BAIKI

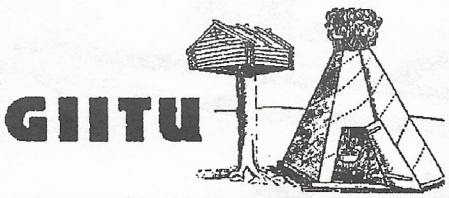
the Home that Lives in the Heart

Issue 7 *Spring 1993*

Photo: Sámi Aigi-Bjarne Store Jakobsen

the North American Journal of Sami Living

House Copy



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ON THE COVER

Sámi Aigi photographer Bjarne Store Jakobsen records the first meeting between Sami people in Murmansk, July 1989, after the reopening of the Norwegian-Russian border. Norwegian-Sami artist Ingunn Utsi has given the Keviselie map "Sapmi: Homeland of Sami People Within Four Countries" to Nina Afanasjeva, Russian-Sami leader.

NORTH AMERICAN SAMI ORAL HISTORY PROJECT

We at *Baiki* are beginning an oral history project (OHP) in order to record the stories brought by Sami people ("Lapps") who came to North America as "Finns," "Norwegians," "Russians," and "Swedes." This is a chance to help each other renew and save the Sami culture worldwide.

It is very difficult to apply recognized methods of immigration history research to this project. Sami people were often assigned non-Sami names by the church, and the church kept the family records using these "Christian" names. Sami people often relocated several times within Scandinavia and Finland prior to emigration, therefore place names and points of departure do not necessarily prove or disprove Sami ancestry. And since the Sami language was forbidden by the national governments, the language spoken at home by immigrants is not a reliable indicator either.

The *Baiki* OHP is an effort to find new ways to seek out Sami identity. We hope to make the story of our grandparents and our great grandparents real so that it can be passed along to future generations. Scholarly research in many fields will be able to grow from the grass roots information we piece together. We hope to publish our findings in time for the first North American Sami Youth and Elders Conference being planned in Seattle, Washington for fall 1994.

Please help us with this historic project. We welcome all "leads" and stories from all geographic locations. We need Sami family genealogies, photographs and photocopies of research projects that already exist. We need suggestions and funding sources. We need people who can serve as interpreters and translators in Finnish, Norwegian, Russian and Swedish.

All material becomes the property of the *Baiki* Oral History Project (OHP) and proper credit will be given for all sources of information. Please send to:

before June 15th:
Baiki OHP
1541 Clover Valley Dr.
Duluth, MN 55804

after June 15th:
Baiki OHP
3548 14th Ave. So.
Minneapolis, MN 55407

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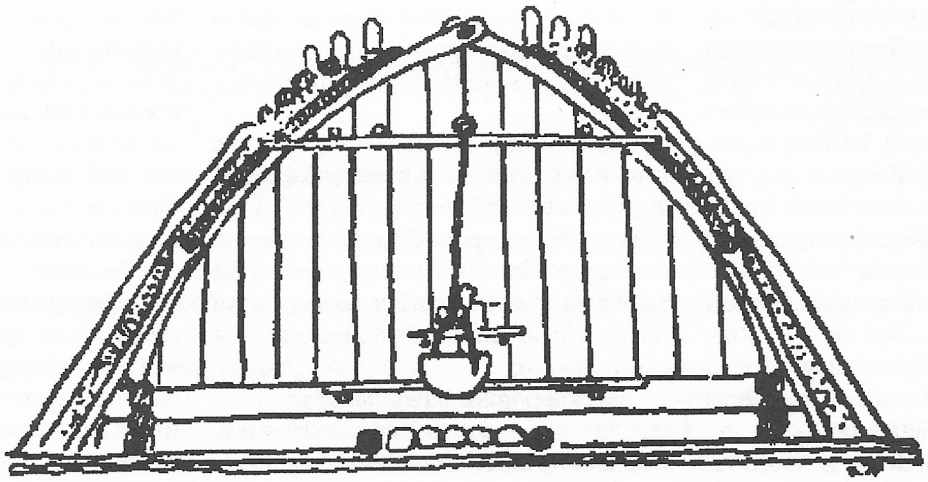
Issue 7 *Spring 1993*

IN THIS ISSUE

THE SAMI OF THE KOLA PENINSULA



Goahtti from the Kola area.

SERGEI DYAKIN

part one

The earliest written records about the *Lop* , or *Lopari* [Sami people] in Russian Lapland were made by Solovtosky monks located on a group of islands in the White Sea. These records show that in the first half of the 15th century Sami people occupied the Kola peninsula and parts of Karelia as far south as Lake Onega. They practiced their nature religion and lived in covered earth dwellings [*goahtti*]. They did not farm, but used animals, birds, and fish for food, and they made their clothing from animal skins.

Valuable information is given in another manuscript, "Notes About Moscow Affairs," by Austrian Ambassador Sigizmund Gerberstain who records a story told to him by a Russian diplomat Grigory Istoma who in 1496 sailed along the shores of the Kola Peninsula on his way to Denmark: "They (the Sami) live scattered along the seacoast in low-ceilinged huts [which] they cover with tree bark and don't have permanent dwellings. When all the animals and fish in one place are killed they move on. They are a peaceful, modest people, who pay tribute to the Prince in Moscow by giving him fur and fish, since they don't possess anything else. They are [proud of the fact] that they don't owe anything to anybody, and that they are independent. The Lapps have neither bread nor salt nor spices; they eat only fish and wild animals. They are skilled hunters. If they find a valuable animal they kill it by directing an arrow at the muzzle, so as to leave the whole skin undamaged. Lapps know no other languages and with strangers are almost silent. But they have started to give up their savageness [sic] and became more sociable. They willingly accept cloth, as well as axes, needles, spoons, knifes, cups, flour, pots, so they [can] eat cooked food and accept more civilized habits. They wear clothes which they make themselves from animal skins, and dressed this way they sometimes visit Moscow. A few of them wear shoes and hats made of reindeer skin. They don't use golden or silver coins at all, and are satisfied with only exchange of goods..."

In the 16th century the situation in Northern Europe made an impact on the social and political development of Lapland. The Lutheran movement in Europe was seen in Russia as a heresy that could cause Russian possessions in the north to be claimed by the neighboring Protestant countries of Sweden and Norway. With active support from the government in Moscow, Russian Orthodox clergy took action to prevent Russian Lapland from being penetrated by the Lutheran Church. Missionaries were sent to the Sami area in order to convert the "pagans." Sami who decided to be baptised were rewarded with money. By the end of the reign of Ivan the Terrible, the majority of the Russian Sami were said to be practicing the Russian Orthodox faith, except for a few families in very remote areas.

But the Sami who called themselves "Christians" might more realistically have been called "double-believers." After attending Russian Orthodox services they would make offerings to the *seides* [sacred rocks] and they continued to believe in the powers of the spirits of water, forest, and home. There is no evidence that the Sami were persecuted for practicing their nature religion.

The second half of the 16th century was characterized by the rapid growth of international trade on the Kola Peninsula and some of the Sami were directly involved. In 1557, an English sailor

*(**Dyakin** continued overleaf)*

(Dyakin continued from page 3)
named Steven Barrow mentioned that while some of the Sami in Kegor (the north shore near Kirkenes, Norway) were buying silver dishes, vessels and spoons and golden rings from Dutch merchants, other Sami on (the eastern coast were surviving by eating wild grass, raw bird eggs and nestlings, and "had no other food because the fishing season had not yet started."

Reindeer herding had not yet become a profitable business but were used primarily for transportation.The main economic activity was fishing. The Sami would often rent out their fishing areas to Russians and Karelians. Hunting was another important part of the Sami economy because it provided meat and animal hides.

Sami communities were taxed by the tzar and each household was expected to perform duties for the state: construction and transportation. Sami workers took part in building the city of Kola, the main Russian outpost in Lapland, and they supplied Russian officials and military personnel with reindeer sledges and food.

16th century Lapland was an arena for the imperial aspirations of Denmark, Sweden, and Russia, the most aggressive being Sweden. The Swedes destroyed many settlements in Russian Lapland and Karelia. Continuous claims by Denmark and Sweden caused the Russian government to realize the importance of the region and efforts were made to keep the Sami communities under Russian control. In 1585 Russian Sapmi received a directive from Tzar Fedor Ivanovich giving them authority over the collection of their own taxes. And in 1620 the government of the Tzar Mikhail Fedorovich sent an order warning the administration to avoid any violation of Sami rights after receiving complaints from the Sami about local authorities.

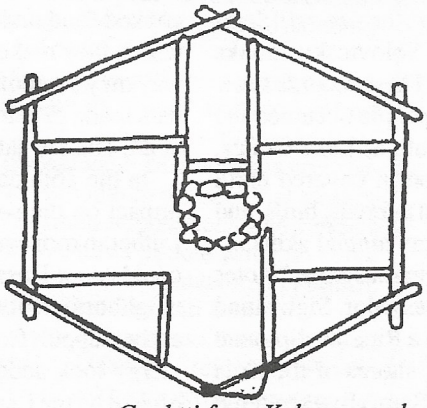
In 1655 the total Sami population in Russian Lapland was approximately 1500. When the war between Russia and Poland took place, 119 Sami men were drafted into the military service and sent to the front in Lithuania. Many never came back. Absence of the most healthy and well-to-do men led to the drastic decline of the Sami economy. Moreover, after the Northern War with Sweden and its allies (1700-1721), Russia trade was redirected through the Baltics and trade in the Arctic region declined. The number of fish off the coast of the Kola Peninsula was also in decline. This period was characterized by depression and decadence.

In 1767 Tzarina Catherine the Great formed the Commission of New Legislation with representatives from different social classes and nationalities meeting to prepare new laws for Russia. The Sami representative, Zahar Markov, arrived with a letter listing complaints about low income, the high cost of food, the very high state taxes and the decline of the Sami economy. He asked the government to give the Sami tax benefits until their economy improved, to abolish the fishing tax, and to improve the food supply. But the Commission ceased its work without any positive outcome.

The economy of Russian Sapmi in the 18th-19th centuries was based on lake fishing, winter hunting and trapping for fox and marten which were sold to the markets in Russian settlements. Hunting provided the Sami with meat and skin but the majority of Russian Sami still used reindeer only for transportation.

Every spring Sami families or groups of families would go to the lakes, and rivers to fish. During the fishing season they sometimes lived in *kuvasi* [*lavuu* or Sami tents] covered with birch bark or animal skins.

When ice covered the lakes and rivers, the Sami gathered in their winter settlements and lived in their permanent dwellings or *vezha* [*goahtti* or Sami earth lodges].



Goahtti from Kola area: plan.

A *vezha* was a structure made of poles covered with turf. On one side there was a low door and on the top a smoke hole. More wealthy Sami constructed more spacious *vezha* using a log frame which was covered with animal skins or thick fabric on the inside. In the middle of a *vezha* there was a rock fireplace. Copper cooking pans were the most valuable kitchen accessory. The rest of the dishes were made of wood. The ceiling of a *vezha* so low that a person could not stand inside without stooping. One small part of a *vezha* was considered a "clean place" with an icon on a shelf and a vessel filled with water. A *vezha* was dark, smoky and crowded, especially during rainy and windy days.

The main economic activity of the Sami continued to be trade with the peasants, and merchants of the region which supplied them with flour, fabrics, cloth, crockery, rifles, and gunpowder, and in exchange, the Sami gave them reindeer skins, arctic fox hides, and salmon. Sami women made blankets and pillow coverings from reindeer skins for sale. They were painted with fine red stripes made from alder bark which they chewed first, adding water and painting it on the skins with their fingers. These blankets and pillow coverings were made exclusively for sale. The Sami rarely used them themselves.

The Russian Sami herded their reindeer only during the winter. Dogs helped the shepherds to guard the reindeer against wolves, which presented the biggest danger. In the spring the reindeer were brought to the settlements where the pregnant females were tethered to poles. After the babies were born they were branded and all the animals set free to roam the tundra. Sami from the northeast coast of the Kola Peninsula transported their reindeer to the coastal islands where the cold wind kept the animals away from blood-sucking insects during the summer. When there was no wind, a fire would be set that made as much smoke as possible. The reindeer would come close to the smoke which protected them from the insects. Every fall, after snow covered the ground, the Sami would gather their reindeer into herds again.

Reindeer herding skills were learned as children. Sami men had to show their ability to handle and ride reindeer, shoot well, and butcher wild reindeer and in riding competitions they would kneel in the *keriozhka* [*pulkka* or Sami sledges] , and the bravest ones would stand up.

Sami women had to show their ability to make clothing and shoes. The Russian Sami winter garment called *pechok* was made of reindeer skin. With the fur side out the *pechok* looked like a sack with holes for the arms and the head and a collar. Reindeer sinew was used for the thread. The summer clothing was called *upi,* similar in design to *pechok*. Sami women also wore multicolored Russian-style dresses. Women's clothing differed from men's by its length and usually had ornamentation of multicolored pieces of fabric and beads.

(Dyakin continued on page 16)

HOW THE MOSQUITO CAME TO LAPLAND

Storyteller: Donna Palomaki
Art: traditional Sami drawings
Design: Faith Fjeld

With the onset of mosquito season in some parts of North America a mosquito story seems appropriate. In Sapmi mosquitos are referred to as "The Sami Royal Air Force" and they are also know as "The State Bird of Minnesota." Grey Eagle (Ken Jackson) will be back in our forthcoming Issue #8.

There was a time when there weren't any mosquitoes in Samiland at all, they only lived in Lannanland. But the spider had travelled to Samiland and sung its praises, describing it as a wonderful place to live. And so the mosquitoes began to think that they ought to take a look at the wonderful land the spider told them about where there were reindeer, dogs, goats, lambs and all kinds of animals that didn't need buildings or shelter. The spider said that the people also slept outside under the open sky in Samiland. The spider had said all this only because he wanted the mosquitoes to move there. If they believed his tales and followed his advice, he'd get the last laugh because if he returned to Samiland after the mosquitoes were there he could weave his fine webs between the rocks and the birch trees and the mosquito would be wriggling in those webs before they knew it. And then the spider could run over and catch and eat his prey, just as he did in Lannanland.

The mosquitoes wondered if they should all leave at once on their journey but the clan mother said that it wouldn't do if they all went at once, that it would be best to send a few ahead to see what life in Samiland was really like. And so in the end, six mosquitoes left for Samiland.

The trip to the land of the Sami was long and one of the mosquitoes became very tired along the way. It spied a *kermikka* [young reindeer calf] resting on a sunny slope. The kermikka was exhausted from following the Samis as they trudged northward. The mosquito landed right on the tip of the kermikka's tail and began to suck its blood. When the mosquito was full, it flew to the other end of the kermikka and landed on its eye. This tickled the kermikka, who blinked, hurting one of the mosquito's legs in the process. The mosquito looked for another place to land and ended up inside the kermikka's nose. When the kermikka breathed, the mosquito felt like he was in a warm summer zephyr and didn't want to leave.

But then a fly came along and buzzed into the kermikka's ear. The kermikka panicked and shook its head, hurling the mosquito into the brush. This mosquito was never seen again. The kermikka galloped away at such a pace that its tail trembled. Then it stopped in the underbrush by the river bank to eat grass and flowers.

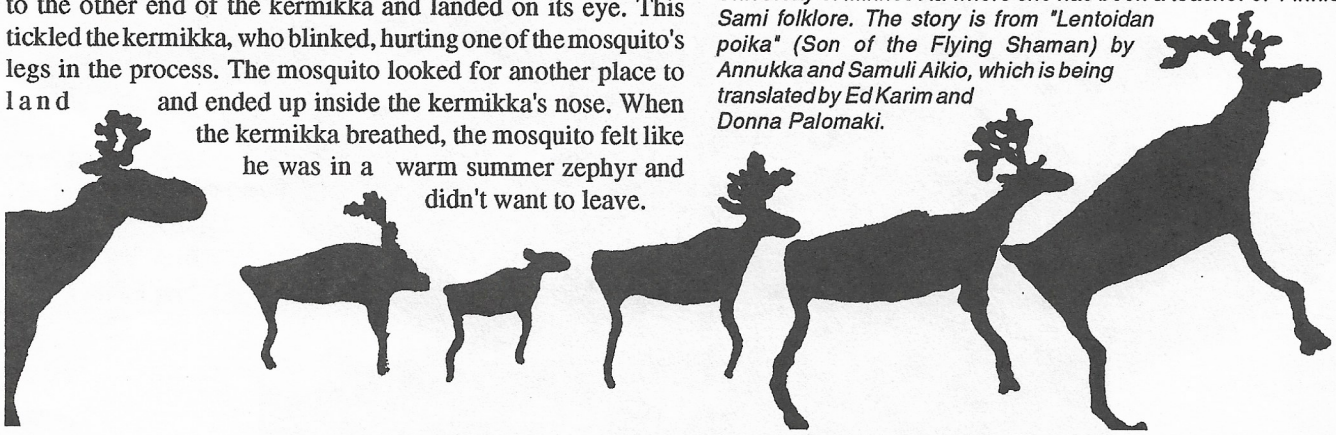
The other five mosquitoes finally arrived in the Land of the Sami. But one of them drowned in a milk vat, another one choked on the smoke in a *goahtti* [earth lodge] and a third became tangled in an old woman's skirts and was lost to the world. Two managed to return to Lannanland where they told their comrades that while Samiland was a good place to be, it posed many threats to a mosquito's morality.

So the mosquito's mother said, "No one should go to Samiland except the fly, since flies are careful by nature." But the mosquitoes who survived the trip responded, "We can survive there too if all of us leave together."

And so a whole lot of mosquitoes left for the Samiland, where they found a large herd of reindeer grazing. At first, none of the mosquitoes knew what these animals were, but in the end, they figured out that the strange creatures were reindeer that the spider had told them about.

The mosquitoes swooped in for the attack, driving the entire herd to the edge of the fell. And they may still be there yet.

Donna Palomaki was advisor of the first Sámegiella class at the University of Minnesota where she has been a teacher of Finnish and Sami folklore. The story is from "Lentoidan poika" (Son of the Flying Shaman) by Annukka and Samuli Aikio, which is being translated by Ed Karim and Donna Palomaki.



At the Jokkmokk Market

Photography and Text:
Per Eidspjeld

I went to a hardware store in San Francisco to buy some missing parts and I ended up in Samiland.

There was a woman working in the store. "You must be Sami," she said to me. I replied that as a Norwegian born and raised 20 km outside of Oslo, this was news. But I went home and thought about what she had said. This woman and I became friends. It seemed that we viewed the world with the same eyes. She told me many stories about Samiland, about its history, and about the 400-year-old market that took place every winter in Sweden where people came from all over Sapmi to sell crafts and visit with each other. She encouraged me to go there and take photographs.

And so in February 1992, I flew from San Francisco to Oslo, Norway where I took a train bound for Stockholm, Sweden. My final destination was the Jokkmokk Market that I had heard about. I took a sleeping compartment from Stockholm and the following morning disembarked in Boden. There, on the first page of the local newspaper, was a big color photo of the Market's opening ceremony held the previous day. I was getting close, and my excitement grew. I hitchhiked the15 km from Boden to Jokkmokk.

The Market was a feast for my eyes. It was like walking into an adventure story of a hundred years ago. I took advantage of the situation and took out my camera. The people in the market tried to get my attention so I would buy things, but I explained that I was there to take photographs. This they respected and they allowed me to shoot them as much as I pleased.

There were 30,000 visitors and I had to find a place to stay. My contact, NRK Sami Radio, informed me that the high school gymnasium had been converted into a sleeping hall since all the other beds in town were occupied, so I went there with my things and rested.

For my evening meal I had reindeer meat served over mashed potatoes, a delicious local specialty that I certainly enjoyed. Later that night I attended a Sami joik rock concert that I would describe

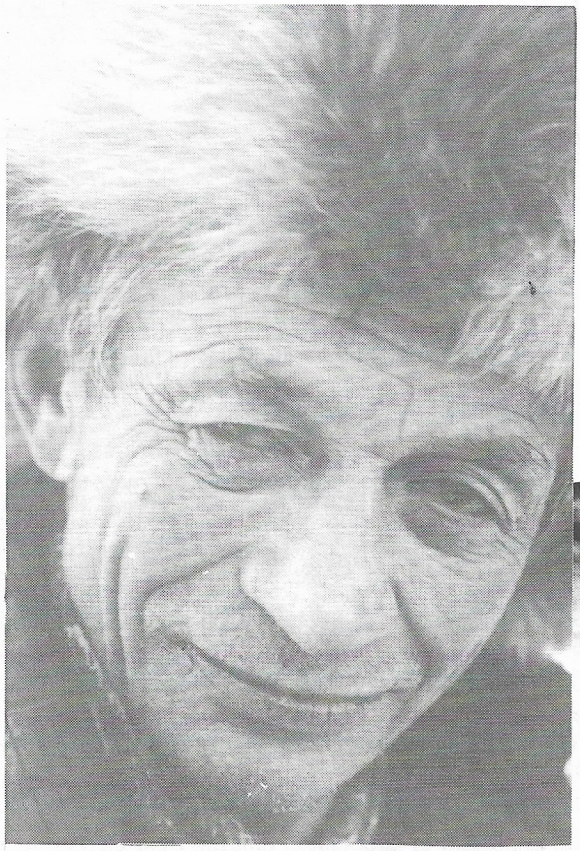
as a cross between a traditional Sami performance and MTV. I had fun and got some good pictures. Later, everybody was talking about a dance being held at the Sami school.

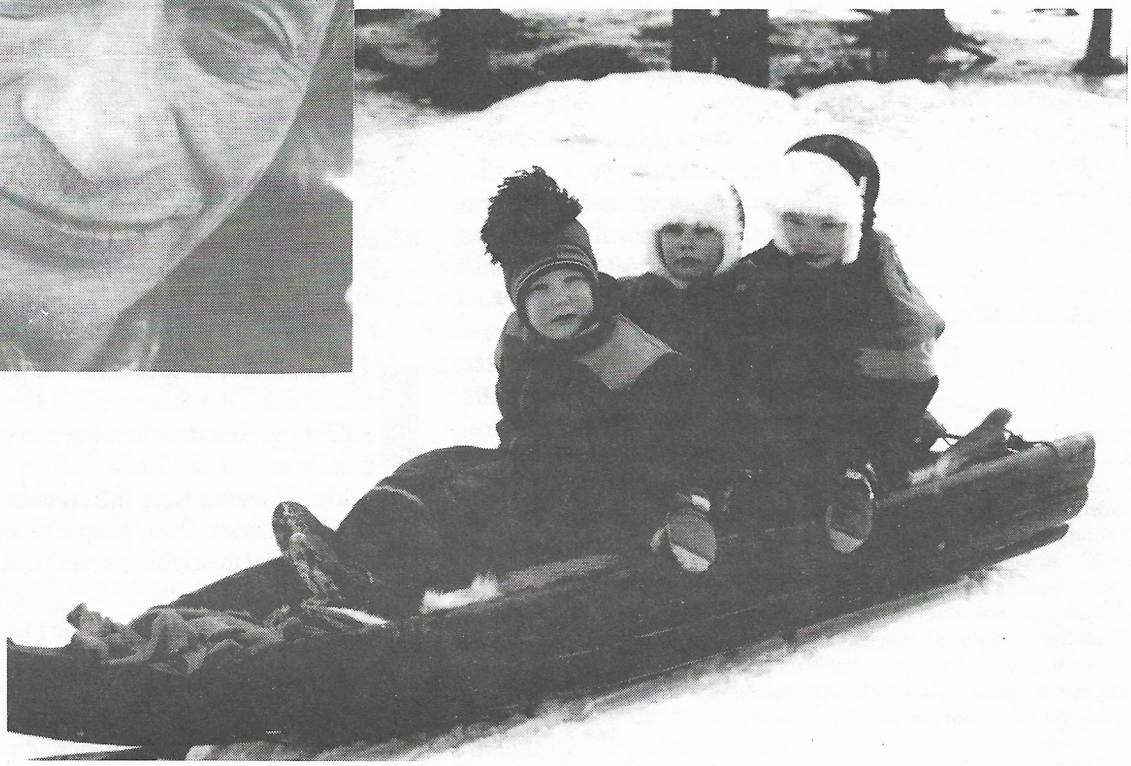
The dance was definitely the place to be. People at the dance approached me, telling me they had noticed me taking pictures, wondering who I was. I told them I was a Norwegian photographer living in San Francisco and that I had met a woman there who felt I must be Sami. And so I had wanted to come and see for myself. This made me a sort of celebrity that night.

Many of the young Sami I met at the Jokkmokk Market had the urge to explore this wonderful world we live in, but yet they came across as a very proud People, working hard to maintain their own cultural identity.

I long to return to Samiland to photograph this beautiful culture once again! As a Norwegian artist working in America, I have a big space in my heart for the Sami People.

And I feel that perhaps the missing parts I found in the hardware store are the kind that money cannot buy.





Graphic Design: Marlene Wisuri-Aho and Faith Fjeld

The Ascension: the Bear is spirited home to Ibmel.

written and illustrated by Mel Olsen

THE BEAR FEAST

Otso, Apple of the Forest,
Fair and bulky forest dweller,
Be not frightened at the maidens,
Fear not the unbraided maidens,
Be not fearful of the women,
They the wearers of the stocking,
All the women of the household
Quickly round the stove will gather
When they see the hero enter
and behold the youth advancing.

And the people spoke in answer;
Be not grieved of this, O Otso,
Neither let it make thee angry,
That we take thy hide an hour,
And thy hide will not be injured,
And thy hair will not be draggled.
Like the rags of evil people,

From *The Kalevala*
W.F. Kirby translation

"Once upon a time it was hard to get Lapp children to school. The Lapps were great bear hunters and were famous all over the world as wizards, but they were afraid of school."

Children of the Northern Lights, Ingri & Edgar Parin d'Aulaire

It is important to understand that the Bear Ceremonies originated when the Sami way of life was based on hunting and gathering. Reindeer herding had not yet become a part of the culture and so subsistence was from hand to mouth. Thus the provisions of nature were linked with the magic of its cycles and of animal behavior. Sami people recognized the forces of nature with ceremonial thankfulness and great care in its stewardship. The rituals were passed down for generations and practiced with precision in order to guarantee the gifts. The Bear Ceremonies not only observe a successful hunt, but also commemorate a compact with the deities and the spirits of the forest for the powers of Bear are great. The Bear is God's gift to the forest and comes with strong

magic.When the hunting party returns to the village they enter their dwellings through special sacred doors where they are welcomed by women whose faces are smeared with red alder dye, which is also spat on the men-especially their faces and hands. This atones for the Bear's death, and conceals the identity of those from among the hunting party who bear the bloodstains. The dogs, sledge and children also receive the dye, in order to further confuse the potentially vengeful Bear.

The women greet the men at the hearth because the goddess Sárákkhá lives beneath the hearthstone and has the power to give the gift of life from her mother, the creation goddess Máddaráhka. The women peer at the men through brass rings and symbolically retreat through the other family door. Among Norwegian Sami, an alder branch is pounded into the floor and the family, in turn, tugs at this symbol before leaving.

The power of the Bear, and of anyone who has been in Its presence, is especially dangerous to women of child-bearing age. They have little defense against it, the brass rings and shields being fragile. In some regions, the Bear was known to have oracular powers and, exercising caution, pregnant women could learn the sex of their unborn child. If an expectant mother came upon a Bear and prompted a growl, she would certainly have a son. A smile from the Bear would portend a daughter.

Women remain isolated from the activity involving the Bear. The butchering and cooking takes place in a separate hut and is done by the men. The processing is precisely prescribed; the men visit with, and joik to the carcass, begging for a continuing good relationship. Caution is taken not to scar the bones. The head, throat and entrails are kept together-sometimes rolled in the skin for safe-keeping. The blood is cooked with a little fat and eaten by the hunting party first.

Johan Turi wrote that the blood is the most sacred, and that when the slain Bear is skinned, various medicines are taken from the body: "The gall is good for diseases of the heart and for various wounds. Milk rash in children can be cured by administering milk which has been poured three times through the bronchial tube of the Bear. Bear grease is best for gout."

The hunters sit beside the boiling Bear, in the same order as in the hunt. A special brass pot or a fine kettle with brass amulets is used for cooking. Nothing is wasted, not even a spill into the fire.

When the meat is prepared it is carefully separated into men's and women's portions. The women's meal must not be taken from the foreparts or organs and must not be handled with metal implements. Trays with the women's share are carried to the lavuu by children who have been protected by alder juice. The meat taken into this banquet is also showered with alder juice. The women eat the first bites cautiously, holding brass rings near their mouths. The meat is not be handled with anything but wooden utensils and every part shared is consumed. There is no waste.

The feast in both the hunter's and the women's quarters is boisterous with song and laughter.

Finally, the tail is brought to the women's dinner. It is picked completely clean of all flesh. The plaited, ringed branch from the hunt is taken from its linen cloth, tied to the tail, and sent to the men's lavuu. The women now cover their faces so that they may greet their menfolk. The men thank the women for showing respect.

As the ceremony progresses, each of the rituals is accompanied by the appropriate verse of an elaborate joik which has given the ancient rituals a dramatic content. There are recitations for each participant. The historian Collinder writes, "The bear, when he is introduced [to the village] says: 'I intended to go to my own place, but these boys overtook me.' And as the remains of the bear are finally taken away it turns to say, 'I will withdraw with joy over the mountains and hillsides'." The Bear's role is sung by old men.

Returning to their lavuu, the hunters wash themselves and run three times around it, then back to the family dwelling, in through the family entry and out through the sacred door. They growl like the Bear as they run back to the dwelling again, three times around the hearth and then out the family door as old women sprinkle birch ashes on them.

The Bear Feast is complete. Except for the hunt leader, the men may now return to their wives. Nearly three days have elapsed. The hunters place brass or copper nails in the handles of their knives and spears to mark this year's hunt and the bearskin is ceremoniously placed over a tree stump in the camp. The women, still veiled, shoot at "the Bear" with bows and arrows. Their veils are removed, and peering through brass rings, they view the results. The husband of the best shot will be the next year's Bear Hunt leader.

The Bear is now ready for its return to nature. The Noiade consults the Sacred Drum about an appropriate time for burial. The plaited birch branch with the attached Bear's tail is threaded through the Bear's vertebra. Along with the head, entrails, genitals and bones, a bundle is prepared with brass amulets and other gifts.

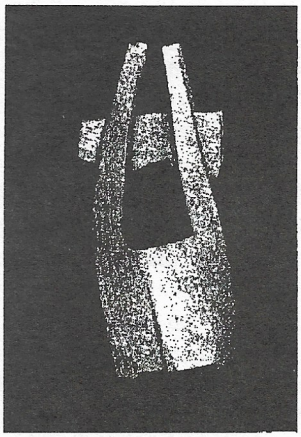
When the grave site is located, a pit is dug and the birch branches from the hunt's "switching" are laid to make a bed. Burial customs vary by region. Some place the remains in a "standing" position and some place the remains in the boughs of sacred trees where the hunters talk to the Bear as they remove the brass amulets. Logs are sometimes used to cover the Bear to keep the bones from dogs and scavengers. Boughs laid over the site complete the ritual return to the den. The Bear will emerge in the next arctic spring.

The Bear Ceremony has renewed the village social order and reaffirmed the Sami compact with nature and its biocosmic order. Nothing has been wasted or unattended to, and with great care a cairn has been placed on the tundra, not just as an offering to a god, but as an offering of a god.

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

Author's note:

The Bear Ceremony is an enormously complex topic and what has been told here is only a taste of a greater story. The Sami compact with nature, symbolized by the gift and sacrifice of the Bear, engenders a clear understanding that all occupants on the land are equal. *"The old 'Man of the Forest' has twelve men's strength and ten men's understanding"* is an old Sami saying. The ancient Sami knew that the Bear was not taken solely by the skill and wit of the hunter. The Bear wasn't taken, it was given. This gift of Ibmel was received with humility.



Bruno Kark: "TE OKE"
Oval Facet Bucket Motif Vase

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

SAMI IDENTITY

I would personally like to see a defining article on the Sami. How many came? Where did they settle? What was their national affiliation, Norwegian, Finnish, Swedish? Did it make a difference? Did they form their own societies, schools, newspapers? Did they resist assimilation? If they had their origin in Norway, did they register as Norwegians? Was the immigrant experience of the Sami different from that of a Norwegian of the same region? What nationality did they enter in the American census? Can the American census provide reliable figures on the Sami in America? Did they favor the Scandinavian immigrant colleges or prefer American institutions? What are the prevailing feelings for the homeland? Hostility, indifference, nostalgia? Only someone with intimate knowledge of the Sami background and one with a sense for historical research should speak on this. He or she should make known what is known to date and what fields lie open to be explored. Such an article might well be a guide to young scholars of Sami background. [Finally,] it might take Sami letters to document this. Are there any Sami America Letters?

Lloyd Hustvedt, secretary
The Norwegian American Historical Association
St.Olaf College, Northfield, MN 55057

The editor replies: *Sami people are found wherever there are Finnish, Norwegian, Swedish and Russian communities and institutions. But the circumstances faced by the Sami people worldwide makes the gathering of statistical data using conventional methods difficult. We are dealing with the issue of national versus indigenous identity. One is easy to trace through census and church records, but the other - "the home that lives in the heart" - is not. Many of our readers write that they suspect Sami ancestry but have no way to verify this in standard ways. Often there is nothing to go on but a "feeling."*

Your questions underline the importance of the Baiki Oral History Project (see p. 2) which will stimulate the formulation of new methods and guidelines for gathering accurate information about Sami people and their presence in Scandinavian and Finnish immigration history. In so doing, we will be able to answer many of your questions accurately.

You may also be interested to note that in this issue we begin a forum, "Enduring Sami Values," (see p.17) which will offer our readers a chance to discuss and define the meaning and manifestations of indigenous identity in the modern world.

SAMI ROOTS

We are very grateful for the response to "Sami Roots". Baiki receives a large number of letters and inquiries. Space limits what we can publish, so we try to respond to each letter personally. Address correspondence to: "Sami Roots," Baiki, 2416 London Rd.#702, Duluth, MN 55812. **After June 15, address correspondence to:** 3548 14th Ave. So. Minneapolis, MN 55407.

CELTIC ROOTS

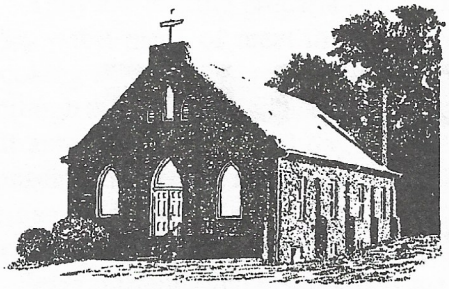
I enjoy the material in Baiki, congratulations on this nifty success! I have been borrowing a friend's copies and am now going to subscribe on my own. Indigenous cultures know more about survival and living than do contemporary cultures. I have gotten in touch with my Irish roots and am a student of Celtic culture, very proud of my Irish-Celtic heritage. My studies have shown me the common threads between indigenous cultures. To read about the Sami is to learn another variation on the "theme of wisdom" familiar to all indigenous Peoples. Congratulations and thanks for carrying forth the message of pride in heritage.

Mary Lu Perham
Rt. 1 Box 688A
Poplar, WI 54864

THE BEAR SERIES

As I read "The Bear Hunt" in the newest *Baiki* I was amazed at similar customs, taboos and rituals to those of Alaska's Koyukon (Athabaskan) Indians. Your issues just keep being better and better!

Jean Anderson Graves
Alaska Yukon Library
327 East 13th Ave. #1
Anchorage, Alaska 99501



LAESTADIANISM

I really enjoyed the article on Laestadius and Johanni Raattamaa. I read some of it to my Uncle Roy Frake over the phone. He said he wasn't aware of the importance that our ancestors had in the church. We knew [Raattamaa] was a minister and that his church had been made a National Historic Site. Our family has a wonderful photo of him standing with a group of people in front of his church. [Photo above is of St. Matthews Lutheran Church, Marion, NC]

Keets F. Taylor
Rt. 3 Box 241
Marion, NC 28752

WOUNDED KNEE

I see a need to promote *Baiki*. *Baiki* has educated me to use the term "Sami" and [to recognize] anti-indigenous prejudice. My great grandfather Kivi was from Kolary, Finland, which lies above the Arctic Circle. I know he left Finland because of persecution only to see the ways of the United States military dealing with the "Indian problem." Grandpa Kivi was one of the foreigners who were paid $2.00 per body to bury the dead at Wounded Knee. After that incident he moved his family from their homestead in South Dakota (the" Dakota Territory") to Minnesota, where they located in New York Mills. How defeated he must have felt after the long journey to the new country! *Baiki* causes a lot of thought and introspection. Sincerely,

Debra Sund
5222 39th NE
Seattle, WA 98105

LENART SEPPOLA

I thought you might enjoy this picture of Lenart Seppola. He was one of the Norwegian "Lapps" who came with his parents to teach reindeer herding to the Inuit and Yupit in the early 1900's. Lennart was one of the heroic mushers who carried the serum to Nome during a diptheria epidemic in the mid-20's. When I knew him he was "Ditch Boss" for the"F.E.Co." (U.S.Smelting, Mining and Refining Co.) that ran the gold dredges around Fairbanks. I was in the electrical crew and line crew and got out to all the camps at "clean up." He was in charge of the Davidson Ditch and other ditches that brought water to the dredges and the hydraulic operators (over 100 miles of ditches and pipes). His crew were all Finnish speakers (some could speak no English). One on the payroll became "Minot Webster" because he unfortunately had told the Emigration Service in Seward, Alaska that he was"*Minot Vepse-Mina olen Vepalainen*"- "I am a Veps." Lennart told me, "Dirti yiirs ai livit dis guntri; still gant ronaunset mai naim!" Lennart told me he was a Kainu - a Kven - but never could explain to Americans what the difference was. Not that it mattered to him or the rest of the "Finns" here - quite a mixed bag. Lennart's dog "Balto" [after Samuel Balto] has a statue in Central Park, New York City, but [there are none] of Lennart or any of the other Sami, Finns,Veps,Eesti,Komi, etc. Unfortunately most of the old-timers I knew have passed away. I have some audio tapes of Mary Bahr and Clement Sara, "*Puhu Sámegiella*," recorded in 1980 by Pekka Samualahti. In his old age Clement, living alone in Bethel, had forgotten all languages but Sami. He had not talked with anyone for several years until Pekka came. *Näkemiin.*

Niilo Koponen
710 Chena Ridge
Fairbanks, Alaska 99709

REDEMPTION STORIES

A friend gave me a copy of Baiki and I'm impressed both with its quality and with the intention of it. [I understand] that the Norwegian government is involved with some redemptive interactions with the Sami and I am interested in hearing more about it. I am collecting redemption stories for publication in book form. A redemption story tells about someone who felt they couldn't belong with other people, couldn't like themselves or their life because of some act, and then found a way to release themselves from the blame. My interest in this subject has grown out of work that I do with people who have had to witness or commit acts which shame them and make them feel exiled or disconnected from self, community and humanity. [As a therapist] I have found that suffering is social as well as personal and so is healing. If you are interested in being interviewed for the book or if you are a healer by profession and someone who uses your services has told you a redemption story and feels comfortable about sharing it, please contact me.

Mary Ciofalo
1801 Bush St.
San Francisco, CA 94109
(415) 929-8200

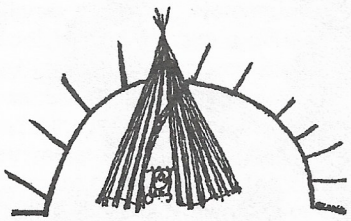
U.S. SAMIS: REGISTER AND VOTE!

An election of a new Sami Parliament will be held in Norway September 13,1993. Registration deadline is July 1, 1993. Any Norwegian Sami who is 18 or older, any Sami who is a Norwegian citizen residing in another country and any Sami who is not now a Norwegian citizen is eligible if they have ever been registered as residents of Norway. Registration and voting may be done at the Norwegian Foreign Service offices in: Anchorage, Atlanta, Baltimore, Boston, Charleston, Chicago, Cleveland, Denver, Detroit, Fargo, Honolulu, Houston, Jacksonville, Los Angeles, Madison, Miami, Minneapolis, New York, Norfolk, Pensacola, Philadelphia, Portland, OR, Salt Lake City, San Diego, San Francisco, Savannah, Seattle, Tampa and Washington, D.C. For further information contact the office of:

Lars Løberg, Vice Consul
Royal Norwegian Consulate General
821 Marquette Ave.
Minneapolis, MN 55402-2961
(612) 332-3338

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

illustrations: Marvin Salo
transcription: Barbara Tan



THE BEGINNING OF LIFE

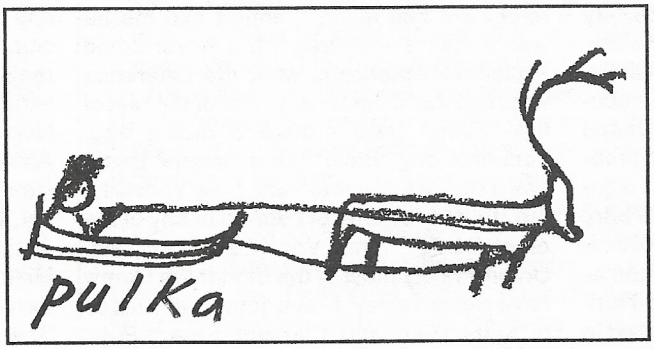
Chapter Three

THE SPRING MIGRATION

Ailu steps out of his lavuu in the morning and looks to the west, to the north and to the east. "I think today we're going to have to move," he says. "My ears tell me that the reindeer are on the migration path."

The clatter of reindeer hooves sounds to his heart like distant drumbeats, a sound that brings with it the creation of new life. Kari and Ailu have already loaded their belongings onto their pulkas. Tonight their camp will be wherever the reindeer hole up and the night will be long because the wolves will be hanging around.

The grass is starting to show little signs of growth. The snow is melting, the water is running and the spring winds are blowing. "We must move fast," Ailu says, "or in a couple of days we'll be traveling on mud. The herds will stay on low ground where there is still snow. I know how they travel. They travel the same route every year."



Kari and Ailu are ready to start into the wilderness. Einar, carried by Grandma, gets into Grandma's pulka. Einar and Grandma are laughing and they say, "We'll see you when you get there." The deer are heading to their calving grounds. With the rhythmic drumming of the hoofbeats the spring migration begins in the same way it has for centuries. This is the Sami way of life.

The people walk along, leading their deer and hauling their deer hides, pots and pans and their lavuus, the poles and the skins, to shelter them when they camp for the night. The joiking of the men echoes as they travel along. The dogs bark and whine and the deer grunt and groan and their knuckles are clicking.

Ailu looks at Kari and says, "You sure look pretty today. You look like you're twenty years younger." She says, "Yes, I am. Spring is here and everything looks nicer in the spring," and they laugh. As they travel they begin to joik together. They sing about the trees that don't yet have any leaves and about the small rocks that they see. They sing about everything that is in sight. They stop where Grandma is. She has the fire going and the coffee made, and they eat some deer meat and cut a piece of bread.

Kari takes Einar to her breast to feed him. Grandma says, "I thought you'd be feeling sore already because you're carrying so much milk." Kari says, "I think that now I will travel with you, Grandma. You and Einar can be in the pulka and I will walk beside you." Ailu says, "Yes, you and Grandma can travel together and I will keep an eye on you. Just keep joiking so I know where you're at." So Grandma and Kari go ahead of the herd.

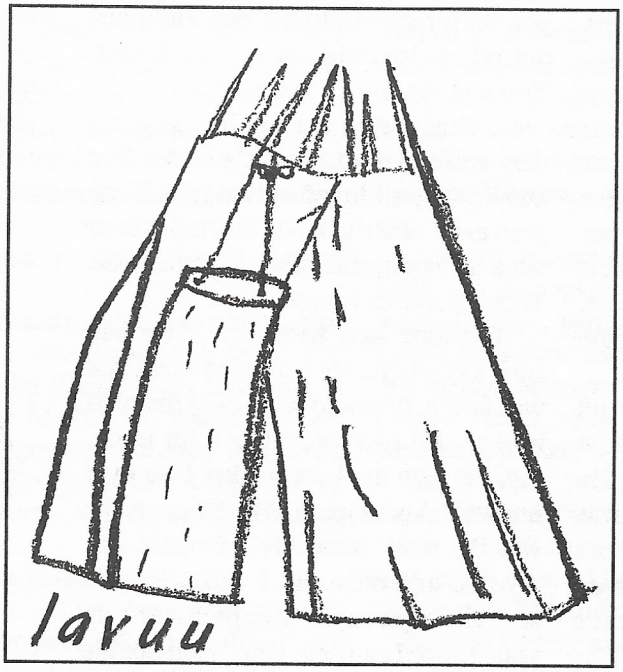
When the women get to the campsite they put up their lavuus and gather some snow to melt for water.

For years they have camped in these same rocks and the rocks still form the places where they have always put their kettles and pots. When the fire is built, Kari looks at Grandma and says, "I wonder how many thousands of times this has been used by our ancestors ." Grandma says, "When I was

a child, I was here. But I think Grandpa camped some other place because he was migrating with a different herd. When I first saw him with his bright eyes and his quick thinking, I really liked him. So I made him think about me and he chased me. All of a sudden I quit running and we fell in love. And I've been in love with him ever since. I really thought it was great that I found such a wonderful man and all I had to do was stop."

They are making preparations for the evening meal and they put a piece of meat in the pot to boil. The coffee is cooking and in a few moments, Ailu and Grandpa come in through the door. Grandpa is laughing and smoking his pipe. "It sure was a wonderful day today. The days are getting longer and the deer are traveling so nice. They had a good winter feed, so they are in good shape. They are not hungry or in a hurry. It will be easy to follow them this year."

Several friends and neighbors come over and they sit and laugh about the first day of migration. The conversation lasts into the evening. Someone says, "I saw a bear off in the distance and I've seen him before. That son of a gun is going to come after us." Ailu says, "Yes, I thought I saw him too, so we'll have to be prepared when we get up to the calving ground. That bear can cause a lot of trouble because it likes our little fawns. So we really have to watch him." Then everybody separates and they go to their homes.



Grandpa and Grandma lay down, close their eyes and fall asleep. Ailu, Kari and Einar put their heads down on their pillows.

With the fire flickering on them Kari looks at Ailu and says, "What a wonderful day it has been. We are back to where I like to be, with nature. It is so wonderful to be outside. Being cooped up all winter makes you feel like you're tied up inside but now we're out in the open and in the wild!" I even feel a little wild. Maybe tomorrow night we can get wild. I'm beginning to feel that way.

Ailu looks at her and says, "We will sneak away tomorrow night. Maybe Grandma will sit with Einar and we will sneak away in the dark and enjoy an evening together."

In the morning they wake up to the smell of the fire and of coffee boiling. They hear the reindeer off in the distance. They get their gear ready to travel, their pulkas and their supplies. Grandma says, "Well, we've got to get going." She gets in her pulka and away they go. Kari and Grandma head down the road with Einar in their lap. They follow the high sides of the tundra where the snows are hard enough to make easy going. At coffee break, Grandma gives them some hard bread. They shave off some cooked meat and pieces of cheese and sit and laugh about the day, and how well things are going. Ailu looks at Kari and winks." I've been thinking about it as I've been walking along with the deer." Kari says, "I've been thinking about it too. Isn't it wonderful to have something to think about?" "Yes, I keep thinking how we are made for each other."

When they arrive at the campground they sit together eating their evening meal. Grandma smiles at Kari and says, "You look like you've got something going on between you and Ailu." Kari says, "Yes, would you stay with Einar tonight for a little while. We're going to take a walk and look at the herd." Grandma says, "You're not going to see much of the herd the way you're looking."

"Grandma," says Kari, "you know how it is. You were young once." "Well, Grandpa and I still think young, but I think you think younger than we do." Grandpa laughs. "I'm not old yet. I can still do things I did when I was fifteen. I can still do them just as good. And I always tell you if you don't learn something every day, life has passed you by. And I always tell you make it a good day and a better night." Kari grabs Ailu's hand and says, "We are going to make it a better night.!"

They leave and go to look at the herd and sit together in the moonlight watching the stars.

Then Ailu takes a deer hide off the pulka that is parked outside the lavuu. They walk a little ways away and find a large beautiful rock. They spread out the deer hide and put their backs against the rock and watch the stars. "Isn't the sky beautiful and the wind warm?" "Yes, it's so warm out here that my heart seems to want." "My heart seems to want too," says Kari. And so they go into a passionate embrace.

After awhile they come back to the lavuu smiling. Kari says, "It is so romantic out here. My heart swells every time we do this outside." Ailu says, "Yes, this is our way of life. This is the way we have done it for years and I imagine we will do this for years to come. Life is just a

(continued overleaf)

twitch of an eye." "A twitch of which eye?" asks Kari. And they laugh as they roll down in their comforter and go to sleep.

So the travelling goes for several days. Finally they arrive at their spring calving grounds. And there they settle for the summer stay.

They set their lavuus on a high hill where the wind will keep the mosquitoes away, where there is a good place to make a fire so the mosquitoes won't be hanging around all the time. From here they can look down into the valley and watch the deer, seeing predators if they move in too close.

One day Grandpa says, "I think I'm going to go and look for that bear." But Sampu, his best friend, has already gone to look for it. Grandpa hears a loud whoop. The sound echoes through the valley. Somebody is in trouble. He heads that way hollering. "Hurry up!" A few moments later Ailu and Grandpa find Sampu. Sampu lays dead, covered with blood. Ailu's heart is heavy as they look at him. "We'll have to take him home."

The two pick him up and make a carrier out of their lariat. They put his body on it, the rope around their shoulders, and they carry him home. As they approach camp, people come out of their lavuus.

"Who is that?" they ask. And Grandpa says, "It's Sampu. Sampu has been killed by the bear. He really got mauled. He found a deer that was killed by the bear and he had must have laid down his gun and leaned over to check the brand on the deer's ear to see whose it was."

Grandpa's heart is heavy. "The bear must have charged to protect his kill. They do not like someone taking their food. Sampu was one of the best trackers I have ever known; he had such a keen eye. How could he make such a mistake?"

The next day, funeral preparations are made. They dig a plot out in the back, lay Sampu's body in it and each man puts a rock on it, one rock at a time, to cover his body in the still-frozen tundra. Sophie, Sampu's widow, stands alongside the grave with tears streaming down her face. Grandma holds her hand and the two women embrace.

Then Grandma says, "I feel very bad but we will help you. I will tell Grandpa to help you out. We have to survive together." So, on the fourth night, Grandma tells Grandpa, "You better go and see how Sophie is doing and you'd better help her out." Grandpa says, "There is no other man eligible to go and Sampu and I were the closest friends and you and Sophie are the closest too. So I think it is my duty." Grandma says, "It is your duty, so leave after supper and stay there with her tonight. Make her feel comfortable. Make her feel that she is a whole woman again. Give her life. Make beauty shine in her eyes like you do for me. Help her out. Help her out, otherwise I will lose my best friend. You can die from a lonely heart too."

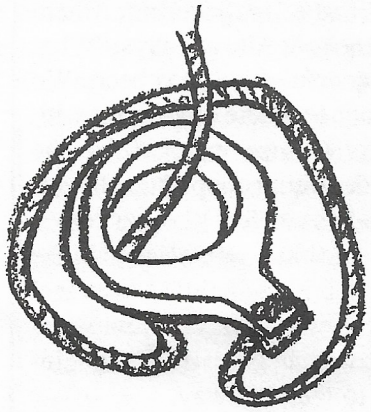
So Grandpa embraces Grandma and they walk over to Sophie's lavuu. For awhile they sit together and talk. They grab each other's hands and talk about what a wonderful man Sampu was. Then Grandma leaves.

Grandpa says to Sophie, "He had such a keen eye. He could see a leaf that was fallen, he could see a twig that was broken. He had such an eye for tracking. He was the best tracker I've ever known." And Sophie says, "Yes and he was the most wonderful man. He was my one and only and I will miss him so." Grandpa says, "I hope I can help you, I hope I can help you." And Sophie says, "Yes, you and Grandma have always been my best friends." And so Sophie says to Grandpa, "Come on, we will lay down now," and Grandpa and the widow lay down on her bed and embrace. And as he holds her tight in his arms he says, "Sampu is safe, Sampu is home. He will never have to be cold. The bear has claimed him and the bear will bring him back." So Grandpa massages her body and makes her feel comfortable and they fall into a blissful sleep.

When Grandpa gets up in the morning Sophie says, "You made those few moments of happiness for me when sorrow was in my heart. You made me know that I was needed and wanted and I am a whole woman. The flame burns again; I know that I can survive." Grandpa answers, "As soon as we get a chance, we will find you a man."

So Grandpa goes home and Grandma asks, "Well how was it?" "She will survive, I did exactly as you told me to." "You are a good man," says Grandma. "You think of Sophie because Sampu was such a good friend of yours. Your heart is heavy and yet you helped her." Grandpa steps out of the lavuu and goes to look at the reindeer. That day he walks and thinks to himself, "How could Sampu make such a mistake?"

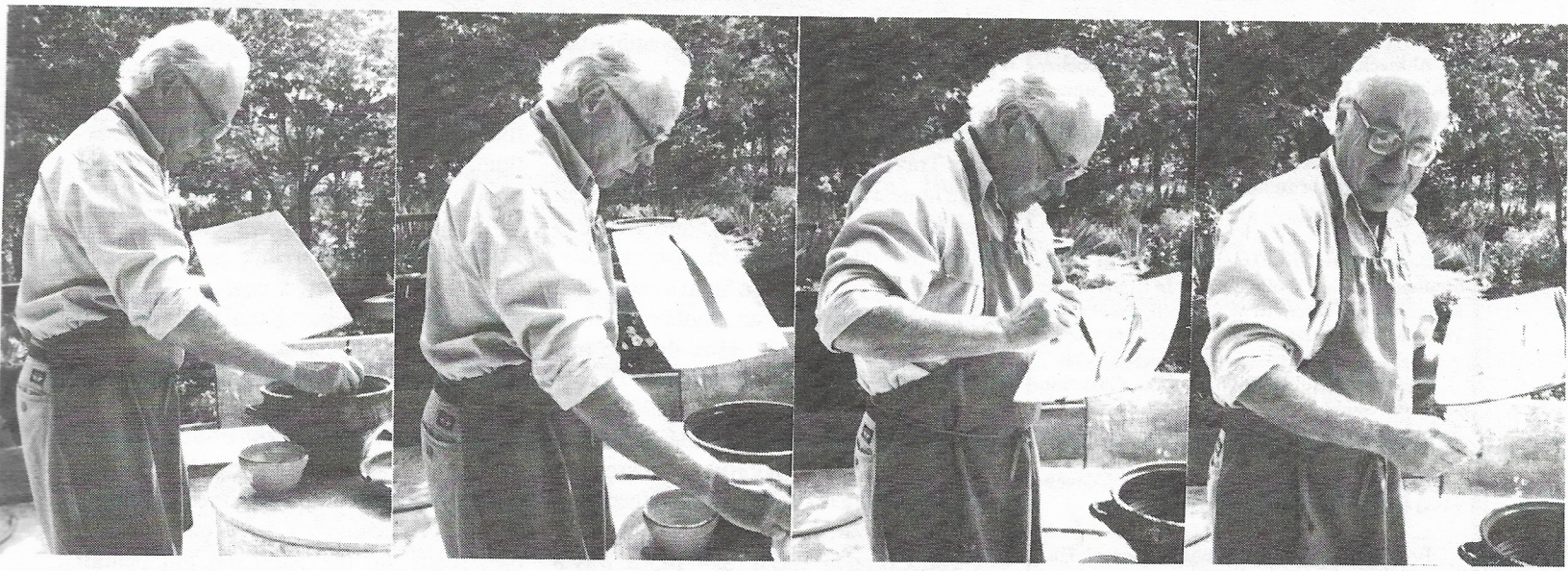
But this is the way it goes. Nature gives us life and Nature takes life away from us too.



(to be continued)

SAMI AMERICAN PROFILE:

"Pottery affects your brain, so you just make pots."



Eric Norstad at his ceramics studio in Richmond, California

photo: Baiki - Faith Fjeld

Eric Norstad, ceramic artist

Eric Norstad was born in Valhalla, New York. "That's where you're supposed to go, but that's where I'm from," he laughs. He is relaxing in the shade of his production studio's courtyard trees enjoying lunch. "My Dad's grandfather's family came from Bodø, Norway on a bay north of the Arctic Circle. A relative was asked that since our family came from so far north, was it possible they were Laplanders. The response was 'of course!' But my Swedish-American mother would call my Father's family 'Lapps' in a sort of joking or derogatory manner."

Eric's ancestors were carpenters and boat builders who specialized in "*lapstrake*," large wooden rowboats named for the ancient technique that was the secret of the Viking boats, a method of overlapping boards that was both flexible and watertight. Eric recalls that once when his immigrant grandfather was doing carpentry work for an American doctor he saw a book that he wanted to borrow and read. The doctor refused, saying, "You're just a worker - you don't want to read it." "But," says Eric, "that's why grandpa had come to America in the first place!"

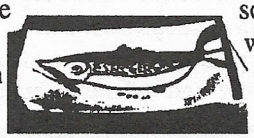
It is no coincidence that Eric Norstad became a potter, for both of his parents, as well as a siste,r were potters. Eric himself has been a potter for thirty years. He studied pottery and architecture at the University of Oregon and after working as an architect for five years, became a full-time potter in 1962. At first he specialized in pottery embellished with Chinese-style wax-resist brush work, a technique that was self-taught. "I like Chinese pots very much," he says. "In fact some people call Norwegians 'Chinese Swedes'."

Eric and his wife Dottie, a German-Irish American writer, have lived in the Bay Area since 1959. At first he worked in the basement of their Corte Madera home with the kiln outside and then he moved into a studio in Sausalito. In 1982 he designed and constructed a building across the Bay in Richmond, his three sons serving as carpenters. The one-story 8000-foot structure was designed to fit into its neighboring residential environment. It is arranged around the courtyard garden where he now sits.

Eric calls this garden "the survival of the fittest where what the snails and the gophers haven't eaten thrive." It is a profusion of white alyssums, purple irises, lavender petunias, fiery red nasturtiums and brilliant orange California poppies shaded by cascades of wisterias and grapevines and flowering plum trees and Japanese maples. This is where those who work for Norstad Pottery take their lunch breaks.

The Norstads' four grown children are all craftspeople, following in the footsteps, it seems, of their Sami ancestors. Eric, the oldest, is a cabinet maker, Mark makes bicycle parts and works with metals, Burt is a brick layer, and their daughter Maija, " a full-time mother," is studying nursing.

Norstad Pottery has been a success. "We ship stuff all around the world," Eric says. They produce dinnerware for many famous restaurants, and, according to Eric, sell a lot of kitchen and bathroom sinks. " Sinks are our largest selling product. We have more than 200 accounts." Eric smiles. "I'm so happy to be able to do something I enjoy for a living! Most people are doing stuff that someone else tells them to do. But with me it's about what I <u>don't</u> have to do to make a living!"



Faith Fjeld

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*(**Dyakin** continued from page 4)*

Shoes, or *yari* (tall leather boots) and *kan'qi* (short boots), were made from reindeer hooves. The men's winter pants were made of reindeer skins, and the summer ones of fabric. On their belts they carried a knife in a case and a bag holding a fire stone and a tinder. Headdresses were bought from the Russians.

By the19th century, almost all Sami men and a few of the women could speak Russian. Travelers wrote that the Russian Sami were honest and conscientious and Russian merchants would often hire Sami people to guard their possessions at the fishing posts.

It was the custom for a Sami to exchange with a Russian settler an amulet, or cross, worn around the neck. After this the two people would become godbrothers. The exchange of crosses was usually followed by a trade of the best reindeer hides or animal skins that the new godbrothers possessed. So mutual support was a rule of life among the Sami people.

The Crimean War (1854-1856) was a disaster for the economy of the Russian north. The British and the French destroyed many fishing and market settlements on the coast. Trade routes ceased to exist and ancient Sami settlements in northern Karelia disappeared due to massive colonization of the region by Russians and Karelians. By the end of the 19th century Sami villages remained only on the Kola Peninsula.

In 1888 a large group of Komi people from the eastern part of the Archangel Province came to the Kola Peninsula with their reindeer. They had been driven from their homeland by massive epidemics among the herds. This brought about the decline of the Sami reindeer economy and for the first time ethnic tension appeared in the area. Under Russian law the Komi were not to legally settle on the Kola Peninsula without authorization from the provincial governor and the local councils. At first, neither gave consent and the Komi were ordered to return to their homeland. But the Komi ignored the orders and after ten years were allowed to stay. They planted vegetable gardens and built big two-story log houses for themselves.

They were skilled, hard-working herders and businessmen. Most of them owned huge reindeer herds, employing Nenets people from the Arctic region of western Siberia as shepherds. Unlike the Sami, the Komi herded all year round, using artificial breeding and selective butchering. They sold their products in the major markets of Russia and Europe. They bought reindeer from the Sami at cheap prices, reselling them to Finland at a profit. Alcohol addiction was very common among Sami people and there were cases where a reindeer was sold for a bottle of vodka.

The Komi built two leather factories on the Kola Peninsula, and organized reindeer routes in the tundra. During the summertime, Sami reindeer, grazing freely, would often be absorbed into the large Komi herds which were overgrazing the tundra. So the Komi economy flourished and the Sami economy could not compete. The Sami were obliged to accept Komi ways but they were unrepresented in their local goverment. The mutual dislike between the Sami and the Komi of the Kola Peninsula is felt even today.

World War I brought rapid industrial development to Lapland since the Kola peninsula became an important military crossroads but the Sami did not benefit from this development either, and many Sami men died on the front.

World War I, the Russian Revolution of 1917 and the Russian Civil War (1918-1920) led to the destruction of the reindeer economy in the region. Many herders were killed on the front and many reindeer were conscripted for military needs or died while being used in the construction of railroads. In addition, the wolf population drastically increased in tundra. There were 94,000 reindeer in Russian Lapland in 1915 and by 1922 only 27,900 remained.

By the end of 1920's many Sami had lost their herds or sold their reindeer and worked for the Komi as shepherds. By the 1930's the Komi controlled the reindeer population of the region and dominated its economy. They founded new settlements in the Kola Peninsula.

The number of reindeer increased by the 1930's and the economy started to recover. This recovery, however, was soon to be interrupted by a process called "collectivization," the conversion of private farms into state *kolhozi* [collective farms] by the Communist regime.

to be continued in Issue #8

Sergei Dyakin, a specialist in the indigenous Sami culture of the Kola Peninsula, is a history major and anthropology minor at the University of Minnesota, Duluth, He is a native of Murmansk and an exchange student under the UMD-Petrozavodsk Exchange Program.

ENDURING SAMI VALUES

A new Baiki reader forum for defining contemporary Sami culture.

Mark B. Lapping, Ph.D.

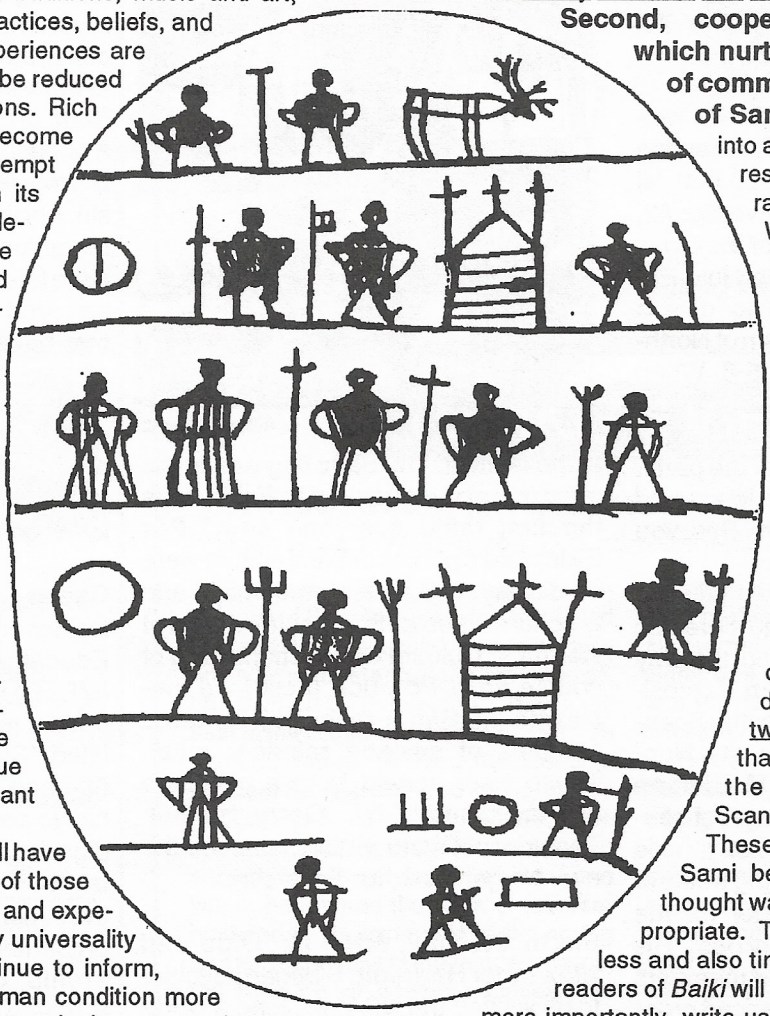
What are Sami values and how do they endure in such ways that they may help instruct and guide us today and into the future?

No People's history, traditions, music and art, mythologies, religious practices, beliefs, and rituals, or communal experiences are so singular that they can be reduced to simple characterizations. Rich and textured cultures become stereotypes when we attempt to do so. This leads, in its most extreme, to racist delineations and a rationale for genocidal policies and programs. This is unacceptable and cannot be tolerated.

Yet it still may be possible to talk about a value-laden and value-rich "Sami Way of Life." While we need to recognize that many of us, myself included, are really an ethnic melange and that we actually draw upon many traditions and backgrounds, we nonetheless can identify elements of our Sami culture and heritage which continue to be important and relevant to us.

This on-going forum will have as its aim the discussion of those elements of Sami culture and experience which, in their very universality and essential truth, continue to inform, define, and make the human condition more meaningful. To this end we invite our readers to submit their contributions so that we can build a dialogue on this most important theme.

In an effort to "get the ball rolling" let me outline three elements of the Sami cultural experience which both endure and provide guidance for the conduct of every-day life.



First, the Sami have understood the necessity to live in harmony with nature. Sami traditions help us to understand what it means to live a life which is environmentally sensitive and sustainable.

Second, cooperative relationships which nurtured a strong sense of community defined much of Sami life. This translates into a sense of obligation and responsibility for the whole rather than just the self. Worth and standing within the community was not defined entirely by possessions but rather by the manner in which one lived with others and for others.

Third, gender was a far less divisive element than in non-Sami cultures. Women occupied positions of respect and influence because of competence and wisdom and a far greater degree of equality between the sexes existed than was the case among the neighboring Fenno-Scandinavians.

These values reflect what the Sami believed and what they thought was right, correct, and appropriate. These values are timeless and also timely. It is our hope that readers of *Baiki* will expand upon these and more importantly, write us about other aspects of Sami life and culture. We look forward to your contributions to this forum. Please send them to:

Mark B. Lapping
15 Pine Knoll Drive
Lawrenceville, NJ
08648

SAMI CONNECTIONS

Seattle, WA: I hear **Ken Jackson** was roasted recently in celebration of his 70th birthday. I wonder how you prepare a man that age? In a slow oven with frequent basting or over hot coals with barbeque sauce? Either way, congratulations, **Grey Eagle**, from all the people you have touched over the years with your stories and wisdom. Best wishes for another 70. (P.S. Send us the recipe.)

Minneapolis, MN: Everyone is welcome to come to a potluck reception for **Ailo Gaup**, June 4, 7:30 p.m. at **Anna Bohle's**, 604 27th Ave.So. #2, Mpls. His book *In Search of the Drum* has recently been translated into English. He will visit Mpls. to give a workshop titled "Shamanism of Northernmost Europe" on June 5-6. When **Faith Fjeld** heard he was coming to Mpls., she gave him a call in Norway and we found a date to host the party. We at *Baiki* hope everyone interested in Sami culture will come. See you then.

San Francisco, CA: The Swedish Club of San Francisco and the Bay Area honored **Ernst Jensen**, its president, for his contributions to the Scandinavian American Community. Honorary Consul Genera **Siri M. Eliason** writes "Ernst has that rare gift of seeing life with a humorous twist. . .he is generous with himself, giving freely of his time and effort in order for the Swedish Club to be the very best. His efforts in bringing together members from various Swedish American organizations deserves a special merit." He is a charter subscriber to *Baiki* and has been *Baiki's* Swedish connection in the Bay Area. Congratulations from all of us.

San Francisco, CA: Norway Day at Ft. Mason. **Faith Fjeld,** and **Cindy Huntington** of Oakland, (author of "My Sami Grandmother" Issue #1) wore gakti and represented the Sami

Albin Seaberg

at the festival. The Sami flag was at the entrance and, according to Faith, "was the first thing everyone saw." **Per Eidspjeld**'s photos of Sami culture were on display.A table featured maps and brochures about Sami culture, **Carol Aenne**'s "Cultural Connections" and of course, *Baiki*. **Polarica**, arctic food specialists in San Francisco, donated samples of smoked reindeer meat. These were served from a miniature 36" lavuu made by **Gerry Henkel**. Thanks to **Diana Fuller**, one of the event organizers, for Faith's trip.

South St. Paul, MN: Dr. Olga and Alexander Haridiidit, Siberian psychiatrists visiting the USA, will lead a workshop in "Siberian Shamanic Healing Techniques" at the Dakota County Historical Museum. Tentative dates are June 18-19, cost $50-60. To register call **Naomi Price** (612) 451-2693. **Sue Meyers** and **Donna Palomaki** have taken a workshop from Olga and Alexander and have great respect for their teaching. This workshop may get you in touch with your indigenous spiritual roots.

Minneapolis, MN Area: I'm lumping all these items together to give you guys and gals out there in the hinterland some ideas about community building. We **Baikers** are getting together about once a month and really beginning to know each other while learning about the Sami culture. January we had a party at **Sue Meyers'** to celebrate Sami Day. In March we met at the Minnesota Zoo to represent the Sami on Reindeer Day. April we had a potluck and drumming workshop at **D'arcy Alison-Teasley**'s in Wisconsin. And in June we will have a potluck reception for **Ailo Gaup** in Mpls. We have talented organizers, artists, writers, and coordinators in our group that have made these events come off very smoothly. Community building enriches us as Sami-Americans and contributes to the diversity of the American culture. I'd like to hear about your events. Or if you would like some ideas give me a call: **(612) 439-8055.**

Osseo, MN: Carol Aenne, Staff Center Resource Teacher and Minnesota Education Effectiveness Program (MEEP) Facilator, District 279, developed a resource manual for teachers titled "Cultural Connections." It is a 60-page booklet that is "an opportunity to connect with Scandinavian indigenous roots (the Sami) and to realize their powerfull parallels with Native Americans (the Anishinabe.) Carol presented it to the 21st Annual Leadership Conference of MEEP in Brainerd during the week of April 26-30. Comments made were "I would like to see this incorporated into high school social studies programs." "The comparison between the cultures was amazing." "This will help me to incorporate cultural awareness into my classroom." I'll be taking this to teachers in Scandinavia this summer.

Bayport, MN: You remember that Finnish language and Sami culture

class in Inari that I wrote about last issue? Well, guess who is going there. **Me!!!** With the help of a scholarship from the Finlandia Foundation I will spend 5 weeks in Finland and Sapmi. Part of the time will be spent visiting schools gathering material for educational packets. I am one blessed person. *Kiitos paljon*, to all those who supported me. I will take you on my trip in spirit.

Please send your news items and announcements to:

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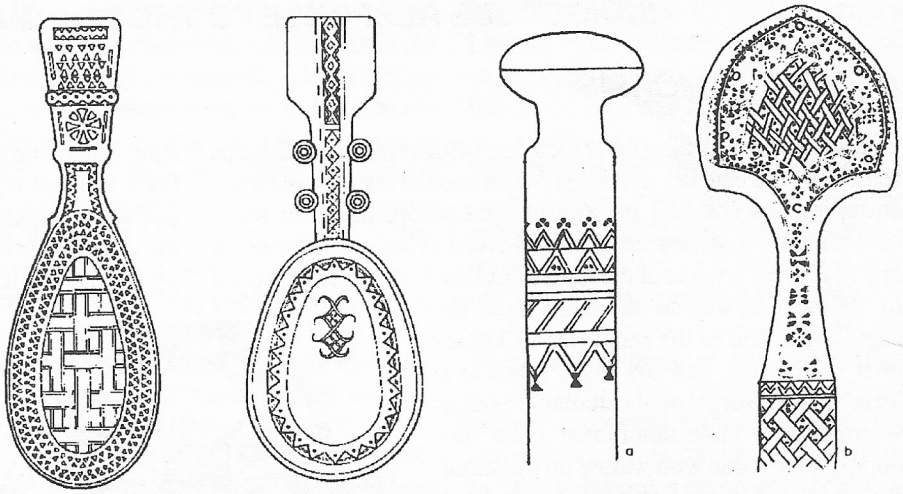

Horn spoon, southern style

Horn spoon, northern style

Man's walking staff

Woman's walking staff

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The Sami Reawakening: Finnish America.The Kalevala. Lillian and Carol Ruotsala Staats.

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BAIKI REVIEW

A YEAR IN LAPLAND: Guest of the Reindeer Herders

Hugh Beach (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1993)

The author is an American anthropologist of Swedish ancestry. He visited Lapland, first as a child, and later, with an undergraduate degree from Harvard, he returned to Samiland to stay a full year in the Jokkmokk district of Swedish Lapland where he lived the life of a reindeer Sami. He shared the hardships and joys of living close to nature in the sub-arctic where weather is not just something to watch from a window, and where he learned the skills of reindeer husbandry. He experienced the spring and fall migrations of the reindeer herds, the marking of newborn calves, the roundup for market, and he learned how to protect the reindeer from predators.

With a skillful pen he reports on the myths and legends of the Sami. His book is not just an academic treatise but relates many interesting details on the lifestyle, religion and culture of the Sami. It has lots of literary merit as travel literature and it will also please collectors of Laponica.

Hugh Beach has published a number of scholarly articles on anthropology and he earnad a doctorate at Uppsala University in Sweden, where he now serves as a professor of cultural anthropology. He learned the hard way what it is to be Sami; one needs to join a way of life and see things in the context in which they occur in order to understand a culture.

He reports on the traditional way of reindeer herding and on the changes taking place in Sapmi as modern technology meets a wilderness lifestyle and a subsistence economy becomes a cash economy. Development has greatly reduced the amount of territory left for reindeer breeding as the modern age tramples tradition and culture underfoot.The Sami are being incorporated into the Swedish social welfare system where life is more comfortable and much less Sami.

A YEAR IN LAPLAND may be ordered from Smithsonian Institution Press, Dept. 900, Blue Ridge Summit, PA 17294. The price in $24.95 plus $2.25 postage and handling for the first book and $1.00 for each additional book. Foreign pricing: £19.50, $29.95.

Reviewed by Rudolph Johnson

EDITORIAL EXCHANGE

INDIGENOUS RESPONSE TO THE 1992 QUINCENTENNIAL

C. PATRICK MORRIS

Early in the morning of 12 October 1492, three Spanish ships settled off the beaches of San Salvador and the crew of maritime entrepreneurs scanned the spit of land before them for some confirmation that they had finally arrived in Sipangu (Japan) or one of the rich islands of the fabled "Indies." If the island proved to be the gateway to the East, then the captain-admiral of the small fleet, Christopher Columbus, and his royal financiers, were on the verge of incalculable wealth secured by a state-sanctioned trade monopoly with those who waited on the shore. On the island, groups of excited and apparently friendly people, probably speaking the now-extinct Taino language, also saw something good in the arrival of these strangers from the eastern seas. They waited anxiously to greet the newcomers and exchange items in their own fashion.

Within a few years of this idyllic first meeting between European Christendom and what Columbus described as "the gentle people" of the New World, the European explorers would precipitate an international war that now has lasted five centuries and whose violent and often prophetic events have shaped much of the modern world. A disturbing relationship continues to exist between Indians (in fact all indigenous peoples) and the so-called European discoverer nations and their colonial descendants. Very different and still-competing histories have emerged from the Columbian discovery.

THE MEANING OF DISCOVERY TO THE DISCOVERED

Probably the worst error made by the various planners of the 1992 quincentennial commemoration was their apparent assumption that there exists near-universal agreement regarding the meaning of the Columbus "discovery." Somewhat belatedly, the various national quincentennial commissions learned that nothing was further from the truth. Each day, new and unforeseen issues and conflicts emerged between what one might call Eurocolonial and indigenous views. An example was the arrival in the Caribbean of Indian representatives from First Nations of British Columbia to obtain an apology from the Spanish government for the tragedy brought to America's native peoples [only to find] a mock Columbian fleet. Chief Wii Seeks of the Gitskan [delegation] likened the celebration to the Germans celebrating Hitler's blitzkrieg. In an apparent effort to avoid the pursuing Indian [delegation] the newly-built Columbus fleet moved quickly, only to be caught when they docked in San Juan, Puerto Rico. There the besieged Spanish consul signed a formal apology. Such modern confrontations between Europeans and American Indians - and other indigenous peoples - are motivated not only by the often tragic events surrounding European "discovery" but also by the use of fictionalized events to secure "legal" title to entire continents.

By the use of what eventually became known in Western law as the "Doctrine of Discovery," the United States Supreme Court [in *Johnson v. McIntosh*, 1823] permanently impaired the American Indian's aboriginal title to what is now the United States. The European idea of discovery involved more than just land. Discovery also rationalized an emerging social Darwinism that sought to define in relative terms the physical and cultural development of "discovered" peoples.

Soon indigenous peoples found their rights "legally impaired" by the colonizing powers. Quickly they were denied - ultimately for centuries - equal access to the sources of national, and later international, institutions of political, social, economic and religious power available to all other peoples.

When so-called discovered people resisted European efforts to dehumanize them and enslave them by law, the discoverers had the legal right to instigate "just" wars against them, and if necessary, to destroy the "race" itself. During the past five centuries, European rights of discovery have provided colonizers with the legal foundation for state-sponsored acts of genocide against indigenous peoples around the world.

Despite the overwhelming need to confront directly the continuing human implications of the Columbus discovery, such an effort was not part of the official 1992 Columbus quincentennary. For North American Indians, the Sami, and other indigenous Peoples, the 1992 quincentennial was problematic. According to some Indian intellectuals and leaders in the United States, "This Columbus thing was not ours and we had little control over what happened in 1992. It was better to remove ourselves from any official participation and organize our own activities and interpretations of 1992."

As a result, Indian and various supportive non-Indian organizations networked to coordinate the particular direction they wanted their activities to take during 1992. A number of national organizations with a counterquincentennial focus were set up and published newsletters and coordinated local and regional responses to quincentennial events. Some Indian organizations and less formal groups organized public demonstrations to memorialize Native peoples in sunrise ceremonies and prayers to the Four Directions." Our people will sound the Drum at dawn for those

indigenous people who did not survive the Invasion of 1492 or those five hundred years of colonization, land grabs and gold fever," declared Suzan Shown Harjo, national coordinator for the 1992 Alliance. Many Indian leaders also saw the 1992 quincentennial as a historic opportunity to press forward a pan-Indian agenda that would result in long-range, constructive political action. Activities in the United States were echoed in various organized activities outside the country, many of which were designed to bring attention to political and human rights issues that have been on the agenda for decades.

THE INTERNATIONAL YEAR OF INDIGENOUS PEOPLES

Of special importance to any international perspective is the agreement by the United Nations to declare 1993 "The International Year of Indigenous Peoples," a step that will certainly shift the international political agenda toward many of the historic land, natural resource, and human rights issues ignored by the official 1992 quincentennial. The U. N. action may prove to be the most positive and lasting international response to the 1992 hullabaloo.

It is evident that even northern and eastern Europe are not excluded from the legal and moral issues raised by the 1992 quincentennial. In Norway, Sweden, Finland, and the former Soviet Union, Sami peoples have had to deal with the northern expansion of Indo-European groups and, as a result, have found themselves isolated from the legal and political processes that have marginalized their culture. For the Sami, the quincentennial of 1992 was important because it highlighted a European hegemony that continues to determine their fragile legal identity within several modern nation-states.

Many today would agree with Adam Smith that "the discovery of America, and that of a passage to the East Indies by the Cape of Good Hope, are the two greatest and most important events recorded in the history of mankind." As the international commemoration of this identifiable turning point in world history, the 1992 Columbus quincentennary deserved an agenda worthy of its broad impact on all humanity. If nothing else, the quincentennial offered an historic opportunity for international action on a number of issues related to the current situation of Indians and other indigenous peoples around the world. Each of the quincentennial's sponsoring nations could have used its funds to address the still-unmet needs of those who continue to feel the brunt of discovery and its legacy. The discoverer nations could have used the quincentennial to establish an impartial international commission to create a hemisphere-wide agenda for positive action. Perhaps this will be realized [this year] during the United Nations' 1993 International Year of Indigenous Peoples. Indigenous peoples are pushing reluctant nation-states toward direct negotiation of long-standing grievances. If equity is to be achieved for all indigenous peoples, these issues must be addressed at both national and international levels.

Documents do exist that might contribute to a more balanced view of Indians and of the history of the past five hundred years. One positive legacy that could emerge from the 1992 quincentennial is the funding of a multi-year, even decades-long, project to systematically inventory, restore, and protect documents throughout the world that relate to the events and processes of discovery, conquest, and colonization, particularly those documents that can contribute to a more balanced history of indigenous peoples since the Age of Discovery.

In addition to written documents, there are the uncollected voices of indigenous peoples. In recent years, ethnohistory has proven the usefulness of both written and oral testimony, demonstrating the value of collaboration between the historical actor and the historical writer. For indigenous peoples and scholars in general, increased access to and identification of the historical record can contribute to the participation of indigenous people in the writing of their own history.

CONCLUSION

For most of us, 1492 and its aftermath determined where and how we live, even with whom we associate. It permanently and often violently changed people and communities—bringing Europeans, then Africans, and later Asians to the New World—and moved other peoples and cultures across great oceans until no land or people remained isolated from others.

The Age of Discovery is as much about the discovery of who we are as a species as it is a belated confirmation of the spherical shape of our planet. Yet, despite nearly five centuries of contact, popular understanding of Indians, Sami and other indigenous peoples remains more stereotypical than historical. Indigenous peoples remain ambiguous personae whose communal existence, even human identity, is still questioned by national laws over which they have little or no control. Instead, their identity has been determined largely by an imposed history. Although the European sources for the identity of the Indian are centuries old, they still have the power to affirm myth-like public stereotypes.

The real tragedy of the quincentennial is that it commemorated almost nothing of lasting value. The 1992 quincentennial's largely successful effort to ignore, deny, and even suppress the historical reality of indigenous peoples unfortunately also suppresses everyone's awareness of the subtle hand of multicultural history that has pushed each of us toward that particular place we now occupy in the modern world. By denying the historical role of Indians and other indigenous peoples, the 1992 quincentennial [either] rejected or failed to understand the multicultural origins of the modern world.

Because indigenous peoples were denied equal access to the official events of 1992, the discoverers and the discovered will continue to participate in separate histories. This is tragic. After five hundred years of warfare, slavery, genocide, racism, and ethnic and class violence, it is certainly time for us to close the gap of violence and ignorance that still divides the descendants of Columbus from the world's indigenous peoples. It is unacceptable for modern nations, scholars, and the general public to continue to preserve, through distorted and half-told histories, a Eurocentric view of the world that ignores our painful failures and impedes our global struggle for universal human equality and justice.

C. Patrick Morris is a professor of liberal studies at the University of Washington, Bothell. His article "Tana to Montana: the Sami-U.S. Indian International Educational and Cultural Exchange Program" appeared in Baiki *Issue #3, spring 1992. The above article is an excerpt reprinted from a special edition of the* American Indian Culture and Research Journal: *"International Year of Indigenous Peoples Discovery and Human Rights," vol.17 #1, UCLA Press, edited by Prof. Morris.*

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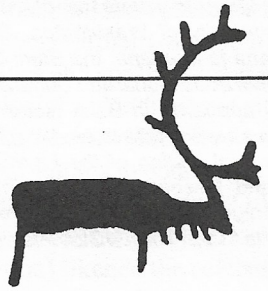

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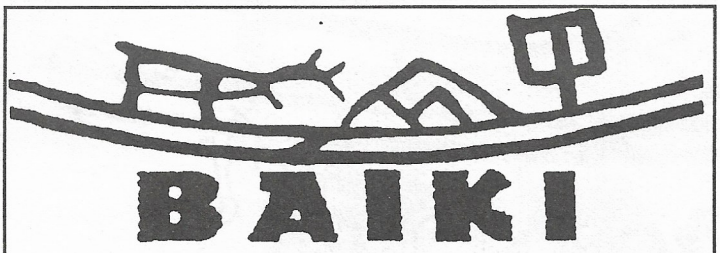

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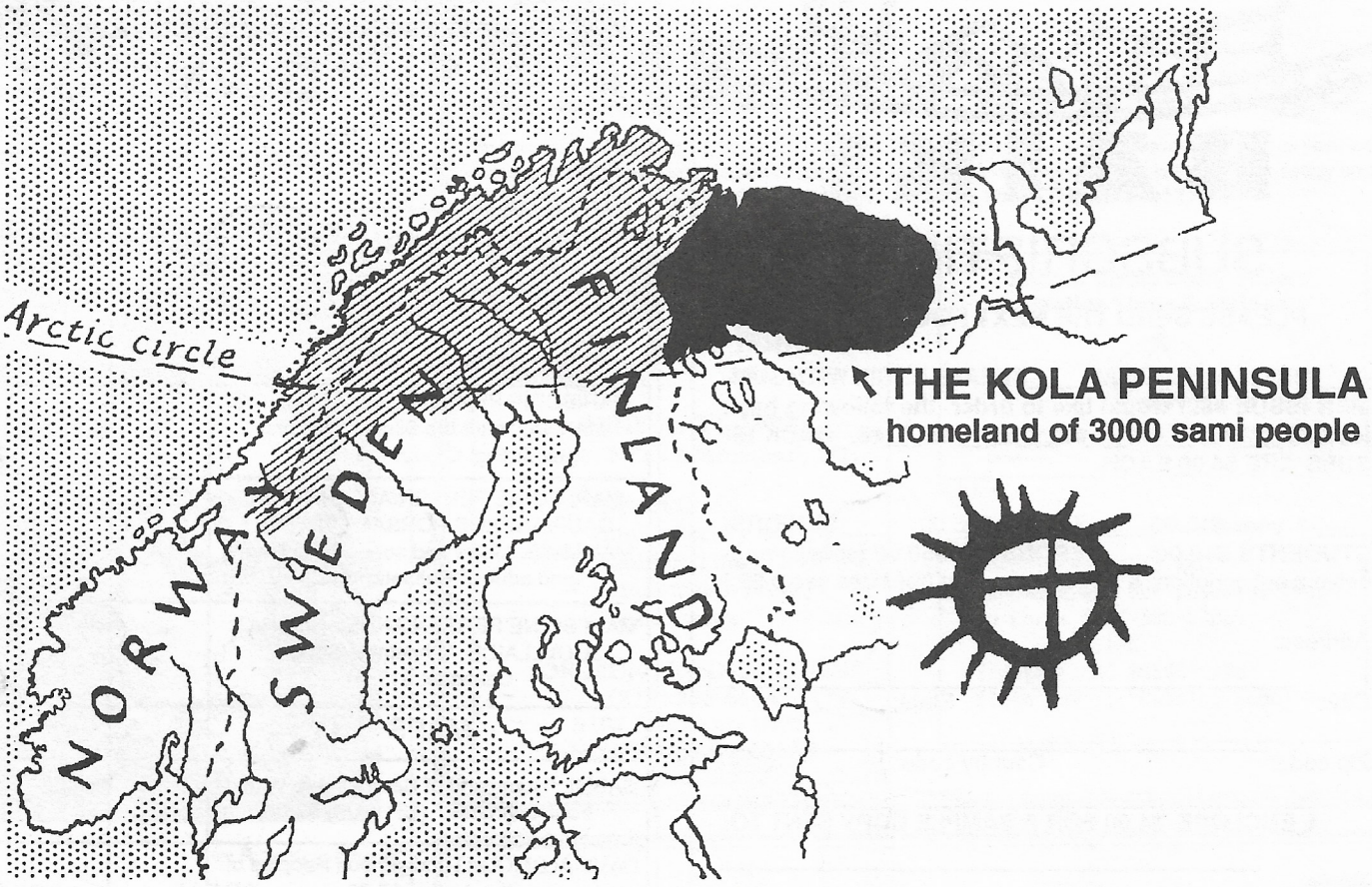
COMING UP IN BAIKI

Issue #8 will complete two years of publication during which we have introduced the history of the Sami People. In Issue #9 we will begin to examine such topics as the Sami way of life and the environment, Sami arts, the indigenous family, nature and spirituality, and concerns specific to the place of women and men in Sami culture. We will draw from Sami tradition as it exists in the Nordic countries, and as it is re-emerging in North America. We hope to continue to serve as a forum for education and communication about Sami culture worldwide.



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