218) 262-3537; NORTH SHORE: RUDY JOHNSON, (218) 724-5293; TWIN CITIES: MAIJA OBERG HANF (612) 439-8055. BAIKI WILL BE THE OFFICIAL PUBLICATION.

SANTA MONICA, CA. OCT. 10, THE AMERICAN SCANDINAVIAN FOUNDATION CELEBRATED ITS 10TH ANNUAL FESTIVAL AS PART L.A."S CULTURAL DIVERSITY MONTH. ELISSA DELLA ROCCA REPRESENTED BAIKI. GIITU, ELISSA.

ole.

ATLANTA, GA. NORWAY IS SPON-SORING A WORLDWIDE TOUR TO PROMOTE THE 1994 LILLEHAMMER OLYMPICS. IN THE GROUP ARE NILS-ASLAK VALKEAPAA, JOHAN ANDERS BAER, ESA KOTILAINEN AND PARONI PAAKKUNAINEN. THEY WILL BE IN ATLANTA FEB. 12, 1993.

TROMSØ, NORWAY., KEN JACKSON (GREY EAGLE), STORYTELLER PAR EXCELLENCE FROM SEATTLE TAUGHT A COURSE AT THE SAMI ALLASKUVLA. HE WILL RETURN EVERY TWO YEARS. THE SAMI STUDENTS PUT UP A BIG LAVVU AFTER HIS LECTURE. "WE SAT INTO THE NIGHT SHARING STORIES, IDEAS, AND FEELINGS." WISH WE COULD HAVE BEEN THERE TOO.

SEATTLE, WA. OCT 29 -NOV 2. AILU GAUP, SAMI ACTOR AND TRADITIONAL JOIKER, AND HIS WIFE, THREE CHILDREN AND SISTER FROM KAUTOKEINO, VISITED THE NORTHWEST. HE PERFORMED AT THE U. OF WASHINGTON, THE NORDIC HERITAGE MUSEUM AND PACIFIC LUTHERAN UNIVERSITY. THE PROGRAMS FEATURED EPIC POEMS AND TRADITIONAL JOIKS BLENDED WITH CONTEMPORARY MUSIC.

DULUTH, MN TO DECORAH, IA. SOLVEIG ARNENG JOHNSON, SAMI ARTIST, IS DONATING ONE OF HER PAINTINGS TO THE WESTERHEIM MUSEUM IN DECORAH, IA, THE FIRST FROM A SAMI ARTIST. WHAT A GREAT ADDITION TO THEIR COLLECTION. CONGRATULATIONS SALLY. WE ARE PROUD OF YOU.

(Continued on page 18)

SAMI PROFILES



Artist Solveig Arneng Johnson with Ailu Gaup, Duluth, MN.

ingor-antte ailu gaup

Erik van Lennep

Ingor-Antte Ailu Gaup was born into a family of nomadic reindeer herders. A respected actor and musician, he is one of the original founders of the *Beaivvas Sámi Teahter* and has appeared in many of their productions. He also played a lead-

ing role in the award-winning Sami-language film "The Pathfinder." This fall he has been artist in residence at the Headlands Center for the Arts north of San Francisco.

In late September, Ailu Gaup took Chicago by storm. Well, part of Chicago, anyway, and actually it was not so much a storm as it was a capturing of the hearts and imagination of a great number of people. The setting was the Indigenous Voices Conference produced by the Indian Treaty Rights Committee. The theme of the gathering was set against a backdrop of international indigenous furor over the Columbus Quincentenary. The agenda centered on the creation of a vision for the next 500 years. The gathering was attended by an evenly-mixed group of men and women of both Indigenous and non-Indigenous heritage. Ailu's impact on this group is indicative of the work we must undertake to redefine our position in a balanced world, and of the hope that we may be able to reach that goal.

Ailu addressed the gathering with words about the Sami cultural resurgence and then proceeded to joik. He spoke of the central position of the joik within his own spirituality and culture, and of his own journey to learn to joik. He spoke of joiking as emblematic of both the healing of torn roots and the reinvigoration of the Sami culture. He stood before the group and his energy and song moved the entire gathering, not just once, but many times.

photophoto: faith field for balk

Ailu touched the group in a profound manner. He presented living proof that at least some European people understand Native American values and priorities. For the non-Indigenous members he provided the hope and the inspiration that they too could look to their own cultural roots and find an ancestral basis for an Earth-centered spirituality.

If we dig far enough into our own past, each one of us comes from an Indigenous culture, where Life and Spirit and Earth and Place and Culture are all one. For each one of us, that cultural legacy lies thousands of generations deeper than the recent generations who have embraced materialism and attempted to dominate Nature. When we start to view time as other than linear, we can bring ourselves closer to the wisdom of our own ancestors. Like Ailu, each of us can make our own ancient heritage a contemporary and extremely relevant reality.

ErikVan Lennep is the founding director of the Arctic to Amazonia Alliance, a collaborative effort between indigenous and non-indigenous peoples. For more information write: P.O.Box 73, Strafford, VT 05072.



13

Ingor Ante Ailu Gaup being interviewed in Chicago for Public Radio by Walt Bressette, Anishinabie Treaty Rights and Environmental Activist.

BAIKI RECIPES

LINGONBERRY BREAD

Dissolve 1 cake yeast and 1 tsp. sugar in 1/4 c. warm water and let stand til spongy. Scald 2 c. milk, add 1/2 c. butter, 1 1/2 tsp. salt and 1/2 c. sugar and cool to lukewarm. Add some of the milk mixture to the yeast sponge. Sift 2 c. with flour cardamon seeds, shelled and finely crushed, and stir into yeast batter. Let stand a few minutes. Add remaining milk mixture. Slowly stir in 2 more cups flour and two eggs. Gradually add 31/2 to 4 more cups flour, keeping the dough spongy. Fold in lingonberries. Knead c about five minutes and let rise about an hour. Divide into 6 parts. Shape into 2 braids. Let rise another hour. Bake at 350 30 to 35 minutes. Brush with syrup made from coffee and sugar.

(Salo continued from page 11)
Grandpa says, "We have to go soon,
I'm running out of running out of
pipe tobacco." Grandma laughs,
"You can go without it for a little
while." Einar's mother and grandmother are talking as the men disappear over the snowdrifts. The
two women laugh and say, "It's
going to be a merry Christmas!"

(to be continued)

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(Jernsletten continued from page 3)

cultural treasures enrich Norwegian culture.

- the pro-Sami activist who is against assimilation and desires an active policy that will promote our Sami values.

Of these viewpoints, the passive, the Norwegianized and the supporter of "authentic" culture have the easiest time defending their views. The last group, the pro-Sami activists, have in the end only one argument: "I want to be Sami because I am one." This holds because it is based on human feelings.

And so we come to one of the questions that we "Sami activists" are often confronted with what is Sami culture anyway? Maybe it is some colorful old-fashioned clothing, artifacts in a museum. Or those strange sounds called joik. And of course, there are the reindeer, more important than the Sami themselves, according to tourist brochures and Norwegian laws. For us our culture is none of these. Sami culture is sitting together and speaking about things that indigenous people all over the world speak of, in our own way, in Sami. Sami culture is rowing in the fjord or on the river or the lake, going hunting, cooking coffee. [It is] being under an open sky, and having time, and living. Sami culture is a way of thinking - an attitude toward life. Peace of mind is part of our tradition.

The Sami culture is alive. Associations are being created, organizations are holding conferences and meetings and we have begun to demand our legal rights and we are having those rights recognized. How to continue living as Sami while modern society, tourism and technical development invades Sapmi cannot be resolved by passing resolutions. Sami opinions must carry weight when Sami policies are being developed. When we participate in deciding our future as a People there will be no more preserving the Sami as an interesting ethnic group.

Land and water rights must be addressed. Norwegian hunting and fishing organizations are appropriating areas hunted and fished by us for generations. Using the legal system to uphold Sami rights will probably destroy our reputation of being nice people who are easy to get along with. We are not in a powerless situation, but one that is normal for all indigenous Peoples and cultures.

I don't believe that history will judge Norway. For me "the judgment of history" is distant and unreal compared to my own choice.

Nils Jersnletten is a professor at the University of Tromsø in Norway. He has long been a leader in the promotion of Sami education.

(Torvik continued from page 8)

nearest your home. If that fails, call the Family History Center in SaltLake City, Utah for help. That phone number is (801) 240-2331. The Centershave microfilm and microfiche reading machines and some computerized records and are open to the public. There is no user fee except a nominal charge for obtaining and shipping microfilm from the Salt Lake City to the local headquarters.

Happy Hunting!

Solveig Torvik is a reporter for the Seattle Post-Intelligencer. She is currently writing a book about her heritage.

(Ulnes continued from page 5.)

the Sami constituency.

B. What has Norway done wrong its relationship to Sapmi, and what has Norway done right??

U. We were wrong to deny the Sami right to express their own heritage, to speak their own language.and be told about their own culture in the school system. The change in the Norwegian attitude means that now the Sami are being educated in their own language, and their culture is being taught. But we should never say, "There's nothing more we can do."

B. What about the CSV? We feel it triggered many changes.

U. It was the driving force behind the changes. The two things together, Alta and CSV. The Alta/Kautokeino Dam conflict gave the Sami cause focus. It became political. Plus it was part of the new way of thinking of the time. Western attitudes changed toward oppressed cultures.

B. How do you feel about the future? Will the Sami culture be able to influence Norway?

U. Yes. There is already a direct contribution. For example, Mari Boine Persen is one of the most popular artists in Norway. She draws on her Sami heritage and sings in the Sami language. When a culture has been subdued, or kept under a lid, it is very powerful when the lid comes off.

B. Thank you.



The Sami Joik:

Cultural Continuity Through Musical Expression

Richard Jones-Bamman

The Sami musical genre known as joik (from the Sami yerb juoigat) has long represented a fundamental feature of Sami life, conceivably stretching back to the origins of the culture. Even in the earliest literary sources recording contact with the Sami, there

is frequent mention of this indigenous musical expression. In its most traditional performance context, joik is an unaccompanied solo vocal form which may or may not include text. Joik melodies differ a great deal depending on the region in which they are found. Typically short and repetitive they arefar from being simplistic. Joik is a very complex musical phenomenon in which slight melodic or rythmic variation and even gesture can be the key to presentation and interpretation.

A great deal of the early interest in joik was in connection with its role in spiritual ceremonies. Joik was an integral component in the noiade's repertoire [the shaman's repertoire], and along with the drum comprised the core of most ceremonial activity. Certainly not all joik was sacred in nature, but the fascination with "shamanic rituals" for early observers has severely tilted our understanding of historical joik in that direction. As these important religious practices came under increasing fire from the Christian authorities in Scandinavia, joik unfortunately suffered as well, condemned for its association with what was regarded as "pagan" behavior. This is not to suggest that joik disappeared, but rather serves to

illustrate why the practice of joiking in many communities has been relegated to secrecy. It often engendered a good deal of shame for its participants, a situation which persists in our own era in some areas of Sápmi.

Several musical features contributed to the general misunderstanding of joik among the first colonizers, and continue to puzzle many non-Sami. To the ear accustomed to Western musical aesthetics, the subtleties of joiking were nonexistent to most Western audiences, reducing joik to an unfathomable and 'exotic' music, not unlike Japanese music, for example. From early cylinder recordings it is quite possible to hear what early non-Sami audiences encountered and to try to understand their initial reactions: the vocal quality may seem gruff or constrained by Western 'classical' standards; the melodies are unpredictable in a formal sense, with asymmetrical phrasing and/or sudden leaps up and

down; and there is often the inclusion of repeated syllables, i.e., "la" "lo" "na" "no", in addition to or replacing what some would consider a text. All of these traits combine to create a musical expression unique to Fenno-Scandinavia, one which is very hard for non-Sami to comprehend.

Despite attempts to eradicate Sami culture through the repression of religious practices and official assimilation policies, the joik persisted. Perhaps this is best credited to its unusual function within the culture. Joiks are descriptive in nature, not in the sense that a Western composition can suggest a theme or subject (Beethoven's "Pastoral Symphony" for example), but as a sonic memory of people, animals, places, or events (or a combination of these). One does not joik for someone or something, one joiks it into being-to joik is to remember the subject, and to acknowledge

its continued existence. Thus the joik serves as a connective device which spans the past and the present, and provides a medium for retaining or building a sense of one's culture despite ongoing changes. In conjunction with this concept is the understanding that a joik has neither beginning nor end. Any given joik performance is part of a non-ending whole that exists in a realm accessible to those who can interpret it, the performer and the audience-to joik implies being a participant in that realm.

The 'meaning' in joik may be credited to specific intervals, musical contours, textual fragments, and gestures in performance. How these components combine and recombine into a coherent whole is ultimately determined by the person who creates the joik, a process which may be premeditated or entirely spontaneous. Once created, however, it is not necessarily static: children often receive a joik which follows them throughout their lives, changing to reflect or mark their individual experiences.

Rather than trying to codify the joik into a predictable entity for analysis, however, perhaps it is more important to acknowledge the fact that joik continues to function as it always has, providing a specific musi-

cal outlet immediately identifiable as Sami, while simultaneously serving as a tangible reminder of various phenomena in Sami culture, past and present. In this light, the renaissance of interest in joik in the last two decades is more easily understood. Far from being simply a case of 'folk revival', the emergence of new interpretations of joiking should be regarded as effective tools for reaffirming modern Sami identity by demonstrating a connection with a collective past. In my next article I will survey the remarkable diversity of joik now found throughout Sápmi by focusing on several young artists.

Richard Jones-Bamman is an ethnomusicologist. He has just returned from a year as a Fullbright scholar at the University of Umeå in Sweden under a grant from the American-Scandinavian Foundation. His doctoral dissertation is on the Sami joik. Jones-Bamman is teaching a course in Scandinavian literature at the University of Washington.

A CHRONOLOGICALHISTORY OF THE ALTA/KAUTOKEINO CONFLICT



"The River Shall Live." Norwegianlanguage sign at the Alta/Kautokeino camp.

1968

The Norwegian Watercourse and Energy Department (NVE) submits plans to dam and regulate the Alta/Kautokeino River. They includeregulating a number of lakes and flooding the traditional Sami community of Masi.

1970

The Committee Against the Flooding of Masi is founded. 400 Samis, many of them elderly, demonstrate. Their slogan is *Vi Kom Først. Flytter Ikke*. ["We Came First. We're Not Moving."]

1973

The *Storting* [Norwegian Parliament] passes a resolution to protect Masi. The Alta Committee for the Preservation of the Alta/Kautokeino River is formed.

1974

The NVE holds public hearings in the communities involved. The plans include a 110-meter high concrete bow dam and an approach road across the Finnmark highlands. There are no reports on affects to reindeer, salmon or natural resources.

1976

Kautokeino and Alta vote against development. The NVE submits a revised application.

1978

Proposition No.107 to build the dam is passed. Opposition to the dam is organized.

1979

January: The people of Alta demand that the Proposition be revised, warning that civil disobedience will be employed if the demand is not met. March: The Sami Movement organizes in Oslo, Tromsø and other towns. June: The Storting rejects a plan to postpone the development by 108 t o 34. The Norwegian Society for the Conservation of Nature (NNV) censors the Ministry

of Petroleum & Energy because of improper case handling and false documentation of the environmental impact. September: The NVE starts work on the road to the dam site although permission has not been given. Sami lawyer Leif Dunfjeld says the road is not legal and workers on the road site are stopped by demonstrators at the "Nullpunket" [Zero Point], the narrowest point of the passage between the river and the mountain. "Zero Point" becomes a Movement slogan. October: The NNV \$\frac{1}{5}\$ sues the State concerning the dam's legality . Construction is halted. Sami demands are examined by the court. A Sami hunger strike begins in front of the Storting. Large numbers of police clear the square. The government postpones construction for six weeks and the hunger strike is called off.

1980

January: The government refuses to recognize a connection between Sami rights and dam construction. March: The Storting's report on Alta is presented without reference ro Sami land and water rights. May: The Storting ratifies the decision to continue construction. June: The hunger strikers stand trial and receive fines. July: The Sami Movement organizes a march from Stilla to Masi over the Finnmark highlands. 700 people participate in the weeklong march.

1981

January 14: Construction of the dam begins. Demonstrators chain themselves to the machines and are cut away with oxyacetylene torches. They are carried away by police. January 24: Ande Gaup, Mikkel Eira, Mattis Sara, Per Ailo Bæhr, Nils Magnis Torensis, Marit Sara and Synnøve Persen begin a new hunger strike. February 2: A lavvu is erected outside the Storting and appeals are held. The Sami Movement grows. The international media covers the story. February 3: Gro Harlem Brundtland is appointed Prime Minister. She meets with 14 Sami women from Masi, Alta, and Kautokeino who plea for the work to stop. She does not respond and they occupy her office. They are removed forcibly by the police. February 24: The Act for the Protection of Ancient and Cultural Monuments opens up a loophole allowing the Norwegian government to avert tragedy without appearing to back down. The hunger strike is called off after exactly a month. September 23-24: The Alta Hearings are held in Oslo, Experts in energy, reindeer husbandry, fishing, conservation, and human rights tes-

tify. September 28: Construction resumes without warning. Police are summoned to keep Norwegian and Sami demonstrators away from the site. October: It is mating and migration time for the reindeer in the construction area; pleas from the herders are ignored. Attempts to divert the herds without upsetting them fail and 25,000 reindeer are mixed together. The National Association of Norwegian Samis (NSR) breaks relations with the Norwegian government. December: The Alta Dam case is heard by the Supreme Court; the ruling does not come until February. Several Sami Movement activists are imprisoned; others are heavily fined for passive disobedience.

1982

February: In a unanimous decision the Supreme Court dismisses the Sami complaints as unfounded. Work on the dam proceeds. March: Two Sami activists attempt to blow up the bridge that is used to transport supplies; they are unsuccessful. One of them is badly hurt when the dynamite detonates prematurely and they are imprisoned. Alfred Nilsen, Sami Movement leader, expresses solidarity with the men whose desperation drove them to take such action. John Gustavsen, Sami journalist, comments: "People who are treated as being without land have to struggle to avoid being wiped out. When someone uses dynamite in that struggle it means the situation is alarming. Leading Norwegian politicians do not understand this. Samis do not use violent means to win, Samis have a tradition of non-violence to defend. This is a tradition worth defending. The Alta case has wounded us deeply but it has also awakened us. Norway's dynamite is now exploding in the canyon with no public outcry. But each flash reminds the Sami who it is that blows up their land. Norway has passed the Zero Point.

The above was taken in part from Charta 79: The Sami People and Human Rights, (London: Spider Web, November 1982, pp.36-43 and 71) produced by Sami Movement activists during the Alta/Kautokeino Conflict.



THE SON OF THE SUN WINS A BRIDE



When in Tromsø, Norway for the World Council of Indigenous Peoples (WCIP VI) in the summer of 1990, I attended a premier performance of a play by the Beaivvas Sami Theatre based on a creation myth of the Sami people. The moving performance was in Samegiella so I had to ask for a translation. This is the way the story was told to me. It is only part of the story.

The Son of the Sun lived in the far north under the North Star, west of the Sun and the Moon. He was searching for wealth and a suitable bride so he could father the Sami People. By boat he travelled to the Land of the Giants where he heard there was gold and silver. There on the beach he met the Daughter of the Giant and they desired each other.

The Daughter asked her father the Giant for permission to marry the Son of the Sun, but the Giant insisted on testing the stranger. He did so by holding out a finger, challenging him to a contest of pulling power. The Daughter slipped her suitor an iron hook to strengthen his finger and the Son of the Sun won the pulling contest.

So the Giant permitted his Daughter to marry the Son of the Sun. The couple was married on the skin of a whale in a ceremony that mixed their blood. As her dowry, the Daughter of the Giant received the key to a red, a white and a blue chest and a ritual cloth. Theritual cloth had three knots containing three winds: a strong breeze, a second wind, and a fierce storm. Soon after the marriage the couple left by boat.

Storyteller: Grey Eagle (Ken Jackson)

Artist: Eldon Moilanen

Now the Sons of the Giant returned from hunting and asked about their Sister. When they learned that she had wed the Son of the Sun they started out in pursuit, determined to catch the couple before the marriage could be consummated. When her Brothers got close, the Bride released the first knot in the cloth and the strong breeze blew the pursuing boat back. The Brothers paddled harder and closed in on the bridal boat again, so she released the second wind, putting distance between them once more. The Brothers strained so hard they sweat blood and again came close to the bridal boat. The Bride untied the last knot, releasing the fierce storm. The boat was tossed about and the Brothers gave up the chase. They landed on the top of a mountain where, in the morning, they and their boat were turned to stone by the rays of the Sun.

The Son of the Sun and the Daughter of the Giant were married a second time. The ceremony took place on the hide of bear and the skin of a two-year-old female reindeer calf. The marriage was consummated and the Bride became with child. This Child was the first of the Sami People.

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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Sami Connections

(Continued from page 12)

NORTHFIELD, MN. EINAR NIEMI, A SAMI PROFESSOR FROM THE U. OF TROMSØ, IS A VISITING PROFESSOR AT ST. OLAF. HE IS RESEARCHING THE IMMIGRATION OF NORTHERN NORWEGIANS TO AMERICA. HOPE HE FINDS SOME SAMIS FOR OUR MAILING LIST. TO CONTACT HIM CALL ODD LOVOLL (507) 646-3235.

KNIFE RIVER, MN. BRAD NELSON "SILVERSMITH OF THE NORTH" BROUGHT HIS ORIGINAL JEWELRY DESIGNS TO THE NORDHUST FEST IN MINOT, N.D. IN HIS JEWELRY YOU SEE THE INFLUENCE OF THE SAMI, VIKING, AND KALEVALA CULTURES. HE GRACIOUSLY TOOK COPIES OF BAIKI TO THE FESTIVAL. GIITU, BRAD. WE HOPE BAIKI WILL HELP YOU SELL SOME OF YOUR BEAUTIFUL JEWELRY.

MONTREAL, CANADA, OCTOBER 19-20. ELINA HELANDER, FORMER DIRECTOR OF THE NORDIC SAMI INSTITUTE, PARTICIPATED IN A ROUND TABLE DISCUSSION ON "500 YEARS OF RESISTANCE TO COLONIZATION" AT THE SIMONE DE BEAUVOIR INSTITUTE, CONCORDIA UNIVERSITY, MONTREAL. SHE IS ALSO ON THE PLANNING COMMITTEE FOR AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF ABORIGINAL WOMEN NEXT SPRING IN MONTREAL. PUT IT ON YOUR CALENDAR AND LET'S TAKE A VAN THERE GIRLS!!!

WHEAT RIDGE, CO. HELLO, JOANNE OUELLETTE. AFTER READING YOUR ENTHUSIASTICLETTER TO THE EDITOR IN THE FINNISH- AMERICAN REPORTER, I THINK WE NEED SOMEONE JUST LIKE YOU TO BE OUR COLORADO SIIDA CONTACT. WE'LL BE IN CONTACT. AND WELCOME HOME.

DULUTH, MN. **FAITH FJELD**, *BAIKI* EDITOR AND ARTIST, HAS CREATED A BEAUTIFUL SAMI DESIGN THANK YOU NOTE. HOW CAN YOU GET ONE

OF THESE? JUST BECOME A SUB-SCRIBER OR SPONSOR OR RENEW YOUR SUBSCRIPTION NOW. SEETHE ORDER FORM PAGE 19.

OSLO, NORWAY. U.S.A. TOUR. DO YOU WANT TO SEE MARI BOINE PERSEN PERFORM IN THE U.S.? SO DO I. WELL, IF YOU KNOW HOW TO BOOK MUSICAL TOURS HERE'S YOUR OPPORTUNITY TO MAKE A LOT OF SAMI-AMERICANS HAPPY. WRITE TO MARI BOINE'S MANAGER: STEFAN GUSTAFSEN, SCHWEIGAARDSGATE 87,06560 OSLO, NORWAY, OR FAX 68 42 09. GETTHE DETAILS AND GO FOR IT. WE'LL WRITE ABOUT IT IN BAIKI.

MINNEAPOLIS, MN. OCT. 18, MPLS. STAR AND TRIBUNE. I FINALLY MADE THE FRONT PAGE. LOOK CAREFULLY AT THE PHOTO OF THE YOUNG BOY UNDER THE HUGE FLAG. OFF TO THE RIGHT REAR OF THE FLAG YOU WILL SEE THE RUFFLE OF MY GAKTI AND THE EDGE OF MY CAPE. THANK YOU LORNA, SALLY AND LEILA FOR MAKING MY BEAUTIFUL COSTUME WHICH I WORE PROUDLY, REPRE-SENTING BOTH MY SAMI AND FINN-ISH ROOTS DURING A COMMENDA-TION CEREMONY FOR THE NEW MIN-NESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. HAD SEVERAL PEOPLE STOP AND ASK ME ABOUT MY COSTUME AND ANCESTRY. WE'RE GETTING AROUND.

BROOKLYN PARK, MN, OCT. 24. SUE MYERS (SAMI) ORGANIZED "UNITED NATIONS DAY" IN NORTH MINNEAPOLIS. SAMI REPRESENTATIVES WERE MARVIN SALO, BARBARA TAN, AND ARDEN JOHNSON. THANKS FOR YOUR VOLUNTEER TIME.

DO YOU HAVE A NEWS ITEM FOR SAMI CONNECTIONS?

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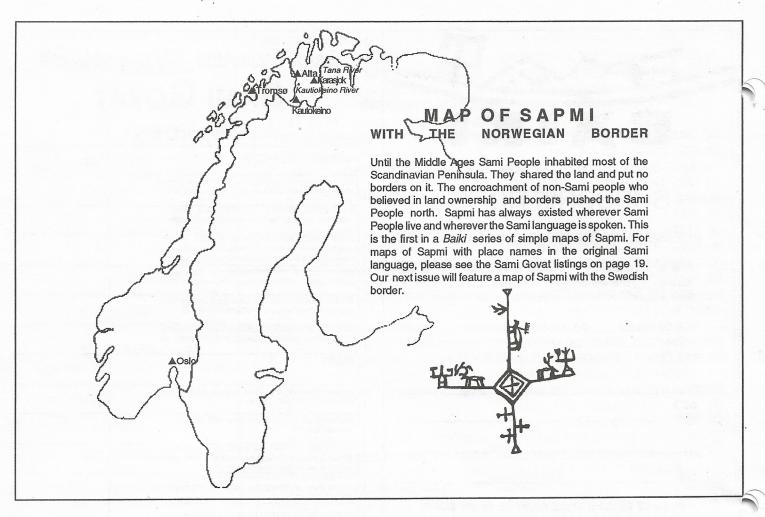
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