

From:
Culturas de la Costa Noroeste de
América; José Luis Peset, ed.
Turner Libros, S.A.; Madrid 1989

REMARKS ON THE «JACOBSEN COLLECTIONS» FROM THE NORTHWEST COAST

Wolfgang Haberland

«SINCE THE BERLIN MUSEUM was the principal sponsor it had first choice of the objects. When the museum's selection was completed and the smaller institutions had been satisfied, Jacobsen was generously presented with the remainder of the artifacts. He sold a large part to Herr Umlauff, a dealer in Hamburg» (Gunther, 1977, p. X). This account by Erna Gunther in her preface to the translation of the Jacobsen travel book (original: Woldt, 1884) is completely wrong. This fact was one of the reasons for this paper, but not the only one. Another is the importance of unravelling the history of old collections, a growing concern of ethnologists during the last twenty or so years. This has certainly something to do with the fascination of the detective work involved, but has also rational causes. To trace objects backwards means to fix them in time and space. This in turn will enable one to investigate the subtle and not-so-subtle changes in indigenous art and industry, brought about by internal development and foreign influences. It is especially apt to trace the European and Euro-American influences on native cultures, to illustrate the degree and the pace of these changes. This, above all, is the value and unique chance of these «ethno-archaeological» investigations. The Northwest Coast of North America is well suited to such an approach. It was the last culture area to be discovered in North America, at a time, when already some interest in native cultures was present in Europe and European North America. Early collections, like those of Cook, the Russian explorers, and the Malaspina expedition, to name the most famous ones, reflect a more or less undiluted culture, something, which in other regions often can only be reconstructed through archaeological investigations. From here on, one might be able to see the changes, which happened over the next century, till the great «selling off» during the eighties of the last century began, a time so ably described and discussed in a recent book by Douglas Cole (1985).

One of the first «buying agents» of that time was Johan Adrian Jacobsen. Originally a fisherman from Northern Norway, he happened to come into contact with Carl Hagenbeck of Hamburg, at that time (1877) a trader in wild animals and manager of a menagerie, who had just discovered (but not invented, as is sometimes claimed), that showing foreign peoples to Europeans was financially rewarding. Jacobsen became one of his agents to hire «native groups» for the «Völkerschauen», first Inuit from Greenland, then Lapps from Norway and Eskimo from Labrador. In between he accompanied other groups on their tour through Europe. When the trip with the Labrador Eskimo ended in a catastrophe—all died in Europe of smallpox (Taylor, 1981)—, Jacobsen—and, for a short time, Hagenbeck, too—decided to leave that business. Instead, Adrian signed a contract with the «Hilfskommittee» (Aid Committee) of the Royal Museum of Anthropology at Berlin. It sent him to the Northwest Coast and Alaska to purchase ethnological objects, something Jacobsen executed brilliantly. In slightly more than two years, between 1881 and 1883, he assembled about 6700 objects (Hartmann, 1973, p. 223), which were all incorporated into the museum collections at Berlin (FIG. 48).

Hagenbeck intended to send Adrian out to the Northwest Coast again, this time to hire a group of Kwakiutl, especially some with head deformations, and, at the same time, to collect artifacts for Hagenbeck's account. Such collections were a necessity as a «side-show» for a serious «Völkerschau». Furthermore, Hagenbeck, trader as he was, thought to make a good profit out of it. Adrian, however, had already signed a new contract with the «Aid Committee» to collect Siberian material for the Berlin Museum and, therefore, was not available for Hagenbeck. He persuaded him to send instead his younger brother Phillip, who had recently joined him in Hamburg and Hagenbeck agreed.

B. Phillip Jacobsen left Hamburg in spring 1884 and spent about a year on the Northwest Coast collecting. Where he went is hard to ascertain, since his «reminiscences» in the Archives of British Columbia cover only part of 1884, when he collected among the Kwakiutl on Vancouver Island, Alert Bay, and Knights Inlet (Jacobsen, B. F., n. d.).

Meanwhile Adrian travelled through Russia and Siberia collecting for the Berlin Museum, especially along the Amur River, on the Kamchatka Peninsula, and Sachalin Island, again with excellent results. At the end, either as agreed upon before with Phillip or—according to the correspondence, more probably—by instant decision¹, he travelled from Vladivostok via Japan and San Francisco to Victoria, B. C. Adrian arrived in British Columbia at the beginning of June 1885 and immediately set out by canoe to travel along the west coast of Vancouver Island. One of the purposes of this boat trip was to collect clothing and masks for the intended show, the other to reach Fort Rupert on the northeast coast of the island. There he met his old friend George Hunt, later famous as an agent and informant of Franz Boas, and his brother Phillip. The latter arrived at the end of June. After much trouble, which is not relevant to this paper, the brothers managed to hire nine Bella Coola Indians (FIG. 49) who

¹ Phillip wrote Adrian, that he had not been able to hire a group of Kwakiutl.

signed a contract with Adrian on July 25, 1885 in Victoria. They then travelled with the brothers and the collections for one year through Germany, a trip I have already extensively written about (Haberland, 1987, and i.p.). After the end of the show, Phillip accompanied the Bella Coola back to British Columbia² and stayed there till his death. Besides various commercial ventures (mostly a flop), Phillip continued to collect Northwest Coast material, often for Franz Boas. He was, f.i. responsible for the Bella Coola material at the 1893 Chicago World's Fair (Cole, 1985, pp. 123-124) and collected among the Nootka in 1903 for the American Museum of Natural History (and, therefore, for Boas) (Cole, 1985, pp. 151-152); see also p. 368 index for «Jacobsen, B. Phillip». All these collections are, in a wider sense «Jacobsen collections», but it is the second, made by the brothers, and, to a certain degree, the first collection, made by Adrian, we are concerned with. Let us begin with the first collection to clear the way for our main purpose. This collection was made, as already mentioned above, between 1881 and 1883 by Adrian for the Royal Museum of Anthropology in Berlin, Germany, with money from its «Hilfskommittee» («Aid committee»), a group of financial backers of the museum. It consisted of Northwest Coast material as well as objects from the Alaskan Inuit and the Interior Athabaskans, together about 6700 objects, including a few Pima and Papago artifacts, acquired at the end of the trip. Contrary to what Erna Gunther said (1977, p. X), every single piece went to Berlin and was incorporated into their collections. If there are specimens from this collection at any other locality, it came there through an exchange with Berlin³, as is f.i. the case with some objects in the Etnografiska Samling in Copenhagen.

The case of the second collection, made by Phillip and, to a certain degree, Adrian during the years of 1884 and 1885, is much more complicated. It was not a museum collecting trip like the first one, but rather a commercial undertaking, financed by Carl Hagenbeck. Another complication is, that Phillip obviously did not pick up the habit of his older brother to note down the objects bought and to indicate the village, the native name, and the price paid for it, a highly valuable source for further investigations of all collections Adrian made. Because of this and the circumstances of the sales to be discussed later, objects from the second Jacobsen collection have frequently been mislabelled, either attributed to the first trip or said to have been collected by Carl Hagenbeck (see f.i. Wingert, 1949, pl. 31, p. 135⁴; Gunther, 1962, no. 55; Wardwell, 1964, no. 77), who never went to the Northwest Coast. Sometimes, it is also called the Umlauff Collection (f.i. Conn, 1979, no. 431), the reason for this being given later.

In connection with this second Jacobsen collection, three main questions should be investigated:

² They arrived in Victoria, B.C. on August 16, 1886.

³ It might have been indirect, i.e. the object might have changed hands several times, but that is probably a rare exception.

⁴ The purchase date of 1918 is certainly wrong. Not only does the Annual Report of the Field Museum of Natural History for 1918 not report it, but the object would have been already confiscated in 1917, since on April 6, 1917, the USA entered the war with Germany and objects owned by Hagenbeck would have been «alien property».

1. Where or from which ethnic groups did the Jacobsen brothers collect the specimens?
2. How many objects were in the collection?
3. What became of the collection?

As pointed out before, we only know, that Phillip travelled among the Kwakiutl in summer 1884 and that Adrian visited Nootka villages as well as the Kwakiutl in 1885. The best source for a provenience of objects from this second collection is a list made in 1886 for the sale of 83 specimens to the Berlin Museum. There, the following ethnic groups are mentioned: Bella Coola, Quacutl (= Kwakiutl), Haida, Chimsian (= Tsimshian), Bella Bella at River Inlet, Ohiath at Barkley Sound, and Tongas. The first four groups are well known and, therefore, do not pose any problems, while the last three have to be discussed in some detail.

The Bella Bella are a well-known Northern Kwakiutl group, which, however, is usually placed at Milbanks Sound (Drucker, 1963, p. 13), while the group at River Inlet are the Wikeno (Drucker, 1963, p. 13) or Oweekano (Duff, 1977, table 2, p. 20), who, like the Bella Bella speak the Heiltsuk dialect of Kwakiutls. I think, those objects called by the Jacobsen brothers «Bella Bella» were actually made by the Oweekano, since their geographical references are usually much better than their «tribal» ones.

The «Ohiath» of the list are a Central Nootka group, now called Ohiet (Duff, 1977, table 2, p. 24), living at Bamfield and Sarita on the southern side of Barkley Sound.

The «Tongas» finally refer to the southernmost Tlingit group, living around where now Katchikan is situated.

Another list, that of the Museum of Anthropology at Lübeck, Germany, which was written much later and does not come directly from the Jacobsen brothers, mentions besides the general locality «West-Vancouver», which I translate into «Nootka», the following «groups»: Haida, Tsimshian, Bella Coola, Kwakiutl, Ahts, and Penelekat-Sound.

«Ahts» is an expression often used by Adrian Jacobsen for a Central Nootkan group, perhaps the Ohiet mentioned before, or for the Central Nootka in general, taking the often present last letters «aht»⁵ as a generic name.

Penelekat Sound is probably connected with the Penelakut, a Coast Salish group on Kuper Island off the southeast coast of Vancouver Island. According to Duff (1977, table 2, p. 26) they belonged to the Halkomelem. The only objects with that provenience I have found up to date, a «woolen skirt» has been lost and, therefore, cannot be used to verify this attribution. On the other hand, if the statue published by Wingert as collected by Hagenbeck came from the second Jacobsen collection, as I believe, then one of the brothers collected also among the Coast Salish. The origin of the piece in question is given as «Fraser River Canyon, Sduzzum» (Wingert, 1949, p. 135, fig. 31), which would be far inland. I personally believe, that the figure is misplaced and either belongs to the Kwakiutl, with which it has many similarities, as Win-

⁵ f.i. Ahousat, Toquaht, Hesquiaht etc. (Duff, 1977, table 2, pp. 23-24).

gert (1949, pp. 82-83) already pointed out, or to a Coast Salish group at or near Vancouver Island. Nevertheless, it seems certain, that there have been some Coast Salish Objects in the second collection.

There are some further indications as to ethnic groups represented in the second Jacobsen collection. Groups are mentioned f.i. in newspaper articles about the Bella Coola performances or in Annual Reports of museums, which acquired objects. In general, Kwakiutl, Bella Coola, Bella Bella, Tsimshian, and Haida are named, sometimes the Tlingit, too⁶, but never the Notka, in spite, of the fact, that Nootka material was present, as has been stated above. Why this happened, I have not the slightest idea, but think, the fact had to be mentioned. From all these, certainly meagre, data I infer, that the second collection contained only objects from British Columbia. The only exception might be Tongass, but that group lived just across the northern border and the only object in the collection from this group, a wooden food bowl, might even have been brought to Prince Rupert or the Queen Charlotte Islands.

This result surprised me at first, since I always thought that Phillip travelled farther north and might have collected among the Tlingit. This belief partly stemmed from the fact, that there were a number of Chilkat blankets among the collection, often used by the Bella Coola during their performances (see Haberland, 1987, figs. 9, 11, 16, 17, etc.). A comparison of the photographs showed, however, that this impression of a large number of Chilkat blankets is wrong and that probably only three different ones had been used over and over again, besides the Chilkat dress of Ya Coutlas (Tom Henry), which might have been his personal property (Haberland, 1987, fig. 2). Nevertheless, even these blankets must have been acquired in British Columbia, far south of their origin. They show the wide spread of the Chilkat blankets along the Northwest Coast, something, which to my knowledge has not been investigated yet.

One more point has to be discussed in connection with the origin of the objects of the second Jacobsen collection: We know from letters, especially from Carl Hagenbeck to Adrian Jacobsen, that the Bella Coola in Germany were constantly carving during their time off from the dances (see f.i. Harberland, 1987, pp. 346, 363-364). These objects were often included into the collection and sold with parts of it. Some carvings were even ordered by Hagenbeck. At an unknown date in 1885 he wrote Adrian: «I like to ask you to have the Indians carve and paint two house crest poles about 7 to 8 feet high, since I think I shall be able to sell them to a private museum for a good price. I furthermore need for this sale some of the straw weavings and perhaps a small boat model and 2 masks (they can also be newly carved) and 4 to 6 numbers fishing-gear or something else». Further indications for these carvings done in Germany are notes in lists, like the one already mentioned for Berlin. Here, under no. 31 Jacobsen listed «1 Nutlematle-mask made in Leipzig». In a list made 1893 Adrian also noted the fact various times, f.i. «22 pieces of dance masks, some broken, some made in Europe by the Bella Coola Indians» or «22 pieces arrows, mostly made in Europe». The range of objects carved by the Bella Coola

⁶ See f.i. Leipziger Zeitung of October 3, 1885 or Breslauer Zeitung of February 12, 1886.

in Germany was a rather large one: Besides bows and arrows, they certainly included carving knives, boat models, masks, totem pole models, and full-sized totem poles. I should not wonder, if there are still other items, like bowls or boxes, which were made by them.

All these carvings can be distinguished from those made at the Northwest Coast proper by the wood used for them, since by all indications the Bella Coola did not bring cedar wood with them to Germany. Linden wood, soft and easily carved, seems to have been widely employed by them, but certainly other woods, too, were used. Up to date, I know of only three objects, which by their labels are identified as to their «German» origin: Two masks, carved in Leipzig and now in Berlin (Haberland, 1979, B-6, H-19) and Hamatsa-mask, created in Hamburg and now in Oslo (Haberland, 1979, K-32). Another mask, carved from linden wood and allegedly collected by the Jacobsen brothers is said to be at the Denver Art Museum (Robert Stroessner, pers. comm.). Most of the carved Bella Coola objects in Lübeck, I believe, are also part of this special group. In any case, further research on this aspect would certainly be interesting and fruitful.

The second question asked above was, how many specimens this second Jacobsen collection contained. Since no complete list exists, this question is extremely difficult to answer, the more so, since the numbers fluctuated constantly: Collections and, probably, single artifacts were sold, new carvings by the Bella Coola added, and further objects from British Columbia arrived. This is f.i. indicated by an article in the *Breslauer Zeitung* (Breslau Newspaper), dated February 19, 1886. The last paragraph told the readers: A large shipment arrived yesterday from British Columbia, which the brothers Jacobsen had left behind a year ago because of lack of transport opportunities. Consequently, the ethnographical collection has been enriched by a number of valuable objects worth to be looked at, which today, Friday, will be put on exhibition. Especially to be pointed out is a large carved and painted statue⁷ of olden times, originating from Vancouver Island, which depicts a Kwakiutl Indian. Not only objects left behind in British Columbia, as this shipment, arrived, but also newly ordered items. Hagenbeck wrote Adrian on October 26, 1885: «I think it will be well to order the house pole and house model, which have been offered to you». By whom, I do not know, since that letter is not among the Jacobsen papers in Hamburg.

All these facts make it about impossible to give a reliable number for the objects, which have been in this collection one time or the other. From the numbers of collections known to be sold, I can account for 1776 specimens, but that is the minimum, since it does not include items sold to private collectors or perhaps other museum sales. I have no idea, how many objects went that way, but I guess that a total of 1900 or 2000 objects might be correct for the complete collection. I also think, that never more than 1500 artifacts were shown at the same time during the travel in Germany.

The last question, the question about the fate of the collection, is the toughest to solve. At the beginning, Hagenbeck, who owned or partly owned (see below, p. ...)

⁷ «Bildsäule» in German, probably a house post or pole; it might, however, also have been a large statue.

the collection, as well as Adrian Jacobsen thought to realize a large financial gain. Adrian, f.i., wrote his fiancé, Hedwig Klopfer, on September 8, 1885: «... In Vienna and Leipzig they intended to buy our collections — we have asked a considerable sum for it. I believe, that we shall be able to sell them rather well.», and on the 12th of the same month: «They (the Museum of Anthropology at Leipzig) also intend to buy a collection here — it is said later. I have asked 28 000 marks for it». That was a rather steep price at that time, since by then the collection certainly did not contain more than 1500 specimens. This sale to Leipzig continued to dominate the letters of Adrian to his bride⁸ and those from Hagenbeck to Adrian. On October 2, 1885, Hagenbeck wrote: «We must try to sell the complete collection to the Leipzig people and give it to them immediately, under the condition, that we might keep 200 to 300 numbers, which we urgently need, till the end of our exhibition; though that I can recover my cash expenses soon...». Hagenbeck was even prepared, as indicated in the same letter, to give Leipzig credit without interest for a year for half the sum, alas against securities. The Leipzig Museum, however, was not able to raise the money for the complete collection, the more so, since they just had bought the famous Oceanic, mostly Polynesian collection of the defunct Godefroy-Museum in Hamburg— and Hagenbeck was adamant to split the collection. Soon, however, Hagenbeck, obviously strapped of cash, relented and about October 14, 1885, 483 specimens were sold to the Leipzig Museum for a price of 8 000 marks. These objects were immediately transferred to the museum⁹.

About the same time, another group of 100 objects, which did not go to Leipzig with the Bella Coola show, was sent to the museum in Christiania, today Oslo, capital of the Norwegian homeland of the Jacobsen brothers. According to some newspaper clippings, the price asked for it was rather low¹⁰.

Consequently, till the end of 1885, only a part of the collection, I guess about a third, had been sold, contrary to the expectations of Hagenbeck and Adrian Jacobsen. Besides the two larger groups mentioned above (Leipzig and Oslo), an unknown number of specimens had been sold to private persons. Since no sales lists were kept, we only know about this activity by occasional notes in letters, like the one by Hagenbeck to Adrian, written in 1885, already mentioned above (p. ...). Another allusion to these sales comes from a postal card written by a Mr. Loth of Erfurt/Germany, who asked to be sold some small objects for a sum of 50 marks.

From all this we might conclude, that at the beginning of 1886 there were at least 1000 objects still in the collection and Hagenbeck as well as Adrian Jacobsen were to sell them. But one museum after the other declined, often, probably, because the prices were too high. Franz Heger, Curator of the Museum of Anthropology in Vienna, Austria, asked on October 11, 1885 for a list of objects and the prices for 200

⁸ These letters to bride or, later, wife are about the only ones written by Adrian, which are preserved, since he did rarely keep copies of his own letters.

⁹ Of this collection, only 44 objects survived World War II. Only 5 of them have ever been published (Lips, 1955).

¹⁰ A long (Norwegian) article appeared on November 16, 1885, in the «Morgenbladet». Adrian noted, that similar articles had been published in «Morgenposten», «Aftenposten» and other newspapers. The Hamatsa-mask, carved in Hamburg (Haberland, 1979, K-32) was certainly part of this consignment.

or 300 or 400 specimens. Whether he got an answer is uncertain. In any case, in March 13, 1886 he wrote again, and finally, after a long delay, some lists were sent to him in June 1886 accompanied by three photographs, the only ones, I know of, showing at least part of the collection. The deal, however, fell through, as did negotiations with Munich, Copenhagen, and Frankfurt.

Eduard Krause, curator of the Royal Museum of Anthropology in Berlin, had already contacted his friend Adrian in September 1885, advising him, that Adolf Bastian, the director of the museum, intended to buy a selection of objects. Obviously, Adrian responded quickly, since in October Bastian told him, that 5000 marks for 80 objects was too expensive. He offered to buy a tenth to a twentieth of the collection for 3000 marks, the percentage to be figured out by the other sales. Jacobsen seems to have made a counter-offer, which Bastian vehemently declined, calling it outrageous and a «bad joke»¹¹. No further indications about negotiations with Berlin can be found till on November 13, 1886, well after the Bella Coola were back home, Hagenbeck wrote Adrian, that Bastian intended to buy 83 objects, including five poles for what he thought—and certainly was—the pitiful sum of 1100 marks. Nevertheless, the deal, which probably had begun during one of the two performances in Berlin¹², was struck, certainly out of necessity, since financially the show was a flop and a profitable sale of the collection had not been realized. An interesting fact is, that Hagenbeck in this letter asked Adrian to consent to the sale, indicating, that he obviously owned part of the collection or had a share in it (see also below, p. ...). How Adrian obtained it, perhaps in lieu of some wages owned to him by Hagenbeck or because he financed part of it (his purchases?), I was not able to find out. In any case, Adrian was financially interested in the collection and, therefore, also in its future.

This future was obviously bleak. It seems, that nothing happened to the collection, which must have numbered at least 1100 pieces, during the next six years. We do not even know, where it was housed! Only at the Chicago World's Fair in 1893 we hear about it again. On this occasion¹³, Adrian Jacobsen acted as a sales manager for ethnological collections, owned by Hagenbeck, Umlauff¹⁴, and himself. A printed «Price List of Ethnographical Collections exhibited at Carl Hagenbeck's Zoological Arena and World's Museum, Midway Plaisance, World's Columbian Exposition» mentions 25 ethnological (and two zoological) collections of different sizes, mainly from Africa and Oceania. Among them, as no. 24, a collection from British Columbia

¹¹ This is the more astonishing, since Krause in a letter, dated September 22, 1885 wrote Adrian, that Bastian advised him to sell the collection as late as possible, since the prices would rise. Obviously, the advice did not apply to Bastian himself!

¹² An indication for this assumption is a note in a letter, Hedwig wrote Adrian on April 28, 1886 from Berlin: «Mr. Krause, too, visited the Panoptikum (the place of the Bella Coola performances) today (telling me) you should point out the crest poles which will stay here».

¹³ For the anthropological aspects of the Chicago World's Fair see Cole 1985, pp. 122-134.

¹⁴ The founder of the firm, Johann F. G. Umlauff was a brother-in-law of Carl Hagenbeck. It dealt with stuffed animals, shells, and other zoological material as well as with ethnographical objects. After his death in 1896 his widow Hedwig (Hagenbeck's sister) and her sons continued the business, which was well known to many museums. The company existed till 1943.

is listed, part of the (second) Jacobsen collection, as can be proven through various lines of evidence. With 670 objects it was the largest and, with a price of \$ 4 500, also the most expensive of the offers. The idea of making a good deal had not yet died.

Negotiations about a sale of this and other collections were kept up most of the time, especially with Adolf Meinecke, a wealthy backer of the future Milwaukee Museum and with several interested parties from Chicago. But all this came, again, to nothing. Adrian has written a rather vivid and sometimes acerbic account of it in his late (1928?) reminiscences¹⁵, some parts of which are relevant to this investigation. «The director (Prof. Putnam)¹⁶ and my old acquaintance from Berlin, Dr. Boas, held complete sway over this department (the ethnological exhibitions at Midway Plaisance) and commanded there according to their own inclinations. These two gentlemen visited us several times at the circus and inspected our collections. But they put us off with empty promises.» Adrian then tells, how Putnam squeezed a Frenchman out of his New Caledonian collection and continues: «When I realized that they tried the same trick with us, I began to pack as soon as the exposition was officially ended, to take the collections back to Europe. Finally, they (Putnam and Boas) made an offer, which was less than a quarter of what we had asked for. Since I myself owned only one part (all the Northwest America), I had to telegraph Hagenbeck and Umlauff in Hamburg and report this impertinent offer. To my great surprise, those two gentlemen accepted the offer, giving as reasons, that the shipment to Europe would also cost money and that nobody knew for certain, how long it would take to sell the collection in Europe. Consequently, these rascals won their goal with us, too, obtaining for a song a unique collection from nearly all parts of the world.»

This collection, therefore, together with many others (see Cole, 1985, p. 134) went to the newly founded Field Columbian Museum, where it was accessed together with the other Hagenbeck/Umlauff collections as no. 81 on October 31, 1893. As noted above, the Northwest Coast part consisted of 670 items, which Adrian had listed in a manuscript book for packing purposes, unfortunately without giving the ethnic affiliations. Whether he supplied them later to Chicago, I do not know, since the letters for the following years are mostly missing among his papers¹⁷.

A rather large number of objects from this «Chicago collection» has been exchanged later with other museums and, therefore, are widely distributed, often without reference to the original collection. The Vienna Museum f.i. obtained 170 objects from the Northwest Coast from Chicago already in 1894 (Feest, 1968, p. 28), obviously before the collections from the Fair had been registered or given museum numbers (Christian F. Feest, letter June 29, 1988). Among them certainly quite a number of specimens came from the Jacobsen collection¹⁸. Other pieces went to the

¹⁵ It would be an interesting undertaking, to publish Adrian Jacobsen's stories about his participation at the Chicago World's Fair in 1893.

¹⁶ Adrian Jacobsen writes «Prof. Pottenham», but it certainly is Frederic Eard Putnam, since he was the «director». See also Cole 1985, pp. 122-134.

¹⁷ In March 1895 the Field Columbian Museum wrote letters to Hagenbeck and Adrian Jacobsen, asking for detailed lists; whether these were supplied, I could not yet find out.

¹⁸ Feest (1968) only mentions five objects from the Jacobsen collection (nos. 245, 273, 296, 298, 302), calling it «Hagenbeck collection».

Brooklyn Museum, the University Museum in Philadelphia, and to the 1904 St. Louis World's Fair (Janet Miller, letter June 15, 1988). I also think, that some objects at the Denver Art Museum come from this source (Conn, 1979, nos. 431, 433), perhaps indirectly, since it is not expressly stated.

This was, however, not yet the end of the sale! When Adrian in February 1893 packed the boxes for Chicago, he took off «about all duplicates from the collection and packed them into separate boxes, which I thought to offer to the museum in Bergen (Norway), because at that time I still hoped for a post as curator at the museum («Reminiscences»). He offered this collection of 440 objects, for which he made a separate list in his book, for the very low price of 800 kroner ¹⁹. Besides the hope to get the job at Bergen, where he had worked the year before, the reasons for the low price, especially when compared with that of the «Chicago collection», were, that many of these objects had been manufactured in Germany by the Bella Coola ²⁰ and that other objects were decidedly third choice ²¹. Nevertheless, Bergen was not interested and after returning from Chicago, Adrian had to sell to Umlauff «for a trifling sum».

Umlauff immediately set out to sell. Already on December 12, 1893, the Hamburg Museum of Anthropology bought 12 objects from the Jacobsen collection ²², half a year later (May 2, 1894) a large pole. This and a pole bought by Berlin in 1895 (Hartmann, 1973, p. 250) I believe to have been part of the Jacobsen collection, too. But this was really nothing when compared with the at least 440 objects sold to Umlauff in 1893. Actually, there were probably more «numbers», since Umlauff certainly also sold those pieces, which Adrian had listed as «several damaged masks», «several broken parts of all kinds», etc. Unfortunately, the sales catalogues of the Umlauff company at the Hamburg Museum of Anthropology begin only with the year of 1928; the older ones were probably lost. We know, however, that the Museum of Anthropology at Lübeck, Germany, bought 251 objects from the Northwest Coast in 1904 from Umlauff and that these objects came from the Jacobsen collection ²³.

When the catalogues opened in 1928, Umlauff noted down 103 objects from the Northwest Coast, of which 54 at least, but probably more, came from the Jacobsen collection. Compared with what we know from the sales and the original number of artifacts, there is a difference of about 120 pieces, which are unaccounted for and must have been sold by Umlauff between 1893 and 1928. Where these ended up, we shall probably never find out.

¹⁹ «Less than the freight from British Columbia to Bergen would have cost» (Adrian Jacobsen, *Reminiscences*).

²⁰ Adrian noted at least 45 objects in the «Bergen collection» as made in Europe, but none in the «Chicago collection». I believe, however, that there were also some included into that lot.

²¹ When Erna Gunther saw some of this material about twenty years ago, she exclaimed: «I never thought Jacobsen would have collected such junk!»

²² A Nulmal-Lance from that sale (Haberland, 1979, K-34) f.i. is shown on one of the «action-photos» of the Bella Coola (Haberland, 1987, fig. 18).

²³ Umlauff mentioned it during the sale. One of the masks (Haberland, 1979, H-22) is also on one of the photographs at Vienna.

On April 5, 1929 Umlauff sold 25 Jacobsen objects (besides others) to the «Karl May Museum», today «Indianermuseum Radebeul», DDR (sales catalogue and Neumann 1980, p. 158, footnote 15). Three other Jacobsen pieces were sold the same year to private collectors, the last sales I have found. The rest, at least 26 objects, burned down in the night of July 24/25, 1942, almost sixty years after they had been obtained by the Jacobsen brothers on the Northwest Coast. This extensive survey of the whereabouts of the second Jacobsen collection does not, however, solve all problems. Some have already been mentioned. Besides them, there are still other loose ends. F.i., it is claimed in the catalogue *El Ojo del Totem*, that a bark beater from the Museo Pigorini in Rome and formerly in the Giglioli collection, was originally obtained by Jacobsen in 1881 (Alcina Franch & Palau, 1988, no. 5/12). That would make it part of the first collection. As pointed out, this collection went completely to Berlin and I doubt, whether a private collection like Giglioli was able to obtain an artifact from there. More probable is, that it came from the second collection²⁴, but where it was bought and if it really came from Jacobsen, I have not yet been able to verify.

Another example are some Hamatsa-masks, which Bill Holm identified from one of the «action-photos» of the Bella Coola performances (Haberland, 1987, fig. 11). Of the six masks shown, two have not yet been found; two are at the Field Museum of Natural History, which does not give us any trouble. One is at the Etnografiska Samling in Copenhagen, perhaps part of an exchange with Berlin. It is the last mask, which causes problems. It belongs to the Museum of Anthropology at Munich and arrived there in 1896 as part of a larger Northwest Coast Collection, formerly owned by Mr. Hans Meyer. Unfortunately, nothing about him is known. He must have bought the mask, and most probably also other pieces, from Jacobsen or Umlauff. We shall, however, in my opinion, never be able to prove which objects from his collection came from Jacobsen.

As has been demonstrated, there is still a lot to investigate, to find out, what Northwest Coast art, especially Bella Coola art was like between 1884 and 1886, how much carving had already changed or deteriorated by that time. Perhaps one day somebody might be able to assemble all those items carved by the Bella Coola in Germany or even the complete second Jacobsen collection, to put it again on exhibition or at least publish all of it to further our knowledge of the development of Northwest Coast Indian art.

W. H.
(Ahrensburg
Rep. Fed. Alemania)

²⁴ There are several similar bark beaters on one of the Vienna photographs.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Many colleagues have aided my search for material from the second Jacobsen collection: Lothar Draeger, Leipzig/DDR; Christian F. Feest, Viena/Austria; Bill Holm, Seattle/USA; Alfred Janata, Vienna/Austria; Janet Miller, Chicago/USA; Helga Rammow, Lübeck/West-Germany; Helmut Schindler, Munich/West-Germany; and Robert Stroessner, Denver/USA. To all of them my thanks as to the Hamburg *Museum of Anthropology and the Curator of the American Department there, Corinna Raddatz*, for allowing me to work in the Jacobsen Archives of that museum.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- ALCINA FRANCH, José & PALAU, Mercedes (eds.): *El Ojo del Totem; arte y cultura de los indios del noroeste de América*. Madrid, 1988.
- COLE, Douglas: *Captured Heritage. The scramble for Northwest Coast Artifacts*. Vancouver/Toronto, 1985.
- CONN, Richard: *Native American Art in the Denver Art Museum*. Denver, CO. 1979.
- DRUCKER, Philip: *Indians of the Northwest Coast*. American Museum Science Books. Garden City, N. Y. 1963.
- DUFF, Wilson: «The Indian History of British Columbia». Vol. I: *The impact of the White Man*. Anthropology in British Columbia. Memoir 5; 2nd edition, third printing. Victoria BC. 1977.
- FEEST, Christian F.: *Indianer Nordamerikas*. Museum für Völkerkunde. Wien, 1968.
- GUNTHER, Erna: *Northwest Coast Indian art*. Seattle, WA. 1962.
- GUNTHER, Erna (transl.): *Alaskan Voyage 1881-1883. An expedition to the Northwest Coast of America*. Chicago & London, 1977.
- HABERLAND, Wolfgang: *Donnervogel und Raubwal*. Indianische Kunst der Nordwestküste Nordamerikas. Hamburg, 1979.
- «Nine Bella Coolas in Germany». In: Chr. F. Feest (ed.): *Indians and Europe*, pp. 337-374. Aachen. 1987.
- «Diese Indianer sind flasch». *Neun Bella Coola in Deutschen Reich 1885/86*. Archiv. f. Anthropologie. Wien. In press.
- HARTMANN, Horst: «Hundert Jahre Museum für Völkerkunde Berlin». *Abteilung Amerikanische Naturvölker*. Baessler-Archiv, N.F., vol. XXI, pp. 219-258. Berlin, 1973.
- JACOBSEN, B. Phillip: *Reminiscences of...* Manuscript. Archives of British Columbia. Victoria, B.C. (n.d.).
- LIPS, Eva: *Bemerkungen zu einigen Stücken von der nordamerikanischen Nordwestküste*. Jahrbuch des Museums für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig. Bd. XIV, pp. 10³⁰. Leipzig, 1955.
- NEUMANN, Peter: *50 Jahre Indianermuseum Radebeul*. Abhandlungen und Berichte des Staatlichen Museums für Völkerkunde Dresden. Bd. 38, pp. 154-164. Berlin, 1980.
- TAYLOR, J. Garth: «An Eskimo abroad, 1880: his diary and death»; *Canadian Geographic*, vol. 101, no. 5, pp. 38-43. Ottawa, 1981.
- WARDWELL, Allen: *Yakutat South*. Indian Art of the Northwest Coast. Chicago, 1964.
- WINGERT, Paul S.: *American Indian Sculpture. A study of the Northwest Coast*. New York, 1949.
- WOLDT, Adrian: *Captain Jacobsen's Reise an die Nordwestküste Americkas 1881-1883*. Leipzig, 1884.

At the time of the ...

The ...

It is ...