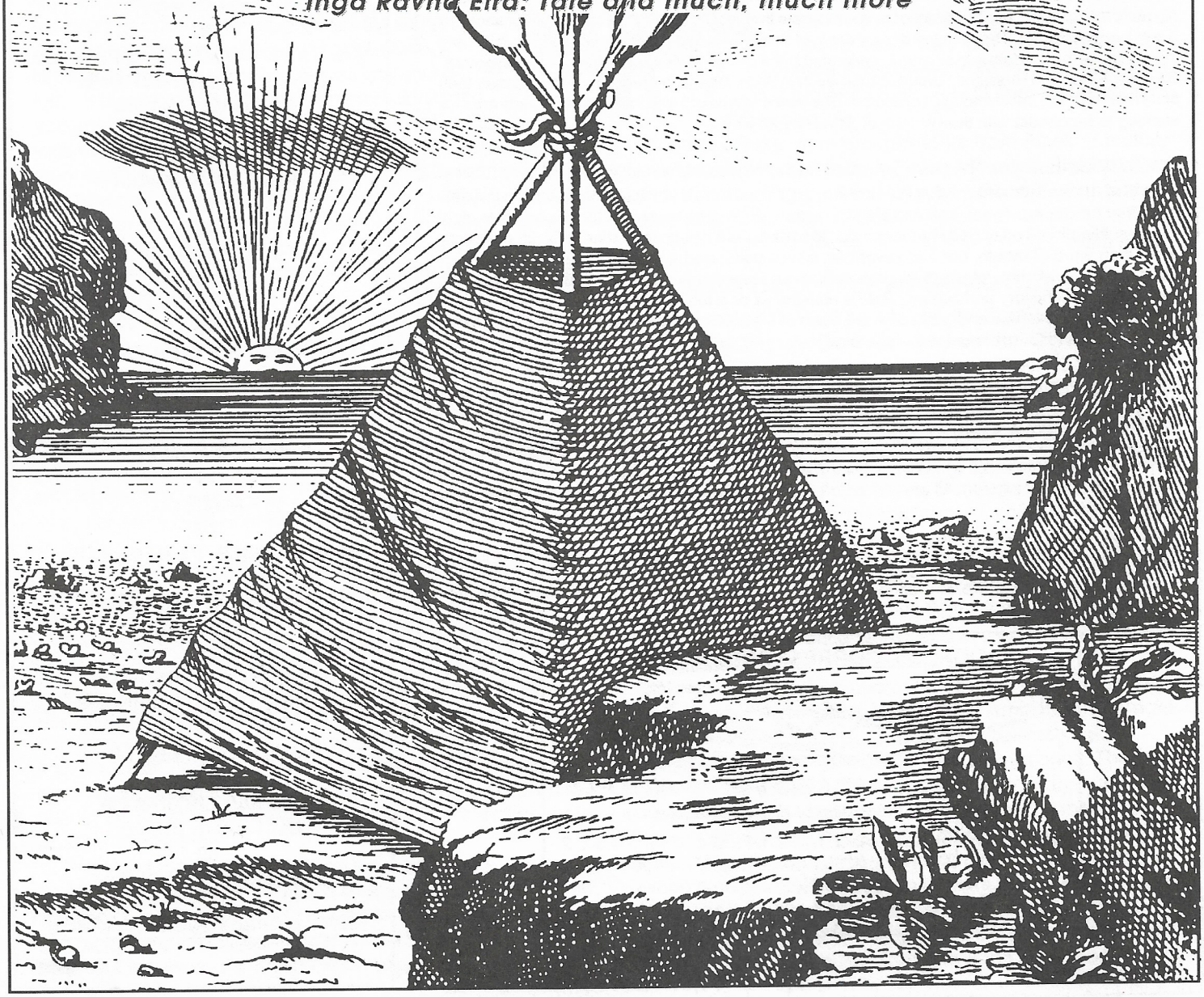
BAIKI

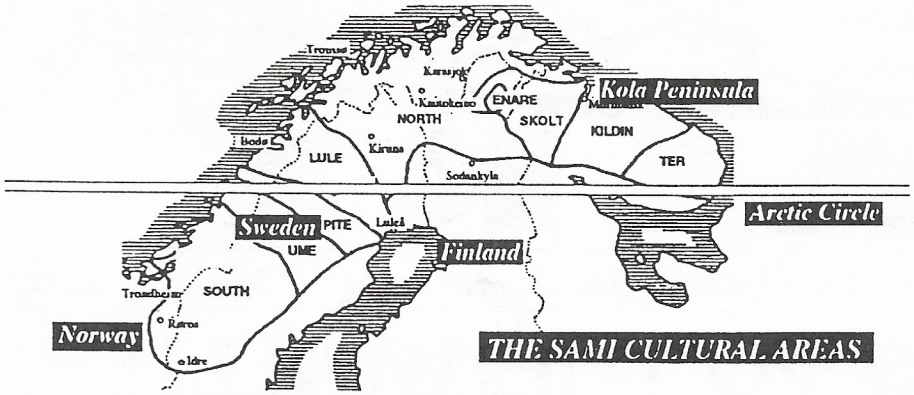
Issue #21 The North American Sami Journal Spring 2000

RELATING TO THE WORLD

Mel Olsen: Karl Linnaeus' Notes on Swedish Lapland
Rauna Kuokkanen: Sámi Oáinnádat
Kurt Seaberg: Four Sacred Oaks
Tis Mal Crow in Swedish Sápmi
Inga Ravna Eira: Tale and much, much more



WHO ARE THE SAMI PEOPLE AND WHAT IS "BÁIKI?



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.

Faith Fjeld and Nathan Muus are co-editors of *Báiki*. Thanks to Grecia Bate, Eric Carlson, Denise Gums, Sarah Holmes, Jennifer Hyypiö, Jolene Jacobs, Marilyn Jackson, Clay Kark-French, Nani Lofstrom, Karyn Sanders, Lois Shelton and Jeanne Tweet for helping with this issue and assisting in the work of the Baiki Office.

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ISSUE #21, Spring 2000

BÁIKI

ABOUT THE COVER:
from Knud Leem's *Breskrivelse Over Finnmærkens Lappen, 1767,* layout by Faith Fjeld, design by Nathan Muus, who says: Most lavvus are set up with many more poles, but whoever is in this tent obviously had to do with what they had at the moment. The sun is rising, so if there was a storm, the storm is past.

Báiki is published in April and October by The New Fillmore Publishing Co.

BÁIKI'S "SIIDDA" PAGE

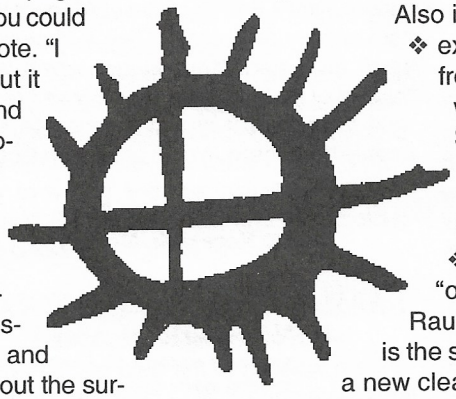
KILLING A BEAR WITH AN AX HANDLE

"Nothing can create a new and better world but our own will to create one."

Nils-Aslak Valkeapää

As we were putting this issue together, I received a letter from Kurt Seaberg, whose editorials, artwork and Saami Spirit Calendars should be familiar to all Báiki readers. He had just been tried and found guilty of defending Indigenous land rights in Minnesota.

The letter included a copy of his two and a half page courtroom statement. "I don't know whether or not you could use this in an upcoming issue of Báiki," he wrote. "I know it doesn't relate specifically to Saamis, but it is written in the spirit of Indigenous values and survival so it does relate to everything we're doing in these desperate times."



For many years, Kurt has been closely linked with the struggles of American Indians here in the land of his birth. Their struggles are the same as those that are taking place right now in Swedish Sápmi, the land of Kurt's relatives and ancestors. Indigenous struggles cut across national and geographical boundaries because they are about the survival of the world we all share. In the past, the subject of planetary survival has often been pigeonholed as the altruistic other of traditional Indians and "environmental activists," but lately it seems that growing numbers of people from mainstream society are also beginning to see that the environmental crisis is their problem too. Take Leon Keranen from New York Mills, Minnesota, for example.

Leon was an insurance salesman and a pillar of his community; he was not a traditional Indian, nor could he be considered an "environmental activist." I met him in June, 1992, when he and twelve other Finnish-Americans sat down together at the New York Mills Public Library to discuss for the first time the Sami part of their Finnish background. Leon told us about his great-great-grandmother Roju-Elli, a tough little Sami woman who during her lifetime had herded reindeer near Unari, Finland. He told us that Roju-Elli was famous for killing a bear with an ax handle.

Later that afternoon, Leon took me aside to say that by opening up the Sami part of himself he had experienced a totally different view of the world around him. From then on, until his untimely death from cancer the following year, he and I regularly talked over the phone.

That September, James Yellowbank of the International Indian Treaty Council invited me to attend the Indigenous Voices 1992 Conference in Chicago. Just as I was leaving for the conference, Leon called. I wondered how this middle-aged Midwestern businessman would react when I told him I was on my way to an American Indian political meeting. "Meeting about what?" he asked me.

"It's about the environmental crisis," I answered. "They will be discussing US treaty violations and ways to counteract what is being done to the land and the water." "It's good that you're going," he said (which surprised me), and what he added next surprised me even more: "You know, we've always been told that Man is superior to nature — but the truth is we are all a part of nature! *Isn't that what this Báiki thing is all about*?"

So with the "Báiki thing" in mind, Kurt's manifesto is included in this issue. I hope it will inspire and motivate all of us who are ready to kill the "bear" of runaway technology with the "ax handle" of Indigenous values.

Also in this issue are:

- ❖ excerpts (two and a half centuries apart) from the travel journals of two artists who work with plants and are fascinated with Swedish Sápmi. One is the Swedish botanist Karl L..nnaeus and the other is the Muskogee herbalist Tis Mal Crow.
- ❖ the introduction of the word "oainnádat" into our vocabularies by Rauna Kuokkanen from Finnish Sápmi. It is the special Sámi way of seeing the world in a new clear light.
- ❖ articles about reindeer earmarks from Alaska; a story about The Man in the Moon; a Rocky Mountain Siiddastallen in Montana coming up this fall; and, after a 5-year hiatus, how to order your official "Saami Spirit" tee shirt.

Faith Fjeld

SAMI EXHIBIT IN WASHINGTON, DC

An estimated 100,000 people saw the Sami exhibit in Union Station, Washington, DC which was up during the month of December 1999 and into the New Year. Union Station is an immense center of many uses. A large Sami flag hung proudly in the great hall over the exhibit, the sun illuminating its colors. The Vesterheim Museum also displayed its banner.

Curated by Vesterheim's Darrell Henning and The Saami Báiki Foundation's Nathan Muus, the Sami exhibit included an outfitted traditional goahtti (curved pole tent), a pulka (wooden sled), three different regional gaktis (Sami outfits), numerous interpretational texts and photos, including some about the Alaska Sami-Inuit Reindeer Project's Centennial, and various duodjii (Sami crafts). Exhibited for perhaps the first time ever in America were several very old Sami skis of different styles.

The exhibit was a collaborative effort of The Saami Baiki Foundation, Vesterheim Norwegian American Museum (Decorah, Iowa) the Smithsonian Museum (Washington, DC), and members of the Sámi Siiddat of North America. The Norwegian Embassy sponsored a few other simultaneous exhibits including one on the northern lights from Tromsø University, Tromsø, Norway, and another on the Nobel Peace Prize.

President Clinton was in Norway during November for Mid-East Peace Talks during which time he met Sven-Roald Nystö, President of the Sámediggi (the Norwegian Sámi Parliament). Later, back in the US, one widely-published news report placed the President but a few feet from the Sámi Exhibit on Christ-

continued on page 23

SAAMI

Kurt Seaberg

SMART CLOTHES FOR REINDEER HERDERS

Here is an interesting article for Báiki from my sister in Michigan: Finnish reindeer herders, pioneers in the use of mobile phones in their work, may also be among the first to use high-tech clothes that navigate, carry out health checks and send emergency signals. Finnish leisure wear manufacturer Reima introduced its Cyberia technology-packed clothing for Arctic conditions, saying it was the first functioning prototype for smart clothing in the world. "This clothing would suit snowmobile users or reindeer herders," project chief Akseli Reho told Reuters [News Service].

The Cyberia jump suit monitors the user's heart rate, body temperature and movement, and in an emergency it can send a message over mobile phone networks, then use its remaining energy to keep the user warm. A hand-held module connected to the suit with a cable provides weather forecasts and information on light conditions, and uses the Global Positioning System (GPS) to help in navigation and in locating the user in an emergency.

The custom-made prototype costs up to 50,000 Finnish markka [US $8,700.], but soon there will be more affordable clothing for snow boarders and children — with games, messaging functions and tracking devices.

The Cyberia suit also includes a water and fire-proof pocket for melting snow for drinking water. Ice picks in the sleeves will help if the wearer falls through ice.

Jennifer Hyypiö
<jennr@cea.edu>

MANHATTAN SÁMI CONNECTIONS

I am helping to pitch a story to Norwegian television on supporters of the Sami People. If you live in New York City, have an interest in or knowledge of the Sami, or work to preserve their cultural heritage or political rights, and would like to be part of this special news story, please contact:

<LauraHartmark@cs.com>

SÁMI CONNECTIONS SOUGHT

I found your name and address in Assu, a Sámi magazine published in Kautokeino. I know I have relatives in America but I don't know where. I would like to correspond with Sámis and others who live in America who would like to know about Sámis and their culture. I am a Sámi woman of 40, dark blond hair, slender and single. I live in Karasjok, a small town near Kautokeino, which is the "capitol of the Sámis." I plan to visit America next year, and it would be nice to know people from there. You can write in English. Thank you.

Nora Norli, Rute 7602
9730 Karasjok, Norway

SÁMI CONNECTIONS FOUND (ON AN AIR PLANE)

I am working in the field of Sami genetics. I have done a lot of analyses for Svante Paabo and Antti Sajantila's groups who have done some work on mapping genes in Saami, and on comparing the Saami and Finnish linguistic histories. More recently I have been working on the statistical planning issues for a larger Saami epidemiology project based at Uppsala University in Sweden where they are trying to find the genetic factors which predispose to common disease in Saami populations, which will naturally be quite different from the risk factors in other populations because of their unique genetic history. It is quite interesting work.

As a side-anecdote the way I found out about your journal's existence is kind of funny. I was on a plane to Oakland last week for a genetics meeting and I was seated next to this Japanese guy from Oakland. I was reading my Saami textbook, and he recognized it as Saami, telling me he worked with someone who was a Saami living in the Bay Area and that they had a journal; and an organization based there, which actually was quite a surprise to me - most of the time when I tell people I am studying Saami they have no idea what I am talking about and this guy on the plane actually knew about the existence of your organization. Pretty small world, eh?

Joseph Terwilliger
<jdt3@columbia.edu>

[Editor's note: We think you sat next to Scott Sugiura, one of our Project Coordinators at the Tides Center.]

THEM OLD COTTON FIELDS OF JOKKMOKK

We have returned from the Sami Winter Market in Jokkmokk, Sweden, an event which as you know has been held annually [in February] since 1605. I'd like to share a few thoughts about my reaction to this extraordinary market. We took extra issues of Baiki and found that everyone we talked to about it was already a subscriber!

Mary and I are not of Sami descent, and because we could speak neither Swedish nor Sámigiella, it was hard not to feel like outsiders. The friendliness of the people notwithstanding, being two of ten thousand people wandering the streets didn't help. The language barrier prohibited us at times from getting information about how some of the extraordinary crafts were made.

On the first night, as I was lying in bed in the Hotel Gastis, somewhat discouraged about this, a live band in the restaurant below began to belt out this song to its Sami and Swedish audience, who were singing along:

"It was down in Lou'siana,
Just about a mile
from Texarkana,
In them old cotton fields
back home."

Well, I laughed out loud. I realized that the people in Jokkmokk were about as far from the old cotton fields as I am from herding reindeer.

The next afternoon, we took a break from the Market to ski two laps of the 5 kilometer trail through the woods in Jokkmokk. Cross country skiing is our passion and is the reason we have been to Norway, Sweden and Finland several times, eventually to learn about the Sami culture and attend this market.

Running up the hills, double-poling at the crests, kicking up the inclines, gliding on the straightaways past the blurred images of dormant trees, sucking in great gulps of frozen air, I bristled with exertion but still took in the beautiful orange sky of three-thirty in the afternoon and felt completely absorbed by the purity of this winter land.

Later, in the Ajtte Museum, I admired

CONNECTIONS

an exhibit which told the story of the seasons of reindeer herding as seen through the eyes of a girl. In one panel, she said:

"Oh how I long for
the snow to come
because then I can put on
my new *nuvtagat* which
Ahko sewed.
then I will run as quietly and
as fast as a bird flies."

This was her joik, and I understood it completely.

Jim Lowery

P.S. For a book I am writing about tracking, I'm seeking help from someone who can translate parts of a Swedish tracking field guide into English. Any readers who are interested may contact me at 1113 Cougar Court, Frazier Park, CA 93225, 661-245-0318. Email:

<earthskills@anamorph.com>

MIXED BLOOD REVIEW FAN LETTER

I came home tonight and as soon as I fixed dinner for dear hubby, I read Issue #20 from stem to stern! I especially loved the poem that Eric Bergland submitted. Beautiful!

Carole Sass
<GMASassy@aol.com>

ONCE MORE, WITH "FEELING"

This Eric Bergland poem, published in Issue #20 of Báiki, contained a mispelled word ["sensient" should have been "sentient"]. We apologize for our mistake.

MIXED BLOOD REVIEW

Slender thread
Seek out the light of day.
Slim thread of my ancestors
Find the light of day
Through my sentient eyes.
View the world of now
through me.
Stream on through our DNA
Slip across time and space.
Slender, strong thread.

Eric O. Bergland is a maker of Sami and Finnish-style knives. His e-mail is:
<eobknives@aol.com>

BIG MOUNTAIN POEM

It occurred to me that land issues are very similar between the Dine people and the Sami. I wrote this poem after a national day of prayer in support of the traditional Dine (Navajo) people who are being forced to leave their traditional land and lifestyle. The vigil was called for by Clergy and Laity Concerned (CALC) on the anniversary of the death of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. We gathered in a circle that represented the four colors of people, red, black, yellow and white and corresponded to the Four Directions. We were invited to pray in our own way and this included Christian spirituals, Buddhist chants, and the smoking of the Sacred Pipe. Here is my poem:

PLEASE RESPECT THIS GARDEN

Morning in Arizona,
Call it Indian Country.
Landscapes with bushes,
white culture
would call it...
and groundcover.

But the plants have names, their own
names and a relationship
to the land.
"Don't do to me what you did
to the rest
of this country," the land speaks...
"No golf courses in my sanctuary,
no mines digging
my breasts...
No uranium dusting my children."

But hogans and sheep and people,
honoring my sacred places,
knowing simple gifts.
Is white culture the absence of
relationship? The abandonment of
responsibility to relationship?
Wait,
Don't dig up another prairie garden,
desert you might call it.

But places have their own names and
feelings that don't forget, just block out
the details.

And we too forget and block out the
details of our names
and faces of our ancestors,
And we don't call them sacred,
except in church.
Don't do this to me,
We don't understand you,
Wait...
We wait for you to change.
Listen,
Please respect, this place."

Marilyn Jackson
<estraloe@juno.com>

ARCTIC e-BIBLIOGRAPHY

The American Geological Institute has created an electronic version of the sixteen volume Arctic Bibliography the literature of the Arctic region through the 1970's. It includes 114,716 references.

The Arctic Bibliography will be included with the Arctic and Antarctic regions CD-ROM distributed by the National Information Services Corporation (NISC). In addition, a web version will be made available through NISC. Those who are interested in being contacted when the bibliography becomes available should send an e-mail to:

Kay Yost
<kyost@agiweb.org>.

THE WHITE REINDEER'S EVIL TWIN

We found a site on the internet that sells copies of the video *The White Reindeer*. We bought one from them. It's a weird site...monsters, etc. Strange stuff, but they do have *The White Reindeer* available for $13. Their web site address is: <graveside.com>. To find the video on their site you have to look under nostalgia: <graveside.com/nostalgi.htm> We certainly don't take the movie seriously. The real stars of the movie for us are the reindeer, the sledges and the scenery. There just aren't many good reindeer movies out there. Where can we get a copy of *The Herd*?

Steven and Susan Dahlstrom
<ssdahlst@ties.k12.mn.us>

*[*The White Reindeer *video you refer to was screened at a Báiki gathering in Oakland last fall. We billed this campy 50's Finnish film as a "vampire flick," but some thought it to be very racist as well. Lately we received an e-mail from Niilo Koponen in Alaska about a new Paul-Anders Simma film he had just seen also called* The White Reindeer. *So now we are calling the earlier vampire film "*The White Reindeer*'s evil twin." We hope to run a feature on recent Sami films and videos in Issue #22 and include where and how to get them.]*

illustration: Joseph Acerbi, *Travels Through Sweden, Finland and Lappland*, 1802

KARL LINNAEUS' NOTES ON SWEDISH LAPLAND

part 2

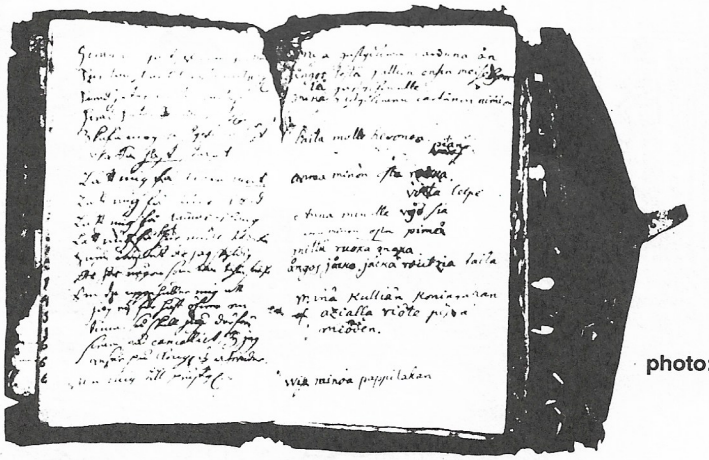


photo: Linnaeus' notebook

by Mel Olsen

July 2, 1732

I rested the whole of the day at Kiomitis [Sweden] and early the following morning went to Kiuriwari with the master of the mines there, to visit a silver mine that had just been opened. The silver is in one massive seam that seems to glue two parts of the mountain together. This mountain is covered with diminutive birches with thick low trunks that grow very old and give very little sap in the spring.

Here Laplanders were preparing cheese from milk. The whey, after the cheese is made, is boiled until thick and a small amount of cream is added. Then it's put in a stomach-bag for storage. It tastes very good. Here rennet is not used for cheese. Salmon stomachs are kept for that purpose instead. Lapps also use bags made from the stomachs of fawns that die in the spring. Milk is put into them and then they are hung to dry for use.

The common method used to join broken earthenware is to tie the fragments together with string and then they are boiled in fresh milk, by which they are cemented together.

I continued my journey to Hyttan and then onward for some distance to the mountain Wallavari. When I reached this mountain, I seemed to be entering into a new world and when I had ascended it I scarcely knew whether I was in Asia or Africa — everything being equally strange to me. Snowy mountains encompassed me on every side. The lofty mountains showed no signs of volcanic fire but were covered with stones, and from the plentiful snow, water was continually running down in streams like so many springs and we found the water to be very good. After four or five miles we found a place to sleep.

The inhabitants, sixteen in number, lay there all naked. They washed themselves by rubbing the body downwards, not upwards. They washed their dishes with their fingers, spurting water out of their mouths. They poured thick, strong-flavored reindeer milk into bowls. Thousands of reindeer came in the morning, and were milked by the men as well as the women, kneeling down on one knee. When the Laplanders of this neighborhood are not occupied with attending the reindeer they remain in idleness for whole days, feeding on nothing but milk and dishes prepared from it.

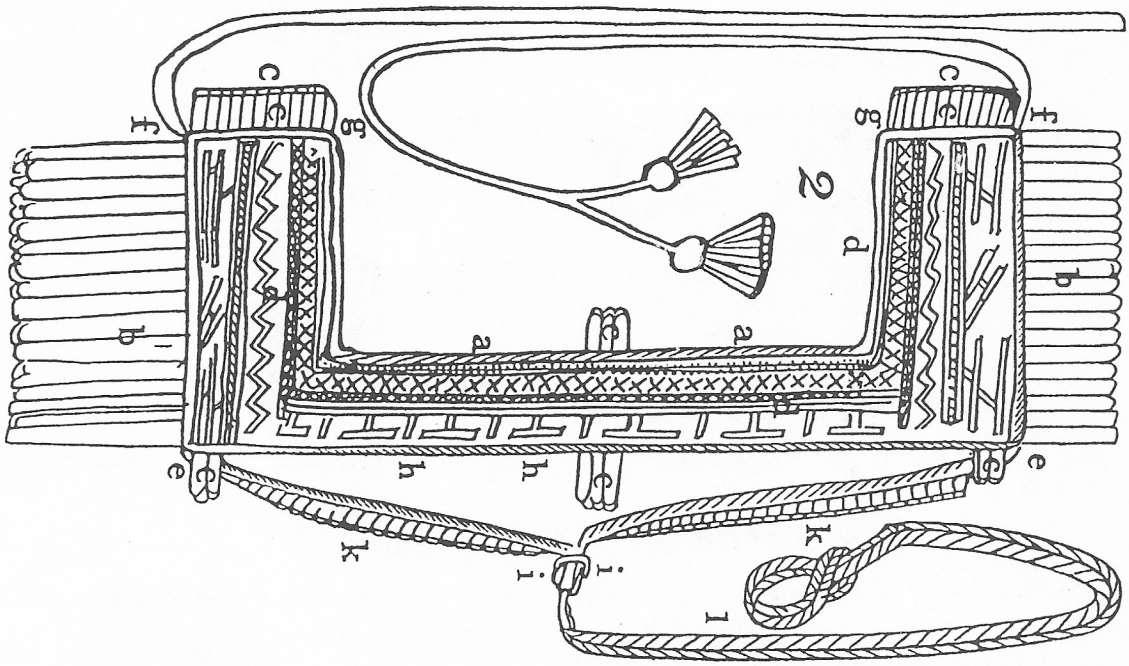
The women here smoke tobacco as well as the men, having learned to smoke at the age of twelve or thirteen. Whenever I gave my host a twist of tobacco, I received in return a cheese of double its value. And everyone wore garments of reindeer skins.

The reindeer are innumerable. The herds are driven home night and morning to be milked by a maid-servant with a dog. If the reindeer rebelled, the dog easily made them obey, particularly when seconded by the hissing of the woman, at which they were extremely terrified. In driving them out to pasture with the wind blowing from the east, their conductress chose a circuitous path rather than face the storm. The reindeer, on the contrary, delighted in running against the wind — and when permitted to, ran very fast and without stopping.

These animals shed their horns every year, the males

[continued overleaf]

(below and overleaf) sketches from Linnaeus' notebook



Linnaeus was very impressed by the trappings Sami people had made for some of their reindeer and his notes include detailed sketches. Here is his drawing and his description of a typical Sami bridle. The bridle is made of green or blue cloth, bordered with leather, a a, embroidered with pewter and fringed at the sides with small strips. b b, about six inches long and one inch wide with all sorts of colors. Those at c c are only two or three inches long. The cloth is lined on the inside with reindeer skin stripped of its hair, and dyed with alder bark —in length nine or ten inches and from e to f about half of that. At each end of f is a rope two feet long and thick as a child's finger, covered with red leather terminated with a tuft.

immediately after rutting around the end of November, and the females in May after the births. Barren females lose their horns in the winter. When I inquired about the crackling sounds from the hoofs I was told that "Our Lord had made it so." When I inquired about how "Our Lord" had done that, the herder answered nothing. [Editor's note: The crackling sound makes it possible for reindeer to follow each other in cases of whiteout.]

When the reindeer come to the milking area, they all lie down, panting and chewing their cud. Then each of the people with a short rope throws a noose over a reindeer's head, twisting it around the horns and tying it to a short pole. Four reindeer are tied to each pole. Then all begin milking. If the milk doesn't flow easily, the udder is beaten very hard and there is a greater flow. After milking, the owners lie down for a sound sleep which is the reward and the proof of their innocent lives.

The young reindeer are not separated from their mothers. Dung is rubbed on the reindeer mothers' teats where it dries and discourages the young from sucking too much. Owners begin milking around Midsummer's Day and they continue milking until the beginning of November.

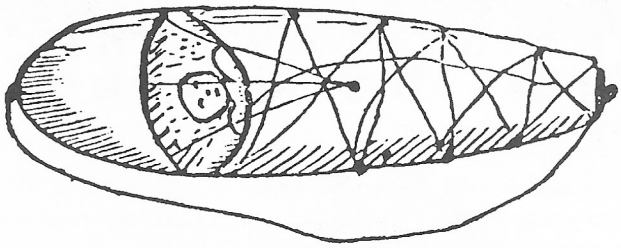
It seemed truly astonishing to me, that even with such numbers of reindeer, each had a name which the owners knew appropriately even considering that they all looked so much alike and that their looks changed from month to month.

The inhabitants of the moveable village had pitched their tents close together in lines. When my guide came in he put his nose close to that of a person whom he wished to salute. I inquired as to whether they had actually kissed each other but my man answered that they had only put their noses together. This custom is used only among relations.

A boy came in with as many stalks of Angelica (not yet flowered) as he could carry. The people stripped off the leaves and peeled the stalks; then all sat down and ate the core much as we would eat apples.

In the hut where I was a guest, an infant lay in its leather cradle. Its head was protected by a leather screen and on either side, two pieces of cloth were bound to the

child's body by a cord with reindeer skins underneath. The head, chest and shoulders were bare — even all night



in the very cold tent where I slept every night between two reindeer skins!

The women here are capable of doing almost everything. Normally the men dress the meat while the women make cheese and other milk products. Every kind of fish or meat is cooked by the men and they are also capable of making cheese if the women are occupied.

Only the very poorest Lapps remain in the mountains for the winter where they hunt as long as possible for ptarmigan; all others move camp into the forests.

By noon on July 11th we had traversed the Lapland alps. The ample forests spread out beneath us looked like fine green fields, the loftiest trees appearing no more than herbs of the humblest growth. We now descended into a lower country and long and steep was the descent. When we arrived on the plains below, how grateful was the transition from the frozen mountain to a warm balmy valley! I sat down to regale myself with strawberries. Such tall grass I had never before beheld in any country.

My two Laplander guides, one fifty and the other upwards of seventy, ran and frisked about in sport even though they had each carried a burden all the way. These people are accustomed to running from their infancy. As soon as a Lapland boy can go alone, he is taught to run and put a halter round a reindeer's neck. When he grows a little older, he learns to follow these animals, which are always quick-paced, and even though it is difficult to keep up with them.

The Laplanders are completely carnivorous. They have no vegetable food except for a stalk of Angelica and a few leaves of Sorrel. In spring they eat fish, in winter nothing but meat, in summer milk and its preparations. They are satisfied with small quantities of food. He who does not eat his fill at one meal, takes food from time to time as as he feels inclined.

Another subject of inquiry is why the Laplanders are so healthy — for which the following reasons may be assigned:

1. The extreme purity of the air, which seemed to give me new life as I inhaled it.

2. The use of food thoroughly dressed.

3. The eating of their food cold; always letting their boiled meat cool before they taste it, and they do not spring upon food with boots and spurs [do not seize it with greed] as soon as it comes out of the pot.

4. The purity of the water.

5. The Lapp tranquility of mind. They have no contentions, neither are they overly careful about their affairs, nor are they addicted to covetousness. They live to an extremely old age.

6. Their never overeating, while the rustics of other countries eat until they are ready to burst.

7. The deficiency of spiritous liquors. Of these they rarely taste and only in such quantities as to be beneficial rather than otherwise.

8. Being inured to cold from their infancy, they are hardy.

9. The quantity of meat they eat. Carnivorous animals are long-lived.

I saw no flies in Lapland, while in Norway the houses are full of them. And I was no longer infested with swarms of gnats.

[continued overleaf]

One objective of the Laplanders here who accompanied me to Torfjorden was the purchase of brandy. They drank it as long as they could stand on their legs and having brought dried reindeer bladders with them, subsequently filled them, tied them up, and carried them away.

When the Laplanders dress up, they attire themselves in white wool without any lining, and their jackets are ornamented with high blue collars embroidered with thread. The cloth costs a dollar in copper money, an extraordinary amount because of the brown edge. The Lapland women are accustomed to sewing all the clothes and shoes.

In Norway, a curious strategem as practised upon the Laplanders was related to me by a person who was commissioned to take their magical drums and idols [sic] from them. Having procured information about a Lapp who kept such things concealed, he first requested to have them brought forth. This their owner refused. After having long used entreaties to no purpose, he would lay hold of one of the Laplander's arms, roll up his jacket sleeve and cut open open a vein. When the Laplander was near fainting and entreating the man to spare his life, he would promise to bring the drum required, upon which his arm would be bound up immediately. This plan was frequently pursued with success. (This is a notable method of converting these poor people from pagan superstitions, an example of the mild and just spirit of the Christian religion!)

One day I showed a Laplander some of the drawings in my journal. He was alarmed at the sight, took off his cap, bowed, and remained with his hand over his breast, mumbling to himself and trembling as if he was going to faint away.My task now became to procure a guide for the coastal Norway part of my journey.

to be continued

Mel Olsen is a weaver and Professor of Art and Art History at the University of Wisconsin, Superior. He is founding editor of Árran: the Newsletter of the North American Sami Siiddat *and his work frequently appears in* Báiki.

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THE SAMI
INDIGENOUS PEOPLE OF NORTHERN EUROPE

by Rauna Kuokkanen

The Sami are the Indigenous people of Sápmi ("Samiland" in English) which spans central Norway and Sweden through northern Finland to the Kola Peninsula of Russia. A rough estimate of the Sami population is between 75,000 to 100,000, with 45,000 in Norway.

When the last Ice Age neared its end about 10,000 years ago, the first inhabitants settled in Sápmi. These people earned their living from hunting and gathering and fishing. Approximately 4000 years ago, the inhabitants in the southern part of what is present-day Finland gradually changed their livelihood from hunting and fishing to agriculture, while the people in the north maintained their traditional way of life. This separation of ways of life led to the separation of languages into the Sami and Finnic languages (which are also related to Estonian, Karelian and several Balto-Finnic languages).

THE PEOPLE OF THE REINDEER

Until the 16th century, wild deer was one of the most important forms of livelihood for the Sami. But from then onwards, some started to domesticate large herds of the wild deer which led to the highly organized forms of reindeer herding. Reindeer herding became a way of life for some Sami families, a central element being the annual migration with the reindeer between different grazing lands.

Although the Sami have been referred as "The People of the Reindeer," we need to remember that it has never been a livelihood for all the Sami. Today reindeer herding is a main source of livelihood for only 10 % of the population. Historically Sami society was organized locally by the extended-family system called the siida. Each siida had its own tribunal to look after such matters as hunting and fishing disputes and disputes about a certain territory between two siidas. The siida system was the early model for Sami self-determination which was, however, completely ignored by the colonizing states.

During the early Middle Ages, the surrounding kingdoms became interested in the land and natural resources of Samiland

[KUOKKANEN continued on page 14]

BÁIKI PROFILES

SÁMI OAINNÁDAT

AN INTERVIEW WITH RAUNA KUOKKANEN

It is January 1, 2000. Rauna Kuokkanen and her Irish husband Philip Burgess are visiting the Bay Area from Vancouver. We are seated on the patio at the Café Internationale in San Francisco. The mural behind us is a panorama of Indigenous People from all over the world. It includes images of a Sami woman and a Sami girl.

Báiki (B): *Where are you originally from?*
Rauna Kuokkanen (R): I am from the Finnish side of the Deatnu [the Tana River]. I was born in Vuotso, the southernmost Sami town in Finland today and I lived in many places in my childhood, but my home is along the Deatnu.

B: *What brings you to California?*
R: We are visiting friends and having a nice sunny holiday escaping the Vancouver rain. In Vancouver, I'm working on my Ph.D. in contemporary Native American, First Nations and Sami literature, and something I term the "Indigenous Paradigm."

B: *Please explain.*
R: There is a Sami word "oainnádat" that is not commonly used, but for me it describes the Sami paradigm or special point of view. It means clear weather or a clear light that makes it possible to see things in nature. I believe the new meaning of "oainnádat" is to clear your ideas and thoughts in order to see properly.

B: *You are studying comparative Indigenous literature. What is happening in Sami literature right now?*
R: There is an increase of books for children and youth, and recently quite a lot of poetry has been published. One of the main themes is how it feels to be a young Sami person and relate to both the Sami community and to the world — putting these two together.

B: *Do you think the young writers are able to balance both worlds?*
R: They are writing in the Sami language. That gives them Sami identity; it is the language they speak and they decide to write in Sámigiella. Most Sami literature is in our language and will be, which means that the writers want to identify themselves as Sami. The reason they want to write and publish in Sámigiella is that they want to maintain the language.

photo: Nathan Muus

Rauna Kuokkanen at the Café Internationale, San Francisco, New Year's Day 2000 in front of the mural by Kenit Amenophis

B: *Perhaps some of the new literature that is coming out in Sápmi should be translated into English and other languages.*
R: That is very important. Philip and I have just finished translating a manuscript and I hope it will get published here in North America. Finding the resources to publish Sami literature even in Sápmi is difficult. Many writers are forced to wait for years to publish. They have to have other jobs to pay the bills. And there are only three Sami publishers at the moment, Davvi Girji in Karasjok and DAT in Kautokeino [both in Norway], and Sámi Girjjit in Jokkmokk [in Sweden]. Press runs are very low, often just a thousand, and that doesn't make money.

B: *Other than being born with oainnádat, the special Sami way of seeing things, how would you define "being Sami?"*
R: The official definition is based on language — that at least one of your grandparents' mother tongues was Sami. In addition to this there is self-identification as a Sami, and recognition as being Sami by other Sami.

B: *I'm curious about today's young Sami adults who are the offspring of cultural activists. With their western clothes and habits, I'm wondering if their heart has stayed Sami or are they crossing over into the European mainstream?*
R: I guess it's not so much a question of how they dress, but whether they speak Sami and whether they are part of the Sami community. And whether their hearts and minds are Sami.

B: *In this country there's this question about whether American people with Sami ancestry should start wearing some kind of gakti.*
R: I think wearing gakti doesn't make you a Sami, as we have seen in the Finnish tourist industry. For them, a Sami gakti is something exotic, something to draw the tourists' attention and make money from.

B: *How have you been involved in the Indigenous movement in Sápmi?*
R: I was a founding member of the Finnish Sami Youth Organization in 1991. Since then I've been involved in various Sami organizations. Just before coming to North America, I was vice-president of the Nordic Sami Council (1997-98).

The Sami Council is an old organization established in 1956 for Sami rights. One of its objectives was to get Sami parliamentary bodies in each of the Nordic countries and now that has happened. In Russia they are preparing the groundwork

KUOKKANEN *continued overleaf*

"THE INDIGENOUS VOICE IS MUCH LOUDER TODAY; IT CANNOT BE IGNORED ANYMORE."

for such a development as well.

This year a Sami Parliamentary Assembly will be established as the official cooperative body between the three Sami Parliaments. In a way the Sami Council has achieved its goals and there is currently a debate as to whether it is needed anymore since their budget could be used for other cultural activities like publishing more Sami books.

B: What about the UN?

R: When I was in the Sami Council I went to meetings in the UN and I saw that there is now a dialogue between the nation-states and Indigenous Peoples. The Indigenous voice is much louder today and it cannot be ignored anymore. That's the result of the hard work Indigenous People have been doing for several decades. Currently they are discussing the establishment of a permanent forum for Indigenous Peoples within the UN.

B: Do you think that the nation-states and the UN will really respect Sami land rights?

R: They already have to a certain extent. If you compare the situation today with what it was in the seventies, you will see that the governments can no longer proceed in an ignorant fashion and start logging, building tourist resorts, mining or damming the rivers in Sápmi without first consulting the bodies representing the Sami People. I'm not saying that the land rights issues have been solved in any of the countries the Sami live in. But compared to the 1970s and 1980s, the national governments now have to be more careful.

There are still problems in Sápmi. I was reading the Sami news on the web. In Finland the Finnish Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry is talking about cutting back the number of reindeer drastically because of "overgrazing." But the Sami reindeer herders are saying that the problem is not due to reindeer herding but to other activities such as tourism and forestry.

B: What would you like to see come from the American Sami movement?

R: I think it's important that here in North America there are a lot of people who are interested in their ancestry, but I also think it's important that they know what the political and cultural issues are in Sápmi today — what the Sami themselves are working on and where things are going. The most important thing is to establish and maintain a connection to the Sami community and to connect spirituality with politics. That is being Indigenous. If you separate spirituality from language, culture and politics then what you are doing becomes a kind of New Age romanticized pseudo-spirituality that is not Indigenous at all.

Take as an example what happened in Finland. In the beginning of 1996, new laws were enacted there regarding the autonomy of the Sami, and the Sami Parliament. The main objective was to give them more decision-making power, particularly with regard to cultural and language issues.

These laws included a new definition of "Sami" that was expanded to include descendants of the so-called "Lapps" who in the state registries were defined on the basis of their livelihoods and not their ethnicity. So many of the Finnish settlers coming from the south who were engaged in "Lapp livelihoods" (i.e., fishing, hunting and reindeer herding instead of farming) were also registered as "Lapps."

Moreover, on the Finnish side of Samiland there are old Sami families who changed their family names and became alienated from the Sami community many generations ago.

As a result, the new Finnish definition of "Sami" has caused the emergence of a virulent Finnish anti-Sami movement that tries to picture the present-day Sami as nothing but an elitist group founded like a political party to promote the rights of a very few people. These very same people have been the most vociferous in their opposition to the forthcoming laws on Sami cultural autonomy. They are declaring themselves to be the "real" Indigenous people of the area. The reason for their sudden interest seems to be the possibility of economic gain, not real ethnic identification as a Sami. People living in the northern parts of Finland think that the Sami will receive lots of money from the European Union for their projects and that "being Sami" will result in certain privileges regarding land and water rights and certain occupations in the future. As a result, the Finnish Sami Parliament and other organizations are demanding a return to the previous language-based definition of who is "Sami."

B: For Scandinavian and Finnish Americans, an interest in possible Sami ancestry is not an economic issue. For us it is part of our search for relatives and relationships It is an important step in the process of dis-assimilation. Once you find out who you are and where you are from, you begin to feel connected again.

R: It is important to raise awareness, which Báiki has been doing. In my work as a Sami scholar I see that Sami research and Sami politics ignores Sami values and the Sami world view. So, I ask, how do we incorporate oáinnádat into the research and politics conducted by the Sami?

I'm doing my Ph.D. in North America because here this issue is being discussed. Here it's easier to benefit from and use emerging new theories. I hope that one day I will be able to bring this information back to Sápmi.

In Scandinavian universities there are Sami scholars who don't agree that there is something called a "Sami Paradigm." And when Sami research is done from a Western point of view, there is nothing Sami except the language. It's the same in politics where I see the uncritical imitation of Western ways of doing things.

B: What else would you like to say?

R: I want to wish everyone a productive and positive Indigenous Peoples' Millennium, which starts today!

B: Thank you.

Tale

Inga Ravna Eira
translation: Elsa Popov

I want to tell
the tale
of the people
who lived
on the tundra
and learnt
to live with it as tundra
the good and
the bad
showed respect for the
weather
lived with nature
tamed reindeer
followed the flock
obeyed
the reindeer

I tell the tale
of those
who also in
the times which came
would live on the tundra
which they took care of
when they moved their
flocks
so that the pasture
could rest

I tell the tale
about the people
who were inquisitive
and when they found
the riches of the tundra
took them

I tell the tale
of the people of the
tundra
who were forced away
who heard
that they had
destroyed the land
polluted it
and that
their herds
were too big

I tell the tale
of those
who stressed
that the majority
decide and
who wanted
smaller herds
so that they could have
space

I tell the tale
of the siida
where love of
family ties was advice
forefathers passed on
so everyone
could get along

I tell the tale
of the nomad Sami life
when everybody
had a mark
and all
were needed

I tell the tale
of those
who taught
the power of money
where aggressiveness
won

I tell the tale
of profitable
nomad-Sami life
where women, children
and
the old have no place
and where small herds
of reindeer
are worthless

I tell the tale
of the people
who do not understand
the wonder
when the female reindeer
givers birth
to a red calf
each spring

I tell the tale
of those
who with money
offer a better life
who do not understand
the joy
of black and white
reindeer
in the autumn

I tell the tale
of those
who really believe
that money can
compensate
for life with reindeer

I tell the tale
of those
who tricked people
to give up their reindeer
and go
to the empty life
as beggars

I should have told
of the people
who follow the
whisperings
of their forefathers
and pass on skills
to coming generations

I should have told
of the nomad-Sami life
where people agree
to share the land
so everyone
can own reindeer

I should have told
of those
whose
experienced men
and women
are leaders

I should have told
of the nomad-Sami life
where resourceful youths
test their energy
and where
a red calf
challenges them

Then I
could tell
that the nomad-Sami life
is the Sami culture's
strongest supporter

Inga Ravna Eira
is from Karasjok, Sapmi, She works as a teacher, but writing is an important part of her life. She has published three literary works in the Sami language and has also written educational books.

This poem was first published in Gába, "Voices of Sami Women," English-language issue 1-1999. It is reprinted here with the kind permission of the poet and the editors.

[KUOKKANEN continued from page10]

which included fur, ore, fish and meat. The kingdoms of Sweden-Finland, Denmark-Norway and Novgorod imposed taxation on the Sami and encouraged the settlement of the north by outsiders in order to claim rights to the land; this was a way to make the Sami subjects of the surrounding kingdoms. There was strong competition between the kingdoms over taxation of the Sami and consequently over their territories. Some of the areas, such as Inari, were taxed by several kingdoms at once, which naturally caused problems for the Sami.

DIVISION BY WARS AND BOUNDARIES

Due to the competition, Samiland became a war zone during the 12th and 13th centuries. The consequences of the wars were severe: the Sami were used as allies and taken under the protection of different kingdoms, the ultimate goal being to deny the independence of the Sami. By the end of the 13th century, Denmark and Novgorod had divided the Sami area by a mutual treaty; and in 1751, in the Treaty of Stromstad, Norway and Sweden imposed the first foreign boundary on Samiland.

An appendix to this treaty, called the Lapp Codicil, guaranteed the Sami freedom of movement across the border for hunting and reindeer herding purposes. But an individual Sami was no longer able to own land, and grazing and hunting rights to the other side of the border was limited and later abolished.

COLONIZATION BY THE CHURCH AND THE STATE

As elsewhere, missionary work was the central means of the colonization of the Sami. The first churches in Samiland were built in the 11th century and Christianity gradually eroded and destroyed the nature-based "religion" of the Sami by banning shamanistic ceremonies, executing the noaidis (the Sami shamans), burning and destroying the Sami drums and even banning the Sami way of singing and communicating called yoiking, which they considered to be "a call to the devil."

From the 1800's onwards, harsh assimilatory policies towards the Sami were established in the Nordic countries. This was done in the name of education and social welfare. According to the governments, the need for education and social welfare could be fulfilled only through learning the majority language of the country. In Norway, for instance, teachers were paid a bonus if they succeeded in teaching Norwegian to the Sami. In 1902 a law was passed by which land could only be owned by a citizen who both knew and used Norwegian. Similar policies were put into practice in Sweden and Finland.

Due to the early Sami rights movement the policies of assimilation changed slightly in the 1930's. They continued, however, in the form of education and Sami children were sent to boarding schools where their own culture was trivialized and scorned, and where, in most cases, they were not allowed to speak their own language.

SAMI RIGHTS AND SELF-DETERMINATION

The second wave of the Sami rights movement took place in the 1960's and 1970's which reflected the spirit of other social movements throughout the world. Among other things, this movement led to the establishment of Sami parliaments, first in Finland in 1973, then in Norway in 1989 and in Sweden in 1993.

In 1992, Sami language acts in both Norway and Finland gave the Sami the right to use their mother tongue when dealing with the governments, however, particularly in Finland, there has been a lack of adequate funding. The authorities are not expected to know the language and communication is carried out with the help of translators. In Sweden the Sami language is officially recognized only as one of the country's minority languages.

Since the Second World War, the demands of the modern welfare state have resulted in the increasing exploitation of resources in Sápmi. Mining, forestry, hydroelectric power plants as well as tourism have put a growing pressure on reindeer herding lands while also diminishing other possibilities for the Sami to make a living. These developments have created opposition among the Sami who have formed various organizations. A Sami Conference was held in 1953 and three years later the Nordic Sami Council was established as a cooperative body of Sami organizations. In 1993, when the Russian Sami joined, the name was changed to "The Sami Council."

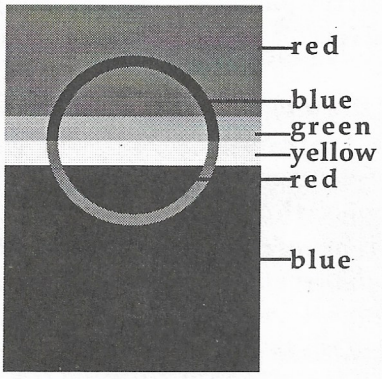
Today, the Sami Parliaments of Norway, Sweden and Finland are working together to form a new joint body called the Sami Parliamentary Assembly which will look after many of the Sami issues, across Sapmi as well as internationally, including the UN and other forums for Indigenous Peoples.

THE UNITED NATIONS

During the last few decades, the worldwide Indigenous Peoples' movement has caused Indigenous voices to be heard in places where they have not been heard before. One of these places has been the United Nations. Since the early 1970's, Indigenous Peoples' organizations have been demanding access to the various bodies of the UN. Today, the UN and many other international organizations such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund can no longer leave Indigenous Peoples completely outside of their operations. Since the beginning of this movement, the Sami have been a central force in making the Indigenous voice heard worldwide.

Rauna Kuokkanen is working on her Ph.D. in comparative Sámi and North American Indian literature. See Báiki interview on p. 11.

THE SAAMI FLAG

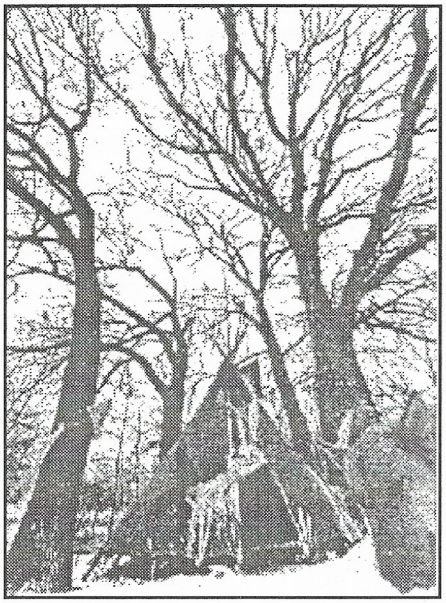


This official design by Astrid Bols was adopted in 1986 at the 13th Sámeraddi [Saami Conference] at Åre, Sweden. The flag symbolizes Nature and does not stand for political boundaries. The circle symbolizes the Sun (red), the Moon (blue) and the other colors (yellow and green) come from the gakti [Saami traditional clothing].

KURT SEABERG

AMONG SACRED OAKS

"History has shown that when someone is in the way, especially if that someone is a Native person, their rights are simply taken away and they are forcibly removed." ***Kurt Seaberg***



Minneapolis Star Tribune photo: Brian Peterson

BEFORE: The Four Sacred Oaks.

The Struggle:

Camp Cold Water overlooks the Minnesota River where it joins the Mississippi, so named because of its freshwater springs. The Mendota - Midewakton (Dakota) People, whose tribal name means "Where the Waters Come Together," consider this place to be the Center of the Earth. Camp Cold Water is also called "The Birthplace of Minnesota," the oldest European settlement in the state. A serious confrontation has recently taken place here where Camp Cold Water stood — with little media coverage.

In the 1960's, the Minnesota Department of Transportation's [MnDot's] plans to build a six-lane highway through the area were tabled due to public opposition, but in the 1990's, new plans for a light rail line and Highway 55 were adopted. Eight houses in the way were condemned and their owners moved out. Also standing in the path of the bull dozers were four oak trees planted in 1862, a date significant not only to Native Americans but to all Minnesotans, as that was the year of the ill-fated Dakota conflict. Kurt Seaberg was later to write: "It is possible that the oaks were planted to heal the broken hearts and spirits of a People torn apart by war, which would make those trees very sacred and their removal an unconcionable crime."

To raise public awareness, a small group of young Earth First activists and members of the American Indian community occupied the empty houses there for a year and a half, supported by a coalition of local sympathizers of all ages and backed by the National Congress of American Indians.

On December 20,1998, in a surprise predawn raid, 600 heavily-armed Minnesota State Troopers and Minneapolis police in full riot gear descended on the houses and arrested the 30 people occupying them. That same day, the houses were razed. A new survival camp, "Camp Cold Water," was built nearer the Four Sacred Oaks and a tipi painted with an Eagle was put up in the center of the trees for use as a Ceremonial Lodge.

On December 11, 1999, the police swept in at dawn. Sealing off an area the size of two city blocks with yellow police tape, they spent the day cutting a wide swath through the area, destroying trees and foliage. At dusk they arrested the activists while they were holding a prayer ceremony. The Four Sacred Oaks, their trunks wrapped in prayer offerings and tobacco ties, were then cut down.

On February 10, 2000, the 33 activists from Camp Cold Water appeared before a judge at the Hennepin County Courthouse in Minneapolis. Kurt Seaberg was one of them. With his permission we print here his speech in court that day.

▲

Your honor, I stand before the court today accused of the crime of obstructing a highway right of way on December 11, 1999.

While I admit to being present in the area under dispute on that date - specifically I was standing under the four sacred oak trees participating in a religious ceremony - I plead not guilty to the charge I stand accused of, for I believe that MnDot's claims to the land are illegitimate, and that their ongoing destruction of that land is immoral and illegal, a crime against the citizens of Minnesota and against the earth itself.

MnDot claims to own the property on which the four sacred trees stood, and that my presence there constituted a violation of trespass laws and blocking a right of way. We've heard many arguments today which cast doubt on that claim, but to me the claim itself typifies the arrogance displayed by government agencies when it comes to questions of who is right and who is in the way.

▲

History has shown that when someone is in the way, especially if that someone is a Native person, their rights are simply taken away and they are forcibly removed.

195 years ago an historic meeting took place between representatives of the United States government and the Dakota ["Sioux"] nation at the confluence of the Minnesota and Mississippi rivers. The United States, at that time, was interested in building a military post at a strategic location and needed the cooperation of Natives in the area. The Dakota people were interested in preserving their way of life. The Dakota had seen, in previous contacts with Europeans, that these people lived and behaved differently from themselves. They had a different attitude toward the land. They were driven by profit and had a nasty habit of breaking their promises.

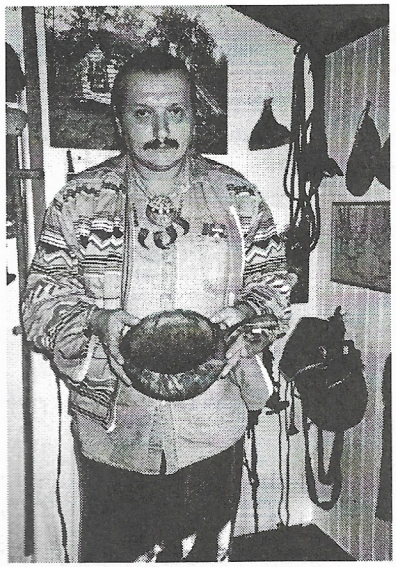
Perhaps, the Dakotas might have reasoned, that by signing a treaty with those who seemed to have some control over the encroaching Europeans, and sealing it with a Pipe Ceremony, they might get some solid assurances that their way of life would not be threatened by the arrival of this new nation of people.

The resultant Treaty of 1805 between the US government and the Dakota nation in my mind clearly holds out promise to the descendants of the Dakota people, that the integrity of the land they had always lived on — and their Indigenous way of life — would be protected:

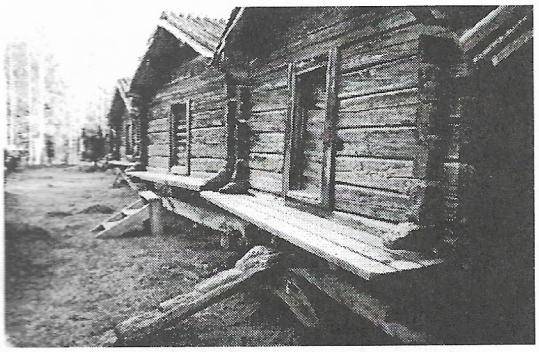
[SEABERG continued on p. 20]

TIS MAL CROW

Tis Mal Crow (Cherokee/United Lumbee/Hitchiti) lives in Speedwell, Tennessee. He has been studying beadwork, wood carving and herbal medicinal plants since he was a child and is an internationally-known herbalist and beadwork artist. He is famous in the art world for his Grizzly Bear Claw necklaces and beaded dolls done as historic recreations. As a Root Doctor and herbalist, Tis Mal teaches the medicinal uses of wild plants. He is currently working on a series of books and audio tapes. This coming summer on July 17th, the anniversary of Karl Linnaeus' birthday, Tis Mal Crow will be speaking and conducting an herbal walk at the Ajtte Museum in Jokkmokk, Sweden. Another amazing "Saami Connection:" Some years back, Tis Mal Crow attended the Red School House in St. Paul, Minnesota, where he was a student of Báiki's Nathan Muus, who was teaching music and English there at the time.



I am holding a milking cup carved from birch burl. This is used when milking the reindeer.



Small temporary houses used by reindeer herders who come into town for visits, to pay taxes or to attend church or social events. This group of houses is in Arvisjaur near the community center and are still in use. They are generally a single room with a fireplace in the center.

My first contact with the Sami culture came from my friend Jeanne Tweet in Minneapolis. She was taking a series of herb classes from me and we began comparing the cultures of my people, the Muskogee tribes of the southeastern US, and Jeanne's Sami heritage. She introduced me to Baiki.

Later, Jeanne attended a lecture at the Swedish Institute in Minneapolis given by internationally-known Sami artist, Anna-Stina Svakko. She told Anna-Stina about the herb classes that I was giving and showed her a picture of one of my life size dolls, "Spearfinger." I contacted Anna-Stina and with the help of another Minneapolis friend, Deb Ericson, I was able to plan a month-long trip to Sápmi where Anna-Stina and I could meet and spend time comparing our native cultures.

The first night I stayed in Arvidsjaur, Sweden with Anna-Stina and her mother and then the second day we headed for Porjus, stopping at the Åjtte Swedish Mountain and Sami Museum in Jokkmokk on the way.

Anna-Stina has the wonderful gift of being able to translate English, Swedish, and Sami in "real time" so I not only was able to understand what people were saying to me, but she also helped me follow conversations wherever we were. With Anna-Stina as my primary guide and translator we later on did lectures at the Arctic Gem Gallery in Skelleftea, the Arvidsjaur Community Center, the Sami School in Gallivare, the elementary school in Porjus, the Sami elementary school in Kiruna and at the Åjtte Museum.

The Åjtte is a fantastic museum of Sami culture and history with life-size wax mannequins fashioned to look like people in the community. When we were done inside we went outside to look at some traditional goahttis (kotas or Sami tents) that were in the yard of the museum.

That's when I first asked Anna-Stina about Labrador tea, or Swamp tea, a plant that I was told grew both in Sápmi and in the US. Anna-Stina didn't understand what plant I was asking about and wanted me to describe it to her. I told her it had long willow-shaped shiney green leaves that were orange and fuzzy underneath and that it grew as large bushes. She looked at me strangely and said that she didn't know, but maybe someone else would. Then I noticed a tiny sprig that was growing outside one of the goahttis in the yard and on closer inspection we discovered it was the plant that I asked about.

IN SWEDISH SÁPMI

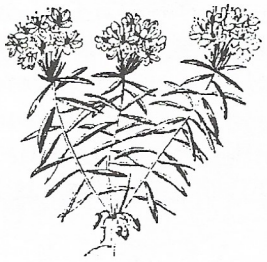
LABRADOR TEA (Groelandicum, L.]

SQUATRUM

Anna-Stina said that they called this plant "squatrum" and that it didn't get any bigger than a tiny 6 to 8 inch twig with 2 to 3 smaller branches. I was amazed, because at home these are large shrubs that are commonly 3 to 5 feet tall and are very bushy.

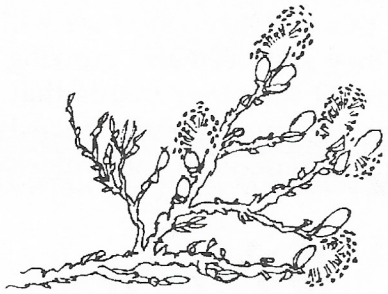
To Native Americans, Labrador tea is a blood purifier — a strong tonic to cleanse the spleen, and an everyday beverage. It is also used for lung infections. Most of the Sami people that I spoke to in Sweden seemed surprised that we drank it because they only used it to keep moths out of their wool and fur clothing, and as an insect repellant near doors and windows to keep bugs out of the house.

[Labrador tea is known as a beverage in Norwegian Finnmark, however, where it is called Porsanger Pors and valued for its high vitamin C content. See "Sami Recipes: Labrador Tea," Solveig Arneng Johnson, *Báiki* Issue #4, summer 1992.]

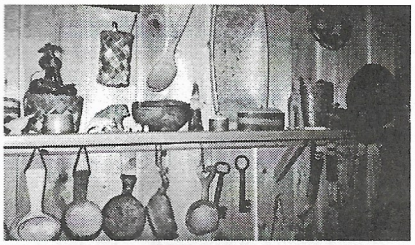


RED WILLOW BARK (Salix rubra, L.]

As we continued our tour of the Ajtte Museum, we entered a room where students were using red willow bark to tan reindeer hides. They were making shoes from the hide of the reindeer's shin. I explained to Anna-Stina that we chop up the inner bark of red willow and smoke it in a corn cob pipe to cure headaches, toothaches, arthritis and joint pains. We also use it to tan small hides, like rabbit or groundhog hides, when you don't want to keep the hair. The hides are cut in a long spiral to make string and cords for tying up bundles.



This is my doll Spearfinger. She is my interpretation of a witch character from Muskogee oral tradition. She uses the spear point on her right index finger to kill little children. Then she uses their clothes to make her own patchwork oufit.
I was asked to speakto Sami children at the elementary schools in both Kiruna and Porjus. The children loved this story and told me that Spearfinger was very similar to their story of Lutte, Stallo's wife.



The two photos above were taken of a private collection in Sakkavaro. The family is of Sami, Finnish, and Swedish descent. The collection of traditional tools and heirlooms represent this mixture of cultures.

Sakkavaro. These houses are rented out to tourists. That's a moose skull over the door.

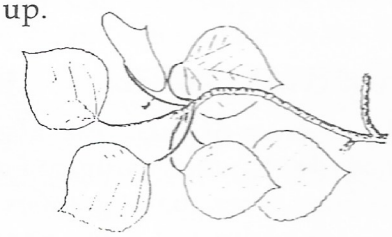
photos: Tis Mal Crow and Anna-Stina Svakko

"BALM OF GILEAD"
BALSAM POPLAR [Populus balsamifera, L.]

At the Arctic Gem Gallery in Skelleftea, I met a woman whose father's hands were bothered by arthritis. There were large sores on the skin and he was in a lot of pain. He had been suffering like this for about five years. I showed her how to cook the waxy buds of the balsam poplar tree in oil and beeswax to make an ointment. This is called "Balm of Gillead." Scientifically this plant is loaded with balsam which promotes the healing of skin and flesh wounds because it is high in vitamin C. The leaf part of the bud has several salycins which have an aspirin-like effect on pain and inflamation. The leaf also contains a lot of tannic acid which helps fight infection.

Even though the specific species of balsam poplar are probably different in Sápmi from the ones in the eastern US, they looked very similar, and the "signatures" which tell us how to use them were the same: The twigs look like hands that are crippled by arthritis and the buds look red, sore and swollen. The balsam tree lives in wet ground, showing us that it draws water; and the waxy coating of the twigs and buds shows us how to make it into a salve.

By the time I was ready to leave Sápmi, the woman whose father's hands were bothered by arthritis called me to say that the salve had helped his pain and that his hands were completely cleared up.

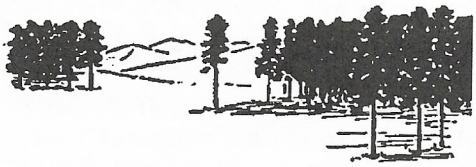


I had been worried that in a strange place the plants would be different and unrecognizable to me, but instead I found that the plants and the customs of the people were similar to what I already knew. We were encouraged by the number of similar plants and uses that we found even though the cold months were beginning and the growing season was over. I am looking forward to returning to Sápmi this summer when we will be able to explore the plants while they are green and growing in the woods.

Here is a list of some of the other plants that we found and some of the uses that we have in common. I had thought of these plants as being indigenous to the Americas, but found them in Sápmi also:

PINES AND PINE GUM [Pinus strobus, L.]

Used for wounds and infections and by us as a temporary tooth filling.

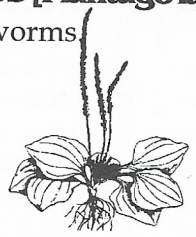


CLUB MOSS [Lycopodium clavatum, L.]

Used for stuffing a baby's diaper because it is absorbant and also is anti-bacterial and controls diaper rash.

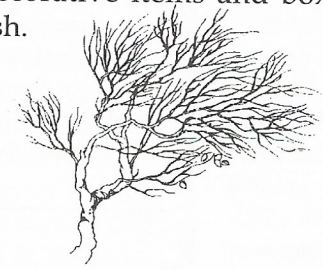
PLANTAIN SEEDS [Plantago lanceolota, L.]

Used to rid a dog of worms.



BIRCH BARK [Betula papyrifera, L.]

Used to make decorative items and boxes. Medicinally it is used for a skin wash.

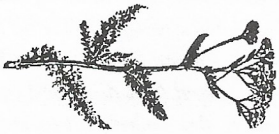


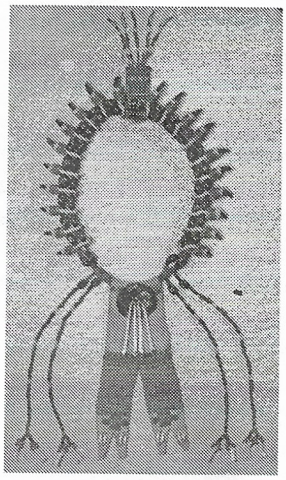
BLACK COHOSH [Cimicifuga racemosa, L.]

Used for cramping and childbirth.

YARROW [Achillea millefolium, L.]

Used to dress wounds and sprains and for kidney ailments.





Tis Mal Crow: Grizzly Bear Claw necklace

Anna-Stina Svakko in the traditional dress of her hometown of Kiruna

[SEABERG continued from page 15]

"I believe that what we are witnessing here is the failure of the imagination and the loss of the sacred."

that their way of hunting, fishing, gathering herbs for food and medicines, burying their dead, honoring the Spirits of their departed loved ones, honoring the powers of nature that they believed made life possible would be protected for *all time*. Article 3 of the treaty states that "the United States promise on their part to permit the Sioux to pass, repass, hunt or make other uses of the said districts as they have formerly done." This clearly guaranteed that they would always have *access* to the land.

▲

Your honor, it makes no sense to me to promise a people and their descendants access to a piece of land for subsistence and spiritual purposes, then allow others to destroy that piece of land, making access to it impossible!

MnDot claims it had a "right" to that land, including the "right" to destroy it to make way for a highway, and that I and my fellow co-defendants were blocking this "right-of-way." I believe as an invited guest of the Dakota people, invited to participate in a sacred ceremony, an activity guaranteed by the Treaty of 1805 and upheld by Article 6 of the US Constitution, I had a right to be there, and MnDot had no right to forcibly remove me and desecrate a sacred site.

▲

What we are witnessing here is a clash of values that is very old but still continues to this day, a clash between those who believe the earth is sacred and should not be destroyed and those who profit from its destruction.

Here in Minnesota a very dramatic clash took place in 1862, with tragic results. The Dakota conflict was the culmination of broken treaties and broken promises. The bitter fruit of that conflict was the banishment of Indigenous people from their ancestral homeland. Treaties were abrogated and Native Peoples were declared to have no rights.

Some would argue that the clash was inevitable for the Native way of life had become untenable and there was no place for that way in the emerging industrial culture, which, for better or worse has swept aside the older, Indigenous nature-oriented cultures. Its rights and ways now dominate the landscape, dominate our laws and institutions, dominate our thinking.

It is driven by profit and holds nothing to be sacred, not even the air we breathe, the water we drink, or the food that sustains us, and the land itself has become just another commodity to be bought sold, traded, divided and sub-divided. When a forest is cleared or a wetland drained to make room for a highway, an airport or an urban development project, it is always justified by the values of industrial culture: "it's good for the economy, it provides people with jobs." The ancient voice of the earth, of the environment and of the people who hold it sacred, are rarely heard and certainly not given much credence.

Your honor, we ignore that voice at our own peril. Today we live in a world of ever-dwindling resources. Forests have been clear-cut and paved over, ancient soils have washed away, the water contaminated. the air fouled with deadly toxins. Eco-systems are unraveling, some are on the verge of collapse. The fragile atmosphere which makes life possible has been ripped apart, and deadly radiation bombards the earth. Cancer and asthma among children are increasing at alarming rates. The climate itself is out of balance, and each day we see the signature of an ever-warming planet: rising sea levels, massive floods, devastating mud slides, violent windstorms, more frequent hurricanes, killer heat waves, longer-lasting droughts, the extinction of species. While the world's political leaders debate the causes of this unfolding eco-catastrophe, the destruction continues around the world and here at home, guided by the cold, profit-driven logic of the industrial paradigm.

▲

I believe that what we are witnessing here is the failure of the imagination and the loss of the sacred. I believe that nothing will change until that imagination is rekindled and the earth, the water, the air and all living things are once again regarded by all as sacred and that our children's' future is not negotiable. I believe that unless we return to the ancient wisdom that says the earth does not belong to us, we belong to the earth and whatever we do to the earth we do to ourselves, we will probably die out as we have caused so may species to do.

And that is why I and thirty-two others of my brothers and sisters chose to take a stand at the four sacred oaks and place our bodies in the way of MnDot's earth-destroying machines, for we can no longer stand idly by and watch as every wild, sacred place, every habitat, every ecosystem, every creature on this great earth gets strangled and snuffed out by this relentless killer virus we call industrial civilization.

Your honor, I'm not expecting any miracles today. I fully expect to be found guilty of the charges and sentenced to the maximum penalty allowed by law. But I will gladly serve that penalty in the hope and faith that by taking a stand today and for the rest of my life, that I and thousands of my brothers and sisters who share my vision will one day turn the world around from its path of self-destruction and live the way we were intended to live, as stewards and care-takers of the Creation, in harmony with the holy, sacred earth.

I look forward to the day when people of good faith are no longer arrested and dragged into courtrooms for crimes that are not crimes but acts of responsibility, acts of survival, acts of love, and the real criminals — the rapers and destroyers of the planet — are called to account for what they have done to our sacred earth.

Thank you.

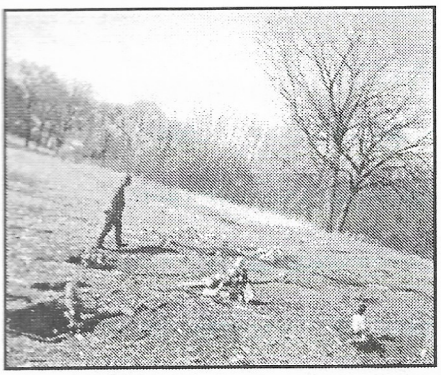


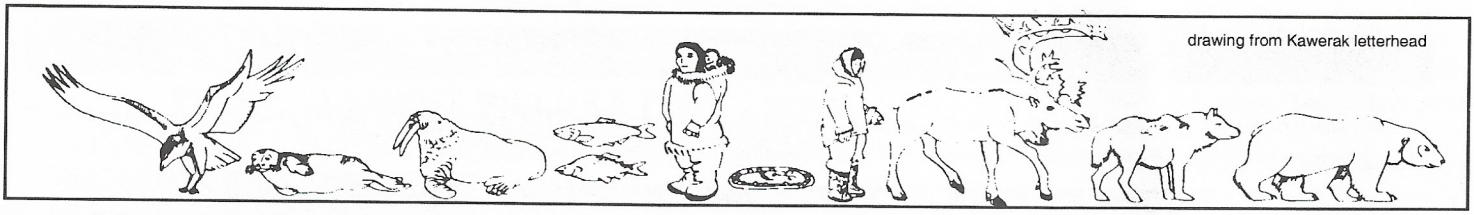
photo: Karla Rose McKenzie

AFTER: Holes where the four oaks once stood.

The Outcome:

Kurt Seaberg writes: The courtroom was packed and a lot of people were crying. The head of the State Highway Patrol testified that he had taken possession of the eagle feathers, and a Sacred Pipe and had disposed of the prayer offerings that were tied to the trees. He also testi-

[SEABERG continued on p. 23]



"The current reindeer population is little more than 17,000, down from an estimated 500,000 four years ago!"

KAWERAK REINDEER HERDERS ASSOCIATION

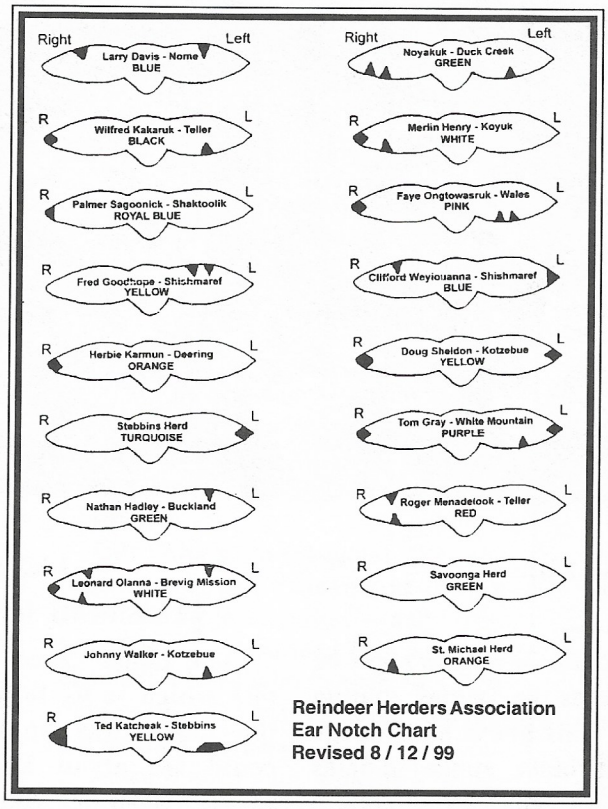
Reindeer in Alaska Today

The Kawerak ["kah-way-rahk"] Reindeer Herders Association (RHA), headquartered in Nome, Alaska, is made up of 20 Inuit owners and managers of reindeer herds. Most are from the Seward Peninsula. Each herder is permitted to use land owned and managed by the State of Alaska, the federal government and other individuals for their reindeer grazing and management. Range size varies, but the average size is 1 million acres. The only boundaries dividing the ranges are rivers, ridges, mountain tops and creeks.

Kawerak, which means "of the people," is a nonprofit regional corporation and the Reindeer Herders Association is one of their many programs, which also include Eskimo Heritage, Education, Employment and Training, the Eskimo Walrus Commission, Land Management Services, Economic Development, Head Start and a new oral history project.

The current reindeer population managed by RHA members is little more than 17,000, down from an estimated reindeer population of 500,000 four years ago! The rapidly declining population indicates a growing crisis: The reindeer are migrating off the ranges with caribou and herders are unable to stop either the reindeer or the caribou movements. They can only try to keep their reindeer out of the path of the migrating caribou, and the RHA is keeping track of caribou locations, numbers and movements for them.

Kawerak RHA can be contacted at PO Box 948, Nome, AK 99762. Their telephone number is (907) 443-5231 and their fax number is (907) 443-3708.



RHA ear notch chart is identical to reindeer ear notch charts from Sápmi. RHA reindeer also wear colored rectangular ear tags (the color noted on the chart) stamped with the year of birth, the name of the herd, and a registration number.

Marking Ears in Canada

Since the *notch drawings from Alaska are identical to drawings of ear notches in Sápmi, we wondered, did this way of reindeer marking originate with the Sami herders of the Alaska Reindeer Project? We asked Lloyd N. Kunnek Binder (Sami-Inuvialuit), a reindeer herder from Inuvik, NWT, Canada. He is the descendant of Mikkel Nilsen Pulk, Chief Herder for the Mackenzie Delta Reindeer Project, one of four Sami families from the Reindeer Project to settle in Canada. [See "Mikkel Nilsen Pulk: Sami Herder," Lloyd Binder, Báiki Issue #10, 1994.] Lloyd answered:*

The thing about reindeer ears, is that there is not all that much ear to cut and when you start to consider that you might have 20 or more neighbouring tags, that about eats up all the possibilities ... and the ears! And ears freeze so that will reduce the visibility of the cut.

Since one cannot really cut just the inside of the ear, the number of choices is not so large for patterns of "remaining ear" that can be cut. Try it out and consider that you cannot be too subtle, because ear-marks need to be "read" from some distance. If you think about it, that takes quite some skill! In my case, I just cut one notch and that does it since we have the only private reindeer herd in Northern Canada; there are no other reindeer herds around — only caribou and they have no tags. There are maybe 20-30 reindeer herds in Southern Canada but the total down there might only run up to a thousand at the most. We have around 4,800 right now, maybe with luck, good weather and light predation, 7,000 this summer.

Thanks to Rose Fosdick, Program Director, RHA, for the information in this article, and thanks to Ethel Evans, Moon Deer Ranch, Parker, CO, member Reindeer Owners and Breeders Association (ROBA) for making the connection.

AN OLD SÁMI STORY FROM JOHAN TURI

This story in Sámigiella and English is from Lappish Texts, *Johan Turi and Per Turi, edited by Emilie Demant-Hatt, published in Copenhagen in 1918. The illustration is from* Land of the Midnight Sun, *Paul Du Chaillu, published by Harper and Brothers, 1881.*

THE MAN IN THE MOON

LXXXIII.

Okta muitalus samiin boares aiges læ na, atte boares aiges læ læmaš manno nu čuoutgat, atte oinii goase sæmma go bæivet. Ja de dal okta suola-laddelaš læi suoladæme ikko, goas læ suollagiid suoladam-aige læmaš ja læ ein dal-nai. Ja de dat suola suttai mannui, go dat læ nu čuoutgat, atte oidnit, go læ nu čuoutgat; ja de son valdii bikka-buliha, ja de vulgii bikkadit mano, ja de darvanii mannui gidda oktan deina bulihiina. Ja das læ vel dal-nai. Ja dantne læ manno čappat muttom raudat.

LXXXIII.

[The man in the moon.]

The Lapps have since early times a tale which is as follows: In olden times the moon was so luminous, that one could see about as well [at night] as in the day-time. And then there was a thievish peasant who was stealing at night — that has always been the stealing-time of the thieves, and so it is still. And then the thief got angry at the moon, because it was shining so that he could be seen because it was so light; and then he took a tar-bucket and went to tar the moon. And then he stuck to the moon together with the bucket — and there he is still! — That is why the moon is dark in some places.

IN MEMORIUM

PETER CLEMENT NILLUKA (1926 - 2000)

THE LAST FULL-BLOODED DESCENDANT OF THE REINDEER PROJECT

photo: Faith Fjeld

June 1991: Pete Nilluka and his red Honda truck in front of the home of Earl and Norma Hanson, Poulsbo, Washington.

"Pete" Nilluka, passed away on January 8, 2000 in Bremerton, Washington at the age of 73. Born on March 13, 1926, in Poulsbo, Washington, he was a first generation American descendant of the 1898 Sámi Reindeer Project families who came over from Norway on the *Manitoba* bound for Alaska. He was the eldest child of Berit Persdatter Siri and Mathis Klemetsen Nilluka (Lemmo Mahtte), who had moved to Kitsap County from Alaska. [See Báiki Issue #19, 1999.]

Pete served in the US Merchant Marines during World War II after which he was employed by the Washington State Ferry System for more than twenty years as lead shore maintenance man. He was also a long-time subscriber and sponsor of Báiki and a member of the North American Sámi Siiddat.

He is survived by his wife Beatrice (Ma'cah), his half sister Hannah Miller of Nome, Alaska, sons Randal Nilluka of San Jose, CA, Mark Nilluka of Kingston, WA, Calvin Williams and Gary Williams of Everett, WA, Leslie MacDonald and Tony Nilluka of Bremerton, WA, and daughters Linda Perham of Los Gatos, CA, Janis Lemieux of Hoquiam, WA, Wanda Steele of Scottsdale, AZ, LaVerne Williams of Vancouver, BC, Leanne Nilluka of Suquamish, WA and Sandra Nilluka of San Jose, CA. He also leaves behind an extended family of 24 grandchildren and 33 great-grandchildren.

His funeral was held on January 15, 2000 at the First Lutheran Church in Poulsbo. Flowers in colors matching the Sami flag were sent on behalf of the Sámediggi (the Norwegian Sami Parliament). Pete was buried in the Kingston Cemetery next to his younger brother and his parents.

After his burial there was a feast at S'Kallum, the tribal center at Little Boston. Members of Pete's widow Bea's tribe prepared a meal of traditional Pacific Northwest foods, including elk, clams, oysters, gui-duck fritters, grilled salmon, yams, potato salad and desserts.

An additional gathering took place at the home of Norma and Earl Hanson, who were hosts of the Sami Family Reunion in 1998.

Bill Wilcox, Port Angeles, WA, another American descendant of the *Manitoba* Project families — and a lifelong friend — described Pete as a mechanical wizard who "expected 120% of himself, was always reading, and did not tolerate slackers."

Johan Mikkel Sara, a member of the Sámediggi, and a *Manitoba Project* descendant as well, offered his personal condolences to Pete's family: "I am so glad I visited him the last time I was in Poulsbo. I spoke a little Sami to him and he answered back in Sami."

Pete's daughter Sandra Nilluka placed the Sami flag on his lapel before he was buried. "It saddens me because I have so much to write, trying to document the family history, and my best resource — my Father — is now not with us," she said. "I wish I could set the clock back and do things I planned, such as interviewing him in-depth on the Sami family history. This makes the call to learn the language and the culture that much stronger."

[SEABERG continued from page 20]

fied under oath that he had been having a lot of "bad luck" ever since. The judge, however, was unmoved.

The state reduced the charges from a misdemeanor to a petty misdemeanor, so that, we realized later, we wouldn't have the option of a jury trial. We were all found guilty and given the maximum penalty, a $228. fine or four days in a "sentence to serve" program. One woman spent three days in jail for contempt of court because she told the judge, "I don't know how you sleep at night." She is now running for state senate! Another woman is facing six months in the workhouse for refusing to pay the fine or do sentence to serve.

Many of those arrested were young Earth Firsters who are now down at Big Mountain helping the Diné People who are facing eviction from their ancestral homeland.

[In Minneapolis] we are currently focusing on protecting Cold Water Spring and the surrounding land. We'd like to see this whole area protected as a sacred and historic site, ideally under the control of the Mdewakanton Dakota People. You can find out more by visiting our website: <www.presevecampcoldwater.org>."

Kurt Seaberg is a Minneapolis artist and writer whose work frequently appears in Báiki. Jeanne Tweet, a Minneapolis supporter of Camp Cold Water, also contributed to this article.

[VESTERHEIM continued from page 3]

mas Eve while shopping with his daughter Chelsea. Perhaps he recognized the Sámi flag and the other Sámi articles in Union Station from his trip to Norway.

Interestingly, at the same time as The Sámi Exhibit in Union Station, the Smithsonian Museum hosted a large and elaborate exhibit on the Ainu, the Indigenous People of Japan. This sparked a discussion about the possibility of a similar size Sami exhibit there sometime in the future.

Nathan Muus

BAIKI REVIEW

GIVE US OUR SKELETONS!

Nathan Muus

Paul-Anders Simma, the prolific Swedish Sami film maker, has produced his most controversial film, *Give Us Our Skeletons!* It was shown on Scandinavian television last year on the heels of shocking disclosures about forced sterilization of Scandinavian women. Selected for inclusion in the American Museum of Natural History's Margaret Meade Film and Video Festivals, the film was screened in the US last November, first in New York City and then at the Pacific Film Archives at the University of California-Berkeley.

The scientific study of Sami craniums and bones (painfully familiar to American Indian Peoples who are also the subjects of such research) has tried to prove that the Sami People are a "lesser race" than other Scandinavians. This mode of research has also lead to the robbery of Sami graves and the trade in Sami skeletons as specimens for research or for sale as cultural curios. Simma's documentary suggests that this lead to the programs of the 20th century, when, from1935 to 1975, more than 63,000 Swedish citizens deemed "socially undesirable" — mostly women, many of them Sami — were forcibly sterilized. [During roughly the same period, Finland sterilized about 40,000 people, and Norway 30,000.] The Swedish government is now offering their victims monetary compensation and some of them are interviewed in the film. Simma explores this tragedy and ties it into the theme of the film.

Much of *Give Us Back Our Skeletons* focuses on the efforts of Niillas A. Somby, the Sami environmental activist, photographer and journalist, to reclaim the skulls of the two Sami men who were leaders of the 1852 Kautokeino Rebellion: his great uncle Mons Somby, and Aslak Haetta. Both men were charged with murder and beheaded in 1854. [Nils Gaup, the Norwegian Sami film director of *The Pathfinder*, is currently making a movie about this chapter of Sami history.]

Mons Somby's head was sent to the Anatomical Institute in Oslo where it joined 3,000 other skulls, many of them Sami, that were "objects for scientific study." Aslak Haetta's head was sent to a similar institute in Copenhagen, having been traded at some point for an Inuit skull.

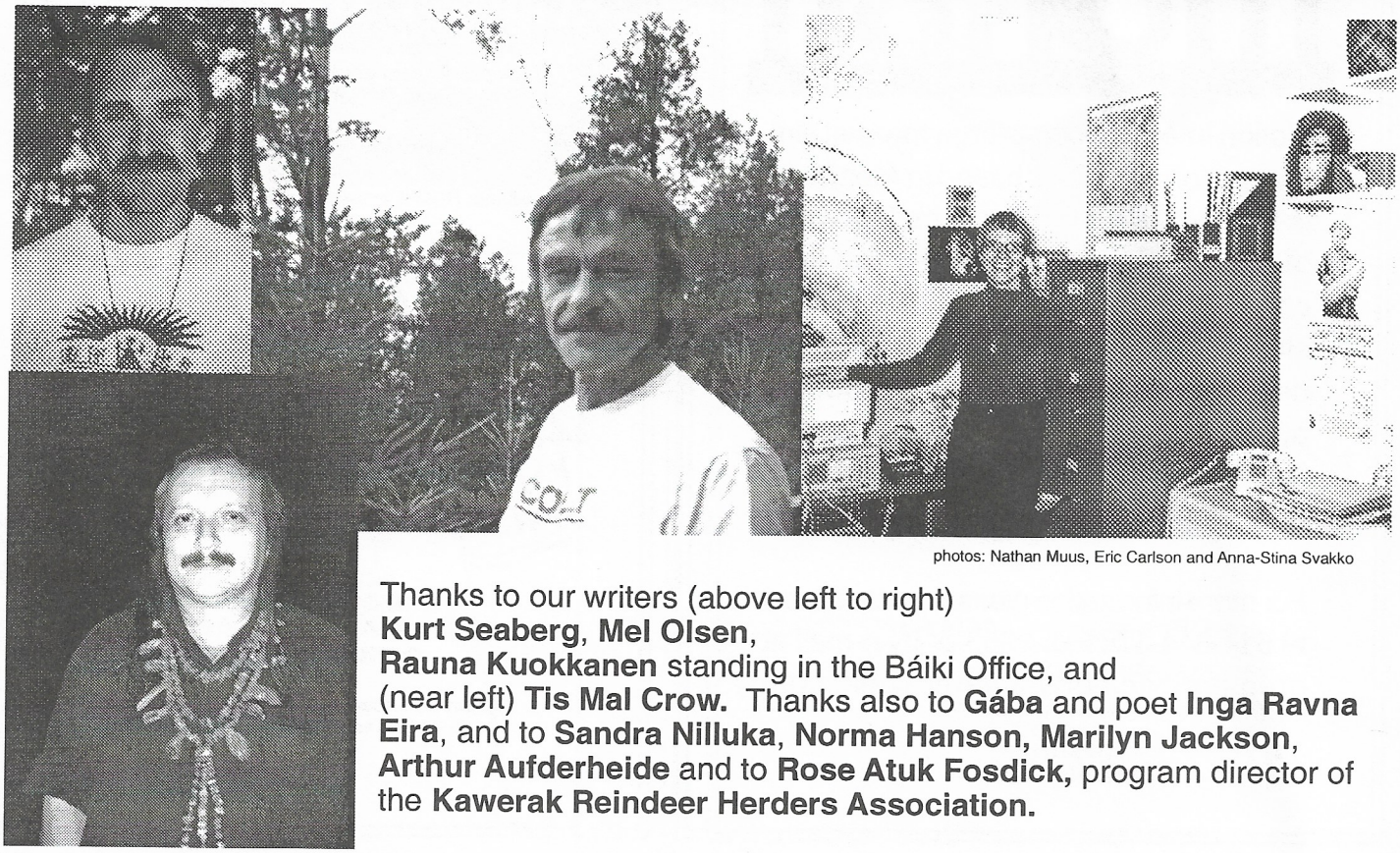
The one hour-long film documents Niillas Somby's persistent and finally successful efforts to recover the "incarcerated" skulls. Interviews with Somby take place in the very Oslo prison where he was incarcerated for attempting to sabotage the construction of the Alta Dam [See Niillas Somby, "The Alta-Kautokeino Conflict: The People of Peace Become Environmental Activists," Báiki Issue #5, p. 4.] He discusses his escape from prison and his exile in Canada where he was given asylum by the Bella Coola People and adopted into their tribe. He later negotiated his return to Norway.

Ironically, at the conclusion of the film, the two heads - together with their bodies - are given a proper service and burial, but, we are told, a parking lot will soon pave over the burial site.

Although *Give Us Our Skeletons!* was shown last year at a festival in Tromsø, it was banned from larger theater screens in Norway by the Norwegian Audio Visual Board, perhaps because Norway remembers the end results of Nazi racist theories, and being torn up during World War II. For a country that prides itself as a tolerant society, this film apparently cuts a little too "close to the bone."

For more information see the March 1999 <Samefolket.se> website and The San Francisco Chronicle, November 14, 1999.

SPONSORS AND CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE



photos: Nathan Muus, Eric Carlson and Anna-Stina Svakko

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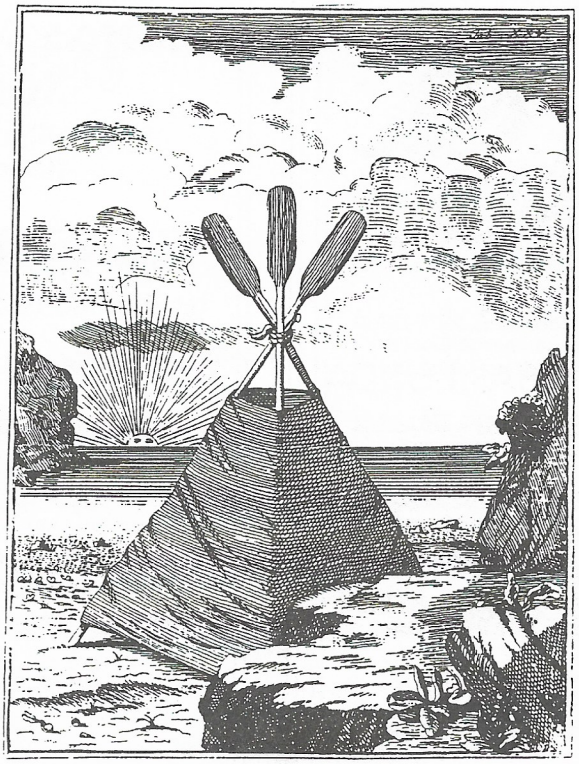

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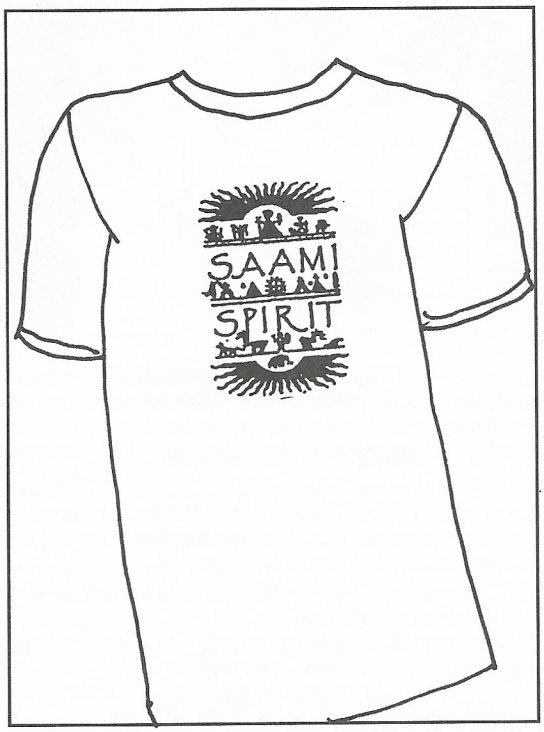

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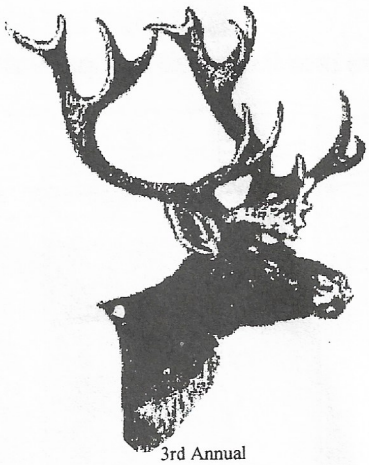

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"Who We Are: Sápmi, part one," Faith Fjeld; "Báiki — the Home You Always Bring Along," Harald Gaski; "Colonization," Niillas A. Somby; "My Home is In My Heart" (poem), Nils-Aslak Valkeapää; "What Do We Call Ourselves," Rudolph Johnson; "Sami Identity: in a Word, Magic," Maija Oberg Hanf; "The Pathfinder" directed by Nils Gaup (Báiki Review), and much, much more.

ISSUE #2, Winter 1991-92

"Who We Are: Sápmi, part two," Faith Fjeld; "Tracing Our Lapland Roots," Rudolph Johnson; "Reindeer Herding, Stereotypes and Politics," Regnor Jernsletten; "Keviselie (Hans Ragnar Mathisen): Maps Without Borders," Faith Fjeld; "Are Sami-Americans Indigenous?" (editorial) Faith Fjeld; "Am I a Sami?" (editorial) Oddgeir Johansen; "After the Silence" (lyrics) Mari Boine; "Sámediggi: The Beginning of a New Political Era," Sven-Roald Nystø; "The Tenderness and Strength of Sami Literature," Harald Gaski; Sami-American Profiles: Solveig Arneng Johnson; "The Sami Flag," and much, much more.

ISSUE # 3, Spring 1992

"Who We Are: The Sami in America, part three," Faith Fjeld; "Sami Storytelling and Identity," Ken Jackson (Grey Eagle); "Tana to Montana: the Sami-US Indian International Educational and Cultural Exchange Program," C. Patrick Morris; "Shadows from the Past" (poetry and photography), Marlene Wisuri; "Indigenous Chic" (editorial) Maija Oberg Hanf; "Sami-American Ethnicity" (editorial) Rudolph Johnson; Sami-American Profiles: Eric Peltoniemi, and much, much more.

ISSUE # 4, Summer 1992

"The Sami Reawakening: New York Mills and Sebeka, Minnesota," Faith Fjeld; "Two Languages, One People? One Language, Two Peoples?" Donna J. Palomaki and Daniel Karvonen; "The Heartbeat of the Sami People" (story), Grey Eagle; "Outside In: Reconsidering Pohjola (Women and Samiland) as Kalevala's Polarized Other," Kaarina Kailo; "In the Magic Cup" (poetry), Carol Ruotsala Staats and Lillian Staats; "Labors of Love: Mary Smith and the Sami Flag; Lorna Hanhy and Hanhineva Gakti." Sami-American Profiles: Marvin Salo; "The Reindeer of Finland...Minnesota, That Is: Tom and Elli Scheib," Faith Fjeld.

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"Sápmi and Norway — Why Be Sami?" Nils Jernsletten; "CSV, the Return of the Sami Spirit: Is It Happening Here?" Faith Fjeld; "The Alta-Kautokeino Conflict: the People of Peace Become Environmental Activists," Niillas A. Somby; "Sápmi and Norway and the Environmental Crisis," Dag-Mork Ulnes and John Gustavsen; "The Bear," part one, Mel Olsen; "Norway's Census: a Genealogy Goldmine," Solveig Torvik; Sami Bibliography compiled by Rudolph Johnson; "The Sami Anthem," translated by Arden Johnson; Sami Profile: Ingor-Ante Ailu Gaup; "The Sami Joik," Richard Jones-Bamman; "A Chronological History of the Alta/Kautokeino Conflict." from Charta 79; "The Son of the Sun Wins a Bride" (story), Grey Eagle and much, much more.

ISSUE # 6, Winter 1992-93

"Sweden: Between Swede and Sami," Mark B. Lapping; "Nils-Aslak Valkeapää: A Message From an Advanced Culture," Frode Nelson; "The Husförhörslängd Swedish Clerical Genealogical Survey," Phyllis J. Pladsen; "The Bear Hunt" part two, Mel Olsen; "Laestadianism," Rudolph Johnson; The Modern Sami Joik: the Symbol of Sami Cultural Revitalization," Richard Jones-Bamman; "In Search of the Drum," Ailo Gaup (Báiki review); "How Reindeer Hide is Used in Making Sami Clothing," Berit Marit Haetta; "The Sami Who Stayed in the Storm" (story), Grey Eagle, and much, much more.

ISSUE # 7, Spring 1993

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ISSUE # 10, Spring 1994

"Reindeer Nine to Five: a Look at Reindeer Farming in the Continental United States," Chris Orloski; "Introducing Reindeer Herding in the World," Johan Mathis Turi; "The Underground Railroad" (story), Grey Eagle; "A Sami Drawstring Pouch Out of Reindeer Leather" (how to do it), Desiree Koslin;

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ISSUE # 12, Fall -Winter 1994-95

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"The Sami Drum: A Spiritual and Cultural Legacy," Nathan Muus; "The Warp-Weighted Loom" (how to do it), Desiree Koslin; "The Warp-Weighted Loom at Ironworld," Mary Erickson; "Aurora Borealis: the Audible Light," Mel Olsen; "The Boy Who Teased the Northern Lights" (story), Grey Eagle; "North Scandinavian History," by Kjell Lundholm. (Baiki Review); "Sami Culture in a New Era: the Norwegian Sami Experience," ed. Harald Gaski. (Baiki Review), and much, much more.

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ISSUE #19, Spring 1999

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ISSUE #20, Fall 1999

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