

CONTRIBUTIONS TO CIRCUMPOLAR STUDIES

Edited by Hugh Beach



Uppsala Research Reports in Cultural Anthropology 1986.
No.7.



CONTRIBUTIONS TO
CIRCUMPOLAR STUDIES

Hugh Beach (editor)
Nancy Weeks, Ingvar Svanberg
and Leif Lindin



Uppsala Research Reports in Cultural Anthropology.

No.7.

Uppsala, 1986

Publication has been financially supported by
Carl-Bertel Nathhorsts Vetenskapliga
och Allmännyttiga Stiftelser.

Published by the University of Uppsala,
Department of Cultural Anthropology
Trädgårdsgatan 18, 752 20 Uppsala, Sweden.

© 1986 Hugh Beach

ISSN 0348-9507

ISBN 91-506-0530-5

Cover: Reindeer journey over the expanses of Finnmark.
Woodcut by John Andreas Savio. (in: Fett, H. (1940),
Finnmarksviddens kunst. Kunst og Kultur 26. Oslo.)

Printed by Uppsala University, Reprocentralen HSC
Uppsala 1986

Contents

| | |
|----------------|------------|
| Preface | vii |
|----------------|------------|

| | |
|---|----------|
| The Saami in Alaska: Ethnic Relations and Reindeer Herding | 1 |
|---|----------|

by Hugh Beach

| | |
|---|-----------|
| National Parks and Native Peoples: A Study of the Experience of Selected Other Jurisdictions with a View to Cooperation in Northern Canada | 83 |
|---|-----------|

by Nancy Weeks

| | |
|---|------------|
| Traditional Reindeer Husbandry among the Evens of Kamchatka in the Beginning of the 1920's From the Ethnographical Field Notes of Sten Bergman | 151 |
|---|------------|

by Ingvar Svanberg and
Leif Lindin

| | |
|---------------------|------------|
| Contributors | 181 |
|---------------------|------------|

Preface

The northern circumpolar region is the home of numerous peoples who, by tradition, have been hunter-gatherers and pastoralists. This same region spans many Nation-States, newly formed in relation to Native history, whose borders often cut across Native lands, placing the peoples living there under diverse forms of government. The policies of these various Nation-States regulating Native access to land and other resources demonstrate an enormous paradigmatic spectrum. In one case, Natives receive special resource rights because of their ethnic identity, while in another, such rights may be reserved only for those who practice a particular occupation. A Nation-State might acknowledge Native immemorial rights to land, or it might fashion Native rights into a privilege to be conferred on Natives as a form of welfare.

It is noteworthy that the Nation-States geographically dominating the circumpolar region are highly industrialized, so-called "First World" countries. Natives of the circumpolar region find themselves encompassed by some of the mightiest nations on earth, nations which dictate policies even outside their borders and whose internal relations to Natives understandably (if often unfortunately) serve as models for other countries. The situation of these northern Natives is a weather vane for Natives elsewhere, and, as resource exploitation grows along with further industrialization, it will become

increasingly clear that "their" problems are "our" problems. Most importantly, whether or not the rest of us have lessons to learn from the northern experience which can be useful to our own predicament, we should hear the Native voice for its own sake, both to enjoy its beauty and to insure that it is not silenced.

Despite their thematic differences, the three contributions gathered together in this volume share roots in the circumpolar region. These roots include concern for: Native rights over northern resources, the ethno-history of northern Native peoples and resource utilization both traditional and modern. It is hoped that further submissions will render possible future publications in a series of **Contributions to Circumpolar Studies**.

I owe a large debt of gratitude to the Swedish Council for Research in the Humanities and Social Sciences for supporting my research in Alaska. I would also like to thank Parks Canada for permission to publish the study by Nancy Weeks.

Hugh Beach

August, 1986. Uppsala

THE SAAMI IN ALASKA: ETHNIC RELATIONS AND REINDEER HERDING

Hugh Beach

Introduction

At the turn of the Century, approximately 70 reindeer herders and their families, by far the majority of them Saami (Lapps), arrived in Northwest Alaska to instruct the Inuit (Eskimo) in reindeer management. The history of the Saami migration to Alaska and the attempt to establish a permanent colony of Saami reindeer herders there has largely been forgotten. Some recent reference to the Saami can, however, be found in American works by Lomen (1954), Ray (1975) and Stern et. al. (1980). The attentions of Scandinavian researchers (Vorren, 1977), (Solbakk, 1985), photo-journalists (Fernström) and reporters (see *Samefolket* 1983, nr. 5:14) to this topic have been recent and brief. Certainly there is cause for this neglect: few of the Saami brought to Alaska stayed, a permanent colony was never realized, and independent participation in reindeer herding by those that did settle was ended in 1937 with the passage of a new law, only 43 years after the first Saami herder arrived. The American authorities who brought the Saami to Alaska had aspired to "civilize" the Inuit according to the simple ideology of the times and with the help of the Saami--that is, to have the Inuit emulate the White

man.¹ To this end, they considered the transition from hunting to pastoralism a major step. The decline of Alaskan herding in general (Lantis, 1950), which followed upon predation, overgrazing, depression and war, also erased much of the remaining Saami influence. To this day the Inuit of Northwest Alaska are still mainly hunters and fishermen.

Nonetheless, the Saami impact upon Alaska, even if brief, was profound. Under Saami instruction, the herding livelihood spread widely; numerous exploratory feats were conducted by Saami on reindeer sleds; Saami reindeer-driving postmen helped blaze new transportation routes, and Saami participated vigorously and successfully in the Alaskan Gold Rush. Most of the Saami in Alaska were at one time employed by the American military for a remarkable (if unnecessary) expedition to relieve a group of miners trapped in the mountains by heavy snows. The various Christian missions established all along the seaboard could hardly have spread so rapidly, flourished so well or maintained their congregations to such an extent had it not been for the economic support of the reindeer and the Saami assigned to their care with which nearly every mission station was provided. The Saami herding presence has been an important factor in the determination of American Native minority policy in Alaska. Indeed, it is fair to say that the Saami played an integral part in the opening of the Alaskan territory and in its evolution to statehood in 1959.

While the available material for a study of the Saami in Alaska is quite large, it is unfortunately also

quite one-sided. Almost nothing was recorded by those Saami who participated in the venture themselves, and there are now few surviving descendants who can render first-hand accounts. Few of the Inuit herding trainees with whom the Saami instructors became intimate ever learned to write. Instead, we are left with the sizable and detailed writings of the White man, mainly those of Sheldon Jackson, the Saami employer and founder of Alaskan herding, and his fellow missionaries. For a number of reasons which I hope to make evident, Jackson's official government reports concerning the progress of reindeer herding in Alaska, about 14 volumes and the primary source for study of this topic, must be read very critically. Jackson was a visionary with the well-developed skills of the fund raiser to embellish the truth. Most other source material on the grand epoch of Alaskan herding (circa 1900-1940) is also by White men who dealt with the Saami herders only tangentially and mentioned them rarely by name.

I have been able to compensate for shortcomings in the written material at least to some degree through fieldwork and personal interviews. I worked as a reindeer herder with the Inuit of the NANA Corporation of Northwest Alaska for a year (1982-83), and prior to this have participated for many years in the herding of the Tuorpon Saami in Sweden. Acquaintance with both Scandinavian and Alaskan herding has helped me to approach the difficulties of the Saami relocation, recognize many of the new herding problems they faced (some of which persist), and appreciate their resourcefulness. However,

in this paper it is my main aim to depict the ideology of the Alaskan minority context in which the Saami found themselves not only as guests, but also as **instruments** of White policy. This is not to be merely an account of Saami herding methods as transferred and reshaped in a new environment, although such information can still be salvaged in Alaska. Rather my essential purpose is to trace the course of ethnic relations within the triad White--Saami--Inuit.

From this perspective the methodological herding deficiencies of the Jackson material are offset by its richness of ideological content. The Jackson Reports are much more than descriptions of existing conditions; they are a statement of purpose, a call to action and a long-term prospectus for northern development. Jackson, as both head of the Alaskan missions and general agent of education for the territory, was for about two decades one of the most influential men of Alaska. His reports not only reflect the pervading influence of cultural stratification combined with missionary zeal, they also set the conditions for the Saami presence. It was he who designed the role of the Saami instructors, brought about their immigration to Alaska, organized the distribution of reindeer, and established reindeer ownership rights and slaughter policy.

While highlighting the issue of ethnic relations, I wish also to present the story of Saami immigration to Alaska in considerable historical detail. Not only is this portion of Saami and Inuit ethno-history useful in illustrating concepts of civilization and ethnic ranking at the

turn of the century, it has a fascination of its own. Much of this information has been hard to come by (especially for the Saami in Scandinavia and the Inuit in Alaska) and should, therefore, stimulate interest. Material from my own fieldwork and interviews with both surviving full-blooded Saami and descendants of mixed Saami-Inuit heritage will close this short account. It will also be appropriate to consider remaining elements of Saami tradition and some aspects of cross-fertilization between the Saami and Inuit cultures. I hope this article will arouse the interest of the Saami descendants of these early Alaskan pioneers, who with old letters and photographs may be able to contribute to this remarkable story. It would be extremely valuable if "Alaskan Saami" descendants in both Scandinavia and America could make contact and share information.

To avoid confusion, the reader should bear in mind from the start that I am concerned in particular with the first two episodes of Saami immigration to Alaska in 1894 and 1898. It was then that Jackson's representative (joined on both occasions by Jackson himself) traveled to Norway and actually recruited Saami for work in Alaska. By far the majority of the Saami to reach Alaska came at this time, and it is solely from their ranks that Saami were contracted to be reindeer herding instructors to the Inuit. Naturally, other Saami have come to Alaska by various paths and for diverse reasons, often alone and to join a relative.² This paper, however, confines itself principally to the fate of the Saami from those early,

true expeditions--to the foreign recruits in Jackson's dream of Alaskan development.

Reindeer Import

A study of the Saami immigration to Alaska is hardly separable from that of the importation of domestic reindeer from Siberia. The two were elements of the same general program--to save the Inuit from starvation and to lift them out of "barbarism."

In 1890, during the first of his yearly inspection cruises north in the government ship **Bear**, Jackson was discussing the plight of the Inuit as he saw it with the ship's captain, Michael Healy. According to Jackson, the Inuit, along the northwest coast especially, were facing difficult times. They were traditional hunters of whale and walrus, and the large whaling fleets of the White man had decimated these species. Perhaps, too, the enormous herds of wild reindeer, caribou, were also in one of their "ebb" cycles and unobtainable along the coast, while White hunters with rifles were busily exterminating the Alaskan Musk Ox. In any case, Jackson, head of missions and general agent of education in the area, was appalled by the living conditions of the Inuit and by what he considered the impending starvation of the entire coastal population (Jackson, 1890). Captain Healy, who was well acquainted with both sides of the Bering Sea, suggested to Jackson that the introduction of domestic reindeer to Alaska (an idea with precedents

from the Alaska Commercial Company, the naturalist, Charles Townsend, missionaries W. Lopp and H. Thornton and certainly not original with Healy) would save the Inuit, for, according to Healy, it was the maintenance of domestic herds by the Chukchi in Siberia which spared them from a similar fate (Ray, 1975:227).

Jackson was quick to adopt this plan and to seek funding for the purchase of Siberian reindeer. He mounted a huge campaign which he took to the churches and other charitable organizations as well as to the Federal Government in Washington, D.C. His official reports abounded with horror tales of Inuit starvation and deserted villages, and were replete with photographs of scattered skeletons. Naturally, Jackson was not only concerned with saving the Inuit physically. He also recognized the potential of the reindeer import program for his missions and for the advancement of education and civilization in general. Starving pupils are hard to teach; nor are they likely to spend time at a mission station when game must be hunted over a broad expanse. It was Jackson's view, understandably so given the circumstances, that "while we offer them the gospel with one hand, we must offer them food with the other" (see Friend, 1982:33).

The relationship between education and the missions at this time in the Alaskan Territory was close. As had already occurred in the continental United States, different missions were granted monopolies in specific areas by the Federal Government for the benefit of its "ward," the Native American. The government, which had

assumed responsibility for Native education, found it convenient to delegate this task to the zealous missionaries and to distribute their services in a manner agreeable to all. The territory was huge, the Natives scattered and the missions few at first. Obviously, for the government, the best use of the means at hand was to spread the missions widely. At the same time, the missionaries were quite content to gain dominance in a particular area and avoid competition. Jackson, a Presbyterian, was the coordinator of all mission work in Alaska regardless of denomination, and it is not surprising that he should also have been general agent of education.

It is almost certain that Jackson was mistaken in his evaluation of the impending dissolution of the Inuit. Ray regards his save-the-Inuit program as conceived under the sufferings of culture shock and based on ignorance:

...he did not know that the decrease in whales and walrus affected but a small percentage of the people, and that all Eskimo groups had sufficient alternative sources of food. Nor did he realize that everywhere on the coast the principal mainstays were seal and fish, the oil, flesh and skin of the seal providing a remarkably well-balanced source of food and clothing. Thus, in 1890 Eskimos were in no greater danger of extinction than generations before when faced with the same monumental forces of nature--erratic hunting seasons, broken ice, storms, early freezes, high winds, and human illnesses. The Eskimos were, in fact, gaining in population at that time. (Ray, 1975:226)

Perhaps Jackson's assessment of Inuit hardship was not totally mistaken, despite Ray's critique. That the Inuit were not then suffering more than usual does not mean that none of them was suffering at all, especially in the eyes of a newcomer, unused to Arctic life. Certainly what Jackson considered hardship might have been laughed off by many Inuit, but the point remains that there might well have been individual Inuit who fully deserved Jackson's sympathies despite the growth of the Inuit population as a whole. Jackson may well have had a narrow conception of Inuit reality, but this is not to say that he did not feel strongly about improving Inuit conditions, that he had no real cause to do so, or that his reindeer program to end starvation was from the start only a ruse to achieve ulterior aims. That Jackson's reindeer program was largely misdirected, shifting in focus, and not ever praiseworthy, however, cannot be denied.

Whatever the validity of the initial impetus for his reindeer import project, Jackson was correct in his observation that reindeer herds and mission stations could form a relationship of mutual benefit. The food resource provided by a nearby reindeer herd would support a mission staff as well as Inuit students who would no longer need to leave so frequently on long hunting expeditions and could, therefore, better respond to the exertions of their teachers. The Inuit settling near the mission would provide the necessary herders for the reindeer. In short, whether they were starving or not (and the subsequent parsimonious distribution of reindeer and

meat to Inuit indicate that Jackson readily abandoned concern that they were), the Inuit were still to be civilized; toward this end the reindeer was an important vehicle.

...the introduction of domestic reindeer is the commencement of the elevation of this race from barbarism to civilization. A change from the condition of hunters to that of herders is a long step upwards in the scale of civilization, teaching them to provide for the future by new methods.

Probably no greater returns can be found in this country from the expenditure of the same amount of money than in lifting up this native race out of barbarism by the introduction of reindeer and education. (Jackson, 1893:13)

The settled life was considered a requirement for civilization's progress among the Inuit, and the transition to pastoralism a step in that direction. Care of the reindeer would teach the Inuit responsibility, how to "earn an independent support" (Jackson, 1896:15), and to become "part of a team." Herding would be "an education in the ownership of property." Through his entrance into the cash economy, the Inuit would adapt more successfully to the White man and modern conditions (Friend, 1982:31).

Jackson and his supporters were also quick to add other arguments in favor of the reindeer project, arguments directly attractive to the interests of the White man as well as the Inuit. Reindeer meat could be exported and would stimulate commerce; reindeer-sled

transport would make that commerce possible, could open up the territory, and might well prove a necessity for national defense. Jackson came to view reindeer as the panacea for all the ills of the territory. He continued his campaign to raise funds with an ever-expanding arsenal of arguments. His official reports came to include information on the utilization of reindeer from around the world. His praise for the animal was boundless, and always he saw its introduction from the perspective of multiple benefits, harmonic integration and wonderful symbiosis between different user groups.

When the native has thus become useful to the white man by supplying the markets with fish and fresh meat, and when he has become herdsman and teamster with reindeer, he has not only assisted the white man in solving the problem of turning to the use of civilization the vast Territory of Alaska, but he has also solved his own problem. (Jackson, 1903:20)

Considerations of resource conflicts and the arguments over ownership rights which soon came to plague the new industry were far from Jackson's mind.

On one occasion in 1894, events did force Jackson to recognize a conflict and take a stand between White interests and Inuit interests over the reindeer. It seems that the *Bear* was not the only ship engaged in reindeer transport from Siberia. Jackson's reindeer propaganda may have convinced others, not to donate to his project, but to start their own. A Captain Wagner traded for some reindeer along the Siberian coast with, among

other things, whiskey. While the Chukchi were willing to sell any number of dead reindeer, they were not in the least inclined to sell deer on the hoof. The Chukchi had long had a monopoly on the trade of reindeer hides to the Alaskan coastal Inuit and were quite aware of the damage to their trade which would result from the growth of domestic herds across the sea. The prospect of whiskey, however, could cause even the most stubborn Chukchi herder to part with a few live deer. Of course, Jackson, as a churchman and a government representative, could not countenance trade with whiskey. Healy, in the *Bear*, could use no such methods and was, therefore, put at a distinct disadvantage. Those Chukchi, who had obtained whiskey from other reindeer buyers, refused to sell to any who did not offer it. Finally, regardless of the use of whiskey, competition for reindeer was driving up their price. Jackson concluded:

...regulations and safe-guards must be provided by which no private parties, except the Eskimo, shall be allowed to trade for reindeer, for a term of years, and until the Government undertaking is well established.

If private parties are allowed to purchase reindeer, the price will be advanced from three to fourfold beyond their real value; and while the Government, unable to barter with liquor, will be compelled to pay the increased and exorbitant charges or go without, private parties trading whiskey will procure them at a mere nominal price.

Again, if white men are allowed to establish herds, they will not get into the hands of the natives, and the main object in the enterprise will be defeated. [my emphasis] (Jackson, 1894, no. 1:19)

It will be interesting to compare this statement with the eventual situation of reindeer distribution under Jackson's regime.

Jackson was not immediately successful in procuring funds from the government for the importation of reindeer. Undaunted, he went ahead on an experimental basis with the purchase of 16 head in 1891 from public donations just to show that the reindeer could be transported safely. They were landed on Amaknak and Unalaska islands and had all died in two year's time (Ray, 1975:229). In 1892, with his remaining public donations Jackson purchased 171 reindeer from Siberia and brought them in the Bear to Port Clarence on the northwest coast of the Alaskan mainland where on July 4th he founded the Teller Reindeer Station. In March, 1893, Congress appropriated funds for the purchase of Siberian reindeer and continued this support until 1902 when the Russian Tsar discontinued their sale.

Instructor Import

Siberians

From the outset Jackson and his fellow reindeer enthusiasts knew that the mere importation of reindeer to Alaska was not enough in itself to ensure a thriving Inuit pastoral community. Reindeer management is a very demanding and highly complex skill. To instruct the

Inuit in the care of reindeer while at the same time securing the proper competence for the management of the newly arrived animals during the critical start phase, Jackson hired four Chukchi herders from Siberia to join the herd at Teller in 1892. Yet even earlier in a private letter to Paul Du Chaillu, a Lapland traveler and one of the many reindeer contact men with whom he corresponded, Jackson expressed his intention to gain the services of Laplanders (26 Jan., 1891, see Ray, 1975:230).

Not only would the Inuit require training, but they would also need to overcome their natural resistance to the new life style which conflicted with their hunting traditions on so many counts. It was generally agreed that the best sea mammal hunters would not make the best herders of reindeer (Ray, 1975:231-2). There was all manner of speculation as to what type of Inuit would be best suited to become a herder, to start as an apprentice at the reindeer station, but in the end, the program had to accept those volunteers it could muster, for few Inuit showed themselves interested in either pastoralism or civilization. In order to attract Inuit apprentices, various payment routines were devised whereby an apprentice would gradually be given ownership of increasing numbers of live reindeer for his efforts. When fully trained, he was to own enough deer to establish an independent herd. As reindeer hides were such a prized possession along the Alaskan coast, Jackson saw to it that his Inuit apprentices were clothed in reindeer so as to impress others and draw volunteers (Jackson, 1894:35).

During the first few years only the very young were attracted: most were mere boys; after two years, of the seventeen apprentices, only six were over twenty and none was over thirty. Some of the herders fell into their jobs because of the novelty of it, or for the free room and board offered, or because a relative lived nearby; they were not drawn by a desire to learn the reindeer business. (Ray, 1975:232)

Apprentices drawn to the reindeer station during the first several years were either young men interested in the comforts of a mission or those enamored by the prospects of a different kind of life. But soon even these atypical Eskimos found that hunting and fishing were more to their liking after all and they neglected their herding. Jackson's repetitious writing about "raising" the Eskimos from hunters to herders was without knowledge of the real nature of Eskimo life; and contrary to what Jackson supposed, becoming a herder was in no way felicitous, since such sedentary work was in opposition to all normal inclinations. The role of a hunter was not "lower" or less profitable than that of a herder; indeed, in an Eskimo's own culture it was "higher" and more rewarding. (Ray, 1975:231)

Two White men, Bruce and Gibson, who had not the slightest experience of reindeer, were appointed by Jackson to command the Teller Reindeer Station and to supervise the Siberians and the Inuit. Bruce was made superintendent. At first there were only four Inuit apprentices along with their four Siberian instructors. They were divided into two watches of 24 hours each, two Siberians with two Inuit. In the summer of 1893 the four instructors returned to Siberia, but one of them

after a visit in his homeland came back for a second year of work in Alaska and brought with him three new comrades.

Bruce, in his reports to Jackson, related that the Siberians claimed the reindeer to be more easily herded in Alaska than in Siberia due to the wealth of good grazing in Alaska. The deer were not pressed to roam great distances before being satisfied. Bruce also reported that he thought the services of the Siberians as instructors to be of little value, for the Inuit apprentices were soon able to do just as much work as they. Nonetheless, Bruce was in favor of retaining the Siberians, for they made the others feel more secure in their new job and, interestingly enough, because they were so far from home. The apprentices worked under the constant temptation to give it up and to join their kin in the hunt, but the Siberians had nowhere they could run off to. Bruce points out that should the Inuit be disposed to leave, the Siberians could guarantee continued care of the deer (Bruce in Jackson, 1894, no. 1:36).

However, the Siberians did not much enjoy their Alaskan tour of duty, nor were they liked by either their White supervisors or by their Inuit apprentices. Despite the tradition of limited trade between Chukchi and Inuit, the two groups were also traditional enemies. The Siberians did not plan to settle in Alaska, although Jackson hoped they would, and they were not particularly anxious that the Alaskan herding experiment succeed. They were sullen and disobedient to their supervisors whom they surely could not have respected in

reindeer matters, and they were arrogant and non-communicative with their apprentices. Jackson writes that the Siberians were extremely brutal with the deer, and that they had killed a number of them when they proved stubborn. He also claims that they consumed deer from the herd on the sly (Jackson, 1894, no. 2:10). The useless killing and theft of deer were the worst sins imaginable during this delicate time of herd growth. The animals were few, and Jackson treated them as sacred objects, demanding notes on every birth and death. The diary of William Lopp, who would later take charge of all herding in Alaska, records an incident which hurried the end to this short period of Siberian herding instruction in Alaska:

We have had 3 Siberian herders with us [apparently one was dismissed earlier although I have been unable to find any reference to it], 2 of them, Anker and Dantin, from South Head, and the other, Nootadl'got, from near Cape Serdze. On the whole we have found them very useful, but at times they have given us so much trouble that we have wished they were on the other side of Bering Strait. Unlike the Eskimos, they have no control over their temper. Anker on one occasion beat his wife shamefully, and at another time became angry at a tired deer, and, because it refused to rise, beat it almost to death and then broke its jawbone by stamping it. He was stubborn, jealous, and conceited. His jealousy was especially manifest when the Alaskans or ourselves drove the deer. In February, when Mr. Grubin was making fair progress breaking a wild deer which the Siberian had said could never be broken to the sled, his jealous feelings were aroused to such a state that he

became very insolent and claimed that he alone last fall was left in authority over the herd. We then discharged him, and since then our Alaskans have asserted themselves more and showed what they were capable of doing. (Lopp in Jackson, 1894, no. 2:71)

The Inuit apprentices were certainly not ill versed in the art of asserting themselves. Bruce gives the following account of the Siberians in his report:

Early last fall we began to be troubled by the Siberians' fears for their safety from harm by the natives. It became known soon after the deer were landed that there was a disposition to ridicule the idea of introducing reindeer on this side on the part of some of the Cape Prince of Wales natives, the largest in number as well as the most viciously inclined of any in this portion of the country.

Although very little disposition to quarrel with any of the other tribes has become manifest of late years, their history in former times justifies the reputation they still have of being quarrelsome. They are, moreover, less feared by the natives about the station, and through them all sorts of stories were told, and all sorts of predictions were made to the Siberians. They were given to understand that they would be killed, the white men at the station butchered, and the deer driven away and slaughtered. (Bruce in Jackson, 1894, no. 1:58)

Shortly thereafter the Siberians were back in their homeland, but the Inuit apprentices were not to be long without instructors, for Jackson had already been preparing for their replacement with instructors he considered superior to the Siberians, herders from Lapland.

Saami

As noted previously, Jackson maintained a wide correspondence with people knowledgeable about reindeer herding in different countries. He was interested not only in providing proof of the animal's usefulness, but also in obtaining information about practical herding methods, anything which might further the prospects of his Alaskan reindeer venture. Naturally he could not escape cognizance of the Saami, whose abilities as reindeer herders were legendary. Letters from numerous Scandinavians with herding connections--R. Dahl, H. Dahl, J. Nyvall, P. Einassen, C. Tangen, A. N. Stokes, H. J. Redmyer, N. Lust, W. Bergström, J. Samuelsen and N. Width--are printed in Jackson's earliest reports (e.g. 1894, no. 1:156 ff). These letters reveal an open discussion between Jackson and his Scandinavian friends about the likelihood that Saami herders, taking their families and dogs, might be induced to leave for Alaska.

However, operating always on a tight budget, Jackson tried first to find Saami with herding experience closer to hand. He hoped that there might be Scandinavian herders to be found in America, herders who for various reasons had accompanied the massive migration to America in the latter part of the 1800s, and who might wish to capitalize on their expertise with reindeer if given the chance. On December 15, 1893, Jackson sent out a call for herders to be published in the Scandinavian newspapers printed in the United States. He

received a number of replies from those who claimed to possess herding ability, but none from Saami. One of the applicants, Mr. William Kjellmann from Madison, Wisconsin, was selected by Jackson on the recommendation of Prof. R. Anderson to replace Lopp as the next superintendent of the Teller Reindeer Station. Kjellmann was shortly thereafter to be the most immediately responsible for the importation of Saami to Alaska. Kjellmann's herding credentials were presented by Jackson in the following account:

Mr. Kjellmann is a Norwegian, 32 years of age, of robust health and excellent habits. He has a good business education, writes an elegant Norwegian, and speaks the English language fluently. He can also write English fairly well. He was born in Taloik, in Finmarken; and as soon as he was old enough was set to work herding reindeer, at which he continued until he was 22 years of age. He was then taken up by a mercantile firm and for six years had experience in buying and selling reindeer and reindeer products between Alten and Kentetein and Karasjok in Lapland. For the past three years he has been a resident of Madison, Wis., where he has a family. (Jackson, 1894, no. 1:17)

Jackson was aware that all was not well with the Siberian instructors. He had also heard from Norway that the number of deer there would decrease, forcing some Norwegian Saami into other employment (see letter from Width, in Jackson, 1894, no. 1:150). From Sweden he had learned that because of a new grazing law (the Swedish Grazing Act of 1886) and the resulting "dissatisfaction

and depression among the Laplanders in Sweden at the present, it would no doubt be an easy matter to persuade some to come to Alaska and take charge of the reindeer as herdsman" (Bergström, in Jackson, 1894, no. 1:163). As he was not able to satisfy his need for instructors from the immigrant population already in America, it was natural that he turn toward Scandinavia. In this plan he could hardly have been more heartily assisted than by Kjellmann, who seems to have rivaled Jackson in grand dreams.

Because of his Norwegian heritage and experience in the Scandinavian North, Kjellmann sympathized on two counts with the plan to import Saami herders. Just as Jackson believed that the Alaskan herding project would come to serve the White man while at the same time helping the Inuit to solve their "own problem," so did Kjellmann regard the importation of Saami instructors as a means of assisting the Inuit while also relieving the Saami problem of overcrowding. Kjellmann believed that the Saami were expanding so quickly and were so pressed for grazing territory in Scandinavia that they would soon be forced to begin colonizing other parts of the world.

To appreciate Kjellmann's concern, one should realize that during the late 1800s the Saami had lost much of their traditional freedom of movement. In 1852, Russia (then in control of Finland) barred Norwegian Saami from crossing into Finnish territory. The northwestern arm of Finland, wedged between northern Sweden and the Norwegian Finmark, effectively cut off

the traditional seasonal moves of Kautokeino Saami through Finland to Karesuando. Shortly thereafter, Swedish Saami were also barred from crossing the Finnish arm (Beach, 1981:144-5). Åhren (1979:113) notes that the abnormally fast growth of reindeer population in the Karesuando district around the turn of the century placed a sizeable burden on Norwegian grazing areas. (New regulations soon followed between Norway and Sweden.) In light of the rise in reindeer population and the expanding Saami herding population, combined with the constrained border regulations, it is understandable that Kjellmann should have viewed the New World as the Saami safety valve. Under the caption "The Colonization of Lapps" in one of Jackson's annual reports, Kjellmann writes:

The question of the immigration of the Laplanders has for many years been of interest to me, as I have seen that it is only a matter of time when the Lapps will be compelled to migrate on account of the increase in population and decrease in pasturages for reindeer. This fact has not escaped their notice, and the most prominent among them have made several investigations concerning the most appropriate place to migrate to. If simple calculation is to be taken into account, America must become the future home of the Laplanders. This conclusion I reach in the following manner: The Lapps have tried to move to the mountains of southern Norway and Sweden, but only a limited number can there find pasture for their herds, as all the valleys are occupied by peasants, who use the land for agricultural purposes and are greatly opposed to the coming of the Lapps. The farmers have already made many complaints

concerning the destruction of their fields and meadows by the reindeer. To Russia the Laplanders will not go....The American continent alone remains. The United States has Alaska, and Canada has its whole northern extent from the Atlantic to the Pacific to offer. When the present conditions of these two areas of land are compared, the conclusions is involuntarily reached that the northern parts of Canada must, at present, be preferred as the future home for the Lapps. The reason of this is that from the northern parts of Canada a market for the produce can be more easily reached than from Alaska, where no neighboring market can at present be reached, and there is no home market either....

Permit me here to state my private opinions concerning the production of reindeer and emigration of Laplanders. If I see no way to accomplish anything in Alaska in the near future, I have made the following plan for a Canadian colony of Laplanders:... (Kjellmann in Jackson, 1896:115-6)

It is plain that, for Kjellmann, a successful, permanent Saami colonization somewhere in the New World was of primary interest, beyond that of supplying the Alaskan Inuit with herding instructors.

The First Wave

Kjellmann composed the above lines about Saami colonization between what might be called the first and second waves of Saami immigration to Alaska. As with the importation of reindeer from Siberia, the first importation of Saami was conducted on a small, experimental scale. On February 21, 1894, soon after he began

working for Jackson, Kjellmann was dispatched to northern Norway with instructions to procure Saami herders for Alaska, preferably young families that might choose to remain. Kjellmann traveled by steamer via England to Hammerfest and from there proceeded south to Kautokeino by reindeer sled. While en route to Hammerfest, Kjellmann was detained in Tromsø where he met a number of Swedish Saami who he says were there accidentally. They gave him little hope of success with his mission, for although they said that many Saami in Sweden had lost all their reindeer due to a hard snow crust which hindered the reindeer from reaching food, they could not imagine that anyone would be willing to start over so far away in Alaska (Kjellmann in Jackson, 1895:44). It must be borne in mind that this initial recruitment project was experimental from the Saami side as well. Despite the advantage that Kjellmann had in knowing personally many of the herders he spoke with, he did not find them champing at the bit to improve their lot by colonizing Alaska. In a field letter from Norway to the Bureau of Education in Washington, D.C., with which the reindeer project was affiliated, Kjellmann describes his recruitment success:

I have just returned from the mountains and have been lucky enough to procure five families and one single man for the Lapp colony, but it was a terrible job to get them. I was working at them for ten days before I could get the first one. The Lapps were very much afraid of the Eskimo; they thought that the Eskimo would kill them; they were afraid of the hard winter in Alaska, and they were

also afraid that the Government would not treat them rightly. At last I got them to sign a contract for three years if they could get any guarantee for their salary; therefore I telegraphed to Dr. Jackson. The Lapps agreed to meet at this seaport on April 13; they could not be ready before. (Kjellmann in Jackson, 1894, no. 2:79)

Elsewhere, as another reason for the Saami reluctance to consider his Alaskan offer, Kjellmann adds the fact that Saami had often been tricked into taking foreign jobs only to find that they were to be placed on exhibit (Kjellmann in Jackson, 1895:47).

An interesting detail in the correspondence between Kjellmann and Jackson at the Bureau of Education is the directive that Kjellmann recruit a Roman Catholic herder (Jackson, 1894, no. 2:66 and Kjellmann in Jackson, 1894, no. 2:79). The close bonds tying the Bureau of Education, the Alaskan missions and the herding project are readily evident. The Alaskan missions were each expecting to be supplied with a reindeer herd and a Saami instructor. The Roman Catholic mission hoped that it could order a Roman Catholic herding instructor from Lapland. This request proved difficult to fulfill, but despite an almost total lack of Catholic Saami, Kjellmann was able to find and recruit one.

Jackson, who was to rendezvous with Kjellmann in Norway, provides this list and short sketch of the recruits:

Johan Speinsen Tornensis, wife, and one child under 1 year of age; Samuel Johnsen

Kemi, wife, and two children, ages 1 and 4 years; Mathis Aslaksen Eira, wife, and one child 4 years of age; Mikkel Josefsen Nakkila and wife; Per Aslaksen Rist; Frederick Larsen. Some of these are men of property, owning large herds of reindeer, and have several thousand dollars deposited in bank. They can all read and write, and some of them speak the Finnish, Russian, and Norwegian languages. They brought with them a full supply of Lapp literature including hymn books and Bibles. (Jackson, 1894, no. 2:11-12)

However, in Jackson's 1895 report Kjellmann presents a list of recruits which differs slightly from the above. The Saami herder Aslak Larsen Somby, wife Britha and 11 year-old child have been added in the 1895 list (Kjellmann in Jackson, 1895:47). A picture of the newly arrived party at Port Clarence published in the 1894, no. 2 report shows Somby but not Larsen. It appears that Larsen was the 18 year-old Roman Catholic boy Kjellmann had located for the Catholic mission. Larsen was unmarried, and Per Rist had left his wife in Lapland, so the grown women on the trip numbered five.

It is apparent that even if these Saami were not excluding the possibility of permanent residence in Alaska, they were not taking it as a matter of course. It is doubtful that Rist would have left his wife in Lapland had he made the decision to remain in Alaska. Not only were some of these herders well stocked with cash or bank savings, as Kjellmann points out, but they possessed also considerable wealth in living reindeer, reindeer which they did not slaughter upon departure for Alaska, but which were instead given over to the care

of a relative until their return or until word came from their owner in Alaska requesting their sale. Poor herders without many reindeer and with little future in Lapland would surely have been keener to remain in Alaska (indeed, this generally proved to be the case), but Jackson and Kjellmann had decided to try to contract only the best herders and preferably men of prestige. What better means could there be of assessing a herder's abilities, they reasoned, than by considering the size of his herd? As it turned out, the Alaskan project leaders did not face a wealth of herding candidates, but they did concentrate on such men as did have reindeer, although many a good herder has been known to lose his herd.

The project leaders were concerned with obtaining instructors not merely of confirmed herding skill. They were interested in obtaining prestigious Saami, prestige being often but not always directly proportional to herd size. A Saami of wide respect would gain the ears of his fellows in Lapland and convince them of the soundness of the Alaskan reindeer project even if he himself did not choose to stay there. Thus the initial recruitment in 1894 was carried out with future recruitments in mind, and, as planned, the Saami from the first wave who returned to Lapland upon expiration of their three-year contracts played an important role in gathering together new recruits for the second wave in 1898.

Per Aslaksen Rist...is regarded as the most reliable and careful man for herding reindeer. Such was also his reputation in Lapland,

where he was entrusted with local offices, being a member of the board of supervisors and member of the court of consent. He is also the best of our herders and a man who in Lapland always owned his own and still owns a herd of 1,150 reindeer....his statements...are law to the other herders....

As I have heretofore informed you, this man did not come simply for the purpose of adding a few dollars to those which he already owns, but also for the purpose of making observations in regard to the Alaskan reindeer enterprise and to get acquainted with the climate and other conditions. If it should become necessary for some of the Laplanders to emigrate from Lapland, it will doubtless rest with him to decide whether or not the emigrants are to go to Alaska. (Kjellmann in Jackson, 1895:77)

The group left Kautokeino, Norway, the area (stretching to Bosekop) from which the volunteers had been recruited, on April 10, 1894. They put to sea from Hammerfest a week later and arrived in New York on May 12. After an adventurous train trip they reached the west coast of America, and in San Francisco on June 17th the party embarked upon the whaling brig W. H. Meyers, reaching the Teller Reindeer Station at Port Clarence, Alaska, on July 29th (for a detailed account of their trip, see Kjellmann in Jackson, 1895:47-54).

William Lopp, the Inuit apprentices and other curious Inuit were on hand to meet the newcomers. Lopp recorded in his journal that when the Inuit first saw the strange-looking Saami in their curly-toed shoes and four-pronged hats, one of them blurted, "Well, well! these are the people we have seen on our playing cards

for all these years," referring, of course, to the jokers (Lopp in Jackson, 1895:99). Soon thereafter, Lopp departed for Cape Prince of Wales to reopen the Congregational mission there after the murder of his friend, the missionary Harry Thornton, by three young Inuit. As planned, Kjellmann took over as superintendent of the Teller Reindeer Station. A log cabin, 16 by 35 feet, was constructed at the station out of driftwood to accommodate the Saami.

When the Saami first arrived at the Teller Station, the herd comprised about 500 head of which about 310 were females and 120 calves (Kjellmann in Jackson, 1895:55). Jackson notes that experiments with milking reindeer had not been very successful. The Inuit had wrestled the deer to the ground to milk them and after two hours had obtained only one quart, total, of milk from five cows. However, when the Saami came, there was an immediate improvement. The deer were milked standing, and in the fall the herd produced about 60 quarts of milk per day which was made into cheese for winter use (Jackson, 1894, no. 2:14). In this way and on many similar occasions the Saami demonstrated their skills in reindeer management. Some of the Saami were especially skilled at making fish seines and could supply the station with fresh fish. They showed themselves extremely capable in defending their sled deer with large knives against the attacks from dogs of Inuit villagers (Kjellmann in Jackson, 1895:64), taught their apprentices how to use the reindeer harness (of different type from

that used by the Siberians), and introduced the Inuit to the ski.

In explaining differences in the Saami work schedules, Kjellmann writes that for training animals, Mikkel Josefsen Nakkila and Johan Speinsen Tornensis are most competent and were known for this already in Kautokeino where they were frequently commissioned to train sled deer for others in exchange for the use of the deer during one year (Kjellmann in Jackson, 1895:77). Jackson seems to fit this observation into a general categorization of Saami:

Reindeer Lapps are of two classes--one who give their entire attention to the raising of reindeer, and the other who give their whole attention to freighting and transportation. The latter class in the old country seldom raise the reindeer which they own, but are accustomed to purchase from the breeder, then train and use entirely for freighting. We are very fortunate in having both classes among the seven Lapp men in Alaska. Two of the seven are trained freighters, and it is proposed to allow them this coming season to go to the mines and demonstrate the usefulness of the reindeer in that region for transporting freight and furnishing rapid communication for passengers and mail. With the introduction of a large number of deer, suitable for freighting purposes, it will be necessary to secure a larger number of experienced Lapps from the old country, as it will take a series of years before the natives can be so far trained that they can be trusted to freight on their own account. (Jackson, 1896:18)

This passage is interesting on many counts besides the simplistic classification of Saami. Jackson speaks of the reindeer's usefulness in terms of mining, communication and the carrying of mail, but he makes no mention of starving Inuit. Also, he clearly reveals an interest in procuring deer for freighting purposes and instructors from Lapland especially skillful in this practice--long before the "Yukon Relief Expedition," which supplied him with the excuse to implement his plans at government expense (more of this later).

Upon taking command at Teller, Kjellmann found that the apprentices were used to staying at the station and visiting the herd only occasionally for a look. With a belief that "any person who desires to become the owner of reindeer must first become a nomad," Kjellmann placed his apprentices in the field with tents near the herd (in Jackson, 1895). Each weekend one man would come to the station for provisions. The apprentices were to stay out four weeks at a time, and the herders (i.e. Saami) three months. Kjellmann had constantly to discipline the apprentices who at first took any excuse to leave the herd and return to the station. He writes that "it is unfortunately a fact that the apprentices here mentioned are chiefly such as have come from some mission station and there have obtained their taste for warm rooms," and he recommends to Jackson that future apprentices be plucked from their Inuit homes so that they avoid corruption by mission comforts (Kjellmann in Jackson, 1895:68). Evidently for Kjellmann, the establishment of an Alaskan reindeer herding industry was some-

what of an end in itself rather than a means to raise Inuit living conditions and level of education through missionary contact.

To help establish discipline, allocate responsibilities and set policies at reindeer stations, Jackson issued "Instructions for Conduct" (Jackson, 1894, no. 2:59). According to these instructions, no deer were to be killed except in extreme emergencies; an old or sick deer could be killed upon order by the superintendent, but the hide, horns, hoofs and sinew would belong to the station. The herders could have the meat. The Saami were encouraged to teach the apprentices the art of making glue from horns and hoofs. It was their duty to drill the apprentices in herding, driving, castrating, marking, milking, cheese making, lasso throwing, preparation of skins, and the manufacture of sleds, harnesses and snowshoes. (As for the snowshoes, this directive seems to have confused teacher and pupil.) Jackson realized that training in the use of herding dogs was of utmost importance. Nine Saami herding dogs had landed with the Saami at Port Clarence, and the instructions make plain that these should be guarded carefully to maintain a pure breed. When the Saami complained over the lack of a doctor at the Teller Station, the Norwegian-speaking Dr. Kittilsen was hired on as assistant superintendent. In accord with the terms of their agreement the Saami demanded and received tobacco rations, although this did not at all sit well with Jackson. The Inuit apprentices got no tobacco. Alcohol was

prohibited entirely at the Station, and no work was to be performed on Sundays.

Kjellmann and Jackson sought every opportunity to exhibit the usefulness of the reindeer and the wisdom of importing the Saami as well. In the winter of 1896-1897 Kjellmann, Rist and Nakkila left Teller on a 2,000-mile demonstration trip by reindeer sled. The purpose of the trip was simply to prove the speed and endurance of reindeer for transport over long distances. Long-distance travel by dog sled required the freighting of much heavy dog food, but the reindeer found food everywhere. The trip was a resounding triumph which Jackson made much of to justify the project's continued financial support from the government.

So pleased was Jackson with the efforts of the Saami and the achievements of the Inuit apprentices under Saami instruction after two years that he made it a matter of policy to send a Saami along in charge of any herd which was lent to a mission. The Saami would remain at the mission until his Inuit apprentices there were capable of carrying on without him. With the reindeer-loan system, a sizeable number of deer were loaned to a mission for a set time, maybe five years, after which the same number would be returned. (Sometimes the same sex ratio was demanded.) In this way the mission would retain the "interest" or growth of the herd and repay only the original investment. Frequently the animals to be repaid by one mission were passed along in loan to another. With such a system of branching loans, herds were established at missions all along the

Alaskan coast. The same type of reindeer loan policy is still practiced in Alaska today by the Bureau of Indian Affairs to help establish new herds. The 1897 report lists Somby as having been charged with the Golovin Bay herd, Eira with the Cape Nome herd, Larsen with the herd at Cape Prince of Wales. In fact, the movements of the Saami had become so many and varied that they are almost impossible to trace. The reindeer population continued to rise dramatically, and by the time the three-year contracts of his first Saami instructors had expired, Jackson needed them more than ever.

The Saami had been assured in their contracts that they would receive transportation back to Lapland after three years if that was their wish. Kjellmann advocated detaining the Saami who wanted to return to Lapland, at least until they had had every opportunity to see the best Alaska had to offer and came to be "favorably inclined to colonization," an inclination which Kjellmann admits did not then exist (Kjellmann in Jackson, 1896:118). If they were determined to leave, however, it would be best they did so with good feelings for Alaska so as to be a positive rather than a negative influence on new recruits. In accordance with their contract agreements, Rist, Somby, Kemi and Eira with their families (Mrs. Eira having died in Teller) returned to Norway in the company and charge of Kjellmann. But Tornensis, Nakkila and Larsen were prevailed upon to remain, "with the expectation that they will become herd owners and permanent citizens" (Jackson, 1897:10). Apparently those Saami who did return to Lapland had become convinced

of Alaska's herding promise (or said they had), for Jackson writes of the distinct possibility that after closing out their business affairs in Lapland these herders would return to settle in Alaska (Jackson, 1896:17-18). None of them returned, but they did help recruit other Saami for the second wave. In the winter of 1897, Kjellmann found himself again in northern Norway for the double purpose of returning old recruits and enlisting more.

The Second Wave

The second recruitment program of Scandinavian herders to Alaska was carried out on a much larger scale than the one previous. As we have seen, this was planned already from the first recruitment. Saami from the first wave to Alaska (hopefully prestigious ones) were to help influence new herders to enlist. Both Per Rist and Samuel Kemi were hired by Kjellmann to help bring in new herders. Yet, besides this sound preparation, events played into Jackson's hands enabling him to carry out his wishes on a scale not previously imagined and with greatly increased government support.

In the winter of 1897-98, a large group of miners was blocked by heavy snows in the mountains of the upper Yukon. It was feared that they would starve unless supplies could reach them over the long and treacherous route. At about the same time, several hundred whaling crewmen were trapped by ice at Point Barrow. Their safety, too, was a cause of great concern. Jackson was not about to pass up such opportunities to boost public

relations and inspire donations for his reindeer project (Friend, 1982:33). He immediately proclaimed that the only possible way to save these miners and whalers was by reindeer sled caravans driven by Saami. Not only would the caravans bring supplies, but reindeer would be driven along with them for slaughter upon reaching their destinations. In the worst case, the sled deer could themselves be sacrificed for food.

On March 30, 1898, after a hard struggle, Lopp, the Saami Larsen and a number of Inuit apprentices arrived in Point Barrow with their relief expedition only to find the whalers in fine fettle and not particularly needy. Yet the undaunting progress of the relief party through difficult terrain and bad weather did serve the purpose of winning support for Jackson's other rescue operation, the Yukon Relief Expedition.³

At the same time that Lopp was moving north to rescue the whalers, Kjellmann was in Norway to recruit more Saami. The latter had embarked upon his mission without full knowledge of the Yukon Relief Expedition, or at least unaware that the idea would succeed in gaining American military support (Jackson, 1898:35). Always the active campaigner, Jackson succeeded in convincing his contacts in Washington that only reindeer and Saami could help the Yukon miners, and on Dec. 23, 1897 the Secretary of the Interior arranged for him to meet the Secretary of War. From the Secretary of War Jackson received directives to contract herders and to bring sled deer from Scandinavia for the relief expedition under War Department authority and financial support. Mean-

while, Kjellmann, having sailed from New York on Dec. 1, 1897, was already in place.

I received written instructions from the Secretary of War to proceed at once to Norway and Sweden and purchase 500 reindeer, broken to harness, with sleds, harness, and drivers for hauling supplies into the Yukon Valley and transport the same to the United States....

...Consequently, when this unexpected demand of the Government for reindeer and Lapps arose, in accordance with the directions of the Secretary of War, I telegraphed Mr. Kjellmann from New York of the changed conditions, and instructed him to engage and send out all the assistants he could use to expedite the purchase of reindeer and the securing of Lapp colonists. (Jackson, 1898:32)

One wonders just how "unexpected" was this turn of events. In any case, it is plain that, for Jackson, the Saami who were to rescue the miners for the War Department were also to become "colonists" in Alaska. With government support, Jackson would be able to bring over many more Saami than he otherwise could have, and of these, maybe enough would stay to satisfy his growing need for instructors.

Upon receiving the news, Kjellmann redoubled his efforts and, from Bosekop, sent out one of his former employees, Rist, 112 miles south to Kautokeino, Norway, and another, Kemi, 265 miles east to Enare, Finland. He also dispatched a Mr. Carl Suhr 101 miles south to Sjus Javre (just east of Masi, Norway). Each of them was to bargain for trained deer, sleds and harnesses (Jackson,

1898:35). Meanwhile Jackson arrived in Trondheim, Norway, and completed the purchases begun by Kjellmann for hundreds of tons of reindeer moss which would be required to feed the reindeer during their trip to Alaska. Kjellmann left Bosekop and reached Kautokeino on Jan. 11, 1898, where he found his "lieutenants" waiting with the good news that all had been arranged with regards to the 500 requested sled deer, sleds and harnesses. The next day Kjellmann enlisted 23 Saami herders in Kautokeino and by Jan. 16 had returned to Bosekop. I have been provided with a copy of one of these contracts by Jan Henry Keskitalo, grandson of Isak Johannesen Haetta, to whom it was issued:

CONTRACT OF SERVICE

The undersigned, Isak Johannesen Haetta, admits and makes known that he has hired himself as reindeer herder, driver and trainer, and to teach the Esquimaux in Alaska in caring for reindeer in all its details, and furthermore to execute such work as my superior, put over me by the United States Government, may require; also to look out for and care for the reindeer during transport. Even so I bind myself to behave myself orderly and decently in every respect, and to meet in Bosekop, ready for the journey, the 1st day of next coming February, from which date this contract enters into effect.

For above referred to work and service, the undersigned, Sheldon Jackson, binds himself on behalf of the American Government, to make paid to the undersigned hired man a yearly salary of 1000 crowns, with necessary food and clothes--tobacco not included--and free transport to Alaska. If the hired man,

after two years' service, desires his salary to be paid with reindeer instead of money, such payment shall than take place. Even so shall the undersigned hired man, if he is found qualified thereto by his superiors, and desires to leave the service after two years' period, have the right to a loan of one hundred reindeer for three or five years, as will be further agreed upon, without lease or rent, in such a way that only the original number are returned to the Government and the surplus belongs to the lessor; all other things, with reference to residence, etc., under such conditions as may be further settled upon.

Time of notice of end of service on both sides is put to six (6) months, but no such notice can take place from the side of the hired man but after two years' service.

Kautokeino Norge,
the 13th. January, 1898.
(this document is signed
by Sheldon Jackson)

The above contract was written in English, but another version of the 1898 contract (translated from the Norwegian in which it was presented to the herders) can be found in Jackson (1898:107). The versions are identical in most part. However, in the translated and published version, the hired men are promised free nursing and medicine in case of illness, payment of salary during illness, free schooling for their children and exemption from taxes during the length of the contract. The men were also to be free from regular military service and have free lighting, heating, washing and mending of clothes (Jackson, 1898:107).

On Jan. 18 Kjellmann sent along with Rist a Mr. Kjeldsberg to Masi and Kautokeino to conduct the reindeer, their equipment and herders ("drivers") with families to Bosekop for embarkment. Kjellmann went to Sjus Javre himself for the same purpose. Suhr was sent on to Bautajok, and Kemi was dispatched once again to Enare to gather the reindeer drivers for delivery to Bosekop. The grand assembly at Bosekop attained heroic proportions:

The hotel at Bosekop, a strong log building with a substantial stone foundation, in a sheltered spot, trembled under the furious blasts of wind and snow. At midday houses a block away could not be seen through the driving snow. All traffic was suspended in the street; and yet on the mountains, where the cold was much greater and the wind swept with the force of a hurricane, were four herds of reindeer, and between one and two hundred men, women, and children in open sleds, facing the blizzard as, on different roads and widely separated sections, they were centering into Bosekop. While anxious lest they should be detained by the storm and perhaps some of the children perish, I received a call from the mayor (landsman) of the village. Inquiring what were the prospects of the Lapps getting through, he shook his head, saying that nothing could face that storm for any length of time and live. And I doubt whether any other race than the Lapp, that was cradled in the snow and inured from childhood to hardship, could have done so, or any other animal than the reindeer have brought them safely over the storm-swept and trackless mountains.

About noon, going to a window and with a knife scraping off the frost in order to get sight of a thermometer hanging outside, I saw faintly through the whirling snow a solitary

reindeer coming up the street, and soon after could make out a sled with a man encased in ice and snow. It was Mr. Kjellmann, his great fur coat covered with snow and his face and whiskers encased in a mask of ice.

Toward evening a Lapp arrived, announcing that Mr. Mathis Rira, with a band of 90 deer, had arrived from Maci, and gone into camp in the mountains back of the village. And on the afternoon of January 31 we were cheered by the safe arrival of the other three bands. Driving out with reindeer teams 7 miles to the crossing of Alten River, we met Mr. Carl Suhr and Mr. Samuel Kemi, with 4 men and 114 head of deer, from Bautajok, 165 miles distant. They were sent into camp on the east side of Alten River. Returning to Bosekop, we were met by a messenger announcing that Mr. M. Kjeldsberg and Mr. Per Rist, from Kautokeino, with 44 Lapps and 252 head of deer, had arrived and gone into camp.

While we were rejoicing in their safe arrival another messenger came with the news that Mr. A. Paulsen, with 29 Lapps and 90 deer, from Karasjok, had also arrived and gone into camp outside of the village. The three parties, starting from places a hundred miles apart and journeying by different routes, had reached the rendezvous within a few hours of one another. (Jackson, 1898:36-37)

While I do not wish to detract from his praise for the Lapp race, it is worth mentioning that the herders who assembled in Bosekop were not all of them Saami. Of the 113 Scandinavian passengers to America, 43 were native Saami herders, 16 native Saami women and 19 native Saami children; 15 were Norwegian herders, 3 Norwegian women and 7 Norwegian children; 10 were Finnish herders (actually, Finnish speaking residents of

Norway) (Jackson, 1898:39). See the Appendix for Jackson's published lists from both the 1894 and the 1898 recruitments.⁴

The ship, *Manitoba*, which was to convey the expedition to America, steamed toward Norway en route from Scotland. It stopped at Trondheim to load the reindeer moss bought by Jackson and Kjellmann and proceeded to Bosekop. The horns of the deer were sawed off so that they would not injure each other in cramped quarters, and on February 4, 1898, the *Manitoba* weighed anchor and set course for New York.

The reindeer which accompanied the new recruits on the *Manitoba* numbered 539 (costing on the average \$10 each) and were all of them castrated sled deer. It was not at all Jackson's desire to import breeding stock. He was still importing deer from Siberia, a larger breed of deer than the Lapland deer and closer to hand. The Lapland deer were trained animals, imported only for purposes of supplying transportation, a factor which made it much more difficult to obtain the requisite number. It would have been a simple matter to buy up a whole herd, but trained sled deer were not only far more scarce, they were far harder to pry loose from their owners (Jackson, 1898:37). On board were also 418 sleds at \$3.60 each and 511 sets of harness at \$2.50 each.

As with all journeys described by Jackson, the voyage of the *Manitoba* to New York was replete with tempestuous winds. But the hardy reindeer showed no signs of disturbance, and ate gratefully the snow which the

herders scraped from the deck after the storm. The ship itself was in rather poor condition and sank on the return trip to Europe. Nonetheless, the expedition landed safely in New York and proceeded by train to Seattle. The itinerary of the trip to Alaska becomes highly complicated at this point, for the group was split, rejoined and transported in different ships. Moreover, the trip was not immediately continued to Alaska's herding area along the northwest coast.

Before moving west, Jackson himself made a quick detour to Washington, D.C. and there learned that the Yukon miners had stood the winter well and were not in the least desirous of rescue. Of course, had they truly been facing starvation, the miners would probably have starved long before Jackson's rescue party had even left Scandinavia. The press did not fail to ridicule the operation from the start (Ray, 1975:239). One cannot help but form the impression that, with over 60 Scandinavian reindeer herders imported by, and in the service of, the American military, Jackson simply **had** to find something else adequately heroic for them to undertake. He needed something to justify their existence for the Department of War and not just for the Department of Interior and the herding instruction project. Jackson admitted openly that, "there was a larger number of employees on the hands of the Government than was needed" (Jackson, 1899:12). Apparently Jackson managed to convince the military authorities in Washington to let the Saami caravans move into the Yukon valley anyway; the regiments

posted there could use the improved transportation capabilities for exploration.

The travel route of the expedition remains, therefore, in many ways the same as it would have been had the miners been starving, although there was no longer any need of great haste to save human life. As a consequence, the government reindeer transport ship which was scheduled to move the rescue team to Haines Mission for its start inland to the Yukon valley, was instead sent to the Philippines as a troop transport ship. The United States had become engaged in a brief war with Spain.

The ten-day delay in Seattle was catastrophic for the reindeer. The supply of moss which had come with the deer from Norway dwindled rapidly, and in the effort to save some of it the reindeer were taken to a city park to graze on grass. The condition of the reindeer became poor, and twelve of them died. On March 10, 1898, the ship *Seminole* left Seattle with a cargo of reindeer, herders and their families, bound for Haines Mission (Basi, 1971:6, notes March 17 as the date of departure from Seattle). The women and children, about forty people in all, were landed at Fort Townsend to await the return of the herders upon completion of the long, 1,000-mile drive inland to meet with the military regiments at Circle City. Fifty-seven herders and the reindeer, along with the remainder of the moss, were landed at Haines Mission on March 28. Again the expedition was delayed for about a week at Haines Mission due to poor communications. While waiting at Haines, an

unusually early thaw caused the route to the moss fields, 60 miles inland, to become impassable. The deer began dying. By April 15, 362 deer had starved.

On the 4th of April, in accordance with instructions from the Secretary of War to the commanding general of the Department of the Columbia, Capt. B. Eldridge, U. S. A., divided the herd, reserving 200 head for the War Department, and turning over 326 head to the Interior Department. The herd, however, was by this time in such a weakened condition that it was not separated, and later on so many died that the 140 head that survived were left in charge of the Interior Department. (Jackson, 1898:42)

Jackson parted company with the expedition in Haines, and according to the diary kept by the Finnish herder Wilhelm Basi, "Dr. Jackson gave a touching farewell speech. He reminded us that when living and working among the heathens to show a good example" (Basi, 1971:7). Due to sickness in his family, Kjellmann was not able to accompany the expedition on its gruelling inland drive. Hedley Redmyer was placed in charge. Forty-three men returned with Kjellmann to Fort Townsend. Continued lack of rations forced Redmyer to send another group of eight men southward to join the others at Townsend (Jackson, 1898:44). Including Redmyer himself, only seven men remained for the inland drive up the Yukon. Redmyer's group and the remaining deer reached the Hutchie Valley area on Sept. 27. Jackson had hoped that the deer would be purchased by a mail contractor for use in the delivery of United States mail, but the

transaction was never consummated. Not until February 28, 1899 did Redmyer's team, with 114 deer, reach Circle City. The trip had been long and arduous, to say the least. In his annual report, Jackson writes that "the expedition was carried through successfully, and the reindeer proved their ability to make a journey that could not have been made either with horses or dogs" (Jackson, 1899:18). Yet, this assessment was surely one-sided. Determination and sacrifice notwithstanding, it is hard to depict the Haines-Circle City expedition as having been anything but a fiasco.

Army officers at Circle City used the reindeer for a few exploratory trips, but soon thereafter Jackson traded them to the Protestant Episcopal mission at the mouth of the Tanana River in exchange for the same number of deer (breeding stock) belonging to this mission but currently at Golovin Bay. The Golovin reindeer were much closer to the Eaton Reindeer Station, the new home of the Scandinavian immigrants, and thus both herds were spared needless shuffling (Jackson, 1899:19).

Jackson's account of the reassembly of the herders in Seattle and of their transportation northward to Unalakleet, with its newly established Eaton Reindeer Station nearby, is most confusing. Apparently the move was made from Seattle while Redmyer's team was still pushing up the Yukon. Jackson had trouble contracting ships, for they were in short supply. Traffic north was heavy as a result of the gold discoveries on the Snake River and at Cape Nome. The Scandinavians obtained passage finally on three ships, the Louise J. Kenney, the

Navarro and the Del Norte. Passengers from the Navarro were switched to the Del Norte at St. Michael. The Kenney reached Unalakleet on July 29, 1898, and the Del Norte arrived the following day (Jackson, 1898:45-6). In Unalakleet there was a Swedish mission, which had been founded, financed and administered by Swedish-Americans from the continental United States. In this mission as in others, Inuit were to be taught "the four Rs": reading, 'riting, 'rithmetic and reindeer.

At Unalakleet, in the summer of 1898, the second wave of Saami herders met with the first wave. Basi records in his diary for July 31st that:

Here we met old friends, Mr. and Mrs. Tornensis. They have five children and have been in northern Alaska taking care of reindeer for the government. They have worked five years. The reindeer were brought from Siberia. There are about 1000 of them in Alaska now. Their food and pasture are abundant. There aren't as many wolves and dogs to kill deer here as in Norway and Finland. (Basi, 1971:8)

The location of the Eaton Reindeer Station near Unalakleet was selected in the winter of 1897-98. The Station opened in the fall of 1898, and during the winter of 1898-99 trees were cut to supply the lumber for a large main building, a warehouse and six double cabins for the herders. The herders' doctor, F. H. Gambell, assumed the role of teacher for 11 Saami children, sometimes accompanied by their parents. The main purpose of the school was to help the Saami learn English (Jackson, 1899:14).

In his 1898 report, Jackson announced proudly a long list of herders who had submitted applications for naturalization and thereby indicated their intent to become permanent citizens. At this point Jackson still imagined that all the herders of the second wave, or at least all of those who had sought naturalization, were determined to become private Alaskan reindeer herders, breeders or trainers:

The 68 men that were brought over by this expedition are all picked men and expect to be permanent settlers of Alaska. They hope ultimately to have herds of their own and raise and train reindeer to sell to the transportation companies. Their success will naturally attract others of their people and render permanent the establishment of the reindeer industry in Alaska. (Jackson, 1898:47)

Jackson's 1899 report, however, contains a long list of herders who have obtained their release from government service and who have left the Eaton Reindeer Station for the gold mines at Golovin Bay and Cape Nome (1899:12). Most of the names on the two lists are the same, and it is quite plain that the applications for naturalization were inspired by the requirement that only American citizens could apply for gold mining claims. Only a few of the herders who became citizens became reindeer herding citizens.

The Norwegian herder, Jafeth Lindeberg, left for the mines immediately upon arrival in Unalakleet and before his service for the War Department had expired. Although the contracts for the herders in the second

wave were to have lasted two years, yet with the cancellation of the Yukon Relief Expedition the government had more salaried herders than it could gainfully employ, and was therefore not at all adverse to releasing a herder from the contract earlier than planned. Nor did the government demand the formal six-month termination notice mentioned in the contract. Lindeberg went on to stake one of the richest claims in Alaska and was so successful that he hired many of his old herding comrades while they were still under government contract to freight supplies to his mine by sled deer (Finnam, 1970:3). A number of herders were to follow Lindeberg to Nome once free of their contracts. Later, Lindeberg was to help finance the reindeer meat export business of the huge Lomen Brothers business (Finnam, 1971:10).

The herders had signed service contracts with the American government for two years, but the government had distributed this service and its accompanying budgetary responsibilities so that the herders were contracted under the War Department for the first year (until Jan. 31, 1899) and under the Interior Department for the second year. By Sept. 10, 1899, only 22 herders remained in government service, while 44 had ended their contracts. Not all of the 44 who had terminated their government service were intent upon work in the gold mines, however. Some became reindeer-driving mail carriers. Johan Peter Johannesen (also known as Stalogargo), who had delivered mail by reindeer in Lapland, froze to death when caught in a blizzard on his Alaskan mail route (Lomen 1954:51). Many herders returned to Lapland, and

of those who did remain in America, many settled in Seattle rather than in Alaska (Cf. Lomen, 1954:249).

As can be seen from the "Contract of Service" above, Jackson was prepared to implement the same type of reindeer loan program for Scandinavian herders after two years of service as he had instituted for various missions. Even if the herders were to leave government service as trainers of sled deer and instructors to the Inuit apprentices, their presence in Alaska as practicing private herders would be of great benefit to the maintenance of the reindeer industry. While he may have come from Norway in 1898 with more herders than immediately necessary, and therefore should have been in a fairly secure position for the supplying of instructors even if some herders left the service, Jackson was not prepared for the effects of the Alaskan Gold Rush.

Gold was discovered at Nome in the near proximity of the reindeer stations at Teller and Eaton, so that the herders found themselves in place with a good head start over the crowds of gold seekers streaming north. Although Jackson tried to wring what he could of positive value from the gold rush for his herding project--for example, he points out the huge demand for reindeer transport to bring supplies and mail to the mushrooming mining camps--he decried the drinking and immorality which spread in its wake. Lawless White men even stole reindeer, causing Jackson to suggest a new chapter in the Alaskan criminal code for their punishment (Jackson, 1900:18). Moreover, the Gold Rush took more herders from his service than he would have liked, and made

gold seekers or merchants out of herders who otherwise would have become private herders upon expiration of their two-year service contracts. In effect, the Gold Rush brought a storm of development over northwest Alaska, providing both Scandinavian immigrants and Inuit new job opportunities within a new socio-economic infrastructure. Jackson was no longer the orchestrator of development in the north. Gold took it out of his hands.

With the approaching end of the service agreement for the second-wave herders, Jackson, the station superintendents, as well as the missionaries, were anxious to renew contracts with those herders remaining in government service. The superintendent at the Eaton Station, Dr. Gambell, gave Jackson the following report:

As you have instructed me to contract with seven Laplanders for another year at a salary of \$500 a year, I made known to them during the first part of November what my intentions were. On the 15th of January the men were asked if they wished to contract for another year at the above salary. They were all of the opinion that it was not sufficient if they were to buy their own clothes and provisions. As they dress in skins practically during the whole year, and as the great influx of miners has greatly reduced the supply of furs, they reasoned that their salary would be wholly consumed in supplying the wants of their families and themselves. (Gambell in Jackson, 1900:52)

On Jan. 31, 1900, the day of expiration for the herders' contracts, Dr. Gambell wrote in a letter to Jackson:

There is general dissatisfaction at the station among the Laplanders. None of them will contract for another year's service in Government work. I have contracted with four men on the same terms as their old contract, for the coming six months, that the herd might be attended to until your arrival at least. Their names are as follows: Johan Isaksen Tornensis, Ole Olsen Bahr, Per Mathisen Spein, Alfred Hermansen. (Gambell in Jackson, 1900:57)

The provisional agreements Gambell had made with the four herders mentioned above were to extend through June 30, 1900 only. When their original contracts expired on Jan. 31, 1900, most of the employees at the Eaton Station left their jobs.⁵ Some of these went to the mines, others stayed in Eaton until they were able to return to Lapland that fall. For a description of the transportation of these Saami back to Lapland in 1900, see Jackson (1900:38-39).

Of the large group of herders who had come in 1898, only a handful remained in service. Besides those contracted by Gambell, one can read of herders such as Alfred Nilima, Per Spein and Ole Bahr, who lingered in government service, often making individual agreements with the missions they served until they left to start their own private herds. Indeed, some herders seem to have combined government service with private herd ownership. Jackson blames the Gold Rush to some extent for the high salaries demanded by the herders. Since so many of their companions had become rich outside of government service, those who considered remaining thought it justified to request sizeable raises. When, for

example, on July 1, 1900, it became necessary to renew terms with the herders provisionally contracted by Gambell, Jackson had to agree not only to maintain the recent wage increase (to \$500 a year) but also to supply free rations and clothing (Jackson, 1900:12). By 1902, in accordance with their original contracts, five herders had been given reindeer under the government loan system. Under later, additional terms, these herders were also each obliged to take on an Inuit apprentice for training.

Upon termination of their original contracts in 1900, of the 113 Scandinavians brought to America aboard the *Manitoba*, three men had died, 24 people had returned to Lapland, and of the 86 remaining in Alaska, 17 to 20 had made fortunes in gold (Jackson, 1900:12). At this point the fates of the Saami in Alaska become too scattered and varied to trace here. Even the employment records of the herders still in service are terribly complicated. And for the others, once out of government service they are also rarely featured in Jackson's annual reports.

Ethnic Relations

Instances and statements which reflect the attitudes of the White leaders of the reindeer program toward both Saami and Inuit have already been noted. The Saami position in the basic tripartite model--supervisors, instructors and apprentices--derived directly from the role of their predecessors, the Siberians. The

assignment of Whites to be supervisors, Saami (or Siberians) to be instructors and Inuit to be apprentices, did, of course, fit their training and education in relation to the task at hand, but clearly ideas of ethnic suitability and rank in civilized development figured as well. The level of civilization attained by the different groups even explained their abilities, and in a rather circular fashion provided the putative evidence establishing the limits to that which individuals might achieve. Gross generalizations mark Jackson's descriptions of Siberians, Saami and Inuit, giving the impression that he is discussing what he considers to be genetically determined traits of temperament and intelligence.⁶

For example, in order to justify his policy of long Inuit apprenticeship and slow reindeer transfer into Inuit hands, Jackson writes, "In Lapland where the people have greater intelligence and the advantage of heredity, a young man is required to serve an apprenticeship of five years before he is considered competent to manage for himself" (1894, no. 2:13). Thus Inuit should be required to undergo apprenticeship at least as long if not longer. When explaining his plan of importing Saami rather than Siberians to be used as herding instructors, Jackson asserts the intelligence of the civilized Saami over the barbarous Siberians. The Saami seemed superior to the Siberians because of their ability to read and write and they were, moreover, Christian (Cf. Jackson, 1895:14). Nonetheless, although civilized and Christian, the Saami

...cannot be managed as are other civilized people of the lower classes. Allowance must be made for the fact that they have spent their lives in the mountains, where they had no chance to keep up with our advancing civilization. They are liberty-loving people, taught to be so by the singing birds when as babes they swung in their cradles in the limbs of trees and as boys they pursued the wild beasts, the fleet-footed rabbit, or swift reindeer....Born and reared under such influences in old Lapland, where they have had no restraint for the body or mind, no word of command, and where no social customs of civilized life were known, it is but natural that patience must be extended to them. However, from the managers' side they bring the best results. (Kjellmann in Jackson, 1897:49-50)

According to Jackson and his White supporters, the relative ranks of the different ethnic groups on the scale of civilization and intelligence at that time in Alaska seems to have been in descending order: Whites, Saami, Siberians and Inuit.

It is far more difficult to try to uncover the attitudes of the Saami and Inuit toward each other. Besides such limited data as I have been able to obtain from the field, we possess only the occasional comments of White men--Jackson, the supervisors and the missionaries--on this topic. One of the main determinants of the Saami-Inuit relationship was, of course, the differentiated status, responsibilities and privileges accorded each group by the White man. In order to attract permanent Saami colonists to Alaska, Jackson and his team had promised the recruits many enticements, advantages not made

available to the Inuit apprentices. Obviously, an advantage not shared among the members of both groups became a privilege marking ethnic distinction and contributed to inter-group tension.

The most important differences in rights between Saami and Inuit regarded their access to reindeer property. While the Saami acquired the right to slaughter male deer from the government herd when absolutely necessary for food, the Inuit apprentices had no such right. When Kjellmann first took office as supervisor of the Teller Station, he found that even when guarding the reindeer, "the apprentices were feeding on the bark of willows, as the herd was too far from the coast for any fishing to be done" (Kjellmann in Jackson, 1897:54). Many years elapsed before Inuit were permitted to slaughter deer freely within their "own" herds. The Saami instructors received a salary and after a few years of service could obtain a loan of 100 reindeer from the government in order to begin herding privately. An Inuit apprentice, however, could borrow only two female deer per year of service. At the end of five years, if judged worthy, he might borrow additional deer to bring his total holdings up to 50 head. But even after this time, and for fully twenty years, the deer were to be kept under the care of an experienced Saami and the supervision of the mission station. If at any time during this period the Inuit apprentice should show himself irresponsible or drunk, he might forfeit the animals (Jackson, 1903:10). The rules for the service of Inuit apprentices varied from time to time, but always they were

extremely demanding and involved a lengthy period during which the behavior of the apprentices was subject to severe sanctions.

A decade after the introduction of reindeer to Alaska, their distribution was as follows:

At present there are 6,505 reindeer gathered in eleven herds at nine central stations. Seventy-five persons have an ownership in these deer...2,841 belong to 68 Eskimo herders; 741 are loaned to missionary stations of the Norwegian Evangelical Synod, the Swedish Evangelical Union, the Presbyterian, Moravian, Roman Catholic, and Friends; 500 loaned to 5 Laplanders; 650 owned by 5 Laplanders; 1,435 are the property of the Evangelical Swedish Union, The Episcopal, Presbyterian, Norwegian Evangelical Synod, Moravian, Friends, and Roman Catholic mission stations; and 338 are still remaining in the Government herds to be hereafter loaned. (Jackson, 1903:9)

The Inuit apprentices owned on the average about 42 head each while the remaining five Saami herders owned on the average 130 head each with another 100 head each on loan. The government and the missions still owned a large number of reindeer, despite Jackson's earlier pronouncement that the main object of his reindeer enterprise was to get deer into the hands of the Natives (Jackson, 1894 no. 1:19). Later, when under growing criticism for such distribution of the deer, Jackson was quick to add that "the deer owned by the Lapland herders and the stations, or 32 percent of the total, are

in the nature of an equipment for the industrial training of natives" (Jackson, 1905:19).

Other factors were also cause for friction between Inuit and Saami. The Inuit apprentices did not have access to provisions equal to those of the Saami. The instructors had superior living quarters and, for example, received a larger ration of flour than did the apprentices (Widstead in Jackson, 1896:22). The allowance of tobacco to the herders of the first wave and its denial to the apprentices was an additional irritant. This Saami privilege caused such grumbling among the apprentices and distaste from Jackson (whose schools taught the evils of drinking and smoking), that the contract with herders in the second wave made a point of ending the government obligation to supply tobacco.

Regardless of the regulations which were imposed by the White leaders and which naturally caused the Inuit some bitterness against their instructors, it seems that the Inuit were from the start disposed to ridicule the Saami. The Inuit in the region were prone to pronounce the Saami simple-minded and lazy until they had proven otherwise. While one might explain the origin of this negative attitude by reference to Inuit chauvinism--an explanation adopted by Kjellmann, for instance (Kjellmann in Jackson, 1895:65-66)--one can also surmise it to be the Inuit response to the White man's highly public pronouncements of Saami superiority over Inuit. After all, the Saami were imported to be their teachers and much touted as having advantages of heredity and intelligence over the Inuit. I consider it quite understandable

that the Inuit should not simply acquiesce to the White man's ethnic ranking, and might, therefore, seek to condemn the Saami out of hand.

Unfortunately, Kjellmann and the other White leaders either could not or would not divulge specific instances of Saami-Inuit tension. We are told simply that the Saami "did not receive the warmest welcome," that there was "dissatisfaction," and "a variety of stories" circulating about the Saami (Kjellmann in Jackson, 1895:65). According to Kjellmann, once the Saami were informed of "the cause to this strange relation and its want of respect for them," things were soon set right:

...it was made clear to them [the Saami] that the only way to gain the respect of the Eskimos was to demonstrate their superiority in fact, and they lost no opportunity of showing these people how superior they were in every respect. I am glad to be able to report that the relations very rapidly improved, particularly between the Lapps and apprentices, and the feelings between them have grown better day by day. The apprentices, at least most of them, have long since discovered their inferiority and seen how much they have to learn from these people. We have now reached a point where no apprentice undertakes to do anything before he has consulted one of the Lapps, so far as the languages make it possible. (Kjellmann in Jackson, 1895:65)

The White man's solution to the problem of Saami-Inuit tension was for the Saami to assert their superiority and confirm the White man's ethnic ranking. Tensions did not subside as easily as Kjellmann would have us believe, but

certainly relations did improve. Ten years after the arrival of the first wave of Saami and six years after the arrival of the second wave to Alaska, however, we can still find hints of occasional inter-ethnic difficulty, usually in areas of new Saami and reindeer expansion (e.g. Gambell in Jackson, 1904:82). The Saami found themselves in a curious situation: while the context of their presence demanded that they assert themselves to avoid Inuit scorn, success in gaining the authority demanded of them as instructors confirmed and abetted White ideology, an ideology not particularly flattering to the Inuit. That the Saami and the Inuit managed to secure as good relations as they did, despite this context, is to their great credit.

Although Saami-Inuit relations were generally good, and certainly better than relations between the Siberians and Inuit had been, my own Inuit informants have confirmed that while the Saami were respected as herders, they did not on the whole have intimate friendly relations with the Inuit community. The Saami often lived in separate quarters at the reindeer stations, and those who became private herders tended to congregate in their own corner of town to form a distinct social unit in the otherwise Inuit village. They did not assimilate easily into the Inuit social network, although there were some cross marriages, which promoted integration.

Anthropologists have argued that the traditional generosity of hunters as opposed to the "primitive capitalism" of pastoralists may be a logical consequence of their differing modes of production. Traditional hunters

can rarely store the food they obtain from a kill, and so they distribute it widely. In this act they both convert the surplus into prestige and forge bonds of reciprocity. Pastoralists, on the other hand, can store much of their wealth "on the hoof". Prestige for them is largely a factor of herd size, a situation which does not foster great generosity (see Paine, 1971). I have myself heard from Inuit informants in the field who remembered the Saami that they were sometimes "stingy," or that despite their herding prowess, they were still rather inept at life in the Alaskan wilderness. Of course, traditional Inuit social patterns of food distribution would not alter immediately when an Inuit hunter took a job as a herding apprentice. One can easily understand that the Saami, with a long history of private ownership over the means of production (reindeer), seemed miserly to the Inuit. Similarly, to the Saami and the White supervisors intent upon conserving the breeding capacity of the herds to the fullest in order to spread reindeer throughout Alaska, the Inuit traditions of massive feasting and wide and generous food distributing, a system highly rational when applied by hunters to game, was anathema if applied to reindeer.

Each group possessed different traditional skills, and it is not surprising that a certain sense of rivalry was generated. Apparently, White missionaries and herding supervisors participated in the discussion, even taking sides for the Saami or the Inuit. Probably much of the discourse as to the advantages of "the Saami way" over "the Inuit way" and vice versa, or the quality of the

Saami character as opposed to the Inuit character, really had to do with implied arguments over racial and cultural superiority so common at that time. Lopp, for example, seems to have disliked the general and constant lauding of the Saami and the concurrent lack of appreciation for the Inuit. He made a point of repeatedly refusing to receive a Saami herding teacher for the reindeer station at Wales, claiming that his Inuit herders were every bit as efficient (Jackson, 1901:18). Lee, who later replaced Lopp at Wales writes:

They [Inuit herders at Wales] said the only way was to drive the whole herd to the Teller reindeer station, where they could have the advice and assistance of the Laplander there, for the herders at the cape have never had the benefit of instruction from the Laplander, so that all they know of the deer business is what they have picked up themselves. During my first season here a Lapp, who was married to a native woman, visited the village and spent a few days with the herders in the deer camp. They boys told me that they learned more about the deer in those few days than they ever knew before. (Lee in Jackson, 1904:107)

Lee's statement indicates that Lopp was far more prone to assert the skills of his Inuit herders than they were themselves. In general, it is difficult to assess the various reports of the White supervisors when they evaluate the Saami and Inuit, for one must constantly be aware of the pronounced social Darwinism which could color their remarks. Statements made in praise of the Inuit might well have been constructed by Whites who came

to know and appreciate them so as to refute the accepted ethnic ranking paradigm. Moreover, Jackson's own comments also shift depending upon his financial needs and project plans. When he wanted to import Saami herders, the Inuit are portrayed as rather helpless. When he is no longer in need of Saami, but still in need of funding, he is more inclined to sing the praises of the Inuit herders to demonstrate the progress of the reindeer project. When he is forced to justify the grossly unequal distribution of reindeer to the Inuit in a program supposedly for their benefit, Jackson falls easily back upon the argument that the Inuit are not as able as the Saami, that they "lack the benefits of heredity," and therefore cannot be entrusted so readily with valuable reindeer property. Obviously, one must examine the various statements concerning Saami and Inuit behavior and character quite critically.

Both the literature and my own interviews in the field affirm the mutual respect of Saami and Inuit reindeer men for each other. Jackson, though having a propensity to overstate and to glorify, must be believed on the whole when he writes:

The relation between the herders and apprentices has been the best. This is also true as regards the herders, apprentices and outside natives. It is remarkable how readily they exchange customs, especially in the style of clothing. This is only the third year, yet many exchanges have been made on both sides. (Jackson, 1897:49)

Many Inuit apprentices adopted Saami skis, curl-toed shoes (which had at first sight caused such laughter) and four-cornered hats (Jackson, 1895:85). Pictures of the Saami in Alaska show them often dressed in the practical, hooded Inuit parka. The Saami demonstrated their superiority in matters of reindeer management, but did not automatically link their skill to superior heredity or intelligence. In fact, the Saami instructors came to rank some of their Inuit apprentices as among the best herders in the world (Mary Bahr, personal communication). When the Saami Andrew Bahr led the "Great Northern Drive" to deliver 3,000 head of Alaskan reindeer to the Mackenzie Delta in Canada--an exhausting five-year triumph ending in 1935 (see Scotter, 1982; Miller, 1935; and Evans, 1935)--he picked a number of Inuit herders to join him, not just Saami herders (Lomen, 1954:253 ff.).⁷

Many of the imported Saami learned to speak Inuit, especially those who renewed their contracts or stayed for an extended time in Alaska. It is more surprising to learn that some of the Inuit apprentices learned to speak Saami, at times knowing the Saami language better than English (Jackson, 1900:138). Given the situation, so common at the reindeer stations and missions, where White immigrant Scandinavians often supervised imported Saami instructors and local Inuit, one can well imagine the borrowing and cross-fertilization of languages and other cultural traits. Kjellmann reported to Jackson in 1897:

Which language is most used at the station camps is more than I can attempt to state. At present a language which is called "Lap-Eskimo-English" is used. In using this, when every other fails, one can make himself understood, especially if a little seasoning of Norwegian is put in. (Kjellmann in Jackson, 1897:53)

Much later, Pher Thuuri--himself a Swedish Saami who in 1931 together with another adventurous Saami youth took a herding job in Alaska--reported that the Saami herders he found there were outwardly like Americans and even spoke their language until alone when they would revert to speaking Saami (SET, 1931:June). He writes:

In the company in which we have employment, the majority of members are of Saami heritage, but on the question of life style, type of clothing and traditions they have to a great extent taken up American habits. (Thuuri, SET 1931:June)

Thuuri came to spend the rest of his life in Alaska and to relay interesting information back to Sweden in a series of articles. He noted that the Alaskan deer were far less tame than those in Scandinavia, that the Alaskan grazing lands had far fewer natural hindrances, and that there were many reindeer, although each one sold for only one tenth of a Scandinavian deer (Thuuri, SET 1931:March and June). He was much pleased by the fact that in Alaska there was no major conflict between reindeer herders and farmers as there was then in Scandinavia, and, although he sometimes mentioned the lack of comforts, at one point he even referred to Alaska as a

herders' paradise. Yet, in the next breath Thuuri wondered if "the American government might not drive us away one fine day" (SET, 1932:Dec.). On this point he proved prophetic.

When I arrived on the northwest coast of Alaska in 1982 to work as a reindeer herder with the Inuit NANA Regional Corporation, I could find little remaining of Saami herding techniques. Skis were not used, nor were lassos, and the herders had no trained lead deer or sled deer. The corrals were constructed very differently from those in Lapland.⁸ The system of ear marking was more like that used for cattle on the American ranches than like that used in Lapland for reindeer (Beach, 1985). Reindeer herding dogs were hardly to be found. A few sheep dogs had been imported from Texas on an experimental basis. The herds were practically wild by Lapland standards (though not in relation to the Alaskan Caribou), and the main profits made from herding stemmed from the sale of velvet antler, cut from living deer for the Asian market where it is used as a medicine and believed to increase sexual potency. (The cutting of velvet horn from living deer is illegal on the grounds of cruelty to animals in Scandinavia.) Much the same could be said of all the other Alaskan herding enterprises I came in contact with on the Seward Peninsula. Herding premises in Alaska today are fundamentally different from those now current in Scandinavia as well as those

which existed during the epoch of Saami herding in Alaska.

Saami herders are no longer to be found, although there are herders today with Saami blood who can trace their relations back to one of the original Saami immigrants to Alaska. However, I have met none with knowledge of his Saami family tree stretching further back through generations in Lapland. (Recently this knowledge has been partially improved in some cases through contact with visiting Lapland Saami and by the efforts of the author.) Culturally the contemporary Saami descendants in Alaska of mixed Saami, Inuit and even White blood exhibit almost nothing of Saami heritage.

When I first came to Alaska, only three full-blooded Saami remained in the state (Cf. Vorren, 1977:24). All were children born of "Second Wave" Saami parents. One had been born in Lapland and had come to Alaska as a baby. The other two had been born of Saami parents soon after their arrival in Alaska. Each of these "Last Lapps" as they were called, was approximately 80 years old or more. These three had been raised by Saami parents within a small but vital Saami herding group. They retained knowledge of Saami herding traditions and had herded actively in Alaska. Two of them spoke excellent Saami, and the third understood a good deal and had once been more proficient. Now as I write (May, 1986), only one remains alive.

A permanent Saami colony in the New World was not realized. Little is left of that which was once such a cherished dream and hard-won investment. One June

afternoon, while waiting for the Alaskan reindeer to calm themselves in the corral after they had been rounded up for de-horning, the Inuit herders suggested we play a game they called "Norwegian," the name they gave to a form of Scandinavian "bränn boll" (akin to baseball) taught them by the Saami and now passed down through the Inuit generations. But besides this and some old reindeer sled harnesses, long since out of use, an occasional mixed Saami-Inuit fur sewing fashion, old photographs and memories, I found nothing remaining to remind one of the Saami presence in Alaska.

The fate of the Saami relocation to Alaska is intimately bound up with the story of Alaskan herding in general, a story too large to undertake in detail here. However, in the closing section which follows, I shall attempt to sketch in broad strokes the demise of the Saami experiment in Alaska.

Closing

Tragically, the Saami immigrants, members of a hard-pressed minority in their home countries, where their Native rights have been successively diminished to encompass little besides reindeer herding, came to be excluded from reindeer herding in Alaska because of their non-Native status. Despite the earlier reindeer privileges given the Saami over the Inuit, and despite the government's recruitment plan to establish a permanent colony of reindeer herding Saami in Alaska, the

American Reindeer Act of 1937 deprived the Alaskan Saami of their reindeer. The Saami, who had been brought over for the express purpose of reindeer herding and whose entire lifestyle revolved around this occupation, came to be ranked with the Whites in general and locked out of their traditional profession. For Native Alaskans, reindeer herding had shallow roots, but in 1937 the herding privilege fell to them alone.

Certainly a law which protects a limited resource for Native utilization is commendable on many points. Similar laws confine reindeer herding privileges to Saami in many parts of Scandinavia. Moreover, the initial purpose of establishing a reindeer stock in Alaska identified the Natives as beneficiaries. Nonetheless, the Reindeer Act of 1937 should have made a slight exception for the few Alaskan Saami still engaged in herding. Competition for reindeer was not extreme, nor were the grazing lands hard pressed in Alaska. Saami herding posed no threat to Inuit herding; on the contrary, Inuit herding stood a far better chance of survival supported by an actively herding Saami presence. The story behind the origin of the Reindeer Act of 1937 indicates that the exclusion of the Saami was not a simple oversight and that it occurred with full knowledge of the drastic consequences for Alaskan herding as a whole.

In 1905 and 1906 an investigation by Indian Agent Frank Churchill revealed ownership of reindeer by Alaskan Natives to be disappointingly low, considering the numbers owned by the missions and the Saami. There were protests raised in Washington. Did not Jackson

receive support from the Federal Government in his reindeer import enterprise in order to aid the Inuit? Jackson was asked to resign, and Native ownership was increased under new rules (Stern et.al., 1980:34). Yet, although the regulations tightened, they did not totally bar White ownership of reindeer. The Lomen family, originally from Minnesota, came to dominate the era of private, ownership of reindeer. The Lomen reindeer holdings began in 1914, when they bought the herd (in the Kotzebue area) of Alfred Nilima, who had been one of the instructors imported from Scandinavia. The Lomens were able to borrow large sums of money with which they acquired a number of herds and in time became the largest reindeer owners in Alaska. Their ownership rights were hotly contested, their business ethics questioned and their herding operations frequently under investigation (Mozee, 1933). With the Lomens, however, the reindeer business and the marketing of reindeer products for a time made great strides. What also developed was a basic opposition between supporters of a reindeer business for the benefit of indigenous peoples--the Native camp--and supporters of the industry as purely a commercial enterprise--the Lomen camp (Stern et.al., 1980:43).

The Reindeer Act of 1937 grew out of this debate. Herd ownership was reserved for Natives; Saami and Whites were thereby barred. But while there was definitely a real concern to aid the Native cause through an industry supposedly created for their benefit, it was not difficult to suspect ulterior motives. Observers noted

that the Lomen business had started to fail financially and was in serious debt. Opponents to the proposed Reindeer Act claimed that its hidden purpose was to help "bail out" the Lomens. In order to secure a Native monopoly on reindeer, the Federal Government would have to buy out non-Native interests. The Lomens campaigned actively in Washington, D.C., for the passage of the Act excluding them from reindeer ownership, and they were in fact bought out, but at a price they considered insultingly low. In a book about his life with the reindeer, Carl Lomen (1954) denies vehemently that the Reindeer Act was favorable to his family at all. The Lomens claim that while they were certainly in a poor financial position and forced to accept and even to advocate passage of the Act, this condition was largely the result of previous government policy and Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) meat marketing practices.

Still other motivations can be found which call into question the motives behind the Reindeer Act of 1937 and its pro-Native ideology. Much of the lobbying for passage of the Act was the work of cattle ranchers in the Lower 48 who were opposed to the competition of Alaskan reindeer meat during a period of economic depression. These ranchers reasoned, and rightly so, that once removed from the care of the missions and the Saami herders, the reindeer herds would decline and the industry would be crippled (Friend, 1982; Beach, 1985).

The rapid decline of Alaskan herding cannot be blamed solely upon the exclusion of the Saami, however. The reindeer increased drastically, both straining grazing

capacity and driving down their price. War and the Depression took their toll. The coming of the airplane in the 1930s replaced the reindeer as freight transportation and made it possible to fly beef to the bush. The dominating power behind herding in the 30s, the Lomen family, perhaps sensing troubles mounting against them, arranged the sale of 5,000 head to Canada at a price better than what they eventually got from the U. S. government in 1937. The "Great Trek" mentioned above led by the elderly Saami Andrew Bahr to deliver these deer to the Mackenzie Delta marked the final crescendo of Saami participation in Alaskan herding.

By this time few of the original Saami immigrants continued to herd reindeer in Alaska. Most had returned to Scandinavia, others had bought land and settled, notably around Seattle. Those who still herded, however, were forced to sell their deer to the government in 1937 at a mere three dollars per head. When I visited them in 1982, Mary Bahr and Andrew Banks (Bongo), the last two full-blooded Saami in Alaska, still spoke with great bitterness about the way in which the U. S. government had broken its agreement with the Saami. Andrew, his brother and father took seasonal work in canneries, mines and stores, work which paid little and was foreign to them (Cf. Brooks, 1982:10). They also tried logging and fishing. Mary's parents tried mink farming but without much success.

It was an unforgettable experience for me to be present in Unalakleet during the meeting of these two, old "last Lapps" with a group of four young Saami newly

arrived from Scandinavia. For Mary Bahr, just to speak the Saami language again was a rare treat. One of the visiting Saami, Jan Henry Keskitalo, was the grandson of one of the early immigrants whom Mary remembered warmly. The evening was filled with conversation and laughter that seemed to rise from the past to fall at last upon the right ears. There were old memories to tell to those for whom they had special significance. Over us all rested the heavy consciousness of ending, that a people, not just individuals, had come and gone, and that soon these memories would become second-hand.

Appendix

List of Lapland recruits to Alaska in 1894:

Jackson's reports are not without discrepancies. In 1894's report he presents this list of Lapland recruits:

Johan Speinsen Tornesnsis, wife, and one child under 1 year of age; Samuel Johnsen Kemi, wife and two children; ages 1 and 4 years; Mathis Aslaksen Eira, wife, and one child 4 years of age; Mikkel Josefsen Nakkila and wife; Per Aslaksen Rist; Frederick Larsen. (Jackson, 1894, no.2:11)

In 1896 the following list appears:

Johan Tornensis, wife, and a 2-year-old girl; Mikkel Nakkila and wife (Tornensis's sister); Mathis Eira, wife, and two boys, 1 and 5 years old; Samuel Kemi, wife, one girl 3 years old and one boy 10 months; Aslak Somby, wife, and girl about 10 years old; Per Rist; Frederick Larsen. (Jackson, 1896:48)

List of Lapland recruits to Alaska in 1898:

FROM KAUTOKEINO.

| Names. | Age. | Sex. | Names. | Age. | Sex. |
|--------------------------------|------------------|---------|-------------------------------|------------------|---------|
| | <i>Yrs. Mon.</i> | | | <i>Yrs. Mon.</i> | |
| Johan Olsen Pulk, 3 years a. | 42 | Male. | Isak Salomonson Nakkila. | 24 | Male. |
| Karon (his wife)..... | 50 | Female. | Nils Persen Bala..... | 41 | Do. |
| Inger Karon (child)..... | 15 | Do. | Elen Maria (his wife)..... | 23 | Female. |
| Berret Inga (child)..... | 10 | Do. | Ingra Bala (child)..... | 18 | Do. |
| Aslak Johnsen Bala, 4 years a. | 46 | Male. | Per (child)..... | 15 | Male. |
| Susanna (his wife)..... | 40 | Female. | Merit (child)..... | 11 | Female. |
| Mikkel Aslak (child)..... | 7 | Do. | Per Mathisen Bjørn..... | 27 | Male. |
| Johan Pottor Persen Hattaa b. | 5 | Male. | Ole Klemetsen Hattaa..... | 25 | Do. |
| Berret Anna (his wife)..... | 23 | Do. | Aslak Aslaksen Haup..... | 27 | Do. |
| Nils Persen Bala..... | 24 | Female. | Kjorsten (his wife) a..... | 21 | Female. |
| Mari (his wife)..... | 40 | Male. | Ole Johnnussen Pulk..... | 20 | Male. |
| Ellen (child)..... | 16 | Female. | Isak Mikkelson Tornensis a. | 40 | Do. |
| Mikkel (child)..... | 12 | Do. | Per Johnnussen Hattaa..... | 26 | Do. |
| Morten (child)..... | 6 | Do. | Nils Klemetsen a..... | 26 | Do. |
| Klemet (child)..... | 4 | Do. | Ole Olsen Bala..... | 36 | Do. |
| Mathias (child)..... | 2 | Do. | Inger (his wife)..... | 35 | Female. |
| Johan Isaksen Tornensis..... | 40 | Do. | Inger Anna (child)..... | 3 | Do. |
| Berret (his wife) a..... | 30 | Female. | Klemet (child)..... | 1 | Male. |
| Jacob Larsen Hattaa..... | 51 | Do. | Isak Andersen Bangaa..... | 30 | Do. |
| Berret (his wife)..... | 50 | Female. | Per Nilsen Siri a..... | 24 | Do. |
| Mikkel (child)..... | 16 | Male. | Ida Johnnisdatter Hattaa..... | 23 | Female. |
| Berret Anne (child)..... | 6 | Female. | Berret Nilsdatter Eira..... | 21 | Do. |
| Ida Johnnisdatter..... | 8 | Do. | Lars Larsen Hattaa..... | 26 | Male. |
| Isak Johnnussen Hattaa..... | 26 | Male. | Klemet Nilsen..... | 44 | Do. |
| | | | Anders Persen Utzi..... | 31 | Do. |

a Recently married

List of Lapland recruits to Alaska in 1898 continued:

FROM KARASJOK.

| Names. | Age. | Sex. | Names. | Age. | Sex. |
|--------------------------|------|---------|--------------------------|------|---------|
| Per Andersen | 42 | Male. | Berret Nilsdatter Eira | 21 | Female. |
| Sofie (his wife) | 40 | Female. | Johan Petter Johannessen | | |
| Sofie (child) | 11 | Do. | Nango | 30 | Male. |
| Anders Klemetsen Billa | 36 | Male. | Kirsten (his wife) | 30 | Female. |
| Marit (his wife) | 22 | Female. | Per (child) | 1 | Male. |
| Anders Johnsen | 24 | Male. | Samuel Johannessen Balto | 28 | Do. |
| Klemet Bersen Boin | 21 | Do. | Lars Larsen Anthia | 28 | Do. |
| Per Larsen Anthi | 39 | Do. | Johanna Aslaksen Baur | 33 | Do. |
| John Andersen | 30 | Do. | Rauna | 40 | Do. |
| Amund Hansen | 22 | Do. | Ole Krogh | 25 | Do. |
| Ole Olsen | 20 | Do. | Iver Persen Vestad | 41 | Do. |
| Anders Aslaksen Bar | 25 | Do. | Per Josefson Porsanger | | |
| Anders Johannessen Balto | 31 | Do. | Pathias Klemetsen Nii- | | |
| Marit (his wife) | 30 | Female. | lokka | 20 | Do. |
| Marie (child) | 7 | Do. | Hans Andersen Biri | 22 | Do. |
| John Erikson Eira | 20 | Male. | Ole Johansen Stenfeld | | |
| Marit (his wife) | 34 | Female. | Roros (fr. Roros) | 24 | Do. |

FROM BOSEKOP.

| | | | | | |
|--------------------------|----|-------|----------------|----|-------|
| Ole M. Rapp | 21 | Male. | Ole G. Berg | 40 | Male. |
| Lauritz Stefansen | 21 | Do. | Peder Berg | 20 | Do. |
| John Hilmar Hansen | 21 | Do. | Lauritz Larsen | 30 | Do. |
| John Johannessen Tverelo | 21 | Do. | Rolf Wiig | 18 | Do. |

FROM KAAFJORD.

| | | | | | |
|----------------------------|----|---------|------------------------|----|---------|
| Ola Paulsen (priseriseman) | 31 | Male. | Hilda (his wife) | 25 | Female. |
| Mirgitho (his wife) | 30 | Female. | Harald (child) | 8 | Male. |
| Kristen (child) | 7 | Male. | Ragnvald (child) | 4 | Do. |
| Mirgit (child) | 5 | Female. | Oswald (child) | 3 | Do. |
| Alfhild (child) | 4 | Do. | Alice (child) | 6 | Female. |
| Magnus Kjeldberg | 22 | Male. | Karl Johan Sacariassen | 23 | Male. |
| Emil Kjeldberg | 28 | Do. | Jafeth Lindeberg | 24 | Do. |
| Theralf Kjeldberg | 22 | Do. | Wm. A. Kjelimann | 36 | Do. |
| Otto M. Leinau | 33 | Do. | Gunharda Thomassen | 18 | Female. |

FINLANDERS.

| | | | | | |
|-------------------------------------|----|-------|--------------------------------|----|-------|
| Alfred Salomonson Nilima | 21 | Male. | Peder Johannessen (fr. Saxelo) | 24 | Male. |
| Wilhelm Basl (fr. Langfjord) | 28 | Do. | Samul Josefson (fr. Saxelo) | 25 | Do. |
| Joremlas Abrahamson (fr. Langfjord) | 25 | Do. | Otto Gruener (fr. Saxelo) | 25 | Do. |
| Karl Ove Buhr (fr. Elvelakken) | 28 | Do. | Hans Samuelson (fr. Saxelo) | 20 | Do. |
| Alfred Hermannson (fr. Alton) | 21 | Do. | Johan Petter Stalogargo b | 33 | Do. |

a Recently married.

b Carried mail on skees to North Cape eight years.

| | | |
|-------------------------|-----|----|
| Lapps from Kautokelno | 47 | |
| Karasjok | 30 | |
| Roros | 1 | |
| Norwegians from Bosekop | 8 | 78 |
| Kaafjord | 16 | |
| Finn | 10 | |
| from Hammarfest | 1 | |
| | 35 | |
| Total | 118 | |

(Jackson, 1898:105-106)

Notes

¹ Throughout this piece the term "White man" signifies a group of people according to common usage rather than strict scientific or descriptive categorization. The term is well defined by Thomas Berger in *Village Journey: The Report of the Alaska Native Review Commission*:

I use the terms "Whites" and "White people" to mean Western man and the representatives of industrialized society generally, a context in which "White" may include persons of other colors. I have chosen this expression because, throughout the hearings, Alaska Natives referred to "the White man" and "White people." They knew whom they meant, and so do we. (Berger, 1985:viii)

² Pehr Thuuri, listing other Saami visits to Alaska, somewhat humorously refers to his and his friend's Alaskan journey in 1931 as the "seventh expedition." Thuuri claims himself to be the first Saami from Sweden to reach Alaska (SET, 1931, March).

³ The reindeer which had been driven north to Point Barrow were to form the nucleus of herds all along the North Slope coast.

⁴ On the whole these lists are quite complete. However, they may not be absolutely free from inaccuracies. Where, for example, is the Norwegian H. Redmyer, who was to play such a prominent role? Did he make his own way to Alaska? Moreover, placement on the list does not necessarily entail Alaskan service. Two children of Johan Olesen Pulk became so ill from measles and following complications that the family returned to Norway before they even reached Alaska. When comparing references to Saami herders in other sources with these lists, I find it common that even the non-Saami herders (especially the Finnish speaking herders) are often considered Saami (see, for example, Lomen, 1954:50).

⁵ Jackson reports that the following herders left their jobs at this time: Per Larsen Anti, Per Andersen, Lars Larsen Anti, Mrs. Per Andersen, Nils Persen Bals, Aslak Johnsen Bals, Anders Johanessen Balto, Isak Andersen Bango, Anders Klemetsen Biti, Marit L. Biti, John Erik-sen Eira, Marit Eira, Aslak Aslaksen Gaup, Johan Peter J. Nango, Per Josefsen Porsanger, Ole Johannessen Pulk, Johan Peter P. Rista, Nils Persen Sara, Isak Mikkelsen Tornensis, Anders Persen Utzi (Jackson, 1900:11).

⁶ One might well wonder how Jackson considered it possible for the Saami to "elevate" the Inuit culturally if at the same time he held the view that the capacity for civilization of the different groups was genetically fixed

and limited. Perhaps he conceived of the Inuit as possessing potential for development within bounds fixed by a genetic "ceiling". Maybe if pressed on the issue he would concede that, given a long time, the group could evolve a higher ceiling, although at each point remaining fixed for specific individuals. Jackson is not in the least concerned with consistency on this topic. Fundamental to his beliefs, however, seems to be the conviction that civilization is a narrow stairway with well-defined steps and that each individual gains at birth abilities and weaknesses demonstrated by his society in relation to the White man's civilization. Jackson's mistake was not that he believed in cultural and social evolution, but that he believed such evolution to be genetically hereditary.

⁷ It is interesting to note in passing that when Bahr and his team were bringing the herd east to the Mackenzie River, they were joined and assisted for some time by three Norwegian Saami hired by the Canadian government to lend a hand, take over the herd upon arrival and learn from the Alaskan Saami about the peculiarities of North American herding (Lomen, 1954:265).

⁸ Lomen (1954:132) takes credit for Alaskan corral improvements, while, later, Thuuri (SET, 1931:June) describes the same changes as originating with the Alaskan Saami.

References

- Åhren, I. (1979), Tvångsförflyttning eller dislokation: Nordsamernas förflyttning till södra Lappland. in Norrbotten 1976-77, *Migration*. Luleå, Sweden.
- Basi, W. (1971), Wilhelm Basi Diary on 1898 Yukon Rescue. in Finnam. ed. Walter Mattila, vol. 6 no. 4. Portland, Oregon.
- Beach, H. (1981), Reindeer-Herd Management in Transition: The Case of Tuorpon Saameby in Northern Sweden. Acta Univ. Ups., Uppsala Studies in Cultural Anthropology 3. Uppsala, Sweden.
- (1985), The Reindeer-Caribou Conflict in the NANA Region of Alaska: A Case Study for native Minority Rights Issues. in *Nomadic Peoples*. no. 17, February, ed. Philip C. Salzman, Commission on Nomadic Peoples. McGill Univ., Canada.
- Berger, T. (1985), *Village Journey: The Report of the Alaska Native Review Commission*. Hill and Wang, New York.
- Brooks, M. (1982), Last of the Lapps. *We Alaskans*. The Anchorage Daily News Magazine. December 5. see also (1983), The Last of Alaska's Laplanders. *Alaskafest*. November.
- Evans, R. (1935), *Reindeer Trek*. Coward-McCann Inc. New York.
- Finnam, Newsletter of the Finnish-American Historical Society of the West. (1970-1971), ed. Walter Mattila, vol. 5 no. 7 and vol. 6 no. 4. Portland, Oregon. featuring commentary to, and translation of the diary of Wilhelm Basi.
- Friend, P. (1982). Reindeer Herding in Bethel and the Delta: The Noble Experiment. *Tundra Drums*. Nov. 24, 1982. pp. 31-36.

- Jackson, S. (1890-1906), Annual Reports on the Introduction of Domestic Reindeer into Alaska. U. S. Office of Education. No reports published for the years 1891-92; two reports published for the year 1894. U. S. Government Printing Office.
- Lantis, M. (1950), The Reindeer Industry in Alaska. *Arctic* 3(1):27-44. April.
- Lomen, C. (1954), Fifty Years in Alaska. David McKay Co., Inc., Van Rees Press, New York.
- Miller, M. (1935), The Great Trek. Doubleday, Doren & Company, Inc., Garden City, New York.
- Moze, B. (1933), The Reindeer Problem in Alaska. Nome, Alaska. unpublished manuscript available through Arctic Environmental Information and Data Center, Anchorage.
- Paine, R. (1971), Animals as Capital: Comparisons among northern nomadic herders and hunters. *Anthropological Quarterly* 44:157-72
- Ray, D. (1975), The Eskimos of Bering Strait, 1659-1898. Seattle and London: Univ. of Washington Press.
- Reindeer Act of 1937. Sept. 1, 1937, c 897, paragraph 11, 50 Stat. 902.
- Samefolket. (1983), Samer och renskötsel i Alaska. nr. 5, containing a presentation of a report by Erik Fernström for Swedish TV.
- Scotter, G. (1982), Reindeer Drive. *Rangelands* 4(6), December.
- SET. Samefolkets Egen Tidning. (1931-32), Brev från Alaska, containing commentary and presentation of letters from Pher Thuuri. March and June, 1931; December, 1932. Sweden.
- Solbakk, J. (1985), Alaska maŋemuš sápmelaš guovttos. Sápmi. nr. 1. Kárášjohka, Norway.

Stern, R., Arobio, E., Naylor, L., and Thomas, W. (1980),
Eskimos, Reindeer and Land. Agricultural
Experiment Station, School of Agriculture and Land
Resources Management, Univ. of Alaska. Bulletin
59.

Thuuri, P. (1931), Brev från Alaska. In SET. March and
June. Sweden.

Vorren, Ø. (1977), Samer og reindrif i Alaska. Ottar.
Populaere Smaskrifter fra Tromsø Museum. nr. 101,
December, Norway.

Contributors:

Hugh Beach is currently Associate Professor at the Department of Cultural Anthropology, Uppsala University, Sweden and also a Board member of the Swedish Branch of the Minority Rights Group. His fieldwork has been among Saami reindeer herders in Sweden, Inuit hunters and herders in Alaska and Indochinese refugees to Sweden.

Leif Lindin holds a degree (Teologi Kand.) in Theology and is affiliated with the Department of Church History, Lund University, Sweden. His previous research concerned the church history of the southern Saami and their political history at the turn of the century.

Ingvar Svanberg is a research assistant at the Center for Multiethnic Research, Uppsala University, Sweden, and a doctoral candidate at the Department of Cultural Anthropology. His research is wide ranging, but has focused on the Saami (especially in the middle of Sweden) and the Kazakhs.

Nancy Weeks, M.E.S. (Aboriginal Rights and Environmental Law), LL.B., B.Ed. and B.Sc, is legal counsel and environmental coordinator with the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada. She is also a member of the Law Society of Upper Canada and has a broad interest in law and renewable resource management.

Uppsala Research Reports in Cultural Anthropology:

1. **Kerstin Eidlitz:** Revolutionen i norr (with English summary). 1979.
2. **Bo Gärtze:** Kinesisk wushu. 1981.
3. **Kaj Århem:** Pastoral Man in the Garden of Eden. The Maasai of the Ngorongoro Conservation Area, Tanzania. 1985.*
4. **Per Löwdin:** Food Ritual and Society among the Newars. 1985.
5. **Anders Fogelqvist:** The Red-Dressed Zionists: Symbols of Power in a Swasi Independent Church. 1986.*
6. **Patrik Wallmark:** I höglandets skugga. Ekonomi, social organisation och etnisk identitet hos Begafolket i norra Wollegas lågland. Etiopien (with English summary). 1986.*
7. **Hugh Beach, editor:** Contributions to Circumpolar Studies. 1986.

* Published within the African Studies Programme, Department of Cultural Anthropology, University of Uppsala.

Uppsala Research Reports in Cultural Anthropology

Contributions to Circumpolar Studies, Hugh Beach (Ed.), is the first volume of a new series dedicated to works with roots in the circumpolar region. These roots include concern for: Native rights over northern resources, the ethno-history of northern Native peoples and resource utilization both traditional and modern. The titles in this volume are:

**The Saami in Alaska: Ethnic Relations
and Reindeer Herding**

by **Hugh Beach**

**National Parks and Native Peoples:
A Study of the Experience of Selected Other
Jurisdictions with a View to Cooperation in
Northern Canada**

by **Nancy Weeks**

**Traditional Reindeer Husbandry
among the Evens of Kamchatka in the
Beginning of the 1920's**
From the Ethnographical Field Notes
of Sten Bergman

by **Ingvar Svanberg** and
Leif Lindin

ISSN 0348-9507
ISBN 91-506-0530-5

Distributed by The Department of Cultural Anthropology,
Trädgårdsgatan 18, S-752 20 Uppsala, Sweden