

Issue #19

The North American Sami Journal

1999

FOLLOWING THE REINDEER

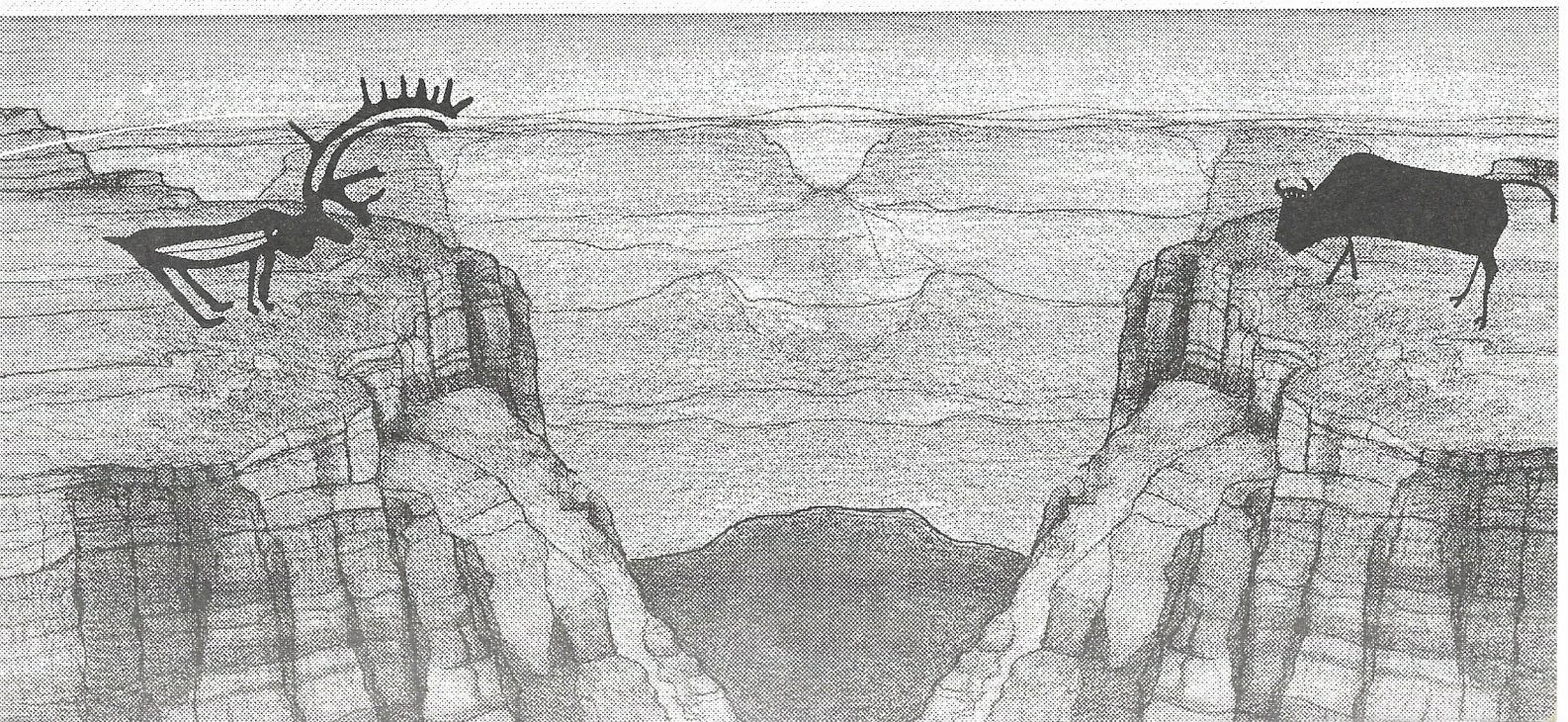
A SAMI-INUIT CHRONOLOGY IN ALASKA

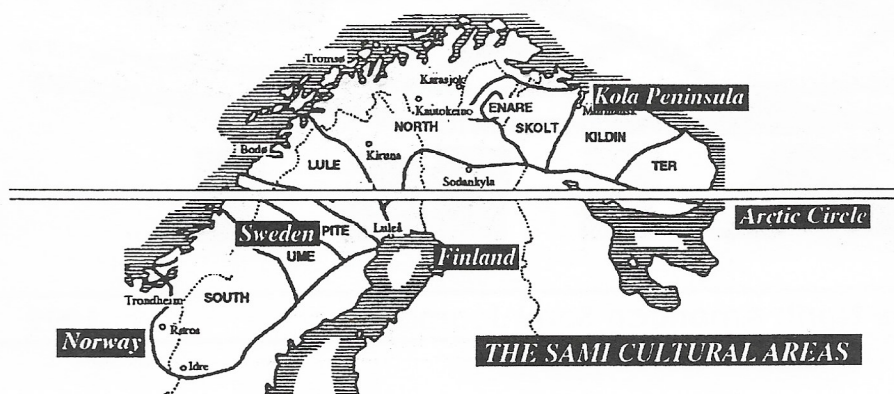
A SAMI FAMILY IN PUGET SOUND

A SAMI-YUP'IK FAMILY IN ALASKA

TWO FAMILY REUNIONS

JOHAN MIKKEL SARA





The Sami (Saami or "Lapp") People are the Indigenous inhabitants of Norway, Sweden, Finland, and the Russian Kola Peninsula. About 100,000 Sami people live in the Nordic countries today, half of them in Norway. The map shows the nine cultural areas where nine versions of the Sami [Finno-Ugric] language are spoken. The North Sami word for the Sami nation is *Sápmi* and the South Sami word is *Saemien Eatneme*.

Báiki is the international quarterly cultural magazine that grew out of the North American search for Sami roots. We estimate that at least 30,000 people of Sami ancestry live in North America. They are the descendants of Sami people who, due to cultural genocide and the closing of the borders in their areas, emigrated to the United States and Canada as Norwegians, Swedes, Finns and Russians. Until the publication of *Báiki: the North American Sami Journal*, their story has been left out of immigration history. The descendants of these immigrant nomads are now seeking to reconnect with their culture in a meaningful way.

"*Báiki*" ["ba-hee-kee"] is the nomadic reindeer-herding society's word for cultural survival. It means "the home that lives in the heart" as one travels from place to place, the invisible bond that transcends linear time and physical space. *Báiki* was begun in 1991 as a simple eight - page publication. Today *Báiki* has expanded to a twenty-eight page magazine. With little publicity other than word of mouth, our first seventeen issues generated a worldwide readership of over 2000, and a loyal circle of creative support. The success of this magazine is a sign of growing interest in Sami history and culture. *Báiki* is recognized as a major source of Sami information in North America. It is read and quoted by members of the academic community as well as by those who are seeking to reconnect with their Sami roots.

The *Báiki* logo was designed by Faith Fjeld. A "báiki" is the basic traditional Sami survival unit, the reindeer nomad's cultural connection that migrates with them from place to place. Nils-Aslak Valkeapää referred to a báiki as "the home that lives in the heart." The symbols in the *Báiki* logo are pictographs from Sami Drums: The reindeer symbolizes physical support. It faces east toward *lavvus* or Sami tents which symbolize home. These are located at the base of a mountain which symbolizes spiritual support. All are connected to a *njalla* or storage shed which symbolizes group and cultural survival.

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We welcome your correspondence and e-mails but because we are an all-volunteer staff, it is not always possible to respond quickly to our mail.



THE COVER:

Art and design by Jennifer Hyppiö, Oakland, CA, who says, "I chose the meeting of the reindeer and buffalo to represent cultural and spiritual survival."

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GETTING IT TOGETHER

Báiki, Árran, http://members.tripod.com/SAMI_SIIDA/index-2.html
and the Sami Siiddat of North America



The incredible reader response to our fund-raising letter has made it possible to publish this issue of *Báiki*. Your support bears fruit. Please read on.

A few months ago, a Sami friend from Kautokeino, Norway visited the San Francisco Bay Area as a tourist. Just before he left, he called the *Báiki* Office in Oakland one last time. "I'm going back home in a week," he said. "Please keep trying and I'll call you somewhere along the way." Off he drove over the Sierras toward Las Vegas in his rent-a-car. He was trying to connect with possible American descendants of his family who had come over on *The Manitoba* to Alaska in 1898.

I had told him that when I had visited the Poulsbo, Washington home of a *Báiki* subscriber several years earlier, our conversations had brought up the same family names of Kautokeino ancestors who had come over on *The Manitoba*. Trying to reach her during his visit, I had gotten nothing but a busy signal. Then, sitting at the computer in the *Baiki* Office one afternoon, three days after his 'Vegas departure, I got the sudden urge to try Poulsbo one more time. Through a live operator, I found out that her area code had been changed. Calling her correct number at last, my Poulsbo friend was immediately on the line.

And so it happened that while she and I were chatting, I heard the call-waiting beep. My Kautokeino friend had gotten the sudden urge to call the *Baiki* Office from a pay phone in the middle of the afternoon from somewhere along the Interstate. And they DID prove to be long-lost relatives.

This is but one of many such incidents that have occurred since the appearance of *Báiki: the North American Sami Journal* eight years ago triggered the Sami reawakening in North America. Our grassroots community has generated the reconnection of families. Our lavvus and exhibits have become a colorful and

informative addition to most of the annual Scandinavian and Finnish-American festivals around the country. Moreover, this growing Sami awareness has inspired artistic creativity in all its many forms.

tage. The regional Siida is not an elite group or typical membership organization, rather it is simply a gathering of individuals and families who have chosen

[SIIDA PAGE continued on page 26]



Recently, a world class North American Sami website came into being. It is the brainchild of Mel Olsen, a name that is as familiar to *Báiki* readers as it is to the readers of *Árran*, the newsletter he co-founded.

Visit http://members.tripod.com/SAMI_SIIDA/index-2.html not only to find out what festivals and events are coming up and get connected to many aspects of the Sami culture, but also to savor the delights of a beautiful piece of computer art. As Mel puts it, "you will become aware of the rich cultural heritage of the Sami people."

Mel's website nicely defines the loosely organized group that nowadays calls itself "The Sami Siiddat of North America." For those who are not yet living in cyberspace, here is the web site's definition of the North American Sami community:

We are "a confederation of regional organizations with members who share the heritage of the Sami culture of northern Scandinavia and Finland. Participants are immigrants and the descendants of immigrants from that region of Europe traditionally known as Lapland (today called Samiland or Sápmi), and all share an active interest in their heri-

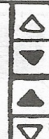


The people who keep *Báiki* and the *Báiki* Office going. [top photo clockwise from left] Eric Carlsen, Nani Lofstrom, Sarah Holmes, Faith Fjeld, Nathan Muus, Marilyn Jackson, Jennifer Hyppö; [above], Jolene Jacobs and Glynn; [left], Scott Sugiura from *The Tides* Center. Not pictured but equally appreciated are Grecia Bate, Zoë Scheffy, Clay Kark-French, Mark Iddings and Zulema Maixala



S A A M I

Kurt Seaberg



REINDEER FAT AND SKI POLES

Is reindeer fat used to grease Sami skis, and why does one only see just one ski pole in old illustrations? I am working on my second book of Kalevala stories and need to know the answers to these two questions.

MEA Draper

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Báiki asked two cultural experts from the Saami Siida of North America, Anja Kitti, and Mel Olsen.

Mel replies: The ski pole is really not a ski po'le at all, but acts more like a balance pole on either side. I have never known about the use of fat to wax skis. The snow conditions aren't the same [Mel comes from the Mo-i-Rana area of Norway], but much crisper, and my relatives on old skis didn't wax them at all.

Anja replies: In my home, [Inari, Finland], the snow is not always crisp the way Mel describes, which is a more fitting description of the mountains. In the woods you did need some grease before the snow hardened around Christmas time, and you used old candle wax or bear grease, or whatever hard fat you had lying around, including reindeer fat. But reindeer fat is a valuable and sought-after commodity that is used in cooking, and you didn't use reindeer fat for skis if there was another, cheaper, substitute available. People actually like the taste of reindeer fat, so a small amount is added as flavoring to almost anything, and my mouth started to water when I thought of all the possible dishes where I have tasted reindeer fat!

As for ski poles, you seldom skied just for the pleasure of it. Most of the time your other hand is not free to hold a second ski pole. You might be going to get firewood and your other hand has an ax or a saw in it, or you are tracking your reindeer and your other hand has a lasso ready to be thrown when needed, or you may be fetching a pail of water from a hole in a frozen lake or river. You may also want to know that skis were not originally of equal length and texture. The right could be long and smooth, and the left could be short and covered with furry skin — this ski even had a shorter different name and was used for gripping. If you think of a logger balancing on a log in the river with one long pole, that is the feeling you get when you ski with one pole and uneven skis.

TREKKING CLUBS IN FINNISH LAPLAND

Here in Finland we have a nationwide association of people who enjoy trekking in Lapland and who are interested in the Sami culture. It is called Tunturilatu ry or the Felltrack Society.

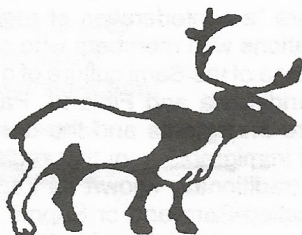
Based in Helsinki, the Society was founded in 1946 at Puotinkylä Village. Later, clubs, each named for a Sami numeral or animal, were organized. The first was called Fell Club OKTA (1964, Kajaani), the second, Fell Club KUOKTE (1967, Hyvinkää), and the third, Fell Club KOLBMA (1967, Tampere). The next Fell Clubs were NJEALLJE (1970, Mikkeli), VIHTTA (1970, Vaasa), KUHTTA (1970, Helsinki), TSIETSA (1972, Iisalmi), KAVTSI (1972, Helsinki), OVTSI (1976, Jyväskylä) and LOGI (1978, Turku). After that, the numerals become so long that the next Fell Clubs were named after animals, ALPPAS, lynx (1984, Hämeenlinna), KUMPE, wolf (1985, North Karelia), KUOVZA, bear (1992, Karhula), and GEATKI, wolverine (1996, Satakunta).

We currently have about 2500 members. Badges are awarded for various levels of trekking skills such as use of maps and compasses, handling of emergencies, knowledge of First Aid, hiking at different altitudes and on varying terrain in different kinds of weather, the basics of reindeer breeding and the knowledge of the Sami vocabulary pertaining to the Lapland environment.

We have built mountain huts and cabins, organized events to promote Sami handicrafts, participated in trekking competitions and for ten years have sent Christmas presents to children in Lapland. We have also established ties with trekking groups in Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania.

The chairman of the Felltrack Society is Kyösti Lamminjoki from Vantaa. Our society has no office or paid staff but for more information, contact the secretary Mrs. Marita Maula, Hippiäisentie 6, FIN-00780 Helsinki, Finland. Her e-mail is marita@maula.pp.fi and her telephone number is 358-40-5094412.

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SAMI STUDIES : A PROPOSAL

A number of Nordic institutions have offered programs in Sami language and culture for some time. In this country, the Sami may have been included in Scandinavian studies courses at universities and colleges, often in the context of Nordic minorities, but there has been little interest in giving Sami studies a more autonomous place in the curriculum, and very little material is available in English for anyone wishing to offer full courses on the Sami.

In recent years there have been some changes, however. There are now several English translations of Sami literature and several books, in English, on different aspects of Sami culture. Because of this, a few institutions have been able to introduce courses on Sami culture at the undergraduate level.

I have been in contact with Harald Gaski, University of Tromsø, Norway and discussed with him the possibility of proposing a session/panel in Sami culture. Mr. Gaski in turn has contacted several others with are all working with Sami culture in different capacities, in Samiland, Finland, Norway, Sweden and the US. The following people, listed alphabetically, have been contacted and expressed interest in participating:

Thomas Dubois, University of Washington, Harald Gaski, University of Tromsø, Lars Nordstrom, Beaver Creek, Oregon (translator), Krister Stoor, University of Umeå, Troy Storjell, University of Wisconsin, Roland Thorstensson, Gustavus Adolphus College.

The session would include short presentations on Sami studies as a discipline and a panel discussion on the issues involved in starting and maintaining a Sami studies program at American institutions. We have not met as a group and have not established the exact format of the proposed session yet.

Roland Thorstensson
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Re: 500 IMAGES

You should have a look at our new home pages with about 500 pictures from Samiland. Our URL is <http://www.visot.com>

Harry Johansen
visot@fm.telia.no



CONNECTIONS



SAMI OCCUPATIONS WITH AND WITHOUT REINDEER

I do educational field trips about reindeer for school-age children.

How could I possibly teach about reindeer and not include the Sami people and our collective responsibility to the earth? I draw comparisons between the American Indian culture and the Sami because the children are familiar with the one not the other. My greatest joy is when a 5 year-old will go home and tell her parents that the correct name is "Sami," not "Laplander!"

Awareness and education is where strength lies.

So please continue with my education as well. You mention that only 10% of the Sami people herd reindeer today — what do the rest do? How about some more information on the Coastal Sami, since the *National Geographic* has left them out of history. My Norwegian ancestors came from the coast and both were captains of ships. On the Swedish side, one family was in the farming life and the other I don't know, but my Grandma was 4'7". How will I ever know their stories when so much has been lost?

Dawn Peterson

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Báiki: Mel Olsen did two articles on the Coastal Sami in Báiki Issues #15 and #16. Today people who do not actively herd reindeer get jobs as teachers, social service workers, artists, scientists, factory workers, politicians, farmers, journalists, store keepers, etc. — just like people everywhere. But sometimes those who work in other occupations also maintain herds.

YOU SAY "SAMI" AND I SAY "SAAMI!"

Can you tell me the official word for the Sami language? I'm the chair of the Nordic Division of the American Translators Association. Our division includes translations to and from all the official languages of the Nordic countries. Our division officially includes Danish, Estonian, Faroese, Greenlandic, Icelandic, Norwegian, Sami and Swedish, although at present we do not have any members who translate Faroese or Sami. My husband us from Finland so my first impression of "Sámigiella" was "Sami kieli," the language of the Sami.

Edith M. Matteson

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Báiki: Your question is a good one. The word "Sami" means "the People," and it is what they call themselves in the north, not "Lapp." The

customary spelling in Sweden and Finland is "Saami" and in Norway "Sami" or Sámi" with a diacritical mark. The language itself is called Sámigiella, and there are nine different "dialects." The predominant one today is northern Sámigiella spoken in Finnmark. When Báiki was born in 1991 we decided to use the "Sami" spelling used by the Nordic Sami Institute. The Saami Báiki Foundation uses the double-a spelling, which seems to be used increasingly.

JOIK, GAKTI AND SAMENIIBBI I received the CD joik set from Ingebretsen's yesterday, and wow!

The sounds are so similar to the chants of the southern Siberian Ulchi. I had a chance to study with the last male shaman of the Ulchi before he passed into the spirit world at age 94. The similarities to the Saami of the sounds as well as the rituals is astonishing.

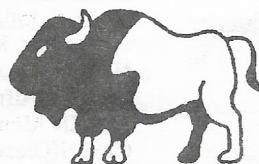
I do research on circumpolar people. I am sure that the more southern Indo-European People lived in a similar way to the people of the Arctic during the Ice Ages. The climate, habitat and game availability would have had to create similar nomadic herd-following groups. I believe that the Saami and other Arctic People offer glimpses into how all people lived in the late Paleolithic. The people who left behind their paintings and artifacts in the Chavet caves in France seem to have honored animals like the bear with a reverence similar to the Ainu, Evenk, Yakut, Saami and Ulchi. Indeed, the petroglyphs in the Norwegian Arctic look a lot like those painted images in France. And the Ulchi shamanic outfits hold similarities to Saami gakti as do the shapes of the other Arctic Peoples' tunics.

The Eric Bergland knife article helped me identify an old *Sameniibbi* I was given by my Dad a while back. I now know that it is most likely a North Saami knife, given the figurative design and deeply carved antler sheath. These sort of cultural details are very important to me as I try to reconstruct my own identity and roots.

Evelyn Rysdyk

passages@maine.rr.com

Báiki: Evelyn's father, who gave her the Sameniibbi, has since passed on. We express our heartfelt sympathy.



NILLUKA - SIRI FAMILY REUNION

Peter C. Nilluka, perhaps the last, full-blooded Sami in the Puget Sound area of Washington state, will be returning to Saamiland August 2 — August 23, 1999.

He is the son of Mathis Ivar Klemetson Nilluka of Utsjoki, Finland, and Berit Siri of Karasjok, Norway. Mathis Ivar was a member of the 1898 *Manitoba Expedition* to Alaska and also The Great Trek from Alaska to Canada. He will be accompanied by his daughter Sandra Nilluka. Another of his daughters, Linda Perham, and Sandra's daughter, Genevieve Nilluka, are to arrive the second week of August. Finnish relatives are planning a family reunion and those in Norway are planning the same.

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Toivo West, Karigasniemi

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John Siri, Ridabu

Britt Solveig Pedersen, Karasjok

Gunn Karin Siri, Hammar

NUNAVUT BECOMES THE NEW CANADIAN TERRITORY

On April 1, 1999 the territory of Nunavut came into existence. The new territory is about 2 million square kilometers, twice the size of Ontario, and spans three time zones. The population is 25,000, of whom 85% are Inuit. The newly-elected legislature had 19 seats, and decisions are reached by consensus. There are no political parties.

The new premier-designate is Paul Okalik, a 34-year old lawyer elected by his peers. The final Nunavut Treaty was ratified November 1992 by 84.7 of Inuit beneficiaries. The treaty is regarded around the world as an Indigenous benchmark, guaranteeing the Inuit majority

[WEB SIGHTINGS continued on page 25]

"A few men are wanted who have had practical experience in the herding and management of reindeer. If any reader knows of a Laplander in the United States or Canada who has been brought up to the care of reindeer, and who would like to go to Alaska to take charge of reindeer, please communicate his name and address to Dr. Sheldon Jackson, Bureau of Education, Washington, DC.



"A Laplander's Camp" (l.), photo taken in 1898 by Swedish balloonists on their unsuccessful journey to the North Pole. "On the Trail" (r.), photo taken at Pilgrim River, Alaska by the Lomen Brothers.

THE REINDEER PROJECT FAMILIES

The above advertisement for reindeer herders appeared in all of the Scandinavian newspapers published in North America in 1893. In spite of 250 responses, it took two trips to Sápmi ["Lapland"] to find herders who qualified for The Alaska Reindeer Project. This roster includes their family names and their places of origin. The names of those who stayed on in North America are underlined and the use of italics indicates a discrepancy in the information provided by the primary sources listed at the end.

KJELLMANN EXPEDITION 1894

EIRA, Mathias (Mathis) Aslaksen, and wife Berit
Johansdatter Hætta, son Aslak, Kautokeino
KEMI, Samuel Johnsen, and wife Kirsten Persdatter
Bals, son Samuel and daughter Anna, Kautokeino
LARSEN, Fredrik
NAKKALA(Nakkila), Mikkel Josefsen, Berit Anne
Klemetsdatter Hætta, Kautokeino
RIST, Per Aslaksen, Kautokeino, and wife Berit Anne
Andersdatter Spein, daughters Marit and Inga,
Kautokeino
SOMBY, Aslak Larsen, and wife Brita Olsdatter Nango,
Nordland
TORNENSIS, Johan Speinsen, and wife Marit Grete
Salomonsdatter Nakalajarvi, daughter Berit,
Kautokeino

MANITOBA EXPEDITION 1898

ABRAHAMSEN, Jeremias, *Finland, Cook-St. Lawrence*
Island
ANDERSEN, John, Karasjok
ANDERSEN, Per, and wife Sofie and daughter Sofie,
Karasjok
ANTI (Anthi), Larsen, Karasjok
BAHR (Bær), Anders Aslaksen, Karasjok
BAHR (Bær), Ole Olsen, and wife Inger and children
Inger Anna and Klemet, Kautokeino
BALS, Aslak Johansen, and wife Susanna and children
Susanna and Mikkel, Kautokeino
BALS, Nils Persen, and wife Ellen Marie and children
Inga, Per and Marit, Kautokeino
BALTO, Anders Johannesen, and wife Marit and
daughter Maria, Karasjok
BALTO, Samuel Johannesen, Karasjok
BASI, Wilhelm, Finland
BERG, Ole G., Bossekopp, Alta
BERG, Peder, Bossekopp, Alta
BITI, Anders Klemetsen, and wife Marit, Karasjok

BOINI (Boino), Klemet Persen
BONGO Isak Andersen, Kautokeino
EIRA, Johan Eriksen, and wife Marit and daughter Berit,
Karasjok
EIRA, Beret N., *Kautokeino, Karasjok*
EIRA, Marit Persdatter, *Kautokeino, Karasjok*
GAUP, Aslak Aslaksen, and wife Kjersten, Kautokeino
GREINER, Otto, Finland
HÆTTA (Hatta), Ida Johansdatter, Kautokeino
HÆTTA (Hatta), Isak Johannsen, Kautokeino
HÆTTA (Hatta), Jacob Larsen (plus wife and 2 chil
dren), Kautokeino
HÆTTA (Hatta), Lars Larsen, Kautokeino
HÆTTA (Hatta), Ole Klemetsen, Kautokeino
HÆTTA (Hatta), Per Johannesen, Kautokeino
HANSEN, Amund, *Karasjok, Bossekopp, Alta*
HANSEN, Johan Hilmar, *Karasjok, Bossekopp, Alta*
Hermansen, Alfred (plus wife), Alta
JOHANNESSEN, Johan Peter, *Bossekopp, Alta, Finland*
JOHANNESSEN, Peter, *Bossekopp, Alta, Finland*
JOHANSEN, Johan M.
JOHNSEN, Anders
JOSEFSEN Samuel
KJELDSBERG, Emil, Kaafjord
KJELDSBERG, Magnus, Kaafjord
KJELDSBERG, Thoralf, Kaafjord
KJELLMANN, Kaafjord
KLEMETSEN, Nils, Kautokeino
KLEMETSEN, Matthias, Kautokeino
KROGH, Ole, Karasjok
LARSEN, Lauritz, Bossekopp, Alta
LEINEN (Leinan), Otto M. (plus wife and 4 children),
Kaafjord
LINDEBERG, Jafet, Kaafjord
LOSVAR, Johan
NILLUKA, Matthias Ivar Klemetsen, Karasjok
NANGO Johan Peter Johannesen, and wife Kirsten and
son Per, Karasjok
NIKKILA, Isak Samuelsen
NILIMA, Alfred Samuelsen, Finland
NILSEN Klemet, Karasjok
OLSEN(Olesen), Ole, Karasjok
PAULSEN, Olai, Kaafjord
PORSANGER (Persanger), Per Josefsen, Karasjok

[FAMILIES continued on page 20]

AN INUIT - SAMI CHRONOLOGY IN ALASKA



FOLLOWING THE REINDEER

The real heroes of this story are, of course, reindeer. It is to the struggles of these trusty, hard-working, and long-suffering companions of the Sami and the Inuit that we dedicate this piece. To understand the full impact of their monumental contribution above and beyond the call of duty, it should be known that without their arrival in Alaska, Santa Claus would not be part of Christmas, there would be no Iditarod Dogsled races, and at least one Walt Disney movie would never have been made. For this, and much, much, more, read on.

Nathan Muus and Faith Fjeld

THE TIME OF ORAL TRADITION: It is known that prior to contact with Europeans, both the Inuit ("Eskimo") and the Sami ("Lapp") Peoples enjoyed self-sufficiency that was based on a spiritual relationship to Nature; their technologies did not destroy the Arctic environment. Then European colonizers began to move in. These newcomers based their religion and technology on the domination of Nature and the subjugation of Native Indigenous People. When Russians began to move onto the Alaskan mainland, they were met with heavy often successful resistance by the Inuits, but on the Aleutian Islands, the violent confrontations led to the near-extermination of the Aleuts and laid waste to their homeland. And so begins our Inuit - Sami chronology.

1823: A Russian - American treaty permits both countries to navigate and fish the Pacific Ocean. The Inuits see this as the first step in the dividing up of Alaska's natural resources by two alien powers.

1824: Russia "claims Alaska" as its territory.

1867: Alaska "is purchased" by the United States from Russia for \$7,200,000.

1877: Sheldon Jackson, a Presbyterian missionary, arrives in Alaska to set up a mission at Port Clarence on the Seward Peninsula.



1880: The Alaska Commercial Company brings 14 Kamchatkan reindeer to Bering Island.

1884: On May 17th, US Congress passes the Organic Act making Alaska a civil and judicial district. A Bureau of Education is set up to oversee Native education and welfare programs.

1885: Congress appoints Sheldon Jackson Alaska's Agent of Education. Jackson sees boarding schools as a way to Christianize Native children.

1888: Two Samis, Samuel Balto and Ole Ravna, accompany explorer-diplomat Fridtjof Nansen and two other Norwegians on an expedition across Greenland. Balto receives a silver medal from King Oscar II of Sweden-Norway and writes a book in the Sami language about the expedition. He will later come to Alaska on the *Manitoba*.

1890: Missionaries divide Alaska into allotments, each of which is assigned to a Protestant denomination.

Increased immigration and non-Native commercial whaling and hunting practices severely depletes food supplies in Alaska and NW Canada. Many Inuit starve. Jackson devises a plan to import reindeer from Siberia

[REINDEER PROJECT continued overleaf]

as a renewable food source and to teach reindeer husbandry along with Christian dogma at the missions. He promotes the plan as an alternative to government subsidization and raises \$2,156 in private donations to purchase the first reindeer and supplies.



1891: Sixteen Chukchi (Siberian) reindeer arrive in the fall at Unalaska and Amaknak islands in Aleutians, the first of 1280 to be used as breeding stock between 1891 and 1902. Fourteen survive the first winter and are taken to Teller where two calves are born. Some Inuit consider this to be the introduction of a new Indigenous industry.



1892: Teller Reindeer Station is established at Port Clarence. Four Chukchi herders arrive with another 171 reindeer. Clashes occur with the Inuit about their rough treatment of the animals and the Chukchi leave.

1893: Jackson advertises for skilled reindeer herders in North American Scandinavian newspapers and receives 250 replies. One of the respondents, William Kjellman, is hired as superintendent at Teller Station. He is a Kven* living in Madison, Wisconsin who has worked with reindeer in Finnmark and speaks the Sami language. Tollef Brevig, a teacher and missionary from Crookston, Minnesota, is hired as assistant superintendent. William [W.T.] Lopp, a white teacher, is hired as superintendent of the Cape Prince of Wales reindeer station and mission.

There are now 180 reindeer at Bering, but the Alaska Commercial Company abandons its lease of the island because it is too far from the mainland.

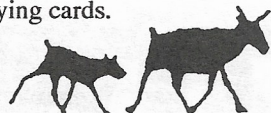
1894: Jackson receives \$6,000 from Congress to fund the Reindeer Project, the first of \$207,500 he will receive between 1894 and 1904.

In February Jackson sends Kjellmann to Kautokeino, Norway to recruit herders, stipulating that only Christians are to be hired. Thirteen men and women sign three-year contracts for \$27.50 per month plus food, clothing, and shelter. The group is

called "The Kjellman Expedition." They leave Finnmark April 10 by ship with four children, some dogs and some *pulkas* [Sami sledges].

On May 12 the Kjellman Expedition arrives in New York, and continues on to Seattle, Washington by train, with stops at Madison, Wisconsin and St. Paul, Minnesota. They are considered exotic by the American press.

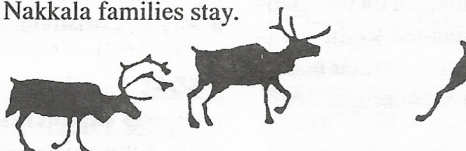
The expedition arrives at Teller Reindeer Station July 29 by whaler. The Inuit nickname the Sami "The Card People" because the men's Four Winds hats resemble the hats on playing cards.



Small herds of Chukchi reindeer are distributed to missions. The Sami begin to teach herding techniques and how to milk, lasso and tame reindeer. They also demonstrate how to make cheese, glue, sleds, fur boots, harnesses and other items. Each person who participates in the Reindeer Project is to receive one female reindeer and its offspring per year. Inuit applications come in from all over Alaska, but tribal elders are concerned that this will keep young men from hunting and fishing.

1896: There are now 1175 reindeer in Alaska. Gold is discovered and steamers and launches begin to carry miners and supplies up the Yukon River.

1897: The Reindeer Project contracts end. Mikkil Nakkala asks that his dog be paid as well. Three families return to Finnmark, but Fredrik Larsen, and the Tornensis and Nakkala families stay.



Nakkala, Kjellmann, and Per Ris prove the value of reindeer as transport animals by undertaking a 1,240 mile reindeer-drawn sled expedition which begins and ends at Teller Station.

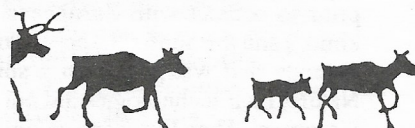
The water level in the Yukon River decreases dramatically due to mining operations. Ships can no longer navigate upstream and miners fear they will not receive supplies before winter. The chance of a possible disaster causes Congress to authorize funds to import more reindeer and hire more herders.

William Basi, a Kven cook, begins a diary on the Reindeer Project in Finnish and Norwegian. His cousin Carl Sacariasen, another cook, also begins a journal. Both will later be translated into English and published as books.

A new reindeer station is established at Unalakleet and the main herd is taken there.

Jackson envisions a permanent Sami colony in Alaska and receives funding from the War Department to bring over a larger group and purchase more reindeer. Rist, Karl Suhr and Samuel Kemi return to Finnmark with Kjellmann to hire herders and obtain supplies for "The Lapland-Yukon Relief Expedition" to save the starving miners. Kjellmann buys 500 tons of lichen in Røros in the south, then heads north to Finnmark. There potential applicants are told they will "be treated as white people" in Alaska.

1898: By January, 72 adults have signed two-year contracts. They are guaranteed food, shelter and health benefits, and at the completion of their tours of duty they are to be paid in either reindeer or money. As an inducement to remain in Alaska, they are given the option of a US government loan of one hundred reindeer for three to five years to start their own herds.



On February 28, a total of 113 men, women and children, 539 draft reindeer, 418 sleds, and the lichen supply arrive in New Jersey on board *The Manitoba*. The Lapland-Yukon Relief Expedition becomes known as "*The Manitoba Expedition*."

They cross the US by train and arrive in Seattle March 7, to find that the expedition might be cancelled. The Alaskan miners are no longer starving and the ship that was to transport them is in the Philippines picking up troops for the Spanish American War. During a nine-day delay a five year-old boy dies. The lichen supply is mistaken for packing material and thrown away and the reindeer are taken to Woodland Park Zoo to graze, but twelve starve to death.

Jackson convinces the government that the Sami and the reindeer can be helpful in the missions. Kjellman's cousin Hedley

Redmyer, a Norwegian Sami living in Cook County, Minnesota, joins the expedition as supervisor and interpreter and on March 16 an old sailing ship *The Seminole* is towed all the way to Alaska, carrying the group.



The women and children stay in Fort Townsend and 57 men and the 527 reindeer continue on to Haines. There is no shelter for the men or lichen for the reindeer when they arrive March 27. The men, lead by Redmyer, and the starving, weakened reindeer, begin a 1,500 kilometer trip through the tundra to Circle City in the Yukon Valley. Their makeshift shelters along the way become the first Sami *lavvus* to be constructed in North America. Lichen is found but the reindeer can no longer digest food and 311 starve to death or are killed by wolves.

On June 22, the remaining 71 Sami leave Seattle in two ships for Eaton Station at Unalakleet. One group arrives July 30th and the other the next day. They begin building a permanent station and moving supplies.

Under the direction of W.T. Lopp, herders with 400 reindeer are dispatched from Teller to Point Barrow to rescue the crews of eight iced-in whaling ships. The rescue team arrives to discover that the Inuit and other local residents have already rescued the crews. The reindeer stay on and the Point Barrow Reindeer Station is established.



1899: On February 28, Redmyer and the herders arrive at Circle City. Of the original 527 reindeer, only 114 have survived. The Army takes some of them to use as draft animals.

Since the *Manitoba* Expedition is no longer needed for War Department rescue work, the Reindeer Project is placed under the command of the Department of the Interior.

Many Sami leave the Reindeer Project to become US citizens and search for gold. Gold is discovered at Anvil Creek by two Swedes, Erik Lindblom and John Brynteson, and a Kven, Jafet Lindeberg, who has left

the Reindeer Project. The three become known as "The Lucky Swedes" and earn fortunes by sluicing. Lindeberg stakes his claim at "no-name," which becomes the town of "Nome." Samuel Balto stakes three claims. He is offered \$1000 for the claim at "Balto Creek" but refuses.

A measles epidemic breaks out. Half of the Inuit on the Seward Peninsula, including many of the Reindeer Project herders, catch the disease from the miners, and die.



Many Sami and Inuit become mail carriers, since reindeer are used as draft animals and food for the postal service and for mining operations. Jackson establishes the first Alaskan postal route from St. Michael to Kotzebue. Another route from Eaton Station to Nome is managed by Kjellmann. Mail delivery is revolutionized by reindeer. Stations are set up and reindeer carrying 200-300 pounds of mail can run relays of 30-50 miles. The distance between Circle City and Juneau that had taken 60 days, now takes six with pulkas drawn by reindeer. And while dog teams have needed an expensive food supply, reindeer can eat lichen along the way at no cost.

1900: On February 4, Per Mathison Spein marries Ellen Maria Sara Kvamme in the first wedding of the *Manitoba* Expedition.

Summer 1900 is the peak of the Gold Rush and there are 30,000 miners in Nome alone. Lindeberg sends for Leonard Seppala, a Kven from Skjervøy, Norway, to help in his mining operations there.

There are now 7000 reindeer in Alaska.



1901: Mary Antisarlook, an Inuit interpreter for Jackson, inherits her husband Charlie's reindeer herd of 360 when he dies in the measles epidemic. They are earned from his apprenticeship at Teller Station. Antisarlook moves the reindeer to Unalakleet and the herd grows to 1500, earning her fame as "Mary, the Reindeer Queen."

Reindeer Project herders bring 254 Tungese reindeer to Teller Station from Okhotsk in Siberia. These are larger animals that interbreed with reindeer already there.

Johan Tornensis moves to Kitsap County, Washington, becoming the first of the Alaska Sami to settle there. Others follow. He becomes the biggest property owner.

1902: Russia refuses to sell more reindeer to Alaska.

1904: Reindeer stations are now run by the missions at Point Barrow, Kotzebue, Wales, Gambell, Teller, Golofnin, Unalakleet, Eaton, Bethel and Nulato, but whites are not allowed to own breeding stock or female reindeer. The Sami, being neither white nor Inuit, have worked out a separate arrangement with the US government.

1905: Eight Finnish-Sami immigrants from Houghton, Michigan join the reindeer herders in Alaska.

1906: Paul Xavier, a Tornensis from Kautokeino, and the uncle of Johan Tornensis in Alaska, moves from the Midwest to Parkland, Washington. A Lutheran minister named after a missionary, he helps found Pacific Lutheran College. His granddaughter Dagny will marry Fredric Schiotz, a longtime president of the American Lutheran Church.

Finding more reindeer are owned by the missions and whites than by Inuits, the US Department of the Interior publishes a report critical of Sheldon Jackson. Jackson resigns for this and other reasons.

1907: Under the direction of William Grenfell, Sami herders from Norway bring 300 reindeer to Labrador. A small herd is also brought to St. Anthony's, Newfoundland.

1910: There are now over 27,000 reindeer in Alaska.



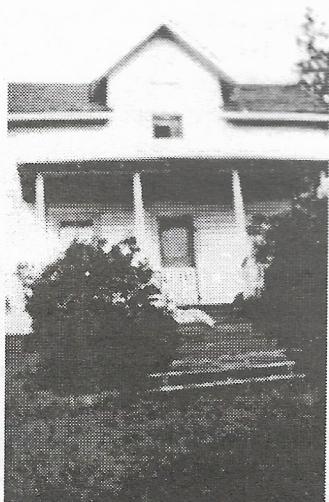
1911: A small herd of reindeer is brought to Fort Smith, NWT, Canada

1912: Congress declares Alaska a United States Territory.

[REINDEER PROJECT continued on page 18]

A SAMI FAMILY IN PUGET SOUND

ELAINE HEPNER'S STORY:



[above] The house in Eglon, WA overlooking Puget Sound.
[below] The Balto sisters in 1940 or 1941. [l-r] Sophie who may have been the first Sami Reindeer Project baby born in Alaska, Elaine Hepner's mother Ellen, Mary and Anna.

the beach. In 1910, Grandma Marit moved down from Alaska with Ellen and Sophie to join him. They lived in the "beach lumber" cabin while he built the family the bigger house that still stands. Together Grandma and Grandpa planted berry bushes and pear and apple trees that still bear fruit today. It was here that my mother grew up.

She had happy memories of her childhood. It was not as cold as Alaska. Grandpa Kasper built steps down to the beach, where she would swim and dig for clams. She would play with her dog Dena, sit in the warm tide pools, comb the beach for treasures, and gather blackberries and huckleberries in the woods nearby. In the spring, the crocuses, daffodils, dogwood blossoms and flowering currants never ceased to thrill her, and Grandma Marit would tell her girls there was nothing like Puget Sound in Alaska or Samiland.

When she was fifteen, my mother left Eglon to attend high school in Seattle, followed by business college. She was working as a receptionist when she met my father Isaac Stenberg, a logger, at a

My grandparents' simple house was adequate: a kitchen, a front room, one downstairs bedroom, two upstairs bedrooms, and an attic. Mom and Dad slept in the big room upstairs and I slept in a cot in the corner. The other bedroom was reserved for company. The kitchen had a homemade table, a dish cupboard, and another small table near the back door that held a wash basin and a pail of water. A dipper for drinking hung on the wall. Grandma Marit had made a rag rug from old clothes and it covered the floor. She had her own little rocking chair, and of course, a big black cook stove. Her pride and joy was her sewing machine, which she had ordered from the Sears Roebuck Catalogue, but although it had the place of honor under the kitchen window, I never saw her use it.

Grandma was in charge of the chickens, who would only recognize her if she wore the same black dress. When she wore something else they would panic and scatter and for a few days we wouldn't have eggs. In the summer she had regular egg customers who we called "the campers," people who lived in Seattle and summered in Eglon. One of these families, the Meyhus', had four daughters. One hot day Mrs. Meyhus and her girls wore bathing suits when they came to get their eggs. Well covered by today's standards, they were greeted by Grandpa who said, "Don't come here *nokkin* [naked]!"

Five days every week Grandpa Kasper walked 1 1/2 miles to Eglon to pick up the mail and the *Seattle Star*. In the evening he would sit in his chair at the end of the homemade table under a kerosene lamp, the only light in the kitchen, and read us the news out loud. Mom would correct his English pronunciation, which he did not appreciate. I took it for granted that my grandparents knew *Samigiella* and Norwegian as well as English.

Other Sami families from Alaska lived nearby. I remember the Nillukas and their two sons Hans and Pete visiting us, and Carl Nilsen, when he was a teenager, would row his boat over and Grandpa would take him fishing. They all lived in Kingston. The Tornensis family would visit from Poulsbo, driving along the dirt road to where it ended and then walking the rest of the way up the trail to the house.

My uncle, Samuel Balto, was another regular visitor. He would spend summers fishing in Alaska and then in the winter would



Scandinavian social event. They soon married. When the Depression hit, he lost his job and they lost their home in Seattle. I was four years old when they moved into Grandma and Grandpa's house in Eglon, homeless and out of work.

But here we survived in the Sami way, living off the land and the water. We had a small garden and three milk cows and our other staples were fish and clams. Every day Grandma would ask us in Norwegian "*Ska vi hat fisk edag?*" Grandpa would go down the hill to the beach where his rowboat waited and soon he would return with fish enough for our meal. Yes, we would have fish today, and tomorrow and the next day...

My mother, Ellen Biti-Balto, was born in Nome, Alaska in 1904. She was the youngest of the four daughters of Marit Biti* and Anders Johannessen Balto, a Sami couple from Karasjok, Norway who had come to Alaska in 1898 on the *Manitoba*. My grandfather Anders Johannessen was Samuel Balto's brother. Mother never knew her biological father because he was killed in a gold mining accident three weeks before her birth. Her widowed mother survived by washing clothes and cleaning houses while her oldest daughter Mary took care of Ellen and the other two sisters Anna, and Sophie. Sophie, who was born in Unalakleet, may have been the first Alaska Sami baby.

Nome was a drab town, but Mother would tell us about the mountain flowers she saw from the train when she and her sisters went into the tundra to pick blueberries. They lived in a simple cabin on a sand spit, but the sand was ruby red and she liked to play in it. It was cold and windy in the winter, but the Snake River would freeze over and she and the other children would spend the long winter skating on it.

In 1907, Grandma Marit married a Norwegian gold miner named Kasper Hauan, who left Nome to homestead waterfront property at Eglon, Washington overlooking Puget Sound. There, on a grassy hillside, Kasper built his new family a barn, chicken houses, a woodshed and a small cabin from lumber that had floated up on

[HEPNER continued on page 24]

A SAMI - YUP'IK FAMILY IN ALASKA

JULIA HANSEN'S STORY:

I was born in 1932 in a log house on the banks of the Kuskokwim River in Akiak, Alaska. My mother, Lucy Williams, was Yup'ik and my father, Mikkil Nilsen Sara, was Sami.

My father had left Kautokeino, Norway in 1898 at the age of thirteen with his father Nils Persen Sara, his mother Marie, his brothers Morten, Klemet and Mathias, his sister Ellen and my uncle Per Mathisen Spein. They had sailed on the *Manitoba* with the other Sami [Reindeer Project] families, bringing reindeer and *pulkas* to Alaska with them. His fourth brother, my Uncle Pete, came to Alaska later.

My father's family and the other *Manitoba* Samis crossed America by train to Seattle, a city he later described as being "a village" back in 1898. From the depot they were taken to Woodland Park. Word quickly spread about the "exotic Lapps" and their "weird" clothing. Crowds flocked to Woodland Park just to stare at them and to see the reindeer.

I didn't hear much about what happened after that, but herds of reindeer from Lapland wound up in the foothills of the Alaska Range close to Akiak and Sami herders and their families came to live there.

I have never seen a reindeer myself, but I remember eating dried reindeer meat all the time. They would dry the meat on racks outside and hang it in their *njalla*, the storehouses they built on thick tree trunks up off the ground. Yup'ik food caches were built the same way and I always wondered if maybe the idea came from the Samis.

The Yup'iks have little outdoor steam houses near their homes. They are a big thing in Alaska today, because that's how the people clean themselves, and I've always thought that maybe that idea came from the Samis too.

When the Sami first came to Akiak, their reindeer skin parkas and hats, and their boots with red yarn decoration and turned up toes fascinated the Yup'iks, but in my lifetime I never saw anyone wearing Sami clothes. By the 1930's everyone in Akiak wore ordinary clothes and a Yup'ik woman, Elizabeth Cornelius, sewed the parkas and *mukluks* that kept us warm in the winter.

The Samis and the Yup'iks got along very well. We lived along the banks of the Kuskokwim River, the Yup'iks in their log houses on one side, and the Samis and Norwegians in wood houses on the other. They were painted white and



Julia Hansen at the Sami Family Reunion in Poulso, 1998.

trimmed with green. Sami kids would learn to speak Yup'ik and Yup'ik kids would learn to speak Sami, because when you're young, you pick up languages easily.

We all used the river for getting around and we'd go downstream to Bethel to shop and go to the hospital there. Today, when the river freezes over, it becomes a "freeway" for snowmobiles and four-wheelers going back and forth, but back then, airplanes and dog sleds were our only means of winter transportation, and when it warmed up, we had our boats.

In the summer the Samis had great gardens. When I think of turnips, I think of Sami people, because I never would have tasted them if it wasn't for the Sami. They also grew cabbages, carrots, and rutabagas, but it was turnips that I would steal from my Uncle Pete's garden when I was a kid.

And I think the Sami taught the Yup'ik how to make jam from the blueberries, salmon berries, blackberries and cranberries that grew wild in the Alaskan tundra.

The Samis were highly respected in Akiak as good and happy people. They were clannish and lived close together — the Kwammes, the Saras, including Klemet and his wife Martha, and the families of Lars Nelson, Per Spein, Ole Pulk and Peter Sara. They would visit with each other, talking in Sami and drinking coffee. Away from their homes they spoke

English and their Sami names became anglicized: "Klemet" became "Clement," and my father's name Mikkil became "Michael." He was always called "Mike." Mike Sara.

After my Uncle Pete moved to Alaska to join the rest, the Sara family sent back to Norway for a wife for him. Pete had never seen Christine until she arrived with her family for their arranged marriage. They were all "little people," not much taller than four feet!

After they married, Aunt Christine and Uncle Pete always kept a supply of Kool-Aid, graham crackers and candy suckers at their house to give to us kids, and this made me very popular with my little playmates. The stores would be empty, but their treats never ran out and we never knew where they got them.

My father was fluent in Yup'ik, Sami and Norwegian. I regret not learning the Sami language from him because he always wanted to teach me, but I told him that the Sami language sounded funny. He always spoke English with an accent. I remember that kids would tease me about this and call me a "dirty little Lapp." But on the other side of the river they would call me a "dirty little Eskimo" too.

He did everything out of doors and that is a Sami thing. He was a great walker and walking is a Sami thing; there were lots of stories about him walking long distances from one town to another. He was a long distance skier and skiing is a Sami thing too.

My father married twice and both of his wives were Yup'ik. Both died young in epidemics and both left him with little girls to care for. His first wife Mary died of pneumonia. He was a widower with a little girl when he met a widow, Lucy Williams, with a little girl of her own. When she became his second wife, he moved into her two-story Yup'ik log house across the river, and it was there that I was born. The Yup'iks would come to our house and we'd feed them. "They're your relatives," my father would say to me, but I'd never seen any of them before in my life. He liked to tease me that way.

My mother died of tuberculosis when I was about three and so my father was a widower once again. When the health authorities proved to him with a microscope that the walls of Lucy's house were filled with TB germs, my father moved back across the river into his white and green house.

It must have been a time of great hard-

[HANSEN continued overleaf]

**"Always be proud of your heritage," he would say.
I thought he was talking about being Yup'ik, but he was talking about
being Sami."**



Reindeer herders
in Akiak:
front row (l. to r.)
Per Spein,
unidentified man,
Ole Pulk, Per Ante,
Peter Sara and his wife
Christine Nelson;
back row, (l. to r.)
Alfred Anderson,
Naknek Herder,
Christine's brother
Lars Nelson,
Ed McCann and
Mikkel ("Mike") Sara.

ship for him as he tried to find good people to take care of us. Akiak was such a small village that most of the people were busy with their own families and there was no one to hire for us. That's when I learned that money was not important because we had all the money we needed, but I couldn't buy a mother. Since Akiak was run by Moravian missionaries, my father finally paid the Moravians to take us into their orphanage. There they treated us well, leaving my father free to work to support us.

My father had a dog sled team that he would take out in the winter to trap for furs and pelts that he sold to a white man named Sam Appelbaum. He also had eight gold claims that needed assessment each year, so a small plane would pick him up and drop him off in a remote spot near his stakes, then come back and pick him up again two months later.

In the summer he fished in Bristol Bay for the Alaska Packers Association. He would fly in to the orphanage in a small airplane to pick me up and take me along with him while he fished. I was terrified of riding in the plane.

Later I left Akiak for Bethel to go to school, and then on to Mt. Edgecumbe High School in Sitka, where I studied dental hygiene. After that I worked for the Public Health Service in the dental department.

My father died in 1952 at the age of 67. I was 19 years old. He had been the most wonderful person in the world. He had taught me about love.

In 1959 I left Alaska and moved to Hawaii, which I hated. You can't go from wide open spaces to a hot little island and expect to be happy. And because of the way I looked, nobody there could figure out where I was from, and people kept asking me what "nationality" I was. Next I spent one miserable summer in Austin, Texas, because it was hot there too. And then I moved to San Francisco, which I loved. The people were just wonderful. They went out of their way to help me get around. I didn't know a soul, but they made me feel at home. I met my husband Donald Hansen there, and later we moved to San Jose where I live today.

My big dream is someday soon to go to Norway to meet the relatives my father's family left behind in Kautokeino. And it saddens me that I never got to spend enough time with my father and my Sami relatives in Akiak when I was growing up. They left me with fond memories of a warm, hospitable and loving people — especially my father.

I have so many questions to ask about my Sami heritage. "Always be proud of your heritage," my father would say to me. I thought he was talking about being Yup'ik, but he was talking about being Sami. I want to be able to share that part of my life with my grown children, and with the Sami relatives from Norway that I met in Poulsbo. I was very surprised to learn that they are hungry for information about our lives in Alaska, too.

FOLKEVUOHTA

A CONVERSATION WITH JOHAN MIKKEL SARA OF THE SÁMEDIGGI

"Samis have more extensive folkevuohhta — family relationships — than Norwegians. The Sami language is very rich in words relating to the family and Nature. We have many words for cousin, but we are poor in technical words."

Johan Mikkell Sara, Sami Family Reunion, Poulsbo, Washington, June 1998



Johan Mikkell Sara (r.) with Nilo Cayuqueo (l.) (Mapuche), director of the Abya Yala Foundation, at the offices of Báiki and the South and Meso-American Indian Rights Center in Oakland.

Johan Mikkell Sara is no stranger to the North American Sami community. He has participated in our Siiddastallens at New York Mills, MN, and Turlock, CA. He has attended Norsk Høstfest in Minot, ND, and the opening of the "People of the Sun and the Wind" in Chicago, and will make his second appearance at Norway Days at Ft. Mason in San Francisco this year. He has addressed San Francisco's prestigious Commonwealth Club and is soon to be interviewed on National Public Radio.

In his "other life" as an airline flight instructor, Johan Mikkell has lived in the Deep South and in Chicago. He is a direct descendant of Alaska Sami reindeer herders, and part of this interview took place at their centennial reunion in Poulsbo, WA, a town founded in part by his transplanted American relatives.

Where were you born — we won't ask you "when."

JMS: (laughter) I am from Finnmark in northern Norway where 80% of the people are enrolled as Sami. I was born in Máze, the traditional Sami village that was going to be flooded when they built the dam at Alta. I grew up in Kautokeino, 65 km from there.

We here in the US, especially the American Indian community, were amazed and impressed by King Harald V's unprecedented apology to the Sámediggi [the Norwegian Sami Parliament] for the centuries of Norwegian oppression of the Sami People. You were there. What was the reaction?

JMS: The reaction from those who oppose Sami rights was that the King had gone crazy.

Why?

JMS: The coastal Norwegians are afraid that if the Samis regain control they will lose their fishing rights.

But the Sami need to control the areas they have been living on for thousands of years. We were there long before the national borders were drawn. Of course the Norwegians want to have control, but if they don't like being under the jurisdiction of the Sámediggi, I suggest that they move to other places.

What about reindeer herding?

JMS: There are too many reindeer for the grazing lands to support so we have to decrease the herds. If we are talking about reindeer herding as a business, then there have to be regulations concerning the number of animals. There are people who have 3000 to 4000 reindeer. Large grazing areas are needed for that many. One step in the right direction is the ruling that when you have more than 600 reindeer you don't get government subsidies.

You were in Poulsbo last summer for the Centennial Family Reunion of the Alaskan Sami reindeer herders. Are you related to them, since many of them came from Finnmark?

JMS: Yes, the Sara, Twitchell and Klementsens families are my relatives.

Had you kept in touch?

JMS: Until my phone call to you at the Báiki Office, we had had no contact [see Siida Page 3, this issue]. Many Finnmark Samis have always known they had relatives who left on the Manitoba for America, but few stayed in contact.

You first encountered the possible existence of "Sami Americans" when we met in Tromsø in 1990. Báiki was just beginning, as was the community that grew up around it. Since then you have attended many North American Sami events. Much of this has been one at your own expense. Why?

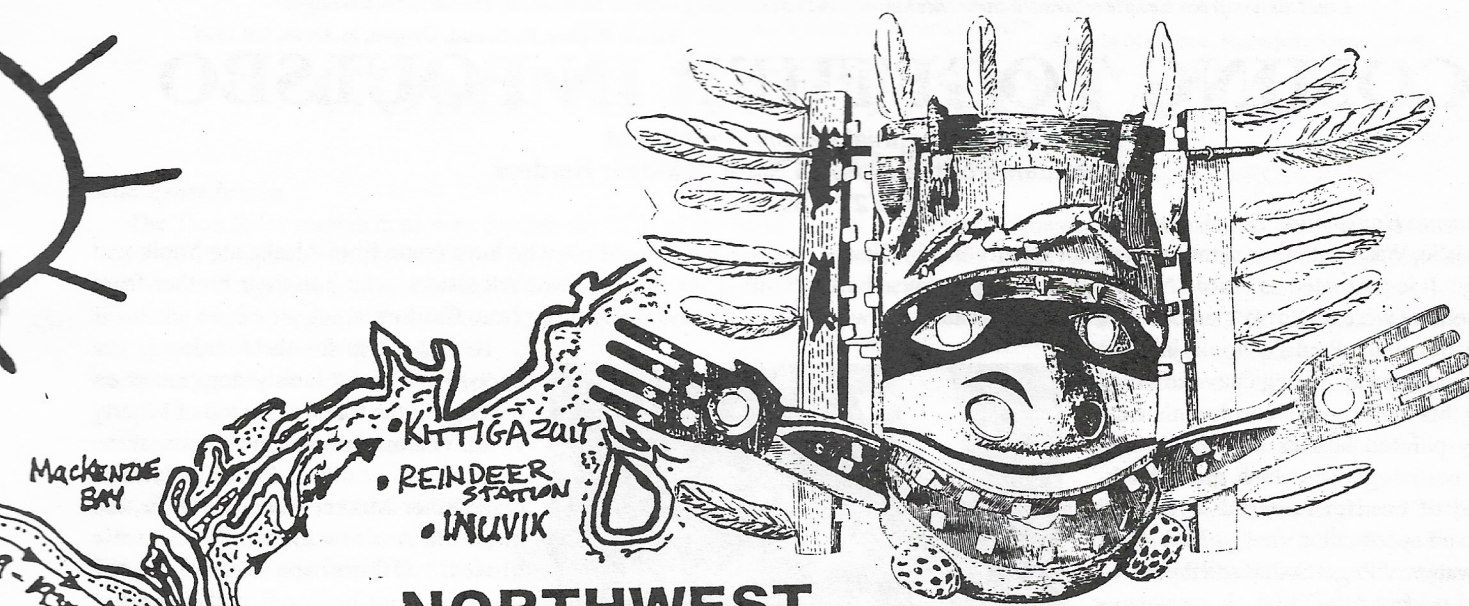
JMS: I have been curious. I asked myself, "Who are they? What are they doing?" I didn't know and I wanted to find out. I think I am one of the few Samis who knows first hand about the North American Sami community.

Are other people in Sápmi curious about us too?

JMS: When I mention the North American Sami Movement to Sami people in Finnmark, some say, "They are not Samis, they don't live in a Sami environment, they don't know the language, and the culture. We experience being Sami every day." But

[SARA continued on page 23]





MACKENZIE BAY

• KITTIGAZUIT
• REINDEER STATION
• INUVIK

• FORT McPHERSON

• DAWSON (KLONDIKE)

• STEWART

• OF HERDERS

UKON

TERRITORY

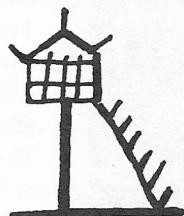
• WHITEHORSE

• KATNES

• ST. MICHAEL

• JUNEAU

SITKA



PORT TOWNSEND

**SEATTLE
KITSAP COUNTY
WASHINGTON**



Nathan Muus

PUGET

SOUND
EGGON

KINGSTON

POULSON

BREMERTON

KITSAP
COUNTY

SEATTLE

"I met so many people. Our heritage was our common bond. I was surprised to find that so many of the other descendants of the 1898 reindeer expedition had the same experience I did. We were never told we were Sami. I met sisters from Seattle who said their mother actually destroyed journals that would reveal their heritage."

Elaine Hepner, Redmond, Oregon, in *Arran*, fall 1998

COMING TOGETHER IN POULSBO

The Centennial Family Reunion of
Descendants of the Alaskan Sami Reindeer Herders
June 27 – 30, 1998

with Norma Hanson and Bill Wilcox

Poulsbo, Washington sits at the north end of Liberty Bay in Kitsap County. It is promoted as "Little Norway," not only because half of its settlers were of Norwegian descent, but also because Norwegian visitors think Poulsbo "looks just like home," as Norway's King Olav remarked during his 1975 visit. The town's neat freshly-painted houses and manicured lawns nestle against a lush green background of conifer-covered hills, and command spectacular views of the sparkling waters of Puget Sound and the snow-capped peaks of the Olympic mountains beyond. Streets have names like Anderson Parkway, Finn Hill Road and Fjord Drive, and *rosemalled* shops along Front Street purvey Norwegian deli foods and Scandinavian gifts and souvenirs.

Few of the current residents have any idea that a large area of their home town was settled by reindeer herders from Alaska who began moving into the area at the turn of the century. They chose Kitsap County for practical reasons: there was fish for food and water for transportation. "When I was a boy," says Bill (Tornensis) Wilcox, "there were Sami families all over here. They owned hundreds of acres. Several times a year we would gather to maintain ties of shared descent - families from Poulsbo, and neighboring Kingston and Eglon. There was always lots of good food."

Now, camper shell sales lots line Viking Way, the road into town. The largest Winnebago outlet in the US is exactly where Matt Tornensis and his son Nils once lived and raised thousands of chickens. Poulsbo's Central Market is on land once owned by the Haettas, adjacent to the farm of Johan Tornensis, the first — and biggest — of the Sami property owners. Their neighbors were the Klementsens and the Bærs [spelled "Bahr" in Poulsbo]. "Then the kids sold it," says Wilcox. "The parents worked hard and their kids got rid of it, all for big dollars."

Bill Wilcox, the grandson of Matt Tornensis, has helped his uncle Jan Henrik Keskitalo from Kautokeino, Norway, and Poulsbo's Norma (Bahr / Andersen) Hanson and her husband Earl make arrangements for a five-day centennial Sami Family Reunion. They have invited people who are descendants of the 1894 and 1898 Alaska Reindeer Projects. Eighteen have come from Kautokeino, Karasjok and Alta, including Tore Bongo, leader of the resistance to the building of the dam at Alta, and Johan Mikkell Sara, a member of the Norwegian Sami Parliament. From North America, 150

more have come. Five who have come from Alaska are Yupik and Sami. They are the Twitchell sisters, who join their brother from Montana and their cousin from California.



Norma Hanson and Jan Henrik Keskitalo
at the Sami Family Reunion in Poulsbo

Headquarters for the reunion is the park-like Hanson family compound on the edge of the forest at the top of Liberty Road. Visitors camp on the lawn near the original cabin built in 1913 by Norma's grandfather Mikkell Anderson Bahr, the uncle of Andrew Bahr, "The Arctic Moses." Others are housed in the Hanson's four-bedroom, two-story log home built in 1966, or sleep in the Norwegian-style grandchildren's playhouse that once served as the brooder house for the Bahr farm's chickens. The Hanson's outdoor patio becomes the gathering place for Finnmark women in brightly-colored silken summer *gakti*; but the Finnmark men soon shed their woolen outfits for the comfort of Hawaiian shirts and jeans.

The wall of the Hanson's carport is hung floor to ceiling with family photos and soon the carport's pingpong table and the living room coffee table inside become genealogy research centers where relatives pour over loose snapshots and copies of the *Karasjok* and *Kautokeino* *slekter*.

The five-day schedule of events includes a screening of Jos. Kalvemo's documentary video "Sami in Alaska," a reunion dinner at the home of Karl (Balto / Bitti) Nilsen and his wife Irene, and visits to the First Lutheran Church, the Sons of Norway Building and Seattle's Nordic Heritage Museum. There are tours of the Soquamish Museum (the Indigenous People of the area), Seattle's Woodland Park Zoo (where the reindeer starved), and local homes once owned by Sami, including the Hauan family property in Eglon.

On Saturday afternoon a formal ceremony establishes a Sister City relationship between Poulsbo and Kautokeino. It is held at Kvelstad Pavillion on the Poulsbo waterfront and a Sami flag is given to the city. For some reason this event is ignored by the local newspaper!

On Monday there is a tour of the cemeteries in Kingston and Poulsbo. Along the way, signs advertise "Hattaland Development" property for sale on the site of the old Peter Hatta farm.

Bill Wilcox has gone ahead of the group to mark the Sami burial sites with Sami flags and colored streamers. They flutter in the breeze above the graves of the Nilsen, Nilluka, Hatta, Rist, Tornensis, Hauan (Balto) and Bahr families. The gravestone of Andrew Bahr, "The

[POULSBO continued on page 24]

*"At one time, all the odds were against us Lapps!
We weren't born with silver spoons in our mouths. We had to make our own spoons, and we used them well —
even if they were made from reindeer antlers!"* Ragnild Mathisen, Karasjok, Sápmi, 1998

COMING HOME TO TANA

Bonakas, Lower Tana, Norway

July 17 — 19, 1998

with Ernst Jensen

The Tana River meanders its way through the heart of the Sami region of Finnmark, creating the border between "the Finnish side" and "the Norwegian side" of arctic Sápmi. On both sides, *Sámigiella* is still the mother tongue in many of the villages, and old women dressed in full traditional *gakti* can still be seen shopping in the local markets.

Some of Sápmi's foremost artists and writers call Tana "home," and it was here that CSV, the Sami cultural renewal movement of the 70's, was born. In fact, Tana is known to many as "The Cradle of Sami Culture."

Like the colorful pebbles and rocks that festoon the river's banks, the villages along the Tana River contain an earthy mix of people from all walks of life. The river provides them all with inspiration, peace and quiet, and a year-round supply of salmon. In the winter the river is frozen solid enough to support the weight of cars and snowmobiles, and people fish through holes in the ice. In the summer it serves as a waterway for boats, and people fly-cast from the shore.

Ernst Jensen, a California businessman, was born in the village of Bonakas on the Tana River. His mother was Ragnild Kristin Andersen and his father was Ernst Marius Jensen. As a boy Ernst fished for salmon on the Norwegian side of the river. Then, at the age of sixteen, he left Tana to seek his fortune.

Last summer he returned to his birthplace to attend the reunion of the descendants of his great great great grandparents, Pavel Olsen Ravna (1831-1892) from Tana on the Norwegian side — with ancestors from the Russian Kola Peninsula, and Gunhild Nilsdatter Nillukka Outakoski (1839-1909) from Utsjoki on the Finnish side — with ancestors from Kalix and Happaranda in Sweden. "I felt when I got back there after all these years, I had come home!"

The idea for the reunion began three years before when Ragnild Sandøy, Tromsø, Norway and Margit Jørgensen, Kautokeino - two of his cousins - met by chance. Other family members liked the idea and invitations went out to 700 relatives in seven countries. Described in the Norwegian newspaper *Ságat* as "*århundrets slekstreff*," the "family reunion of the century," the reunion attracted three hundred and fifty relatives from seven countries: the USA, Canada, Iceland, Denmark, Finland, Sweden and Norway. They all came home to Tana to be with each other, creating their own cultural renewal movement of the 90's!

The Ravna-Outakoski family tree, or *slekta*, covered one entire

Thanks to photographer Per Eidsjeld for his translation help.

wall of the local gymnasium. "I discovered that I was related to almost everybody there," said Ernst. "We talked about how we had fared in the modern world and I found out that some of my relatives were famous!" So here was another earthy Tana mix of people from all walks of life that included politicians, educators, newspaper editors, opera singers, cultural leaders and successful entrepreneurs.

The three-day schedule of events included a lecture on the general history of Sápmi (in English) by Dr. Einar Niemi of the University of Tromsø, Norway, and an accordian concert by Einar Tapio, recently of Los Altos Hills, California, now living in Seattle. In fact, the largest branch of the family tree was the Tapio line, with three hundred invited to the event and a large contingent showing up.

Other highlights included a sit-down feast of reindeer meat, and of course, salmon from the Tana River. But, according to *Ságat*, the most moving moment for many of the family members was the visit to the original ancestral village of Gárggogeahci in West Tana, where at one time 100% of the inhabitants were Sami who made their living as farmers and fishermen. The village is still there today, but the Pavel-Outakoski ancestral house is gone. Even so, the visit to Gárggogeahci was "a spiritual thing" to Ernst. "There was

a feeling that this was where a little branch started to grow and it spread all around the world."



Ragnild Mathisen with Ernst Jensen at the reunion in Tana
"I'm not going to die until Ernst comes," she told him



Ernst Jensen is the president of Elco Technology, a US elevator components manufacturing company. He is currently the President of the Swedish Society and the new director of the Bay Area Swedish Center. He has recently been awarded the prestigious Order of the Polar Star for his service to the Swedish-American community. He and his wife Gunn live in Marin County, north of San Francisco. Their three grown children follow international cross-cultural careers in their father's footsteps.

1913: The Inuits suffer increasing hardships due to the depressed condition of the whaling business.

1914: There is now a white missionary, a white school teacher, and a white fur trader in every Inuit village in Alaska with a population of more than 100.

Alfred Nilima, a Sami herder based in Kotzebue, sells 1,200 reindeer to Carl and Alfred Lomen, Norwegian-Americans from St. Paul, Minnesota. This is contrary to the rule that only Alaska Natives, Sami, and the government can own female reindeer. The Lomens hope to promote the sale of reindeer meat and furs in the United States. Financed with gold money borrowed from Jafet Lindeberg, they form Lomen and Company and hire experienced Sami and Inuit herders. Anders Bær is put in charge.

William Shields organizes the first Reindeer Fair in the village of Igloo, 40 miles from Teller. The fairs become popular annual events that feature reindeer races and competition in herding skills.

1915: Leonard Seppala wins the All-Alaska Sweepstakes in Nome with his team of Siberian huskies and for the next three years he dominates the sport. Huskies, introduced to Alaska by the Chukchi, become known as the world's finest sled dogs and the Iditerod Dog Sled Races become an annual international event.

There are now 70,000 to 100,000 reindeer in Alaska, divided into 98 herds. It is the heyday of the reindeer industry. Although 1,200 Inuits own 69% of the reindeer, their herds are usually less than 50. The remaining 31,000 reindeer are owned by Sami herders, Lomen and Company, the US Government, and the missions.



1921: A small reindeer herd is brought from Norway to Amaddjuak Bay, Baffin Island.

1923: A small reindeer herd is brought to Anticosti Island, Quebec.

1925: In January, during the worst bliz-

zard of the Alaskan winter season, Leonard Seppala and his huskies mush 340 miles in five and a half days carrying diphtheria serum from Nenana to the storm-stranded people of Nome. Seppala's team lead by "Togo" is so exhausted that several fresh teams of dogs must be used to finish. Driven by Gunnar Kasson, the lead dog of the final team is named after Samuel Balto. When the serum arrives in Nome, Balto the Dog is accorded a hero's welcome and receives the place in history that might have gone to Togo. A statue, misleadingly called "Balto's Dog," later erected in Central Park, New York City, will be the only public sculpture to honor a specific animal. Later still, "Balto's dog" will become the subject of a Walt Disney full-length animated cartoon called "Balto."

1926: To promote the sale of reindeer meat and furs, the Lomen brothers collaborate with Macy's Department Stores to stage annual Christmas parades with Santa Claus and teams of reindeer driven by Sami and Inuit herders from Alaska, with Matthis Ivar Klementsén Nilluka the first Santa Claus. Participating US cities include Portland, St. Paul, Boston, San Francisco, Chicago, Seattle, and Brooklyn. The Lomen brothers write fake children's letters asking about Santa Claus which are published in US newspapers. Because of the letters and the parades, Santa Claus and reindeer become an integral part of the North American Christmas story.

1927: Nicholas Dimond buys a few reindeer from the Lomen brothers to begin his own Christmas reindeer promotion. Charles Boostrom and Joe Thomas (an Ojibwe from Grand Portage, Minnesota) join him to tour the Midwest annually. The reindeer are kept at Clearwater Lake in Cook County, Minnesota.

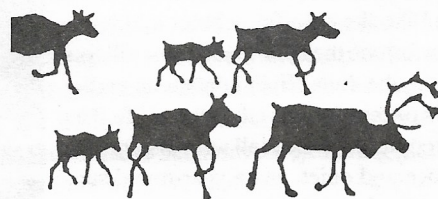
1928: The Lomen brothers begin the successful breeding of caribou with reindeer on Nunivak Island, producing larger reindeer. Four Inuit herders headed by Chester Seveck form an association to compete with the Lomens but they cannot compete with the huge, well-financed company that has begun to absorb the small Inuit operations.

1929: Seeing the Inuit lose their share of the reindeer industry to the Lomen brothers, Isak Hætta and other Sami quit Lomen

and Company in protest.

The cattle industry lobbies to discourage the sale and promotion of reindeer meat. In October the stock market crashes and the Depression begins. The market for reindeer meat and fur sales further declines and no new markets are developed.

The Inuit game supply in the Northwest Territories is running out and the Canadian government buys 3,442 Alaskan reindeer from Lomen and Company. Carl Lomen asks Anders Bær, now an elder of sixty years living in Seattle, to take the reindeer from Nabaktoolik, Alaska to Kittigazuit, NWT. Mikkel Nilluka signs on as his assistant. Andrew Bango, Tom Nakkala, Ivar West and Inuits Shelby David, David Henry, August Ome, Sam Segeok and Theodore Kingeak and others also join the group.



The Canadian Reindeer Project is planned to take 18 months, but becomes known as "The Great Trek," when the 1,200 mile reindeer drive stretches into a perilous five-year journey. Severe weather, high mountain ranges, ravenous wolves, and supply shortages contribute to constant delays and the death of many reindeer.

1930: The number of reindeer in Alaska has grown to 500,000, but reindeer as an industry is on the wane.

The Lomens are buying up the reindeer owned by the missions, the Sami and the Inuit. They monopolize the industry in Alaska, and control three of the most important shipping posts. They also hold strategic positions in state government and own the retail stores where herding supplies are sold.

1931: Sami from Kautokeino are recruited to maintain the herd being brought into Canada. The group includes Mathis Hætta, Aslak Tornensis, his wife Susanne Johannesdatter and their daughter, and Mikkel Nilsen Pulk, his wife Anna and their three children Isak, Nils and baby Ellen. They become known as "The Ca-

nadian Sami." Ellen will marry into an Inupialeut family and later become mayor of Inuvik.

1935: On February 25, "The Great Trek" finally arrives at the reindeer station on the Mackenzie River Delta in Kittigazuit, NWT with 2,382 reindeer. Bær returns to Seattle where "Andy Bær Day" is declared in honor of his feat. He becomes known as "The Arctic Moses."

More Sami leave Alaska. The Tornensis, Bær, Haetta and other families move south to the Kitsap Peninsula and settle in the townships of Poulsbo, Kingston and Eglon. Some establish chicken farms and sell their produce in Seattle markets, while others survive by fishing. Alfred Nilimaa and his wife Marit Pentho make a fortune and move back to Kautokeino, where they buy a hotel. Others marry into Inuit, Yupik and white families and remain in Alaska and Canada.

1936: Twelve reindeer are shipped from Alaska to the Peter Hatta farm in Poulsbo. They will later be shipped on to California.

1937: "The Reindeer Act" places the management of the Alaska herds under the jurisdiction of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, legally transferring ownership of all reindeer to Native Alaskans. The model for this development is the Swedish and Norwegian government policies toward the Native Sami, who have exclusive rights to own and work with reindeer in those countries. The Alaska Sami are forced to sell their reindeer for three and four dollars a head. They feel the US government has betrayed them and more leave for the Kitsap Peninsula.

1939: All reindeer not owned by Inuit are rounded up. Many escape to become part of wild caribou herds. The reindeer owned by Lomen and Company are bought by the US government for a lump sum of \$720,000.

The Alaska Inuit reindeer industry has been declining because the US government has not allowed them to kill reindeer for their own use or to sell any except the steers, the year-round management required by reindeer means ignoring hunting, fishing and trapping cycles, and competition for grazing areas and the mixing of herds has created confusion.

1947: After World War II, US government

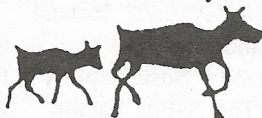
herding policies change on the Seward Peninsula and experienced Inuit herders are put in charge.

1950: There are 25,000 reindeer in Alaska.

1959: Alaska is admitted to the Union as the 49th state.

The jurisdiction of the Canadian Reindeer Project is transferred to the Canadian Wildlife Service, establishing seven large herds. From the beginning of the Reindeer Project in Canada, there have been only 66 Canadian Inuit herders in the Inuvik area.

1971: The Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act is passed, legalizing Native land claims to Indigenous village sites and the right to traditional ways of life.



1974: Silas Kanagegana purchases Canadian reindeer. Together with another Inuit, William Nasogaluak, and business advisor Douglas Billingsley, Kanagegana forms Canadian Reindeer Ltd., which soon grows into a million dollar industry.

1975: There are 30,000 reindeer in Alaska, mostly on the Seward Peninsula, and Unalaska and Nunivak Islands.

1977: There are fifteen large herds on the Seward Peninsula alone.



1987: Nasogaluak's herd grows to 8,000.

1992: Jos. Kalvemo and a film crew from NRK Sami Radio in Karasjok begins work on the documentary "The Sami in Alaska," filming in Karasjok, Kautokeino, Alta, Seattle and Poulsbo, WA, Bethel, AK and Kotzebue Sound.

1993: The finished documentary debuts on Norwegian national television.

1997: A court ruling allows non-Native Alaskans to own reindeer.

1998: The centennial reunion for the descendants of the Alaska Sami families is held in

[REINDEER PROJECT continued on page 20]

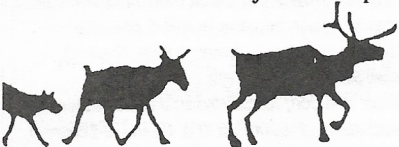
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•Thanks to the following Alaska Sami family members who have shared information, observations and personal letters: Norma Hanson, Elaine Hepner, Sandra and Pete Nilluka, Julia Hansen, and Bill Wilcox. Thanks also to Arthur Auferheide.

Poulsbo, WA in June coordinated by Norma Hanson from Poulsbo, Bill Wilcox from Port Angeles, and Jan Henrik Keskitalo from Kautokeino. Eighteen from Kautokeino and Karasjok attend, along with 150 relatives from Alaska and the "Lower Forty-eight." Poulsbo and Kautokeino become Sister Cities.

1999: On April 1, the sovereign Inuit nation of Nunavut is founded where some of the Canadian Reindeer Projects took place.



Thanks to Kurt Seaberg for his reindeer.

*Kvens are the descendants of Finnish immigrants to Norway who have intermarried with Sami for many generations and who usually have Norwegian citizenship.

[FAMILIES continued from page 6]

PULK, Ole Johansen (plus wife and 2 children), Kautokeino

RAPP, Ole M., Bossekopp, Alta

RAVNA (Rauna), Johannes Aslaksen, Karasjok

RIST(Rista), Johan Peter, and wife Berret Anna, Kautokeino

RIST Per Aslaksen, Kautokeino

REDMYER, Hedley E., Seattle

SACARIASEN (Sacariassen), Carl Johan, Kaaffjord

SAMUELSEN Hans, Finland

SARA, Nils Persen, and wife Marie and children Ellen, Mikkel, Morten, Klemet and Mathias, Kautokeino

SIRI, Hans Andersen, Kautokeino, Karasjok

SIRI, Per Nilsen, Kautokeino, Karasjok

SPEIN, Per Mathisen, Kautokeino

STENSFJELD (Steinfjeld), Ole Johansen, Røros

STEFANSEN, Lauritz, Bossekopp, Alta

SUHR, Karl O., Finland

TORNENSIS, Isak Mikklesen, Kautokeino

TORNENSIS Johan Islaksen, and wife Berit, Kautokeino

TORNENSIS, Margretha (plus 2 children)

UTSI, Anders Persen, Kautokeino

VESTAD, Ivar Persen, Karasjok

WIIG, Rolf, Bossekopp, Alta

BAIKI REVIEWS

Awakened Voice — the Return of Sami Knowledge

Reviewed by Roland Thorstensson

"Awakened Voice — The Return of Sami Knowledge" is a welcome addition to the ever-growing literature on the Sami culture in English. This thought provoking book, edited by Elina Helander and published by the Nordic Sami Institute in 1997, consists of ten articles, the overriding goal of which it is to describe an "economically, ecologically and culturally more sustainable world" (Helander). The idea for the book evolved from a seminar on the integration of Indigenous peoples' knowledge, held in 1994 in Reykjavik, Iceland.

Elina Helander sets the tone in her introductory essay "Sustainability in the Sami Area: The X-File Factor." She points to a dilemma. How does one integrate traditional Sami knowledge with modern knowledge without the former losing its culture-bearing characteristics? What will one lose in the process of becoming integrated and "modern"? Most of the essays address this dilemma both directly and indirectly.

Vuokko Hirvonen in her essay, "Research Ethics and Sami People- From the Woman's Point of View" concludes that Sami women have been doubly marginalized in traditional books and research that study Sami issues. The scholars responsible have been mainly non-Sami and men. Hirvonen proposes that more Sami women become involved in researching, writing and explaining their own history.

Does it matter who carved the rocks? In his contribution "Archeology- A Link Between Past and Present," Odd Mathis Hætta poses some important questions about "cultural ownership." We talk about "Swedish rock carvings" from a time when there were no Swedish and Norwegian petroglyphs at Alta, being carved long before Norway became a state. In his essay, which gives the reader a good overview of theories about Sami pre-history, Hætta feels that the Sami have as much justification to lay claim to archeological monuments as do the

majority cultures that surround them.

There are two articles dealing with the cultural significance of reindeer herding, Johan Klemet Hætta Kalstad's "The Modern Challenge Facing Knowledge in Sami Subsistence, and Klemmeti Näkkäläjärvi's "Reindeer Earmarks and a Sami Cultural System." Both address the clashes between tradition and modernity and both conclude that reindeer herding still functions as a preserver of Sami culture, a dynamic phenomenon of the last fifty years during which time Sápmi "has been transformed into a playground for people from all over the world." It is also a phenomenon which has effected and will continue to affect Sami culture significantly and has the power to revitalize it, but also to spoil it. The writers wish for compromises between cultural preservation and the development of tourism and between local and global interests. They also warn the Sami against catering to the tourists too much by projecting false, mythic images of what Sami culture is and what the Sami are.

Alf Isak Keskitalo discusses the ramifications of lifestyles in conflict. His article, entitled "Sedentary and Nomadic Sami in a Research Program Context" examines the Sami transition from a hunting society to nomadism and sedentarism and also reflects on differences in nomadic and sedentary language.

Rauna Kuokkanen spent the winter of 1994-95 taking courses in Native Studies at Concordia University in Montreal. In "From the Jungle Back to Duottar" she discusses her many discoveries about literacy theories which for the most part were western and tended to "dismiss, non-Western literature as 'primitive', 'child-like', 'overpopulated' or 'having no clear plot.'" Western critics have silenced Indigenous voices, Kuokkanen maintains. It is now the time for these voices to be awakened. Her article ends with a provoking plea to those involved in academic writing to bring their diction closer to that of 'ordinary people.'

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- Thanks to Sandra Nilluka and Bill Wilcox

"Wouldn't it be a remarkable skill to be able to write in such a way that your grandmother understood."

In "The Sami: A History of Our Own," Veli-Pekka Lehtola takes non-Sami historians to the task for their inability to view Sápmi from within. Now the time has come for a greater number of Indigenous interpretations of history, to challenge previously held notions or, at least to play a more active role in the academic debate.

Ole Henrik Magga poses a lot of intriguing questions in "Sami Past and Present and the Sami Picture of the World." "Who owns the truth? Whose picture of the world is the right one?" Magga contends that his picture is certainly right to him, that his conception of the truth about his People is as worthy as those of non-Sami scientists and scholars who have dealt with Samiland. Magga concludes by quoting a judge of the Norwegian Supreme Court, Carsten Smith: "A People's right to exercise their culture is one of the fundamental human rights"

This is a valuable book and it serves as an excellent complement to Harald Gaski's compilation of articles in his book, *Sami Culture in a New Era*. Both works provide background information for the newcomer to Sami scholarship and present issues and queries that are thought provoking and "awakening" for both Sami and non-Sami readers. Each essay includes a bibliography for the readers who want even more knowledge.

Roland Thorstensson is a Professor of Scandinavian Studies and Swedish at Gustavus Adolphus College in Minnesota

AWAKENED VOICE:

THE RETURN OF SAMI
KNOWLEDGE

Elina Helander, ed.

Kautokeino, Norway: Nordic
Sami Institute, 1996

For prices and ordering
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Sami Institute, PB 220, N-9520
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48 50 00, fax: 47 84 56 866.

The Sun, My Father, Nils-Aslak Valkeapää

Reviewed by Jürgen W. Kremer

The English translation of "Beaivi, Ahcazan" can only be called a generous gift created by the daring labors of Ralph Salisbury, Lars Nordström, and Harald Gaski. Nils Aslak Valkeapää won the Nordic Literature Prize for this momentous work which was originally published in 1988. I have seen the book in practically every Sami household I've visited, and I don't think it is an exaggeration to say that it is one of the central influences in the increasing affirmation of Sami traditional knowledge.

"Beaivi, Ahcazan" is so much more than a poetic text. The samegiella edition contains innumerable photographs documenting Sami civilization and history in all its beautiful and painful aspects (the English language edition contains only a minimal amount of illustrations and none of the photos). A reading of the book by the author is available and four CD's or tapes also contain Valkeapää's joiking, music by Valkeapää and Esa Kotilainen, plus the sounds of Sápmi (wind, water, birds and reindeer).

I appreciate the book as a gift of healing which leads me to delve more deeply into my own ancestry. My [German] people have chosen the route of progress and splitting from their ancestral origins, and the book reminds me of the pathology which the virus of progress has created. "Beaivi, Ahcazan" alerts me, once again, how that virus continues to affect native Peoples all over the world. But it also shows how healing from the impact of colonialism, missionization, and progress addiction can happen. It teaches me how to honor my ancestral roots, the People who were Indigenous until they chose to forget.

Probably the most important thing to realize is that this is the ceremony, the book is the medicine. As such it contains the changes of history, the cycle of the lifetime of one human being, the cycle of the seasons. All this is an offering, a making sacred, a sacrifice, as the book's beginnings make clear. On the binding we find an old Drum, and the three female Spirits, the *Ahkkás*. What follows is an invocation that takes the book, its author and the readers to Sápmi.

"Beaivi, Ahcazan" succeeds in being simultaneously traditional and modern. It pre-

sents us with the Sami conversation with the Spirits, the land, the plants, the animals, the web of human relations, the ancestors. The invocation honors the Sun and begins the conversation [with] *humahalan eatnama*, I converse with the earth. The incredible collection of photos documenting Sami civilization show so clearly how the book is in time, but the conversation is also *meaddel áiggiid* - beyond time. Indigenous Peoples faced with genocide oftentimes confront a terrible dilemma which can lead to painful fractures in their communities: the choice [between] a reenactment of what is left of the old ways and the reinvention or improvisation of what is remembered. Valkeapää overcomes this. His book is traditional in what I take to be the original sense of the word: Spirit lives in it. It is utterly faithful to the ancient Spirit of Sápmi by making it present in a way that is true for today.

The invocation at the beginning as read by the author is tremendous: The beat of the Drum slowly leads one into this healing epic

Beaivi
Mailmmi ahcci
The sun
The world's father

Eanan
Gida nieida
The earth
Spring's daughter

Almmiravdda gollerasi
Haisuoinnit
The horizon's gold
flower
The fragrant grass
Humahalan eatnama
I converse with the
earth

One of the poems (#219) addresses the issue of roots and their importance.

Not even you would exist
without roots

These words are addressed to non-Sami people and to those parts of us who are not

[BOOKS continued overleaf]

BAIKI REVIEWS

ARCTIC EXODUS, DICK NORTH

Sami and where we have left our Indigenous roots far behind. The parts of us representing the ancestry which has immigrated to the US, and which have become a part of history which is built on Native American genocide. I hear it as a call to remember my own roots.

One of the many extraordinary segments of the book describes and evokes work with the *govadas*, the shamanic Drum (I am particularly thinking of the drum journey poems #31 through #56). As more and more Drums make their appearance again in Sápmi we may have to credit at least part of this return to descriptions such as this one:

I beat these images
On the stone, on the drum
It is so slow

After drumming for a while
I am pulled into another world
To visions (#33)

The photos of the original edition of "Beaivi, Ahcazan" are an integral part of the work. Probably every Sami person can find a relative in one of them. I remember sitting with a friend of mine and she pointed out an ancestor of hers. She talked about her feelings and the meaning of this photo. I imagine that many of the photos are evocative in this way.

Any review of "Beaivi, Ahcazan" can only touch upon certain aspects of the work given its large scope. It contains a wealth of medicinal and cultural information [and] is a manual for cultural remembrance. This book allows American Sami readers to engage in their cultural roots in a way which is personal, spiritual, historical, political - containing all the elements of what it means to be in an Indigenous conversation with a place, with Sápmi. The author's personal poetic voice allows for the affirmation of what it means to be Sami today. It allows those of Sami descent who are American - and who carry other ancestries - to look back at the wages of history which brought them here on Native American lands.

Jurgen W. Kremer, Ph.D., lives as an independent scholar in Iceland and California.

Introduction by Faith Fjeld

In 1980 when I first started researching Sami culture and history, there were very few respectable works readily available that were written in English from the Sami perspective. Other than such classics as "Turi's Book of Lapland" and Ernst Manker's "People of the Eight Seasons" most books were all too often written from a narrow, linear Western perspective, totally lacking in Indigenous understanding.

But now, twenty years later, there are excellent, well-written books by both Sami and non-Sami authors that peel back the rich layers of the culture to expose the Sami fabric of the Nordic countries and to uncover and prove the Sami impact on North American history as well. Of the 43 entries in the recent "Sami Bibliography" prepared by Lars Nordström and published as a "Báiki Super List" in Issue #18, more than half of the books — 23 — were published after 1980.

In this issue, along with reviews of two recently-published works, "Awakened Voice: The Return of Sami Knowledge" edited by Elina Helander, and "The Sun My Father" by Nils-Aslak Valkeapää, we also present a review of "Arctic Exodus" by Dick North, published in 1991. "Arctic Exodus," almost out of print, is well worth tracking down and reading, especially since it chronicles yet another aspect of the Sami presence in North America.

North's rendition of the 1500-mile Alaska to Canada "Great Trek" led by the 60-year-old Andrew Bahr [Bær] is an exciting testimony to Sami tenacity and elder toughness. It can be compared to Hugh Beach's popular personal adventure "A Year in Lapland" for it reads just as well. North has woven material from the journals and diaries of the small group of Great Trek herders into a cliff-hanger that transforms a five-year 3000-mile endless round of winter blizzards, summer mosquitoes and frustrating setbacks into a highly-readable tale.

Although Dick North has lived in the Yukon for many years, he had no personal relationship to anyone in the book. I asked him what, then, prompted him to write it. "I went to work on the Alaskan pipeline," he told me over the phone from his son's house

in Southern California, "and one day I found myself in the midst of a whiteout. I literally couldn't see my hand in front of my face! I thought of those Sami guys, with their dogs and three thousand reindeer facing this, and I thought that I've got to write about it!"

Review by Jo-Anne Mary Benson

The pages of history are filled with many remarkable adventurers who push themselves to their physical and mental limits challenging the environment and facing the unknown. The book "Arctic Exodus" chronicles an extraordinary adventure led by one such man.

In 1929 an experienced Lapp [sic] named Andrew Bahr, who later came to be known as "The Arctic Moses," led the most enduring trail ride in the history of North America.

This endeavor, undertaken for the Canadian government, required joint efforts from Canada, the United States, Norway and Denmark in establishing the reindeer industry in northern Canada with the goal of providing jobs, income and food for northern residents. The task was incredible in that Bahr and a small group of men, herding dogs, and sled-deer were to move 3,000 reindeer 1,500 miles from the Alaskan coast to the Mackenzie Delta. Little did anyone know that this challenging task would not take the specified 18 months, but five long, hard years instead.

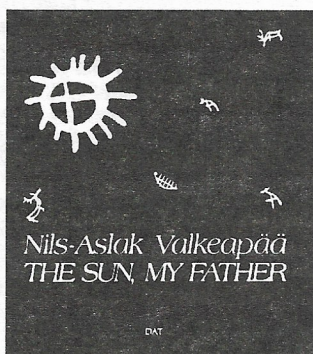
Plagued with problems from the onset, Bahr and his entourage were tormented by insects, preyed upon by wolf packs, besieged by ferocious winds and exposed to -70 degree F temperatures. Often the group was out of provisions and both man and animal verged on starvation as they tried to forage off the land. Progress was often negligible and lack of good mapping made it all the more difficult. The reindeer, known for their ornery and fickle ways, added to the problems as they bolted, stampeded, backtracked or got lost. In the end, though, a total of 2,370 reindeer, being a

BAIKI REVIEWS

mixture of original starters and those born on the trail, finally reached their destination in March, 1935.

Dick North, the author, is a gifted story-teller who has succeeded in bringing history to life in its colorful splendor. The facts are well-researched and his absorbing and vividly descriptive style conjures up images in the reader's mind of both the breathtaking beauty and the sometimes hostile conditions of the Arctic environment. "Arctic Exodus" is highly recommended and will soon be regarded as a classic historical adventure that captures the essence of time as well as the present appeal of the North.

Jo-Anne Benson is an Ottawa writer and reviewer specializing in Northern books.



THE SUN, MY FATHER
Nils-Aslak Valkeapää
Vaasa, Finland: DAT, 1997

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Dick North
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1991

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BAIKI PROFILES, cont'd



Johan Mikkel Sara with cousin Julia Hansen (Yupik-Sami), San Jose, CA, at the Sami reunion in Poulsbo

then again, there are many who are interested to know more about you, too.

What do you see as the biggest problem of the North American Sami "Movement?"

JMS: You have no official funding. The US political system is different with regard to minorities. In Norway we can get money from the government for cultural exchange.

So are there problems that stem from being Sami in Scandinavia?

JMS: Yes, we have to work much harder to gain the same privileges as the dominant society.

Tell us about the Sámediggi. You have been an elected member since its birth in 1989.

JMS: The Sámediggi serves as an advisor to the Norwegian government and the *Stortinget* [the Legislature]. There are 39 elected members, three from each of the thirteen Sami constituencies in Norway. I am one of the three delegates from *Sør-Norge* [South Norway]. Next year we will also establish a Nordic Sami Parliamentary Council put together by the three existing Sami Parliaments in the three Nordic countries. This new Parliamentary Council will be involved with international affairs, and the *Sámiraddi* [the Sami Council] will be given a different role.

What do your elders think about Sami political organizations?

JMS: Most elders don't care about organizations. People still settle conflicts among themselves and not in

the courts. But the youth have learned the ways of the dominant society, making it more difficult for the Norwegian bureaucrats to push them around.

You told me that your coin purse holds loose change from ten different countries. In your travels have you found that there are other Indigenous nations that have a similar relationship with their national governments?

JMS: I don't know of any relationship that is exactly the same as ours. The Inuits of Greenland have their own elected *Hjemmestyre* [Parliament] and in Canada where is the new nation of Nunavut there are similar relationships. In many areas they have more self-determination than we do.

What are the most important Sami issues today?

JMS: It is important for us to have self-determination and the *Sámediggi* wants to be in charge of Sami affairs. The most important issues in the next four to five years will be land rights in Finnmark. Since 1984, the *Sáme Rettsutvoiget* [the Sami Rights Committee], has been studying the issue of Sami land rights. The Committee's closing report is now being examined by the *Sámediggi*, and the *Storting* will review it after that.

What part do you play in all this?

JMS: I am a member of the Oslo City Council, and Vice Chairman of the Sami Cultural Heritage Council, whose mission is to protect Sami heritage. I am also the chairman of the Management Committee of the *Sámediggi*.

What is your personal vision for the future?

JMS: Three years ago I suggested that Norway have a Sami representative in each of their embassies in Latin America, and in New Zealand, Australia, Canada and the United States to work with each country's Indigenous Peoples to see if there are any human rights violations. I talked with a political advisor in the Norwegian foreign office and he thought it was a good idea.

Thank you. We'll see you in San Francisco at Norway Days.

[HEPNER continued from page 10]

come "outside," as Alaskans called it, to Seattle and Eglon. Mother had the medal he received from the King for his work with Fritchof Nansen. He had had a drinking problem when he lived in Nome and none of us knew him then because he was always drunk. But after he sobered up in a skid row mission in Seattle, the change in him really impressed my mother.

He became kind and generous and would come to visit laden with gifts, hiding them so that she and her sisters would have fun finding them. When he found out Mother had to walk 1 1/2 miles to school wearing laced high-top shoes and was teased for being a "clump foot," he bought her a pair of Mary Janes. He had made dog sleds in Alaska, and before that for Nansen, so he made a sled for us girls to slide down our hill in the winter.

By the world's standards, Marit Biti-Balto lived an obscure life, rarely leaving home. But her gentle and quiet spirit drew me to her when I was a little girl. Her home was her church. She had a high soprano voice and loved to sing. She would pick up the hymnal that sat on a little stand in the front room beside her Bible and sing to herself and anyone else who would listen. Her favorite hymns were "A Mighty Fortress is Our God," "Oh Sacred Head Now Wounded," and "Jesus Savior Pilot Me." She read the Bible in *Samigiella* and there was a faded embossed cardboard plaque hanging on the wall. I asked Mother about it so often I had it memorized: "Jesus Christ the same yesterday, today and forever," Hebrews 13:8. Grandma had put it there.

Grandma's health began to deteriorate. In 1938, a few days after Christmas, she died on a cot in the corner of the front room by the pot belly stove. I missed her greatly. If she was discriminated against because she was a "Lapp," it was not apparent at her funeral, for on that cold, wet, dark wintry day the Eglon Community Church was decorated with cedar boughs and holly and packed with relatives and friends. A pastor who had sometimes stayed with Grandma and Grandpa came from Seattle to conduct her service and the community took up a collection to help pay her funeral expenses.

Grandma Marit was not rich, but I felt important and good when I was with her and she gave me a sense of security, and for that I will be eternally grateful.

**For an account of Marit Biti-Balto's life in Alaska, see Árran: the Newsletter of the North American Sami Siidat, summer 1998.*

[POULSBO continued from page 16]

Arctic Moses," (1872—1945), carries a Bible passage from Revelations: "And whosoever was not found written in the book of life was cast into the lake of fire."

After masterminding the successful event, Norma Hanson finally sits down, puts her feet up, and sighs to Earl: "I'm so pleased that so many came. They all got along so well. It was wonderful to watch people pour over their genealogies! Our daughter and families were overwhelmed by the number of people and how excited they all were, trying to trace their roots."

Norma Hanson is a retired bus driver for the Poulsbo School District. She and her husband Earl are Poulsbo civic leaders who hosted the visits of King Olav of Norway in 1975, and twenty years later, that of his son and successor, King Harald, and Queen Sonja.

Jan Henry Kesitalo is the President of the Sami College in Kautokeino. He is currently doing collaborative research projects with Inuit educators in Greenland and Alaska on curriculum and how it is used in Indigenous cultures.

Bill Wilcox was born in Poulsbo and worked as a commercial fisherman for 40 years. He is retired and lives in Port Angeles.



In Earl and Norman Hanson's garage [above]: Elaine Hepner, Irene (Mrs. Carl) Nilsen and Bill Wilcox study the collections of photos, books and genealogies.

At Kvelstad Pavillion [left]: family members from Finnmark singing the Sami Anthem.

In the Sons of Norway lounge [below l. - r.]:

Pete Nilluka, the oldest surviving Reindeer Project member with his wife Beatrice (Macaw), and Bill Wilcox.

Norma Hanson said, "He was my right hand man and I couldn't have accomplished what I did without him. Thank you Bill!"



photos: nathan muus

control over their future. Among the features of the treaty are 1) title to Inuit-owned land rights including mineral rights; 2) a share of federal government royalties from oil, gas and mineral development on Crown lands; 3) capital transfer payments of \$1.1 billion, payable over 14 years beginning in 1993, and 4) the right to harvest wildlife on lands and waters through the Nunavut Settlement Area.

RTPProject@aol.com

SWEDEN APOLOGIES TO THE SAMI PEOPLE

The Swedish government issued an official apology to its Indigenous Sami population for forcing the nation from its traditional grounds. Agriculture Minister Annika Åhnberg said in August 1998: "The Swedish colonization of the northern parts of our country gave us access to natural resources, but at the price of forcing the Sami from their region." Sami activists say the apology, although welcome, is not enough and have called on the government to give them autonomy with their own county council. "It is positive that Åhnberg and the government have apologized — but the government must go further and admit that the reindeer pastures are Sami in the full legal sense," said Tomas Cramer, a Sami spokesman. Some 17,000 Samis live in Sweden. Traditionally a reindeer-herding nation, many have now settled and integrated into the societies of Norway Sweden and Finland in which the majority live.

<http://www.norden.org/top/9804/b.htm>

SAMI STRUGGLE IN SWEDEN INSPIRES INUIT STUDENTS

A [May 1998] visit to Sami reindeer herders in northern Sweden taught a group of Inuit college students from Nunavut [the new Inuit nation] valuable lessons about the importance of retaining their traditional culture. "Sami culture was integrated into everything — it was very impressive," said Larry Kablutsiak, a spokesperson for the group. The reindeer is the heart of the Sami culture.

Centuries ago, Sami hunted reindeer in the wild, as Inuit do today. In the 1600's, reindeer herding [as opposed to hunting] was introduced. Today, every reindeer is owned by a herder. Of the estimated 20,000 Sami in Sweden today, about 2,500 are full-time herders, traveling with their reindeer from mountain valleys in the winter to the higher alpine meadows in the summer. The highlight of the trip was when students got to feed reindeer by hand. "It was like a fantasy," said Kablutsiak. The 11 Inuit students were from communities across Nunavut. The trip was the

culmination of the eight-month Nunavut Sivuniksavut training program in Ottawa, where they are studying Inuit social and political history as well as the Nunavut land claims settlement. Part of the program involves the study of other circumpolar Peoples.

Students raised funds from individuals and businesses in their home communities, local and regional Inuit associations, as well as from the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development in Canada.

The students were struck by the many similarities between Sami and Inuit. Just as Inuit areas spread across several provincial and territorial jurisdictions, so too are the Sami divided by borders created by others — Norway, Sweden, Finland and Russia. Sami also have a unique and very ancient language, but like Inuktitut today, it has very distinctive regional dialects. And just as Inuit were once known to the outside world by a name given to them by others ("Eskimo") so too have Sami been known by a name not of their own choosing ("Lapp"). Their current insistence on the use of their own name is just one of their efforts to reassert their identity in recent times.

One of the examples the students encountered was at a tourist facility nestled into the side of a mountain 200 km north of the Swedish Arctic Circle, where Lennart Pittja (Sami), the son of a reindeer herder, maintains a traditional Sami winter hut in the forest, made of birch poles, covered with sod, where he educates outsiders about Sami culture.

The Nunavut Sivuniksavut students spent a memorable evening in his hut sitting around the fire in the dark, eating freshly-cooked reindeer, drinking very strong Swedish coffee and learning about Sami history and culture.

The Sami hosts found it heartening to meet people who could relate to their struggle to preserve their distinct cultural identity, based on their traditional ties to the land. The Inuit students in turn found the Sami struggle inspiring: "I want the culture of my region to stay alive — [the Sami] showed me that's possible."

http://www.nunatsiaq.com/archives/nunavut980531/nvt80515_04.html

Doug Mellgren (Associated Press): LOVOZERO CONDITIONS WORSEN In the capital of Russia's Sami region there are no reindeer.

The wretched conditions in Lovozero, 80 miles south of Murmansk on Russia's Kola Peninsula, contrast sharply with the lives of Sami in Finland, Sweden and Norway.

For millennia, the Sami thrived by following the reindeer herds across Europe's Arctic. Then the Iron Curtain fell, and about 2,000 ended up on the Soviet side. That meant reindeer herds were collectivized, to be tended by relatively few herders, the rest [of whom] were sent to Lovozero.

The town is a mix of dreary Soviet-era concrete apartments and sagging unpainted wooden houses.

There are few cars. Apart from hunger, the people of Lovozero suffer from deteriorating health care, a declining birth rate, diseases caused by pollution, and widespread alcoholism. They often lack heat in their homes during the bitter Arctic winter and as many as half are unemployed. Conditions appear to be getting worse.

Reindeer were the center of Sami lives, providing food, clothing, transportation and even objects of religious worship. But the reindeer are far away from Lovozero, deep in the tundra [where] the herders' inhuman conditions are even worse than those living in town. Formerly state-owned companies that process meat are either bankrupt or about to go bankrupt and they can't pay for the products. Norwegian Sami are buying meat and also training young Russian Sami in modern herding and the skills needed to process meat locally.

About 125 miles to the west, the Sami of the Nordic countries enjoy the generous social programs of the welfare state. There are Sami colleges, newspapers and [they have] special rights as a Native people. When the Nordic Sami reestablished contact with their kinsmen in Russia in the early 1990s, they set up language and cultural programs. That was quickly extended to include soup kitchens and donations of warm clothing, medicines and even small cash gifts. "We realized things were very bad in Lovozero," said Ante Javo, a Norwegian Sami who heads the Karasjok-Lovozero Friendship Society.

Jobs are scarce in Lovozero, especially with the biggest employer shutting down, a mine and smelter that employed 1,300. Reindeer herding is again the main industry, employing 220 people. That is struggling too because the fragile tundra can't withstand grazing by more than the current 65,000 reindeer.

Despite daily hardships, the Kola Sami still seek their roots. The local culture center is full of reindeer skin boots and clothing, beaded jewelry and traditional handicrafts for sale. Jakob Jakovlev showed off a knife with a carved reindeer horn handle he had made with tools donated by Swedish Sami. "The Kola version of the Sami knife was lost, but we discovered it again in photographs in the National Archives," he said. In another room at the center adults struggle to learn their ancestral Kildin Sami dialect in a Norwegian-financed course.

"In the past, Sami were ashamed to call themselves Sami. Now it is very different. People want to learn," said Larisa Avdeeva, head of the Kola Sami Association. "We never lost our roots as Sami."

Ruthanne Cecil
cecilr@humboldt1.com
via mikecohen@sprintmail.com

to identify with as cultural birthright. Most Siida folks are actively involved in genealogical research — all are involved with increasing the understanding of their cultural heritage.

"The Siida functions as a cooperative of sorts, sharing what we can and welcoming all who intuitively feel they belong to the clan! The Siida is the single active representative of the Sami culture in North America with educational projects, publications and many events throughout the year. The organization maintains an observer seat on the International Sami Council and promotes the revival of cultural awareness in North America."

We hope you enjoy this website and this issue. Forthcoming spring and summer events include NORWAY DAYS at Ft. Mason, May 1 and 2 (San Francisco, CA), FESTIVAL FINLANDIA at Ironworld Interpretive Center, July 17 & 18 (Chisholm, MN), FINNFEST USA, July 22 - 25 (Seattle, WA) and BYGDELAG CENTENNIAL at Luther College, July 29 - 31 (Decorah, IA). See you there.

OUR LIBRARY

Jounna-Ande Vest, the distinguished Sami writer, has given the Báiki library copies of his "Synonymasátnegirja" (1995), "Cáhcegáddái nohká boazobálggis" (1988) and "Eallin bihtát," for which we are very grateful. Jounna-Ande visited the Báiki Office last year with his wife Jocelyn Fernandez-Vest, and their son. They live in Paris. His ancestor Ivar Persen Vest, came to Alaska on The *Manitoba*, and later was a member of "The Great Trek."

VISITORS



Recent visitors to the Báiki Office were, Tore Bongo, Alta, Norway and Sandra Nilluka, San Jose, CA. Both are descendants of members of the Reindeer Project. Tore was a leader in the movement against the building of the Alta-Kautokeino Dam.

IN MEMORY OF DEPARTED BROTHERS AND SISTERS

We dedicate this issue to the memory of two long-time inspirational Báiki supporters, **Timo Riipa** (Finnish-American), a curator at the Immigration History Resource Center (IHRC), St. Paul, Minnesota and a member of the original Báiki Advisory Board, and **Matti Kaups** (Estonian), Professor of Geography at the University of Minnesota, Duluth and a specialist in Finnish immigration to America. Both men were highly-respected scholars, researchers and teachers whose lives and bodies of work profoundly effected both the academic and the grassroots communities.

We also honor the memory of two traditional elders, **Thomas Banyacya** (Hopi) and **Daniel Evehema** (Hopi) who both passed away in February. They were international ambassadors who carried ancient Hopi prophecies to the United Nations, warning of the consequences should humanity not learn to solve problems peacefully instead of by war and conflict. Also in February, **Walt Bresette** (Ojibwe), author of "Walleye Warriors: an Effective Alliance Against Racism and for the Earth," passed away at the age of 51. A long-time friend of the Sami community, he was a driving force behind the fishing rights struggles in Wisconsin and the environmental movement worldwide.

In March, three activists were killed in Colombia while working with the U'wa People to prevent the Occidental Petroleum Company from drilling for oil on their lands. They were **Ingrid Washinawatok** (Menominee), co-chair of the Indigenous Women's Network, **Lahe'ena'e Gay** (Hawaiian / Mohawk), and **Terence Freitas**, an environmental activist from Oakland, California. Freitas and leaders of the U'wa nation visited the Báiki Office last year during their meetings with representatives from the South and Meso American Indian Rights Center.

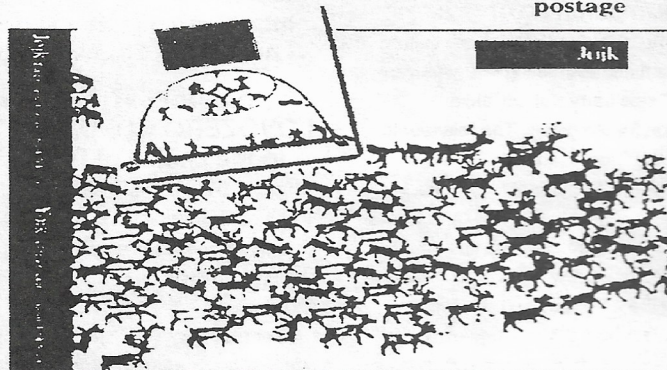
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Ørnulv Vorren

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172 pages

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