

**Cathrine Baglo** (Ed.)

# TRADER OF TRADITIONS

Johan Adrian Jacobsen as collector  
of people and things



Scandinavian University Press



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*Compiled by Peter Bolz*

# Preface

This collection of essays is based on a workshop Cathrine Baglo organized in Tromsø in June 2016 as a part of her post-doctoral project “Between worlds and knowledges: The liminal life of Johan Adrian Jacobsen” (2015–2018). The project was funded by the Norwegian Research Council, and the workshop took place at The Arctic University Museum of Norway (UMAK) and was followed by an excursion to Risøya, the small island outside Tromsø where Johan Adrian Jacobsen grew up. In addition to the contributors’ research, the volume builds on Baglo’s finds and experiences from curating the exhibition “Storm and Still: The Ethnographic Enterprises of Adrian Jacobsen” at the Polar Museum (also UMAK) in Tromsø in the summer of 2018, with colleagues and the artist Noah Angell.<sup>1</sup> The American historian Glenn Penny was also invited to the Jacobsen workshop. He originally wrote an epilogue to this volume as it was finished before the opening of the Humboldt Forum in Berlin in 2021.

The participants at the workshop and the contributors to this volume address different aspects of Jacobsen’s life and career. The chapters are grouped around his biographical background, outlines of his work as a collector for the Berlin Royal Museum of Ethnology and a recruiter of indigenous peoples for the Carl Hagenbeck Company in Hamburg, and in-depth studies of specific ethnographic enterprises. However, all chapters interconnect in their usage of archival material and Jacobsen’s own texts. In addition, the volume contains photographs Mari Karlstad at UMAK took during the workshop and the excursion to Risøya, also of the interior of the houses that Inger-Karin Jacobsen generously let us use, a link to a genealogy of Jacobsen’s family compiled by Hilke Thode-Arora and Cathrine Baglo to help navigate the large Jacobsen archive at Museum am Rothenbaum – Kulturen und Künste der Welt (MARKK) in Hamburg, and a bibliography compiled by Peter Bolz where Jacobsen’s publications are gathered for the first time.

Drawing on family papers and archival material in Norway, Germany, and British Columbia, museologist Cathrine Baglo and historian Kirsten Katarina Barton Holiman explore Jacobsen’s life with emphasis on his upbringing, family relations, work experience outside the ethnographic world, and the effects the world wars had on his life and career. Barton Holiman is married into the Jacobsen family, and the Jacobsen house at Risøya has been the family’s vacation home which they have shared with other descendants.

Peter Bolz, former curator at the Museum of Ethnology in Berlin, examines Jacobsen's career as a professional collector for the Royal Museum, his relationship with German ethnologist Adolf Bastian, and the afterlife of the collections Jacobsen assembled. While Jacobsen's collection from the Pacific Northwest Coast and Alaska has received considerable attention since the 1990s and now has a prominent place in Berlin's Humboldt Forum, Jacobsen's collections from Northeastern and Southeastern Asia have remained largely unknown.

Cathrine Baglo explores Jacobsen's role as a cultural broker and mediator based on documentation regarding the six indigenous groups he recruited for the living ethnographic exhibitions organized by the Hagenbeck company in Hamburg. Drawing on Jacobsen's own reports as well as indigenous sources, she sheds new light on the history of the living exhibitions and of ethnographic collecting more generally.

German cultural anthropologist Hilke Thode-Arora examines how Jacobsen's professional life was mostly linked to the Hagenbeck company, but not exclusively so, in his role as a recruiter and impresario of ethnic shows. In line with Carl Hagenbeck's business philosophy, but also due to his repeated work as a collector for the Ethnological Museum Berlin, Jacobsen strove to meet academic as well as show business demands, thus oscillating in his activities between the two different target groups.

Canadian writer France Rivet tells the story of the two Inuit families from Labrador who were employed by Jacobsen for Hagenbeck in 1880. She describes their experiences in Europe based on archival material including Jacobsen's and the Inuk Abraham Ulrikab's diaries.

German scholar Hartmut Lutz, who edited and translated the diaries of Jacobsen and Abraham Ulrikab from Inuktitut and German to English, compares their content and style from the perspective of minority literature and Native Canadian Studies.

Cultural anthropologists Aaron Glass and Rainer Hatoum bring together North American and German perspectives in their review of the history of Jacobsen's Kwakwaka'wakw collection and its formative influence on Franz Boas. The authors also demonstrate how unpublished notes by Jacobsen, Boas, and their indigenous colleague, George Hunt, allow the Berlin collection to be redocumented with and for Kwakwaka'wakw families in British Columbia today.

American cultural anthropologist Ann Fienup-Riordan revisits efforts begun in 1994 to bring Yup'ik elders from Alaska to study the objects Jacobsen gathered from their region a century ago to simultaneously preserve their knowledge and make it available to scholars and Yup'ik community members. As one of the first examples of a collaborative research effort, Fienup-Riordan's book *Yup'ik Elders at the Ethnologisches Museum Berlin: Fieldwork Turned on Its Head* (2005) has created a legacy of its own worth examining.



All the chapters, whether on Jacobsen's biography, ethnographic collecting, or involvement in live ethnographic display, bring to the surface the messiness of disciplinary history, the colonial encounter, and their legacies by delving into subjective and localized experiences to highlight nuances and contradictions that disrupt dominant narratives.

## NOTE

- 1 In collaboration with Cathrine Baglo, Angell made the sound piece "For the good wind" for the exhibition. It featured a composite narrative made from firsthand accounts by the Inuk Kujagi, Abraham Ulrikab and Jacobsen's diaries, letters, and logbooks. These narratives were interspersed with indigenous archival field recordings from Canada, Greenland, North America, Norway, and Sweden.



**Figure 0.1:** The contributors to this volume plus Professor Brita Brenna (University of Oslo), Sigbjørn Rønbeck (descendent of Jacobsen), and Professor Emeritus Håvard Dahl Bratrein (The Arctic University Museum of Norway), in front of Jacobsen's parents' grave at Gåsvær, the church island opposite Risøya. From the left: Hartmut Lutz, Hilke Thode-Arora, Rainer Hatoum, Cathrine Baglo, France Rivet, Kirsten Katharina Barton Holiman, Sigbjørn Rønbeck, Aaron Glass, Håvard Dahl Bratrein, Peter Bolz, and Brita Brenna. Photo: Mari Karlstad, The Arctic University Museum of Norway.



**Figure 0.2:** In the boat looking at maps and getting ready for the departure for Risøya. From the workshop on Jacobsen in Tromsø, June 2016. Photo: Mari Karlstad, The Arctic University Museum of Norway.

# Introduction: The Collector of People and Things

Cathrine Baglo

In her book, *(Post) Colonialism and Cultural Heritage: International Debates at the Humboldt Forum*, art historian Natalia Majluf writes that the structures of place and nation form an often-unacknowledged framework within which museums operate on the shifting international stage of global capitalism.<sup>1</sup> While this is particularly true for “universal museums” like the much debated Humboldt Forum, Berlin’s newly opened (July 2021) landmark and museum for world heritage on Museumsinsel (Island), Majluf claims the structures of place and nation also undergird museums in a more general sense. As basic infrastructure of the modern nation-state, there are also physical, economic, and practical ties that are often less visible yet just as instrumental as the more evident ideological functions they serve. Recognizing the situated nature of museums in general, and of the Humboldt Forum in particular, is thus a crucial point of departure for thinking through museums’ founding premises, Majluf points out—but also for critically imagining their future.

However, one of the ties, which is not acknowledged by the Humboldt Forum, is that of their own practice of collecting — and the commissioning of collecting. This becomes evident when studying the history of one of the Humboldt Forum’s most important collectors and museum’s minion, the Norwegian sailor Johan Adrian Jacobsen (1853–1947), and the ways he and his ethnographic activities have been represented.

In the following text, I will clarify the relationship between the Humboldt Forum and museum practices in general with the life and afterlife of Jacobsen. Engaging with unstudied or understudied materials, not least from the large Jacobsen archives at Museum am Rothenbaum – Kulturen und Künste der Welt (MARKK) in Hamburg as many of the chapters of this volume will testify to, I will stress the role of archives and the scrutinizing of historical sources for forming a deeper understanding of ethnographic collecting and the situated nature of museums and museum practices. I will argue that Jacobsen’s life and career reflect fundamental changes in the perception of culture and science at the end of the nineteenth

and beginning of the twentieth century, changes that are still current today. I will start by outlining Jacobsen's ethnographic activities, especially as a collector for the Königlich Ethnologisches Museum (Royal Ethnological Museum) in Berlin, the Humboldt Forum's predecessor, and the way he was perceived at the height of his career. Then I will show how Jacobsen is represented at the Humboldt Forum and in recent and associated museum discourse today. The point of departure will be my own research on Jacobsen based in Northern Norway and with emphasis on his less investigated career as recruiter for indigenous presenters in live ethnographic displays organized by Carl Hagenbeck in Hamburg. The objective is to draw attention to Jacobsen's legacy. His place in history is not so much a result of his collecting and his ability to navigate the world – literally speaking. More important perhaps is the documentation of this work that he left behind.

## **“THE PRINCE OF COLLECTORS”**

Jacobsen was born in northernmost Norway as the son of a landed proprietor, tradesman, and fishing station owner who was both wealthy and powerful in regional terms, a “væreier” as is the Norwegian term. Raised on boats at sea and trained as a shipmaster but not otherwise formally educated, Jacobsen became a trusted collector for museums in Europe and the United States towards the end of the nineteenth century, especially in Germany, where the Königlich Ethnologisches Museum (Royal Ethnological Museum), later the Ethnological Museum, commissioned him to carry out three large expeditions that resulted in the collection of around 18,000 objects: the American Northwest Coast and Alaska in 1881–1883, Siberia, Korea, Sakhalin, Northeast China, and Japan in 1884, and the Banda Sea in Indonesia in 1887. Jacobsen's skills as a collector brought him into close contact and collaboration with legendary German scholars such as Adolf Bastian, Rudolph Virchow, and Franz Boas. Bastian, the Berlin museum's director, founding father of German ethnology, and its leading theoretician, named Jacobsen “the prince of collectors,” indicating the tremendously positive reception his collections received in Germany at the time.

But Jacobsen also contributed substantially to museums elsewhere, including his native country, Norway. Both the Museum of Cultural History (Kulturhistorisk Museum) in Oslo and the University Museum of Bergen (Universitetsmuseet i Bergen) hold collections assembled by Jacobsen, housing approximately 2,000 and 1,400 objects, respectively. While the collection in Oslo is based on donations by Jacobsen in 1885 and 1908, the collection in Bergen was commissioned by the city's newly established National Ethnographical Association (National-ethnografiske forening).<sup>2</sup> In 1892 the association hired Jacobsen to collect and curate objects from

the rural population in western Norway with the intention of establishing a folk museum that, however, never was realized.<sup>3</sup> “One cannot talk long with Captain Adrian Jacobsen before noticing that he is the right man for this job. His sense of the characteristic, of style, and points of connection is refined through training and study. When he sees an object – especially of older age – one is immediately led into the comparative ethnography,” the newspaper *Bergens Tidende* wrote in relation to the display of the collection for the city’s public.<sup>4</sup> The records of the association’s meetings demonstrate that “Captain Jacobsen” was headhunted for the job which was initially meant to last three years but was shortened to six months due to lack of funding.<sup>5</sup>

Jacobsen’s assembling of objects forms part of the exhibitions at the Humboldt Forum, more specifically the exhibition space *More Than Masks* in the East Wing (opened in September 2022), where objects from the Pacific Northwest Coast are displayed. As mentioned, the Humboldt Forum is the new national museum center in Germany situated at a key historical site at the heart of Berlin, the Museumsinsel. The Forum combines the collections of the Museum für Asiatische Kunst (Asian Art Museum) and the Ethnologisches Museum (Ethnological Museum) and has an estimated total of 500,000 objects in its collection. More than 20,000 objects are shown in the Forum itself in an area measuring around 6,000 square meters, many of which, such as the Benin Bronzes, were forcible taken as part of colonial exploitation.<sup>6</sup>

## COLONIAL AGENT

Acknowledgment of the colonial history of the collection rests at the heart of the foundation. According to Hermann Parzinger, President of the Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz (SPK) – Prussian Cultural Heritage Foundation, the original idea of the Humboldt Forum was to create a place for visitors to learn more about the world and, at the same time, to reflect on themselves. “In doing so, we take responsibility for the collections’ history, including their connections to colonialism, by revealing the objects’ backgrounds,” he stated to the network *MuseumNext* in September 2021.<sup>7</sup> The collections were going to be presented to the public with multiple perspectives and ongoing collaboration with the countries and societies of origin. Earlier that year, the Prussian Cultural Heritage Foundation opened talks with Nigeria to repatriate its collection of Benin Bronzes. The bronze sculptures were displayed for the last time in spring 2022 before being repatriated in the summer.

When visitors enter Berlin’s Humboldt Forum, they are exposed to a new way of interpreting the institution’s large collection of objects as it deals head-on with its colonial history. I visited the exhibition space *More Than Masks* and the East

Wing in October 2022. The decolonial approach to interpretation was evident in many ways. The narrative of the exhibition is Jacobsen's account of his travel to the American Northwest Coast and Alaska in the early 1880s. The exhibition critically addresses the attempts by museums in the nineteenth century to "rescue" objects of allegedly threatened societies, according to a text panel.<sup>8</sup> While the account published in German as *Capitain Jacobsen's Reise an der Nordwestküste Amerikas 1881–1883* in 1884<sup>9</sup> is highly significant for several reasons (see, for example, Glass and Hatoum, this volume), it is also an account that calls for critical investigation, not least from indigenous perspectives.

Critical investigation of Jacobsen's travel report is rightly a central objective in *More Than Masks*. In the texts and audiovisual media, indigenous voices criticize Jacobsen's perspective. In addition, an artwork of the Haida artist Michael Nicoll Yahgulanaas forms a large part of the exhibition.<sup>10</sup> According to the accompanying text, the painting confronts the Western understanding of the nineteenth century with an indigenous point of view. Another display shows a map from Jacobsen's travel account with his route juxtaposed with a present map containing indigenous names of the same area. As I interpret it, the display is used as an example of how European mapping was a colonial activity and, thus, how collecting was intrinsically embedded in colonial practices. Indigenous names and cultural contexts were of little interest to Jacobsen, as they were to Jacobsen's employer, Adolf Bastian, of the Berlin Ethnological Museum, and to the scientific world in general at the time. *That* historical context, however, is conspicuously absent in *More Than Masks*. Jacobsen is presented as the only colonial agent.

I did not expect a detailed portrayal of Jacobsen at Humboldt Forum. The emphasis was rightly on the societies collected; their time to talk back was long overdue. There was no personal information on Jacobsen and no photo, not of Bastian either for that sake. This was all good, I thought. Then I moved on to the next room in the East Wing, where an enormous portrait of Francis La Flesche (1857–1932), the first trained native American ethnologist, filled the wall from the floor to the ceiling. Between the years 1894 to 1898, La Flesche assembled a collection of sixty objects from his own Umo"ho" (Omaha) people. With the collection as a basis, the Humboldt Forum had initiated a collaboration project with the Nebraska Indian Community Center. The project was presented in a display with the title "We Talk, You Listen", which is also the title of Vine Deloria's pioneering book from 1970. "Today, this collection links the past and present and forms the historical starting point for a new chapter in the relationship between the Umo"ho" and the museum," the text stated. It is indeed both important and imperative that museums and cultural organizations such as the Humboldt Forum collaborate with the societies of origin regarding their collections, and the emphasis on La

Flesche and his many achievements is likewise both expected and opportune. However, the way it is done in Humboldt Forum, the institution appears to bask in the glow of La Flesche's legacy. Rather than scrutinizing the Humboldt Forum's and the Berlin Ethnological Museum's own past practices, *More Than Masks* conveniently shifts the focus of colonial responsibility onto one individual – Jacobsen.

The exhibition *More Than Masks* is not the first time that the Humboldt Forum and the Berlin Ethnological Museum have shied away from this responsibility, unintentionally or not. In the summer of 2018, Jacobsen became the subject of international attention for the first time since the end of the nineteenth century. The Ethnological Museum in Berlin repatriated nine objects Jacobsen had collected on the south coast of Alaska in the summer of 1883. The objects had been removed from graves belonging to the Chugach people and were returned as part of a ceremony that took part in May 2018. The Ethnological Museum in Berlin has two hundred objects in their depository that Jacobsen collected from the Chugach, including skulls and mummies, and the ceremony was the start of a more extensive collaboration between the museum and today's Chugach community. Both American, German, Norwegian, and Sámi press covered the event. Although the facts were indisputable — Jacobsen collected both grave goods and human remains — there were reasons to question the rhetoric, both in the museum's presentation and in part of the press coverage. Portraying Jacobsen as a mere grave-robber and the only offender was at best simplistic. What remained unexposed was that the collection of human remains, especially skulls, was part of the instruction from the museums at the time, not least in Germany, where the physical anthropological tradition was especially influential, as particularly reflected in the work of Rudolph Virchow. Physical anthropological material was collected alongside artefacts considered to be trustworthy expressions of cultural development and were thus seen as two sides of the same coin. Moreover, as the historian Douglas Cole warned against in his 1985 book *Captured Heritage: The Scramble for Northwest Coast Artifacts*, emphasis on ethnographic collection as robbery creates its own fictions. In the book, Cole showed that although misappropriation was by no means uncommon, most ethnographic items were purchased. One of Cole's most important points was that trade in ethnographic objects became an important source of income for indigenous peoples on the Pacific Northwest Coast, and they understood very well the value of their assets and acted accordingly. However, as the Chugach representative in Berlin firmly asserted, although our people were traders, they would never trade burial objects.<sup>11</sup>

Before the opening of the exhibition *More Than Masks* in September 2022, the Humboldt Forum had long planned a special module based on Jacobsen's collection from the American Northwest Coast and Alaska. News about this also

reached Tromsø.<sup>12</sup> As the opening of the Humboldt Forum was delayed due to the Covid-19 pandemic, so too was the Jacobsen module. Already in 2014, however, the Ethnological Museum and the Museum for Asian Art initiated the “Humboldt Lab,” a series of experimental projects to provide impulses for the planning of the exhibitions.<sup>13</sup>

By coincidence, my own research on Jacobsen (2015–2018) would take place more or less in parallel to the planning of the Humboldt Forum, and the activities of the Humboldt Lab concerning Jacobsen became important events I would calibrate my work against. Working from Norway, I was also curious about how Jacobsen was perceived in Germany. One of the Humboldt Lab’s projects was *Travelogue* (Reisebericht) based on the afore-mentioned expedition to the American Northwest Coast. Most notable in the exhibition was the video “Der von einem Stern zum andern springt” (He who jumps from one star to the other) by the Berlin puppet theater *Das Helmi*.<sup>14</sup> The title of the video was derived from the name Jacobsen was given by a Kwakwaka’wakw chief during a potlatch on Vancouver Island in British Columbia.

Indeed, Jacobsen must have been somewhat of a stranger to white-collar, fin de siècle Berlin, and *Das Helmi* made their own quirk on the many unwritten rules Jacobsen must have transgressed. Rather than taking the stairs and using the door to Bastian’s office when commissioned to collect for the Berlin Ethnological Museum, Jacobsen casually jumps in through the window, reckless and loud before cheekily and unabashedly seating himself on the director’s lap. Neither Bastian nor the Kwakwaka’wakw escaped *Das Helmi*’s satire, which caused some stir among German audiences and museum staff,<sup>15</sup> mostly because of the rendering of the indigenous Kwakwaka’wakw and the portrayal of the potlatch, but partly also because of the rendering of Jacobsen and the way he worked. In another scene, *Das Helmi* mocked both Jacobsen’s scholarly aspirations and German academic pretentiousness by the rendering of an evening on Vancouver Island in the company of a Kwakwaka’wakw chief. Jacobsen and the chief had shared a bottle of liquor. The chief was almost asleep leaning against Jacobsen who seemed to feel disheartened, if not hungover, lamenting: “This, recognition, I should have deserved it, at least this little academic hat with a little small flag.”<sup>16</sup>

## NOTEWORTHY FIGURE

My own interest in Jacobsen had started as a PhD fellow at The Arctic University Museum of Norway in Tromsø. Jacobsen was raised on Risøya, a small island outside Tromsø. Although little investigated, his lifelong relationship with ethnography started not as a collector of ethnographic objects but as a recruiter of indigenous presenters in the exhibition practice that constituted the topic of my



thesis: the “living exhibitions” of Sámi in Europe and North America in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.<sup>17</sup> Or to be more precise, Jacobsen’s ethnographic collecting and the recruitment of indigenous peoples for living exhibitions were closely entwined in the beginning of his career, a time that also coincides with the building of ethnographic museums and collections. Through his long-standing relationship with zoo purveyor Carl Hagenbeck in Hamburg, the prime entrepreneur of live ethnographic display in Europe, Jacobsen became a major actor in bringing indigenous peoples to exhibition venues. In my thesis, the perspectives and motivations of the Sámi themselves were a main theme. Jacobsen had proved a particularly interesting source due to the extensive documentation of this work he has left behind.

Like many colonial agents, Jacobsen engaged in ethnographic description in the form of articles, books, and lectures but to an extent that has remained largely unknown.<sup>18</sup> He filled numerous journals with notes on artifacts, people and places, aids, and obstacles he encountered during his travels. It was a distinctive feature of Jacobsen that he participated in the life he described. Whereas Franz Boas brought his family’s servant with him when he conducted fieldwork among the Inuit on Baffin Island,<sup>19</sup> Jacobsen traveled mostly alone. He slept outside with his guides or in the houses and dwellings of the people he collected from, and he rowed, sailed, and paddled with the crew or went hunting with the locals. Living intimately with the local population on his travels, he often used his journal to vent frustrations and achievements. Jacobsen was an observant traveler who reported on circumstances relevant to others than ethnographers, and his journals contain a wealth of details, much of which he later expanded in published accounts. He was particularly interested in issues of navigation and fisheries that were paramount to his own background. As pointed out by the American cultural anthropologist Ann Fienup-Riordan, one of the contributors to this book, Jacobsen simultaneously positioned himself as an ethnographer of the exotic and someone with an exotic background: To him Alaska and other places he traveled and collected from were not strangely alien and “wild.”<sup>20</sup> In many respects they seemed like home and in many ways more familiar than Hamburg or Berlin.

After returning from his first collecting trip, Jacobsen aspired to scientific as well as popular recognition. Encouraged by Bastian, he wrote for both semi-scientific and popular journals in addition to books, most of them German.<sup>21</sup> He approached writing with enthusiasm and ambition. “It is peculiar that one here at the museum [of Berlin] does not publish more about the rich content of the collections than [they have done] up to now. It seems like they are contented with having the collections at the museum without being bothered with publications about the same [collections],” he wrote in 1890 to Yngvar Nielsen, the director of

the Ethnographic Museum in Kristiania (Oslo), whom he corresponded with for years.<sup>22</sup> Due to his limited command of written German, Jacobsen relied on other writers in his early efforts to be recognized. From 1889, however, he authored his own articles, which were edited by his German wife, Hedwig, and others. As noted by Fienup-Riordan, Jacobsen's lack of formal education limited the degree to which he could engage in scholarly debate and the comparative-analytical perspective this required.<sup>23</sup>

In 1933, Jacobsen donated all his journals and manuscripts to the German-Nordic Society's archive in Hamburg-Altona along with hundreds of personal and professional letters, contracts with the indigenous groups he recruited for live ethnographic displays, postcards from his travels, photographs taken by himself and others, telegrams, tickets, obituaries of relatives, newspaper clippings, drawings made by grandchildren, and all kinds of other papers. "You do know that all my books, photographs, manuscripts etc, now have ended up at the Völker Museum in Hamburg," Jacobsen wrote to an acquaintance in 1941. "Everything is in a mess, but I am hoping that if this war ends well, everything will be brought in order again."<sup>24</sup> After World War II, the Nordic Archive was dissolved, and the Jacobsen material was given to the Museum für Völkerkunde in Hamburg, now the Museum am Rothenbaum – Kulturen und Künste der Welt (MARKK).<sup>25</sup>

When I wrote my PhD thesis, the Jacobsen Collection (JAC) was largely unavailable. Luckily, the beginning of MARKK's meticulous digitization of it coincided with the post-doctoral grant I received to take a deep dive into Jacobsen's career. The aim of my project was twofold. Firstly, I wanted to explore Jacobsen's role as a collector and mediator between worlds and the way his richly documented activities could shed light on the colonial encounter and collecting more generally. Secondly, I wanted to use Jacobsen's career and biography as a case for investigating the changing relationships between academic disciplinary scholarship and amateur autodidactic activities.

## NEW REGIME OF DISCIPLINARY KNOWLEDGE

The emergence of new and specialized regimes of knowledge in the late nineteenth century had a great impact on the study of "the other" and its goals.<sup>26</sup> Based on the notion that human behavior was best understood through the typology of biological characteristics, anthropology had become established as a scientific discipline across Europe and the United States between 1859 and 1879. Growing increasingly distinct from this biological approach, the discipline began to crystallize into its modern form by the end of the nineteenth century. One of the leading figures was the afore-mentioned Franz Boas. Boas introduced culture as the primary concept

for describing differences in human behavior and as the prime analytical concept of anthropology.<sup>27</sup> According to Boas, every culture had to be studied on their own premises and in their own environment. Cultural relativism, as the approach was called, became increasingly important in the early twentieth century just as geographical and cultural context rather than biological differences became the basis for anthropological knowledge.

By the same token, the practice of collecting underwent a critical transformation by increasingly being subjected to new scientific standards. The scientific value of an object became linked to the quality and amount of information a collector obtained about its origins and its function in the culture that created it. Though Bastian and his peers, for example, considered information about ethnographic objects as desirable, the artifacts themselves remained the primary objective. Over the next decades, however, such contextual information became increasingly important, and artifacts that lacked this information dropped accordingly in scientific as well as economic value, as pointed out by Glenn Penny.<sup>28</sup> Another consequence was that collecting for profit became to be seen as “unscientific” in a way unheard of within Bastian’s generation of ethnologists and their gentlemanly ideals of a progressive, apolitical science, which also facilitated the creation of their acquisition network.<sup>29</sup> Amateur collectors, though not necessarily meeting the scientific standards demanded by the anthropological or ethnological canon, were crucial to these networks and thus welcomed and needed.

By the turn of the twentieth century, however, such amateur collectors, regardless of their enthusiasm and best intentions, were not considered up for the task anymore.<sup>30</sup> Scholarly skills were needed and mostly taught, well-prepared scientific collectors would meet the new standards. Moreover, due to the rise of social and cultural anthropology during the first half of the twentieth century, the significance of collecting diminished and even became stigmatized in some academic circles. Things lost much of their mediating role, since from now on, cultures were to be accessed “directly” through the new disciplinary imperative of dialogue and participant observation.<sup>31</sup> Another aspect of this early disciplining and professionalization of the study of the other was an increasingly felt need to distance oneself from amateur practices and dilettante interests which emerged as something opposed to rather than supportive of scholarly conduct.<sup>32</sup> Moreover, a division would take place between the disciplines of *Volkskunde* and *Völkerkunde*,<sup>33</sup> the study of local cultural traditions from that of distant ones, creating a boundary that frequently has obscured and prevented a more comprehensive understanding of past academic and museum practices.

Needless to say, these changes affected Jacobsen and the way he and his activities were identified, perceived, and represented — or as expressed by the curator of the

American collection at the Berlin Ethnological Museum when asked if “Kapitän Jacobsen” had in any way been preordained for the challenging task of collecting at the Northwest Coast of America, “[H]e wasn’t even a captain. He just called himself that. He was a sailor, a mariner, a Norwegian [one]. Nor was he a scientist by the time’s standards. He was more of an adventurer – but very interested in ethnology.”<sup>34</sup>

During the years of collecting and scholarly writing, from approximately 1885 to 1895, Jacobsen lobbied repeatedly but unsuccessfully to get a permanent position at museums in Germany and Norway, preferably the latter, as he longed for home.<sup>35</sup> Despite the praise heaped on him by German ethnologists in their private correspondence and in professional and more popular publications,<sup>36</sup> he was consistently declined a permanent position. In Norway, his aspirations failed similarly. “It seems to be the will of destiny that I shall never achieve something on native grounds although that is precisely where I thought my efforts would be useful,” he wrote to the afore-mentioned director Nielsen in 1900.<sup>37</sup>

From 1895 Jacobsen supported his family as a hotel and restaurant manager in addition to recruiting ethnographic troupes for Hagenbeck. In 1922, he traveled with a film company to Norway, and in the summers of 1923 and 1924 he led hunting trips to Spitsbergen and Novaia Zemlia for wealthy German citizens on the Tromsø vessel *M/K Polargutten* (Polar boy) captained by Jens Øien, Jacobsen’s nephew.<sup>38</sup> In 1926, Jacobsen traveled to Norway to hire Sámi and buy reindeer for yet another ethnographic show for Hagenbeck, the last of his career. As pointed out by Fienup-Riordan, having lost his savings to inflation following World War I, Jacobsen had good reason to remain active with ethnographic shows and popular publications into old age.<sup>39</sup> He received a modest government pension from German authorities from 1926 through 1935, based in part on his contributions to state museums over the years.

## JACOBSEN IN BRITISH COLUMBIA

The *Travelogue* exhibition and the plans of the Humboldt Forum contributed to my decision to go on a three-month-long research visit to British Columbia and the Museum of Anthropology at the University of British Columbia in Vancouver in the spring of 2016. In British Columbia I visited museums and places Jacobsen had collected from, including the geographically isolated Bella Coola Valley, home of the Nuxalk, whom Jacobsen and his brother (Bernard) Filip recruited for a tour in Europe, and where Filip later would settle, making a name for himself as an ethnographic collector.

Seeing Jacobsen and his activities through Canadian lenses provided new perspectives. I especially remember an article describing Spitsbergen as a neighboring

island to Jacobsen's homeplace Risøya. Spitsbergen is a High Arctic Island in the Svalbard archipelago where Jacobsen would go on sealing and hunting expeditions from the age of 13, first as a crew member, and then from the age of 16 as a captain on his father's boat. Spitsbergen is situated approximately 1,400 km (870 miles) north of Risøya, separated from the Norwegian and European mainland by the vast Arctic Ocean. In other words, an awful lot of skills and experiences were lost by that slip of the pen. I was also reminded how much easier it is to talk to an academic audience about ethnographic collecting than the living exhibitions of indigenous peoples, especially if the objective is to convey that they implied more than the Western world's staging of primitivity and race, as Jacobsen's accounts testify to.

## RENEWED INTEREST

In the summer of 2016, after returning from British Columbia, I organized a workshop about Jacobsen in Tromsø. The contributors came from Norway, Germany, Canada, and the US. The common denominator was that they had all worked with Jacobsen in one way or another. The workshop included an excursion to Risøya, where the Jacobsen house, the only house on the island, still stands almost unchanged; a visit to the church island Gåsvær, where Jacobsen's parents are buried; and the old town hall (Rådstua) in Tromsø that once housed on its second floor the Navigation School, established in 1864, which Jacobsen attended.

My colleagues at The Arctic University Museum in Tromsø were surprised to see that I was not the only "Jacobsen scholar." Even though Risøya is situated only an hour away from Tromsø by boat and we worked at the region's largest museum where many were much more familiar with coastal history than a non-local land-lubber like me, most of my colleagues were unaware of Jacobsen. One generation before, Jacobsen had corresponded extensively with Just Qvigstad, the head of the Sámi ethnographic department at the very same museum and one of the founding fathers of Sámi ethnography. I was familiar with the contact Jacobsen had with Yngvar Nielsen at the Ethnographic Museum in Oslo. My research had, however, uncovered letters Jacobsen had also written to Qvigstad during the years 1938 to 1942. Evidently Jacobsen had sent Qvigstad a list of his publications and photographs of his family as a sort of testimony and summary of his work.<sup>40</sup>

It is obvious that Jacobsen and Qvigstad had corresponded for years. Qvigstad had given Jacobsen a copy of his latest book in German on Sámi ethnography as well as newspaper clippings and pictures from Tromsø and Norway. Jacobsen had sent some of his manuscripts to Qvigstad for him to comment and proofread and kept him updated on the situation in Germany and German ethnological publications. Germany was at that time leading the way in ethnology in Europe, and

German was the language of publication also for Norwegian academics. Jacobsen was at that point an old man, almost 90 years old, a widower, and World War II was in the making or had started. Interestingly, Qvigstad sent all the letters from Jacobsen, the photographs, and list of publications to the National Library in Oslo. I interpret this as an acknowledgment of Jacobsen's work: that his contribution counted and that knowledge of it should be preserved. This was in 1942. Rumor had it that Jacobsen was dead, Qvigstad wrote, but he was not. A German military airplane had just flown him back to Norway, and eventually he made it to the Jacobsen family home at Risøya, where he died in January 1947.<sup>41</sup>

Although Jacobsen acquired considerable personal renown in his own time, both in Norway and abroad, he has been little known outside specialists working on German ethnography and the history of museum collecting along the Pacific Northwest Coast.<sup>42</sup> In Norway and in Northern Norway especially, knowledge about Jacobsen has been focused on his reputation as a remarkable "Arctic sea skipper" (*Ishavskaptein*), a vocational designation remarkable on its own in Norway and encompassing a very specific content (see Baglo and Holiman, this volume), and polar explorer. These experiences gave him a role in the polar narrative important for the building of a Norwegian national identity.<sup>43</sup> However, Jacobsen's extensive global activity as a collector and a recruiter of indigenous presenters has been little investigated.<sup>44</sup> From a Norwegian point of view, the fact that Jacobsen lived all his life in Germany is part of the explanation for why he has been largely forgotten, as well as World War II, the defeat of the Axis Powers, and the historical reinterpretations and criticism that followed, both of the living exhibitions, or *Völkerschauen* as they were referred to in Germany, of the once admired German ethnography, and of everything German.

Yet Jacobsen remains a particularly noteworthy figure for many reasons, and in recent years scholars, museum staff, artists, filmmakers, and not least the Humboldt Forum have become increasingly aware of that.<sup>45</sup> Ironically, the lack of academic training seems to be one of the things that makes Jacobsen interesting today. As pointed out by Aaron Glass,<sup>46</sup> another contributor to this volume, partly because Jacobsen was not a trained anthropologist or fully institutionalized museum collector, his accounts are relatively free from the dominant tropes of salvage ethnographers, who tended to erase signs of modernity and colonial context to actively reconstruct past, presumably "pure" cultural patterns. Moreover, Glass proposes, the hints at actual historical conditions in the late nineteenth century may prove to be a more valuable contribution to the period's anthropological literature than Jacobsen's without doubt questionable ethnography, which, in his defense, he was not trained for either. Jacobsen's 1884 text, for example, is replete with insights into the specific social relations of both collecting and recruiting

and the different responses from various indigenous groups and communities and individual brokers. Fienup-Riordan has suggested that Jacobsen positioned himself into his own narrative like the postmodern, reflexive ethnographer and may therefore be perceived as both behind and ahead of his time.<sup>47</sup>

Jacobsen's accounts are indeed unique as a testimony of the messiness of the colonial encounter and the basic commercial aspects of early ethnographic collecting. As this volume testifies to, Jacobsen was by no means the only trader of tradition. The accounts provide a rare insight into issues of indigenous participation, negotiation, and resistance, issues of agency that have largely been ignored in the history of the living ethnographic displays and of ethnographic collecting more generally. Jacobsen's career, which unfolded between amateur ethnography and professional anthropology, thus also provides an opportunity to question some of the dynamics and effects of disciplinary history. As Jacobsen's ethnographic enterprises so compellingly testify to, the collecting of objects for museums was in the early years closely entwined with the recruitment of indigenous groups for living ethnographic displays. Just as the distinctions between science and amusement, *Volkskunde* and *Völkerkunde*, were blurred, the collecting of people and things overlapped.

## AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

In this book we bring together Jacobsen's collecting and recruitment of indigenous presenters for living exhibitions. The aim is to illuminate the social relations of both collecting and exhibiting, as well as investigating the changing relationships between academic disciplinary scholarship and amateur autodidactic activities by examining Jacobsen's life and career from a wide range of perspectives, nationalities, backgrounds, and agendas. Sometimes the articles overlap, but rather than seeing this as a problem, we have thought of it as an asset. The contributors add details only they have noticed, thereby adding to the bigger picture, even when working with the same sources or when dealing with the same issue, thus reminding us of the situatedness of our practices. One objective has been to explore how Jacobsen's richly documented activity provides insights into issues of indigenous participation, negotiation, and resistance. To what extent, for example, may Jacobsen's accounts help us investigate whether ethnographic collecting or participation in live ethnographic displays represented emancipatory possibilities and thus acted as a cultural resource for the indigenous peoples involved in a colonial situation? Another objective has been to complicate simplistic perceptions of Jacobsen himself by shedding light on his background, the experiences that conditioned his collecting of people and things, and the importance of his ethnographic activities to indigenous communities today.

*Translation* may serve as a way of conceptualizing Jacobsen's role as a cultural broker and negotiator, not only between indigenous and European worlds but also between local and scholarly knowledge and between domestic possessions and institutional collections. The concept brings attention to the things that are continuously "carried across," transformed, and reinvented in social and cultural encounters. Translation and cultural brokerage are also crucial in relation to the living exhibitions as directionally reversed encounters, the indigenous peoples coming to "us." Central to the theoretical take on translation is that it brings about changes. Objects, peoples, and cultural meanings were not simply transferred undistorted from one context to another. Drawing on Bruno Latour's concept of the "mediator" and Isabelle Stengers's "ecology of practices,"<sup>48</sup> translation and brokerage may rather be understood as complex processes where dissimilar elements are gathered around a particular matter of concern and where the outcome of this encounter — given the heterogeneity of its components — is unpredictable. Jacobsen enabled unexpected things to happen and new assemblages to be produced. Not only did he bring together culturally diverse peoples; included in the merging processes were also institutions and professionals, academia and business, things and animals. These encounters left several persistent traces that constitute the basis of the volume.

Moreover, Stengers's approach stresses the need and allowance for fascination and wonderment. "Wonder, as I understand it," Stengers writes, "is not a general attitude in front of a wonderful world. What is general – the idealist attitude – is the explaining away of what would complicate our judgments, or worse, what we see as dangerous, encouraging irrationality. Therefore, silencing the power of wonder is not to be identified with a scientific attitude. Rather, it designates science as it has been mobilized in defense of public order."<sup>49</sup>

Jacobsen's life was an extraordinary life. It is also a most fascinating biography, and it would do injustice to both him and the vast number of actors he interacted with not to take these wonders and sentiments into our scholarly discourses. This also constitutes one perspective for analyzing why Jacobsen, and the ecology of practices he helped establish, over time became incompatible with the new regimes of disciplinary knowledge that emerged in the early twentieth century. For these regimes, scientific purity and order became imperative, involving strategies of closure and distancing both from other disciplines and, more generally, from the messy undertakings of amateurs and dilettantes. Despite being contradictory in relation to their own mixing of peoples, politics, things, and practices (and thus as ecology of practices in their own respect), this imperative became an important device for distinguishing between insiders and outsiders. As noted by Latour, the true originality of the new regimes of disciplinary knowledge that emerged in the early twentieth century was not to do away with things, wonders,



and hybrids, but rather to estrange themselves from their own practices, an estrangement which allowed them to dispel those less careful in obscuring their messy involvement.<sup>50</sup>

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## NOTES

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- 2 Baglo, "Hr. Kaptein Jacobsen."
- 3 Baglo, "Hr. Kaptein Jacobsen."

- 4 *Bergens Tidende*, “Bergen nationaethnografiske Museum,” February 10, 1893. Translated from Norwegian by the author.
- 5 *Bergens nationaethnografiske forenings forhandlingsprotokol*.
- 6 Murphy, “Opening of Collections.”
- 7 Murphy, “Opening of Collections.”
- 8 “First Nations on the Pacific Northwest Coast,” display *More Than Masks*, the Humboldt Forum, October 2022.
- 9 The full title is *Capitain Jacobsen’s Reise an der Nordwestküste Amerikas 1881-1883, zum Zwecke ethnologischer Sammlungen und Erkundigungen, nebst Beschreibung persönlicher Erlebnisse, für den deutschen Leserkreis bearbeitet von A. Woldt*. See Bolz, this volume.
- 10 For a discussion of the artwork, see Bolz, P. 2024. Ein “Haida Manga” als visueller Reisebericht. Wie die Sammelreise Johan Adrian Jacobsens and die Nordwestküste zum Ausstellungsthema im Humboldt Forum wurde. *Amerindian Research. Zeitschrift für indianische Kulturen von Alaska bis Feuerland*. Bd 19/4, Nr. 74, 4–21.
- 11 Schuetze, “Berlin Museum Returns Artifacts”; Baglo, “Var han virkelig bare”; Hivand, “Nordmann røvet graver.”
- 12 Ulabrand Johansen, “Tromsø-mann løftes frem.”
- 13 [http://www.humboldt-lab.de/en/project-archive/probeuehne-4/travelogue/teaser/index.html@tx\\_hfprjdoc\\_prjpdf\[action\]=download&tx\\_hfprjdoc\\_prjpdf\[controller\]=Project&-cHash=4d03177d7a22e4304ad120221d078239](http://www.humboldt-lab.de/en/project-archive/probeuehne-4/travelogue/teaser/index.html@tx_hfprjdoc_prjpdf[action]=download&tx_hfprjdoc_prjpdf[controller]=Project&-cHash=4d03177d7a22e4304ad120221d078239). Accessed August 2022.
- 14 See Bolz, this volume.
- 15 Jacobsen, “Kaptein Jacobsens Reise,” 115. In the Norwegian version: “[E]n som løper fra en stjerne til en annen.”
- 16 Das Helmi, “Der von einem Stern.”
- 17 Baglo, *På ville veiger*. See also Baglo, this volume, for an explanation of the term “living exhibition.”
- 18 See Bolz, this volume.
- 19 Cole, *Franz Boas*.
- 20 Fienup-Riordan, *Yupik Elders*.
- 21 See Bolz, this volume.
- 22 “Det er mærkverdigt at man i Museet här ikke publiserer mer af de rige Samlingers indhold end hidentil [sic]. Det synes som om de ere tilfredse med at have Samlingene i Museet, uden at bryde sig meget om publisering af de samme.” Jacobsen to Nielsen, 9 October 1890. The National Library holds 16 letters from Jacobsen to Nielsen, dating from 1886–1905. On Yngvar Nielsen, see Hansen, “Just K. Qvigstad’s Contribution,” 47–67.
- 23 Fienup-Riordan, *Yupik Elders*, 30.
- 24 Letter from Jacobsen [...] to Herr Professor Adolf Hoel, 1941.
- 25 See Bolz, this volume.
- 26 Foucault, *The Order of Things*; Stocking, *Victorian Anthropology*; Stocking, *The Ethnographer’s Magic*.
- 27 Moore, “Franz Boas.”
- 28 Penny, *Objects of Culture*, 84.
- 29 Penny, *Objects of Culture*, 84.
- 30 Penny, *Objects of Culture*, 87.
- 31 Miller, *Material culture*, 11; cf. Kuper, *Anthropologists*.
- 32 Olsen and Svestad, “Creating Prehistory”; Brenna, “Dilettantisme og disiplin.”
- 33 Gerholm and Hannerz, “Introduction.”

- 34 Zessnik, "Johan Adrian Jacobsen im Humboldt Forum."
- 35 Baglo, "Hr. Kaptein Jacobsen."
- 36 See, for example, Penny, *Objects of Culture*, 88, 235.
- 37 "Det synes at være Skjæbnens Vilie [*sic*] at jeg aldrig skal kunde formaae [?] noget i min Hjemstavn, og dog trodde jeg nettopp der at kunde virke til Gavn." Jacobsen to Nielsen, Dresden, June 22, 1900. Translated by the author.
- 38 König, "Johan Adrian Jacobsen." Jens Julis Øien's mother was Jacobsen's sister Anne Helmine (b. 1846). She was married to schoolteacher Jens Øien. See Baglo and Holiman and Thode-Arora, this volume.
- 39 Fienup-Riordan, *Yupik Elders*, 32–33.
- 40 See Baglo and Holiman, this volume.
- 41 See Baglo and Holiman, this volume.
- 42 Some exceptions are Haberland, "Remarks"; Cole, *Captured Heritage*; Bolz and Sanner, *Native American Art*; Jacknis, *The Storage Box*; Fienup-Riordan, *Yupik Elders*; Glass, "Northwest Coast Ceremonialism."
- 43 Greve, "Kaptein Johan Adrian Jacobsen"; Holiman, "Adrian Jacobsen, fra polarkulden"; Drivenes and Jølle, *Norsk Polarhistorie*; Røkkum, "Nært, vilt og skjønt"; Kjær, *Ishavsfarerne*.
- 44 Haberland, "Remarks"; Thode-Arora, *Für fünfzig Pfennig*; Penny, *Objects of Culture*; Ames, *Carl Hagenbeck's Empire*; Baglo, *På ville veger*.
- 45 The company Polarfox based in Tromsø planned a film and TV production on Jacobsen aimed at German and Norwegian audiences, but the project has been postponed. A Canadian film company produced the documentary film *Trapped in a Human Zoo* in 2014 partly based on Jacobsen's accounts on his travels with the Labrador Inuit, while a Norwegian film maker recently contacted me regarding a possible documentary. Several artists have made projects about Jacobsen.
- 46 Glass, "Northwest Coast Ceremonialism."
- 47 Fienup-Riordan, *Yupik Elders*, 14.
- 48 Latour, *Reassembling the Social*; Stengers, "Introductory Notes," 183–96.
- 49 Stengers, "Wondering About Materialism," 374.
- 50 Latour, *Reassembling the Social*.



**Figure 0.3:** Approaching Risøya, a small island on the outer coast of Tromsø in Northern Norway. June 2016. Photo: Mari Karlstad, The Arctic University Museum of Norway.

# 1. A Fisher Boy from the Outskirts of Tromsø

Cathrine Baglo and Kirsten Katharina Barton Holiman

**Abstract** Based on Barton Holiman's Master's thesis,<sup>1</sup> this chapter explores Johan Adrian Jacobsen's life with emphasis on his early and later years; family relations in Norway, British Columbia, and Germany; and work experience outside the ethnographic world. Moreover, the chapter sheds light on the contact Jacobsen had with associates of the far-right political party Nasjonal Samling (NS) in Norway and the Nazi regime in Germany during World War II and highlights the consequences that living in Germany had for his life and career.

**Keywords** Johan Adrian Jacobsen | early years | late years | Norway | Germany | British Columbia | Bernhard Fillip Jacobsen | Nasjonal Samling | Nazi Regime | world wars

Johan Adrian Jacobsen's background was both worldly, multicultural, and affluent. He was born October 9, 1853, on Risøya, a small island that forms the largest part of an archipelago on the outer coast of Tromsø in Northern Norway, a port city with approximately 3,000 inhabitants at the time. His parents were Jacob Carl Gregoriussen (1815–1908) and Erika Pauline Eriksdatter (1819–1900). The father's unusual last name was due to the fact that he was the son of a Russian Pomor trader, Grigorij (Gregor in Norwegian) Ivanovitsj Ponomarjov (Podomoroff) from the Solovki Island by the river Kem.<sup>2</sup> From 1740 until the Russian Revolution in 1917, the Pomors of Northwest Russia sailed to the coast of Northern Norway in the summer, where they bartered and later bought fish that could not be sent to the markets in the south due to the seasonal difficulties of conservation. In exchange, the coastal communities acquired grains, food, timber, and other important merchandise. In 1814, the ice had settled early on the White Sea, and Grigorij Ponomarjov had to spend the winter in Tromsø. Here he became acquainted with Eva Henriksdatter Højer, the daughter of a Swedish immigrant and a domestic worker at the district sheriff's house.<sup>3</sup> The relationship resulted in a pregnancy, even though Ponomarjov already was married with children in Russia. In October 1815, Henriksdatter Højer gave birth to a son, Jacob Carl Gregoriussen.<sup>4</sup>



**Figure 1.1:** Jacob Carl Gregoriussen (1816–1908) and Erika Pauline Eriksdatter (1819–1900), Johan Adrian Jacobsen’s parents. Photography by P.A. Michelsen, Tromsø. © Museum am Rothenbaum – Kulturen und Künste der Welt (MARKK).

## “VÆREIER” GREGORIUSSEN AND HIS FAMILY

Jacob Carl Gregoriussen (1815–1908) did well despite being an illegitimate child. Moreover, to have a baby outside of marriage was not uncommon, and such events were largely approached with pragmatism. Gregoriussen soon made a name for himself as a fisherman, wholesale buyer, and fishing station owner – or “*væreier*” in Norwegian. The *væreier* system was particularly linked to Lofoten fishing and reached a peak in the middle of the 19th century. For a time, the powerful *væreier* controlled both the fishing grounds, the trade in fish, the accommodation of the fishermen, and most of the local community.

In 1838, Gregoriussen married his cousin Erik[k]a Pauline Eriksdatter (1819–1900)<sup>5</sup> (Fig. 1.1), and the couple settled at Laukslett on Kvaløya, a large island outside Tromsø where Gregoriussen had grown up. At Kvaløya he earned a living as a merchant, fisherman, and fish buyer. Towards the end of the 1830s, he established himself on Risøya situated at 70 degrees north and 16 degrees east, a station for fishing and one of the most important localities in the region for collecting eiderdown and seagull eggs. Gregoriussen bought all the islets in the archipelago around 1848, and about 1860, he bought Sandvær, the neighboring islands when the former inhabitants immigrated to America.<sup>6</sup> “With great diligence and frugality,” Jacobsen wrote, “my parents had managed to acquire a small fortune and when the America Fever started in the sixties and two of our neighbours sold



their islands and went to America, my father bought the islands which belonged to the same group as ours.”<sup>7</sup> Due to the abundance of natural and maritime resources, and their location in the middle of the sailing route, Risøya and Sandvær had been inhabited at least since the Viking Age.<sup>8</sup> Although sparsely populated most of the year, the number of inhabitants on the islands would increase drastically at peak seasons, such as the winter fishing.

Jacob Carl Gregoriussen and Erika Pauline Eriksdatter had ten children—four boys and six girls: Martha Elisabeth (b. 1839), Jacob Martin (b. 1841), Ingeborg Anna Margrethe (b. 1845), Anna Helmine (b. 1847), Lorenthine Olufine (b. 1849), Johan Adrian (b. 1853), Hans Edvard (b. 1856), Hansine Flemine (b. 1858), and Bern(h)ard Fil(l)ip (b. 1864). Like Bernhard Filip, Johan Adrian would often use only the second name. A son, also named Johan Adrian, was born around 1851, but he died as a newborn. A daughter, Anna Marie Jensine (1861–1862), died at four months. Like many people settled on the coast, the family had extensive contacts with the outside world. Moreover, the family had the means to travel. Both Jacob Martin and Johan Adrian would settle in Germany, while Bernhard Filip would settle in British Columbia. Moreover, Ingeborg Anna’s daughter, Elise Justine, and Lorenthine Olufine’s daughter, Henny, became residents of Hamburg. Elise Justine married a German banker and Henny a music teacher.<sup>9</sup>

Four of the Jacobsen children were born on Kvaløya. Johan Adrian, who was the sixth child, was born on Risøya, where the family moved in 1847 after his father had built a house on the treeless island. As long as Jacobsen lived, his family and their ever-growing household would be the only permanent residents at Risøya. In 1865, the family had five servants living with them. Two of them were housemaids. Ten years later, in 1875, the number of housemaids had risen to three.<sup>10</sup> A few years before, in 1869, Gregoriussen had received permission to establish a trading station on the island.<sup>11</sup> In addition, the family subsisted on haddock oil extraction, the collection of eiderdown and seagull eggs, fishing, fish wholesaling, and Arctic catching.<sup>12</sup> Cloudberries were picked for the commercial market, while seagull eggs and eiderdown were collected on the island and islets around. According to tradition, there are ninety-nine islets around Risøya, but in fact there are over 200.<sup>13</sup> In Jacobsen’s time, 1,300 eggs could be collected a day with an annual production of 10,000–15,000, which amounted to a considerable economic profit.<sup>14</sup> During the same time, up to 45 kilos of down could be collected. Down from eider ducks was sent to the European and Russian markets, while the eggs were mostly sold locally in Tromsø. During the fishing season, Jacob Carl Gregoriussen was known to have employed up to 200 fishermen. To accommodate them, twelve fisherman’s shacks were built.<sup>15</sup> In the winter, the men mostly fished for haddock and in the summer for pollock.



**Figure 1.2:** The Jacobsen house at Risøya in 1918. © Museum am Rothenbaum – Kulturen und Künste der Welt (MARKK).

As the genealogy at the end of the book so compellingly testifies to, the island people were, and had to be, self-supportive in most matters of life, also economically, and the children took part in the work. In addition to harvesting from the island and the sea, the household on Risøya raised livestock—cattle, sheep, and pigs—and for a while they grew potatoes. Compared to the censuses from other trading posts and settled fishing stations in the area, the Gregoriussen family was well off. In 1865, the family kept twelve cattle, fourteen sheep, and one pig, and the size of cultivated land equaled seven “barrels” of potatoes (grain did not grow on Risøya).<sup>16</sup> In 1885, the number of cattle had been reduced to eight, but there was an increase in the number of sheep. No pigs were kept, and the size of cultivated land was reduced to one and a half barrels of potatoes. According to the 1900 census, the Jacobsen household did not cultivate land anymore and the only animals kept were cows.<sup>17</sup>

Johan Adrian’s younger sister, Hansine Flemine, and her husband seem to have been particularly proud of the family’s Russian heritage. When she married the entrepreneurial merchant and social developer on the neighboring island of Helgøy, Christian Figenschou (1846–1939),<sup>18</sup> also known as “the king of Helgøy”, they gave their children Russian or Russian-inspired names.<sup>19</sup> Their daughter, Charlanka, who married Bottolfsen, later wrote that one of her fondest childhood memories was when her mother sailed with the children to her childhood home at Risøy sixty kilometers (37 miles) away:

She [our mother] tucked us into the boat with our dog Polly. Then she hoisted the sails on the Nordland boat [a type of fishing boat used in northern Norway]

and sat down at the *styrvol* [a rod used to control the rudder]. She sailed so that the water foamed across the bow out Helgøyfjorden, and out to sea the boat went. Along with her sailed old Even as *framromskar* [the person helping with the sails or rowing if necessary].<sup>20</sup>

Hansine was also an excellent house doctor for the animals, Charlanka later reported. She always knew what to do. To help her, she used an old veterinary book. “Mother had a bright, light disposition and was always in a good mood [...] If we children were up to something, she would always play along. It was she who did most of the upbringing. Father we saw less.”<sup>21</sup>

Christian and Hansine Figenschou remained close to Johan Adrian and his family all their lives, as the many letters between Jacobsen and Figenschou testify to, and when Jacobsen’s son, Harald, died in Altona, Hamburg, in July 1931, the Norwegian death notice was signed by Adrian Jacobsen, Hedwig Jacobsen, and Chr. Figenschou, Helgøy,<sup>22</sup> by then a widower. Every autumn the Figenschous would travel by boat to Bergen and Kristiania (now Oslo) to meet business associates, and occasionally they would continue to Hamburg to visit family. According to her own memoirs, Hansine and Christian Figenschou’s daughter, Charlanka, traveled to Hamburg at the age of seventeen to live with her uncle Johan Adrian and his family. By that time, Charlanka had spent seven years at the ordinary school at Helgøy, three years at Amalie Hansen’s girls’ school in Bergen, and then been homeschooled by a governess at Helgøy with her brothers. Charlanka stayed for seven years in Hamburg (until about 1909), helping out the Jacobsen in the restaurant they ran, while learning to paint and continuing to play the piano.<sup>23</sup> Charlanka’s other uncle in Hamburg, Johan Martin, died in December 1888, probably from tuberculosis.

## LIFE ON THE ISLAND

In 1856, Jacob Carl Gregoriussen built the house that still stands on the island today (Fig. 1.2). It was built with Russian timber and timber that drifted onto the shores of Risøya, as only shrubs—“*ris*”—grow naturally on the island. The house was larger and grander than most houses in the region at that time. It consisted of a large basement, kitchen, one sitting room and a grand dining room downstairs, one sitting room upstairs as well as a large dormitory and four bedrooms. There was also a loft with an additional bedroom. Later, in 1907 when Jacobsen had lived in Germany for decades, a three-storey boat house was built where large crates of fish and other things could be hoisted.

Jacobsen’s father is known to have been a hardworking man. The mother is described as exceptionally hospitable, always seeking other people’s company.<sup>24</sup> Church service

was important to the social life of the community. Because of the location of the island on the outer coast and the exposure to winds and rough weather, churchgoing was often difficult. Instead, Gregoriussen would, as custom was, gather the household in one of the sitting rooms where he would read to them from the catechism. During this, he would not tolerate any commotion from the children.<sup>25</sup>

There was no ordinary school for the children on the islands as transportation was difficult, especially during the period of the polar night. During this period, which lasts from late November until late January in the Tromsø area, there is no daylight, except around midday. Commonly, children from the age of seven years accompanied their parents to the summer fisheries. That was also the age when the children started school. The children were therefore schooled for only a few weeks in the spring and autumn. The curriculum consisted of religion, arithmetic, reading, and writing. Those who were able to go to school until the rite of confirmation also learnt geography and bible history. In the summertime, the priest would visit the islands to examine the children's knowledge. According to the priest's reports, Johan Adrian seem to have excelled in reading, while his writing, knowledge of the catechism, bible history, and biblical explanation were "fairly good" or "bad."<sup>26</sup> "Despite this pitiful instruction there are many intelligent and knowledgeable people [on the islands]," Jacobsen explained in 1887.<sup>27</sup> The reason, he gathered, was the contacts that were established during the many months-long fishing travels to Lofoten, Vesterålen, Finnmark, and the coasts of Russia. "Nearly all the fishermen are gone half the year travelling. Besides the Northerner is fond of reading newspapers, and almost every fisherman subscribes to a couple of periodicals although it may last a while before they reach their destination."<sup>28</sup> Christian Figenschou kept eight or nine newspapers and magazines, Charlanka remembered, including *Aftenposten* (a national newspaper), *Korsaren* (a polemic-satirical magazine), and *Farmand* (a magazine for business, politics, and culture). In addition, the publishing house Gyldendal in Oslo would send four to five books a year by various authors.<sup>29</sup> Moreover, Jacobsen added, "nowadays almost all fishing stations are in post and telegraph connection with the outside world."<sup>30</sup> Yet, many of the tasks performed by the people on the islands, and the equipment they used, had stayed the same for generations. "I grew up among a population that lived almost as they did in the Viking Period,"<sup>31</sup> Jacobsen wrote looking back on his life.

## FAMILIAR WITH THE SEA AND WITH BOATS

"As the Son of a Sailor, I was familiar with the Sea and with Boats since I was tiny," Jacobsen stated.<sup>32</sup> In the fall of 1866, Jacob Carl Gregoriussen bought a small sailing ship, *Elida*, equipped for the purchasing of fish. In March the following year, when Jacobsen was thirteen, he joined the ship's crew as a cabin boy on his first

larger trip to the major fishing stations in the region. They partly fished and partly bought fish. Jacobsen almost always took part in the fishing which was carried out in light rowing boats. It was difficult for him to land the large fish, and the other fishermen would often laugh at him. "I was often terribly cold, especially when we didn't get fish and I couldn't keep warm hauling it."<sup>33</sup> Back on *Elida*, it was young Johan Adrian's duty as a cabin boy to cook for the crew, likewise, to salt the stripped and cleaned fish. "That way it often happened that we would pass two days without sleeping," he recalled.<sup>34</sup>

However, the haul was not good, and business was equally bad. Two months later, in May, *Elida* returned to Risøya, where Gregoriussen started preparing her for a fishing and hunting trip to Spitsbergen, the largest island of the Norwegian archipelago of Svalbard in the Arctic Ocean situated approximately 750 nautical miles northeast of Risøya. Johan Adrian was not allowed to come. His older brother, Jacob Martin, however, went along and came home with a large profit. The crew would get a share of the total catch, according to the agreement in the contract.

The older brother Jacob Martin (Fig. 1.3) had returned to Risøya the summer of 1866 after eight years at sea. He worked as a crew member on *Elida* for a couple of seasons before he moved to the port city of Hamburg with his wife, the photographer Jørgine Martine Kjær (1845–1875) (Fig. 1.3) from Malangen outside Tromsø, who died in childbed. Jacob Martin also figures as photographer in Hamburg;<sup>35</sup> perhaps it was a skill he had learned from his late wife? Jacob Martin had been a young man when he embarked on English and American vessels, and his adventures were manifold. During the years he had been away he had sent letters to the family from all over the world—from the United States, Peru, Australia, Java, China—and the letters "arouse early an interest in me to learn about foreign countries and foreign people," Jacobsen wrote. His father bought a map so that they could follow Jacob Martin's travels from Risøya.<sup>36</sup>

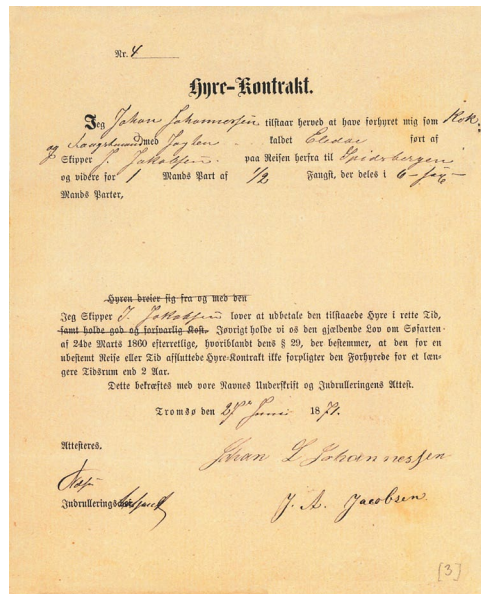


**Figure 1.3:** Portrait of Jacob Martin Jacobsen (1841–1888) and Jørgine Kjær (b. Malangen 1845, d. Hamburg 1875) at the family house at Risøya. Jacobsen’s older brother, Jacob Martin, settled in Hamburg with his first wife, Jørgine Kjær. She was a photographer, Jacobsen a sailor and a ship chandler, but he would eventually work as a photographer too. Jacobsen later married Henrietta Kühne. Photo: C. Baglo.

In September 1867, when *Elida* and Jacob Martin returned from Spitsbergen, Johan Adrian joined the crew on a trip south of Andenes and the archipelago of Vesterålen to buy herring. Again, the haul was bad, and *Elida* returned soon after Christmas. In February 1868, at the age of fifteen, Johan Adrian sailed on *Elida* with his father to Finnmark, the northernmost province in Norway, to buy fish. The journey was difficult. The rowing boats foundered, and two out of the eight crew members drowned in a storm, despite the attempts to save them. The incident made a deep and lasting impression on the young Jacobsen.<sup>37</sup> Being a sailor in these waters was arduous and high-risk work, especially in the wintertime. A few years before, in the spring of 1865, a barque from Dundee in Scotland was shipwrecked outside Risøya. Jacobsen’s mother and brother-in-law were involved in the attempt to rescue the crew of eleven from the sinking vessel. For their efforts they received a silver spoon inscribed “For your deed” from the British government and presented to them by the consul in Tromsø.<sup>38</sup>

In 1869, Johan Adrian Jacobsen was finally allowed by his father to sail with *Elida* to Spitsbergen as skipper to hunt and catch land and sea mammals and birds.<sup>39</sup> Spitsbergen is the largest island of the Svalbard archipelago, which borders the Arctic Ocean, the Norwegian Sea, and the Greenland Sea. At Jacobsen’s time, the area was considered unknown territory, and explorers like the Swedish-Finnish baron Adolf Erik Nordenskiöld participated and organized geological

expeditions to Spitsbergen, followed by longer Arctic explorations, which led him to attempt the discovery of the long-sought Northeast Passage, the sea route between Europe and Asia through the Arctic Ocean.<sup>40</sup> It was in accordance with the spirit of the times that Jacobsen developed an interest in mining on his travels to Spitsbergen, an interest that he would share with his entrepreneurial brothers, especially Bernhard Filip, who became involved in such projects and established a mining company in British Columbia.<sup>41</sup> The skipper's tasks had much in common with organizing ethnographic expeditions. A crew of eight to ten had to be hired, the boat and the crew had to be outfitted, the sealing and hunting had to be organized, supplies had to be distributed for the four- to six-month-long journey, discipline maintained, and the security attended to (Fig. 1.4). Needless to say, the experience as a cabin boy would stand Jacobsen in good stead on the ethnographic expeditions too.



**Figure 1.4:** “Hyre-kontrakt”. Contract entered between J.A. Jacobsen and Johan J. Johannessen, a crew member on *Elida*, signed Tromsø June 1871. Johannessen would receive “one man’s part” of half the catch. Jacobsen had not yet turned eighteen years old. Johannessen was just as young. © Museum am Rothenbaum – Kulturen und Künste der Welt (MARKK).





**Figure 1.5:** Tromsø harbor, the gateway to the Arctic, around 1880–1890. Photograph by Johan Erik Wickström. Courtesy of The Arctic University Museum.

By the fall of 1874, after several seasons in the Arctic and already a legendary figure in Tromsø and within the important sealing industry as the youngest Arctic Ocean skipper ever, but also after an unhappy incident with the shoemaker's daughter, the almost twenty-year-old Josephine Borander, who had become pregnant and given birth to a baby girl who died while Jacobsen was away in Spitsbergen,<sup>42</sup> he decided to call on his brother Jacob Martin in Hamburg.<sup>43</sup> In Hamburg, he assisted in his brother's ship chandler business, but he found the work unsatisfactory. Soon he joined the crew of a Norwegian ship bound for Valparaiso, Chile. In Chile, he held odd jobs, first as a helmsman, then in a bakery, then as a fisher, and finally as a dock master doing ship repairs. By November 1876, he was ready to return to Europe and boarded a Norwegian ship with cargo bound for Hamburg, reaching Germany by February 1877.<sup>44</sup> In the meantime, his brother Jacob Martin had become a widower and had married his second wife, Henrietta – or Henny – Kühne.<sup>45</sup>

## BROTHER FILIP

The eleven-year younger brother (Bernhard) Filip (1864–1935) (Fig. 1.5) had a special place in Johan Adrian's heart. They kept in touch all their lives, and like his older brother, Filip became involved in the ethnographic business. Evidently, Filip had no ambitions of becoming a fisherman. "To be a fisherman [...] it is such a pitiful life," he wrote to his brother from Risøya in 1884.<sup>46</sup> While Johan Adrian was in British Columbia in the early 1880s, Filip traveled to Germany on zoo owner Carl Hagenbeck's initiative to train as his brother's assistant. First, Filip spent eight or nine months at his other brother Jacob Martin's house in Hamburg, learning German. Then he spent a couple of months at Umlauff's Weltmuseum that was run by Hagenbeck's brother-in-law, where he was trained in taxidermy. J.M.G. Umlauff was a prominent Hamburg-based dealer of ethnographic material which also had its own museum.



Afterwards, Filip spent a few months working in Hagenbeck's zoological garden and stayed at Hagenbeck's private home before he was sent to Berlin to help Johan Adrian.<sup>47</sup> In 1884,<sup>48</sup> he was dispatched to British Columbia to make the preparations and assist his brother in recruiting indigenous presenters and compiling an ethnographic collection, and he remained there the rest of his life, first in Clayoquot and then in Bella Coola. Filip Jacobsen encouraged the Norwegian settlement of the region, collected indigenous artifacts that he sold to museums, and wrote and published articles on the region and on his ethnographic activity.<sup>49</sup> In 1894, he married Helga (Fig. 1.6), the daughter of Norwegian immigrant Captain Thor Thorsen, and the couple adopted a daughter, Gudrun. In addition, Filip's son Thorvald had been brought to Canada to live with his father,<sup>50</sup> while a nephew, Alvin John Engvik, also settled in the state.<sup>51</sup> Filip Jacobsen died in 1935 at his farm Solheim in Bella Coola on June 15, 1935, followed by his son Thorvald the day after.<sup>52</sup>



**Figure 1.6:** Bernhard Filip Jacobsen (1864–1935) and his wife, Gudrun Eide Thorsen (b. Stavanger 1912, d. Bella Coola 1992). The couple met in the geographically isolated Bella Coola Valley, a small indigenous (Nuxalk) community that was settled by Norwegians in the 1880s. Courtesy of British Columbia Archives and Peter Solhjell, Bella Coola.

## ARCTIC SEA SKIPPER JACOBSEN

Around 1870, many people from Tromsø and the surrounding islands had immigrated to Australia, among them the skipper of the *Elida*.<sup>53</sup> There was a shortage of experienced sailors, and Jacobsen suggested to his father that he could serve as the captain of his father's boat. His father, however, felt that Johan Adrian was too young and inexperienced to take on this kind of responsibility. Jacobsen insisted,

and finally his father hastily sent him to the newly established Tromsø Navigation School (Fig. 1.7) to train as a shipmaster.<sup>54</sup> At the Navigation School, Jacobsen encountered people whose names were later to be associated with polar expeditions, such as Hans and Søren Johansen. Hans Johansen later became the captain on *Lena*, the steamship used by the afore-mentioned Nordenskiöld on the first Arctic expedition to navigate through the Northeast Passage.



**Figure 1.7:** The old town hall in Tromsø (Rådhuset) where Tromsø Navigation School was established in 1864. The school rented rooms on the building's first floor, and in the first years only a handful of students followed the half-a-year-long course. On top of the hill to the right is today's Tromsø Maritime School, a high school and vocational school built in 1964. Photo: C. Baglo. December 2023.

All his life Jacobsen would maintain contact with Arctic sailors and explorers, and they would turn to him for information, knowledge, and advice. When Jacobsen traveled to Norway in 1926 to recruit the group of South Sámi for Hagenbeck, for example,<sup>55</sup> he and an unknown nephew spent the evening with Gunnar Isachsen, a military officer and polar scientist living in Asker outside Oslo. Isachsen had been a cartographer on the second *Fram* Expedition to Greenland in 1893–1896, and from 1906 to 1910 he led several expeditions to Spitsbergen and Svalbard, and when Jacobsen visited him, he had served for a few years as the first director of the

Norwegian Maritime Museum.<sup>56</sup> It was a “quite nice evening,” Jacobsen wrote in his diary.<sup>57</sup> At that point, in 1923 and 1924, Jacobsen had just led hunting expeditions to Spitsbergen and Novaja Zemlja with the Tromsø vessel *M/K Polargutten* captained by Jens Øien, Jacobsen’s nephew (Fig. 1.9).<sup>58</sup>

Although there is little reason to doubt that Jacobsen in fact did receive navigation training—his father would not have trusted him with the boat otherwise, nor would it be sensible to write about his training at the school in the book of 1887 and to a Norwegian audience that still would have remembered—Jacobsen is not to be found in the reports of the school.<sup>59</sup> One possible explanation is that he received private tutoring. In any circumstance, Jacobsen sailed the *Elida* to Spitsbergen in the spring of the following year, sixteen years old. It had taken him quite a while to hire a crew, and no company wanted to insure the ship due to his young age. On board the *Elida* Jacobsen was responsible for a very young crew as many of the older more and experienced sailors were sceptical about working for him.<sup>60</sup>

Until 1874, Jacobsen sailed with his crew to Spitsbergen every summer. Usually, they would set sail in April and return in the early fall. At Spitsbergen, they would use small boats for hunting and catching. In the book *Eventyrlige fortællinger fortalte til ungdommen* (Adventurous tales told to the youth), Jacobsen describes both reindeer hunting and the climbing of tall cliffs to collect the eggs of sea birds (black-legged kittiwake, puffin, common eider, and auk). Half the crew climbed up the steep cliff wall while the other half waited in the boat below. Then Jacobsen and his crew would take turns in being lowered down with a rope while they collected eggs in a bucket.<sup>61</sup>

The crew on these Arctic hunting and catching trips that departed from Tromsø typically consisted of Sea Sámi, Kvens, and Norwegians, the three largest ethnic groups in coastal Northern Norway.<sup>62</sup> Among them the Sea Sámi were considered the best harpooners.<sup>63</sup> The harpooner was the leader and boss during the catching at sea. On the outer coast, the population was predominantly ethnic Norwegian, and Jacobsen may have recruited most of his crew from here. Generally, however, the crew on Arctic catch boats belonged to the poorer parts of society with little chance of participating in the fishing in the areas of Lofoten and Finnmark as they could not afford the equipment required. When a person embarked on an Arctic Ocean vessel, the shipping company paid for the equipment.<sup>64</sup> The journey in Arctic waters was often very profitable but also dangerous. Many ships and sailors never returned. In 1871, many boats were shipwrecked or froze in the ice, Jacobsen recounts. He himself had sixteen men on board the ship, and they all managed to survive. Others were not so lucky. At one point, Jacobsen and his crew had to rescue a group of men in a boat that had frozen in the ice and almost starved to death.

## FROM RISØYA TO GERMANY AND BACK

The brother Jacob Martin suggested Jacobsen work with him in his firm, and when Johan Adrian decided not to return to Risøya, his father sold *Elida*. Jacobsen, and later Jacobsen and his family, visited Risøya a few times during the almost seventy years Germany remained his home. Jacobsen returned to Risøya as a widower when the family house in Stellingen, close to the Hagenbeck zoo, was bombed by the allied air attack on Hamburg in July 1943.<sup>65</sup> The almost ninety-year-old Jacobsen had been standing outside the house holding a briefcase ready to travel to Oslo to negotiate the publishing of *Gjennom Ishav og villmarker* (Through arctic waters and wilderness, the Norwegian version of *Die Weisse Grenze*) when the house was hit. The book was published by A.M. Hanche in 1946, a publishing bookseller with connections to Hamburg.<sup>66</sup>

As long as he lived, Jacobsen never stopped writing. Correspondence with Norwegian geologist and Svalbard researcher Adolf Hoel during the years 1941–1943 and Just Qvigstad, the head of the Sámi ethnographic department at Tromsø Museum (now The Arctic University Museum of Norway) during the years 1938–1940, testifies to this.<sup>67</sup> The correspondence with Hoel starts when Jacobsen's manuscript "Vikings and Indians" (Vikinger og Indianere) was rejected by Norwegian publishers. Jacobsen had asked the Norwegian explorer Helge Ingstad to proof-read it. Evidently, the manuscript dealt with the Viking discovery of America. Two decades later Ingstad would find the remnants of the Viking settlement L'Anse aux Meadows in the province of Newfoundland in Canada with his wife. "That the publisher will not receive it must be due to it not being so well-written and that it needs some revising," Jacobsen wrote to Hoel, who had sent it to Gyldendal, one of the most important Norwegian publishing houses. "[T]his has always been the case with everything I have written," he continued, "and surely the idea was that Mister Ingstad would take care of this. I have always had a co-worker when writing all my books, and who has received half of the salary. I never intended for it to be any other way this time," he continues.<sup>68</sup> Other manuscripts Jacobsen seems to have been working on towards the end of his life were "How the world was discovered by the children of Eric the Red" (Wie Amerika enteckt Wurde -Erik Raudes Kinder), "The world of the polar animals: Catching methods among the Nordic People" (Die Welt der Polartiere: Die fangmethoden der nordischen Völker), and the novel "Oka, the man from the Stone Age" (Oka, der Mann aus der Steinalterzeit).<sup>69</sup> Jacobsen seem to have approached German publishers with some of the same manuscripts.<sup>70</sup>

In the letter to Hoel, Jacobsen writes that he was receiving *Nordmannsforbundet* (Association of the Norwegians) and *Gjallarhorn* (Resounding Horn) regularly, not through an active subscription but as a gift from Hoel. "You haven't heard

from me in a while, but as I am receiving *Gjallerhorn* and *Normannsforbundet* regularly, I believe you are the person I can direct my thanks to,” he writes to Horn.<sup>71</sup> *Gjallerhorn* was the propaganda magazine of Nasjonal Samling, the Norwegian fascist party. Jacobsen had met Hoel in Hamburg, most likely through a meeting of the German-Nordic Society. Although a recognized polar scientist—Hoel had been the leader of the Norwegian Svalbard and Arctic Ocean survey (Norges Svalbard- og Ishavsundersøkelser), later the Norwegian Polar Institute—since 1928, he had also been a member of Nasjonal Samling, and after the war he was found guilty of treason. This is not tantamount to Jacobsen having Nazi sympathies. “It is strange times we are witnessing in this country now. But I’ve become too old to understand politics, it’s better to keep quiet,” he wrote to Just Qvigstad in 1938, a month after the November pogrom, which marked the start of a dramatic escalation of the persecution of the Jews by the National Socialists in Germany.

Qvigstad and Jacobsen corresponded until the outbreak of WWII. Qvigstad sent Jacobsen a copy of his book *Lappische Völkerkunde* as well as newspaper clippings and pictures from Tromsø. Jacobsen on his behalf sent Qvigstad some of his manuscripts to comment on but he also kept him updated on the situation in Germany and German ethnological publications. Before 1940, Germany was leading the way in ethnology in Europe, and German was the language of publication. Interestingly, Qvigstad sent all his letters from Jacobsen, the photographs he included, and a list of his publications to the National Library in Oslo in 1942. Rumors had it that Jacobsen was dead, but he wasn’t. Qvigstad’s gesture may be interpreted as an acknowledgment of Jacobsen’s work and personal history. At this point, Jacobsen still had to wait a few years to see a result of his publishing efforts in Norway. “Perhaps in the far future someone will take interest in what a fisherboy from the outskirts of Tromsø once wrote,” he expressed in a letter to Hoel, summarizing perhaps his most important expertise and asset.

When Jacobsen’s house in Stellingen was destroyed in July 1943, Jacobsen’s wife, Hedwig (1862–1937), had passed away six years earlier. His son, Hjalmar (1895–1940), who had served as a pilot in the German forces during WWI, had died three years previously. The remaining three sons, Harald (b. 1886), Paul (b. 1887) (Fig. 1.8), and Wilhelm (b. 1896), lived in Germany with their families.<sup>72</sup> With the exception of Harald, all of them served in WWI. The Norwegian magazine *Vi Menn* (We Men) had written an article about the three brothers doing German war duty.<sup>73</sup> The youngest boy, Wilhelm, also a pilot, was severely hurt in a plane crash in France in 1918,<sup>74</sup> and could never again work. By now, Jacobsen had lost everything he owned and wanted to go back to Norway. Evidently Josef Terboven, a Nazi Party official and Reichskommissar for Norway during the German occupation, had placed a plane at his disposition.<sup>75</sup>



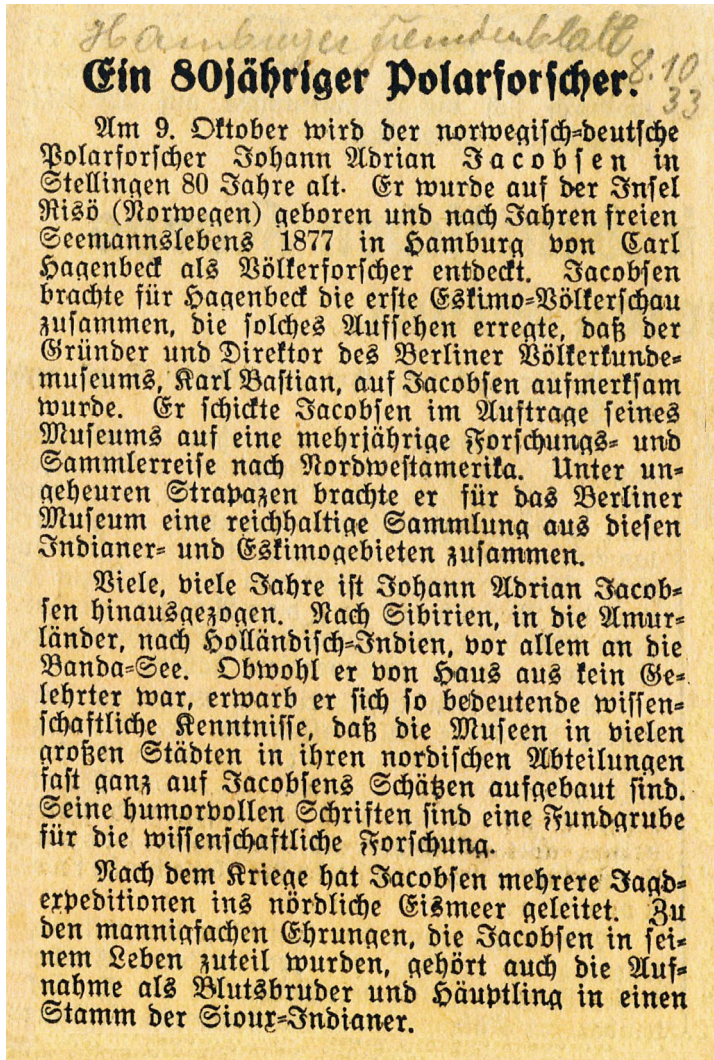
**Figure 1.8:** Hedwig and Johan Adrian Jacobsen, probably with their son Paul (1887), daughter-in-law Josefine b. Fürmeier, and a grandchild. © Museum am Rothenbaum – Kulturen und Künste der Welt (MARKK).

How Jacobsen had access to Terboven and a plane is uncertain, but one explanation could of course be his relative fame in Germany and Jacobsen's honorary membership in the German-Norwegian Society in Hamburg. There are indications both in German and Norwegian newspapers that Jacobsen was used as a part of Nazi propaganda, and Terboven described the requisition of the plane as a "symbolic act" (ein Akt symbolischer Huldigung).<sup>76</sup> In a series of newspaper interviews on his return to Norway, Jacobsen talks about life in Germany and the allied bombing and the effect they had on the Germans. Jacobsen never returned to Germany. After some time in Oslo or Asker, he returned to Risøya in January 1944.



**Figure 1.9:** Jacobsen on board the Tromsø vessel *M/K Polargutten* in the 1920s. The boat was captained by Jacobsen's nephew Jens Øien. © Museum am Rothenbaum – Kulturen und Künste der Welt (MARKK).





Museum für Völkerkunde Hamburg | Johan Adrian Jacobsen | JAC 15.1.4.1

**Figure 1.10:** “Ein 80jähriger Polarforscher” (An 80-year-old Polar researcher). Note in *Hamburger Fremdenblatt*, October 8, 1933, in relation to Jacobsen’s birthday on October 9. © Museum am Rothenbaum – Kulturen und Künste der Welt (MARKK).

## **“EXPLORER AND ETHNOGRAPHER, CAPTAIN JOHAN ADRIAN JACOBSEN”**

Jacobsen spent his last years on Risøya with his Norwegian family, and in a letter to his daughter-in-law not long before his death, it may seem as if Jacobsen was saying goodbye to the family in Germany.<sup>77</sup> Back on Risøya, Jacobsen spent his last years in peace and quiet although he must have missed his sons and family deeply. In 1973, the housekeeper at Risøya, Elise Jensen, was interviewed in a Norwegian TV documentary. Here Jensen speaks of Jacobsen's last years, how he used to come down the stairs every morning and do his morning gymnastics and how he used to sit in his favorite chair telling stories from his many journeys.<sup>78</sup> “The only signs of the age are the weakness of the eyes and the careful walk,” a relative wrote in relation to his 93rd birthday in October 1946.<sup>79</sup> “He is in an effervescent mood and has an excellent memory any younger person may envy him. That he always had, and still has, good nerves are certain. His hands do not tremble at all when he lifts a cup or a glass.”<sup>80</sup>

Around the time of his 93<sup>rd</sup> birthday or before, Jacobsen had made an agreement with a relative to write down all his achievements. The typed manuscript was going to be sent to the Royal Norwegian Order of St. Olav's Chancellery for use in their one-hundred-year commemorative volume that would be published in 1947. The script is entitled “Explorer – ethnographer, captain Johan Adrian Jacobsen, from Risøy” (*Opdagelsesreisende – etnograf, kaptein Johan Adrian Jacobsen, Risøy*). In the script, Jacobsen's achievements are listed and described in his own words: publications in German and Norwegian, memberships in various associations, including the Geographical Society in Kristiania, the Geographical Society in Dresden (both places as corresponding member) and the Anthropological Society in Philadelphia, and the distinctions he'd received—Knight of the Order of St. Olav, 1st class in 1890 and the King's Medal of Merit in gold in 1908. In 1883, Jacobsen had evidently been given the choice between the Order of the Red Eagle of the 4th class or 500 marks “in gratuities” and had chosen the latter. Soon afterwards, he had become engaged to (Alma) Hedwig Klopfer, the 16-year-old shoemaker's daughter from Werdau in Saxony. Perhaps that is why he valued the money more than the award, which was relatively frequently given out.

The manuscript leaves no doubt that Jacobsen looking back first and foremost saw himself as an explorer and ethnographer, and there is much evidence that many of his Norwegian contemporaries saw him the same way (Fig. 1.10). The title was captain. All the years as a restaurateur and hotel director are gone. So are the trials of working in his brother-in-law's hat factory. The assignments he carried out for zoo owner Carl Hagenbeck in Hamburg are mentioned—that he



on six occasions over a period of 49 years recruited indigenous people for living ethnographic exhibitions—but they are overshadowed by other things, such as being appointed director of the exhibition “Länder und Völkerkunde” in Cologne in 1891. His wife Hedwig accompanied him. “We both agreed that this was the most beautiful time we had experienced,” Jacobsen told the relative. On January 18, 1947, at quarter past ten in the morning, Johan Adrian Jacobsen passed away on Risøya. His ashes were later sent to Hamburg, where they were buried beside his wife Hedwig and son Hjalmar at Friedhof, Stellingen.

Longing for home  
 The longing, oh so strong, that showed me an Eden  
 Was the glare of my imagination that now is just a memory.  
 I had a sight inside my head just like a fair maiden at dawn.  
 The maidens garland on her head, like the world I so wanted so to see.  
 The world I so was longing for.  
 The world I wanted to possess—like a childish curiosity.  
 The mind and heart overflows with joy, for the thought of owning such a place.  
 But soon I saw my childish dreams burst when it all was so empty and cold.  
 Just disappointment and despair were to be found.  
 My soul was dying, and sorrow was all there was left.  
 Tired and bewildered, tired of hunting and tired of chasing,  
 I just had one thought left in my mind.  
 My longing for the one love, my home to which I wanted to return.<sup>81</sup>

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- JAC 18.23. "Tagebuch auf ein Reisen ach Lappland Winter 1926." January 27. Johan Adrian Jacobsen Collection. Hamburg: Museum am Rothenbaum – Kulturen und Künste der Welt (MARKK).
- JAC 2011.37.10.4\_1 Johan Adrian Jacobsen Collection. Hamburg: Museum am Rothenbaum – Kulturen und Künste der Welt (MARKK). Photograph of a crashed airplane. Handwritten text on the backside: "[M..B..] am 10 August 1918 bei Rückkehr um einem Nachtfluge, abends 1155 (Machine: D.E.W. CV 291) Anelles, August 1918".
- JAC 2011.37.14.15\_34. "Notice of death Harald Jacobsen." Johan Adrian Jacobsen Collection. Hamburg: Museum am Rothenbaum – Kulturen und Künste der Welt (MARKK).
- JAC.2011.37.16.1\_3. "'Hyre-kontrakt' [contract entered between] skipper J.A. Jacobsen and Johan J. Johannessen, a crew member on Elida." June 1871. Johan Adrian Jacobsen Collection. Hamburg: Museum am Rothenbaum – Kulturen und Künste der Welt (MARKK).
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## NOTES

- 1 Holiman, “Adrian Jacobsen.”
- 2 “The Jacobsen family.”
- 3 Rønnbeck, “Slekten på Sigruns morside.” The sheriff was Peter Andreas Irgens.
- 4 Holiman, “Adrian Jacobsen.”

- 5 “Hugo Øiens Slektsider,” <http://www.hugooien.no/?go=navn&id=f373> 05.05.12. Erika was the daughter of Eva Højer’s sister, Margrethe. Rønnbeck, “Slekten på Sigruns morside.”
- 6 In 1848, Jacob Carl Gregoriussen had taken up a loan of 1,365 Speciedaler from merchant Johan (Petter) Hansen & Son in Tromsø, with security in the farm with all buildings and other goods. “Protocol of debt from Senja and Tromsø magistrate office.” From the register of deeds, we can also read that Jacob Carl had a loan in the Hypotekerbank during the same period. The fact that Gregoriussen was able to borrow considerable amounts of money speaks to his acumen and success.
- 7 Jacobsen, *Kaptein Jacobsens reiser*, x.
- 8 The archipelago known as Risøya is mentioned in the saga *Heimskringla* as Sandvær. The islands later became Church property and later the property of the King (State). The archipelago has been inhabited as long as censuses exist. The census *Finneskattelister* (finneskatt was a tax imposed on the indigenous Sámi) between 1599–1641 shows that there were people of Sami ethnicity on Sandvær in 1618 and two in 1626. These people were called *Skjærbøfinner* (literally, “Sami living on reefs”). Sandmoe, Bertelsen, and Høgset, “Fra boplass til by.”
- 9 See Thode-Arora, this volume.
- 10 Censuses for Tromsøysund 1865, 1875, and 1900.
- 11 Rønnbeck, “Slekten på Sigruns morside.”
- 12 Jacobsen describes the businesses and industry of his family in *Alaskan Voyages*, 215–24.
- 13 Author’s own remark. Gregoriussen told the tax collector that there were only ninety-nine because if there was over 100, he had to pay a larger sum in tax.
- 14 Bratrein, “Risøy i Troms.”
- 15 K.G. Jacobsen, personal communication to author.
- 16 “Barrel” (tønne) or “barrel land” (tønneland) is an old square measure and corresponds to an area of 3,937 m<sup>2</sup>, which again corresponds to the area that could be sown with a barrel of seed. The term covered only cultivated land, not outfields. The measuring in barrels of potato shows the size of the farm and how much tax had to be paid. See also, Holiman, “Adrian Jacobsen,” 13–14.
- 17 Censuses for Tromsøysund 1865, 1875, and 1900.
- 18 The name is sometimes written with an *a*, “Figenschau”, especially in later sources.
- 19 Ivan, Dimitri, and Charlanka (Bottolfson). Bottolfson, “Fra et nord-norsk fiskevær.” See also Thode-Arora, this volume. In 1893, Emperor Wilhelm II of Germany visited Helgøy with his entourage, and Figenschou served as his hunting guide for three days.
- 20 Bottolfson, “Fra et nord-norsk fiskevær,” 39. Translated from Norwegian by the author.
- 21 Bottolfson, “Fra et nord-norsk fiskevær.”
- 22 JAC 2011.37.14.15\_34. Notice of death. Newspaper unknown. “Harald Jacobsen, Altona, avgikk ved døden den 25de juli sistleden, 45 år gammel. Altona den 29-7-31.”
- 23 Bottolfson, “Fra et nord-norsk fiskevær.”
- 24 Rønnbeck, “Slekten på Sigruns morside.”
- 25 Rønnbeck, “Slekten på Sigruns morside.”
- 26 “Minutes of examination Tromsøysund Pastor Office”, 1859, 1860, 1861, 1862. The children’s skills in arithmetic do not seem to have been examined to the same extent. Grades varied from 1–6, 1 being the best, 6 denoting failures. Thorvaldsen, “Konfirmanter og karakterer.” In 1859, Johan Adrian earned a 4 in reading, but he was only 5½ years old. In 1860 he earned a 2, in 1861 2 1/2 and the same in 1862. It is uncertain whether 2 1/2 here means 2½ or 2, 1 to 2.
- 27 Jacobsen, *Kaptein Jacobsens Reiser*, x.
- 28 Jacobsen, *Kaptein Jacobsens Reiser*, x.

- 29 Bottolfsen, "Fra et nord-norsk fiskevær."
- 30 Jacobsen, *Kaptein Jacobsens Reiser*, x.
- 31 Letter to Hoel, May 30, 1941.
- 32 Jacobsen, *Eventyrlige Farter*, 5.
- 33 Jacobsen, *Kaptein Jacobsens Reiser*, xiii.
- 34 Jacobsen, *Kaptein Jacobsens Reiser*, xiii.
- 35 Census 1870 for Tromsø kjøpstad; Heratsregister, Hamburg 1874–1920. On Jacob Martin as photographer, see Baglo, this volume.
- 36 Jacobsen, *Kaptein Jacobsens Reiser*, xiii.
- 37 Jacobsen, *Alaskan Voyage*, 217–24.
- 38 Jacobsen, *Kaptein Jacobsens Reiser*, xii.
- 39 Jacobsen, *Kaptein Jacobsens Reiser*, xvi.
- 40 More specifically in 1867, 1870, 1872, and 1875. See also Mari Karlstad's photograph of the Jacobsen house interior with portraits of Arctic explorers, this volume.
- 41 The "Helga Mining Company," named after his wife, Helga b. Thorsen (1876–1935). Faa, *Norwegians in the Northwest*, 102–03.
- 42 Dagmar Johanne Fransiska was born and died May 26, 1874. Jacobsen is listed in the Tromsø church registry as the father. Evidently, Josephine Borander was heartbroken. Both she and her father, Israel Borander, wrote to Jacobsen in Hamburg. Almost a year later, March 10, 1875, Josephine styled her letter to "My unforgettable Adrian" "From a mourning Josephine Borander". JAC 17.1. Private correspondence. According to the 1900 census the family were Kvens. Josephine Borander married "ship timberman" Olai Pedersen (b. Dec. 20, 1846) in Bergen, May 21, 1877. The couple had at least two children: Dagny Marte (b. 1877) and Olaf (b. 1881).
- 43 Jacobsen, *Kaptein Jacobsens Reiser*, xx.
- 44 Jacobsen, *Kaptein Jacobsens Reiser*, xx–xxii.
- 45 Henriette Dorothea Christiane Kühne (b. December 9, 1849). Jacob Martin and Henny married in Altona, December 8, 1876. In 1878 their son Max Carl Gregorius Jacobsen was born. Hamburg State Archive.
- 46 JAC 17.7. "[V]ere [*sic*] fisker [...] det er et uselt liv". Letter from Fillip Bernard Jacobsen [in that order] to "Dear Brother Johan", Risøy, February 11, 1884.
- 47 Philipp Jacobsen's Memoirs, September 3, 1900?
- 48 See Baglo, this volume.
- 49 For more information on Phillip (Phillip Jacobsen) see Faa, *Norwegians in the Northwest*; Bland and Simonds, "Philipp Jacobsen in British Columbia," 20–27; Bland, "Bernard Phillip Jacobsen and Three Nuxalk Legends," 143–66; Black, "Living Cultures."
- 50 Thorvald's mother was Ingeborg Pettersdatter Engvik, a maid at Risøy. Thorvald married Eveline Haigh in 1920, an English nurse he met when he was hospitalized during WWI, but she died soon after their third daughter was born. On December 16, 1934, he married Magda Jacobsen. Marriage registry. British Columbia Archives. See also Thode-Arora, this volume.
- 51 Born at Tromsøysund, Norway 1876 and mentioned as a sailor in the Norwegian censuses.
- 52 Audry Gurr, Bella Coola, personal communication to Cathrine Baglo, May 2016. Audry is Torvald and Eveline's daughter and the last Jacobsen in Bella Coola today.
- 53 Jacobsen, *Kaptein Jacobsens reiser*, xvi.
- 54 Jacobsen, *Kaptein Jacobsens reiser*, xvi.
- 55 See Baglo, this volume.

- 56 “1893-1896 Nansens «Fram»-ekspedisjon, <http://www.polarhistorie.no/ekspedisjoner/Fram%20II>, “Gunnar Isachsen,” [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gunnar\\_Isachsen](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gunnar_Isachsen).
- 57 JAC 18.23, January 27.
- 58 Jens Øien was Ane Helmine Jacobsen and Jens Esbensen Øien’s oldest son. He was also a well-known Arctic Sea skipper in Tromsø. Rønnbeck, “Slekten på Sigruns morside.”
- 59 “Tromsø Navigasjonsskole, skolejournal 1864–1896.”
- 60 Jacobsen, *Gjennom ishav*, 6.
- 61 Jacobsen, *Eventyrlige farter*, 16–25.
- 62 Descendants of peasants and fishermen who emigrated from the northern parts of Finland and Sweden to Northern Norway in the 18th and 19th centuries. In 1996, Kvens were granted minority status in Norway, and in 2005 the Kven language was recognized as a minority language.
- 63 Kjær, *Ishavsfarerne*.
- 64 Kjær, *Ishavsfarerne*, 17–23.
- 65 Fienup-Riordan, *Yup’ik Elders*, 33.
- 66 One of the publishing booksellers, Josef Hanche, had worked as a secretary for the consul in Hamburg. Hoffstad, *Merkantilt biografisk leksikon*, 285.
- 67 Qvigstad to the Norwegian National Library, September 28, 1942; Jacobsen to Hoel, May 30, 1941, February 22, 1943; Hoel to Jacobsen, June 11, 1941, April 5, 1943.
- 68 Jacobsen to Hoel, May 30, 1941.
- 69 Jacobsen to Hoel, May 30, 1941, February 22, 1943. Hoel to Jacobsen, June 11, 1941, April 5, 1943.
- 70 Among them Franck’sch Verlagshandlung. W. Keller & Co, Stuttgart.
- 71 Jacobsen to Hoel, February 22, 1943. “De [*sic*] er nu lenge siden De hørte noget fra mig, men da jeg faar Gjallerhorn og Nordmannsforbundet tilsendt regelmessigt, saa vil jeg tro at jeg kan takke Dem for denne tilsendelse.”
- 72 The son’s full names were Harald Emil Wilhelm, Filip Carl Wilhelm, and Adrian Martin Paul. Heratsregister, Hamburg 1874–1920. See also Thode-Arora, this volume.
- 73 Author’s remark. The magazine is kept at Risøya.
- 74 JAC 2011.37.10.4-1.
- 75 *Hamburger Tageblatt*, October 7, 1943.
- 76 *Hamburger Tageblatt*, October 7, 1943.
- 77 Fienup-Riordan, *Yupik Elders*, 33.
- 78 *Kongerike uten fremtid* [Documentary].
- 79 “Opdagelsesreisende og Etnograf.”
- 80 “Opdagelsesreisende og Etnograf.”
- 81 The poem “Heimve” (Longing for home, translated from Norwegian by Barton Holiman) was written by Johan Adrian Jacobsen in Valparaiso, Chile, in 1876 or 1877.





**Figure 0.4:** Interior from the Jacobsen boat house at Risøya. June 2016. Photo: Mari Karlstad, The Arctic University Museum of Norway.



## 2. Messy Involvements: Jacobsen as Recruiter of Indigenous Presenters

Cathrine Baglo

**Abstract** This chapter explores Jacobsen’s role as a cultural broker based on documentation regarding the six indigenous groups he recruited for living exhibitions as Hagenbeck’s agent. The emphasis will be on Jacobsen’s ethnographic activities in the groups’ home countries as opposed to Germany and continental Europe (see Thode-Arora, this volume). Drawing on Jacobsen’s own reports as well as indigenous sources, not least the Greenland Inuk (Kalaaleq) presenter Kujagi (Johannes Henrik Jensen), new light is shed on the history of the living exhibitions and of ethnographic collecting more generally. In addition, collaboration, coinciding interests, and the groups’ shared effects of colonialism are brought to the fore.

**Keywords** Jacobsen | Hagenbeck | living exhibitions | ethnographic collecting | practice of recruitment | shared effects of colonialism | coinciding interests | agency | brokerage | translation

In the last decades, collecting as a two-way process has been the topic of a few groundbreaking studies such as *Captured Heritage: The Scramble for Northwest Coast Artifacts* (1985), where Canadian historian Douglas Cole showed how collecting affected indigenous means of production, trade systems, exchange values, and the ways in which indigenous peoples on the Northwest Coast of Canada negotiated with and capitalized on colonial interests to serve their own ends.<sup>1</sup> While Cole focused on the collecting of objects, Paige Raibmon included the display of a group of Kwakwaka’wakw from Vancouver Island in her study of the political ramifications of ideas about “real Indians,” *Authentic Indians: Episodes of Encounter from the Late-Nineteenth-Century Northwest Coast* (2005). According to Raibmon, indigenous and non-indigenous peoples were collaborators—albeit unequal ones—in the politics of authenticity. Moreover, while non-indigenous people employed definitions of Indian culture that limited indigenous claims to resources, land, and sovereignty, indigenous peoples utilized those same

definitions to access the social, political, and economic means necessary for their survival under colonialism.

One of Raibmon's examples was the display of a replicated Kwakwaka'wakw village inhabited by a group of Kwakwaka'wakw whom George Hunt had recruited for the Chicago World's Fair in 1893 on behalf of Frans Boas and Fredrick Ward Putnam. The demonstration of the potlatch ceremony, recently banned by the Canadian federal government (1885–1951), was part of the Chicago performance.<sup>2</sup> Seeing that the potlatch was at the heart of a non-Christian cultural system that opposed colonization, the potlatch was targeted by missionaries and colonial officials. That way, Hunt offered more than a unique and exciting wage-earning possibility, Raibmon argues. He offered an opportunity to defy the Church and government's assimilationist program on an international stage. Moreover, he offered the chance to publicly assert the endurance of Kwakwaka'wakw cultural practices.<sup>3</sup>

In my study of this display practice, that I decided to refer to as “living exhibitions” of Sámi in Europe and North America in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, I argued for a similar interpretation.<sup>4</sup> More than four hundred Sámi—approximately thirty troupes—from nomadic reindeer herding communities in Finland, Norway, and Sweden became involved in these displays that typically took place at world's fairs, industrial expositions, amusement parks, and zoological gardens where the Sámi and other peoples from all over the globe with lifestyles different from the sedentary farming and developing industrial societies presented or reenacted their everyday life in realistically reconstructed settings. Russian Sámi seem to have been engaged in a similar practice but with a different and less known trajectory.<sup>5</sup>

While the premises for participation in the living exhibitions depended on the different historical conjunctures and experiences of cultural contact in the indigenous presenters' own countries, the presenters somehow all shared the effects of colonialism. In Scandinavia, where the Sámi had partly coexisted, interacted, and traded with neighboring peoples since the last millennium BC,<sup>6</sup> and in Norway specifically, the heyday of the living exhibitions (similar exhibitions took place within Scandinavia) coincided in time with increasingly discriminating reindeer herding acts and cultural assimilation policies.<sup>7</sup> As a result, participation in living exhibitions appeared as a viable alternative for some. However, since the experiences and motivations of the presenters themselves have been little investigated, this aspect of the living exhibitions and the presenters' roles as partners in this business has been overlooked.<sup>8</sup> Surely, the balance of power was asymmetrical, even lethal, as the deaths of Abraham Ulrikab and the Labrador Inuit so tragically testify to, and many presenters, even when having signed a

contract, did not fully understand what it meant to tour for several months or even years, far away from their homeland. Yet the presenters were not deprived of capital, power, and agency, a fact which seems as easily ignored as the rich information about how some of the presenters found the new contacts and possibilities beneficial. As James Clifford reminds us, hegemony is not domination but struggles, alliances, and accommodations in a field of unequal forces.<sup>9</sup>

In addition, the living exhibitions' connection to other realistic displaying techniques and the building of museum collections has been overlooked, I argued.<sup>10</sup> Indeed, the use of the term "living exhibition" was an attempt to reshape their meaning as an integral part of a broader mass cultural movement in the nineteenth century toward contextualized display. As Eric Ames has shown, the commercial ventures of Carl Hagenbeck were particularly influential in this regard.<sup>11</sup> The use of the term was also an attempt to focus attention on the importance of all the things in the display—people, animals, and objects. In accounts of living exhibitions of Sámi, for example, information about the omnipresent reindeer and herding dogs was often ignored along with brought along dwellings, costumes, often newly made for the occasion, and the many objects so paramount to the meaning of the display—and also for the meaning and motivation of the presenters themselves, such as the demonstration of cultural distinctiveness in times when Norway and other nation states by various means sought to assimilate, exterminate, or isolate other lifestyles than what was considered its "own."

An important source in filling these voids is Jacobsen's detailed documentation of his work as a recruiter of indigenous presenters for the animal dealer, zoo owner, and ethnographic showman Carl Hagenbeck and his firm in Hamburg. On six occasions, Jacobsen recruited indigenous presenters for the Hagenbeck firm. In July 1877, he sought out and negotiated a deal with a group of six Kalaallit from Ilulissat in Greenland—Jakobshavn in Danish—for a year-long tour in Paris, Brussels, and several German cities.<sup>12</sup> In July 1878, he entered into an agreement with nine North Sámi he had sought out in Finnmark in Northern Norway and who returned to their homes the following spring after a tour with an itinerary much like the Kalaallit exhibition.<sup>13</sup> In August 1880, and with the Moravian mission as a base, he recruited eight Inuit from Northern Labrador who all died of smallpox while on tour in Europe.<sup>14</sup> In Victoria, British Columbia, in 1885, after several unsuccessful attempts in the area to recruit presenters for Hagenbeck, Jacobsen and his younger brother (Bernhard) Filip persuaded a group of nine Bella Coolas (Nuxalk) to sign up for a year-long tour in Germany.<sup>15</sup> In 1910, Jacobsen traveled to the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in South Dakota where he recruited forty-two Oglala Lakota and

ten cowboys for a show in Hagenbeck's zoo in Hamburg (Fig. 2.1). The show attracted 1,100,000 visitors, the highest number in the zoo's history.<sup>16</sup> And finally, in 1926, Jacobsen recruited a group of ten South Sámi of both Norwegian and Swedish nationality for an eight-month-long tour in Germany, Holland, Austria, and Hungary organized by Hagenbeck's son, Lorenz, who took over the management of the company when Carl Hagenbeck died in 1913. In addition to these groups, Jacobsen acted as impresario in Europe for three Aonikenk (Tehuelche) whom Hagenbeck contracted in Patagonia in 1879. The group had their portraits taken in Hamburg by Jacob Martin Jacobsen, Adrian Jacobsen's older brother. With the exception of the Nuxalk, the groups consisted of men, women, and children in compliance with the dominant scheme of Hagenbeck's ethnographic displays. The family was the most common configuration.<sup>17</sup>



**Figure 2.1:** Pine Ridge Indian Reservation (Wazí Ahánhanj Oyáŋke) in South Dakota 1910. Jacobsen to the left, holding the arm of the person with hat, perhaps the translator Charles Giroux. © Museum am Rothenbaum – Kulturen und Künste der Welt (MARKK).

In this chapter, I will explore Jacobsen's activities as a recruiter of indigenous presenters for Hagenbeck. My point of departure will be Jacobsen's documentation, not least the contracts he entered with these groups but also other historical and archival material. Jacobsen wrote ethnographic descriptions in articles, books, and lectures.<sup>18</sup> In addition, he filled up numerous journals with notes on artifacts, people and places, aids, and obstacles he encountered during his travels.

## “WHEN I GOT TO KNOW THE ESKIMOS, THE PROSPECTS IMPROVED”

It was the animal dealer Carl Hagenbeck in Hamburg, not Adolph Bastian in Berlin, who introduced Jacobsen to the world of ethnography. For as long as Hagenbeck lived—he died in 1913—but also after that, Jacobsen entered into a whole range of different business arrangements with Hagenbeck. As Ames pointed out, while many of Hagenbeck’s troupes were organized around the animal trade, the troupes Jacobsen assembled developed a different relationship with the places and cultures they claimed to represent. Of all the collectors associated with Hagenbeck’s *Völkerschau* or *Anthropological-Zoological Exhibitions*, as they were referred to,<sup>19</sup> Jacobsen was the only one hired for the sole purpose of recruiting indigenous peoples and collecting ethnographic paraphernalia.<sup>20</sup> Most of the troupes he assembled would also feature exotic animals, but apart from the reindeer for the Sámi exhibitions, they had been collected elsewhere and delivered by other agents. This arrangement became a source of some disappointment. “I have only two regrets in my life,” Jacobsen wrote in what seems to be early in his career, “and they are: that I didn’t collect animals for Hagenbeck from the beginning [...] second, that in my youth I didn’t become an animal trainer, for that way too I would have been able to make a good living. Collecting peoples alone – there are so few occasions to do so, and so few peoples who allow themselves to be collected.”<sup>21</sup>

In February 1877, Jacobsen had returned from Chile to Hamburg, where his brother Jacob Martin ran a ship chandler business close to the St. Pauli Piers, the largest landing site in the Port of Hamburg. Hamburg was also the location of Carl Hagenbeck, the entrepreneurial animal dealer who in 1874 had opened the city’s first zoological garden. The following year, the exhibition of reindeer was expanded to include Swedish reindeer-herding Sámi from the summer grazing lands in the Tromsø area, who also brought dogs, paraphernalia, and “all their household equipment.” The idea was to recreate “a Picture [...] which was a true copy of Natural Life.”<sup>22</sup> After a similar exhibition based on people, animals, and objects from Egypt and Sudan, Hagenbeck was looking for someone who could bring “a complete ethnographic collection” from Greenland “and in case it was possible a Greenlandic family that could help in the exhibition.”<sup>23</sup> He already had seals.

The twenty-three-year-old Jacobsen presented himself to Hagenbeck with all the self-assurance of his past experiences as an Arctic skipper, and from the very first moment, the outlines of the practice of recruitment were drawn. Jacobsen initiated his task by traveling to Copenhagen, which was then the colonial gateway to Greenland. His first assignment was to secure official permission. After several unsuccessful attempts to present his task to government officials at the Danish interior ministry,

he appealed to one of Hagenbeck's acquaintances, the director of the Royal Danish Trading Company, Hinrich Johannes Rink, who was acknowledged in his lifetime as an expert on Greenland. Instead of helping, Rink cast even more doubt over the project, emphasizing the health risk to the recruits and the potential effect a stay in Europe would have upon their return to Greenland. Rink believed that the experience would "spoil" the Inuit, an argument that would be repeated by the Moravian missionaries at Hebron in Labrador. They would no longer feel at home under the humbler circumstances they were accustomed to.<sup>24</sup> Hagenbeck's network of personal contacts, however, provided the necessary backing. The director of the zoo in Copenhagen, Captain Fink, was also the interior minister's father-in-law, and he was more eager to support "Hagenbeck's desire to present an ethnographic exposition so that one could obtain in Germany and other places a concept of life and work of this unique people."<sup>25</sup> Fink arranged an appointment with the interior minister, and he and Jacobsen worked out an agreement that allowed the expedition to take place.

From Copenhagen, Jacobsen traveled by commercial whaling ship, the respectable *Hvalfisker*, to the west coast of Greenland. Jacobsen's introduction to the job of collecting was difficult. "I immediately started making my ethnographic collection among the Eskimo who lived there, but to engage a family seemed impossible."<sup>26</sup> Throughout his trip, he encountered reluctance to coming along with him to Europe, but not to the exchange of objects. Nor did it help that rumors preceded him from the boat, that he had come to Greenland to recruit Kalaallit who were going "to be displayed with lions and tigers behind bars" in Germany.<sup>27</sup> The Danish colonial governor of Northern Greenland, inspector Krarup Smith, was not of much assistance although he turned around later.<sup>28</sup> After fruitless visits to villages, pack houses, missions, and trading posts, Jacobsen arrived in the town of Ilulissat, formerly Jakobshavn. There he appealed to doctor von Haven, missionary Rasmussen, and trader Fleischer.<sup>29</sup> He won over the missionary by arguing that the intended show "would mainly demonstrate the Eskimos living under Danish rule were by no means the savages, for which people took them to be."<sup>30</sup> The breakthrough arrived, however, with the support of Carl Fleischer and his sister, who were both born in Greenland. Their mother was of Kalaallit descent while their father, Knud, had connections to Norway.<sup>31</sup> The Kalaallit had unconditional trust in Fleischer, Jacobsen wrote: "When he assured them that they would be well treated during their stay in Europe, that they would make a great deal of money, and that they would quite certain be home in Greenland by next summer, we had halfway won them over."<sup>32</sup> When he also managed to get to know the Inuit, the prospects improved.<sup>33</sup>

With Fleischer's assistance, Jacobsen managed to recruit Mikkel Kaspar Zacharias Poulsen (Okabak in Kalaallisut), his wife, Johanne Juditte Margrethe Poulsen (Maggak), with their daughters, Ane Katrine Lucie Birgitte and Regine

Katrine Elisabeth (Fig. 2.2), and Hans Noahssen (Kukkik) and Johannes Henrik Jensen (Kujagi), later known as “the baron” due the money he earned in Europe.<sup>34</sup> The colonial governor made a contract for the two parties. Once an agreement had been reached, the recruits were examined and vaccinated by the doctor, who found them all to be in good health and able to travel. At this point, Jacobsen endeavored to complete the task of outfitting the Kalaallit for their presentations in Europe. On August 21 Jacobsen and all the objects and gear he had purchased were loaded into *Hvalfisken* that had returned to Jacobshavn. A large crowd had gathered to say goodbye to their fellow countrymen. “My Inuit were so sad by leaving that they’d rather turn around and go back.” On September 26, 1877, the group arrived in Copenhagen, and three days later they reached Hamburg.<sup>35</sup>



**Figure 2.2:** Johanne Juditte Margrethe Poulsen (Maggak) and one of her daughters, photographed by Jacobsen’s brother, Jacob Martin, in Hamburg 1877. © Museum am Rothenbaum – Kulturen und Künste der Welt (MARKK).

In Hamburg, six polar bears and twelve seals from Hagenbeck's menagerie were added to the show before it went on the road accompanied by Jacobsen. In July 1878, the troupe returned to Greenland, with Okabak and his family 4,000 kroner richer.<sup>36</sup> According to the same Kujagi, Okabak was so rich that he "bought fabric to make anoraks that he upholstered the interior of his house with, and when people came inside to visit, they usually came out in an anorak that he cut down from the walls. And when he did not have any fabric for anoraks left, he bought fabric to buy shirts [...] and for a while anyone who visited him, he cut a shirt for."<sup>37</sup> Kukik and Kujagi made between 800 and 1,000 kroner each.<sup>38</sup>

The process of recruitment took place in a similar manner in Norway, Labrador, British Columbia, and South Dakota, facilitated by the colonial networks of transportation, communication, and exchange. Where Hagenbeck used the infrastructure established through the animal trade, Jacobsen drew on colonial administrators, traders, priests, and missionaries in the places he traveled to, as well as benefiting from Hagenbeck's connections. Outside Norway, Jacobsen sought out contacts of Scandinavian or German descent, often merchants and sailors, or they sought him out. While Copenhagen was the colonial gateway to Greenland at the time, Victoria was the place to start on the Pacific West Coast. As the last port of call for regular steamboat traffic and only separated from the Canadian Pacific Railway's terminal station by the Strait of Georgia, opportunities of all kinds were generated here. "The streets swarm with all kinds of Indians," Jacobsen wrote, "as Victoria is the largest gathering place for Redskins on the West Coast."<sup>39</sup> As mentioned, Victoria is where Jacobsen and his brother Filip recruited the Nuxalk, not in their native Bella Coola Valley 500 km northwest of Victoria (see Glass and Hatoum, this volume). Hebron, Røros, and Pine Ridge were meeting points too, but on a smaller scale. Hebron was the name of a Moravian mission and a small settlement on the north coast of Labrador (see Rivet and Lutz, this volume).

### **"AT THE END OF JULY, I CAME ACROSS A LARGE LAP CAMP"**

In contrast to recruitment processes elsewhere, Jacobsen's tasks in Norway included supplying reindeer. Jacobsen was of course more knowledgeable of the cultural context he recruited from in his home country and less dependent on others to fulfill his tasks. In June 1878, he had traveled to Tromsø, a coastal town and county seat in Troms, his place of origin, "to fetch Reindeer and Lapps [Sámi] and collect Ethnographical Curios."<sup>40</sup> Until the post-war period, the coast



of Troms County was used as summer pastures by nomadic reindeer herding Sámi, most of whom lived in Sweden in the winter and were Swedish citizens. Jacobsen had grown up in a multicultural area inhabited by Norwegians, Kvens (a Finnic ethnic minority), and Sámi, in addition to the occasional Russian, German, and others. The Sámi in the area surrounding Risøya consisted of two groups of Sámi: the “Sea Sámi” who subsisted on farming and fishing, sometimes combined with small-scale stationary reindeer-herding, and the nomadic reindeer-herding “Mountain Sámi.” Not surprisingly, Jacobsen did not recruit Sea Sámi for Hagenbeck as only the Mountain Sámi were regarded as representing the authentic Sámi lifestyle, a notion systematically reinforced by the living exhibitions much like the North American Indians from the Great Plains were sought out as subjects in the Wild West Shows, the Oglala, and Lakota Sioux in particular.<sup>41</sup>

However, Jacobsen did not recruit local reindeer-herding Sámi either, perhaps because it would have complicated the paperwork because many were Swedish nationals. Instead, he traveled farther north in Norway, to Finnmark, where he hired an interpreter, “a Laplander living by the coast,” and started the journey inland. After two weeks of collecting artifacts and trying to induce people to come with him to Europe, he finally met a group that was willing to take the chance: Kirsten Pedersdatter Nicodemus, her husband, Jon Person Gaup, their two-year old son (she was pregnant with another son), Jon Person Gaup’s niece, Inger Gaup, the siblings Mikkil, Kirsten, and Aslak Andersen Sara, all from Kautokeino (Guovdageaidnu), and Per Larsen Anti and Jon Josefsen Porsanger from Karasjok (Kárášjohka) (Fig. 2.3).<sup>42</sup> Perhaps they had heard of the young members of the troupe a Norwegian zoologist and explorer had recruited for the Canadian-born showman William Hunt (a.k.a. Guillermo Farini) for a similar display at the Alexandra Palace in London the year before, and who all returned safely, resuming their reindeer herding way of life.<sup>43</sup>

Rather than moving with their herd to more forested areas in the interior that fall, the group from Kautokeino and Karasjok brought their dogs and household equipment to the coast and boarded the steamer that Jacobsen had ordered rebuilt to accommodate animals.<sup>44</sup> The group’s household equipment and the utensils and gear they brought along were complemented with objects Jacobsen had bought in merchant Ebeltoft’s souvenir shop in Tromsø.<sup>45</sup> On the way to Tromsø, the boat stopped along the coast to pick up the 40 reindeer and 113 bags of reindeer lichen Jacobsen had purchased. Jacobsen and the owner of the reindeer rowed the animals and fodder over to the steamer in the middle of the night. In the morning, they headed for Hamburg, where they arrived on August 31, 1878.<sup>46</sup>



**Figure 2.3:** “Reindeer that are saddled [...] carry a weight of approximately 50 kilos” [Translated from Norwegian]. Jon Josefsen Porsanger, Jon Persen Gaup, and Per Larsen Anti in Hagenbeck’s Thierpark in Hamburg in 1878 or 1879. Photograph by Jacob Martin Jacobsen, text on the back by Jacob Martin or Johan Adrian. © Museum am Rothenbaum – Kulturen und Künste der Welt (MARKK).

## “AFTER MUCH EFFORT I WAS FORTUNATE TO HIRE A HEATHEN FAMILY OF ESKIMOS”

Two years later, in 1880 and the third time Jacobsen was asked to organize a living exhibition for Hagenbeck, he once again turned to Greenland, but this time he traveled with *Eisbär*, a two-mast and 23-meter-long schooner equipped for animal hunting and for transporting ethnographic troupes that Jacobsen’s older brother, Jacob Martin, had bought with Carl Hagenbeck.<sup>47</sup> “Experience taught us that if we were to really get hold of all the ethnographic objects that we wanted from the various natural peoples and uncivilized peoples,” Jacobsen wrote, “we had to have a light and maneuverable ship at our disposal.”<sup>48</sup> En route to Greenland, Jacobsen and the crew were going to hunt seal and fish, but everything went wrong even before the boat arrived in Hamburg. Jacobsen was not well and medicated himself with quinine. When he felt able, he shot seabirds, which he stuffed. Umlauff, Hagenbeck’s brother-in-law who traded in curios, had taught him the basics of taxidermy.

The ship’s arrival in Jacobshavn (Ilulissat) in July was a bright spot. As the first boat arriving that year, Jacobsen and the eight crewmen, some of them Norwegians, received a warm welcome from a fleet of kayakers who performed rolls and demonstrated their harpooning skills: “All in hopes of being noticed and recruited for Okabak, Kojange [*sic*, Kujagi] and Kokkik, the Eskimos who were in Europe 3 years ago, were now well-to-do people and have long inspired

the wish among their acquaintances to share in the good fortune,” Jacobsen wrote.<sup>49</sup> Both Kujagi and Okabak of the original troupe wanted to go, but this time he failed to reach an agreement with the colonial inspector.<sup>50</sup> “It is a shame that the [Danish] Eskimos are tyrannized this way,” Jacobsen complained, referring to what he experienced as the Kalaallit’s lack of right of self-determination which of course also made his work more difficult.<sup>51</sup> A further request for permission to hire a local guide and interpreter for a recruiting trip to Northern Greenland was also denied. Annoyed Jacobsen gave order to set sail for Baffin Island on the other side of the Davis Strait instead, but drift ice made disembarkation impossible.

In August, *Eisbär* arrived at the missionary station at Hebron (Nunatsiavut) in Labrador. The German missionaries’ reception was amiable, but they advised the Christian Inuit in the area against going to Europe. Instead, Jacobsen and his crew headed north in hopes of persuading some “heathen Eskimos.” Abraham Ulrikab, a local Inuk, came along as interpreter. Ulrikab impressed Jacobsen. He was knowledgeable, played several instruments, spoke a little English, wrote well, and was a skilled hunter and sealer. Joining forces, Jacobsen and Ulrikab managed to convince one family, the 45-year-old spiritual healer named Tigianniak, his wife, Paingu, around fifty, and their daughter Nuggasak, aged fifteen, but Jacobsen needed more people. George Ford, the Hudson’s Bay Company post manager who took interest in Jacobsen’s project, persuaded Abraham himself, who promised to come on condition that Jacobsen would provide for his mother during the year he would be away. After that they went back to Hebron to get Abraham’s family: his wife, Ulrike, 24 years old, the two young daughters Sara (3) and Maria (9 months) (Fig. 2.4), the bachelor Tobias, 20 years old, and the objects Jacobsen had collected. *Eisbär* set sail with 8 passengers, 9 adult dogs, 8 puppies, and 5 kayaks onboard in addition to Jacobsen and the crew.<sup>52</sup>

## **“PROFESSOR JACOBSEN AND HIS BROTHER DEPARTED WITH NINE INDIANS AND TONS OF CURIOS”**

Recruiting presenters proved particularly challenging on Vancouver Island, British Columbia. In February 1882, upon his arrival in San Francisco after an extensive collecting trip for Berlin’s Royal Ethnological Museum (Fig. 2.5),<sup>53</sup> Jacobsen was asked by Hagenbeck to return to Vancouver Island to engage “longhead” Indians for an exhibition.<sup>54</sup> Hagenbeck had recovered from the setback caused by the death of the Labrador Inuit,<sup>55</sup> and was looking for new projects. Evidently, the inspiration for a “longhead” exhibition had come from Jacobsen’s description of



**Figure 2.4:** Left: Ulrike and Abraham with their daughters Maria (not Martha, 9 months), Sara (three years) and the bachelor Tobias. Photographed by Jacob Martin Jacobsen in Hamburg 1880. © Museum am Rothenbaum – Kulturen und Künste der Welt (MARKK).

the head deformation of females of the Kwakwaka'wakw community in Quatsino (Koskimo). The Quatsino, according to Jacobsen, continued to paint their faces in red and black, some still wore nose and lip rings and cedar bark blankets, although

nakedness was preferred. Jacobsen was certain they would “go immediately to Europe.”<sup>56</sup> Jacobsen returned to Quatsino, where three men and two women initially agreed to go to Europe. In addition, he recruited a young couple who wanted to marry but lacked the means to pay the dowry to her parents, according to Jacobsen. The man was William Hunt, the son of the Hudson’s Bay Company Factor in Fort Rupert, who, with his brother George, had served as guide, crew, and interpreter on Jacobsen’s collecting trip.<sup>57</sup>

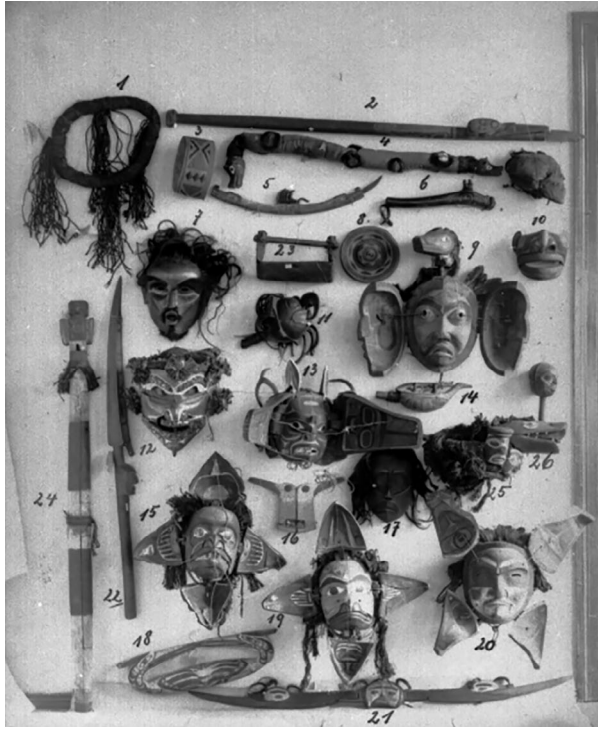
After two weeks at sea in weather so bad they all suffered, the group arrived in Fort Rupert. In Fort Rupert the troupe came under increased pressure to abandon the trip—it was, they were told, an eight-month voyage round Cape Horn. “They tell my contracted Koskimo Indians such lies here,” Jacobsen complained.<sup>58</sup> “What does it matter that I tell the people that I will steam on a train with them straight across the North American mainland, and thereafter, to reach our destination not even spend two weeks on an enormously great ship which is hardly affected by the waves at all?”<sup>59</sup> A delegation from Quatsino arrived to take one of the members, a chief, back, and the group was dispersed. Meanwhile, Hagenbeck had cancelled his order. Five Fuegians he had contracted in South America had died the previous week, and Hagenbeck evidently once again lost interest in the living exhibitions. The idea would, however, be resurrected while Jacobsen was back in Germany.

Three years later, in July 1885, meeting in Fort Rupert where Jacobsen’s brother Filip had stayed in between, the brothers recruited a party of eleven Kwakwaka’wakw, including two women with elongated skulls, for a European tour. George Hunt was to accompany them as an interpreter. While waiting for the steamer, the Jacobsen brothers and Hunt went in search for more collectibles, and in their absence, doubts were set into the minds of the eleven recruits. An English missionary, possibly Alfred J. Hall, fostered the Kwakwaka’wakw fears of a distant and unknown land, and the Quatsino fiasco was repeated. All was not lost, however. Filip told Adrian that he had seen several Bella Coolas (Nuxalk) on the steamer he had taken to Fort Rupert. “There was nothing else to do than make an attempt in this direction,” Jacobsen wrote.<sup>60</sup> The Jacobsens caught up with the Bella Coolas in Victoria and induced nine to sign on for Europe: Pooh Pooh (Alec Davis), Isk-ku-lusts, Ham-chick, Ya Coutlas, Quenoh, Elk-qut, Ick-lehoneh, Huck-mulshe, and Kah-che-lis<sup>61</sup> (Fig. 2.6). Professor Jacobsen and his brother departed with nine Indians and several tons of curios that costed over \$4,000, the Victoria newspaper *Daily Colonist* reported. The article noted that Johan Adrian Jacobsen had purchased and shipped about \$10,000 worth of indigenous cultural heritage objects from the Northwest Coast, a considerable sum at the time.<sup>62</sup>



**Figure 2.5:** The group of nine Nuxalk (Bella Coola) photographed by Carl Günther in Berlin. In unknown order: Pooh Pooh (Alec Davis), Isk-ku-lusts, Ham-chick, Ya Coutlas, Que-noh, Elk-qut, Ick-lehoneh, Huck-mulshe, and Kah-che-lis. Courtesy of the British Columbian Archives, Victoria, and Bella Coola History Museum.





**Figure 2.6:** “Professor Jacobsen and his brother departed with nine Indians and several tons of curios”. Item number 9 is the famous transformation mask (I VA 1243) associated with ‘Nulis (“Oldest in the World”), the ancestor of a specific Kwakwaka’wakw kin group (see Hatoum and Glass, this volume). © Museum am Rothenbaum – Kulturen und Künste der Welt (MARKK).

## “IN 1910 I EMBARKED ON MY JOURNEY TO BRING INDIANS TO HAGENBECK’S ZOO”

In 1910, twenty-five years later and by now a family man with a many-sided background, Jacobsen traveled to the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation (Wazí Ahánhan Oyánke) in South Dakota to bring back a group of “Sioux Indians – the handsomest among the Redskins of the Prairie” for Hagenbeck.<sup>63</sup> Pine Ridge was the administrative center of the colonial authorities on an Oglala Lakota Indian reservation established within the territory of the Sioux in 1889. The two major contexts for recruitment in the United States were Indian reservations and the travels of migrant workers.<sup>64</sup> At Pine Ridge, the post office was particularly important “as all Indians visiting the agency would stop by here,” Jacobsen wrote.<sup>65</sup> Important was also ration day. Jacobsen would recruit people as they came to pick up rations distributed by the government. The rations were intended for settlers, elderly, and

poor people, Jacobsen pointed out, but his impression was that everybody showed up.<sup>66</sup> For assistance Jacobsen was accompanied by George W. Everett (a.k.a. Texas Tex), an experienced circus cowboy and an old acquaintance of the Hagenbeck family. Everett provided the “Indian Ponies” in Grand Island, Nebraska, and served as the troupe’s leader in Hamburg. In addition, Jacobsen hired a translator named Charles Giroux, who also served as a coachman and accompanied the troupe to Germany along with his wife, Lucy, and their six-year-old son.<sup>67</sup>

Like Fleischer and later Hunt, Giroux was bicultural and raised on the reservation where he served as a police commissioner, and later he would become a Lakota catechist.<sup>68</sup> At Pine Ridge, the selection seems to have been partly assigned to the chiefs. “A Chief who had promised me 26 only came with 8 Indians and another came with 3 instead of 13,” Jacobsen complained.<sup>69</sup> It was anticipated that one reservation alone would not be able to exhibit sufficient crew. Consequently, Jacobsen brought letters of introduction to government agents at all the Sioux reservations.<sup>70</sup> As instructed by Hagenbeck, however, Jacobsen went straight to Pine Ridge on account of its relatively good reputation among showmen and recruiters.<sup>71</sup> Indeed, Jacobsen was one of six agents gathered at the Pine Ridge Reservation at the same time, and Buffalo Bill’s agent was scheduled to arrive shortly.<sup>72</sup> Despite the competition, Jacobsen managed to assemble a group of forty-two Oglala (previously Sioux) and ten cowboys (Fig. 2.7).



**Figure 2.7:** Jacobsen, lying to the left, and most of the Oglala recruited at Pine Ridge Indian Reservation on board the ship headed for Europe and Germany. © Museum am Rothenbaum – Kulturen und Künste der Welt (MARKK).





**Figure 2.8:** The South Sámi group in Hagenbeck's zoo in Stellingen, Hamburg, 1926. From the right: Kristina Andersdatter Mortenson b. Kreutz/Krøyts with the youngest child, her husband, Mathias Mortenson (Danielsen), and their son Nils, Nils Ringdal, Karin Fjellner, whose contract draft is depicted below, Aina Mortenson, her brother Richard Matheus Mortensen, Jon M. Nordfjell, and Margaretha Ringdal. Mortensen was the brother of the editor of the Sámi newspaper *Waren Sardne*, which reported regularly on the living ethnographic exhibitions. © Museum am Rothenbaum – Kulturen und Künste der Welt (MARKK).

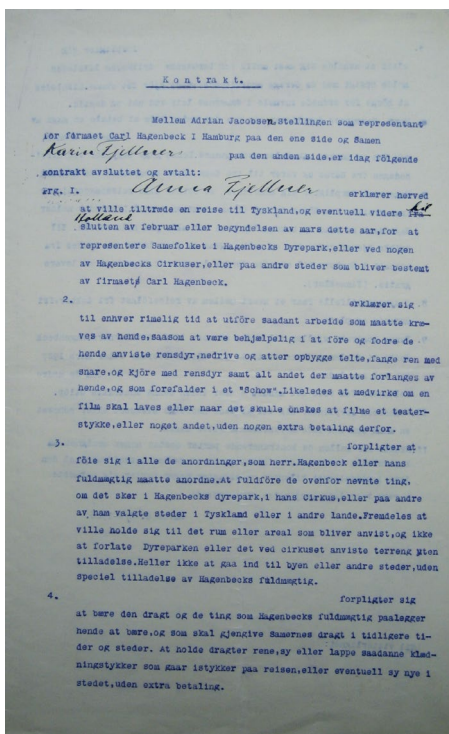
## “MR. CAPTAIN JACOBSEN IN TOWN LOOKING FOR NINE TYPICAL SÁMI”

In February 1926, now seventy-three years old, Jacobsen traveled to Røros in South Central Norway to hire Sámi and purchase reindeer for yet another Völkerschau for the Hagenbeck company, the last of Jacobsen's career. Jacobsen had retired from the restaurant business, but having lost his savings to inflation following World War I, he had good reason to keep busy. Røros—Plaassja in South Sámi—was an old mining and railway station town situated in the middle of the Norwegian South Sámi area. Soon the Sámi newspaper *Waren Sardne* notified its readers that a representative of the Hagenbeck firm, “Mr. Captain Jacobsen,” was in town looking for nine “typical Sámi,” “8–10 reindeer trained for pulling [sledges] and 2 dogs” for a “Laplander Expedition that would be presented at the [...] mentioned circus at different places in Germany.”<sup>73</sup>

*Waren Sardne* (News from the Mountains) was established in 1910 by the teacher, reindeer herder, and Sámi rights activist Daniel Mortenson, himself an experienced presenter. Mortenson's family had been among seventeen South Sámi demonstrating the reindeer herding way of life at the “Lapland Village” at the World's Fair in Chicago in 1893.<sup>74</sup> By this time, and much like the Oglala Lakota, several generations of Sámi had participated in living exhibitions in Europe, North

America, and Scandinavia, and many Sámi communities were well informed about the life on the itinerant entertainment circuit.

Like the Mortensons, some families, particularly in the South Sámi area, had turned participation in the living exhibitions into a career that could be combined with reindeer herding. *Waren Sardne* reported regularly on exhibitions involving Sámi. By the time Jacobsen arrived in Røros, Daniel Mortenson had passed away and his son Lars had succeeded him as the newspaper's editor. Two weeks after the advertisement appeared, ten South Sámi entered into an agreement with Jacobsen, among them the editor's own brother, Mathias Mortenson. Both Lars and Mathias had been part of the Lapland Village at the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893 as boys. This was also the case of Mortenson's wife, Kristina Andersdatter, born Kreutz, who had been part of a living exhibition at the zoological garden Jardin D'Acclimatation in Paris in 1889 as a young girl in addition to the Lapland Village at the Chicago fair in 1893.<sup>75</sup> Now Mathias and Kristina brought four of their own children to Germany (Fig. 2.9).<sup>76</sup> Part of the troupe was also a small herd of reindeer Jacobsen had purchased from the Sámi reindeer owner Barrok.<sup>77</sup>



**Figure 2.9:** Contract draft for underage South Sámi presenter Karin Fjellner. The Hagenbeck Archive, Hamburg. Photo: Cathrine Baglo.

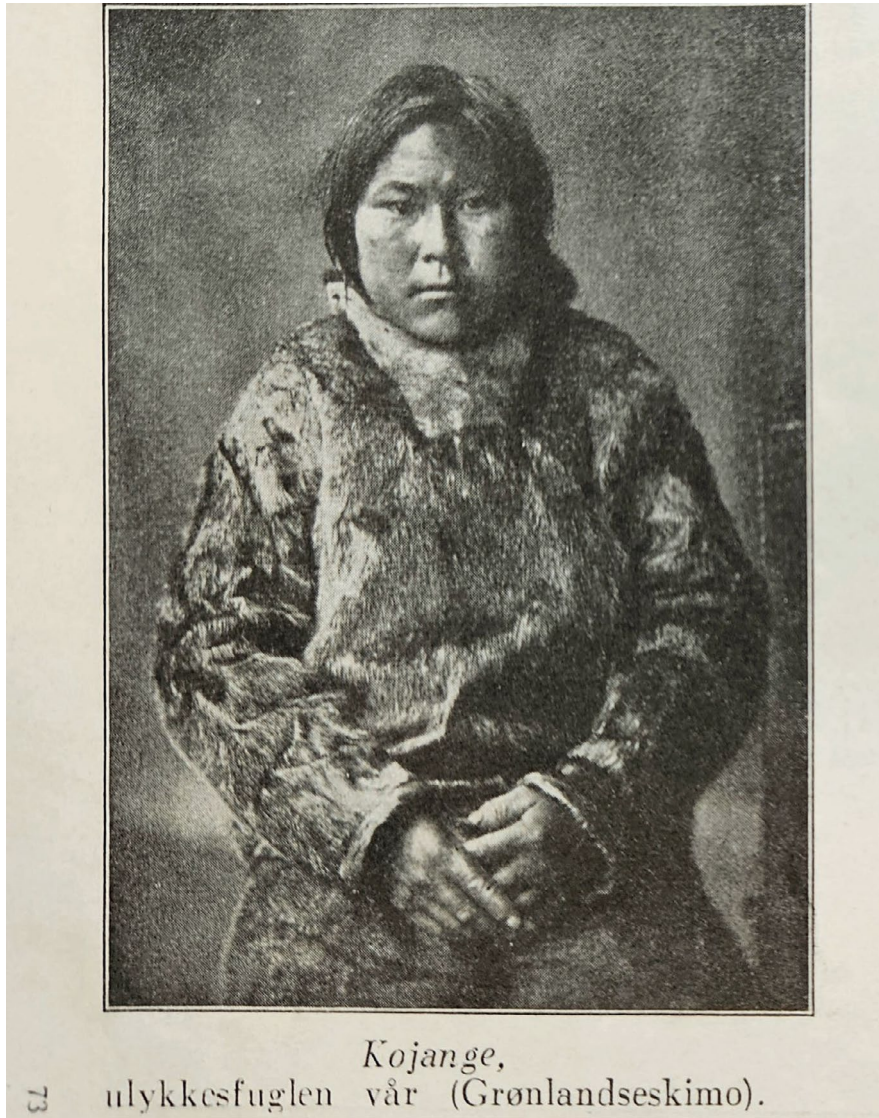
## CONTRACTS, NEGOTIATIONS, TASKS, AND REQUIREMENTS

The active participation of many of the presenters in the living exhibitions and similar arrangements has been largely overlooked even when contracts exist. The use of contracts in the living exhibitions suggests a perception of shared interests and a relative levelling of the relationship between the organizers and participants.<sup>78</sup> Upon learning of the terms set up by Jacobsen and the colonial inspector, the Kalaallit had protested.<sup>79</sup> Wages had not been allotted for the days of travel to and from Greenland. The Kalaallit negotiated better terms, and the contract was evidently modified accordingly.

No evidence of the agreement entered with the North Sámi group is known. Perhaps a contract was never drawn up? Jacobsen's papers seem to imply this as so many other documents about the tour have survived.<sup>80</sup> In the contract drawn up by the law firm of Davie and Pooley in Victoria in July 1885, Jacobsen undertook to pay each Nuxalk twenty dollars per month plus food, lodging, clothing, and medical expenses, and personally to supervise and care for "the welfare and reasonable comfort of the parties" who were not to be separated.<sup>81</sup> The Nuxalk on their behalf, contracted that between 8:00 and 12:00 a.m. and 1:30 and 6:00 p.m., including Sundays, they would engage "before the Public in the performance of Indian games and recreations in the use of bows and arrows, in singing and dancing and speaking and otherwise showing the habits, manners, and customs of the Indians." They bound themselves to behave "reasonably and respectably" and to submit to Jacobsen's "lawful and reasonable orders."<sup>82</sup>

In addition to the one drawn in Victoria, a contract exists entered between Jacobsen and the Brothers Castan at Berlin Panopticum where the group performed for two months for a payment of 6,000 marks.<sup>83</sup> The group performed invariably in private establishments, zoological gardens, sometimes in hotels, as well as establishments such as Castan's Panopticum, which was a branch of wax museums. Everywhere an ethnographic collection Jacobsen had assembled accompanied the exhibition.<sup>84</sup>

Contracts with the Oglala and South Sámi also survive. In contrast to the Nuxalk, where contracts were entered with the entire troupe, Jacobsen signed individual contracts with the Oglala and the South Sámi.<sup>85</sup> In contrast to other contracts, the members of the troupe were required not to demonstrate Indian ways and customs but rather "to take part in a performance known as Carl Hagenbeck's show."<sup>86</sup> Each performer agreed to provide one set of clothes and "such equipment which may be necessary and suitable to the character which may be allotted to him or her." Clothing was, among other places, bought at J. W. Goods Clothing and Gent's Furnishings Goods in Rushville.<sup>87</sup>



**Figure 2.10:** Kujagi (Johannes Henrik Jensen) or “Kojange our accident-prone person,” as he was presented many years later in Jacobsen’s book *Gjennom Ishav og villmarker. En Norsk skippers forskerfærd blant naturfolkene* (1946, 73). According to Jacobsen Kujagi became terribly seasick on the journey from Greenland to Denmark, he fell into one of the open wickets on the boat, and he was bitten by one of the dogs onboard. According to Jacobsen’s story, Kujagi also came too close to the polar bear’s cage at Jardin d’Acclimatation in Paris. The polar bear managed to get its claws into Kujagi’s shoulders, but Jacobsen came to his rescue by hitting the bear in the head with an oar. Photo: Cathrine Baglo.



The language in a contract draft for underage South Sámi presenter Karin Fjellner (Fig. 2.9) resembles the Oglala contracts. It states that Fjellner “agreed to travel to Germany, possibly also Holland [...] to represent the Sámi people.”<sup>88</sup> Moreover, she agreed to “lead and feed the reindeers assigned to her; pitch and disassemble the tents, catch the reindeer with the lasso, drive the sledge as well as everything else that might be requested of her, and which may take place in a ‘Show.’”<sup>89</sup> Furthermore, “to take part whenever a film was going to be made, a theatrical play was going to be filmed, or something of the sort, without extra pay.”<sup>90</sup> While the tasks outlined testify to the standardized presentations typical of the living exhibitions—in a few words they sum up the core of dozens of live displays of Sámi and Sámi culture from 1822 until the 1950s—the contracts also speak of the immersive mass culture they emerged as a part of, a culture that in 1926 also included film.<sup>91</sup>

As far as wages are concerned, Oglala male presenters earned twenty-four dollars a month, and female presenters twenty dollars a month, from the day of the departure from New York until they were back on the reservation. In his notebook, Jacobsen calculated on twenty dollars for males and fifteen dollars for females.<sup>92</sup> Karin Fjellner’s wage was not specified, but information from other exhibitions indicate that salaries paid to Sámi presenters were in the same range. The Sámi presenters at the Lapland Village at the World’s Fair in Chicago in 1893, for example, earned between fourteen and twenty-one Norwegian kroner a week, while the leader, Nils Thomassen Bull, had demanded twelve kroner a day for him and his family, a demand that was “under consideration” by the organizer’s agent, Swedish-born Emil Arner of the Kansas-based Lapland Exhibit Company.<sup>93</sup> In comparison, the payment from the poor relief fund at Røros, which was the only alternative for many South Sámi reindeer herders as they were pushed out of the industry by discriminating state policies, was five kroner a month for a widow without children.

In relation to the Oglala, Jacobsen agreed among other things “to take necessary precautions to guard the Performer from improper influences while absent from home.”<sup>94</sup> In relation to the South Sámi, Jacobsen committed himself to have a Scandinavian-speaking person travel with the group. If disagreement would arise, both parties were subject to the Norwegian consulate’s decision on the matter.<sup>95</sup> Sámi presenters had to seek assistance from Norwegian consulates on several occasions. In 1913, a group of North Sámi from Karasjok had to be helped home from Budapest zoological garden when salaries were not received and the impresario deserted them.<sup>96</sup>

## **“AND WHO WOULD NOT BESTOW THEM”—PRESENTERS’ EXPERIENCES**

Through Jacobsen’s accounts of the groups’ travels to Europe, partly also their stays there, we get an impression of the presenters’ experiences. “Okabak

took an interest in everything he saw and experienced on the journey,”<sup>97</sup> Jacobsen wrote regarding the travels of the Kalaallit troupe, while the Oglala danced their way to Europe, according to Jacobsen.<sup>98</sup> They danced so much at the train station in Rushville, Nebraska, where friends and relatives followed them to say goodbye that he “constantly worried the floor would crack.” The Oglala continued to dance on the train “by pure happiness of finally having reached outside of the territory of the dance prohibition,” Jacobsen wrote referring probably to the 1883 ban on the sacred sun dance, and they danced on the boat during the eleven-day-long journey across the Atlantic “in the most magnificent weather in the world. Nobody became seasick.” Jacobsen continued to paint a rosy picture: “[t]he Indians soon became best friend with passengers and crew and enjoyed life singing and dancing.”<sup>99</sup>

Although Jacobsen’s descriptions are marked by a paternalistic, sometimes condescending, tone towards the people he recruited, he also expresses sympathy and admiration, especially if they had qualities he appreciated and perhaps saw in himself, such as the North Sámi Jon Josefsen Porsanger, “who was always in the mood for a joke,” or Okabak, whom he considered to be a good sailor: “When the sails were set or shortened, he was always present without being inconvenienced by the sea spray that washed over his brand-new sealskin jacket over and over again.”<sup>100</sup> During the crossing from Greenland to Copenhagen, Jacobsen and Kujagi (Fig. 2.10) shared a cabin, “a tiny little room,” but the ship careened so much at night that Kujagi kept falling down from the elevation they were sleeping on. “Then Jacobsen suggested that I lay on the innermost side and then everything was excellent,”<sup>101</sup> Kujagi reported in Jakobshavn in 1903 through the words of Ludvig Mylius-Erichsen, a member of the Danish Literary Expedition (1902–1904) to West Greenland with Count Harald Moltke and Knud Rasmussen.

Accommodation in hotels was not uncommon. In the contract drafted by the Lapland Exhibit Company preparing for the Chicago World’s Fair in 1893, one of the requirements listed was accommodation in first-class hotels only.<sup>102</sup> In living exhibitions where dwellings were part of the display, the presenters would most commonly sleep in the camp in the zoological garden where Hagenbeck’s displays usually took place. As pointed out by Ames, zoological gardens were ideal venues for living exhibitions, not only because of their prestige as cultural institutions, but also because they offered ample space as well as the desired exotic atmosphere, the sights, sounds, and smells of far-away places.<sup>103</sup> There is also evidence indicating that presenters did not experience the zoological garden as a degrading display space. According to Trygve Danielsen from Røros, a grandchild of Daniel Mortenson, who participated with his family on a tour organized by the Danish circus director Povl Neve in 1933, the group preferred staying in a zoological garden because the reindeer were properly taken care of by veterinarians and

professionals. In Paris, the group had been offered housing on a busy street but preferred instead to stay at the camp in the much quieter Bois de Bologne where the zoo was located.<sup>104</sup>

For many presenters, the travels represented access to experiences, social arenas, and strata unattainable or non-existent at home.<sup>105</sup> In Paris the Kalaallit troupe visited the theater and the North Sámi visited “Grand Magasin du Louvre” and “Palais Royale.” While detained by bad weather in Bergen, Norway, the same group visited a circus. “[T]hey were very amused, in particular by the clowns,” Jacobsen wrote.<sup>106</sup> Often the presenters were invited to parties, parties were held for them, or celebrities and royalty came to the exhibitions. Kujagi reported that the Kalaallit were invited to a Christmas party with Jacobsen. The Kalaallit had been disappointed that they did not make it to church during the holiday. In fact, they had not been able to go to church during the entire exhibition stay. They were told that they would not understand what the priest said. Instead, Okabak, Kujagi, and Jacobsen went to the Christmas party. Kukik was not allowed to join because he could not dance. At the party, food and lots of drink were served. Kujagi reported that although they had been fed well during the entire Hagenbeck exhibition stay, the food at the French the Christmas party had surpassed everything else. “Imagine, two whole geese were placed in front of me [...] and wine, lots of wine and other food that I didn’t know what was.” The party had lasted until the morning:

We stayed there all night. That night was the first time I saw Okabak push a full glass away, but he couldn’t hold any more. He was very drunk when he pushed it away, so Jacobsen said I should take it. At first, I was very anxious that I would get drunk myself, but then I came to think that I had Jacobsen with me, and that he would make sure that I got home. It was morning when we left this dance hall. We had to leave Okabak, I don’t know exactly where. I was also quite drunk, but Jacobsen wanted me to go home with him. When we came out [of the building] I saw that the sun was already high in the sky. A haze lay over the houses in long white strips. Far away I saw a large meadow which was rather bluish with steam. It was one of the most beautiful mornings I had experienced here [in Europe]. I thought I had never seen Paris so lovely.<sup>107</sup>

In Leipzig, Maria Cronau, wife of the well-known German traveler and painter Rudolf Cronau, invited the Nuxalk to dinner at her house and wrote about her experience of the troupe in the local newspaper. They ate quite a lot, had the best of manners, and spoke both English and Chinook (a trade language in British Columbia), in addition to their own language, she reported.<sup>108</sup> While decidedly a curiosity to the Germans, the Nuxalk seemed to cope with their foreign tour. In between presentations, the group occupied themselves with playing cards and

woodcarving at the hotel.<sup>109</sup> Quite a few carvings later became part of museum collections as was the case with handicrafts produced by other presenters. For Jacobsen himself, traveling and recruiting was mostly a lonely undertaking without him possessing any concrete means of enacting power, especially in areas where he was a stranger. To remain on good terms with the presenters must have been imperative.

Jacobsen also reports on encounters that took place between the presenters. While the North Sámi were in Hamburg, they met both the Nubian troupe and the Patagonian troupe (Tehuelche from Chile) that Hagenbeck had hired at the same time.<sup>110</sup> Jacobsen's older brother, Jakob Martin, took the official portraits of the Tehuelche from his studio on Bernhard Strasse, as he also did of the Labrador Inuit and several others. While the Oglala were performing at the Hagenbeck zoo in 1910, a group from Somalia, Singhalese from Ceylon, and North Sámi from Finland performed there. A photograph exists from the incident showing all the presenters lined up in rows with horses and elephants (no reindeer) in front of one of the artificial mountains in Hagenbeck's zoo.<sup>111</sup> In the middle, standing on a ledge is Carl Hagenbeck, his oldest son, Heinrich, a first-rate designer whose expertise was sought after by zoos around the world, and Hersi Egeh Gorseh, a Somali presenter who joined at least five different African exhibitions between 1895 and 1927 and served in almost as many roles, as animal handler, a performer, a recruiter, an impresario, and more.<sup>112</sup>

Not all presenters found the experience enjoyable as not least the accounts of Abraham Ulrikab testify to.<sup>113</sup> The North Sámi Aslak Olsson Turi, who participated in the 1911 Northland Exhibition in Berlin, was not happy about his stay in Germany either. "We were suffering," he reported to *Waren Sardne* from the hospital bed in Luleå where he had been admitted upon his return to Sweden.<sup>114</sup> The food had been miserable, the cold unbearable as they were not allowed to make a fire inside the tent, and they were not permitted outside of the fenced-in showground area. Yet, the majority of the Sámi presenters report on their travels as enjoyable and beneficial. "Everywhere people were good to us," Kujagi expressed.<sup>115</sup> While he gave both inspector Krarup Smith and Hinrich Rink, the director of the Royal Danish Trading Company, a poor description, he spoke warmly of Jacobsen and Hagenbeck. "All the troupe said they spent a 'nice-time'" [*sic*] and intended to "live like white men" in the future, the *Daily Colonist* reported on the Nuxalk's arrival in Victoria.<sup>116</sup> When the South Sámi presenters Jacobsen recruited returned to Røros in December 1926, they reported enthusiastically about their experiences—"and who would not bestow them," *Waren Sardne* reported, "since they have visited no less than 37 German cities and seen all the beauty and splendours and all kinds of strange things of which most narrow-minded wilderness residents could ever dream!"<sup>117</sup>



While the group was in Germany some of the members had sent articles home that reported on the Sámi and the exhibition. Another article was written by Jacobsen. Jacobsen's article was deemed "very interesting and unassuming" by *Waren Sardne*.<sup>118</sup> The article in question is "Das letzte in Europa lebenden Nomadenvolk."<sup>119</sup> It contains several photographs, from the exhibition in Hagenbeck's zoo, photographs of Sámi in Norway and Sweden, as well as drawings made by the Sámi artist Johan Turi. One of the photographs shows a South Sámi family inside their modernized but traditional *gåetie* (turf house) on Christmas Eve. The *gåetie* has glass panes, the tree is decorated, and the group is drinking coffee from porcelain cups placed on a wooden box turned edgewise. The caption reads: "The Lapps have been Christians for centuries. The picture shows a family in their turf hut with a window on Christmas Eve, and with the Christmas tree."<sup>120</sup> However, despite the newspaper's enthusiasm, the homecoming must have been painful for the Mortenson family. While they were away, their son, nine-year-old Anders Mortenson, died in the hospital in Røros, most likely of tuberculosis.<sup>121</sup> A few Sámi presenters died during tours due to epidemics of the time that would befall Sámi and non-Sámi alike, such as tuberculosis and cholera, which were certainly mostly poor people's diseases, especially when fatal.<sup>122</sup>

Jacobsen also reports on tension, humiliation, and violence. At one point he beats one of the Labrador Inuit, Tobias, with a whip after repeated confrontations. While Jacobsen does not mention this in his accounts, Tobias's uncle and fellow presenter Abraham Ulrikab does.<sup>123</sup> During the travel with the North Sámi group, conflict arose between him and Jon Perssen Gaup, who refused to skin two reindeer that had died—many reindeer died, mostly because of heat but also of malnourishment as many depended on a particular kind of lichen. Only after the birth of Gaup's son where Jacobsen assisted his wife did the hostility between them end, according to Jacobsen.<sup>124</sup>

Like many other indigenous peoples recruited for living exhibitions from approximately 1875 to 1890 or 1900, both the Nuxalk and the North Sámi troupe Jacobsen appointed were examined by (physical) anthropologists: the North Sámi in the Düsseldorf zoological garden, in the Berlin zoological garden, and in the zoological garden in Paris.<sup>125</sup> In Berlin, thirty-six measurements were taken of everyone except the youngest child.<sup>126</sup> In addition the hair color, colors of the eyes and skin were determined, photographs were taken by Carl Günther, Berlin Anthropological Society's photographer, and plaster casts were made by of at least two individuals in the group by one of the Castan brothers, the managers of Castan's Panopticum.<sup>127</sup> Both the photographs and the plaster casts strongly suggest unpleasant experiences. In Günther's photographs the Sámi look both awkward and uneasy, while the process of making plaster casts is known to be

physically uncomfortable. Most striking about the Paris examination, however, is the absence of anthropological measurements. Dr. Arthur Bordier, who led the session, was only able to make one measurement “and it was taken by chance”.<sup>128</sup> The admission seems to testify to the resistance present in the production of anthropological knowledge and how the Sámi may have refused to be examined. As pointed out by Elizabeth Edwards, who has worked with the relationship between photography, anthropology, and history, this resistance has often been ignored due to a unilateral emphasis on political and ideological discourses and the embedded assumption that the examined peoples were fully compliant with the situation and the examiners’ will and whimsy. Within the relationship between power structure and practices is enmeshed a greater complexity than we might imagine, Edwards reminds us.<sup>129</sup>

### **“YES, WE WOULD ALL LIKE TO TRAVEL WITH JACOBSEN”**

In his account of the travels with Jacobsen in Europe, Kujagi (Johannes Henrik Jensen) paints a rather unvarnished picture of the Kalaallit’s motivation although it has to be taken into consideration that the wording also belongs to Mylius-Erichsen. One morning when Kujagi had come walking down the mountain to the store to sell liver, the assistant, Fleischer, had approached him and asked him if he wanted to go to Germany with the group of presenters Jacobsen had already made agreements with. At first, Kujagi was startled. Three days later the inspector called Kujagi and the group to the administrator’s house and asked if they wanted to travel with Jacobsen. “I thought I’d better be quiet because I was the youngest, perhaps 25 years, and I wanted to hear the others respond,” Kujagi reported to Mylius-Erichsen. Okabak, on the other hand, stated straightforwardly:

Yes, we would all like to travel with Jacobsen because we are all poor people having difficulties making money. There is a store here at the colony, and we know there are many products [for sale] there. But very seldom is anyone of us able to buy any of these. We all think it would be most advantageous to be placed in such circumstances to be able to buy whatever we wanted. This man who has arrived has offered us good days and a great salary. We will leave our poverty behind and follow him.<sup>130</sup>

If Jacobsen’s report with Kujagi was good, Kujagi seems to have shared this perception. “With him I am not afraid to travel to Germany,” he reported. “From the moment I met Jacobsen he was very kind to me. And he remained kind until we parted so I was not mistaken.” Through Mylius-Erichsen, Kujagi gives a full report

of what happened when the Kalaallit presenters returned to Greenland, a report that does not render Danish colonial authorities in a favorable light:

When we arrived here in the colony, they showed us to an empty house where we would stay temporarily. It was the house that Okabak later bought. Our countrymen tried to give us the warmest welcome possible. They came with seal meat, but Okabak declined and said that he could not eat that kind of food. With me the opposite thing happened. I would not eat Danish food for a long, long time. When I came to the house where I had used to live, I immediately noticed that most of the wood inside the house had been burnt due to poverty. It was Anton's house, and at that time he was living with my sister. I was not pleased to see this that my dear family and I had to live in a house where it was not nice. I had arrived home as a man who had made money. Anton on the other hand had been miserable in my absence. Therefore I immediately went to the manager [of the colony] and cashed 50 Kr. There I was told that I owned 800. Then I bought 12 large wall boards and 2 beams and 20 laths and gave to Anton so that he could repair his house. And it did not take long until we all could enter a house that was exclusively made of brand-new laths. Now the baron [Kujagi in Mylius-Erichsen's words, author's remark] lives here for a while. After a year he gets married, buys his own house for 20 kroner, has two children who both die as babies and after three years of marriage his wife dies, and he supports himself (these words are spoken softly and slowly) by fishing and net casting when conditions allowed for this. He started to kayak and catch seal. Then he sold the house for the same price as when he had left [for Europe] Then there had been lots of shark and fish, but he did not have a rifle. Now he bought both a kayak and a rifle and became one of the catchers. He then tells that his money lasted for four years. In the beginning the moneys were so stuck that even if he had spent days without any catch, he could not cash them [at the store]. That made both him and his friends furious, so they complained about the manager when the inspector arrived in the summer. But then the opposite thing happened, they could not avoid getting them, so they happily cashed them in the summer at a time they did not at all need them.<sup>131</sup>

Later Kujagi had married again. At the time he recounted his story to the Literary Greenland Expedition he was once again a poor man, but this time poverty was harder to endure:

My existence has been divided in three, first poverty, then idle joy and idle prosperity and then again poverty. But it is as if poverty is harder to endure

now than before. I had enjoyed good days for a while where I never had to be embarrassed about money. If I wanted to shop at the store I did. I had gotten used to a Danish way of life, and Danish food when I was in Europe and when I arrived here and lived as a Greenlander, I had also gotten used to not missing anything. If my catch failed, I could go to the store. If I were missing a tool, I could buy it. If anything were broken I could buy a replacement. At that time, I felt how happy and free of sorrow a person may live. But when I for the second time had to live in poverty, this felt more excessive and heavier than the first time because in days of need I am constantly reminded of everything which was possible, but which now is inaccessible. It is the middle part of my life that has brought me the most memories. This is where my thoughts prefer to linger, but when you from poverty are looking up at a time when your days were affluent, your life becomes hard.<sup>132</sup>

The North Sámi whom Jacobsen recruited for Hagenbeck in 1878–1879 went back to Karasjok and Kautokeino and were some of those who stayed in reindeer husbandry. Others, especially among the South Sámi, left reindeer husbandry not least because of the increasingly discriminatory reindeer legislation and cultural assimilation process initiated by the Norwegian state already in the 1850s. Evidently, members of the Sara siblings of the North Sámi group had been heavily involved in the 1852 Kautokeino uprising,<sup>133</sup> an incident connected to a religious revival movement, but where a local Norwegian merchant who sold the Sámi liquor was the target of a political rebellion due to his repeated cheating and exploitation of Sámi customers.<sup>134</sup> An aunt of the Saras had been sentenced to capital punishment but was pardoned to lifelong servitude in prison. An uncle was pardoned but died in prison, while the grandmother served a long sentence. Although the uprising happened two decades before the group's tour to Europe, the imprisonment of so many members must have had severe consequences, including economically, for the Sara family. When a Russian ethnographer visited the Sara family in 1927, he reported, somewhat astonished, that Mikkel Andersen Sara was just as wealthy as the youngest Sara brother even though the last had inherited his father's herd according to Sámi traditional inheritance customs.<sup>135</sup> It is not unlikely that the money earned in Europe had made it possible for Mikkel Andersen Sara to purchase his own herd.

Similarly in Canada, assimilation policies, missionary work, colonization, alienation, and poverty made the lives of indigenous peoples difficult. Although the 1884 potlatch prohibition, which disrupted the ceremonial channels for the reproduction of identity, was never formally enforced in Bella Coola, there was significant pressure to halt the practice. Moreover, Nuxalk territory was diminished with the arrival of a group of Norwegian colonists from Minnesota, who came there in

1894 having been invited by Filip Jacobsen to create a religious community there.<sup>136</sup> In 1915, the *Bella Coola Courier* reported that former indigenous presenter Alec Davis (Pooh-Pooh) was “in the toils again.” He had defied the law by making wine and drinking it, and now he was sentenced to four months imprisonment.<sup>137</sup> In 2006 writer, producer and director Barbara Heger made a film about the Nuxalk’s travel to Germany.<sup>138</sup> The European tour of the Labrador Inuit and the North Sámi has also received interest from the arts through the film *Trapped in a Human Zoo* (2014) and the theatrical play *Human Zoo* (2019), respectively.

The Nuxalk participation in living exhibitions was an isolated incident, but troupes of Kalaallit, Inuit, Oglala Lakota, Sámi, and Kwakwaka’wakw would present their way of life at numerous foreign venues and for numerous organizers.<sup>139</sup> After the first failed attempts to recruit Kwakwaka’wakw, troupes performed at the afore-mentioned World’s Fair in Chicago in 1893 and at the Saint Louis Fair in 1904. Like the Oglala, Inuit, Kalaallit, and Sámi, they have a long history of exposure in ethnographic texts, illustrations, photographs, films, museums, and living exhibitions. The participation of these peoples in the living exhibitions testifies to an early existing and little acknowledged practice of using culture and cultural presentations as a mode of economic labor as well as a means of bolstering tradition, asserting political agency, cultural pride, status, and distinctiveness. Undoubtedly, the living exhibitions contained many negative elements—some more fatal than others—yet many seem to have experienced the presentations as empowering. Moreover, the heritage of such experiences not only provided prototypes and models (both positive and negative) for later intercultural presentations, but it also furnished the presenters and their communities with a cultural, even ethnographical, self-awareness and knowledge of modes to present oneself to other cultures, in other words resources they could draw on not least with the rise of mass tourism and the opportunities it offered.<sup>140</sup>

The importance of the living exhibitions, however, seems to have reached beyond bringing about economic and cultural capital in the form of presentational resources. The living exhibitions created also interfaces among the indigenous peoples themselves. The displays, the world’s fairs in particular, provided a new globalized context that may have allowed the presenters to realize that they were not isolated “instances” in a broader march of progress. Rather, they shared histories with other indigenous people. As I have argued elsewhere, recognizing the existence of such contacts is crucial because it reminds us that the global awareness among indigenous people of a broader commonality is not a uniquely recent or postcolonial phenomenon. There were significant precedents. In relation to the Mortenson family, at least, the participation in live ethnographic displays seems to have contributed to political activism.<sup>141</sup>

## JACOBSEN AS CULTURAL BROKER AND DISRUPTIVE AGENT

As Homi Bhabha (1994) has pointed out, colonial power was never simply acted out upon the site of its intended operation but was always subject to infinite translation. Translation is also a keyword in understanding Jacobsen's role as cultural broker, middleman, and negotiator, not only between the indigenous and European worlds but also between local and scholarly knowledge and between domestic possessions and institutional collections. Moreover, translation and cultural brokerage are central in relation to the living exhibitions as directionally reversed encounters, the indigenous presenters coming to "us." Objects, peoples, and cultural meanings were not simply transferred undistorted from one context to another. Drawing on Bruno Latour's concept of the "mediator" and Isabelle Stengers's "ecology of practices," translation and brokerage are understood as complex processes where dissimilar elements are brought together around a particular matter of concern and where the outcome of this encounter—given the dissimilarity of its components—is unpredictable.<sup>142</sup>

Jacobsen enabled unexpected things to happen and new assemblages to be produced. Not only did he bring together culturally diverse peoples; included in the merging were also institutions and professionals, academia and show business, things and animals. Jacobsen's toils in recruiting indigenous presenters, organizing travels, negotiating contracts, arranging health care for people and animals, and clearing custom documents are not trivial details without significance for the achievements that brought him fame and repute in his time, nor are they without significance for the indigenous presenters he interacted with. To paraphrase Stengers, the achievements should not be abstracted from the practices that produced them.<sup>143</sup> Jacobsen often found himself literally speaking in the same boat as the indigenous peoples he interacted with. By extension, he partly shared their fate as he himself became an "Other" through his messy involvements, a disruptive agent to the scientific establishment and their efforts of professionalizing and monopolizing museum collecting and the building of ethnography as a scientific discipline.

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## NOTES

- 1 Cole, *Captured Heritage*.
- 2 See also Glass and Hatoum, this volume.
- 3 Raibmon, *Authentic Indians*, 50.
- 4 Baglo, *På ville vege*; Baglo "Rethinking Sámi Agency": Baglo "Reconstruction as a Trope." In line with the perspective expressed by Chief William Cranmer, I use the term "presenter" here, as I find it best describes what most of these groups did at the living exhibitions: They offered "cultural presentations" to a non-native audience. Cranmer in Glass, "The Kwakwaka-wakw Business of Showing," 315–357. However, the term "performer" will be used too since this is the English term used in the original contracts.
- 5 For example, Sámi from the Kola peninsula is part of an anthropology exhibition in Moscow in 1879. Kari Myklebost, pers. Communication to author. See also Baglo, *På ville vege*, 73.
- 6 Based on archaeological evidence, researchers believe that "Sámi" and "Nordic" ethnicity is thought to have emerged as a result of contact between northerly hunter-gatherer societies and easterly metal-producing agricultural societies. As a retrospective category, it seems to make sense to talk about Sámi ethnicity in some areas from the end of the last millennium BC. Hansen and Olsen, *Samenes historie*, 38, 41.
- 7 Baglo, "På ville vege," 227–231.
- 8 As pointed out by Moses, *Wild West Shows*, cautioned against by Clifford in *Routes*, and repeated by Ames, *Hagenbeck's Empire*, much of the scholarship on historic indigenous display contains assumptions about exploitation and the lack of indigenous agency.
- 9 Clifford, *Returns*.
- 10 Baglo, "Reconstruction as a Trope," 49–68. See also, Ames, *Hagenbeck's Empire*; Baglo, "The Hagenbeck Sámi Collection at Museum Europäischer Kulturen in Berlin".
- 11 Ames, *Hagenbeck's Empire*.
- 12 Jacobsen, *Gjennom ishav*; Andreassen, "Baronens udlandsrejse," 102–123; Thode-Arora, *Für fünfzig Pfennig*; Ames, *Hagenbeck's Empire*; Baglo, *På ville vege*.
- 13 Jacobsen, *Gjennom ishav*; Broberg, "Lappkaravaner," 27–86, Thode-Arora, *Für fünfzig Pfennig*; Baglo, *På ville vege*.
- 14 See Lutz and Rivet, this volume, as well as Thode-Arora, "Abraham's Diary," 2–17; Lutz, *Diary of Abraham Ulrikab*; Rivet, *In the Footsteps of Abraham Ulrikab*.
- 15 See Glass and Hatoum, this volume, as well as Jacobsen, *Kaptein Jacobsens reiser*; Cole, *Captured heritage*; Thode-Arora, *Für fünfzig Pfennig*.

- 16 Haberland, "Adrian Jacobsen on Pine Ridge Reservation 1910," 11–15, Thode-Arora, *Für fünfzig Pfennig*; Ames, *Hagenbeck's Empire*. Number of visitors, Thode-Arora, *Für fünfzig Pfennig*, 173.
- 17 Ames, *Hagenbeck's Empire*, 77–78; Baglo, *På ville vejer*, 197–199. See also Thode-Arora, *Für fünfzig Pfennig*.
- 18 See Bolz, and Bolz, Jacobsen's bibliography, this volume.
- 19 See, for example, Ames, *Hagenbeck's Empire*, 65–88.
- 20 Ames, *Hagenbeck's Empire*, 31–33.
- 21 Thode-Arora, *Für fünfzig Pfennig*, 54. Translation by Ames, *Hagenbeck's Empire*, 33.
- 22 Hagenbeck, *Dyr og mennesker*, 48.
- 23 JAC 2011.37.1\_11, "Dag Bog." In *Kaptein Jacobsens Reiser* published in 1887 the wording is slightly different: "to bring from Greenland, in case it was possible, a collection of ethnographic things and an Eskimo family", xxii. In his book *Gjennom Ishav*, 33, Jacobsen recalls the same task as the movement of "some Eskimo families to Hamburg from Greenland," not mentioning the collecting of ethnographic paraphernalia that was paramount to the live ethnographic displays, at least in the early days.
- 24 Jacobsen, *Gjennom Ishav*, 34.
- 25 Jacobsen, *Gjennom Ishav*, 34–35. Translated from Norwegian to English by the author. The original quotation reads: "Hagenbeck [vilde] lage en etnografisk utstilling, så folk i Tyskland og andre steder kunde få et begrep om det liv som dette egenartede folk førte."
- 26 Jacobsen, *Kaptein Jacobsens Reiser*, xxiii.
- 27 Jacobsen, *Gjennom Ishav*, 40.
- 28 Jacobsen, *Kaptein Jacobsens Reiser*, xxiii. Jacobsen's explanation from 1887 and 1946 of the experiences in Greenland differ from each other on several accounts, such as the helpfulness, or not, of Krarup Smith. Sophus Theodor Krarup Smith (1834–1882) was appointed inspector in Greenland in 1862. <https://tidsskrift.dk/geografisktidsskrift/article/view/48759/61970>.
- 29 The missionary was Christian Rasmussen, the father of Knud Rasmussen (1879–1933), the polar explorer, anthropologist, and founding father of "eskimology." The trader was "kolonibestyrt" (colony manager) Knud Fleischer. Christian Rasmussen was married to Sofie Lovise Fleischer, Knud Fleischer's daughter.
- 30 Leutemann, "Die Eskimos in Deutschland." Cited and translated from German by Ames, *Hagenbeck's Empire*, 35.
- 31 JAC 2011.37.1\_11. "Dag Bog." On his way to Norway to recruit Sámi the year after, Jacobsen's boat docked in Bergen. Here he visited the Fleischers, "whose family last year demonstrated the outmost hospitality in Greenland." There were several Fleischers in Bergen, including Knud [Geelmuyden] Fleischer born in 1816 who was a ship owner, merchant, and rentier. Folketelling 1875 for Bergen [census]...
- 32 Jacobsen, *Gjennom Ishav*, 50.
- 33 Jacobsen, *Kaptein Jacobsens Reiser*, xxiv.
- 34 Jacobsen, *Gjennom Ishav*, 51. Although Jacobsen mentions the names of all the presenters the spelling of the names has been adjusted to other sources, most notably Andreassen, "Baronens udlandsrejse."
- 35 Jacobsen, *Kaptein Jacobsens Reiser*, xxiv. Translated from Norwegian by the author.
- 36 Andreassen, "Baronens udlandsrejse," 122.
- 37 Andreassen, "Baronens udlandsrejse," 122. The original citation in Danish reads: "købte anoraktøj og tapetserede hele sit hus inde, og når folk kom ind til ham og besøgte ham, så gik de I

- regelen ud med en anorak, som han skar af væggen. Og da han ikke havde mere anoraktøj, så købte han skjortetøj til tapet, og til enhver der besøgte ham, skar han en tid en skjorte af.”
- 38 Jacobsen, *Kaptein Jacobsens reiser*, xxv. In Jacobsen, *Gjennom Ishav*, 57, the sums are described as “quite a nice profit.”
- 39 Jacobsen, *Kaptein Jacobsens reiser*, 4. Translated from Norwegian by the author. The original citation reads: “Her vrimler Gaderne av alle Slags Indianere; thi Victoria er det største Samlingssted for Rødhuderne paa Vestkysten.”
- 40 Jacobsen, *Kaptein Jacobsens reiser*, xxv. Translated from Norwegian by the author.
- 41 Moses, *Wild West Shows*. For Wild West Shows in general, see also Deloria, *Buffalo Bill and the Wild West*; Kasson, *Buffalo Bill's Wild West*; Penny, *Kindred by Choice*.
- 42 Baglo, *På ville vege*, 67–73. Names are written in Norwegian. Just as Røros is a center in South Sámi area, Karasjok and Kautokeino are centers in the North Sámi area.
- 43 Baglo, *På ville vege*, 63–67.
- 44 Jacobsen, *Kaptein Jacobsens reiser*, xxv–xxvi.
- 45 Regning [invoice] C. Ebeltoft. Tromsø, October 11, 1878. See Baglo, *På ville vege*, 189.
- 46 Jacobsen, *Kaptein Jacobsens reiser*, xxv–xxvi, Jacobsen, *Gjennom Ishav*, 63–76.
- 47 See Rivet, this volume.
- 48 Jacobsen, *Gjennom Ishav*, 81.
- 49 According to Ames, a spontaneous party was arranged on board where the Kalaallit was entertained with an organ-grinder with marionettes mounted on it, evidently to encourage them to join the troupe. The scene was later illustrated in a brochure based on Jacobsen's diary and gave a detailed account of the recruitment process. Hoffmann, *Beiträge über Leben und Treiben*, 9–12, cited in Ames, *Hagenbeck's Empire*, 36–37.
- 50 Rivet, *Voyage with the Labrador Eskimos*.
- 51 Jacobsen, *Gjennom Ishav*, 57. A few years later Denmark prohibited the exportation of Kalaallit. Other countries followed.
- 52 Rivet, *Abraham Ulrikab*, 41–50.
- 53 See Bolz, this volume.
- 54 See Bolz and Glass and Hatoum, this volume.
- 55 See Rivet, this volume.
- 56 Jacobsen to Hagenbeck, 3 November 1881; Hagenbeck to Jacobsen, 4 February 1882. After Cole, *Captured Heritage*, 62–63.
- 57 Jacobsen, *Kaptein Jacobsens reiser*, 121.
- 58 Jacobsen, *Kaptein Jacobsens reiser*, 124.
- 59 Jacobsen, *Kaptein Jacobsens reiser*, 124.
- 60 *Autobiographische Aufzeichnung*, Phillip Jacobsen Papers, After Cole, *Captured Heritage*.
- 61 On photographs lent by F. Jacobsen to the self-trained archaeologist and photographer Harlan Smith while doing fieldwork in Bella Coola in the 1920s, the group is identified as Pooh-Pooh (Alec Davis), Potlas, Kakilis, Nuskilusta, Ilequaulz, Aagonil, Neloknealslek, Hamchil, and Chief Soumaki (of Alkalak). Tepper, *The Bella Coola Valley*. I base the names on Barbara Heger's film *From Bella Coola to Berlin*.
- 62 *Daily Colonist*, October 15, 1885.
- 63 JAC 20.6. “Foredrag over en Reise.” See also Ames, *Hagenbeck's Empire*, 48–52; Penny, *Kindred by Choice*, 131.
- 64 Ames, *Hagenbeck's Empire*, 53.
- 65 JAC 20.6. “Foredrag over En Reise.”
- 66 JAC 20.6. “Foredrag over En Reise.”

- 67 JAC 14.3. "Notebook III Pine Ridge."
- 68 JAC 20.6. "Foredrag over En reise"; Enochs, *The Jesuit Mission*, 82.
- 69 JAC 20.6. "Foredrag over En reise."
- 70 JAC 20.6. "Foredrag over En reise."
- 71 Moses, *Wild West Shows*. See also Penny, *Kindred by Choice*.
- 72 Ames, *Hagenbeck's Empire*, 49.
- 73 "En representant," *Waren Sardne*, February 15, 1926. According to Jacobsen's diary the instruction from Lorenz Hagenbeck was "8-9 Lappländer, einschl. 1 oder 2 Kindern, 8-10 eingefahrene grosse schöne Renntiere [...], 2-3 Schlitten, 2-3 Zelte, 1-2 Hunde." Thode-Arora, *Für fünfzig Pfennig*, 83.
- 74 Baglo, "Rethinking Sami Agency," 152–154; Baglo, *På ville veget*, 99–110.
- 75 Baglo, *På ville veget*, 83–92; Baglo, "Margrete Kreutz' historie," 31–34.
- 76 Baglo, *På ville veget*, 147–149.
- 77 JAC 18.23. "Tagebuch". Barrok or Barruk is a South Sámi/ Ume Sámi family name.
- 78 Baglo, *På ville veget*, 233–243.
- 79 Thode-Arora, *Für fünfzig Pfennig*, 70. See also Ames, *Hagenbeck's Empire*, 35.
- 80 The documentation of this tour seems mainly to be kept in the Hagenbeck archive in Hamburg and includes a bill from the merchant Ebeltoft in Tromsø, a list of ethnographic inventories in the display, and accounting of the display. The profit made seems to have been 5,903 German marks (Debet, 8,715 Mark, Credit 2,812 Mark).
- 81 Cole, *Captured Heritage*, 68.
- 82 Cole, *Captured Heritage*, 68.
- 83 JAC 14.8. "Contract entered."
- 84 Cole, *Captured Heritage*, 69–70.
- 85 JAC 14.8. For the Sioux: Kills Enemy, Dana [?] Long Wolfe, Jasper Seant [?], Phillip Poor Bear, William Bear [followed by another illegible name] and Jamie Charging Crow. Draft or discarded contract between Anna Fjellner on behalf of Karin Fjellner and the Hagenbeck firm, Røros February 20, 1926.
- 86 Ames, *Hagenbeck's Empire*, 50.
- 87 JAC 14.8. [Receipt].
- 88 Contract [draft or discarded contract] entered between Anna Fjellner on behalf of Karin Fjellner and the Hagenbeck firm, Røros February 20, 1926. See also Baglo, "På ville veget," 342–343; Baglo, *På ville veget*, 195.
- 89 Contract [draft or discarded contract] entered between Anna Fjellner on behalf of Karin Fjellner and the Hagenbeck firm, Røros February 20, 1926.
- 90 Contract [draft or discarded contract] entered between Anna Fjellner on behalf of Karin Fjellner and the Hagenbeck firm, Røros February 20, 1926.
- 91 Ames, *Hagenbeck's Empire*, 103–141; Baglo, *På ville veget*, 272–274. For the emergence of an immersive mass culture, see, for example, Oettermann, *The Panorama*; Schwartz, *Spectacular Realities*; Sandberg, *Living Pictures Missing Persons*.
- 92 JAC 14.3. "Notebook." The notebook also indicates that Lucy Giroux, the interpreter's wife, and a woman named Crow Lean might have been paid better than the other women. While the other women are listed with fifteen dollars, Jacobsen was prepared to pay twenty to Lucy Giroux and Crow Lean; the last part of her name, Lean, may be wrong as Jacobsen's handwriting is difficult to read.
- 93 Contracts entered between Emil Arner and Daniel Mortensson, Kristina Nilson, Kristina Jonsson, Martin Torkelson, Mårten Mårtensson, Østersund, April and May 1893. From his

- travels on the Northwest Coast in 1881–83, Jacobsen writes that “a dollar [in Canada] does not last much longer than a Krone in Norway.”
- 94 JAC.14.8. Various contracts 1910.
- 95 Contract [draft or discarded contract] entered between Anna Fjellner on behalf of Karin Fjellner and the Hagenbeck firm, Røros February 20, 1926.
- 96 “Lappar i Budapest.” See also Baglo, *På ville vege*, 141–143, 241.
- 97 Jacobsen, *Gjennom Ishav*, 52. When compared to Kujagi’s own account of the travel (Andreassen) it becomes evident that Jacobsen consistently mistakes Kujagi for Okabak. Then again the book was written decades after the actual travel.
- 98 JAC 20.6. “Foredrag over En reise.”
- 99 JAC 20.6. “Foredrag over En reise.”
- 100 Jacobsen, *Gjennom Ishav*, 52.
- 101 Andreassen, “Baronens utenlandsreise”.
- 102 Contracts 1893.
- 103 Ames, *Hagenbeck’s Empire*.
- 104 Danielsen, “Utenlandsreisen 1933–34.”
- 105 Raibmon, *Authentic Indians*.
- 106 Jacobsen, *Kaptein Jacobsens Reiser*, xxvi, xxviii.
- 107 Andreassen, “Baronens udenlandsrejse,” 114–115.
- 108 Passages of the article are transcribed in Haberland, “Diese Indianer sind falsch,” 50–53. Maria Cronau’s experiences with the group is also mentioned in Cole, *Captured Heritage*, 72; and Ames, *Hagenbeck’s Empire*, 53.
- 109 Cole, *Captured Heritage*, 72.
- 110 Jacobsen, *Kaptein Jacobsens reiser*, xxix.
- 111 Dittrich and Rieke-Müller, *Carl Hagenbeck*.
- 112 Ames, *Hagenbeck’s Empire*, 47.
- 113 Rivet and Lutz, this volume.
- 114 “De svenske lapper på Nordlandsutstillingen,” *Waren Sardne*, December 23, 1911.
- 115 Andreassen, “Baronens udlandsrejse,” 116. Translated from Danish by the author.
- 116 *Daily Colonist*, August 16, 1886.
- 117 “Samerne ved Hagenbecks Cirkus,” *Waren Sardne*, December 1, 1926.
- 118 “Samerne ved Hagenbecks Cirkus,” *Waren Sardne*, December 1, 1926.
- 119 See Bolz, Jacobsen’s bibliography, this volume.
- 120 “Die Lappen sind seit Jahrhunderten Christen. Das Bild stellt eine Lappenfamilie in ihrer mit einem Fenster versehenen Erdhütte am Weinachtsabend mit dem Christbaum.”
- 121 “Notice of death,” *Waren Sardne*, July 1, 1926. The other siblings were Elias and Daniel. On July 15 and August 15, the newspaper published an obituary of the boy. The last obituary was written by the Indian professor Gaurisankar. See also Baglo, “Samer på ville vege”, 147–149.
- 122 Brita Sjulsdotter (b. 1817) from Malå in Sweden died of cholera in Vienna on July 14, 1873, when employed by the firm Willardt and Böhle. During a tour in Germany in the 1930s a young girl died from tuberculosis. She had been hired by the company Carl Gabriel and Ludwig Ruhe. Evidently, she was buried at the same cemetery as the son of one of the North Sámi presenters hired by Ludwig Ruhe, one of Hagenbeck’s competitors, in 1924–25. Baglo, *På ville vege*, 298 and 151. See also Hætta, “Samer på utstilling i 1930,” 86–96.
- 123 Thode-Arora, “Abraham’s Diary,” 6. See also Rivet, this volume.
- 124 See Thode-Arora, this volume.

- 125 For examinations of the Sámi, see Bordier, “Instructions por la Laponie,” 404–406; Bordier,  
 “The Lapps of the Jardin d’Acclimatation”; Virchow, “Lappen,” 143–149.
- 126 Virchow, “Lappen,” 143–149.
- 127 The casts are kept in Gipsformerei, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. For a photographic reproduction, see Baglo, *På ville veget*, 182. The casts show Inger Gaup or Kirsten Andersdatter Sara and Mikkel Andersen Sara or Per Larsen Anti.
- 128 Bordier, “The Lapps.”
- 129 Edwards, *Raw Histories*, 131, 152.
- 130 Andreassen, “Baronens udlandsrejse,” 105. Translated from Danish by the author.
- 131 Andreassen, “Baronens udlandsrejse,” 121–122. Translated from Danish by the author.
- 132 Andreassen, “Baronens udlandsrejse,” 123. Translated from Danish by the author.
- 133 Personal communication John Henrik Eira, Kautokeino, March 2015. Translated from Norwegian by the author,
- 134 For more information on the Kautokeino uprising, see <https://snl.no/Kautokeino-oppr%C3%B8ret>.
- 135 Thorvaldsen and Glavatskaya, “Sergej Sergel’s Field Research,” 105–119. He is referring to Sámi ultimogeniture right.
- 136 Kramer, *Switchbacks*.
- 137 “Jottings of Bella Coola and District,” *Bella Coola Courier*, September 4, 1915.
- 138 Hager, *From Bella Coola to Berlin*.
- 139 See, for example, Moses, *Wild West Shows*; Raibmon, *Authentic Indians*; Zwack, *Inuit Entertainers*; Glass and Evans, *Return to the Land of the Head Hunters*; Penny, *Kindred by Choice*.
- 140 See, for example, Raibmon, *Authentic Indians*; Glass and Evans, *Return to the Land of the Headhunters*; Penny, *Kindred by Choice*; Baglo, “Rethinking Sami Agency.”
- 141 Baglo, “Rethinking Sami Agency.”
- 142 Latour, *Reassembling the Social*; Stengers, “Introductory Notes,” 183–196; Stengers, “*Cosmopolitics I*”.
- 143 Stengers, “Wondering About Materialism.”



**Figure 0.5:** Interior from the Jacobsen house at Risøya. June 2016. Photo: Mari Karlstad, The Arctic University Museum of Norway.



## 3. Jacobsen as Collector for Berlin's Royal Museum of Ethnology

Peter Bolz

**Abstract** In 1881, Johan Adrian Jacobsen was hired by Adolf Bastian, director of Berlin's Royal Ethnological Museum, for his first collecting trip. As an already experienced traveler and organizer of ethnic shows, he was sent to America's Northwest Coast and Alaska, later to Northeastern Asia and to Indonesia. Altogether he brought about 14,000 objects to Berlin. This chapter also addresses the questions of sources and what happened to Jacobsen's collections.

**Keywords** Berlin | Ethnological Museum | Adolf Bastian | collecting | British Columbia | Alaska | Indonesia

From 1877 on, Johan Adrian Jacobsen worked as an impresario and organized *Völkerschauen* (ethnic exhibits) for the animal trader and founder of the zoological garden in Hamburg, Carl Hagenbeck. At the same time, he started collecting ethnographic objects, because Hagenbeck wanted not only to show the public exotic people, but also to present their culture and way of life. Consequently, Hagenbeck's ethnic exhibits mostly included a large number of material objects. The organization of the *Völkerschau* with "Eskimo" from Greenland was meant at the same time to include the collection of objects that were regarded as typical of this culture and necessary for the way of life in Arctic conditions. Hagenbeck trusted Jacobsen to collect the appropriate objects; the only limit was their availability and the possibility of transporting them to Hamburg. In other words, Adrian Jacobsen was already an experienced collector of ethnographic objects before he started his career as a "professional collector" for the *Königliches Museum für Völkerkunde* (Royal Museum of Ethnology) in Berlin.

### THE SOURCES

Jacobsen was a collector not only of objects but also of documents, especially from his own career. He was obviously aware that he was living in a time of rapid changes

and that the way he was traveling in various parts of the world was in someway extraordinary. For this reason he kept diaries during all his major journeys, when he organized *Völkerschauen* and when he was on one of his collecting trips. He also kept all the letters that he received and all the photographs, contracts, and papers that documented his various activities.

In November 1933, when he had just turned 80, Jacobsen donated all this material to the city of Hamburg. The newspaper *Hamburger Fremdenblatt* reported about the event under the headline “Deutsch-Nordisches Archiv in Altona” (German-Nordic Archive in Hamburg-Altona):

Captain Adrian Jacobsen, for decades one of the most meritorious leaders of expeditions for Carl Hagenbeck, has collected during his extended voyages, which brought him, also on behalf of the Berlin Ethnological Museum, around the whole world, an immense body of the most valuable ethnographic, geographic, geological, and anthropological material. These treasures, completed with comprehensive diaries, a very respectable library, reports of his own experiences and a widely spread correspondence, were donated a while ago by Jacobsen to the German-Nordic Society Hamburg. This collection should be available to the public and should serve to extend the German-Nordic relations.<sup>1</sup>

The newspaper also reported that Jacobsen’s material was to be kept in the rooms of the Altona city archive and that the consul general and the vice consul of Norway were both among the honorary guests at this event.

Christine Chávez and Barbara Plankensteiner reconstructed the history of Jacobsen’s archive and collections, today kept in Hamburg’s *Museum am Rothenbaum* (MARKK), the former *Museum für Völkerkunde*.<sup>2</sup> When Altona became part of the city of Hamburg in 1938, the Jacobsen archive was handed over to the ethnological museum. In 1948, one year after Jacobsen’s death, several photographs and documents were given to the Hagenbeck archive and to the *Museum für Hamburgische Geschichte*.

Wolfgang Haberland, since 1952 head of the museum’s American department, arranged Jacobsen’s material in a way that he could use it for his own publications.<sup>3</sup> It contains not only Jacobsen’s diaries, but also more than 5,000 letters, manuscripts, bills, contracts, printed programs, newspaper clippings, etc. It also includes more than 1,700 photographs (positives, negatives, and reproductions), with around 1,000 of them from North and South America, with a focus on Alaska, Labrador, the Northwest Coast, and the Plains. Some of these photographs are published in the books by Wiebke Ahrndt and Eva König.<sup>4</sup>

The German ethnologist Hilke Thode-Arora was the first to make extensive use of Jacobsen's material for her book *Für fünfzig Pfennig um die Welt* (Around the world for 50 pennies) about Hagenbeck's *Völkerschauen*.<sup>5</sup> Wolfgang Haberland used it for his articles about the shows of the Bella Coola (Nuxalk) and the Sioux (Lakota) in Germany.<sup>6</sup> Since this time, more and more researchers like Ann Fienup-Riordan have utilized the archive for their special projects.<sup>7</sup> For a while, access became strictly limited, but in 2016, the museum started organizing and digitizing the material, and considerable parts of it are now available to the public. The book edited by France Rivet in 2019 is the first comprehensive publication of an important part of Jacobsen's diaries, supplemented by a selection of his letters and other documents.<sup>8</sup>

More material on Jacobsen as organizer of *Völkerschauen* is available in the archive of the Hagenbeck company in Hamburg.<sup>9</sup> Details about Jacobsen's collecting activities for Berlin can also be found in the correspondence between him and Adolf Bastian in the archive of the Ethnological Museum. This material has previously been used in publications by Kasten, Bolz and Sanner, and Fienup-Riordan. A critical view of "The Berlin Northwest Coast Collection" can be found in an article by Rainer Hatoum.<sup>10</sup>

Jacobsen also published two books about his collecting activities with the help of "ghostwriters," in which he gave detailed descriptions of his travels on the Northwest Coast and in Indonesia.<sup>11</sup> These publications proved to be nearly identical to his handwritten diaries from these journeys. In his books and other publications, Jacobsen often added a biography of himself, and in 1931 (he was seventy-eight at this time) he published a whole book with the title *Die weiße Grenze* (The white frontier) as a kind of summary of his life, dedicated solely to adventurous events.<sup>12</sup> This book, however, is not a systematic biography. In most parts, it is merely a collection of anecdotes and experiences during his travels in different parts of the world. The book has the subtitle *Abenteuer eines alten Seebären rund um den Polarkreis* (Adventures of an old sailor around the polar circle) and shows that Jacobsen saw himself in his old age primarily as a man of the sea and an adventurous traveler.

## JACOBSEN AND BASTIAN

During the 1880s, however, when Adrian Jacobsen was in his late twenties and started executing his long collecting trips for the museum in Berlin under the guidance of Adolf Bastian, he saw himself in a different way: He was traveling in the name of science! Not only did he collect objects from different indigenous groups, but he also described their activities and took part in many of their feasts and ceremonies. Some of them he described in detail, as well as he could as an ethnological layman. Most of the time he was accompanied by local guides and

translators, and he used the opportunity to ask them about the meaning of certain objects and ceremonies. From his descriptions it is obvious that he was not free of prejudices. Just like his fellow citizens, scientists, and laymen alike, Jacobsen believed in the supremacy of Western civilization. Consequently, he traveled not only in the name of science but also as a European who was constantly aware of his superiority to the “savages” he met.

Jacobsen made his collecting trips for Berlin’s *Royal Museum of Ethnology* (Fig. 3.1) under the orders of its director, Adolf Bastian, from whom he received precise directions where he should collect and what kind of objects were important to the museum. In addition, he received orders from members of the *Hilfscomité*, the organization which financed his travels. Jacobsen of course had the flexibility to make his own decisions during his travels, but since he didn’t have any kind of academic training, he was not allowed to do his own independent research—nor was he motivated to do so. Because Jacobsen already had proven himself a successful collector through his trips to Greenland and Labrador for Hagenbeck, Bastian obviously trusted that he would be equally successful in British Columbia and Alaska.



**Figure 3.1:** Royal Museum of Ethnology or *Königliches Museum für Völkerkunde* established in 1873. Unknown photographer, about 1905.

Adolf Bastian (1826–1905), who was director of the museum since 1876, was a trained physician (Fig. 3.2). He had traveled widely around the world between 1850 and 1858. During these travels he had noticed how quickly indigenous cultures and societies were changing under the influence of European colonialism and civilization. For him, the purpose of the museum in Berlin was therefore to

become a kind of salvage refuge in which the objects of these rapidly changing ethnic groups would be preserved.

According to Bastian's theory of *Elementargedanken* (elementary thoughts) the objects of non-literary societies had the same value as written documents in so-called civilized societies. For him even the most trivial object from the culture of a non-literate society was an expression of this people's elementary way of thinking. To understand the cultures of these societies, it was necessary to preserve the complete inventory of their material culture, and not only to collect selected works of art, as the practice had been so far. Only in this way was it possible to draw conclusions about their original pre-European form of culture.<sup>13</sup>

Consequently, Bastian wanted to collect as many objects as possible for the museum, and more specifically objects which were considered to be untouched by the influence of European civilization and perceived to represent the aboriginal, "prehistoric" state of these indigenous people. Objects of stone, bone, horn, wood, plant-fibers, and other "natural" materials were in particular deemed to meet these expectations.

Due to his powers of persuasion, Bastian was able to convince people during his travels in all parts of the world to donate their ethnological or archaeological collections to the Berlin Museum or encouraged colonial officers and travelers to collect directly for Berlin. As a consequence, the ethnological collections in Berlin grew so dramatically under Bastian's directorship that the newly built *Königliches Museum für Völkerkunde* (Royal Museum of Ethnology), which opened in December 1886, was overfilled in a short time.



**Figure 3.2:** Adolf Bastian (1826–1905), the director at the Royal Museum of Ethnology in Berlin. Photo by Adolf Halwas, Berlin, 1880.

## COLLECTING IN GREENLAND

In February 1877, Jacobsen came from Chile to Hamburg, where his older brother had settled. Searching for employment, he immediately contacted the zoo purveyor and trader of animals, Carl Hagenbeck, when he learned that he wanted to bring a family of “Eskimos” from Greenland to Europe, together with a collection of ethnological objects.

After all the bureaucratic obstacles were overcome, Jacobsen arrived at the west coast of Greenland on July 6, 1877. In the trading post of Omenak he was able to purchase the first objects. On July 20 he arrived at Godhavn (Qeqertarsuaq), where he collected more objects, and on July 22 he came to Jacobshavn. There he was able to hire a group of six indigenous Greenlanders (Kalallit, only in Canada do they call themselves Inuit). “As soon as I could be sure that I could get people from there to Europe, I started collecting ethnographic objects, bought large and small hide-boats, tents, dogs, sleds, hunting and fishing equipment, jewelry, clothing, tools etc.”<sup>14</sup> Hilke Thode-Arora describes Jacobsen’s further activities from his diaries:

On August 1<sup>st</sup> he had the Eskimo examined by a doctor and they were vaccinated; all were healthy. He spent the next days collecting more ethnographic objects and waiting for the arrival of the inspector. On August 16 he arranged his book-keeping and copied the contracts. His expenses for ethnographic objects were 2000 (Danish) crowns. On August 19 the inspector finally arrived, and after everything was arranged, Jacobsen and the Eskimo left Jacobshavn.”<sup>15</sup>

In Hamburg, thousands of visitors came to see the Greenlanders, their objects, and way of living. Afterwards the tour went to Paris. As Jacobsen remarks: “Never before was such a complete ethnographic collection shown in Paris.”<sup>16</sup> The tour went on to Brussels, Cologne, Berlin, Dresden, again to Hamburg, and from there back to Copenhagen. According to Jacobsen, the Greenlanders had received an amount of 600 crowns (in fact, it was much more), which surpassed their expectations, and in July 1878 they arrived safely in their home country.<sup>17</sup>

It was important for Hagenbeck and Jacobsen not only to attract lots of visitors to these ethnic shows, but also to engage the scholarly world. The Berlin Society of Anthropology, Ethnology and Prehistory played a key role in this, and there were special presentations arranged for their members. Bastian was one of the founding fathers of the society, but the most prominent member was Rudolf Virchow, physician and anthropologist. He used every opportunity to examine and measure these foreign people. Besides this, photographs were taken, and sometimes even

plaster casts of their faces were made. This cooperation was of advantage to both sides: the anthropologists and ethnologists gained interesting scientific knowledge without having to travel overseas, and Hagenbeck and Jacobsen were able to demonstrate that their *Völkerschauen* and the accompanying collections were of the utmost scientific value.<sup>18</sup>

Along with the Greenland group Jacobsen had collected ethnological objects for the first time, and this was a success. The collection remained in the possession of Hagenbeck, and he later resold it to the Museum of Ethnology in Berlin. For this reason, the collection is registered under the name of Hagenbeck, and Jacobsen is not mentioned as the collector, but the inventory book lists objects from Godhavn and Jacobshavn, where Jacobsen had bought parts of the collection.

The group Jacobsen recruited from Greenland in 1877, however, were not the first “Eskimo” brought to Europe. The presence of these people is known already from the 16<sup>th</sup> century and documented in the form of woodcuts, paintings, and detailed textual descriptions.<sup>19</sup> But Hagenbeck's first *Völkerschau* was fundamentally different from these early presentations: The public gained insights into these people's way of life, their housing, their methods of traveling, and how they adapted to the Arctic conditions. The objects were important expressions of this special Arctic way of life. The Greenlanders were to all appearances proud to present themselves and their special skills. The main attraction was the demonstration of the so-called Eskimo roll in their kayaks in a little pond.

The great success of this *Völkerschau* encouraged Hagenbeck and Jacobsen to repeat it with another Inuit group. In 1879 they bought a small ship named *Eisbär* (polar bear) to bring ethnic shows to Germany. Jacobsen sailed to the North, but this time he was not successful in Greenland. So, he set sail for Labrador, where he found eight Inuit who were willing to travel with him to Germany, and he toured various European cities, including finally Paris, with this group in 1880–81. However, this show ended in disaster because the group members had not been vaccinated, and one after the other died of smallpox.<sup>20</sup>

## COLLECTING ON THE NORTHWEST COAST

After the Labrador Inuit's deaths, both Hagenbeck and Jacobsen intended to quit the *Völkerschau* business. Since the ship *Eisbär* seemed to be useless for them, Jacobsen developed a plan to offer his services to the Royal Ethnological Museum in Berlin by carrying out a large collecting trip with his ship to various regions of the world.

He wrote a letter to Adolf Bastian with a detailed plan to travel for five years to different parts of the world. First, however, he wanted to reinforce the body of

the ship *Eisbär* with a layer of copper to make it suitable for traveling in tropical regions and then hire a crew of six Norwegian sailors. On his collecting trip he first wanted to sail to Patagonia and Tierra de Fuego, then to the Easter Islands and Polynesia, and from there to British Columbia and Alaska. He intended to spend the winter in Polynesia and the following summer in Kamchatka and Eastern Siberia. The final destination of the trip would be Melanesia.<sup>21</sup>

Jacobsen calculated that this trip would cost between 10,000 and 12,000 (German) marks per year. Bastian liked this plan, especially because he had visited all these regions of the world himself. He contacted the most important bankers in Berlin to raise this necessarily large sum of money, and they founded a committee called *Hilfscomité für Vermehrung der Ethnologischen Sammlungen* (Committee to increase the ethnological collections).<sup>22</sup>

The committee was a remarkable expression of the spirit of the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, called *Gründerzeit*: Maecenas (generous patrons of the arts) from Berlin were uniting to collect ethnological objects, and they were ready to lend an enormous sum of money for this purpose. The idea was that after the Royal Museum had bought the collection from the committee, the money would be returned to the *Hilfscomité* and it could be invested in new collecting trips. For Jacobsen's first trip, which lasted from July 1881 to November 1883, the committee paid altogether the enormous sum of 23,720 marks, including the purchase and transportation of the collections.<sup>23</sup>

While Jacobsen was still busy outfitting the ship, he learned that Bastian had changed his plans. He describes this situation in one of his published biographies:

One day I was called to Berlin by telegraph where I got orders to go to America on a steamer and leave behind my beautiful ship because I should start collecting in British Columbia by the summer of 1881. The reason for this measure was that in Bremen there was also an expedition preparing to go to British Columbia and Eastern Siberia, and we wanted to forestall it.<sup>24</sup>

This Bremen expedition referred to was that which the geographers Dr. Aurel and Dr. Arthur Krause were preparing on behalf of the Bremen Geographic Society. Actually, this was primarily an ethnological expedition with a nearly one-year stationary sojourn among the Tlingit on the northern Northwest Coast. The result was a comprehensive monograph about the Tlingit.<sup>25</sup> Jacobsen, in contrast, was commissioned to collect objects from the entire Northwest Coast and afterwards from Alaska and document the origin of these pieces. He was not expected to conduct further scholarly investigations because he didn't have the appropriate education. But this didn't keep him from doing his own ethnological observations and recording them in his journals.



Bastian, however, had even more important reasons for sending Jacobsen directly to the Northwest Coast instead of having him spend several years sailing around the world on the ship *Eisbär*. In an article in the periodical *Globus*, Bastian explains this rather precisely. At the end of one of his long journeys, which had taken him between 1878 and 1880 to India, Indonesia, Australia, and Polynesia, he arrived in Portland, Oregon, on the west coast of the United States. There he met William Healey Dall, a naturalist who had traveled to Alaska for the Smithsonian Institution between 1865 and 1868 and had published a study of the tribal distribution in this region.<sup>26</sup> During his meeting with Dall in 1880, Bastian already received *mancherlei werthvolle Winke* (various valuable advice), as a result of his colleague's specialist knowledge and expertise.<sup>27</sup> From one of Dall's letters, however, Bastian learned of the *Schreckensbotschaft* (terrifying message) that it might already be too late for collecting in this region, "because of the accumulating increase of the international traffic; even in barely developed areas the Natives are succumbing to the foreign influences very quickly." Bastian feared that the tourists might buy the last curios even before the museums are able to deposit these objects at their *Schatzkammern systematischer Sammlungen* (treasure houses of systematic collections).<sup>28</sup>

The Canadian geologist George M. Dawson, who had published several studies about the Haida of the Queen Charlotte Islands (today Haida Gwaii) in 1880, was another authority for Bastian. According to Suttles and Jonaitis he was the most well-known Haida expert of his time. Bastian must have drawn from his works – which he quotes in his article – that the Haida still lived in their traditional way on their secluded islands, and for this reason he wanted to send Jacobsen directly to this tribe.<sup>29</sup> Jacobsen described the new situation with the following words: "My instructions were that I should travel first to the Queen Charlotte Islands ... and collect and buy there."<sup>30</sup>

On August 26, 1881, Jacobsen arrived in San Francisco, where he approached the company Gutte and Frank, which delivered to him the necessary trading goods and was willing to ship the boxes with his collections back to Berlin.<sup>31</sup> Interesting enough, Jacobsen does not mention what kind of trading goods he obtained. He never says that he traded objects for these goods. Throughout his whole trip along the Northwest Coast, he only mentions that he *bought* objects. And this suggests that he paid money for nearly everything he collected. And he constantly complains that the indigenous peoples are charging such high prices for their old objects.

On the Northwest Coast as well as in Alaska, the monetary economy already had spread among the indigenous peoples, and Jacobsen had to accept that most of them had a clear idea of the value of their objects. This is no surprise since these

people had already been trading objects widely in pre-European times. In addition, the demand for objects for museum collections had increased, with the effect that Jacobsen often heard that other collectors had been there before him. This was another explanation for him as to why they charged such high prices.

Because he couldn't find a direct ship's passage from San Francisco to the Queen Charlotte Islands, Jacobsen decided to go first to Victoria on Vancouver Island. Accompanied by a German from Victoria, he was able to visit a nearby Indian camp and acquire his first objects: "The camp belonged to the Cowichan-Indians and I immediately started a trading business with them."<sup>32</sup>

Back in Victoria, Jacobsen didn't waste his time and tried to buy from the indigenous peoples living and working in the city as many ethnological items as possible.<sup>33</sup> It seems that Jacobsen's collecting activities were completely unsystematic. Bastian had instructed him *where* to collect, but obviously not *how* to collect. Bastian himself was an experienced collector. Bastian's desire was to acquire as many objects as possible in the shortest possible time, but careful documentation was not his priority. However, if today we criticize Jacobsen's poor documentation, we should also keep in mind that it was Adolf Bastian who did not ensure that Jacobsen knew the appropriate methodology for collecting. Nor did Bastian allow Jacobsen to take the necessary time for careful and professional documentation.

Near Victoria Jacobsen explored an old Indian graveyard. This time he did not take anything, but the investigation of indigenous burial sites is a frequent topic in Jacobsen's travelogue. It is obvious that Rudolf Virchow had instructed him to collect indigenous skulls and send them to Berlin to enrich his anthropological collection. Jacobsen is at first hesitant, and later he came into conflicts with the indigenous inhabitants, but when it was possible to take skulls without any risk, he took them, together with funeral objects and even mummies. He always justified it with the explanation that he was doing it in the name of science. Today we regard this as unlawful and highly questionable. But who in fact bears the real moral responsibility for this kind of collecting? The fact that Jacobsen had no higher education and especially no scientific training meant perhaps that he was particularly in thrall to science. At any rate, he tried everything to fulfill the wishes of Bastian and Virchow.

On September 10, 1881, Jacobsen left Victoria on a steamboat and two days later he arrived in Alert Bay, a village of the Kwakiutl (Kwakwaka'wakw). For the first time he saw the big houses made of cedar planks and the big crest poles erected in front of them. The steamer had a stop of one hour, and Jacobsen's traveling companion, the missionary Cunningham, helped him to collect: Cunningham went from house to house and asked the Kwakwaka'wakw to bring forward everything they had to sell. In this way Jacobsen was able to acquire a large number of ethnographic objects in a short time.<sup>34</sup>

The trip farther north brought him to the village of Bella Bella. Here he immediately saw a very special piece: a chief's settee (kind of armchair) elaborately carved and painted. Jacobsen explains:

Since this chief's settee was not for sale I ordered another one from the most renowned Indian wood carver from Bella Bella for the Berlin Royal Museum, and it was sent later through the friendly arrangement of the Hudson's Bay Company through Victoria to San Francisco, together with a beautiful carved Indian canoe made of cedar wood.<sup>35</sup>

This is one of the rare cases in which Jacobsen describes in his travelogue how he acquired single pieces in a way that they can be identified. The chief's settee and the canoe were later presented as extraordinary pieces in the exhibition at Berlin's *Museum für Völkerkunde*.<sup>36</sup> Lately, Canadian ethnologists were able to identify the "renowned Indian wood carver" from Bella Bella as "Captain Carpenter," whose other carvings can be found in Canadian museums.<sup>37</sup>

On September 14, 1881, Jacobsen arrived in Port Essington, an Indian settlement in Tsimshian territory, today one of the largest First Nations peoples in British Columbia. There he was able to buy several antique Tsimshian pieces in the shop of the missionary Cunningham himself. Among them were dance masks, stone axes, silver bracelets, and earrings, as well as model totem poles and Chilkat blankets.<sup>38</sup> These blankets, woven of mountain goat wool with elaborate designs, can only be worn by high-ranking chiefs. Many of these pieces are some of the most beautiful in Berlin's Northwest Coast collection, and Bastian published images of them in his various publications of Jacobsen's collection.<sup>39</sup> In Port Essington Jacobsen packed the objects he had acquired so far in crates and sent them to Berlin, together with some letters. At their destination these objects were enthusiastically received. Nobody had seen such interesting and well-carved pieces before.

From Port Essington on the mainland, Jacobsen started to cross over to the Queen Charlotte Islands in a boat. As mentioned, Bastian considered these islands to be the most promising part of the trip. Jacobsen described his arrival after a stormy passage in the following words:

I entered this group of islands with great expectations. The eyes of the ethnologists perceived them as the land of enchantment. Among the problems of ethnological research on the Northwest Coast of North America which can be solved through studies of the Queen Charlotte Islands and their inhabitants, the Haida Indians, this one is the most mysterious and comprehensive.<sup>40</sup>

Jacobsen's phrase seems to express the ideas of Adolf Bastian, who hoped to find the Haida still in their "original," pre-European social and cultural conditions. It remains completely incomprehensible, however, what kind of "mystery" Bastian expected to be solved. Obviously, Jacobsen did not completely understand Bastian's complex theoretical reflections. The translation of Jacobsen's book by Erna Gunther provided even more confusion, because she misinterpreted Jacobsen's words and wrote that the Haida were "most secretive and uncommunicative."<sup>41</sup>

The Haida, however, who seemed to Jacobsen—and foremost to Bastian—to live in isolation from European civilization on their little islands, had an unpleasant surprise for him: They charged enormously high prices for their objects. Sailors and tourists arriving on steamers going north all bought Haida "curiosities" as souvenirs, and this led to increasingly high prices. Nevertheless, Jacobsen was enthusiastic about the woodcarvings of the Haida and referred to them as a "community of artists."<sup>42</sup>

At the Haida village of Masset, Jacobsen was able to purchase the largest object of his collection: a more than eight-meters-high crest pole (totem pole). A chief with the name Stilta or "Captain Jimm" was willing to sell it because he had converted to Christianity. Mr. Mackenzie, head of the Hudson's Bay Company trading post, helped him to organize the transportation to Berlin. Later Mackenzie sent a precise description of the pole in which he mentioned that the central part with the depiction of a "medicine woman" (today interpreted as "shaman's mother-in-law") was made by the famous carver Albert Edward Edenshaw.<sup>43</sup>

Until World War II this pole stood as one of the showpieces of the North American collection in the lit courtyard of the Berlin Ethnological Museum,<sup>44</sup> but at the end of the war it unfortunately fell into the hands of the Russians, who took it to Leningrad as war booty. After its return to Berlin in August 1990, the beak and wings of the eagle figure on top of it were missing, and its paintwork had weathered away.<sup>45</sup>

After his stay with the Haida, Jacobsen again went south to Vancouver Island where he met George Hunt at Fort Rupert. Hunt became an important translator, guide, and informant for him as he later would be for Franz Boas. For the first time Jacobsen heard something about the *Hamatsa* or cannibal society of the Kwakwaka'wakw and tried to learn as much as possible about this secret society. He was even able to purchase two large masks from the society, representing two of the bird-monsters which appear in their "cannibal dances." These were the first masks of this kind known to ethnology. Bill Holm, the renowned specialist of Northwest Coast material culture, expressed it in this way:

The Hamatsa dance has a very ancient tradition, but the first masks were only known to us in 1881 through captain Adrian Jacobsen's collection for the Berlin museum. Since this time a lot of fieldwork studies have brought to light an unusual large number of Hamatsa masks of different kinds, styles and epochs.<sup>46</sup>

These masks represent three basic figures: the “Man Eating Raven,” *Hochhughch* (Huxwhukw) with the long beak, and “Crooked Beak of Heaven” with wide mouth, large nostrils, and a crooked nose. The two masks Jacobsen bought are illustrated in his book and named as “two Hametzen dance masks, raven and sea-monster.”<sup>47</sup> The raven is in fact the “Man Eating Raven,” and what he called a sea-monster is actually an early form of “Crooked Beak of Heaven.” Both are decorated with little wooden human skulls and associated with the “Cannibal-at-the-North-End-of-the-World.”<sup>48</sup>

Near the village of Koskimo on Vancouver Island, Jacobsen found a burial place from which he took two skulls of so-called longheads. This special kind of head deformation was a privilege of the aristocratic society and therefore seen as a rarity for physical anthropologists. For this reason, Jacobsen didn't hesitate to take the skulls for “scientific reasons.”<sup>49</sup>

In November 1881, Jacobsen traveled along the west coast of Vancouver Island, inhabited by different groups of Nootka (Nuu-chah-nulth). Because of stormy and cold weather, the trip was especially hard. He was able to acquire some very old clubs made of whale bone, weapons, and the typical coats made of cedar bark.<sup>50</sup> “I sometimes made somehow risky tours of which I would have normally shied back if I hadn't the flame of my eagerness for collecting in my breast,” Jacobsen remarked regarding the awful traveling conditions.<sup>51</sup> In the land of the Nuu-chah-nulth Jacobsen had the opportunity to see several of their winter dances, among them the dance of the Thunderbird, which he wrongly interpreted as the dance of the Firebird, a figure from Slavonian mythology.<sup>52</sup>

Jacobsen had even more opportunities to watch the winter dances of the Kwakwaka'wakw where masked dancers could be seen as bears, eagles, or wolves.<sup>53</sup> He also sponsored a feast, and at this opportunity the “head chief of Fort Rupert” gave him the Kwakwaka'wakw name *Sull-qutl-ant*, in Jacobsen's interpretation *Einer, der von einem Stern zum andern läuft* (The one who walks from one star to another).<sup>54</sup> As Jacobsen traveled from the European continent to America it could obviously also be interpreted as “The one who sails from one continent to another.”

During his last days on Vancouver Island, Jacobsen “collected” some weather-worn wooden masks and several skulls from graveyards at the eastern side of the island. Near the city of Nanaimo, he bought a very beautiful blanket made of mountain goat and dog hair which was decorated with colorful geometric patterns. This was the first and only blanket of this kind he ever saw.<sup>55</sup>

## TRIP TO ALASKA AND BACK IN BERLIN

On May 13, 1882, Jacobsen was again back in San Francisco. There he received written instructions to continue his collecting activities in Alaska. Now he had to

make preparations for a stay of one and a half years. The necessary funds were sent to him through telegraphic money order.<sup>56</sup>

Jacobsen went up north with a schooner hired by a group of gold-diggers and arrived at Unalaska on July 16. There he was welcomed by Rudolf Neumann, the agent of the Alaska Commercial Company, who was of German origin. There he also met Henry D. Woolfe, a newspaper reporter who accompanied him later during his travels. Woolfe referred to Jacobsen as “the Ethnologist of the Royal Berlin Museum,” a title Jacobsen would also have liked to have retained back in Berlin.<sup>57</sup>

From Unalaska Jacobsen traveled to Fort St. Michael in Western Alaska near the mouth of the Yukon River. He used this outpost as a starting point for his various travels into Alaska’s interior regions. In her book *Yup’ik Elders at the Ethnologisches Museum Berlin*, Ann Fienup-Riordan has discussed Jacobsen’s Alaskan travels in great detail. She describes his way of traveling and collecting as well as the objects he sent to the Ethnological Museum in Berlin.

In the summer and fall of 1882 he traveled 900 miles inland into the Yukon in a boat, and in April 1883 he traversed the tundra with a dogsled to the delta of the Kuskokwin, crossed over to the mountains going south, and finally reached the trading post Togiak at Bristol Bay. From there he traveled by ship along the coast, traversed the isthmus to Cook Inlet, and sailed further to Kodiak Island and Prince William Sound. During these trips he acquired approximately 4,000 objects which can be divided about equally among the two language groups, Yup’ik and Inupiaq.<sup>58</sup> No other collection made by Adrian Jacobsen has so far been studied and published so thoroughly as the one from Alaska, especially the part from the Yup’ik people.<sup>59</sup>

On September 22, 1883, Jacobsen returned from his Alaskan trip and arrived again in San Francisco. New tasks awaited him, however, and he was given no chance to go back to Europe immediately. Among the letters he received from Germany was one by Isidor Richter, the head of the *Hilfskomité*, in which he was commissioned to go to Arizona and collect objects from some Southwestern tribes, especially the Yuma, Mohave, Yaqui, and Navajo.<sup>60</sup> A letter from Bastian also advised him to collect from the Zuni, Hopi, and other Pueblo Indians. Jacobsen wrote to Bastian that he had no great hopes for collecting much from the Zuni and Apaches, “but I will do my best, for among people so barbarically treated by whites, one must stay a while before one can collect things.”<sup>61</sup>

It is obvious that Jacobsen at this point was tired of traveling and collecting and he simply wanted to go home. Nevertheless, he went to Arizona, where he acquired about 180 objects from various tribes. Stops along the way on his round trip through Arizona included Fort Yuma on the Colorado River, Gila, Phoenix, and Tucson. He also bought some pieces from “curio-dealers,” which included excavated objects and some Pueblo ceramics.<sup>62</sup> Afterwards he went to Washington to visit the Smithsonian

Institution, before he arrived in Berlin via New York and Hamburg on November 23, 1883.<sup>63</sup> One day later, on November 24, the Berlin Anthropological Society under the chairmanship of Rudolf Virchow held a meeting in which Jacobsen reported for the first time on his travels to the Northwest Coast of North America and presented several objects from his collection to the members.<sup>64</sup>

Back in Berlin, Jacobsen was praised for the wonderful things he had collected. After the first crates with Kwakiutl masks had arrived in Berlin, Bastian immediately started editing a large-format picture book with colored lithographs of the best Northwest Coast pieces.<sup>65</sup> In his article about Jacobsen's collection, Bastian wrote enthusiastically that they had found the right man who, instead of staying on the coast, was willing to step vigorously forward into the interior of the land on paths no European had walked before. And he added: "*Und so finden wir uns jetzt glänzend versorgt, eben vor Thoresschluß noch, in elfter Stunde*" (Now we find ourselves splendidly furnished, right before the gate is closed, in the eleventh hour).<sup>66</sup>

The Jacobsen collection from the Northwest Coast (Fig. 3.3) comprises about 2,100 registered numbers in the inventory books and entails an actual object count of over 3,000 pieces. In Alaska (Fig. 3.4), he collected from various Subarctic people, about 300 pieces from the Ingalik and about 60 from the Tanaina (Dena'ina), located near the present city of Anchorage.<sup>67</sup> The bulk of material, however, about 4,000 pieces, came from the Alaskan Yup'ik and Inupiaq.<sup>68</sup>



**Figure 3.3:** The Jacobsen collection in Berlin from the Northwest Coast comprises about 2,100 registered numbers in the inventory books and entails an actual object count of over 3,000 pieces. Unknown photographer, 1926.



**Figure 3.4:** In Alaska, Jacobsen collected from various Subarctic people, about 300 pieces from the Ingalik and about 60 from the Tanaina (Dena'ina), located near the present city of Anchorage. Unknown photographer, 1926.

Jacobsen spent the first months of 1884 unpacking the boxes he had shipped to Berlin and registering the objects. A few of them still bear the original cardboard labels on which Jacobsen wrote down the most important information while he was collecting them. These labels were the basis for the more detailed text he wrote on the museum file cards. The texts were written either from memory or from descriptions in his diary. As one can imagine, many mistakes must have crept into the writing.

At the same time, Jacobsen was busy transforming his journal into a travel book. As a Norwegian, he needed the assistance of a professional writer to bring everything into the right form. With Bastian's help he found August Woldt (not Adrian Woldt, as Erna Gunther claims), a scientific journalist and member of the Berlin Anthropological society. Ann Fienup-Riordan has carefully researched the details of this collaboration as well as Jacobsen's accession records.<sup>69</sup> There is much to say about the inconsistency of Jacobsen's methods, but we should not forget that "fieldwork," as we know it today, had not been invented yet.



His most ardent critic was the young ethnologist Franz Boas, who worked for a while in the museum as Bastian's assistant and researched Jacobsen's collection. He wanted to understand which ideas were hidden behind the masks, but he found Jacobsen's documentation completely inadequate in this respect. With his subsequent field research among the Kwakwaka'wakw it became clear to Boas that it is not enough simply to list the name of the tribal group or village, as much of the information about particular ceremonial objects was known only by the families to which the objects belonged. In an 1886 letter to his Berlin friend and colleague Felix von Luschan, Boas wrote from Vancouver Island: "Heaven forgive the sins committed by earlier collectors. The masks, when their stories are not simultaneously collected here, will remain for the most part forever incomprehensible."<sup>70</sup> Ann Fienup-Riordan's conclusion about Jacobsen's collecting methods, based on a contemporary and contextual perspective, is much milder:

It would be easy, based on long-term fieldwork and information obtained from living elders, to point out the numerous errors and inconsistencies in Jacobsen's accession records for Yup'ik objects. Instead, the body of this book attempts to search out and highlight the original information found there. While Jacobsen was certainly no Boas or Nelson, he included much that is useful. Many masks, for example, are accompanied by long, rambling accounts that, while not entirely accurate, make clear how complex their original stories were.<sup>71</sup>

After years of traveling and collecting for the Royal Ethnological Museum in Berlin, and after the publication of his travel report in 1884, Jacobsen hoped to get a permanent position at the museum as an assistant. Bastian made him many promises, but there was always a reason to postpone a final decision, mostly, of course, because of the lack of financial resources. But did Bastian really want him at the museum? Bastian praised him as a collector, but never as a scholar. There is a preface in Jacobsen's first book, but it was written by August Woldt, his "ghost-writer," not by Adolf Bastian. And in Jacobsen's second book about his travels to the "Banda-Sea,"<sup>72</sup> the preface was written by Rudolf Virchow, again not by Bastian. He needed Jacobsen as a traveler and collector, but apparently not by his side in a scholarly institution like the museum. Again, Ann Fienup-Riordan seems to be able to sum up the situation with the right words:

Although he had proved himself a capable 'man of action,' his immigrant standing and social class put definite limits on his rise in the museum world, Bastian's encouraging words notwithstanding. More serious still were his 'rough speech' and lack of formal education. The fieldwork of educated men

such as Boas and Nelson was informed by their scholarship, whereas Jacobsen remained ‘Bastian’s traveler’, always acting under instructions.<sup>73</sup>

## JACOBSEN IN NORTHEASTERN AND SOUTHEASTERN ASIA

While Jacobsen was unpacking his last box at the museum on April 18, 1884, Bastian and the *Hilfscomité* had already made plans for his next collecting trip. This time they wanted to send him to Siberia, the Amur region, and Sakhalin, the island in Russia’s far east. He left Berlin at the end of May 1884, and over the next twelve months he gathered an enormous quantity of objects on the way. He first collected from the Finns living along the Volga, crossed the Kirgiz Steppe, visited the Altai Kalmucks, then turned to the still-pagan Buryats on the upper Lena River, finally reaching the Amur River region. He traveled downriver by steamer and rented boat, collecting among the Goldi (today Nanai). From the mouth of the Amur, he traveled to Sakhalin for the winter. Returning to mainland Asia, he traveled through Korea, finally making a side trip to Japan.<sup>74</sup>

Jacobsen didn’t have the time and opportunity to write a book about this trip to Northeastern Asia in 1884–85 because after his return he was again busy arranging the next *Völkerschau*. Instead, he handed his diaries over to the high school teacher Otto Genest from Halle (near Leipzig), who was obviously a specialist in Eastern Asian ethnology. Between 1887 and 1890 Genest published a series of articles about Jacobsen’s Northeast Asian voyages in the periodical *Globus*. Genest states that he also consulted Jacobsen’s collections at the museum, but unfortunately, he does not provide much information about them.<sup>75</sup> His articles are not a chronology of Jacobsen’s travels, but descriptions of the ethnic groups Jacobsen did his collecting among. In each article he provides information about the hardships Jacobsen had to overcome to reach a specific ethnic group, followed by an overview of the ethnology of this group. His basic sources are, of course, Jacobsen’s diaries, but he also consulted the ethnological literature available at the time.

Genest starts the series with a report of “Die Burjaten” (the Buryats) and especially emphasizes Jacobsen’s descriptions of the shamanistic practices of these people.<sup>76</sup> His second report deals with the Koreans living in Russian territory. He also mentions Jacobsen’s collecting practices, which mostly end with the traveler’s complaint about the high prices the people demanded for their objects.<sup>77</sup> Genest continues with Jacobsen’s visit in the land of the “Golden” (today Nanai), and he mentions that they are very honest, and that Jacobsen did not lose any of his trade goods or any of his equipment among them.<sup>78</sup>

In Genest’s report about Jacobsen’s travels in the region of the “Giljaken” (today Niwchen) and at Sakhalin Island, the description of the bear’s feast, the most

important religious event during the year, is the focus of the attention.<sup>79</sup> He also mentions Jacobsen's hardships during his trip with dogsleds through Sakhalin, and the chapter ends the following way:

If you think of all the dangers and hardships Jacobsen went through during his expedition to Sakhalin, one should acknowledge his excellent achievements, with very few resources, and that he has developed activities in which he sacrificed himself in the service of science, especially for the Ethnological Museum in Berlin.<sup>80</sup>

Genest ends his series about Jacobsen's travels with the description of a visit to the village of the Kirgiz people in the middle of the steppe. He emphasizes Jacobsen's success in obtaining beautiful carpets from these very hospitable and trustworthy people.<sup>81</sup>

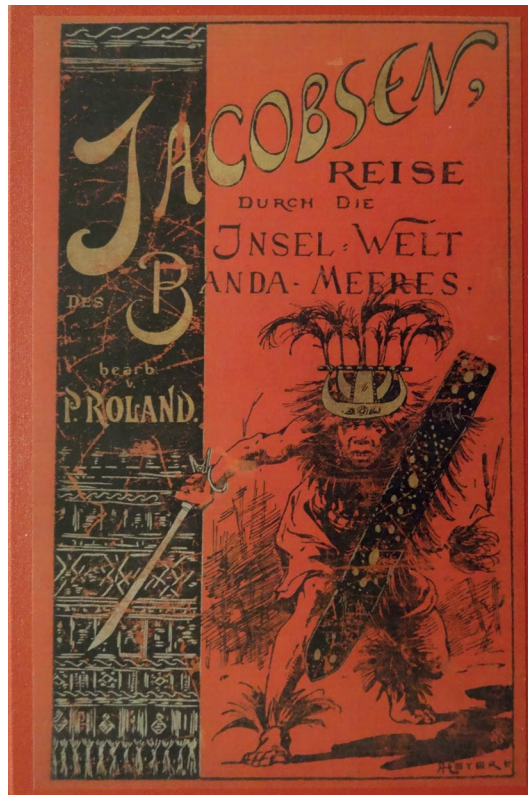
During his trip to Northeastern Asia Jacobsen again demonstrated that he was able to travel under difficult and extreme conditions, to adapt to a very cold climate, and to be able to deal properly with indigenous people, even in dangerous situations. Alone the fact that he was still alive when he returned to Berlin is admirable! Until today, however, not much attention has been paid to Jacobsen's collection from Northeastern Asia. Peter Thiele, the former head of the Eastern Asian department of the museum in Berlin-Dahlem, does not even mention it in his 1973 article about the collections of his department.<sup>82</sup>

In 1885, Jacobsen and his younger brother Bernhard Filip, by then a resident of British Columbia, toured with the Bella Coola (Nuxalk) *Völkerschau* through Europe. In between, on November 21, 1885, he married his fiancée Alma Hedwig Klopfer in Dresden. In 1886, when the new building of the Ethnological Museum finally opened, Jacobsen made a new effort to secure a position there, but Bastian turned him down again. Instead, he offered him a new collecting trip, this time to the "Indian Archipelago" (Dutch East Indies, today Indonesia), together with the ornithologist H. Kühn.

They departed from Hamburg on October 1, 1887, and arrived in Singapore on November 11. From there they traveled to Macassar, where they purchased a boat. In spite of the fact that Jacobsen hated the tropical heat and contracted malaria, he traveled for more than a year in this region, going from one island to the next and collecting what he could get. His collecting methods were very similar to those in British Columbia, Alaska, and Siberia. He loaded his boat full of trading goods which he exchanged for ethnological objects. From Makassar he went to Celebes, the Djampea islands, Bonerate, Flores, Adonare, Alor, Wetar, Kissar, Leti, Luang, Babar, Kei, Tenimbar (Timorlaut), and Timor. When he came back to Hamburg

on September 11, 1888, he was very sick and had to get serious medical treatment. The doctor told him to go to a “Nordic climate” as soon as possible. Jacobsen on his side swore he’d never again travel to any tropical area.<sup>83</sup>

In 1896, Jacobsen published a book about this Indonesian trip, also with the help of a “ghostwriter,” the journalist Paul Roland (Fig. 3.5). In his preface, the aforementioned physician and anthropologist Rudolf Virchow praised the skills of Jacobsen as a “successful collector” and expressed hopes that he would soon find a “new use.”<sup>84</sup> In one of the first chapters Jacobsen reflects on the hardships of this trip and asks himself the question, why is he doing this? His answer is very much in accordance with Bastian, as he explains to the reader that the objects, once kept safely in the museum, will increase in value, because “in twenty years from now” these people will not exist anymore, or their culture will have changed dramatically.<sup>85</sup>



**Figure 3.5:** The front cover of Jacobsen’s *Reise durch die Insel-Welt des Banda-Meeress* (Voyage to the islands of the Banda Sea) published in 1896. The book was written with the help of the journalist Paul Roland and contains a preface by the famous German physician and anthropologist Rudolf Virchow, who praises the skills of Jacobsen as “successful collector” and expresses hopes that he would soon find a “new use”.

In contrast to his collection from Northeastern Asia, Jacobsen's Indonesian collection is highly praised. As expressed by Gerd Höpfner, head of the Southeastern Asia department at the Ethnological Museum:

Among the Indonesian collections the one by J. Adrian Jacobsen ... is a rare exception. With 3,937 catalog-numbers it is the second largest of this department. But it is not only the number, but the quality and rarity of the objects as well as the reliable documentation which gives this collection its high importance.<sup>86</sup>

Höpfner also lists all those object groups, which have, from a scholarly point of view, the highest value: cult figures such as gods who protected people against illness and witchcraft, figures of ancestors, offering tools, snake- and dragon-like beings believed to heal and cause sickness, and objects used in various kinds of feasts. In addition, the collection includes rich samples of clothing, jewelry, weapons for hunting and war, tools, and household goods. In the same year the Kühn's collection was added, comprising more than 1,000 objects.<sup>87</sup>

In the following years, Jacobsen published several articles in various scholarly periodicals,<sup>88</sup> always in the hope of getting a position at the Ethnological Museum. But since Bastian was not willing to offer him one, Rudolf Virchow gave him the position as curator at his privately founded *Museum für deutsche Volkstrachten und Erzeugnisse des Hausgewerbes* (Museum of German Folk Costume and Products of Domestic Crafts) which opened in 1889.<sup>89</sup> Jacobsen tried his best to fulfill the expectations of a curator of German ethnology. He even published an article about "Peculiar Cult Objects in the Museum of German Folk Costumes,"<sup>90</sup> describing a sacred house shrine from Pomerania and other religious objects. However, since the museum was only funded by a few members of the Berlin Anthropological Society, it ran out of money and had to be closed one year later.<sup>91</sup>

In 1904, this collection was finally included into the Berlin Royal Museums as *Königliche Sammlung für deutsche Volkskunde* (Royal Collection of German Folk Lore). In 1934, it became an independent museum called *Museum für deutsche Volkskunde*, and in 1999, it was united with the European department of the Ethnological Museum and renamed *Museum Europäischer Kulturen* (Museum of European Cultures).<sup>92</sup> Rudolf Virchow is still regarded as the founding father of this museum, but Adrian Jacobsen, its first curator, is never mentioned in any of the publications about the history of this institution.

## JACOBSEN'S COLLECTIONS YESTERDAY AND TODAY

In an application to the Prussian Minister of Culture of May 5, 1926, Jacobsen asked for annual financial support because the inflation had annihilated all his savings, and at the age of 72 he was not able to find work.<sup>93</sup> He listed all his achievements for the Ethnological Museum and claimed that he had collected altogether approximately 13,000 to 14,000 objects, "all of them more or less valuable pieces," and he adds that "nearly one sixth of all museum objects were collected by myself."<sup>94</sup> In consideration of these merits, the Prussian State granted him a monthly pension of 80 Reichsmarks which was probably paid until the beginning of World War II, or at least until 1935.<sup>95</sup> But what happened to Jacobsen's collections after their arrival in Berlin?

Before the *Königliches Museum für Völkerkunde* (Royal Museum of Ethnology) officially opened in December 1886, the ethnological collections were exhibited and stored in three rooms in the so-called *Neues Museum* (New Museum) at Berlin's Museum Island.<sup>96</sup> This also means that Jacobsen's collection, when the first crates arrived in 1882, was sent to the ethnological department in this building, which was already overfilled with objects. What probably happened in 1884, when Jacobsen worked in the museum, was that the pieces were unpacked, registered, and packed again into the same crates. In 1885–86 they were unpacked again and placed in the newly built cases of the American department of the new *Museum für Völkerkunde*. At this time, no separate storage room existed. All the objects in the museum were exhibited in large glass cases. New acquisitions also had to be placed inside these cases, and in a short time after the opening of the museum they were again completely overfilled. This situation lasted until 1923, when a newly erected building in Berlin-Dahlem was used as a storage facility. In the museum building in the center of the city (near *Potsdamer Platz*) a new permanent exhibition was opened in 1926 which presented a selection of the ethnological collections. All the other objects, including the bulk of Jacobsen's collection, were stored far away in Berlin-Dahlem, one of the southwestern suburbs. The North American exhibition in the museum building had a large room in which the highlights of Jacobsen's Northwest Coast collection were shown. The larger wooden objects were presented in a free-standing fashion, the smaller ones in glass cases. The totem pole stood in the high courtyard. The Yup'ik masks and smaller pieces from Alaska were all displayed in glass cases.<sup>97</sup>

At the beginning of World War II, all the objects were packed away in crates and stored at various places in and outside of Berlin. After the war, the objects which were stored in the western part of Germany were returned to Berlin's Western sector, while the objects in the eastern part of Germany were taken by the Russians

as war booty and transported to Leningrad (St. Petersburg). In the 1970s, the Russians returned part of it to the German Democratic Republic, and these objects were stored at the ethnological museum in Leipzig. In 1990, after the reunification of Germany, they were returned to Berlin, and the formerly separated collections were reunited. However, the Russians did not return everything in the 1970s, and for this reason a considerable number of objects from Berlin's ethnological collection, including dozens collected by Jacobsen, are still being stored in a "secret" depot in St. Petersburg.

In the 1960s, the newly founded *Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz* (Prussian Cultural Heritage Foundation) built a new museum complex in Berlin-Dahlem. At this time the complex also included the museums of European art. Only after these museums were moved to Museum Island or to different newly built museums in the center of the city in the 1990s was there room for the Ethnological Museum to expand. It was consequently possible to create a new permanent exhibition of Native American cultures, which also included parts of the Jacobsen collection from the Southwest, from the Northwest Coast, and from Alaska. In this exhibition as well as in the accompanying catalog,<sup>98</sup> Jacobsen was for the first time presented as one of the most important collectors for the Ethnological Museum. The exhibition opened in November 1999 and was finally dismantled in April 2016. The reason for closing the North American exhibition was the newly planned *Humboldt Forum* in the reconstructed city castle in the center of Berlin, in which a complete new permanent exhibition of the Ethnological Museum's collection will be shown. In September 2022 the new American exhibitions were opened to the public. In a separate room a selection of Jacobsen's Northwest Coast collection is shown, and his collecting activities are critically reviewed. He is especially blamed for not considering the indigenous perspectives in his travel account he had published in 1884.

The only temporary exhibitions shown in Berlin which contained objects collected by Jacobsen were one about the Kwakiutl in 1990<sup>99</sup> and another one in commemoration of the discovery of America in 1992, which included a separate room with Northwest Coast objects.<sup>100</sup> Outside of Berlin, the ethnological museum in Hamburg borrowed about 30 Northwest Coast objects from Jacobsen's collection in 1979 for the exhibition *Donnervogel und Raubwal* (Thunderbird and Killer Whale). This was the first major exhibition in Germany in which "Indian Art from the Northwest Coast of North America" was presented.<sup>101</sup>

Except for the pieces shown in the above-mentioned exhibitions, Jacobsen's collections have remained in storage until today. Nobody was interested to work with them systematically or to publish them. Earlier publications, however, often included single pieces to illustrate a certain topic. Max Bartels, for example, used

several of Jacobsen's objects to illustrate his 1893 book *Medizin der Naturvölker* (Medicine of Native people).<sup>102</sup> Most importantly, Franz Boas illustrated his 1897 book on "Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians" with many objects from the Berlin Museum.<sup>103</sup> Different books on Native art like Eckehard von Sydow's *Die Kunst der Naturvölker und der Vorzeit* (Art of Native people and from prehistory) from 1923 used a selection of the finest pieces from Jacobsen's collection to demonstrate the artistic skills of the Northwest Coast and Arctic people.<sup>104</sup>

A turning point came in 1990 when Erich Kasten, a Berlin ethnologist, who did fieldwork among the Kwakwaka'wakw of Kingcome Inlet, included the collection history in his catalog about *Maskentänze der Kwakiutl* (Masked dances of the Kwakiutl), highlighting Jacobsen's and Boas's collections. In addition, Peter Bolz and Hans-Ulrich Sanner researched Jacobsen's activities for their respective chapters about the Southwest, the Northwest Coast, the Subarctic, and the Arctic collections in their exhibition catalog from 1999.

Special interest in Jacobsen's material from Western Alaska arose when the anthropologist Ann Fienup-Riordan from Anchorage, Alaska, visited the Berlin Museum in 1994. In the storage room of the American department, she saw those Yup'ik masks which had recently been returned from Leipzig and needed to be restored. For the first time she became aware of the huge Alaskan collection the museum possessed. As a consequence, a selection of twenty-two Yup'ik masks traveled to Anchorage in 1996 as part of the exhibition "The Living Tradition of Yup'ik Masks."<sup>105</sup> In September 1997 she brought a group of Yup'ik elders to Berlin as part of a research project on Jacobsen's Yup'ik part of his Alaskan collection. In several intensive work sessions, the elderly men and women evaluated almost every single one of the 2,000 Yup'ik pieces, while their commentaries in the Yup'ik language were documented on audio tape and video. The results of this unique project were published in 2005 in a large volume with hundreds of photographs of Jacobsen's Yup'ik objects, together with the elder's remarks and explanations.<sup>106</sup> Fienup-Riordan also researched the life and travels of Adrian Jacobsen for this volume which included the most comprehensive biography of him published so far.

In a much smaller book, Janet Klein from Homer in Southwestern Alaska deals with Jacobsen's collection from the Cook Inlet area and tries to "Unravel the Secrets of Soonroodna."<sup>107</sup> Soonroodna was an abandoned village site where Jacobsen dug for archaeological objects in June 1883. At a nearby graveyard, he "found" old masks and other things.<sup>108</sup> Recently, the Chugach Alaska Corporation claimed nine objects, among them two masks, a wooden idol, and a child's cradle, from Jacobsen's collection, which today belongs to the *Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz* (Prussian Cultural Heritage Foundation). Hermann Parzinger, the president of the foundation, officially stated: "At the time, these objects were taken without the



consent of the Alaska Natives and were therefore removed unlawfully from the graves of their deceased, so they do not belong in our museums.”<sup>109</sup>

The 1997 Yup'ik project represents without doubt the climax of scholarly work done so far on Jacobsen's collection. Most of his collections, which are stored in various departments of Berlin's Ethnological Museum, still need to be “rediscovered” and studied in a way that honors their importance and their great cultural value. Ann Fienup-Riordan has created a very useful model for how to do research in the museum with indigenous peoples, and all of Jacobsen's other collections need to be researched and published in a similar way.<sup>110</sup>

Rock bottom, however, was hit when the theater group *Das Helmi* performed the play *Der von einem Stern zum andern springt* (The one who jumps from one star to another) at the Ethnological Museum in Berlin-Dahlem in September 2014. This theater group is well known for its anarchic plays with self-made foam rubber puppets. The *Helmi* was hired by the director of the museum, Viola König, to develop a play about the adventures of Adrian Jacobsen during his collecting trip on the Northwest Coast as part of a series of experiments initiated by the so-called *Humboldt Lab Dahlem* in preparation for the planned move to the *Humboldt Forum*. The title of the play is the name Jacobsen received from the Kwakwaka'wakw chief near Fort Rupert on Vancouver Island.<sup>111</sup> Jacobsen's travelogue is full of adventurous and dangerous stories, but this was obviously not enough for the members of the *Helmi* group. Besides portraying Jacobsen as a notorious grave-robber, they created “funny” situations and invented a relationship between him and an “Indian princess.” Moreover, Adolf Bastian (who was not married and never showed any interest in women) had a “funny” love affair with Jacobsen's fiancée Hedwig. The peak of the play, however, was a “funny” mimicry of a potlatch feast in which the *Helmi* performers were completely naked, wearing grotesque foam rubber masks, jumping around, and throwing fake dollar bills into the air. The *Helmi* performed the potlatch, the most important traditional ceremony at the Northwest Coast, as if it were a wild orgy of naked savages.<sup>112</sup> Luckily, the play has not become part of the exhibition at the *Humboldt Forum*.

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## NOTES

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- 2 Chávez and Plankensteiner, "Johan Adrian Jacobsen's Archive," 277–282.
- 3 Haberland, *Donnervogel und Raubwal*, 229.
- 4 Ahrndt, *Rote Wolke, Blaues Pferd*; König, "Johan Adrian Jacobsen," 31–35.
- 5 See Thode-Arora, this volume.
- 6 Thode-Arora, *Für fünfzig Pfennig*; Haberland, "Diese Indianer sind falsch," 3–67; Haberland, "Adrian Jacobsen on Pine Ridge Reservation, 1910," 11–15.
- 7 Fienup-Riordan, *Yup'ik Elders*; see also Fienup-Riordan, this volume.
- 8 Jacobsen, "Voyage with the Labrador Eskimos." See also Rivet, this volume.
- 9 Dittrich and Rieke-Müller, *Carl Hagenbeck*; Kuenheim, *Carl Hagenbeck*; Gretzschel and Gille, *Hagenbeck. Ein zoologisches Paradies*; Ames, *Hagenbeck's Empire*, each with chapters on *Völkerschauen*.
- 10 Kasten, *Maskentänze der Kwakiutl*; Bolz and Sanner, *Native American Art*; Fienup-Riordan, *Yup'ik Elders*; Hatoum, "The Berlin Boas Northwest Coast Collection."
- 11 Jacobsen, *Capitain Jacobsen's Reise*; Jacobsen, *Reise in die Inselwelt des Banda-Meeress*.
- 12 Jacobsen, *Die weiße Grenze*.
- 13 For a more comprehensive understanding of Bastian's complex theories, see the introductions to Bastian, "Ausgewählte Werke"; Fischer, Bolz, and Kamel, *Adolf Bastian and His Universal Archive*; Köpping, *Adolf Bastian and the Psychic Unity of Mankind*.
- 14 Jacobsen, *Capitain Jacobsen's Reise*, 417.
- 15 Thode-Arora, *Für Fünfzig pfennig*, 70.
- 16 Jacobsen, *Capitain Jacobsen's Reise*, 417.
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- 18 Thode-Arora, *Für Fünfzig Pfennig*, 128.
- 19 Harbsmeier, *Stimmen aus dem äußersten Norden*.
- 20 Rivet, *In the Footsteps*. See Rivet, this volume.
- 21 Jacobsen, *Aus den Jugendjahren*, 176–177.
- 22 Westphal-Hellbusch, "Zur Geschichte des Museums," 66. Jacobsen, *Voyage with the Labrador Eskimos*, 76–77; Jacobsen, *Voyage with the Labrador Eskimos*, 177.
- 23 Westphal-Hellbusch, "Zur Geschichte des Museums," 68.
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- 26 Suttles and Jonaitis, "History of Research in Ethnology," 74.
- 27 Bastian, "Erwerbungen," 3.
- 28 Bastian, "Erwerbungen," 3.
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- 30 Jacobsen, *Capitain Jacobsen's Reise*, 2.
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- 35 Jacobsen, *Capitain Jacobsen's Reise*, 14.
- 36 Bolz and Sanner, *Native American Art*, 36, 172, figs. 21, 154.
- 37 McLennan and Duffek, "The Transforming Image," 220–241.
- 38 Jacobsen, *Capitain Jacobsen's Reise*, 18–19.
- 39 Bastian, *Amerika's Nordwest-Küste*.
- 40 Jacobsen, *Capitain Jacobsen's Reise*, 26.
- 41 Jacobsen, *Alaskan Voyage*, 17.
- 42 Jacobsen, *Capitain Jacobsen's Reise*, 27–30.
- 43 Jacobsen, *Capitain Jacobsen's Reise*, 38–44; see Bolz and Sanner, *Native American Art*, 177, fig. 160.
- 44 See Bolz and Sanner, *Native American Art*, 22, fig. 12.
- 45 See Bolz and Sanner, *Native American Art*, 47, fig. 30.
- 46 Holm, "Die Hámatsa-Masken der Kwakiutl," 47.
- 47 Jacobsen, *Capitain Jacobsen's Reise*, 56.
- 48 See Bolz and Sanner, *Native American Art*, 177–178, figs. 161, 162.
- 49 Jacobsen, *Capitain Jacobsen's Reise*, 62.
- 50 Jacobsen, *Capitain Jacobsen's Reise*, 79.
- 51 Jacobsen, *Capitain Jacobsen's Reise*, 83.
- 52 Jacobsen, *Capitain Jacobsen's Reise*, 108–112.
- 53 Jacobsen, *Capitain Jacobsen's Reise*, 121–123.
- 54 Jacobsen, *Capitain Jacobsen's Reise*, 128.
- 55 Jacobsen, *Capitain Jacobsen's Reise*, 139; see Bolz and Sanner, *Native American Art*, 182, fig. 167.
- 56 Jacobsen, *Capitain Jacobsen's Reise*, 143.
- 57 Jacobsen, *Capitain Jacobsen's Reise*, 150–152.
- 58 Bolz and Sanner, *Native American Art*, 218.
- 59 See Fienup-Riordan, *The Living Tradition of Yup'ik Masks and Yup'ik Elders*; for Jacobsen's Dena'ina collection, see Jones, Fall, and Legget, *Dena'inaq' Huch'iulyeshi*.
- 60 Jacobsen, *Capitain Jacobsen's Reise*, 399.
- 61 Letter to Bastian, October 8, 1883, Ethnologisches Museum Berlin, quoted in Fienup-Riordan, *Yup'ik Elders*, 19.
- 62 See Bolz and Sanner, *Native American Art*, 113–115, figs. 93, 94.
- 63 Jacobsen, *Capitain Jacobsen's Reise*, 399–404.
- 64 Jacobsen, "Reise nach der Nordwestküste von Amerika," 525–531.
- 65 Bastian, *Amerika's Nordwest-Küste*.
- 66 Bastian, "Erwerbungen," 3.
- 67 Bolz and Sanner, *Native American Art*, 196–197, figs. 182, 183.
- 68 Bolz and Sanner, *Native American Art*, 216–220, figs. 198–203.

- 69 Fienup-Riordan, *Yup'ik Elders*, 21–23.
- 70 Quoted in Kasten, “Masken, Mythen und Indianer,” 82.
- 71 Fienup-Riordan, *Yup'ik Elders*, 23.
- 72 Jacobsen, *Reise in die Inselwelt*.
- 73 Fienup-Riordan, *Yup'ik Elders*, 24.
- 74 Fienup-Riordan, *Yup'ik Elders*, 26.
- 75 Genest, “Die Burjaten,” 11.
- 76 Genest, “Die Burjaten,” 11–16.
- 77 Genest, “Kapitän Jacobsen's Besuch bei den Koreanern,” 59.
- 78 Genest, “Kapitän Jacobsen's Reisen im Lande der Golden,” 155.
- 79 Genest, “Kapitän Jacobsen's Reisen im Gebiete der Giljaken,” 380–381.
- 80 Genest, “Kapitän Jacobsen's Reisen im Gebiete der Giljaken,” 14.
- 81 Genest, “Ein Besuch in einem Kirgisenuhl,” 57, 58–60.
- 82 Thiele, “Abteilung Ostasien,” 259–290.
- 83 Jacobsen, *Reise in die Inselwelt*, 271.
- 84 Jacobsen, *Reise in die Inselwelt*, vii.
- 85 Jacobsen, *Reise in die Inselwelt*, 28.
- 86 Höpfner, “Abteilung Südasien,” 317.
- 87 Höpfner, “Abteilung Südasien,” 317.
- 88 See the list of Jacobsen's publications, this volume.
- 89 See Baglo and Holiman, this volume.
- 90 Jacobsen, “Eigentümliche Kultusgegenstände im Museum,” 825–826.
- 91 Fienup-Riordan, *Yup'ik Elders*, 28–29.
- 92 Karasek, *Faszination Bild*, 16.
- 93 Jacobsen, Letter to Preußischer Kulturminister, May 5, 1926.
- 94 Jacobsen, Letter to Preußischer Kulturminister, 2.
- 95 Jacobsen, Letter to Preußischer Kulturminister, and associated documents.
- 96 See Bolz, “Wie man die außereuropäische Welt.”
- 97 See Bolz and Sanner, *Native American Art*, 37–39, figs. 22–24.
- 98 Bolz and Sanner, *Native American Art*.
- 99 See the catalog by Kasten, *Maskentänze der Kwakiutl*.
- 100 See the catalog by Briesemeister *et al.*, *Amerika 1492-1992*.
- 101 See the catalog by Haberland, *Donnervogel und Raubwal*.
- 102 Bartels, *Die Medizin der Naturvölker*.
- 103 Boas, *The Social Organization and the Secret Societies*. See Hatoum, “The Berlin Boas Northwest Coast Collection,” 27–31.
- 104 Sydow, *Die Kunst der Naturvölker*.
- 105 Fienup-Riordan, *The Living Tradition of Yup'ik Masks*.
- 106 Fienup-Riordan, *Yup'ik Elders*.
- 107 Klein, *Kachemak Bay Communities*, 47–56.
- 108 Jacobsen, *Capitain Jacobsen's Reise*, 369–383.
- 109 Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz. 2017. “Ethnologisches Museum Returns Objects to Alaska Natives.” Press Release, Berlin, December 18, 2017. Bolz, “Rückkehr nach Alaska,” 211–222.
- 110 Sanner, “Yup'ik Eskimo Elders,” 285–293.
- 111 Jacobsen, *Capitain Jacobsen's Reise*, 128.
- 112 Jähner, “Umstrittene Ausstellung.” *Capitain Jacobsen's Reise* Berliner Zeitung, October 13, 2014.



**Figure 0.6:** Interior of the Jacobsen house at Risøya. On the right portraits of the Scandinavian polar explorers Fridtjof Nansen, Roald Amundsen, and Adolf Erik Nordenskiöld. Jacobsen's portrait is below. June 2016. Photo: Mari Karlstad, The Arctic University Museum of Norway.



## 4. Johan Adrian Jacobsen, Ethnic Shows, and the Hagenbeck Company

Hilke Thode-Arora

**Abstract** Johan Adrian Jacobsen's professional life was linked to the Hagenbeck company for a long period of time, mostly but not exclusively in his role as a recruiter and impresario of ethnic shows. In line with Carl Hagenbeck's business philosophy, but also due to his repeated work as a collector for the Ethnological Museum Berlin, Jacobsen strove to meet academic as well as show business demands in his career, thus oscillating in his activities between two different target groups.

**Keywords** Ethnic shows | Hagenbeck company | Jacobsen legacy | history of anthropology | actor-centered approach

Johan Adrian Jacobsen's professional life was linked to the Hagenbeck company for a long period of time, mostly but not exclusively in his role as a recruiter and impresario of ethnic shows.<sup>1</sup> In line with Carl Hagenbeck's business philosophy, J. A. Jacobsen strove to meet academic as well as show business demands in his career, thus oscillating in his activities between two different target groups.

### THE SOURCES – TO BE TAKEN WITH A PINCH OF SALT

The largest number of German primary sources for studying the lives of Carl Hagenbeck and Johan Adrian Jacobsen as well as their professional entanglement and ethnic show involvement are to be found in the Hagenbeck and the Jacobsen archives in Hamburg, Germany. Apart from that, there are several published sources written by (or rather ghostwritten in the name of) several members of the Hagenbeck family and company and by Jacobsen himself. Furthermore, hundreds of newspaper articles were published, for example, at the various places of recruitment and at the different tour stops of the shows. All these sources have to be carefully contextualized.

Undoubtedly, the credit for a number of outstanding innovations in the breeding and keeping of wild animals in captivity, in animal training, and in zoo display has to go to Carl Hagenbeck. However, in many ways, he remained the showmanship and marketing genius that he had become early in his career. From the 1880s, and sometimes not shying away from exaggerations and distortion of facts, he started an unparalleled media campaign to consolidate his reputation: he and his work were omnipresent in the German press—there were special events for academics and VIPs, and he became a member of several academic societies and had books published about himself and his work. As far as ethnic shows were concerned, his team would travel to the tour stops where ethnic or other Hagenbeck shows were to come to soon and swamp the cities not only with posters, but with newspaper ads and stories to an extent that the rival ethnic show enterprises could not outdo. During the running time of the show, additional inside stories or interviews were pitched. The (auto-)biographies of various Hagenbeck family members were cogs in this advertisement wheel. As a consequence, many newspaper articles and Hagenbeck autobiographies give a one-sided and sugar-coated perspective, which needs to be counterchecked with other sources.<sup>2</sup>

Johan Adrian Jacobsen's papers in the Museum am Rothenbaum – Kulturen und Künste der Welt (MARKK) in Hamburg include diaries, photos, miscellaneous papers like notes or receipts, and about 5,000 professional and personal letters and postcards from family members, show people, well-known anthropologists of the time, and members of the Hagenbeck company and family, as well as draft reply letters by Jacobsen—most of them in German, a number of them in Norwegian, and some of them in English. German-language letter drafts were partly because of Jacobsen's difficulties in writing German, but partly also to create formal letters to persons he might have considered his social superiors.<sup>3</sup> The respective addressee and Jacobsen's relationship with them must be kept in mind here. Jacobsen's diaries were to a great part written with the option of later publication in mind, as is clear from remarks directly addressed to the reader or from insertions and marginal notes, sometimes added much later than the main text—as well as from the fact that they were written in German<sup>4</sup> in the first place, although it was not Jacobsen's mother tongue and he did not master it well enough for publication. Furthermore, some diary and manuscript texts have later been turned into sections of ethnic show program brochures or of Jacobsen's books and articles.<sup>5</sup>

Although newspaper articles<sup>6</sup> often testify to details that are not found in other sources, they have to be crosschecked with special care. As mentioned above, quite a number of them were pitched by the Hagenbeck company. Frequently, little inside stories from the ethnic shows were published when half the time at the tour stop

had passed: this suggests that these articles were put into the newspaper to recreate people's interest in the shows. In many cases, articles just repeat the official press text released by the organizers. Neither can they be considered an indication of a show's success with the audience: as I could demonstrate by cross-checking with other sources on several ethnic shows running parallel in the same city, the one with the most newspaper coverage could in fact be the least visited.<sup>7</sup> Collections of newspaper clippings might also be biased: an album of cuttings in the Hagenbeck archive for one particular show holds not a single negative review, which might or might not be a true picture of the entire press coverage. A series of articles<sup>8</sup> about Johan Adrian Jacobsen given to me by his Hamburg-based grandson in the 1980s depicts him as flawless adventurer and hero. Having worked through every single one of the Jacobsen papers, complemented by all the other sources mentioned, I was able to form a thorough and detailed picture of Jacobsen's involvement with the Hagenbeck company and with the academic and museum anthropologists of his time, as well as of his methods as an ethnic show recruiter, impresario, and artifact collector.<sup>9</sup>

## CARL HAGENBECK AND HIS COMPANY

Gottfried Hagenbeck was a fishmonger in St. Pauli, then a marginal settlement outside Hamburg's city gates. As anecdote will have it, he once put a few seals on display which some fishermen had sold him, and this became the starting point for his animal trade. Gottfried's son Carl Hagenbeck (1844–1913) was put in charge of the animal trade when he was only fifteen years old; over the years, he turned it into a profitable business with customers all over the world. In the 1870s, Northeast Africa, one of the company's main areas for catching wild animals, became increasingly politically unstable with the millenarist Mahdi movement challenging the European powers. This development, together with the so-called 1870s crash, a global financial crisis at the time, resulted in a decline in the Hagenbeck animal trade and called for additional lines of business. The written history of the Hagenbeck company is riddled with anecdotes, sometimes deliberately publicized and planted. Arguably, it seems to have been a family friend, the painter Heinrich Leutemann, who suggested that the next transport of reindeer should be accompanied by a group of Sámi people: they could present their work with reindeer and the transport of their mobile dwellings to the paying German public and at the same time form a picturesque view for the painter.<sup>10</sup> Although this might have been so, the idea of ethnic shows probably was not new to Carl Hagenbeck: when he was a boy, a troupe of Zulu had a tour stop with extra performances for pupils in his native St. Pauli, and the American "circus king" Phineas T. Barnum, who had ethnic shows as one of his multiple attractions, was

one of Hagenbeck's animal trade customers.<sup>11</sup> When the Sámi show opened its gates in 1875, it was an immediate success with the audiences: the spectators were fascinated by what they took as the unsophisticatedness of the Sámi and were under the impression of witnessing a completely unstaged image of real life in "Lapland."<sup>12</sup> As a result, though interrupted by a one-year break following the demise of six Kawésqar (advertized as "Fuegians") from Patagonia in 1881 and by a much longer break due to World War I and its impact, ethnic shows became a permanent business branch of the Hagenbeck company till 1932. By that time, it had become increasingly difficult to recruit people who were unacculturated enough to Western ways to be still seen as an attraction by the paying audience. Furthermore, the silent and later the sound film, especially when set in exotic ambientes, had become a strong competition for spectacles like ethnic shows: apparently, the reliability of the film with its never-changing scenes appealed much more to the audiences in creating an exotic dream world than even the best equipped ethnic show, where spectators had to face the sometimes unexpected behavior and reactions of real-life persons of different cultures.<sup>13</sup> Finally, the National Socialist regime, which came to power in 1933, prohibited ethnic shows, as, contrary to Nazi ideology, friendly and especially sexual contacts between Germans and ethnic show participants could not be effectively prevented.<sup>14</sup>



**Figure 4.1:** Carl Hagenbeck (1844–1913). Postcard, ca. 1909. Photo: E. Bieber. Private Collection Hilke Thode-Arora.

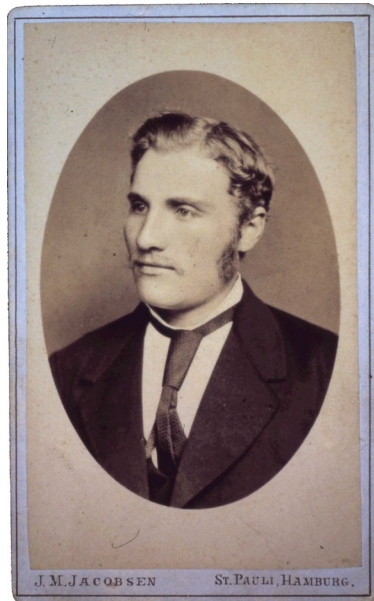
Carl Hagenbeck's (Fig. 4.1) main interest was in animals, and his original idea of presenting ethnic shows was to demonstrate to the spectators how people in far-away regions of the world caught animals or worked with them. After the success of the Sámi show that centered on the work with reindeers, he had two shows from Northeast Africa organized which were to give an impression of the Africans stalking and hunting wild animals for the Hagenbeck trade. Accordingly, Carl Hagenbeck did not use the term *Völkerschauen* in his writings, but usually called them *anthropological-zoological shows*.<sup>15</sup> Apart from region-typical performances, all of Hagenbeck's ethnic shows presented dances, music, and fight scenes as well as scenes with animals, if possible.

Until 1907, ethnic shows could be seen in Hagenbeck's menagerie or on special exhibition grounds. Right from the beginning, they toured several cities or towns. As tour stops were only negotiated after an ethnic show troupe had reached Europe, the dependence on show venues required a limited troupe size: ideally, a troupe should be large enough to arouse the audience's interest, but small enough to easily find a venue, which could be a small stage in a theater or restaurant, but also a skating ground, park, or zoological garden. In 1907, when Carl Hagenbeck opened his new zoo called Carl Hagenbeck's Tierpark, there were no more space limitations. Consequently, ethnic shows became increasingly elaborate, and sometimes, there were several troupes from different parts of the world performing at the same time. Large scenery was created as backdrops for the ethnic show "villages": there were original animals and plants from the region, replica iconic buildings like Indian temples or the Egyptian pyramids, and different house forms typical of the area in the "villages" themselves. Spectators could roam the ethnic show "village" freely; a numbered tour of all the attractions was suggested in the program brochures. Compared to the early years of the Hagenbeck ethnic shows, the actual performances had turned from a loose series of unrelated routines to a veritable dramaturgy with a fixed sequence, culminating in an exciting climax and finally a happy end. Still, the "villages" were a top draw: the spectators could indulge in the impression of being on a journey to the depicted area, watch the show participants follow their daily pursuits, buy souvenirs made in front of their eyes from the shop or bazaar, and if bold enough, try their exotic dishes or communicate with the foreign presenters. The "Sioux" show of 1910 and the Sámi show of 1926, both of whose performers were recruited by Jacobsen, were planned according to this concept of audience immersion. The early shows of the 1870s and 1880s whose participants Jacobsen recruited and / or accompanied as an impresario (and who thus are the main topic of most of the articles in this volume) just had a loose, unconnected sequence of scenes in their performances and no "villages" as a side show, however.

## HAGENBECK TIME AND AGAIN: JACOBSEN'S WORK FOR THE HAGENBECK COMPANY

Johan Adrian Jacobsen worked as a recruiter and impresario for the Hagenbeck ethnic shows over a span of nearly fifty years. His personal and published writings bear witness to the selection criteria, the recruiting, and the organization of the shows. He followed Carl Hagenbeck's and, after his death, his sons' instructions, but he probably also shaped the ethnic shows with his own ideas and approaches to recruiting, collecting artifacts, and interacting with (potential) ethnic show participants. Jacobsen's involvement with the Hagenbeck company and family, although on and off, was life-long: even when under contract for the Berlin Museum, he developed business ideas for the Hagenbeck ethnic shows, he worked for Hagenbeck at the Chicago World's Fair, and later in life he ran the zoo restaurant in Hagenbeck's Tierpark.

Apparently due to a love affair with a young woman whom he did not want to marry when she became pregnant,<sup>16</sup> Jacobsen had left Norway in 1874 to join his eldest brother in Hamburg. For two years, he worked in Jacob Martin's garment trade and perhaps helped him with his work as a photographer.<sup>17</sup> At that time, he also learnt German, maybe supported by his German sister-in-law Henriette, called Henny.<sup>18</sup> After a one-year stint in Chile, doing a number of different jobs, he came back to Hamburg in 1877.<sup>19</sup>



**Figure 4.2:** Johan Adrian Jacobsen at the age of 24 and at the time he became acquainted with Carl Hagenbeck, 1877/78. Photo: Johan Martin Jacobsen [Jacobsen's older brother] © Museum am Rothenbaum – Kulturen und Künste der Welt (MARKK).

It was here, two years after the successful opening of the Sámi ethnic show, when Jacobsen was put in touch with Carl Hagenbeck (Fig. 4.2). One of his Norwegian friends from the Tromsø naval academy, who was also in Hamburg, had just sold a couple of polar bears to Hagenbeck.<sup>20</sup> He made Jacobsen aware of the fact that Carl Hagenbeck was looking for someone who could arrange for an “Eskimo show” and a respective ethnographic collection. Jacobsen accepted and not only recruited the troupe but accompanied the Greenlanders as an impresario during their European tour. In Berlin, there was a special performance for the academic Society for Anthropology, Ethnology and Prehistory,<sup>21</sup> whose members were given the opportunity to take anthropological body measurements of the show participants—later, they would praise this evening as the highlight of all their meetings in 1878.<sup>22</sup> This event introduced Jacobsen to Adolf Bastian (1826–1905), co-founder and director of the ethnological museum in Berlin,<sup>23</sup> and Rudolf Virchow (1821–1902),<sup>24</sup> the president and, like Bastian, co-founder of the Society, who were to be important contacts for his future career.

In 1878, Jacobsen recruited another ethnic show for Hagenbeck, this time from Norwegian Finnmark,<sup>25</sup> and again accompanied it as an impresario on its German tour. His co-impresario was Adolph Schoepf, the son of the director of the Dresden Zoo, one of the tour stops. A long friendship would spring from this time of close travel together: Schoepf again was co-impresario for the Inuit show of 1880/1881 and later became director of the Dresden Zoo like his father before him. Their cordiality and the repeated sojourns at the Dresden Zoo as a regular ethnic show tour stop resulted in Johan Adrian making the acquaintance of and frequently meeting again Hedwig Klopfer, the zoo restaurateur’s daughter, who would later become his wife.<sup>26</sup>

In 1879, Jacobsen traveled as an impresario with the three Tehuelche (advertised as “Patagonians”), the smallest troupe ever under contract with the Hagenbeck company: a man, a woman not related to him, and her son. As the man soon began to suffer from depression, Hagenbeck had the troupe sent back earlier than planned.<sup>27</sup> One year later, Jacobsen set out to recruit the Inuit troupe from Labrador whom he also accompanied as an impresario, partly joined by Adolph Schoepf. After all the troupe members’ deaths from smallpox, Hagenbeck was at first hesitant to organize ethnic shows again, although he would soon change his mind. Jacobsen, having just overcome a severe bout of malaria which coincided with the last Inuk’s death in the same Paris hospital, had now to search for a new job.

Drawing on his recent networks rekindled during the tour of the Inuit ethnic show, he offered Adolf Bastian to do a collecting trip by ship for the Ethnological Museum in Berlin. The idea met with enthusiasm: the *Hülfscomité für Vermehrung*

der *Ethnologischen Sammlungen der Königlichen Museen*<sup>28</sup> was founded to that purpose, and Jacobsen became the first traveler dispatched by this influential committee for collection and ethnological study. Jacobsen was actually meant to travel via South America to Polynesia and Micronesia. When, however, it became known that the ethnological museum in Bremen was in the process of equipping a collection trip to British Columbia, plans were changed and Jacobsen was sent to the American Northwest Coast and Alaska to beat the collector from Bremen: he left only ten days after the foundation of the *Hülfscomité*.<sup>29</sup> When he returned in 1883 with more than 6,000 artifacts, Bastian not only called him the “prince of ethnological travellers,” but also commissioned him with another collecting trip, this time to Russia, Korea, and Japan, which took place in 1883/84.<sup>30</sup> As Hagenbeck had firmly re-established his ethnic show business in the meantime and had already corresponded with Jacobsen about a possible recruiting at the American Northwest Coast, this plan was put into action: Bernhard Fillip Jacobsen,<sup>31</sup> Adrian’s younger brother, had already traveled to British Columbia in 1884 to recruit ethnic show members and compile an ethnographic collection; Adrian joined him in 1885. Contrary to their original plans, they did not succeed in recruiting Kwakwaka’wakw (Kwakiutl) people, but, after a number of mishaps, they rather hastily contracted nine young Nuxalk (Bella Coola) men.<sup>32</sup> Adrian and Fillip acted as Hagenbeck’s impresarios for this show—Fillip, who had picked up the lingua franca Chinook while at the Northwest Coast, also as an interpreter—but they also seem to have done part of the ethnic show tour on their own account.<sup>33</sup> This ethnic show was a financial disaster; having married Hedwig and become a father in the meantime, Adrian Jacobsen had to find a new way to make a living.

From 1886 till 1887, he joined his brother-in-law’s trade in straw hats, but then received an assignment much more to his liking, another collecting trip for the Berlin museum, this time to Indonesia, from 1887 till 1888. Upon his return, he inventoried the artifacts he had assembled, then, in 1889, Virchow made him the curator for the newly founded Museum for German Folk Costumes in Berlin.<sup>34</sup> As it closed down due to lacking funds in 1891, the next years saw Jacobsen in a number of odd jobs: in 1892 he became director of the *Ausstellung für Länder- und Völkerkunde*,<sup>35</sup> first in Cologne and then in Berlin. The enterprise included ethnic shows and involved the Umlauff company, thus being indirectly linked to Hagenbeck.<sup>36</sup> In 1893, Johan Adrian Jacobsen worked as a salesperson for ethnographic artifacts in Carl Hagenbeck’s department at the Chicago World’s Fair.<sup>37</sup> After his return, he and his wife ran a hotel in Berlin for some time. Life became more stable when they were offered the management of the Dresden zoo restaurant, probably through Hedwig’s family connections there and Jacobsen’s good relationship with Adolph Schoepf.<sup>38</sup> In 1907, when Carl Hagenbeck opened his large zoo in



Hamburg, he convinced the Jacobsen couple to take over the zoo restaurant on the premises. In 1910, Jacobsen recruited the Oglala ethnic show for the Hagenbeck company, which eventually would turn out to be the most successful ever in the more than seventy years of the Hagenbeck ethnic show enterprises.<sup>39</sup> During his time as restaurateur, Jacobsen gave regular public talks on ethnography and on his travels in the zoo restaurant. When the zoo had to shut down in 1920 due to the financial post-war crisis in Germany, Jacobsen lost not only his job, but soon, due to the dramatic inflation, all his life's savings as well. As a new source of income, and in spite of his advanced age, he organized hunting trips for wealthy customers to the polar sea, and apparently at times supported Carl Hagenbeck's half-brother John<sup>40</sup> in providing animals and ethnographic artifacts for his film company.<sup>41</sup> In 1926, Jacobsen organized another Sámi ethnic show for the Hagenbeck company, now run by the deceased Carl Hagenbeck's sons Heinrich and Lorenz—his very last, traveling to Norway and Sweden.

## JOHAN ADRIAN JACOBSEN AS A RECRUITER AND IMPRESARIO OF ETHNIC SHOWS

When Johan Adrian Jacobsen got in touch with Carl Hagenbeck in 1877, the history of Hagenbeck's ethnic shows was still young: many of the ideas, which the Hagenbeck company would bring to greater perfection over the years, were still tentative and under development at the time. Jacobsen's term as a recruiter and impresario was mainly in the late 1870s and in the 1880s: his conception and practical implementation of these roles no doubt helped to influence these formative years of the ethnic show business.

According to one of Carl Hagenbeck's letters,<sup>42</sup> an average ethnic show cost him about 60,000 marks, a considerable sum, and obviously one that box office takings had to exceed. Already in the 1880s, ethnic show organization had mushroomed and Hagenbeck complained that with this kind of competition, business had become difficult and revenue hard to achieve. Consequently, the planning was done very carefully: ethnic shows, although the organizers never failed to stress their educational value, were still business operations and needed, as the bottom line, to make money. Four main criteria for selecting an ethnic group and then for the recruitment of the show participants can be extracted from the Jacobsen papers, published and unpublished, and other sources I examined.<sup>43</sup> First, the ethnic unit and the individuals selected had to be sufficiently different in culture and looks from Central Europeans. At best, they could come from Europe's fringes like the Sámi; much more preferable was an overseas background, however. Experience proved organizers like Hagenbeck and Jacobsen right in this respect: the so-called

Hindu show of 1878, partly accompanied by Jacobsen as an impresario, had been recruited among Indian household servants in England, who were used to elegant Western dress including glacé gloves. Their miming of Indian village life was not convincing for the audiences, and the show turned out to be a financial flop. On the other hand, contact with Europeans had to be established to a certain degree so that the organization of the show could run smoothly. Although Jacobsen toyed with the idea of recruiting a “primordial tribe” once in a while, e. g., when advertising one of the Indonesian groups he encountered and perceived as such,<sup>44</sup> he was aware of the practical side of organizing a show as early as 1877 when recruiting the first troupe from Greenland:

I suggested to rather start operations in the Disko Bay. People there are more used to deal with Europeans, and artefacts are more skillfull. In short, I think that I will have better opportunities there than in Upernivik, and several of the Danes residing here think the same.<sup>45</sup>

Secondly, the physical appearance of potential recruits was of utmost importance: Western beauty standards and aspects of othering, such as special beauty, ugliness, or spectacular looks in the eyes of the European beholder, including cultural body modifications, were considered an asset since they promised to make an ethnic show more interesting for the paying crowds. Again, Jacobsen had understood this selection criterion very early, as for example his description of the three Tehuelche, with whom he was to travel as a part-time impresario, shows:

Yesterday, finally, the ship arrived [...]with the 3 Patagonians on board. [...] these people are possibly more interesting than the Fuegians. The two adults are enormously tall and strong – the woman could actually have herself presented as a giantess. (Letter to Hedwig Klopfer, April 25, 1879, JA<sup>46</sup>)

And he used physical appearance as an argument to convince Hagenbeck to let him recruit a Kwakwaka'wakw troupe:

If you had only seen some of those guys when they were painted and dressed to the nines – the women with big bone plugs in their lips (the bigger the plug, the more honor for the wearer), I am sure you would have loved to have them in Hamburg. [...] the women have elongated heads which get already pressed into this form when they are babies... they color their faces red and black – partly wear rings in noses and lips [...]. (Letters to Carl Hagenbeck, Sept. 18 and Nov. 3, 1881, JA)

Once an ethnic group had been decided on, Carl Hagenbeck and Johan Adrian Jacobsen were very particular to ask for and select only those individuals who looked most like the European anthropological physical ideal type of that group, as many of Jacobsen's writings show.<sup>47</sup> When recruiting among the Oglala, for example, Jacobsen did not contract men who had cut their hair or who looked too European:

One thing is certain – never ever has a troupe been in Hagenbeck's zoo who had such an attraction with the audience as those Indians. This was because when choosing my Indians, I had only taken those types who looked unmixed without any doubt. For among the present-day Sioux, there are several who do not look different from the average European.<sup>48</sup>

Thirdly, it was advantageous if the potential recruits' material culture, e. g., clothes and dwellings, or their customs were potentially "picturesque" or even "spectacular," which can be translated as "very different" from the spectators' everyday world. Jacobsen prided himself in choosing the most suitable equipment for the ethnic show performers to make them look as "authentic" as possible, and he even tested their abilities in cultural skills:

There, I wanted to acquire the famous cedar bast blankets and the nicely-plaited hats which the Indians donned, so that my Indians could perform as genuinely as possible in Europe;<sup>49</sup>

But these are all things which we need to have if everything shall be right, as my troupe is meant to come as close as possible to that what the Laplanders were in earlier times;<sup>50</sup>

Later on, the Eskimos showed their skill in guiding the kayaks, and as I had offered 10 ship biscuits as a prize for good performance, a cheerful contest started on the waters which we enjoyed a lot. Many of them really exceeded in their skills by turning their kayaks upside down, hanging with their heads in the water over seconds, and then rightened themselves with the help of their double row or spear-throwers to move on.<sup>51</sup>

An aspect of this striving for what was considered "physical anthropological and ethnographic authenticity," but also an important crowd puller, was the presence of persons of different sex and age: the erotic appeal of female and male non-European show participants, sometimes scantily clad for Western standards of the time, and cute children proved to be very attractive for the audiences. Jacobsen was very aware of this when recruiting. Regretfully, he writes about the recruiting of the Nuxalk and later, when recruiting the Sámi show.<sup>52</sup>

[...] we managed to engage for one year 9 Indians in their prime, but no women and no children could be moved to come along – which after all is so essential for a ‘show’ in Europe, as the audience wants so much to see the family life of the so-called wild peoples;

And in my opinion, the camp [ethnic show] feels too dead if there are no young people to jolly it up.

The four main recruitment criteria—(1) physical and cultural alterity of an ethnic group, (2) adherence to the physical anthropological ideal type of the individuals engaged, (3) ethnographic equipment for the participants, show props and the ethnological collection presented as a side show,<sup>53</sup> and finally, (4) the presence of people of different sex and age—did not come as a coincidence or personal inclination. Hagenbeck, who was a member of a number of academic societies, the *Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte*<sup>54</sup> among them, no doubt adhered to a concept of authenticity as it was common among anthropologists of his time. So did Jacobsen, whose professional life oscillated between show business and academia at the Berlin Museum. Although these spectacles were a phenomenon of popular culture, the connections between ethnic show organization and academia were manifold. Late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century anthropology adhered to the paradigm that there existed not only a zoological and phenotypic inventory of every region of the world, but also a cultural inventory for every ethnic unit, including material objects as well as certain values, social structures and immaterial traits, or typical configurations, patterns, and leitmotifs that combined them.<sup>55</sup> Most European academics during this period had few or no opportunities to travel overseas, so they welcomed the fact that ethnic show producers regularly organized extra performances for the benefit of academic societies, the Berlin Society for Anthropology, Ethnology and Prehistory among them. After performances, the scholars were usually allowed to take body measurements of the troupe members. In some cases, apart from evaluating what they had seen, they also interviewed ethnic show participants or recorded myths and songs by phonograph. In return, the scientists’ interest and appreciation was good advertising for the show organizers who regularly tried to stress the “scientific” or “educational” value of their shows.

All contemporary printed sources on ethnic shows only give a few sentences, if any, on the recruitment procedure.<sup>56</sup> Only Jacobsen’s diaries, partly supplemented by later manuscripts, depict some of the recruitment processes with their daily challenges.

Four of the six recruitment trips done by Jacobsen will be briefly introduced here, as they highlight different aspects: the recruitment in Greenland in 1877, the

unsuccessful recruiting effort among Kwakwaka'wakw in 1882, the recruiting of Oglala in 1910, and the recruiting of Sámi in 1926.<sup>57</sup>

## BUREAUCRATIC HURDLES: THE RECRUITING IN GREENLAND, 1877

When Jacobsen set out in 1877 to recruit a Kalaallit (Eskimo or Greenlandic Inuit) family and collect ethnographic objects, his first stop was Copenhagen: The Danish government, to whose colonial territory Greenland belonged, had to give permission. As Jacobsen was not received in the Department of the Interior, he approached the director of the Royal Danish Trade Office and well-known researcher on Eskimo affairs, Hinrich Johannes Rink, who had lived in Greenland for many years. Rink was not in charge, but clearly expressed his disapproval, as in his experience, the Kalaallit had been prone to diseases when away from Greenland, and if returned, had had a difficult time readjusting. Jacobsen cabled Hagenbeck, who connected him with a business contact, the director of the Copenhagen Zoo, and incidentally the Secretary of the Interior's brother-in-law. The permit thus obtained had strict regulations: the contract with the Kalaallit had to be approved by the inspector in Greenland, a bond had to be guaranteed for the travelers' return, for the export of ethnographic objects every single one had to be listed and agreed to by the Danish authorities. In July 1877, Jacobsen arrived in Omenak to meet the royal inspector. He left for Jacobshavn six days later, however, as he had not been able to recruit anyone: allegedly, a sailor arriving on an earlier ship which Jacobsen originally intended to take had warned them about him, saying that he would lock them in a cage to show them for money. In Jacobshavn, a mechanical street organ with moving figures was put up on deck; the Kalaallit who came on board danced to it and were hosted with wine, coffee, and buttered ship biscuits. Then, Jacobsen offered a prize for the best "kayak roll," as quoted above.<sup>58</sup> He spent the next days buying artifacts brought to him by the Kalaallit and got in touch with colonial officer Karl Fleischer, who had lived longer than all other colonial staff in Greenland. Fleischer helped him and acted as a translator. Only three days after Jacobsen's arrival, a family of four and two young men had agreed to travel with him: Okabak, about 36 years old, who sometimes worked for Fleischer, Okabak's wife, Maggak, about 24 years old, their daughters Ane (3 years) and Katarina (2 years),<sup>59</sup> Kukik, about 28 years old, who also worked for the colonists, and Kujangi, about 21 years old, a fisherman. Jacobsen had all of them medically checked and vaccinated. The Kalaallit objected to their contract, however, as it did not include payment for the days of travel; so Jacobsen had the contracts changed according to their wishes. After the paperwork had been

done and the inspector had arrived in Jacobshavn to authorize it, the recruits and Jacobsen left for Hamburg.<sup>60</sup>

## GRAVE ROBBERY, BAD WEATHER, AND COURTSHIP: THE RECRUITING EFFORT AMONG KWAKWAKA'WAKW IN 1882

Convinced by Jacobsen's description of the Kwakwaka'wakw women with their elongated heads,<sup>61</sup> Hagenbeck had helped Jacobsen to get leave from his collecting trip for the Ethnological Museum in Berlin and sent him from his present stay in San Francisco to British Columbia. In his written briefing, he let him have a maximum free hand; he just asked him not to recruit more than twelve individuals so as to keep costs down, to get them all vaccinated, and to get them back to Hamburg by June to make optimal use of the summer season.<sup>62</sup> Once in Fort Rupert, Jacobsen lodged with the manager of the Hudson's Bay Company, Robert Hunt, whom he knew from his earlier stay during his collecting trip. As he wanted to recruit women with elongated heads, he aimed for the villages of Newitti, Koskimo, and Quatsino, because this kind of cultural body modification was only done there. The bad weather did not allow him to travel on, so he attended a potlatch and contributed two cans of ship biscuits as well as molasses to make the villagers favorably disposed towards him. The next days were spent with the purchase of artifacts, which, however, went not as smoothly as he had hoped, as the villagers asked for high prices and did not like to part from certain objects that he desired. When the weather cleared up, Jacobsen sailed to Newitti with Robert Hunt's sons George<sup>63</sup> and William, only to find that people again did not like to part from their belongings and were even more unwilling to be recruited themselves. A few days later, in Koskimo, a few men and women were hesitating about being recruited. Jacobsen tried to induce potential travelers by buying a number of artifacts he was actually not too keen on. When two men agreed to accompany him to Europe, he offered them money for the bride price so that they could get married and take their wives with them. All in all, there were three men and two women willing to travel, Wakash and his high-ranking wife<sup>64</sup> among them. The weather turned bad again, however, so that leaving was impossible. George Hunt, who had sold all his goods, sent one of the villagers over land on a rugged path to get him fresh supplies. William Hunt had also received money from Jacobsen to pay a bride price and take his young wife with him.

Probably with his museum and physical anthropology customers in mind and too restless to sit idle, Jacobsen set out for an enterprise which possibly helped to jeopardize his recruitment:

I took the younger Mr. Hunt (William) with me – we took our guns and fishing lines, pretending to go fishing and hunting – but I knew that in a nearby grotto which had served as a funeral site earlier, there were many corpses. Having reached there, I found 2 female 1 male skull which I took – in haste, as we were afraid to get caught – I tore my hand at a mummy's cervical – when twisting the head off – we had barely returned to our canoe when two Indians ... came to see what we did but I had hidden the heads well, cheerfully shooting at seagulls, and completely deceived our good Indians.<sup>65</sup>

This incident might have added to the mistrust among the villagers, even if they had not detected Jacobsen's grave robbery. The situation became more aggravated by the fact that the man who had been sent to get supplies for George Hunt did not return; as a consequence, Jacobsen and the Hunts were threatened with reprisal if he were hurt or dead. When he finally arrived two days later, Wakash, who had stipulated a few extra days, was ready to travel, but bad weather still prevented sailing. The recruited villagers were now wavering in their decision to accompany Jacobsen. As one of them ran away, Jacobsen immediately set sails with the others on board despite the weather conditions. Some villagers came after them to take back William Hunt's newlywed wife. She, however, did not want to go back with them, and Jacobsen threatened to throw the men in the water so that the villagers left without her.

Due to the bad weather, the boat had to anchor near the Quatsino Inlet mouth already in the evening; sailing on was only possible a week later, and by then, the party had run out of most of the provisions, so that they had to go hunting. Meanwhile, Mrs. Hunt's parents had come after her, again asking her to return. She decided to travel on to Fort Rupert, however, where she could still change her mind and go back via the rugged path. Wakash's wife now insisted on saying goodbye to her relatives, so the boat party sailed to Quatsino. Her uncle threatened to kill Wakash and his wife but finally conceded to their departure when he was given some presents.

The rough sea on the trip to Fort Rupert made everyone except Jacobsen seasick: Depressed, the Kwakwaka'wakw pleaded for the ship to anchor, as there would be a storm. Jacobsen, however, sailed on, and indeed got caught in a storm. When they finally reached Fort Rupert, the villagers made the travelers vividly aware of a long ship journey with more bad weather. Neither Robert Hunt nor the Indian agent who arrived a few days later could convince the Kwakwaka'wakw of the opposite. Two of the men absconded, and as a delegation came from Koskimo to demand the return of Wakash and his wife, those two left the following night. By now, just one woman of the original party had stayed. Seven days later, Jacobsen was saved from his unfortunate efforts as he received a letter from Hagenbeck informing him

of the Kawésqar troupe members’ death and asking him to abstain from further recruiting for the time being.<sup>66</sup>

SHOW PROFESSIONALS AND COMPETITION: THE RECRUITING OF THE OGLALA IN 1910

Jacobsen convinced Hagenbeck to engage a Plains Indian troupe by taking him to a Wild West show in London’s Earl’s Court in 1909. When Jacobsen and a show cowboy called George W. Everette<sup>67</sup> left for New York in January 1910, they had received the following instructions from Hagenbeck:

I want you to engage for me: 30 Indian Warriors, including one interpreter, who knows the Sioux language, and furthermore 10 Squaws and Children, being 40 persons in all. With these Indians, we must [...] get all the necessary clothes, shirts, feathers, moccasins, head-dresses &c. Do not buy more of this stuff than we need, but just enough that we do not run short, when we have to show them here. Of [...] tents we want 15 – 20 according to their price [...] you must also buy the necessary real Indian Blankets; if you can buy these cheap, and if you think that it is worth while taking more, you may buy them as we might possibly sell them here to the public [...].

All these Cowboys and Indians will have here free board and lodging. They will get the food they are accustomed to. I am giving you in the following a calculation in order to show you the expenses, so that you do not exceed them:

	Monthly salary
40 Indians, 30 men & 10 squaws and children, including chief	\$ 600.00
5 Cowboys	\$ 200.00
1 Interpreter who knows the Sioux language	\$ 50.00
Texas Tex with wife and about 7 horses	\$ [sic]

Paraphernalia for the Show:

15 Ponies for the Indians	\$ 750.00
15 Tents for Indians	\$ 75.00
Clothes, Mocassins [sic], Shirts, Feathers, &c.	\$ 500.00
Indian Blankets, about 15	\$ 75
Voyage for two persons to America, to and fro	\$ 600.00
Expenses during the voyage for 45 persons, travelling charges	\$ 600.00



It is mandatory to have everyone vaccinated before you bring him/her over from America. When this has happened, you have to bring a certificate from the health department.<sup>68</sup>

While Everette traveled to Chicago and Omaha to buy horses and recruit cowboys, Jacobsen was helped by the Norwegian legate, an acquaintance from Berlin, to be received in the Bureau of Indian Affairs. As he came to know there and when proceeding to Pine Ridge, a standard contract had to be accepted, and a bond of \$7,000 (equivalent to 29,550 marks) had to be deposited. Oglala men had to be paid \$6, women \$5, and the interpreter \$50 per week, including the travel days. Jacobsen soon learnt that the Sioux from Pine Ridge were show professionals and sought after by many ethnic show enterprises. During his six-week-stay on the reservation, he found himself with recruiters for five additional Wild West shows, one of these bound for Brussels. Jacobsen's contribution of biscuits, tea, and molasses for several Sioux feasts to lure more Oglala was easily matched by similar gifts from other recruiters.

Thomas American Horse, however, whose father had earlier traveled with Buffalo Bill's show,<sup>69</sup> volunteered to join the Hagenbeck show and to recruit more persons for Jacobsen. Two weeks later, he had convinced twenty-six men, three to four women, and two children; meanwhile Jacobsen had recruited Little Wolf and his wife as well as Kills Enemy and an interpreter called G  roux<sup>70</sup> with his family. The next days went by with waiting for some of the Oglala to arrive in Pine Ridge, having them medically checked and vaccinated. Jacobsen rejected some of the potential recruits as they did not look "authentic" to him, others were not found healthy enough to be contracted or seemed to be quite fond of alcohol, and a few spoke English too well for his liking.<sup>71</sup> To Jacobsen's dismay, some Oglala quit on a short notice and preferred to join American Wild West shows, as these engagements did not involve the much-dreaded crossing of the ocean. Jacobsen had one of them arrested as he had already taken his advance money. Another man whom he wanted to hire did not get a permit from the Indian agent to leave the country. Finally, in mid-March, after some ups and downs, he had managed to recruit forty-two Sioux and ten cowboys.<sup>72</sup>

## ACCULTURATION AND BARGAINING POWER: THE RECRUITING OF S  MI IN 1926

In 1926, one of the two directors of the Hagenbeck company, Carl's son Lorenz, instructed Jacobsen to recruit a troupe of S  mi:

[...]I ask you to travel to Norway or Sweden and get for me:

8 – 9 Laplanders, incl. 1 or 2 children,

8 – 10 trained big beautiful reindeer [...]

2 – 3 sledges,

2 – 3 tents,

1 – 2 dogs

as well as the necessary clothes and equipment for the people.

Please write in the contract that the troupe has to obey to instructions by the directors of the Carl Hagenbeck company, that they have to let themselves be seen in all performances and limit themselves to the area assigned to them, [...] that they must not leave the zoo without permit from the directors to walk around in the city. They will also have to act as extras in film shootings pro bono.

Please agree upon the cheapest possible wages with them, but they will have board and lodge as well as full travel costs [...].

If the types do not look quite as the types of old Scandinavia, I don't mind. But make it a point that the people wear the caps and costumes of the most Nordic Laplanders.<sup>73</sup> [...] Should you be able to obtain good materials for houses and ethnographic objects, please take them.<sup>74</sup>

At the end of January, Jacobsen arrived in Røros. Immediately, he was confronted with the situation that most Sámi had too many children and reindeer to leave them alone for the duration of an ethnic show season. The 250 kroner payment offered by him to a family of four was considered way too little as that would not suffice when children and reindeer had to be looked after by someone else who had to be paid for it. Shoes ordered with a shoemaker turned out to be a mixture of Sámi and Norwegian snowshoes, old costume parts were not for sale—nor were trained reindeer, as many Sámi thought they would suffer in a zoological garden. After one week, Jacobsen contacted the wealthiest merchant of the city, upon recommendation from the Norwegian Club in Hamburg, and the Sámi inspector for help. The acquisition of Sámi artifacts remained tedious, however: prices of old pieces were high as the Sámi explained how much the re-manufacture would cost them, or people refused to part with the objects right away. The tailor who was to sew Sámi tents from raw materials bought by Jacobsen had only made military tents before; as a consequence, the task of sewing Sámi canvas tents was mainly left to Jacobsen himself. Surely, he had mended and sewn canvas sails before. He found it difficult to convince Sámi to work in an ethnic show or circus;<sup>75</sup> at least one of the women contacted had been to Germany with an ethnic show before in 1893/94. The Sámi inspector and some people willing to travel with him entered into long

negotiations about the payment and the contract: in two sessions of three- and then four-hour discussions, they enforced better payment and some extra clauses in the contract, for example, that the Norwegian embassy in Germany should act as the place of jurisdiction in the case of dissent. As with his earlier recruiting trips, contracting was not straightforward: Jacobsen sent back red-haired individuals willing to travel to Germany, as they did not look “authentic” to him, and some Sámi decided against the ethnic show recruitment at the last minute. After two months, Jacobsen had managed to buy some ethnographic objects and to make contracts with Mathias Mortensen, his wife, Kristina Andersdatter Kreutz, their fourteen-year-old daughter, Aina, six- and four-year-old sons, Richard and Nils, and four-week-old Kristina Elisabeth, the elderly couple Nils and Margaretha Ringdal, Jon M. Nordfeld, who was in his forties, as well as Karin Fjellner, a nineteen-year-old woman from Sweden.<sup>76</sup>

As these four examples of his recruiting show, Jacobsen did not belong to those recruiters of the Hagenbeck company, who had specialized over years on certain world regions and spoke the local languages.<sup>77</sup> On his recruiting trips, Jacobsen usually had himself referred to local intermediaries and translators. These connections had been established through networks that already existed in Hamburg, partly his own, but often Hagenbeck’s worldwide connections created through the animal trade. Recruiting was never easy and straightforward, especially in a situation of intercultural contact, expectations, and misunderstandings; the four examples given are exemplary for the certain challenges which many ethnic show recruiters seem to have faced. The recruiting in Greenland had high bureaucratic hurdles; it was only through Hagenbeck’s connections that Jacobsen got a permit to take the Kallaalit under contract at all. When trying to recruit Greenlanders again some years later, he failed and had to travel on to Labrador.<sup>78</sup> The recruiting effort in British Columbia demonstrated a basic unwillingness of the Kwakwaka’wakw to have themselves contracted, which Jacobsen counteracted with ruses, gifts, and strongheadedness. Hosted in a friendly way in the beginning, the mood turned openly against him and the Hunts for the first time when the man sent via a rugged path to Fort Rupert did not return and was feared to be hurt or dead. Jacobsen’s intervention to pay the bride price for William Hunt and help him to get married and possibly the grave robbery may have created further mistrust. His refusal to let William Hunt’s wife go back and his insistence on sailing in bad weather apparently reduced the Kwakwaka’wakw’s inclination for traveling with him overseas even more. Another effort to recruit Kwakwaka’wakw in 1885 failed again, so that the Jacobsen brothers hurriedly had to find Nuxalk men to go with them.<sup>79</sup> The recruiting of the Oglala in 1910 confronted Jacobsen with

a quite different challenge: professional showmen who could take their pick among many competing ethnic and Wild West show organizers. Unlike the Kwakwaka'wakw, the Oglala were very much aware what work in a traveling show meant. Contracts and bonds were government-regulated; still, because of the high competition, the Oglala could negotiate conditions. This was also true for the recruiting of Sámi in 1926: relatively well-off, experienced ethnic show travelers and confident enough to alter contracts to their expectations, they counteracted Hagenbeck's and Jacobsen's ideas of low wages and restricting working conditions. Furthermore, by the mid-1920s, acculturation had become an issue: the image of an "ethnic other" to be depicted of the Sámi in the ethnic show was one of the past; the purchase of "authentic" costumes and ethnographic artifacts had become very hard.

## JOHAN ADRIAN JACOBSEN AS AN IMPRESARIO

The Hagenbeck company concluded contracts with ethnic show participants which regulated lodging, food, free medical treatment, payment, and the kind of work to be done. As can be seen from the recruiting instructions quoted above, original dwellings or their copies built from authentic raw materials served as accommodation if the weather conditions allowed. The early ethnic show troupes until the mid-1880s, led by Jacobsen as an impresario, were accompanied by a housekeeper who cooked and washed for everyone. It was only later that providing ingredients and having the ethnic show participants cook for themselves became common practice. Ailments, diseases, and sometimes casualties, as in the case of the Inuit traveling in 1880/81, and among the Kawésqar in 1881 as well as the Oglala in 1910, were common with the shows, although Hagenbeck and Jacobsen normally saw to it that everybody was medically checked and vaccinated.<sup>80</sup> Jacobsen mentions accidents when feeding or working with animals, preparing food, doing daily chores, or helping to erect non-European houses at the venue. Smaller wounds and gastro-intestinal troubles were treated with first aid skills and household remedies; severe cases were referred to the hospital, a concept not always known to the patients and thus met with resistance, as Jacobsen describes for the Sámi Jon Persen Gaup (Fig. 4.3). During the 1878/79 show, he and the housekeeper also acted as birth attendants for Kirsten Pedersdatter Nicodemus, Gaup's wife. Not all ethnic show participants, even when having signed a contract, fully understood what it meant to tour Europe for several months or even years, far away from their home country. Intensified by unknown food and surroundings, homesickness was an issue for many of them.<sup>81</sup> Jacobsen describes the case of Pikjotkje,<sup>82</sup> the Tehuelche man who did not get along with the two other participants of this small

ethnic show, who had only broken Spanish as a common language with Jacobsen and got more and more depressed every day. One morning, he saddled his horse and asked Jacobsen to show him the way back home, breaking into tears when understanding the impossibility of his venture. The three Tehuelche were therefore sent back home before their contract finished.

The ethnic show participants had to work eight to ten hours per day, including Sundays and holidays, and had to give eight to ten performances, as can be established from show times on ethnic show posters and from contracts. From this, it can be assumed that performances must have taken about half an hour to a maximum of one hour. As an impresario, Jacobsen had to see to it that these hours and all other requirements for the smooth running of the show were met, even if depression, boredom, or the transgressive behavior of spectators exhausted the ethnic show participants. Abraham Ulrikab's diary shows that Jacobsen sometimes took drastic and not always friendly steps to achieve this goal. When too large a crowd of over-curious spectators pushed into the fenced area around the Inuit's house, he made Abraham Ulrikab take the harpoon, put on a ferocious face, and drive the visitors away. Some days later when most of the Inuit had become dispirited and sad by their unknown surroundings and the ethnic show situation as such, one of the men who talked back to him and had an over-assertive stance got whipped with the dog whip by Jacobsen and was threatened that he would not receive any pay. Apparently scared that Abraham Ulrikab would write to his Moravian supporters about this incident, Jacobsen later on gave gifts to the Inuit women and was very friendly to Abraham. A similarly violent scene is documented in Jacobsen's diary when traveling with the Sámi in 1877/78:

Two reindeer died. ... I asked the Laplander Gaupa [*sic*] to skin them but did not get an answer. Having asked him three times without any reaction, I grabbed him by the scruff of his neck. But the fellow reached for his knife which luckily sits deep and firm with all Laplanders, so that when he tried to pull it, I gave him such a blow between the eyes that he forgot to use his knife. He fell and stayed on the ground so that I got scared I had done a bit too much. But suddenly he jumped up and acted like crazy. He jumped about and called this and that one of his Lapp gods and asked about his knife which I had taken at once. When summoned, he crawled into his hut and was not seen for the rest of the day.<sup>83</sup>

According to Jacobsen, their animosity ended when he acted as a birth attendant, helping Gaup's wife to deliver her child.



**Figure 4.3:** Jon Persen Gaup, dressed for the ethnic show, 1878. © Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte.



**Figure 4.4:** Isk-ku-lusts, one of the Nuxalk men, with his German girlfriend on his lap. Note the elegant Western suit. © Museum am Rothenbaum – Kulturen und Künste der Welt (MARKK).

A special challenge for the impresarios was caused by the erotic attraction many male ethnic show participants seemed to have had on female visitors. In the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century, this was considered much more scandalous than the

interest of European men for non-European women.<sup>84</sup> Already with the “Nubian” shows of the 1870s, enthusiastic young women had found boyfriends among the men and tried to follow them from tour stop to tour stop. In the 1980s, Nuxalk informants still told researcher Wolfgang Haberland about their forefathers’ romantic conquests in Germany, and a photo depicting one man with his girlfriend sitting on his lap (Fig. 4.4) gives evidence that this was not a mere boast.<sup>85</sup> In his private papers and correspondence, not meant for publication, Jacobsen as well as other impresarios complained about the complications and extra work these love affairs meant for them, as the example of the Sioux spectacle shows:

With this Indian troupe we had a few similar cases. One evening, for example, a young girl (of a good family) had herself locked with one of the Indians in one of the zoo’s ladies’ toilets and was only found the next morning. The zoo had to be searched everywhere for loving couples every evening before we could close;<sup>86</sup>

Unfortunately, Hagenbeck should be proved correct that a troupe of redskins would be hard to handle. The chief American Horse, who was to supervise the people and see to temperance and order among them, was the worst of all. As soon as it got dark, he and some other young people would climb the iron fence surrounding the zoo, where some Hamburg belle would wait for him and divert him to the city. Most of the time, of course, he was taken to a pub and made drunk with beer, cognac or wines. Usually, the people came back to the zoo only in the morning, and most of the times incapable of work. This is why we sent him back to his home country already in June.<sup>87</sup>

Apart from making ethnic show participants do extra performances and have their bodies measured by members of academic societies, Jacobsen as well as other impresarios organized outings for the participants’ entertainment. Visits to circuses, zoological gardens, waxworks, theaters, and restaurants were common. For example, Jacobsen took the Sámi, who were especially thrilled by the buildings and jewelry stores, and the Inuit on a tour through Paris and even to the Moulin Rouge nightclub. Abraham Ulrikab’s diary has an enthusiastic passage about his visits to the Berlin waxworks. Several times, Jacobsen as impresario and the ethnic show participants he accompanied received invitations for balls and dinner parties of a more or less formal nature. Here, however, they were not only entertained, but also provided a spectacle for their hosts, which arguably was the main purpose of these invitations. In his writings, Jacobsen usually mentions these occasions in an anecdotal way, as from his European perspective of a perceived superiority, cultural clashes and a lack of respect for German hierarchies made the participants

behave in slightly inappropriate ways. The Greenlanders were invited to a formal dinner and ball in 1878 where they met and danced with the emperor's court tutor and his wife, whom one of them soon abandoned for a younger and prettier dance partner. In the 1870s, the Sámi were asked to attend a formal dinner given by a baron in Paris where they surprised everyone with their good table manners, and one of the Sámi men openly flirted with a governess. Well-known journalist and painter Rudolf Cronau (1855–1939) and his wife had the Nuxalk men for dinner and an evening of children's games which everyone seemed to enjoy.

## JOHAN ADRIAN JACOBSEN AND THE EVOLVING OF ETHNIC SHOW BUSINESS

Johan Adrian Jacobsen's professional life as an ethnic show recruiter and impresario in the services of the Hagenbeck company is paradigmatic for what ethnic shows were about. As an emergent and soon widespread form of entertainment business since the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, ethnic shows created an exotic "ethnic other" and a staged setting noticeably different from the everyday experiences of European spectators. In the still young German empire, united after centuries of scattered regionalism, national self-assurance via othering may have had a special appeal. Furthermore, before World War I, in an era of industrialization and economic progress, Wilhelminian workers' lives were governed by a rhythm of marked alternation of labor and leisure time, resulting in a flowering of entertainment culture, of which ethnic shows were a part. At the same time, there was a romantic yearning for a life nearer to nature, for which ethnic shows and their participants might have served as a projective screen. It is doubtful whether ethnic shows created new ethnic stereotypes or rather reinforced topoi which have long been part of European popular culture.<sup>88</sup> However, they certainly played on these tropes, and by going on tour to large cities but also small towns,<sup>89</sup> Hagenbeck ethnic shows and those of other professional organizers reached huge audiences, and thus should not be underestimated in their impact: 93,000 visitors on just one day in Berlin, 500,000 visitors during a short stay in Paris, and other five-digit numbers of visitors for one or two days are mentioned again and again in the sources.<sup>90</sup>

On the other hand, as most academics and private persons could not travel to remote non-European places, ethnic shows as well as collections provided most welcome first-hand demonstration material for the young disciplines of physical and cultural anthropology with their evolutionistic theories and small data sets, as far as phenotypes, material culture, and immaterial culture were concerned. As the recruitment criteria mentioned above show, it was precisely the physical and cultural alterity, going hand-in-hand with the anthropological paradigm of



“authenticity” of the times, which were meant to be highlighted. Jacobsen’s career demonstrates the role of ethnic shows between these two poles of striving for “anthropological authenticity” and of mass entertainment in an exemplary manner. Taking Jacobsen’s background as a non-academic immigrant with limited German-language proficiency into account, he still skilfully, although often laboriously, maximized on his connections with the Berlin Ethnological Museum and with the Hagenbeck company. He tried to adhere to the objectives of an academic, but also of a popular-culture target group.



**Figure 4.5:** Mock scalping scene during the “Sioux” show in Hagenbeck’s Tierpark, one of the dramatic climaxes of this show. The “Sioux” show turned out to be the one with the highest revenue in the history of Hagenbeck’s shows. Photo: Theodor Reimers, 1910. © Museum am Rothenbaum – Kulturen und Künste der Welt (MARKK).

Starting with the 1880s, ethnic shows gradually gained momentum and became a widespread form of entertainment business: with a number of competing professional ethnic show organizers in Germany and Central Europe, but also with a more and more professionalized appearance at world fairs. Ethnic shows increasingly presented performances following a fixed dramaturgy (Fig. 4.5), and they created holistic ambiances “larger than life”: ideal type sceneries complete with varying house forms, iconic buildings, and even plants and animals landscaped

on the show grounds, combining elements which, from a European point of view, were considered “typical” for the depicted world region, but would not have been concentrated in such a small area or time frame in real life.<sup>91</sup> The attraction for the paying Western audiences lay in what Çelik<sup>92</sup> calls the principle of immersion: with all five senses, they could engage in the staged show ground spectacle and cherish the illusion of actually traveling to the depicted area.

Jacobsen’s professional life as recruiter and impresario spans these decades of evolving ethnic show professionalization, and he took an active part in it. He understood very early, already with his first trip for Hagenbeck, how to balance these audience requests with the situations he found when recruiting. As the quotations show,<sup>93</sup> instructions given by the Hagenbecks were basic: the number of persons to hire, the kind of ethnographic artifacts and animals to purchase, a rough quote of the costs, a few specifications regarding the contracts, and, especially after the Inuit’s demise, vaccinations and medical exams which had to be carried out with each respective show participant. It was Jacobsen as the recruiter who had a free hand in negotiating these targets on site, balancing bureaucratic regulations, supply and costs regarding animals and ethnographic objects, and, last but not least, the sometimes-considerable agency of indigenous people whom he desired to recruit or buy artifacts and animals from. While academic research has concentrated on ethnic shows as part of colonial world views and expansions for a long time,<sup>94</sup> the indigenous agency of ethnic show protagonists has now become a focus of recent ethnic show research.<sup>95</sup> although the shows were based in a colonial setting of structural inequality and hierarchical power relations, the participants could at times influence who was recruited (or not), what kind of performances were (or were not) given, and negotiate conditions. This agency also held true for the Kwakwaka’wakw, Oglala, and Sámi whom Jacobsen tried to recruit: the Kwakwaka’wakw did not seem particularly inclined to travel with a show or sell artifacts, but a few of them still managed to make Jacobsen pay their bride price and thus obtain wives who might have been difficult to marry otherwise. Oglala and Sámi were sought-after, sometimes professional show people who had worked in ethnic shows before. They knew what to expect when joining a show and were in a good bargaining position, resulting in extra pay and contract modifications.

As an impresario, accompanying the show troupes on their tour through Europe, Jacobsen did not have to be as resourceful as during the recruiting trips, but he certainly was determined to guarantee the smooth running of the show. This could culminate in violent behavior, as documented for Tobias and for Gaup,<sup>96</sup> but also in practical, hands-on action, as when helping with the delivery of Gaup’s son. Apart from these incidents, interaction during the tour seems to have been one of a certain, but not too pronounced social distance. There are numerous passages

in Jacobsen's diaries where he mentions conversations with the show participants, pointing out iconic German buildings, technical accomplishments, or natural phenomena to them. In the MARKK Jacobsen papers, there are a few friendly letters by former show participants who had previously traveled with Jacobsen and later wrote to him. Edward Two-Two, for example, one of the Oglala men, asked repeatedly whether he could work again with a Hagenbeck show.<sup>97</sup> In old age, Billy Jones, or Ick-lehoneh (Fig. 4.6), one of the Nuxalk men, made a friend write to Jacobsen and remind him of the time they spent in Germany together. Both old men had photos made and posted them to each other, and Ick-lehoneh [Iwqaini], impressed by Jacobsen's attire, asked him to send him one of his old suits.<sup>98</sup>



**Figure 4.6:** Ick-lehoneh (Billy Jones) during the Hagenbeck “Bella Coola” show of 1885/86. © Museum am Rothenbaum – Kulturen und Künste der Welt (MARKK)

Ethnic shows with their evolving setting of spectator immersion must have had a very special appeal to European audiences at their time. Very few Europeans could travel to distant places; information about far-away countries and people could only be gained through books, newspapers, and magazines, with very few photos or engravings. Only gradually did the 19<sup>th</sup>-century poverty of images give way to more and easily accessible illustrations. The substantial image material, collected by Jacobsen over the many years of his professional lifetime (now in the MARKK Jacobsen archive), gives evidence of this. The early Hagenbeck ethnic show program brochures from the 1870s and 1880s, for example, depict just a few etchings, while the later ones have more and more photos. Jacobsen's carefully arranged

collection of high-quality cartes-de-visite and other photos must also be understood with this background of image rarity in mind.

Furthermore, the quantity and quality of Jacobsen's private papers, supplemented by his publications, form a unique wealth of primary sources, giving first-hand experiences of a recruiter's and impresario's life and attitudes, but also a number of snippets on middle-class daily life of the time, mentioning food and dress styles, work and leisure-time activities as well as courting, marriage, and parenthood. The in-depth reconstruction of the Hagenbeck ethnic shows and many insights on ethnic shows in general would not have been possible without Johan Adrian Jacobsen's written legacy, photo, and paper collection.

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## NOTES

- 1 In this chapter, as in a number of my earlier publications (e.g., Thode-Arora, "The Samoans Are Here!," 233-234; Thode-Arora, "The Hagenbeck Ethnic Shows," 43-44), I have argued for translating the German "Völkerschauen" as "ethnic shows": in spite of many contemporary advertisements which announced "Völkerschauen" as merely educational and true, authentic images of reality in far-away countries, they definitely were *shows*, aiming at entertaining or, at best, "infotaining" the spectators. Furthermore, in contrast to freak shows, it was not exclusively the physical otherness of Völkerschau participants which formed the core of these shows—although physical appearance was important—but also the cultural equipment and the cultural performances. Some organizers, foremost Carl Hagenbeck, did strive for a relatively high degree of "ethnographic authenticity" as it was understood in those days. Furthermore, however, they created exotism by strongly marking certain isolated (supposedly) cultural elements of the performers' cultures of origin, thus creating an "ethnic other." So, these shows were not just *ethnographic* in the sense of putting on display cultural traits in their material form or certain behavior patterns and customs, although this was an important part as well. They were *ethnic* in the sense of self- and other-ascribed we- and they-groups (cf. Barth, *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries*). Therefore I suggest the term *ethnic shows*. The catchy term of *human zoos*, pushed by Blanchard (Bancel et al., *Zoos Humains*) is inadequate in my opinion as it suggests a unilineal power structure with European agents and non-European victims. Although there were some ethnic shows that had such a clear power structure, studies taking into account non-European perspectives have revealed a higher or lesser degree of indigenous agency in many ethnic show power constellations (cf. Thode-Arora, *From Samoa with Love?*).
- 2 Cf. Dittrich and Rieke-Müller, *Carl Hagenbeck*, 88, 235-243. Books and ghost-written autobiographies on the Hagenbeck company and family were, for example, Fischer, *Aus dem Leben*; Hagenbeck, *Von Tieren und Menschen*; Leutemann, *Lebensbeschreibung*, after Carl Hagenbeck's death also Hagenbeck, *John Hagenbecks abenteuerliche Flucht*; Hagenbeck, *Fünfundzwanzig Jahre Ceylon*; Hagenbeck, *Kreuz und quer durch die indische Welt*; Hagenbeck and Ottmann, *Südasiatische Fahrten*; Hagenbeck, *Mit Indiens Fahren dem Volk*; Hagenbeck, *Den Tieren*; Zukowsky, *Carl Hagenbeck's Reich*.
- 3 There are a number of private letter drafts as well, however, maybe mirroring his insecurity in writing German. In contrast to postcards getting more and more common since the 1870s, it was a social convention in the 19<sup>th</sup> century that letters, especially to persons of higher status, had to be impeccable in spelling, layout, and polite forms (cf. Holzheid, "Einfach modern") – certainly a challenge for Jacobsen whose German was far from perfect.
- 4 With the exception of the very first part of the very first diary, which is written in Norwegian.
- 5 For a bibliography of Jacobsen's publications, see the end of this book, pp. 292 ff.
- 6 For my book on the Hagenbeck ethnic shows (Thode-Arora, *Für fünfzig Pfennig*), I did a systematic survey of every single daily issue (morning and evening issue) of every single Hamburg



newspaper published between 1875 and 1932 and archived in the Staatsarchiv Hamburg, as well as of many samples of newspapers from other tour stops of the Hagenbeck ethnic shows. Altogether, sixty-five Hamburg newspapers were perused with regard to articles and advertisements on the Hagenbeck company and on ethnic shows. For the complete list of newspapers, see Thode-Arora, *Für fünfzig Pfennig*, 203, 204.

- 7 See, for example, the Hamburger Fremden-Blatt's coverage (25 May – 11 August 1890) on the Bedouin troupe of the Egyptian Exhibition and on the "Dahomey Amazons".
- 8 E.g., "Weltreisender von Format. Der bekannte Forschungsreisende Adrian Jacobsen wurde auf den Lofoten geboren," *Deutsche Polarzeitung*, June 16, 1942; "Abenteuer einer Lebensreise. Im Auftrag Hagenbecks durch die Welt – zum 90. Geburtstag Adrian Jacobsens," *Hamburger Abendblatt*, October 9, 1943; "Menschenhandel mit Familie Ukabak. Hagenbeck brachte Eskimos nach Stellingen," *Hamburger Abendblatt*, December 9/10, 1950; "Hagenbeck sagte: 'Sie sind mein Mann'. Adrian Jacobsen erzählt von seinem Abenteuererleben," *Mittagsblatt*, November 21, 1942.
- 9 For a detailed study on the Hagenbeck ethnic shows and Jacobsen's involvement with the Hagenbeck company, based on the Jacobsen papers and many other sources, see Thode-Arora, *Für fünfzig Pfennig*.
- 10 Hagenbeck, *Von Tieren und Menschen*, 42–45, 80–83, 89–91.
- 11 Notizen... 1854: 8; Letter from A. Heinrich to director Damm, 4 April 1854; both in Patronat St. Pauli II C 3515 Vorstellung von Zulu-Kaffern 1854, Staatsarchiv Hamburg; Fox and Parkinson, *The circus in America*; Hagenbeck, *Von Tieren und Menschen*, 430–432.
- 12 Hagenbeck, *Von Tieren und Menschen*, 80–83. See Baglo, *På ville vejer*, and Baglo's chapter in this volume for Sámi ethnic show troupes performing at Hagenbeck's.
- 13 For the Hagenbeck ethnic shows and the early German film, see Thode-Arora, "Herbeigeholte Ferne".
- 14 With the exception of the *Deutsche Afrika-Schau* (*German Africa Show*), in which Africans living in Germany after WWI and Black Germans were concentrated to rekindle interest for the lost German colonies. Ironically, as long as it existed, the show had due to circumstances only a very few performances, but formed a safe haven for its participants, keeping them from forced labor or concentration camps. (Forgey, "Die große Negertrummel"; Joeden-Forgey, "Race Power in Postcolonial Germany").
- 15 "Anthropologisch-zoologische Schaustellungen," see, for example, Hagenbeck, *Von Tieren und Menschen*, 83.
- 16 See Baglo and Holiman, this volume, 142.
- 17 Many photos of the early Hagenbeck ethnic show participants were taken by J. M. Jacobsen, as the print on the photos shows.
- 18 There are many letters written by Henny in the Jacobsen archive; the correspondence lasted till Johan Adrian's and Henny's old age when she lived as a widow in the well-known Schröderstift, a charitable foundation home for ladies who were not too well off. Especially in the 1870s and early 1880s, Henny's letters suggest a very close relationship to, maybe even a crush on, her three-years-younger brother-in-law.
- 19 See also the articles of Kirsten Barton Holiman and Cathrine Baglo, this volume.
- 20 Jacobsen, "Wie ich in Verbindung mit Hagenbeck kahm!".
- 21 In German: Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte.
- 22 Andree, "Geschichte der Berliner Gesellschaft," 40.
- 23 Bastian was also co-founder of the still existing academic journal *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*. He undertook extensive travels to many parts of the world, all-in-all traveling for twenty-five years

of his life, published widely, and was arguably the most influential founding father of German university and museum anthropology.

- 24 Like Bastian, Virchow was a medical doctor by training. He became the founder of modern pathology and introduced a number of public health procedures in Germany, for example, meat inspection, the foundation of non-denominational hospitals, public playgrounds, and ergonomic school furniture. At the same time, he was politically active as a member of a liberal party and for some time member of the German parliament.
- 25 See Baglo, this volume, as well as her book from 2017 for a detailed study on this show and other Sámi shows in Europe and America.
- 26 As their letters reveal, their bedrooms in Dresden were on top of each other, and they flirtingly communicated by tapping signals. A hair curl which Hedwig sent as a token for Adrian to remember her and wear in his breast pocket is still in the envelope with her letter in the Jacobsen papers. As the relationship proceeded, they became intimate as can be seen from a frantic letter by Hedwig who feared she might be pregnant, and Jacobsen's reply in which he, a smooth man of the world, suggested a certain concoction available in the pharmacy. Many little-known facets on middle-class everyday life, or in this case, courting, can be extracted from the 5,000 letters and other papers in the Jacobsen archive, confirming its value as an assembly of not only anthropological, but also historical primary sources, spanning the periods of the German empire, WWI, the Weimar Republic, and WWII.
- 27 Jacobsen, "Tagebuch no. 1," 1877–1881.
- 28 Support Committee for the Augmentation of the Royals Museums' Ethnological Collections.
- 29 Jacobsen, "Wie ich in Verbindung mit Hagenbeck kahm!"; Westphal-Hellbusch, *Hundert Jahre Museum*, 66. For Jacobsen's collecting trip in British Columbia and Alaska, see Bolz and Fienup-Riordan, this volume.
- 30 Letter from Adolf Bastian to J. A. Jacobsen, 10 July 1884; Johan Adrian Jacobsen collection. Hamburg: Museum am Rothenbaum – Kulturen und Künste der Welt (MARKK).; Jacobsen, *Die weiße Grenze*, 155, 156.
- 31 After having accompanied the Nuxalk men back to British Columbia, Bernhard Fillip Jacobsen took up residence there, running a fishing and animal catching station. He later became a participant of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition. He married, raised a family, and died at the American Northwest Coast in 1935. (Rohner, *The Ethnography of Franz Boas*, 67, 199).
- 32 Haberland, "Nine Bella Coolas"; Haberland, "Diese Indianer."
- 33 Letter from H. Stechmann to J. A. Jacobsen, December 8, 1885, Johan Adrian Jacobsen collection. Hamburg: Museum am Rothenbaum – Kulturen und Künste der Welt (MARKK).
- 34 Andree 1976: 32; see also Peter Bolz, this volume.
- 35 Exhibition for Geography and Ethnography.
- 36 Heinrich Umlauff was Carl Hagenbeck's nephew; the Umlauff and Hagenbeck companies often collaborated. The Umlauff companies (there were several, running parallel and over time) dealt in shells, ethnographic artifacts, had taxidermist sections, and at times organized ethnic shows: around 1900, nearly everything a traveler would bring back to Hamburg could be sold to either the Hagenbeck or one of the Umlauff companies: animals alive or dead, shells, and ethnographic objects. Collections purchased from one of the Umlauff companies can be found in many museums all over the world. The Umlauff clientele involved royals, private collectors, ethnographic and natural history museums, but also county fair illusionists. See Thode-Arora, "Die Familie Umlauff."
- 37 Jacobsen, "Im Chicago Ausstellung."
- 38 Jacobsen, *Die weiße Grenze*, 157–159.

- 39 Thode-Arora, "Die Hagenbeckschen Völkerschauen."
- 40 John Hagenbeck (1866–1940) had settled in Ceylon as a successful planter, dealer in wild animals, and – on behalf of Carl Hagenbeck, but also on his own account – organizer of ethnic shows, touring all over Europe. With the outbreak of WWI, he fled impending internment, leaving all his property in Ceylon, to make a living in Germany as a short-lived part-time director of the zoo together with his nephews (Carl Hagenbeck had died in 1913), as licensee or owner of a cinema in Berlin, and in the mid-1920s as owner of his own film company. In 1924, he started organizing ethnic shows from India and Ceylon again, and in 1927 he and his family settled down for good in Ceylon where he died in a British internment camp in WWII. (Bremer, "John Hagenbeck"; Hagenbeck, *John Hagenbecks abenteuerliche*; Hagenbeck, *Den Tieren*: 130)
- 41 Letter of the John Hagenbeck Film Aktiengesellschaft to J. A. Jacobsen, 24 July 1924 and 10 March 1925, Johan Adrian Jacobsen collection. Hamburg: Museum am Rothenbaum – Kulturen und Künste der Welt (MARKK). Thode-Arora, "Herbeigeholte Ferne."
- 42 Letter from Carl Hagenbeck to Senator Diestel, 6 Nov. 1910; Staatsarchiv Hamburg; Cl. IV Lit. no. 4, vol 2a Fasc. 2 Inv. 16 i Conv. I: 80.
- 43 Cf. Thode-Arora, *Für fünfzig Pfennig*, 59–67.
- 44 Jacobsen, *Einladung zur Werbung*.
- 45 Jacobsen, "Tagebuch No. 1," 22.
- 46 All translations from Jacobsen's German letters, manuscripts, and books in this chapter by Hilke Thode-Arora.
- 47 Jacobsen, "Tagebuch No. 1," 30, 44, 48; Jacobsen, "Tagebuch Pine Ridge," Feb. 3, Feb. 9, Feb. 11, Feb. 16, 1910; Jacobsen, "Tagebuch Pine Ridge," March 12, 1910; Jacobsen, "Tagebuch auf einer Reise," Jan. 29, Feb. 12, Feb. 20, Feb. 23; Jacobsen, "Notissen über Daten," 91; letters to Hedwig Jacobsen, 30 Jan., 13 Feb., 25 Feb. 1926; Johan Adrian Jacobsen collection. Hamburg: Museum am Rothenbaum – Kulturen und Künste der Welt (MARKK); Woldt 1884: 130.
- 48 Jacobsen, "Notissen über Daten," 91.
- 49 Jacobsen, "Fortsetzung der Lebensbeschreibung," 5.
- 50 Jacobsen, "Tagebuch auf einer Reise," Feb. 22, 1926.
- 51 Jacobsen, "Meine erste Reise für die Firma Carl Hagenbeck," 10, 11.
- 52 Jacobsen, "Fortsetzung der Lebensbeschreibung," 5; Jacobsen, "Tagebuch auf einer Reise," March 6.
- 53 Ethnographic objects were not only collected to equip ethnic shows with clothes, dwellings, and artifacts. Part of the collection formed a special side show exhibit for the education of the visitors. As organizers did not want to take these artifacts back again when the show participants traveled back to their home countries, they gave them as presents or sold them to ethnographic museums. Cf. Peter Bolz's and Aaron Glass' / Rainer Hatoum's chapters in this volume, and also Frühsorge, Riehn, and Schütte, *Völkerschau-Objekte*.
- 54 Berlin Society for Anthropology, Ethnology and Prehistory.
- 55 Cf. for example, de Waal Malefijt, *Images of Man*, 138–159, 256–292.
- 56 E.g., Hagenbeck, *Fünfundzwanzig*, 49; Hagenbeck, *Mit Indiens Fahrendem Volk*, 8–10.
- 57 As Jacobsen's recruiting of Sámi in 1878 and of Inuit in 1880 will also be part of this book in other chapters and have been reconstructed and published earlier (Thode-Arora, *Für fünfzig Pfennig*; Baglo 2011; Lutz, *The Diary of Abraham Ulrikab*; Rivet, *In the Footsteps of Abraham Ulrikab*; Thode-Arora, "Das Eskimo-Tagebuch"; Thode-Arora, "Abraham's Diary"), they will only be dwelt on briefly here. The recruiting of the Nuxalk and the Sioux have also been reconstructed and published by Haberland (Haberland, "Nine Bella Coolas"; Haberland, "Diese Indianer"; Haberland, "Adrian Jacobsen").

- 58 See p. 141.
- 59 Katarina died in 1879, one year after their return to Greenland.
- 60 Jacobsen, "Tagebuch No. 1"; Jacobsen, "Meine erste Reise für die Firma Carl Hagenbeck"; Jacobsen, "Wie ich in Verbindung mit Hagenbeck kahml!"; Jacobsen, *Die weiße Grenze*. See also Baglo's more detailed discussion of this recruitment trip in this volume.
- 61 See quote on p. 140.
- 62 Letter from Carl Hagenbeck to J. A. Jacobsen, March 2, 1882; J.A. Jacobsen archives.
- 63 George Hunt (1854–1933) later became the main informant of anthropologist Franz Boas, and an ethnographer in his own right – see also the chapter written by Aaron Glass and Rainer Hatoum, this volume. Franz Boas (1858–1942), who after his migration became one of the most influential protagonists of American anthropology, worked at the Ethnological Museum in Berlin in 1885 and 1886. He was so thrilled and impressed by the Bella Coola (Nuxalk) ethnic show recruited by Jacobsen for Hagenbeck, and touring Germany, that he concentrated for large parts of his later professional life on the American Northwest Coast. Traveling there in 1886, he made use of Jacobsen's connections and thus made the acquaintance of George Hunt, with whom he would collaborate for many years after. Intriguingly enough, among the 5,000 letters in the Jacobsen archive, and in Boas's vast professional and private correspondence (Rohner, *The Ethnography of Franz Boas*; The Professional Correspondence), not a single letter exchanged between the two of them could be found, although both men shared an interest in the American Northwest Coast, and although both of them were affiliated with the Berlin museum and must have known each other.
- 64 See Glass and Hatoum, this volume.
- 65 Jacobsen, "Tagebuch No. 2," 23.
- 66 Jacobsen, "Tagebuch No. 2," 19–33; letters from Carl Hagenbeck to J. A. Jacobsen, Dec. 2, 1881, Jan. 5, 1882, March 2, 1882; JA.
- 67 George W. Everette (stage name: Texas Tex), of First Nation and Spanish decent, came from Texas and was a professional showman. He is said to have started performing as a cowboy in Wild West shows at the age of nine years. (Flemming, *Völkerschau Oglala*, 24; Jacobsen, "Tagebuch Pine-Ridge-Reservation," Jan. 8, 1910; Jacobsen, "Fortsetzung d Lebensbeschreibung von Seite," 352; Jacobsen, "Im Chicago Ausstellung".
- 68 Letter from Carl Hagenbeck to J. A. Jacobsen, Jan. 5, 1910, Hagenbeck Archive. The letter is in English.
- 69 Sell and Weybright, *Buffalo Bill*, 154.
- 70 Spelling in the letters; in some of the printed sources the name is rendered as Giroux.
- 71 Hagenbeck preferred to have not too many persons recruited who would be able to speak a European language. He, as other organizers, was afraid that discontent would be the result of too much communication with the spectators (cf. Leutemann, *Lebensbeschreibung*, 69).
- 72 Jacobsen, "Tagebuch Pine-Ridge-Reservation," 8.1.–11.3.1910; Jacobsen, "Tagebuch Pine-Ridge-Reservation," 12.3.–30.3.1910.
- 73 As Baglo (personal communication) points out, the Sámi or Jacobsen did not comply to this. South Sámi costumes were acquired and used for the show.
- 74 Letter from Lorenz Hagenbeck to J. A. Jacobsen, Jan. 27, 1926, Johan Adrian Jacobsen collection. Hamburg: Museum am Rothenbaum – Kulturen und Künste der Welt (MARKK).
- 75 Agreeing to potentially work in the Hagenbeck circus as well was part of the contract.
- 76 Jacobsen, "Tagebuch auf einer Reise." Many thanks to Cathrine Baglo for helping with the participants' names (personal communication).
- 77 E.g., John Hagenbeck, who lived in Ceylon, or Joseph Menges, who only recruited from north-east Africa (cf. Thode-Arora, *Für fünfzig Pfennig*, 45–48, 53–55).

- 78 See Rivet and Lutz in this volume.
- 79 It was Franz Boas who succeeded, with George Hunt's help, to recruit Kwakwaka'wakw for the Chicago World's Fair in 1893 (Rohner, *The Ethnography of Franz Boas*, 144).
- 80 This was neglected in the case of the Inuit recruited in 1880, however, resulting in their deaths by smallpox; see also Rivet and Lutz in this volume.
- 81 See, for example, Abraham Ulrikab's case (Lutz, *The Diary of Abraham Ulrikab*; Rivet, *In the Footsteps of Abraham Ulrikab*; Thode-Arora, "Das Eskimo-Tagebuch"; Thode-Arora "Abraham's Diary").
- 82 Jacobsen's spelling. He might have been Pichocho, a leader among the Aonikenk subgroup of the Tehuelche, who is mentioned under this and other names in several sources (cf. Eißenger, *Entführt, verspottet und gestorben*, 120).
- 83 Jacobsen, "Tagebuch No. 1," 59.
- 84 The law passed in 1901, which prohibited the recruitment of ethnic show participants from the German colonies, was largely triggered by the many attentions which male ethnic show participants had received from German women during the large Colonial Exhibition of the *Berliner Gewerbeausstellung* (Great Industrial Exhibition) in 1896. Love affairs of this kind threatened the social distance and hierarchy between ethnic groups or "races" which was considered necessary for a smooth power structure in the colonies (Sippel, "Rassismus, Protektionismus oder Humanität").
- 85 Haberland, "Diese Indianer."
- 86 Jacobsen, "Notissen über Daten," 89, 90.
- 87 Jacobsen, "Notissen über Daten," 88.
- 88 E.g., the "savage," "noble savage," "child of nature."
- 89 Haberland ("Diese Indianer," "Adrian Jacobsen") shows how many small towns in Saxony alone were tour stops of the Nuxalk show.
- 90 For a compilation, see Thode-Arora, *Für fünfzig Pfennig*, 168–173.
- 91 In this respect, but also when looking at the Hagenbeck program brochures of the years following 1907, proposing a "sightseeing walk with highlights" through the ethnic show "villages," they can be seen as a performative forerunner of 20<sup>th</sup>/21<sup>st</sup> century theme parks and tourism tours through ideal-type "villages."
- 92 Çelik, *Displaying the Orient*.
- 93 See pp. 146–148.
- 94 See, for example, Bancel *et al.*, *Zoo humains*.
- 95 See, for example, Brändle, *Nayo Bruce*; Thode-Arora, *From Samoa with Love*; Warsame, "A Brief History."
- 96 See Rivet's chapter.
- 97 Letters from Edward Two-Two to J. A. Jacobsen, November 29, 1910, June 18, 1912 and April 8, 1913; letter draft from J. A. Jacobsen to Edward Two-Two, probably May 1913; JA. Financial gain seems to have been an important motive to join an ethnic show as a participant, as a number of sources show. Abraham Ulrikab (see also France Rivet's and Hartmut Lutz' chapters, this volume) wanted to pay back debts with the gains from the show. Okabak (see Cathrine Baglo's chapter) came back as a wealthy man. John George Hagenbeck (*Mit Indiens Fahrendem Volk*, 77, 156, 160–162) mentions that Indian and Ceylonese participants could afford a piece of their own land after two or three ethnic show seasons, which they otherwise had to work for much longer.
- 98 Letters from Clifford R. Kopas (on Iwqaini's behalf) to J. A. Jacobsen; April 21 and June 22, 1938. Haberland ("Nine Bella Coolas," "Diese Indianer") mentions that the Nuxalk men were very interested in Western attire already during their stay in Germany, and a number of photos taken in 1885/86 show them in elegant three-piece suits complete with pocket watch.



**Figure 0.7:** Arriving at Risøya, June 2016. France Rivet, Canadian author and contributor to this book. Photo: Mari Karlstad, The Arctic University Museum of Norway.

## 5. Jacobsen's Voyage with the Labrador Eskimos (1880–1881)

France Rivet

**Abstract** In the fall of 1880, eight Inuit from Northern Labrador were exhibited to the public in large European cities. Unfortunately, all died of smallpox. In 2014, the publication of the book *In the Footsteps of Abraham Ulrikab* revealed that French and German museum collections contain the human remains of the Inuit as well as artifacts gathered by Johan Adrian Jacobsen. New information has since enriched our knowledge. This chapter is an update on the Inuit's story.

**Keywords** Labrador | Inuit heritage and artifacts | ethnographical shows | Carl Hagenbeck | human remains

In August 1880, mandated by Carl Hagenbeck, Johan Adrian Jacobsen traveled to Labrador, where he recruited two Inuit families, eight individuals in total aged from nine months to fifty years old. The group's European tour took them to Hamburg, Berlin, Prague, Frankfurt, and Darmstadt when, suddenly, the Inuit started dying, hit by smallpox. The first three victims passed away in Darmstadt and Krefeld (previously Crefeld), Germany; the remaining five perished in Paris in early January 1881. Jacobsen as their recruiter, and a witness to their journey and deaths in Europe, was the one who established the closest relationship with them during their entire journey. His journal, his correspondence, and his archives therefore represent one of the most significant sources for understanding the long chain of events that unfolded and led to such a tragic ending. The Labrador Inuit were the fourth of a series of almost seventy exhibitions that the Hagenbeck enterprise presented between 1874 and 1932,<sup>1</sup> and these documents give us a unique insight into the planning and conduct of Carl Hagenbeck's early ethnographical shows. They also allow us to be witnesses to how Jacobsen worked as a recruiter and as a manager during the tour, to how the world of exhibitions was intertwined not only with the sciences of ethnography, ethnology, and physical anthropology, but also with business activities such as shipping, fishing, hunting, and even taxidermy. In this chapter, I will summarize Jacobsen's 1880–1881 voyage with the Labrador Inuit utilizing his personal writings, documents stemming from his interactions with his contemporaries, and 19<sup>th</sup>-century newspapers.

## JACOBSEN'S EFFORTS TO RECRUIT INUIT

Jacobsen's adventure to recruit Inuit started in October 1879, when he, his brother Jacob Martin, and menagerie owner Carl Hagenbeck decided to join forces to acquire a new sailing vessel. The ship was to be used for two main purposes: catching Greenland sharks off the southern coast of Iceland and obtaining Inuit for Hagenbeck's ethnographical shows.

[Hagenbeck] thought that if we could get a fully equipped vessel for 15,000 [gold] marks, as my brother thought, then Hagenbeck would take a one-third share of it, in order that we might bring him Eskimos who would be a valuable ship's load for him. So, we began at once to look for a vessel.<sup>2</sup>

Johan Adrian was put in charge of finding the right ship. In December 1879, in Kristiansund on the western coast of Norway, he bought an 1865 "galeas," a small trade vessel, named *Hevnegutten* [the boy from Hevne]:<sup>3</sup>

We equipped the ship for three different purposes: fishing for Greenland sharks, hunting hooded seals and whales. All that took some doing, and then there were other things which had to be added. In short, when everything was done, the fully equipped ship cost 28,000 [gold] marks instead of the 15,000 [gold] marks<sup>4</sup> which had been calculated. [...] So, the ship was well prepared, but by now it was so late that we could not think of any plan to be able to fish for anything. So, we thought of getting some wild and some tame Eskimos instead.<sup>5</sup>

On April 9, 1880, Carl Hagenbeck, Johan Adrian, and Jacob Martin Jacobsen registered the two-mast galeas in Hamburg under the new name *Eisbär* [polar bear] and the recognition signal RFVM.<sup>6</sup> That day, the three men signed a declaration stating that Johan Adrian Jacobsen was no longer a shareholder in the ship. His brother Jacob Martin was taking over his share:

[...] The ownership of the galeas *Hevnegutten* now named *Eisbär* had changed as follows, and that according to a 'bill of sale' dated at Kristiansund the 8th of December 1879, the above-mentioned gentlemen stated that the shared ownership in the ship has changed to sole ownership of C. Hagenbeck and of J. M. Jacobsen, that is to say the first mentioned 1/3 share, and the latter 2/3 share.<sup>7</sup>

On April 27, 1880, the *Eisbär* left Hamburg with an all-Norwegian crew: Johan Adrian Jacobsen, Captain Bang, a veteran skipper with several years of experience in the Arctic Ocean commanding ships flying the German flag,<sup>8</sup> and seven sailors.<sup>9</sup> At least three of the crew members were identified



by Jacobsen: Christensen, who had skippered vessels in the Arctic Ocean for years,<sup>10</sup> Gulliksen, the First Mate, who had once captained ships for the Polar Company,<sup>11</sup> and a sailor named Lampe.<sup>12</sup>

We had first thought that our plan would be that on the east coast of Greenland we would catch as many seals as we could, and that then in West Greenland, we would try to persuade a couple of Eskimo families to travel with us to Germany. If we did not succeed in West Greenland, then we would try in southern Baffin [Is]land.<sup>13</sup>



**Figure 5.1:** Johan Adrian Jacobsen on board the *Eisbär* arriving in Greenland. Illustration by M. Hoffmann, published in *Beiträge über leben und treiben der Eskimos in Labrador und Grönland*. Berlin, 1880. Colouring by Diane Mongeau, 2017. © France Rivet/Polar Horizons.

It wasn't until July 7 that the *Eisbär* arrived in Jakobshavn (Ilulissat) in West Greenland. Jacobsen received a warm welcome as many people remembered him from his 1877 visit (Fig. 5.1). Indeed, three years earlier, on his very first assignment for Carl Hagenbeck, Jacobsen had recruited six Greenlanders. The group consisted of two single men, Henrik Johan Jensen (also known as Kujagi) and Hans Noahssen (Kokkik), and a family of four made up of Michael Caspar Zacharias Poulsen (Okabak), his wife, Johanne Juditte Margrethe Poulsen (Maggak), and their two young daughters Ane Katrine Lucie Birgitte and Regine Katrine Elisabeth.<sup>14</sup> They toured various European cities including Paris, Brussels, Cologne, Berlin,

Dresden, Hamburg, and Copenhagen before returning to Jakobshavn in 1878 with their earnings.

Immediately upon arrival, Johan Adrian sent a letter to Theodor Krarup Smith, the North Greenland governor in Godhavn (Qeqertarsuaq), requesting permission to buy items and to hire Greenlanders. He wrote:

**Hamburg** Jakobshavn, July 7, 1880

With this letter I would like to address the excellent Inspectorate for permission to purchase the following items:

- 6 adult dogs
- 6 kayaks, like those I have seen in different museums in Europe
- many kamiks [fur boots] and furs, partly for employees, partly for museums.

We demand more than 6

I would like to receive permission to take with me Okabak and his family to go to the West Coast (Cumberland), as well as another kayaker to help investigate the shores and examine whether the ice conditions allow it.

This trip was undertaken to hunt whales but also to see what I could find as ethnographic objects among the natives. I await the response of the inspector. I'll stay here carefully until I receive it. Let me know as soon as possible!

Yours,

J. A. Jacobsen<sup>15</sup>

As Jacobsen noted in his diary, Okabak, his wife, and Kujagi had expressed their interest in once again following him to Europe. But all became scared when they heard that the inspector had denied Jacobsen the permission to take anyone away.<sup>16</sup> In his letter, Krarup Smith also reminded Jacobsen that the coasts of Greenland were closed to all foreigners and, since he had not obtained prior approval from the Danish authorities in Copenhagen, his request to collect ethnographical objects was refused.

Godhavn, July 14, 1880

Today the Inspectorate received a letter from you, dated the 7<sup>th</sup> of July of this year at Jakobshavn, in which you asked permission to buy various things, and to also take along a couple of Greenlanders on your voyage. Although you stated that you were a whaler, you are obviously trying to find out what ethnographic objects might be obtainable here.

As you already know, from your earlier voyage, that these coastal regions may not be approached by ship nor be visited without a prior permission from the

competent authorities in Denmark, it will probably not surprise you that in spite of the commendable favours which you did earlier for some Greenlanders whom you took with you to Europe because that was permitted by higher authorities, we are at present not able to grant your wishes, with some exceptions.

The Inspectorate absolutely cannot allow you to hire local Greenlanders to accompany you on your voyage. However, because of your earlier good behaviour, we will inform the Colonial Administrator at Jakobshavn that the Inspectorate can allow the purchase of merely 2 kayaks instead of 6, because as you must certainly recognize, buying up so many kayaks at once would deprive a number of Greenlanders of their usual income for a considerable time, until new kayaks could be obtained.

If you can deliver three copies of a written declaration to the Directorate responsible for the Royal Greenland Trading Company that on demand and when required, you will pay the difference between the prices fixed here for 6 Netsilik furs and 12 pairs of kamiks and for the furs at auction sales in Copenhagen, then you may take them with you. You must also declare the number of furs and their condition.

Krarup Smith<sup>17</sup>

Obviously, Jacobsen was not pleased with the inspector's reply, and he clearly voiced his dissatisfaction:

Jakobshavn, July 20, 1880

In today's mail I received the inspector's response regarding my request to buy kayaks and dogs and the permission to get people able to navigate with kayaks for a trip to Cumberland. I must note that it is very surprising that you do not allow Greenlanders to leave their country. It was only for a short trip of maybe a month and it was never my intention to go further. I thought the Greenlanders were able to act freely as they wish. It is well known that the people of Greenland have accompanied various expeditions and I was advised that the people here are Danes, therefore, they are 'private' individuals. Naturally, one should ask by what right you have the authority to prevent a Greenlander from leaving his country?

Each year in Europe, there are people who come from various countries. So far, we have never had the experience of a government refusing to allow them to travel unless they were obliged to do their military service, or if they were criminals. I have never had the experience of not being allowed to travel along the coast of Greenland. I know there are many whalers from England who, each year, visit these places and travel anywhere. Already, several of my companions have visited Godhavn on other vessels.

Regarding the decision of the inspector to refuse to let me buy kayaks, 6 dogs and 12 pairs of kamiks, I have taken note of your decision and I will obey your instructions. As this area is very little known in Europe, I will do my best to inform people about the conditions in Greenland.

J. A. Jacobsen<sup>18</sup>

Johan Adrian was not being truthful when he wrote that he only wanted to hire the Greenlanders for a short trip to Cumberland. As we have seen previously, it was clear from his diary that his mission was to bring Inuit back to Europe. More specifically, he had received the order to recruit 12 to 15 individuals to maximize the effect with the public.<sup>19</sup>



**Figure 5.2:** Geographical map of Jacobsen's 1880 travels in Greenland and Labrador. Illustration: Diane Mongeau. © France Rivet/Polar Horizons.

The *Eisbär* raised anchor from Jakobshavn on July 21 and headed towards Baffin Island (Fig. 5.2). But the thickness of the ice prevented it from entering Cumberland Sound as expected. The decision was then made to aim for Labrador. The ship arrived in Hebron, a small Moravian mission of approximately 200 souls, on August 10 (Fig 5.3). As soon as he went on shore, Johan Adrian was met by three Moravian missionaries who were not enthusiastic about his plan to recruit Inuit.



**Figure 5.3:** Left: The Mission at Hebron on the Labrador Coast. Illustration by Levin Theodore Reichel, ca. 1860. Archives and Special Collections. Memorial University of Newfoundland. Right: The mission building, 2016. © France Rivet/Polar Horizons.

The missionaries here do not seem to want to further my enterprise, as I had hoped. When I told them that I had brought Eskimos from Greenland to Europe [in 1877], they all insisted that the people must have been spoiled for life, because taking a trip to Europe appears to be the same as ruining these people.<sup>20</sup>

Given the missionaries' opposition, all the Christianized Inuit refused to accept his offer. Jacobsen's last chance was to hire a local interpreter to head north and convince "savage Eskimos." A 35-year-old Inuk, Abraham, agreed to help Jacobsen and boarded the *Eisbär* for the three-day trip to Nachvak Fjord.

[...] it is difficult to find the people, because they are on the caribou hunt up in the mountains. But I have to make an attempt even if I have little hope to succeed. It is difficult with such timid people, as the Eskimos are, to persuade people to embark on such a long journey.<sup>21</sup>

Upon their arrival in Nachvak, the night of August 18, the crew fired several gunshots to verify if there was anyone in the vicinity. Answering shots were heard soon after. Therefore, Jacobsen decided to make new attempts early the next morning to acquire people.

Went on land at 7 o'clock with my interpreter and one sailor in a direction where we saw smoke. There were four families present and we learned from these people that they are the only inhabitants of Nachvak because the others had moved inland and would only return in October. They were now hunting caribou [...] I invited the people to visit our ship, and at noon had all four families on board. I fed them well, and after that I made them the proposal to come along to Europe. In the beginning no one would, but my interpreter knew how to persuade the people (I had promised him a new suit if he could convince somebody to travel with us) so one family at last decided to come along. It was a man, an older woman, and their daughter. But from where will I get the others?<sup>22</sup>

The non-Christian family of three who accepted Jacobsen's offer was comprised of Tigianniak,<sup>23</sup> a 45-year-old man, Paingu, his 50-year-old wife, and Nuggasak, their 15-year-old girl. It is interesting to note that in his book *Eventyrlige Farter: Fortalte for Ungdommen*, Jacobsen provides a different and much more colorful and detailed explanation of his first encounter with the "savage" Inuit of Nachvak:

I hit upon the idea to fire a rifle shot. To our delight it was answered a short while later [...]. Soon after, a boat filled with Eskimos came out to us. They immediately climbed on board without showing the least sign of fear. They were wild guys, at least judged by their looks. The men wore their hair long, hanging down to their eyebrows, and in the back, it flowed unkempt and wild over their shoulders. [...] The women wear a jacket of sealskin which reaches down to their ankles in the back somewhat shaped like a beaver's tail. [...] We treated them to salted meat, hardtack, butter and tea. One after the other, the savages tasted the salted meat, but all of them together spat it out again immediately, exclaiming: 'Tara juk!' (too much salt!). But the tea and the hardtack they seemed to enjoy excellently.<sup>24</sup>

How much of this 1894 depiction reflects the actual events, and how much of it was embellished or created by amalgamating various happenings? Fourteen years after the fact, could Jacobsen really remember so vividly details he did not take note of when they occurred? The *Labrador Eskimos* chapter of his 1894 book contains a few other scenes not mentioned in his 1880 diary, including Inuit assisting the crew to fill barrels of water or Inuit coming on board the ship to help pilot the *Eisbär* through a dangerous section of the Labrador Coast. Jacobsen ends with the description of shaman Tigianniak using his powers to calm a storm. In reality, that event occurred near Heligoland, during the Atlantic crossing, but most likely for the purpose of entertaining his readers, Jacobsen transposed it along the Labrador Coast.

While the *Eisbär* was in Nachvak, George Ford, the Hudson's Bay Company Post Manager, had a long discussion with Abraham, and succeeded in convincing him to embark on the voyage to Europe with his family. Jacobsen was jubilant!



In my delight about Abraham's promise to come along to Europe with his wife and two children, Mr. Ford and I got solidly drunk. I was well equipped with wines, cognac, rum, and aquavit, and even though my captain Bang had secretly stolen a lot of it, there was still enough. I have repeatedly had the good luck to find people who helped me with all their might. In 1877 it was Fleischer [Carl] in Greenland and now it is Mr. Ford here. Only his powers of persuasion succeeded in changing Abraham's mind.<sup>25</sup>

The *Eisbär* returned to Hebron to fetch Abraham's family: Ulrike, his 24-year-old wife, and Sara and Maria, their 3-year-old and 9-month-old daughters. A 20-year-old Christian single man, Tobias, decided to join the group.

While in Hebron, Jacobsen also took the liberty to explore the nearby Inuit graves where he seized any object which he deemed to be of interest (Fig. 5.4). He ended up gathering a collection of more than 300 artifacts which was to tour Europe alongside the Inuit.



**Figure 5.4:** Johan Adrian Jacobsen collecting artifacts in Hebron graves. Illustration by M. Hoffmann, published in *Beiträge überleben und treiben der Eskimos in Labrador und Grönland* (Berlin, 1880).

I got to know that very close by there are some old graves and, together with two of my crew members, I paid them a visit. They were old graves from pagan times, and I received explanations for a lot of things I did not know. Next to each grave, and partly also inside of it, the things are buried which

had belonged to the deceased. It seems, however, that the items were broken before, because all containers were broken apart, even in places that were otherwise entirely secure. It is the custom among the Eskimos, that an item which belonged to a deceased, will never be used by others. Therefore, everything is carried to the grave and deposited on top of it. There, one finds remnants of kayaks, tents, omiaks (larger boats), and household items; in short, all the possessions left behind by an Eskimo. One could therefore still gather a rich collection in Labrador, if one has time to search, because the missionaries do not care about it. It is different in Greenland, where everything has been searched through by Europeans. I was quite surprised that all implements were made of wood and iron, only few of bone or stone. Indeed, I only found one spearhead of stone, and only a few insignificant implements of bone.<sup>26</sup>

On August 26, all were on their way to Europe (Fig. 5.5).



**Figure 5.5:** Geographical map of Jacobsen's 1880 travels in Europe with the Labrador Eskimos. Illustration by Diane Mongeau. © France Rivet/Polar Horizons.



## THE EUROPEAN TOUR

The month-long crossing of the Atlantic was very trying for the Inuit. All suffered from seasickness, but the *Eisbär* dropped anchor safely in Hamburg on September 24, 1880. The Inuit, their dogs, kayaks, fishing and hunting gear, and personal belongings were taken straightaway to Carl Hagenbeck's menagerie located in his residence's backyard at 13 Neuer Pferdemarkt in the St. Pauli District. As for Jacobsen, he left that day for Berlin to meet with Hagenbeck.

When I arrived at Hamburg, I found a cable from Mr. Hagenbeck to immediately come to Berlin. So, I departed from Hamburg on the same evening and was in Berlin the next morning. I may well say that our meeting was mutually quite cordial, because in the 3 years during which I was at his service, we had developed a brotherly relationship. He knew that I would do my utmost to further his interests, which in this case were also my own. Because we all had equal shares in this, Hagenbeck, as well as my brother Martin and myself. Each of us (my brother and I) had invested our savings in the purchase of the ship and the equipment. [...] Hagenbeck was happy beyond all measures that I had brought the Eskimos after all, and we forged plans, where we would be able to set up our Eskimo village<sup>27</sup> first and with the greatest profit.<sup>28</sup>

Jacobsen was back in Hamburg on September 26, 1880, where he helped put up the exhibit, build the huts, pitch the tents, etc. The first visitors were greeted on October 2. Two days later, Jacobsen was admitted to the hospital in Hamburg. His friend, Adolf Schoepf, son of the Dresden Zoo director, took over managing the tour.

Starting on May 31 and throughout the summer, in his diary, Jacobsen had regularly reported being ill, and it was more than seasickness:

I am terribly debilitated and so weak that I can hardly remain standing (June 7); been plagued by diarrhea for nearly a month (June 24); I have been unwell the whole day, had a colossal headache (July 24); I am still unwell; it is probably from the food here, I seem no longer able to digest the food on board (July 27); Of all of my voyages in the Arctic, none has been as depressing, and I have hated none as much as this one. Perhaps that is because I am sick, and because ahead of me I only see ruin. I have never feared the future as I do this year. (June 16)

On board the ship, Jacobsen had access to some medication. He took quinine, an antimalarial drug, rhubarb juice, stomach drops, as well as up to 5 drops of opium twice daily. Unfortunately, none of it helped.<sup>29</sup>

Jacobsen remained in the hospital for about three weeks where he tried to recover through rest and treatment. On October 27, he boarded the train to meet up with the Inuit who had moved to Berlin fourteen days earlier. But soon, he reported falling ill again with intermittent fever and staying in bed until the group's departure for Prague on November 15.



**Figure 5.6:** The group of Inuit exhibited in Europe. Illustrations by Adolf Liebscher published in Prague's *Světovzor* newspaper, November 26, 1880.

The Inuit remained in Prague for two weeks (Fig. 5.6). The only entry in Jacobsen's diary is what he wrote on the day of their arrival:

Arrived in Prague in the evening. In Prague, our Eskimos were in Kaufmann's Menagerie, where two huts had been built, one for the Christian family and one for the heathens, just as in Berlin. Now it was better in so far as the huts had been built inside the menagerie, so we had nothing to fear from weather. The working time for the Eskimos was from 11 to 12, 3 to 4, 6 to 8 o'clock in the evening. Visitors (numbers) in Prague were not bad, only that staying in a menagerie is anything but comfortable—after all, you are dealing with menagerists.<sup>30</sup>

Jacobsen's diary is also silent during their two-week sojourn in Frankfurt. He picks up his pen again in Darmstadt and reports young Nuggasak feeling ill. Two days later, tragedy strikes!

At 8 o'clock in the morning we awoke to the shout, 'Nuggasak is dead!' You may well imagine our shock. The physician diagnosed a rapid stomach ulcer as having caused the death. The poor parents did not stop crying from morning until evening. Of course, it also had a very depressing effect on the others and on us as well.<sup>31</sup>

Nuggasak was buried on the afternoon of December 16, 1880. When the group arrived at the cemetery, thousands of onlookers were already present.<sup>32</sup>

A few days ago, in Darmstadt, the 15-year-old daughter of the Eskimo family travelling through Germany died. According to some news sources, the girl died of being homesick for her snow-covered homeland. Others affirm she succumbed to some stomach illness. It was not allowed to perform a traditional Eskimo funeral. They could not wrap the corpse in furs and leave it on the surface surrounding it with stones or blocks of ice; in Germany the funeral had to be subjected to the European custom. They were content with wrapping the corpse in pelts and laying it into a coffin which was then lowered into the grave. Because the deceased girl was a pagan, no priest attended her funeral. The gravedigger said the Lord's Prayer. Family and friends each threw three handfuls of soil on top of the coffin. During the ceremony they were quiet and serene; contrary to when the girl died, and everybody sobbed. Only the girl's mother attended the funeral wearing the traditional Eskimo attire. The girl's father and brother<sup>33</sup> wore European clothing.<sup>34</sup>

The group moved on to the Bockum Zoo near Krefeld. On the night of December 25, right after the Christmas celebrations, Paingu fell ill. Doctors were called in, but they could not diagnose anything other than rheumatism. On December 27, ten minutes after the physicians' last visit, Paingu passed away.<sup>35</sup>

The next day, Jacobsen attended Paingu's autopsy. After the examination, Jacobsen took the woman's skullcap, wrapped it in paper, and put it in his luggage. He retained it until the group reached Paris. In the notes he subsequently added to his diary, Jacobsen reports waiting after all Inuit had died to hand the skullcap to a scientist.

[...] the museum in Paris (Trocadero) had acquired various things, e.g., had bought up all things I had procured at graves and elsewhere in Labrador, including the skullcap of the woman Paingo, which the physicians in Krefeld had taken off to look for the cause of the sickness, and which I had kept in my suitcase among my clothes (wrapped in paper). However, when I was leaving the hospital, a professor from the museum came to view the grave finds from Labrador. I then offered the skullcap to him because I now wanted to get rid of it. The professor accepted it with great pleasure, stuffed it under his coat, and marched off with it. I have wondered later, why I was not infected by smallpox because I had kept this skullcap for weeks among my clothes.<sup>36</sup>

In reality, Jacobsen got rid of the skullcap much sooner. Chances are that he was anxious to dispose of it the minute the group arrived in Paris, on December 31, 1880. Their departure from Krefeld was heartbreaking for the Inuit as they had to leave 3-year-old Sara in hospital. Even though she was the third to fall sick, Sara was the first of the Inuit to be diagnosed with smallpox.<sup>37</sup> The Krefeld burgomaster having been informed that the group was leaving behind a child with smallpox, he took the initiative to send a telegram to the Paris officials warning them that a potentially infected party was to arrive at the *Gare du Nord* at 4:45 a.m. on December 31.<sup>38</sup> Could Jacobsen have panicked as they were still in shock from finally finding out what was killing the Inuit? There was also the pressure of the French authorities awaiting them at the train station and requesting that the remaining five survivors be vaccinated immediately, not to mention his fear that he might have caught the disease by carrying a contaminated skullcap.

In any case, Dr. Arthur Bordier, a member of the *Société d'anthropologie de Paris*, is the person who ended up with Paingu's skullcap. It is still not clear if he obtained it directly from Jacobsen or from a third party, but Jacobsen had most likely met him in 1877 when he came to the Jardin d'Acclimatation, as part of a delegation of anthropologists, to study the Greenlanders. The fact that Dr. Bordier presented Paingu's skullcap to the *Société d'anthropologie de Paris* on January 6, 1881,<sup>39</sup> is proof that Jacobsen got rid of it sooner and under circumstances other than what he describes in his diary.

Jacobsen admits that no one had thought of having the Inuit vaccinated upon arrival in Hamburg. In 1877, the Greenlanders were inoculated in their home country before departure, but this time, it was not feasible in Labrador because of the non-existent medical infrastructure. Jacobsen blames his forgetfulness on his summer-long sickness.<sup>40</sup> On January 3, 1881, his health was still troublesome. Dr. Panneval, the Jardin d'Acclimatation's physician, wrote him a prescription for a concoction of *Sydenham laudanum*, antimony oxide, *julep gommeux*, and gum arabic, of which he was to take three tablespoons daily.<sup>41</sup> The Inuit were vaccinated

at the Jardin d'Acclimatation on January 1 and again on January 7. Unfortunately, these efforts came too late. On January 9, the five Inuit were admitted to Hôpital Saint-Louis along with Jacobsen, whose condition was sufficiently worrisome. Even though he was diagnosed with intermittent fever, Jacobsen was given a bed in the barracks reserved for smallpox patients. He was therefore a witness to the suffering and to the deaths of 13-month-old Maria (January 10), Tigianniak (January 11), Tobias and Abraham (January 13), and finally, Ulrike (January 16).

Undoubtedly, what Jacobsen saw and heard during his week at the hospital affected him greatly. He was convinced that his own days were counted.

I was also given a room in the same shack for the epidemically ill—and I was rather ill, even without this terrible upset—because according to my own perception, not one of us will ever leave this hospital.<sup>42</sup>

It looks terrible here. We are surrounded by sick and dying people. [...] Because all walls here are made only of thin boards, you can hear every moan and every sound. Although I am sick myself, I am not too sick to support, as best I can, the poor Eskimos, who have to suffer intolerable pains.<sup>43</sup>

They virtually suffocate. It is an uncomfortable feeling to be looking at death eye to eye, especially if death is as agonizing as with these unfortunate ones. [...] All this I was forced to see and hear. It was enough to make a healthy person sick. Only the nurses always remained their same selves.<sup>44</sup>

Ulrike died this morning at 2 o'clock—the last of the eight—horrible. Should I be indirectly responsible for their death? Did I just have to lead these poor honest people from their home to find their graves here on foreign soil? Oh, how everything became so totally different than I had thought. Everything went so well in the beginning. We had only now gotten to know each other and begun to hold each other dear.<sup>45</sup>

Immediately after writing this paragraph, Jacobsen expressed his desire to head back to Germany to rest and see to his health issues:

I feel a little better and am planning to leave the hospital tomorrow. I think the best I can do is to travel to Aachen and try the baths there, because I also suffer from rheumatism. I will not be able to go to Hamburg before I am certain that I do not carry the smallpox disease with me.<sup>46</sup>

## AFTER THE INUIT'S DEATH

Jacobsen boarded a train on January 20, 1881, three days after being released from the hospital, and headed to Aachen to rest and hopefully cure his illness. At the

same time, Dr. Léon Colin, a French medical officer and epidemiologist, was mandated to determine the causes of the Inuit's death. In his final report, he writes:

These poor survivors were already into the incubation period during which the failure of the vaccine inoculations is the rule;[...] It is not France that it was appropriate to proceed with the vaccination of these poor expatriates; it was in Hamburg, at the time of landing; it was at the time they were taken to Prague, home to an epidemic known for its seriousness; it was in Darmstadt when the first victim succumbed, her eruption providing the evidence of the danger hanging over all the others. It was then that the vaccine would have taken on them, as wonderfully, if it is allowed to use such a term, as was to do its terrible antagonist, smallpox.<sup>47</sup>

Even though Colin doesn't name Hagenbeck, Jacobsen, or Schoepf in his report, he considers their lack of action reprehensible:

We hope that the Conseil d'hygiène will allow us, in our conclusions, to hint to the share of responsibility that may lie with the individuals who, under the title of interpreters and, perhaps with the disinterest of the American Barnum, followed these unfortunate people, step by step, from Hamburg to Paris; staying for three months in a country, Germany, where vaccination is legally binding; not seizing this opportunity to prevent dangers, for the Eskimos themselves, and for the onlookers that would be attracted, by this travelling exhibition through so many cities where smallpox is almost endemic.<sup>48</sup>

Jacobsen's diary is silent during his whole stay in Aachen except on February 21, 1881, one month after his arrival, when he writes that doctors expect him to remain in Aachen for at least 6 weeks and that he passes time by reading, going to the theater, and taking daily walks.<sup>49</sup> His next entry is on March 5, 1881, as he heads back to Hamburg. That said, the kind words he received from various correspondents clearly show that in his letters to them he expressed disheartenment, guilt at the Inuit's death, as well as concern for his future and financial security.

On January 14, Carl Friedrich Ludwig Kühne, the father-in-law of Jacobsen's brother Jacob Martin, tried to encourage him.

It is sad that these poor people died so far from their home and especially without being able to follow their own religious customs. [...] At least they received some consolation and a bit of hope in addition to the care provided by the physicians which is also the only thing to preserve you. In addition to the awful illness, one

now receives fear and shame. Both of those, one has to try to avoid. I recommend to you as well to reject any blame and responsibility for the illness which has killed them. [...] [Somebody] is upset that you were responsible for bringing these people from their home and that they were rewarded for it here in this way, but I think the accusations are unfounded because you did not want for harm to come to these people, and nothing can be done against the force of faith. The life of people and their suffering is ordained by God. We cannot alter that decision.<sup>50</sup>

On February 17, both Carl Hagenbeck and Adolf Schoepf sent their own words of reassurance.

I read your letter to Schoepf and I cannot understand why you are so discouraged because you are usually so courageous. First of all, you must do me the favour and do not give up. Keep a level head and most importantly do not stop your treatment too early. Continue as long as the doctors think necessary. If you run out of money, just write us how much you need, and I will send it to you immediately.<sup>51</sup>

Take courage. [...] If you need money, just write us and I assure you that everything is not as bad as you think.<sup>52</sup>

## THE SALE OF THE COLLECTION OF ETHNOGRAPHICAL OBJECTS TO MUSEUMS

In his diary, Jacobsen gives the impression that he negotiated the sale of the Hebron grave artifacts with the curator of the *Musée d'Ethnographie du Trocadéro*. His correspondence shows a different story: Adolf Schoepf is the one who took care of finding institutions or individuals that would acquire the collection.

As Jacobsen was boarding the train to Aachen on January 20, Parisians read the following advertisement about the ethnographical objects:

VERY RARE ETHNOGRAPHICAL OBJECTS for sale after the Eskimos' departure from the Jardin d'Acclimatation, includes sealskin and reindeer-skin clothes, eider duck skin blankets, weapons, canoes, etc. Contact Schoepf, at Fourré, av. Neuilly, 199.<sup>53</sup>

For the next month, Adolf Schoepf kept Jacobsen informed of his attempts to find people to take the artifacts.

I did not have much luck so far with the sale of the objects. Tomorrow morning at 10 o'clock I expect Mr. Landrin<sup>54</sup> who announced his visit by letter and would

like to see the objects. Hopefully, he will take many of them. Two gentlemen [came] yesterday for the kayaks, one of them wrote today about it but none are sold yet. Last night with Martinet<sup>55</sup> I went to get your shawl and (I) also set stone spikes aside for you [= arrow spikes made of stone?].<sup>56</sup>

Today I unpacked everything and put it in order in the house in which the dogs are kept. I threw away the wooden boxes and I found many objects which had belonged to the dead people which, of course, will have to be burned. Among them, I found the beads and the wooden figurines which I retained for the Berliners. The Berliners are enquiring about models which you still have but which you did not record. If Landrin does not take them, they may have them in addition. Landrin unfortunately did not come today. None of the things have been sold yet except for the reindeer skins which were sold for 40 francs to the people in the garden [Jardin d'Acclimatation].<sup>57</sup>

Not a single object has been sold yet. I still have not met with Landrin either in the Trocadero, in his apartment nor in the newspaper office. This evening I will try once again at the office.<sup>58</sup>

I have gone from Paris to Vienna, Pest [Budapest], Vienna, Hamburg to Bremenhaven and back to Hamburg. I hope today to reach Hamburg. The objects are still all in Paris not yet sold.<sup>59</sup>

Schoepf finally managed to meet with Armand Landrin, who acquired more than 300 artifacts for the Trocadero Museum. Most of this collection is now found in the American Collection of the *Musée du quai Branly-Jacques Chirac* in Paris and is known as the *Hagenbeck Collection*. In 1881, it was the most important Arctic collection in France.<sup>60</sup> In Carl Hagenbeck's financial records, the 300-mark transaction for "Eskimo objects" was posted on March 13, 1881, and appears under the client account of the *Ministère de l'instruction publique*. In the top right corner of the Inuit's account, one can read two very pale annotations: "Landrin" and "Palais du Trocadéro."

As mentioned above, Jacobsen's correspondence with Adolf Schoepf reveals that the Royal Museum of Ethnology in Berlin also had a desire to purchase some of the Labrador ethnographical artifacts. Adolf Bastian and his assistant Edgar Bauer first showed interest on November 13, 1880, a couple of days before the Inuit were to leave Berlin. Their enquiry was about the possibility of acquiring items such as a tambourine from Greenland, Labrador snowshoes, Labrador goggles, as well as grave finds including a wooden figure (idol), some stone spear tips, and pearls. In addition, they asked for objects which were made by Abraham, without giving any more precision.<sup>61</sup>

On January 20, 1881, only four days after the death of the last Inuit, Adolf Bastian reiterated the museum's desire for the artifacts:



Berlin, 20 January 1881

Esteemed Sir,

I just received the notice that all of the persons of the group of Eskimos exhibited by you originating in Labrador have unfortunately died. I therefore permit myself to enquire about the order from Mr. Bauer last November of several objects which had been exhibited with the group at the same time and which are part of the ethnological collection from that locality.

Please permit me to express again my vivid regrets about the misfortune that befell these persons.

I do not doubt that you will want to have these desired objects remain in our collection.

Respectfully yours,

A. Bastian<sup>62</sup>

The objects finally arrived in Berlin in early April 1881. On April 4, Adolf Bastian wrote to Jacobsen to inform him of the value of the shipment: 100 marks.<sup>63</sup>

In fall 2014, during my visit to the *Ethnologisches Museum Berlin* and to the *Musée du quai Branly-Jacques Chirac* in Paris in the company of Johannes Lampe, Nunatsiavut's president since May 2016, we were shown a few of the Labrador artifacts acquired from Jacobsen, Schoepf, and Hagenbeck. In Berlin, a snowshoe, a wooden idol, and some jewelry were presented to us. In Paris, a selection of about 30 items was brought out. Both curators confirmed that their Labrador collections have never been studied. For them, our presence was the first step towards a wonderful opportunity to cooperate with Nunatsiavut archaeologists and elders to enrich their knowledge. Mr. André Delpuech, then curator of the American collections at the *Musée du quai Branly-Jacques Chirac*, expressed his position very clearly:

[...] That is why it is important that today we collaborate with different colleagues, with different cultures and especially with you, the indigenous peoples, to reconstruct the history of these artifacts. [...] We will finally be able to correct our database and link these objects with the people who actually collected them and with the Inuit who came to France. That is why we must constantly revisit and study our collection. These collections are old, but today with all the researchers worldwide, with the connections, links, and access to archives, we can rebuild their history. I think that is one of the most interesting parts of our work. We can give a second life to the objects thanks to the research carried out. [...] I was very happy this morning to be in our reserves with you to show you the objects brought by your ancestors more than a century ago.<sup>64</sup>

Less than three days after our visit to the *Ethnologisches Museum Berlin*, I was stunned to receive a letter from Dr. Peter Bolz, the previous curator of the American collections, informing me that the institution owned objects that had belonged to Abraham's group which are not at all mentioned in the documents we've had access to so far. These items consist of several hunting weapons and a raincoat of seal intestines completed in 1880 by the Labrador Inuit while they appeared with Hagenbeck in Berlin.<sup>65</sup>

## THE REPATRIATION OF THE HUMAN REMAINS AND ETHNOGRAPHICAL ARTIFACTS

These ethnographical objects are not the only tangible proof of the Labrador Inuit's presence in Europe. Indeed, my research has brought to light that the human remains, in part or in whole, of seven of the eight Inuit are preserved in the anthropological collections of German and French museums. More specifically, Paingu's skullcap as well as the fully mounted skeletons of the five Inuit who died in Paris are kept at the *Museum national d'Histoire Naturelle* in Paris, while the skull of 3-year-old Sara sits in Rudolf Virchow's osteological collections managed by the Berlin Society of Anthropology, Ethnology and Prehistory.

With the exception of Paingu's skullcap, no proof was found that Johan Adrian Jacobsen, or even Carl Hagenbeck, was aware of the Inuit's human remains making their way into museum collections. In Berlin, Rudolf Virchow approached the Krefeld authorities to obtain Sara's skull. He did not meet any opposition as the authorities "have kindly authorized the exhumation of the body."<sup>66</sup> In Paris, the request was submitted to the *Préfecture de Police* by Armand de Quatrefages, head of the Chair of Anthropology at the MNHN. The police willingly allowed the exhumation, in the interest of science, but a five-year wait was imposed given that precautions had to be taken from the point of view of public health.<sup>67</sup> The five disinterred bodies arrived at MNHN on Saturday, June 5, 1886. The anthropology laboratory's register<sup>68</sup> identifies the skeletons as a gift from the *Préfecture de la Seine*.

The discovery of the Inuit's bones, and of the burial objects collected by Johan Adrian Jacobsen in Hebron, initiated many discussions in Labrador. When I met with the Nain elders' committee in September 2014 to inform them of my findings, the group quickly reached a consensus: the human remains have to come home. Also, later that month, as I traveled to Europe in the company of Johannes Lampe in the footsteps of the 1880 Labrador Inuit, we were shown the Inuit's skeletons in Paris. Johannes was troubled to see that they were being kept upright. That sight convinced him that their return to Labrador was mandatory. For him, they must be lying down for their spirits to be freed.

That said, thirteen years have now passed, and the Nunatsiavut government has not yet requested that the human remains be sent back to Labrador. Such an undertaking is a complex issue, and several steps must first be completed. This includes holding public consultations<sup>69</sup> in all five Nunatsiavut communities, formalizing and approving Nunatsiavut's repatriation policy, as well as searching for living descendants. Determining where the skeletons will go is another important matter since the two places of origin of the Inuit, Hebron (Fig. 5.7) and Nackvak, either were abandoned over 60 years ago or are now located within the boundaries of the Torngat Mountains National Park.



**Figure 5.7:** Hebron Moravian mission building, 2016. © France Rivet/Polar Horizons.

When the people of Nunatsiavut eventually decide that it is time for their predecessors to come home, Dr. Philippe Mennecier and Dr. Alain Froment, in charge of the conservation of the Biological Anthropology collection of the *Museum national d'Histoire Naturelle*, have already stated that, because these skeletons have an identity, the museum's policy is not to oppose the repatriation request. Also, in June 2013, the French president and Canada's prime minister signed a cooperation agreement in which the two countries commit to collaborating to have the Inuit's remains that are kept in French museums returned to Canada.<sup>70</sup>

As for the burial objects, their repatriation is not as simple. Nunatsiavut does not have the appropriate infrastructure to preserve such artifacts. Also, as Mr. André Delpuech explained, at present, in France, a law rules that museum collections are inalienable property. It is therefore impossible for them to return these collections unless new legislation allowing repatriation is approved. They are very open to giving access to their collections since they consider humanity, and more specifically, the descendants of those who have entrusted the objects to them, to be the owners. They are acting as the guardians.<sup>71</sup>

Was it a coincidence that Johannes Lampe, representing the Inuit of Nunatsiavut, met with Johan Adrian Jacobsen's grandson and great-granddaughter in Carl Hagenbeck's Tierpark near Hamburg on September 24, 2014, 134 years to the day after Abraham and his group set foot in Hamburg and were taken to Carl Hagenbeck's home (Fig. 5.8)? Despite the wrongs of the past, I witnessed them having a most respectful and memorable conversation. It gave me faith that when the people of Nunatsiavut determine that the time is right to materialize Abraham's expressed wish to return to Labrador, all the parties will join forces and ensure that proper closure is brought to this tragic late 19th-century episode.



**Figure 5.8:** Johannes Lampe with Adrian Jacobsen and Kerstin Bedranowsky, respectively grandson and great-granddaughter of Johan Adrian Jacobsen, September 2014, Hamburg. © France Rivet/Polar Horizons.

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## NOTES

- 1 Thode-Arora, “Hagenbeck et les tournées,” 83.
- 2 Jacobsen, *Voyage*, 52 (October–December 1879); Jacobsen, “Tagebuch” (1879).
- 3 Hevne being the name of a community near Kristiansund now spelled Hemne.
- 4 Translator's note (Dieter Riedel): According to [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/German\\_gold\\_mark](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/German_gold_mark), at that time, 1 mark was worth 358 mg of pure gold (or in 2015 currency, about 101 US dollars). Therefore, in today's money, 15,000 gold marks would be worth about 1,500,000 US dollars.
- 5 Jacobsen, *Voyage*, 57–58 (March 18–24, 1880); Jacobsen, “Tagebuch” (1880).
- 6 Hamburg Seeschiffsregister, 1.
- 7 Hamburg Seeschiffsregister, 5.
- 8 Jacobsen, *Voyage*, 53 (December 1879); Jacobsen, “Tagebuch” (1879).
- 9 Krarup Smith, Letter to the trade management.
- 10 Jacobsen, *Voyage*, 58 (24 March 1880); Jacobsen, “Tagebuch” (1880), 81–99.
- 11 Jacobsen, *Voyage*, 57–58 (March 24, 1880); Jacobsen, “Tagebuch” (1880), 81–99.
- 12 Jacobsen, *Voyage*, 137 (September 16, 1880); Jacobsen, “Tagebuch” (1880), 100–150.
- 13 Jacobsen, *Voyage*, 62 (added at a later date to the April 30, 1880, entry); Jacobsen, “Tagebuch” (1880), 81–99.
- 14 Andreassen, “Baronens udlandsrejse,” 104.
- 15 Jacobsen, *Voyage*, 211; Jacobsen, Letter to Krarup Smith, Jakobshavn, July 7, 1880.
- 16 Jacobsen, *Voyage*, 92 (July 18, 1880); Jacobsen, “Tagebuch” (1880), 100–150.
- 17 Krarup Smith, “Letter to J. A. Jacobsen.”
- 18 Jacobsen, *Voyage*, 214–215; Jacobsen, Letter to Krarup Smith, Jakobshavn, July 20, 1880.
- 19 Jacobsen, *Voyage*, 147 (added at a later date to his September 24, 1880, entry). Throughout his 1880 diary, Jacobsen added remarks, if not entire pages. It is not known how long after the facts these additions were made. That said, in one remark, Jacobsen makes a reference to the ill-fated 1903 Labrador expedition of Dillon Wallace and Leonidas Hubbard. It is therefore likely that these notes were inserted after more than 23 years had passed.

- 20 Jacobsen, *Voyage*, 108 (August 10, 1880); Jacobsen, “Tagebuch” (1880), 100-150.
- 21 Jacobsen, *Voyage*, 116 (August 15, 1880); Jacobsen, “Tagebuch” (1880), 100-150.
- 22 Jacobsen, *Voyage*, 121 (August 19, 1880; Jacobsen, “Tagebuch” (1880), 100-150.
- 23 As per the recommendation of the Torngâsok Cultural Centre in Nain, Nunatsiavut, we have opted to spell the names of the members of the non-Christian family as per the new Labrador Inuktitut writing system, i.e., Tigianniak, Paingu, and Nuggasak. In other chapters, and in other publications, these may be spelled differently, e.g., Terrianiak, Paingo, Noggasak, Nogassak, etc.
- 24 Jacobsen, *Eventyrlige Farter*.
- 25 Jacobsen, *Voyage*, 125 (added at a later date to the August 20, 1880, entry); Jacobsen, “Tagebuch” (1880), 100-150.
- 26 Jacobsen, *Voyage*, 109 (August 11, 1880); Jacobsen, “Tagebuch” (1880), 100-150.
- 27 Jacobsen used the term “Eskimo Dorf”
- 28 Jacobsen, *Voyage*, 146 (added at a later date to the September 24, 1880, entry); Jacobsen, “Tagebuch” (1880), 100-150.
- 29 Jacobsen, *Voyage*, 98 (June 24, 1880); Jacobsen, “Tagebuch” (1880), 81-99.
- 30 Jacobsen, *Voyage*, 153 (November 15, 1880); Jacobsen, “Tagebuch” (1880), 100-150.
- 31 Jacobsen, *Voyage*, 157 (December 14, 1880); Jacobsen, “Tagebuch” (1880), 100-150.
- 32 Jacobsen, *Voyage*, 158 (December 16, 1880); Jacobsen, “Tagebuch” (1880), 100-150.
- 33 The journalist must be referring to Tobias, who was part of the group but not related to Nuggasak.
- 34 Ceské Noviny, December 24, 1880.
- 35 Jacobsen, *Voyage*, 160-161 (December 26-27, 1880); Jacobsen, “Tagebuch” (1880), 100-150.
- 36 Jacobsen, *Voyage*, 176 (added at a later date to the January 20, 1881, entry); Jacobsen, “Tagebuch” (1880), 100-150.
- 37 Sara passed away the morning of December 31 as her family was arriving in Paris.
- 38 Colin, “*Rapport sur l'épidémie*”, 7.
- 39 Bordier, “Calotte cérébrale d'un Esquimau”.
- 40 Jacobsen, *Voyage*, 166 (December 31, 1880); Jacobsen, “Tagebuch” (1880), 100-150.
- 41 Panneval, “Handwritten prescription.”
- 42 Jacobsen, *Voyage*, 167 (January 9, 1881); Jacobsen, “Tagebuch” (1880), 100-150.
- 43 Jacobsen, *Voyage*, 168 (January 10, 1881); Jacobsen, “Tagebuch” (1880), 100-150.
- 44 Jacobsen, *Voyage*, 173 (added at a later date to the January 13, 1881, entry); Jacobsen, “Tagebuch” (1880), 100-150.
- 45 Jacobsen, *Voyage*, 174 (January 16, 1881); Jacobsen, “Tagebuch” (1880), 100-150.
- 46 Jacobsen, *Voyage*, 174 (January 16, 1881); Jacobsen, “Tagebuch” (1880), 100-150.
- 47 Colin, *Rapport sur l'épidémie de variole*, Rivet, *In the footsteps*, 208.
- 48 Rivet, *In the footsteps*.
- 49 Jacobsen, *Voyage*, 179 (February 21, 1881); Jacobsen, “Tagebuch” (1881).
- 50 Kühne, Letter to J. A. Jacobsen.
- 51 Hagenbeck, Letter to J.A. Jacobsen.
- 52 Schoepf, Letter to J. A. Jacobsen, Hamburg, February 17, 1881.
- 53 *Figaro*, “Objets ethnographiques très rares.”
- 54 Armand Landrin, curator responsible for acquisitions for the Musée d'Ethnographie du Trocadéro.
- 55 The full identity of this person is still unknown.
- 56 Schoepf, Letter to J. A. Jacobsen, Paris, January 23, 1881.
- 57 Schoepf, Letter to J. A. Jacobsen, Paris, January 24, 1881.
- 58 Schoepf, Letter to J. A. Jacobsen, Paris, January 27, 1881.



- 59 Schoepf, Postcard to J. A. Jacobsen, Hamburg, February 15, 1881.  
60 Guigon in Rivet, *In the Footsteps*, 267.  
61 Bauer, Unsigned letter.  
62 Bastian, Letter to J. A. Jacobsen, Paris, January 23, 1881.  
63 Bastian, Letter to J. A. Jacobsen, Berlin, 4 April 1881.  
64 Delpuech, Interview.  
65 Bolz and Sanner, *Native American Art*, 211.  
66 Virchow, *Crania Ethnica Americana*, chapter XXII; Rivet, *In the Footsteps*, 273.  
67 Rivet, *In the Footsteps*, 255–257.  
68 The registry is preserved in the archives of the Musée de l'Homme's anthropology collections.  
69 See Brake, "What we heard" for the detailed report of these consultations.  
70 Harper, *Programme de coopération*.  
71 Delpuech, Interview.



**Figure 0.8:** The pier at Risøya. View towards the inland and the bigger island Ringvassøya (Ring water island), Kvalsundet (Whale strait), and the mainland. June 2016. Photo: Mari Karlstad, The Arctic University Museum of Norway.

## 6. Fateful Journeys: Translating the Diaries of Abraham Ulrikab and Jacobsen

Hartmut Lutz

**Abstract** The earliest known text by an Inuk from Canada, *The Diary of Abraham Ulrikab* (2005), is a translation from a translation. Comparing Abraham's text with autobiographical writings by his ward J. A. Jacobsen shows that the latter followed a linear model of individual self-enhancement, whereas Abraham's text, directed to a "dual audience," reflects his complex loyalty to his home and church community, and his resistance to being a mere showpiece in Hagenbeck's *Völkerschau*.

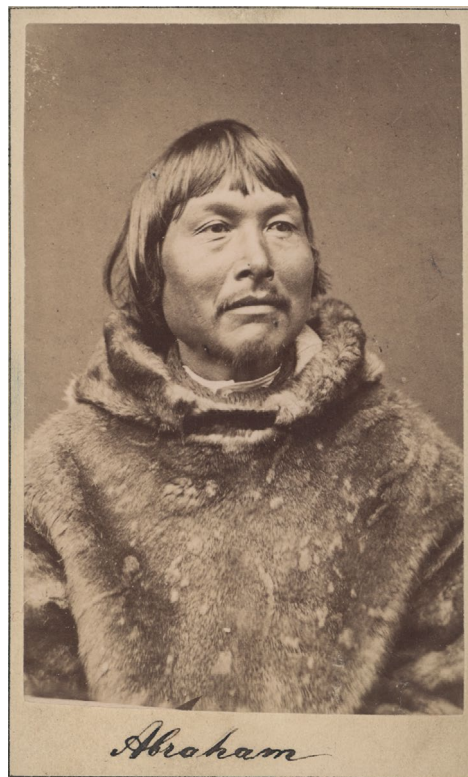
**Keywords** Abraham Ulrikab('s diary) | Jacobsen('s writings) | Hagenbeck('s autobiography) | *Völkerschauen* | postcolonial writings | Gothic literature | translations | Franklinian autobiography | Moravians

### INTRODUCING THE TEXTS

In the following chapter I will have a look at two very different diaries which trace the same fateful journey. One was written by Johan Adrian Jacobsen (1853–1947) himself, and the other by one of his wards or fellow travelers, the Inuk Abraham (1845–1881) from Hebron in Labrador (Fig. 6.1). Both diaries cover the time between the fall of 1880 and the first days of 1881. The journey begins with Jacobsen's second voyage to Greenland to hire a few Inuit people for one of Carl Hagenbeck's so-called *Völkerschauen* (literally "peoples' shows" or live ethnographic exhibitions). After several delays and setbacks Jacobsen eventually managed to recruit eight individuals from Northern Labrador. These were three pagans from Nachvak fjord, the couple Terrianiak and Paingo, their fifteen-year-old daughter Nochasak,<sup>1</sup> and five Moravian converts from Hebron: Tobias, a young unmarried member of the congregation, and a family consisting of Ulrike, her infant daughters Maria and Sarah, and her husband Abraham, who wrote the diary discussed below (Fig. 6.2). Jacobsen was sick during part of the time, suffering from *Wechsel-* or *Kaltfieber* (malaria), and he failed to have his wards

inoculated against smallpox. By the time the disease was eventually diagnosed in Paris, subsequent vaccinations proved in vain, and tragically the Inuit all died of smallpox less than four months after their arrival.

A full century later, in the Moravian archives in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, the Canadian ethnographer Garth Taylor discovered a handwritten translation of Abraham's diary (Abraham, 1880) from Inuktitut into German by the Moravian missionary Brother Kretschmer. Since then, Abraham's diary has been discussed by both ethnographers<sup>2</sup> and literary scholars.<sup>3</sup> To this day, the original diary in Abraham's own hand in Inuktitut has not been found, but together with my Greifswald students I produced an English translation of the German version. Our translation appeared in book form in Canada in 2005, complete with translations of historical contextual materials from 1880 in Germany.<sup>4</sup> Two years later we also published a corresponding book in Germany containing a word-by-word (verbatim) transcript of Kretschmer's manuscript plus the contextual materials in their original idiom.<sup>5</sup>



**Figure 6.1:** Abraham Ulrikab photographed by Jacobsen's brother, Jacob Martin, in 1880. © Museum am Rothenbaum – Kulturen und Künste der Welt (MARKK).



**Figure 6.2:** “Tobias, Abraham, Sara, Ulrike, Martha [Maria]”. Photo by Jacobsen’s brother, Jacob Martin, in 1880. © Museum am Rothenbaum – Kulturen und Künste der Welt (MARKK).

While the ethnographic articles already contained translations into English of (parts of) the diary, Abraham’s story had not reached a general readership in Canada. However, after the 2005 publication of both the diary and the contextual materials as a monograph in English, *The Diary of Abraham Ulrikab* became better known and provided the necessary linguistic access for further research and publications in Canada, including a two-hour radio program in the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation’s (CBC) prestigious IDEAS series.<sup>6</sup> More recently, independent researcher France Rivet published a book-length

study on the topic, *In the Footsteps of Abraham Ulrikab*.<sup>7</sup> Her book not only contains the full text of Abraham's diary and the contexts as given in our 2005 publication but also provides my translations of relevant passages from Jacobsen's own manuscript. Most importantly Rivet's book minutely documents her own research into what happened after the last Inuk had died in Europe, including the shocking discovery of the Inuit's skeletal remains in the Paris Muséum national d'Histoire naturelle.<sup>8</sup> Given the availability of Rivet's publications in French and English, which relate the journey covered by the diaries of Jacobsen and Abraham, I refrain here from re-telling in further detail the story they unfold. Instead, I concentrate on the ways in which the texts reflect their authors' different epistemological frames, while yet complementing each other on the level of historiography.

Trained as a philologist in English and North American Studies with a focus on Indigenous literatures, I am particularly interested in the origins, dissemination, and translation of minority literatures.<sup>9</sup> In 1987 I was given a text and a bibliographical link by my Canadian colleague Robin McGrath, who referred me to Abraham Ulrikab, and thereby also to Johan Adrian Jacobsen. My approach here is informed by my research in Indigenous Canadian literatures<sup>10</sup> and by my experiencing the frustration, shock, anger, and sadness of (not only) my students when translating Abraham's manuscript.<sup>11</sup>

## TRANSLATING THE TEXTS<sup>12</sup>

Abraham's diary poses some concerns regarding the text's authenticity. Abraham's story as known in English is based on the translation of a translation. We do not know how close the English text really is to the original Inuktitut manuscript in Abraham's own hand. Since Jacobsen relates that Abraham "possesses a lot of knowledge, he writes a good hand, [...] speaks a bit of English,"<sup>13</sup> we may safely assume that Abraham wrote his diary in Inuktitut himself, but unless an original is found, there is no conclusive evidence for the authenticity of Abraham's words. It was already mentioned above that his original "Tagebuch" (diary) was translated into German by the Moravian missionary Brother Kretschmer, who wrote his translation down in the now obsolete older German handwriting style called "Kurrent." "Kurrent" preceded the standardized form known as "Sütterlin," a handwriting style based on "Kurrent" and specifically developed for writing only German words, which was in general use until the end of the Nazi period. While I, as a German born in 1945 and schooled in the 1950s and 60s, still had a fleeting introduction to "Sütterlin," my student volunteers in the translation project had no knowledge of obsolete "Sütterlin" let alone of Kretschmer's older "Kurrent." They

had to consult their grandparents to transcribe the diary into modern typology before even beginning to translate it into English.

Being painfully aware that our English book edition of Abraham's diary would merely be a translation of a translation, we even tried to render verbatim in English some of the awkward phrasings in Kretschmer's manuscript. We do not know whether the unusual phrases encountered in the German text are mistranslations or the result of Kretschmer's attempt to keep as close as possible to the Inuktitut, which at times would just not translate well into German. Any translation of a text is of course an interpretation, reflecting and being contingent on the perceptual frame, the cultural norms, the personal preoccupations and the linguistic skills of the translators—in short: their epistemologies. One example may suffice to demonstrate this dilemma.

Kretschmer gives Abraham's first sentence as "In Berlin ist es nicht niedlich schön," which translates verbatim as "In Berlin it is not sweetly/cutely/cuddly/nicely beautiful." When we first tried to decipher the "Kurrent"-style manuscript, we were strongly inclined to misread the word "niedlich" as the graphologically similar "wirklich" (really), because we just could not perceive that anybody would use "cuddly," "sweet," "quaint," "cute," or another equally endearing term for the description of a large, dirty, and noisy city. But on closer scrutiny the "Kurrent" handwriting clearly says "niedlich" and not "wirklich" (which would have meant "In Berlin it is not really beautiful."). Since we do not know Abraham's diary in his own words, we have no way to find out whether Kretschmer's translation is careless or whether the Inuktitut word Abraham may have used is expressive of his feeling "un-cuddly."

I had earlier obtained from the Moravian Archives in Herrnhut, Saxony, copies of letters by the Moravian missionaries from Hebron and elsewhere. Acting on their own, my students found additional materials in archives and translated them into English along with the letters, such as contemporary newspaper reports, flyers advertising the ethnographic shows, and a journal article by one of the founders of German anthropology, the physician Rudolf Virchow (1880). These were all included in our book.<sup>14</sup> These translations formed the basis of subsequent research, yet the authenticity of Abraham's diary remains challenging.

The second diary, Jacobsen's *Reise mit den Labrador Eskimos* (Voyage with the Labrador Eskimos), is part of his longer handwritten logbook (1880/81). He began the diary in his native Norwegian, but starting with the Labrador journey the young voyager continued his log in German. While his grammar and orthography remain somewhat Scandinavian, Jacobsen's handwriting is modern and therefore much easier to decipher than Kretschmer's "Kurrent." My sister-in-law Jacqueline Thun (1950–2023) made the translation into French while I undertook the translation into English (Fig. 6.3). We used the digitalized version



of Jacobsen's manuscript "Auf der Reise nach Grönland mit Eisbär,"<sup>15</sup> more specifically that period in Jacobsen's longer logbook, which begins on Monday, June 28, 1880, and ends on Thursday, January 20, 1881.<sup>16</sup> The originals had been inaccessible for decades as a part of the archival collections at the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde (Hamburg Museum of Ethnology, now Museum am Rothenbaum der Kulturen und Künste der Welt),<sup>17</sup> but the digitalized version is now available for research.<sup>18</sup> Jacobsen's manuscript contains copious marginal notes and loose pages written in retrospect, which Jacobsen marked to be inserted in specific places, plus a few pertinent additions also written later, all of which we translated and marked as such in our texts. Unfortunately, instead of producing a typed transcription (which could be used later for a German edition) we translated directly from Jacobsen's manuscript without creating a more legible transcript first. As we proceeded, we both kept in contact and cooperated to decipher obscure passages or find adequate terms for nautical entries.<sup>19</sup> As mentioned above, Jacobsen's account of his voyage with the *Eisbär* was his first venture to write in German, and his syntax and vocabulary are strongly influenced by Norwegian, while his spellings frequently reflect pronunciations with a Northern Norwegian accent. Since the Scandinavian languages are mutually intelligible it helped the project considerably that I am fairly fluent in Swedish.

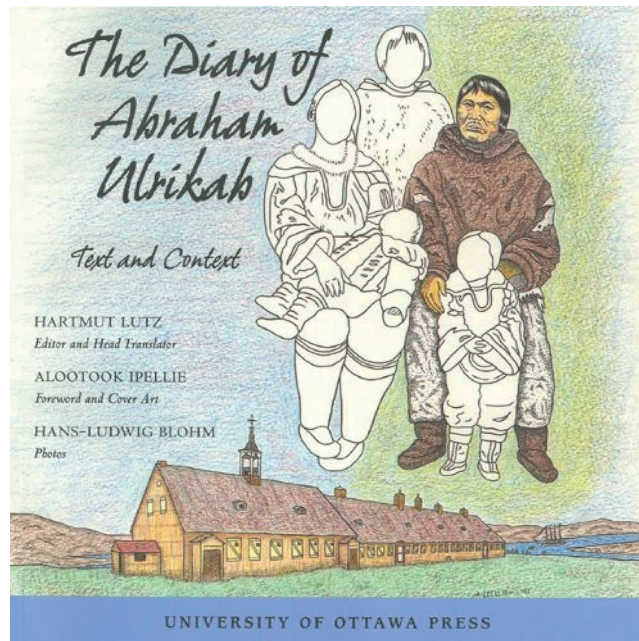


Figure 6.3: *The Diary of Abraham Ulrikab* (2005)



## READING THE DIARIES AS DIFFERENT AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL MODELS

Both Jacobsen's and Abraham Ulrikab's diaries are autobiographical. In terms of literary genre, they are hybrids between "objective" historiography and fictionalized narration, and as we know from New Historicism, both genres share the essential structure of all narrative texts; i.e., they encode or arrange into a plot structure (literally, they "em-plot") experiences in time. Although both texts are "life writings," they differ considerably in terms of generic conventions and their chronological scope. Abraham's diary and letters loosely span the 79 days between October 22, 1880, and January 8, 1881, when five days before his own death, he wrote his last letter to his teacher friend Brother Elsner.<sup>20</sup> By contrast, Jacobsen's text, *Voyage with the Labrador Eskimos*, as mentioned above, covers a stretch of 206 days between June 28, 1880, and January 20, 1881, and constitutes only a segment of Jacobsen's logbook, which spans several years in total. Both texts begin as a diary, and as such their authors each construct their "narrative I" as both subject and object. They clearly aimed for their texts not only to be private accounts of daily events for their personal use, but also to be read as reliable factual reports of experiences meant to be shared with others. As both private and public, the texts radiate the immediacy of daily personal recordings, which is the paradigmatic element characteristic of diary as genre, and in this immediacy, they contrast with the contemplative retrospection of memoir. Abraham's diary ends tragically. Jacobsen seems to have had a much larger project in mind, as evidenced by the copious notes and several pages inserted into the manuscript. Such later additions appear indicative of plans for a larger memoir or a more elaborate travelogue, in which the author records, corrects, and perhaps even embellishes past events. Jacobsen took the opportunity to create a public persona for himself according to his own intentions and to re-arrange incidents and developments. By recalling them from a greater distance in time as a retrospective teleology, an author can imbue the events with a stronger structural cohesion based on causal connections, i.e., a plot, and thus attempt to construct significances and causalities in her or his personal life beyond the merely idiosyncratic or coincidental.

## ABRAHAM'S DIARY AS INDIGENOUS AUTOBIOGRAPHY "IN-HIS-OWN-WORDS"

To my knowledge, Abraham's diary is the earliest self-written autobiographical text by an Inuk in Canada.<sup>21</sup> "Self-written" or "in-his-own-words" is important

here since, as Gretchen M. Bataille and Kathleen Mullen Sands<sup>22</sup> have shown conclusively, Indigenous North American autobiographical publications begin characteristically as a communicative process between Indigenous tellers and non-Indigenous recorders in a cooperation necessitated by the informants' illiteracy. So, the generic development of Aboriginal autobiographies moved from so-called as-told-to autobiographies, in which the informants told ethnographers, missionaries, or friends about their lives and left it to the latter to re-narrate their accounts in their own idiom, to so-called collaborative autobiographies, in which the informants and their recording partners actually negotiated and created the written text in English together. Only as a third step in this development do we find "life writings" in the author's own hands, which are auto-bio-graphical in the true sense of the word, i.e., texts in which the tellers are no longer just informants but truly authors who write down (*graphein*) their lives (*bio*) themselves (*auto*). In general, the input of the non-Indigenous recorders and writers in the collaborative format has tended to be downplayed. However, Sandra Carolan-Brozy has demonstrated and analyzed how decisive the roles of the recorders are in the Canadian context and how the collaborations reflect complex relations of subalternity, agency, and dis-empowerment.<sup>23</sup> Before the publication of Abraham's diary in book form, the oldest Inuit autobiographical text known in Canada was Lydia Campbell's *Sketches of Labrador Life*. Her diary was transcribed by Reverend Arthur C. Waghorne and first published in 1894 in *The Evening Telegram* issued in St. John's (1980 edition).<sup>24</sup> It was not until almost a century later, in the 1970s, that Inuit authors like Nuligak,<sup>25</sup> Peter Pitseolak,<sup>26</sup> Anthony Apakark Thrasher,<sup>27</sup> Mrs. Pitseolak,<sup>28</sup> and Minnie Aodla Freeman<sup>29</sup> published autobiographical texts either in collaboration with non-Inuit editors or on their own, thus contributing to the general breakthrough of contemporary Aboriginal Literatures in Canada in the 1970s.<sup>30</sup>

Typically for early Indigenous writing, Abraham's diary came out of a missionary context, in which Aboriginal neophytes were first taught to read and write. The text reflects in style and content the Moravian missionary culture of Hebron, Labrador, and this explains its often biblical "plain style," which is characteristic of Christian fundamentalist writings and strongly reminiscent of Puritan literature much earlier in North America. The diary as genre is also typical for autobiographical texts by "visible minority authors" in general, who, in the context of racialized perceptions, write with a "double audience" in mind,<sup>31</sup> i.e., to the dominant society or "white" culture and to the members of their own ethnic constituency or second culture. Minority authors venturing into the mainstream not only have a double audience in mind, but also tend to be aware of how they are (being seen as and see themselves as) representatives of

their own kind. This concept of the double audience was originally developed for and by African American writers, but it can productively also be employed for an understanding of Abraham's diary.

We can gather from his letters to his Moravian teachers that Abraham was fully aware of at least two different potential readerships. On the one hand, he knew that he was setting precedent by disobeying the missionaries and following Jacobsen to Europe, and he also knew that his experiences were of great interest to his own Labradormiut people back home. Indeed, his diary was directed at them. Simultaneously, he wrote his diary with his missionary teachers in mind as a confessional giving evidence of his own moral disposition and his disappointment with many of the things he witnessed in Europe. He repeatedly made it clear that he regretted having disobeyed his teachers. In his last letter (to Brother Elsner, on January 8, 1881, from Paris), Abraham relates the following:

We kneel down in front of Him all days, bent because of our presence here, and ask him that he will forgive our aberration; we also do not doubt that the Lord will hear us. All day we cry mutually, that our sins will be taken away by Jesus Christ. Even Terrianiak, who is now alone, when I say to him that he should convert, desires to become a property of Jesus, sincerely, as it seems.<sup>32</sup>

Here Abraham is sending a double signal back to Hebron: a warning to other neophytes who might have felt inclined to emulate Abraham's decision and at the same time a plea for forgiveness signaling to the missionaries that he, Abraham, is a repentant sinner seeking atonement. The missionaries themselves must have felt quite vindicated. There is even a certain amount of snug complacency in some of the brethren's reactions to Abraham's death. In the *Missionsblatt der Brüdergemeine*, No. 1, 1882 (which was not included in our 2005 English edition) the brethren quote a letter they received from Hebron, in which, amongst other conclusions, Abraham's death is seen as a meet discouragement to other Labradormiut who might have wanted to go to Europe:

Now the Lord has done according to His own counsel, and has transported the homesick ones into a better land, has delivered them from sin and earthly pain, and at the same time He has given a serious teaching to those people here who lusted for Europe; for, if they had returned healthy and rich, the desire to go to Europe and become wealthy over there would have become epidemic amongst the other Eskimo. Now many of those, whose eyes last year followed Abraham and his companions in envy, are quiet, and they are happy not to have gone along. (translation from German by Kathrin Grollmuß)<sup>33</sup>

While the Moravians were very much concerned about the welfare of “their Eskimos,” they showed no interest whatsoever in the wellbeing of the heathens Terrianiak, Nochasak, and Paingo.

Abraham seriously regretted having gone with Jacobsen, and he accepted with great humility what he had learned to perceive as God’s punishment. Even in his most heart-wrenching account, when he left his dying daughter Sarah behind in the Krefeld hospital to board the night train for Paris, he notes that he and Ulrike “both had reason to be thankful” that he left little Sarah in her sleep, and that she did not wake up after.<sup>34</sup> Throughout his travels, Abraham refrained from blaming others for his misery. He felt accountable. In oral cultures generally, and more so than in literate cultures, the individual is held collectively accountable for her or his words and actions,<sup>35</sup> which cannot be burned, deleted or shredded, and Abraham lived this ethic. He also lived the Indigenous ethic of “relationality,”<sup>36</sup> feeling connected and responsible for his community, especially his family—he went on this trip in order to earn money to pay back his late father’s debts, refusing to be supported by the missionaries’ alms box, and he knew that his “kayaking” would not earn him enough to pay back his debts while Jacobsen’s offer would.<sup>37</sup> All in all Abraham comes across to the reader as an extremely self-disciplined, self-reliant, independent, pious, and dependable person. He is modest about his own achievements and seems deeply connected with his land, his people, and the Moravians’ god.

*Abraham’s Diary* is also paradigmatic of postcolonial literatures in general. In their groundbreaking study *The Empire Writes Back: Theory and Practice of Post-Colonial Literatures*,<sup>38</sup> which gave postcolonial literary studies its name, Ashcroft, Griffith, and Tiffin describe how the colonized members of the former British Empire in the 1960s and 70s were no longer mute, no longer content merely to be written to or written about, but after their acquisition of literacy and in a decolonizing process they were now coming into their own in literature. They themselves would write and be read, and, lacking an Indigenous readership at first, they began writing back to the centers (of former colonial power, e.g., London, or rather the former colonizers). A parallel process can be observed in the development of Indigenous literatures in Canada. The internally colonized members of the Fourth World<sup>39</sup> began publishing autobiographies and “movement literature” in the seventies, thereby demanding to be heard and be seen by members of the dominant society<sup>40</sup>—later they would “write home,” i.e., to their own constituency, and today they seem to be “writing beyond,” i.e. to the world at large.<sup>41</sup> Newfoundland and Labrador were still a colony at the time of Abraham’s diary, of course, and Abraham’s remarkable document was written almost a century before the beginnings of contemporary Indigenous Literatures in Canada. However, by using his literacy to express his own thoughts and

experiences, and by not remaining in the position of an illiterate object but assuming agency, Abraham overcame the structural violence (Galtung) of colonialism and Christian missionary activities. In this sense Abraham's diary is an example of an Indigenous author "writing back" long before the term was even coined for this type of literature.

The diary is unique not only in that it breaks the contextual frame of the author's position and allows him to express agency as the subject of this colonial dialogue. It is also unique as a first-hand account of the Indigenous presenters' experiences of taking part in the *Völkerschau* business. A few other accounts exist, including the Greenland Inuk Kujagi's (Johannes Hendrik Jensen) story of his travels in Europe with Jacobsen for the Hagenbeck firm in 1877 and 1878 (see Baglo, this volume). This account was, however, told to the Danish author, ethnologist, and polar explorer Ludvig Mylius-Erichsen more than thirty years after the incident took place and classifies as an "as-told-to" autobiography.<sup>42</sup> Abraham knew fully well that his literacy gave him a certain amount of authority. This becomes most evident when he relates that Jacobsen punished Tobias with a dog whip. Abraham is determined to report Jacobsen's brutal act to the Moravians in England, should Jacobsen ever repeat such behavior: "If Mr. Jacobsen does that twice I shall write to England as I am told."<sup>43</sup> In contrast to many other Indigenous people at the time, Abraham was the master of his own words even in writing.

## JACOBSEN'S DIARY AS AN AMBIVALENT "FRANKLINIAN" SELF-CONSTRUCTION

We have seen that Abraham's diary documents the strength and stamina of an individual who is inextricably interconnected with his community and land, and his text constructs the author's identity as shaped by belonging to a religious and ethnic collective. By contrast, Johan Adrian Jacobsen's diary constructs the author's persona as that of a self-made man. The classical model for this type of autobiographical text is the "Franklinian autobiography." It records and reflects the life of America's most famous enlightenment scholar, politician, inventor, philanthropist, and businessman, Benjamin Franklin (1706–1790), on his arduous but lastly successful struggle from "rags to riches." Besides being a proponent of liberalism and enlightenment pragmatism, Franklin was also a Philadelphia Quaker, and his social consciousness and his lifelong commitment to the continual improvement of living conditions tie him to the early American Puritan tradition, i.e., the so-called Protestant work ethic, in which hard work, piety, and accountability are prominent virtues. Puritan individuals were encouraged to take stock and record their achievements and failures on a regular daily basis. Keeping journals as spiritual and economic account books became

a Puritan tradition.<sup>44</sup> Franklin's autobiography followed this convention in spirit and practice, portraying the author as a social climber who became a rich entrepreneur, public moralist, inventor, reformer, diplomat, and versatile author and publisher, who incessantly advocated self-improvement. While praising humility as a virtue, Franklin himself was never bashful about propagating his own achievements. The author never finished or published his autobiography in his lifetime, but together with his various essays and aphorisms it now constitutes a model for the American Dream. As the prototype of any individual's upward mobility and personal success story within a liberal democracy based on a capitalist market economy, while aware of social obligations, it continues to serve as an ideological model for politicians, entrepreneurs, and other public figures, to celebrate their own achievements and document their stamina, perseverance, and social ethics on their way to the top. Their autobiographies would typically follow this pattern without even being aware of Franklin's work. Jacobsen's employer in Hamburg, Carl Hagenbeck (1844–1913), for example, published an autobiography, *Von Tieren und Menschen* (1909), which clearly fits the Franklinian model.

And so does Johan Adrian Jacobsen's *Tagebuch* (1880/81), in which the young navigator seems to have emulated his employer Carl Hagenbeck as a personal role model. Throughout that part of Jacobsen's manuscript we translated, the author stresses his closeness to the Hagenbeck family. He mentions Hagenbeck's "cordial greeting and welcome,"<sup>45</sup> and he relates that when they met again after his return from Hebron, despite the fact that Jacobsen had not brought any sealskins or fat as initially planned, Hagenbeck "was happy beyond all measures that I had brought the Eskimos after all."<sup>46</sup> On the same inserted page written retrospectively, Jacobsen then recounts a most remarkable occurrence, which even insinuates a spiritual connection with his employer, bordering on the supernatural—and this is not the only passage documenting Jacobsen's propensity for superstitious beliefs.

Jacobsen writes that on the day of his arrival in Hamburg he received a summons by cable from Hagenbeck. He immediately took the night train to Berlin to meet with his employer, who was then just returning by train from a trip to St. Petersburg. On the inserted page already mentioned, Jacobsen retells in detail a complex dream told to him by Hagenbeck himself, in which the traveler from St. Petersburg dreamed that Jacobsen had entered his carriage. Significantly, Jacobsen chose (Hagenbeck's) first-person narrative voice and the more dramatic direct speech format for the first part of his narration, and then he reverts back to his own narrative "I" without signifying the change in words or punctuation, thus blending his own voice with that of his employer and obscuring the difference between both individuals. This stylistic obfuscation consciously or subconsciously merges their identities and recapitulates and intensifies rhetorically the semantic message of male bonding in Jacobsen's text.

I thought I was awake but must have been fast asleep and dreaming. I felt that you had suddenly stepped into my carriage, which did not a little surprise me. I immediately asked you, have you brought Eskimo. Whereupon you replied: Yes, I am bringing 8 Eskimo. At the same moment you had disappeared, and outside the window of my compartment someone called out loud: Hagenbeck, is Herr Hagenbeck on the train. I jumped up immediately, pulled down the window of my compartment, and called out here is Hagenbeck. Whereupon a telegram carrier approached and brought me a telegram from Hamburg, which read: Jacobsen just passed Kokshafen (Cuxhaven), has 8 Eskimo on board. What should one say about such a dream apparition? I was very surprised, because Hagenbeck was not the man, to present such a joke, or who would be guilty of telling an untruth. What puzzled me most about the thing, was that the number of people was so accurate.<sup>47</sup>

The insertion of this episode in Jacobsen's manuscript at a later point in time may have served at least two functions. On the one hand, it stresses the close ties between Hagenbeck and the young Norwegian, by which Jacobsen constructs himself as the entrepreneur's confidante, that is, someone who is accepted as a person trustworthy to share innermost thoughts and feelings or even dreams with. At the same time there is the popular appeal of this episode, which could fascinate potential readers as an example of the mysterious and the uncanny. While the insertion was written long after romanticism's original infatuation with supernatural ghosts and gothic castles—which gave the genre of horror stories its name “gothic”—it uses the gothic element as part of Jacobsen's strategic move towards popular literature's propensity for the sensational and outrageous. Besides, it was produced at a period when theosophists and mystics grew fascinated with the occult and transcendental and European pre-modernists were beginning to turn towards the interpretation of dreams. As we will see later, this is not the only indication that Jacobsen might have had popular preoccupations of his potential readers in mind.

Beginning with his successful Greenland venture and the Eskimo live ethnographic show of 1877 Jacobsen basked in the light of his friendship with the Hagenbeck family. After the death of the Labradormiut in 1881, however, relations deteriorated, and the Hagenbecks let Jacobsen feel very clearly that he was not one of them:

[...] in truth, it was no longer as pleasant at Hagenbeck's as it had been during the earlier years when I was there. It is probably all the guilt and that there is nothing more for me to do there. Hagenbeck himself has always remained the same as he had always been, but it is different with the family. They let me feel that I had spoiled it with them.<sup>48</sup>

And in another small insert Jacobsen adds in the margin:

Because it took such a sad end with the Eskimos and there was not anything proper we could do with the ship, so Hagenbeck's family was no longer well disposed towards me.<sup>49</sup>

The Hagenbecks were a Hanseatic family, belonging to Hamburg's rising bourgeoisie. Although Jacobsen's family in Tromsø had much in common with the Hagenbecks, his elevated social standing in Northern Norway was not understood or recognized in Germany. His aspirations to be accepted as a social equal were additionally hampered by his not being a countryman and speaking with an accent, and when their joint business venture had failed, Jacobsen's services were not needed anymore.

Jacobsen wanted to rise socially and be a successful businessman, but at times he felt marginalized. In Labrador he was hurt by the arrogance and stingy uncooperativeness of captain Gray, the commander of the steamer *Labrador*, "because we were not Englishmen," but Jacobsen then expresses his delight at Gray's friendliness, when they met in Dresden a few years later.<sup>50</sup> Although Jacobsen referred to himself as a "captain" and was also referred to by that title by his Norwegian countrymen due to his many experiences at sea and his training as a shipmaster, he was not licensed as a captain in a formal sense neither in Germany nor in Norway as this term was reserved for mariners in command of merchant vessels carrying passengers.<sup>51</sup> He had, however, trained since childhood to be a trader. As a strictly calculating businessman he grasped at situations in which he had a chance to make an easy profit. Like many others doing business in the name of science, he had no scruples to plunder Inuit graves.<sup>52</sup> However, the death of the Inuit group made him sad and left him feeling guilty, so that when leaving the hospital on January 17, 1881, he was eager "to get rid of" Paingo's skullcap, which since her death on December 28, he had "kept in [his], suitcase among [his] clothes (wrapped in paper)," and he "offered the skullcap" to "a professor from the museum," who "accepted it with great pleasure, stuffed it under his coat, and marched off with it."<sup>53</sup>

Immediately after the death of the Inuit in Paris, while still in hospital himself, Jacobsen began plotting his next business venture. During his sojourn in Aachen to recuperate, he wrote a letter to Professor Bastian in Berlin suggesting to "equip the ship (*Eisbär*) for several years," hire a new crew, and go on a six-year voyage around the globe to collect ethnographic materials—and Bastian "immediately contacted the greatest Bankers in Berlin."<sup>54</sup> As an entrepreneurially minded recruiter of artifacts and persons, Jacobsen criticizes the Danish authorities' ban on "exporting Eskimos." Significantly for his position, Jacobsen seems to argue in the interest of the Greenland Inuit, based on the idea of free trade, that is, freeing them from colonial economic



dependence and opening the market for the free exchange of peoples and goods, and he concludes accusingly, “It is a shame that these poor Eskimos are tyrannized in this manner, because they all wanted to come along gladly.”<sup>55</sup> Similarly, his critique of the Hebron missionaries’ unwillingness to allow their neophytes to go to Europe is also centered on the trope of countering colonial suppression.<sup>56</sup> The businessman Jacobsen wants to “free” them for his own trade—thus in a way foreshadowing the liberalization of international market conditions we know as “globalization” today.

But Jacobsen does not only portray himself as a businessman. He also documents his personal ethics by dwelling on the scruples and remorse he felt about the fate of the Labradormiut. He reports that he grew more and more attached to his wards towards the ends of their lives. They in turn, however, must have become increasingly disillusioned with him, who had led them into their misery, especially after his whipping of Tobias, about which Jacobsen himself is silent—such demeanor was incongruous with a Franklinian format and the moral standards of the time—just as Hagenbeck in his own autobiography never even mentions the Labradormiut’s 1880/81 tragedy. When the remaining Inuit had been admitted to the St. Louis hospital in Paris, Jacobsen himself had to be hospitalized because his malaria had returned. There, he was a close witness to suffering and death, and he added later (on the margin):

I too stood by, but without being able to render any help, apart from perhaps giving the dying a last glass of water. Death is terrible, especially if people die in such huge numbers as here all around me.<sup>57</sup>

Jacobsen recounts how one after the other, the little Maria, Terrianiak, Tobias, Abraham, and Ulrike died,<sup>58</sup> while all around them other patients, most of them French suffering from smallpox, died in terrible pain. About Tobias’s death throes Jacobsen writes on the margin,

[W]hen his death struggle came, [he] threw himself upon me, who was lying sick in bed myself, though not with smallpox. With the aid of the nurses we then managed to put the corpse back into the bed of his own.<sup>59</sup>

In one of his marginal notes, Jacobsen describes Ulrike’s end: “I tried to comfort her, but she waved me off with her hand, as if she did not want to see me at all.”<sup>60</sup> Jacobsen leaves no doubt that he was deeply shocked and felt remorse: “Should I be indirectly responsible for her death?”<sup>61</sup> But it seems significant that those textual snippets, in which he describes the horror of their suffering and dying, and his emotions of sadness and guilt, are merely notes he added retrospectively.

This is also true for a very dramatic and “gothic” scene, which he witnessed one feverish night, when a young woman came to a dramatic end. Jacobsen’s text

relates the incident in three different versions, each more dramatic and more horrific than the previous one, with the last (retrospective) account sharing the mysterious and supernatural quality of the Hagenbeck dream episode discussed above. In the regular text it reads simply like this:

Unfortunately, there is a young girl in the adjacent room who is very sick and delirious. Today she knocked out her windows. She is in a sheer frenzy.<sup>62</sup>

A second entry added later on the margin reads:

I had fast fallen asleep, when I was awakened, by the violent shattering of glass. It was the young girl who in her feverish frenzy had jumped out of bed, crossed my room in which there was a glass door towards the garden, and she walked through the door, which splintered.<sup>63</sup>

The third re-narration of this episode is part of a larger loose page inserted in the manuscript and titled “May be inserted on page 148 of my diary of the year 1881.”<sup>64</sup> Here Jacobsen elaborates in greater detail his experiences in the Paris hospital, even adding a flavor of romance when he relates how a beautiful young nurse, who changed his wet shirt at night, appeared to him in a visionary dream.<sup>65</sup> He heightens the gothic appeal of the story about the young girl in the room next door, who in her fever (now) went through his room and walked out of the splintering glass doors straight out into a blizzard!

Another young girl was lying in the adjacent hall. She seemed to be suffering intensely, obviously in a delirium, because she kept on calling for hours a man’s name, which I have now forgotten. When I had finally fallen asleep and slept for about an hour, I was suddenly awakened by the splintering of the glass doors that led from my room into the garden and by the cold wind and snow that blew into my room. I was sitting in my bed, staring at the broken door with the snow blowing inside, when immediately after a nurse came in running, and calling: “Where is she? Where is she?” Soon, a few more nurses joined her, the doors were pulled open, and several nurses rushed out into the terrible snowstorm. To (look for) the gravely ill girl, who in her feverish delirium had rushed through my room and the glass door, to disappear into the blizzard in the garden.

A short while after, I heard a terrible scream from the garden, and I assume they had caught her in the garden, and now brought her back inside. But she did not return to this ward, and the matron Cécile would not tell me where she stayed and whether she too had died like most of the others.

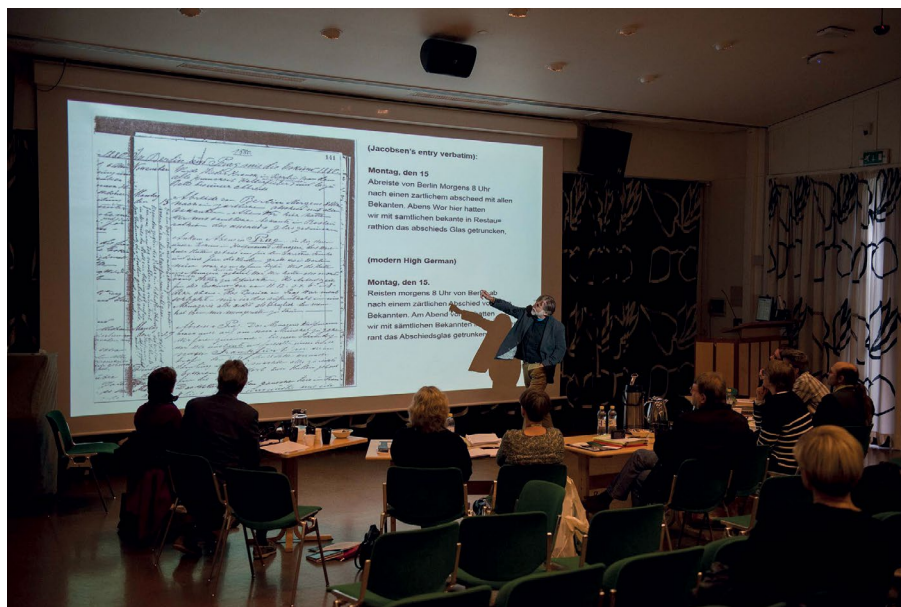
I believe that never in my life have I experienced so much in a few days, and so much horror, as in the fortnight in the St. Louis hospital in Paris in January 1881.<sup>66</sup>

This episode contains a number of paradigmatic elements as described in Sandra M. Gilbert and Susan Gubar's classic 1979 study, *The Madwoman in the Attic: The Woman Writer and the Nineteenth Century Imagination*. Their then-groundbreaking feminist research established the "female gothic" as a literary sub-genre by tracing all the haunting stories in nineteenth-century English language literature which deal with subjugated, betrayed, and incarcerated women who lose their minds in their confinement and desperately try to escape. Jacobsen's third re-narration reads like such a text: There is a betrayed female (calling out a man's name), there is the dramatic escape of a frenzied madwoman from her confinement, there are deaths and screams, there is a macrocosmic enhancement of the events by a raging blizzard, and as if that weren't enough, the auctorial narrative voice expressly includes the word "horror." This text is a far call from the immediacy of daily personal recordings typical for diary as genre. As a narrative dramatization and stylistic embellishment of Jacobsen's feverish experiences, the third version of this episode appears as much closer to gothic fiction than to actual fact.

When read together with the inserted descriptions of the dying French and Inuit patients around him, it appears that Jacobsen attempted to prepare his life writings for a later book, which would have greater popular appeal than a straight travelogue or memoir. This was a strategy he obviously followed in his autobiographical book of adventures for young readers, *Eventyrlige Farter: Fortalte for Ungdommen*, published in 1894. There he included scenes from his regular logbook, such as the passage recounting how near the Labrador coast he himself once dramatically saved the vessel from shattering on a cliff<sup>67</sup> and how later, on the North Sea, Terrianiak's shamanist power stopped a storm to save the vessel from stranding.<sup>68</sup> In *Eventyrlige Farter* these scenes<sup>69</sup> are rendered as much more horrifying, gothic, and sensational than in the original version, and to me it appears more than likely that Jacobsen also intended to include the horrifying scene in the hospital as well as the "occult" episode of Hagenbeck's dream in a later book.

I mentioned earlier that in my reading the inserted passage about Hagenbeck's dream demonstrates how close Jacobsen must have felt to his admired employer (who published his own "Franklinian" autobiography 29 years after the deaths of Terrianiak's and Abraham's families but never even mentions them). Hagenbeck's employee Jacobsen may well have contemplated two possible literary options or a combination of both for a future publication based on his log: a popular romantic adventure book, full of drama and gothic elements, and/or a "Franklinian" memoir of his own, relating how he worked his way up from being a young Norwegian

sailor to becoming an internationally successful trader and renowned collector of ethnographic materials for the newly blossoming science of “Völkerkunde” in Europe. Jacobsen struggled hard and lastly without success to establish himself as a scientist. His later life in Hamburg, running the restaurant in Hagenbeck’s zoo and establishing a family, forced the outsider to forsake the sea, to give up on adventure, and to settle down to become a modestly successful entrepreneur in Germany, even during the nation’s darkest time. How did he as a Northerner operate in a political system that celebrated a Nordic cult and propagated the white supremacist construction of an Aryan race? How did the older Jacobsen cope with the loss of his house and restaurant by Allied bombs in the inferno that killed about 40,000 and also destroyed parts of Hagenbeck’s archives? And what did he think and feel about his achievements in his old age, when smoking his pipe and looking out of his window in the Jacobsen family’s home on Risøya or when visiting the grave of his parents on the neighboring island of Gåsør? When in 1987 Robin McGrath pointed me to Abraham’s diary and thus indirectly also to Jacobsen’s, my focus was entirely on Abraham’s text as an exceptional sample of very early Indigenous literature in Canada, and I had no professional interest in Jacobsen’s life. Our workshop taught me differently, and I am glad and grateful to have been given the privilege to attend it and learn more about the intriguing story of Johan Adrian Jacobsen (Fig. 6.4).



**Figure 6.4 :** Workshop participants listening to Hartmut Lutz giving his presentation at The Arctic University Museum of Norway in Tromsø, June 2016. Photo: Mari Karlstad, The Arctic University Museum of Norway.

## CONCLUSION

Reading Abraham's and Jacobsen's diaries side by side, they appear emblematic of two very different existential epistemologies. While Abraham recorded in an unassuming matter-of-fact style the "new" world around him, he was always aware of his obligations to others, be they Jacobsen and the spectators, the Moravian teachers, his family and home community, or the Christian god. At the same time, he was conscientious about his obligations to his employers. Although he was writing about his experiences as an individual, his autobiography never foregrounds his own self but positions the self within a network of relations and obligations. This narrative structure reflects Indigenous oral epistemologies. Abraham just wanted to earn the money to pay back his debts and return to the place and position he had occupied at home before his adventure. It is an almost conservative and cyclical plot he constructed in his text, and it is typical for later Indigenous fiction.<sup>70</sup> Tragically, Abraham could not complete this circle in his real life, such that his narrative has no closure. At the end of his truly fateful journey, he still hoped to see Labrador again, but he also resigned himself to die, apparently, consoled by his belief in the Moravian god. This can be gathered from a Christian reading of an entry in the *Missionsblatt der Brüdergemeine* (Moravian Missionary newspaper) for March 1881, according to which Abraham wrote in his last letter to his teacher Elsner on January 8, 1881, the following:

I do not long for earthly possessions but this is what I long for: to see my relatives again, who are over there, to talk to them of the name of God as long as I live. I hadn't grasped this before, now I understand. I shed my tears fast, but the words uttered by Himself console us very much again and again.

My dear teacher Elsner, pray for us to the Lord that the evil sickness will stop if it is His will; but God's will be fulfilled. I am a poor man who's dust.<sup>71</sup>

Jacobsen, on the other hand, believed in success and progress. Although the "Labrador Eskimo" episode constituted in all sorts of ways a significant setback in his career, he did not regard it as fateful. He refused to accept defeat, and he immediately began to plan his next business venture. For a few weeks, he indulged in a certain amount of self-pity, and his mourning for the deceased seems to have been sincere. In the text we translated, however, the young Jacobsen often appears rather callous in his eagerness to improve his prospects and maximize profits. His diary lacks the moral rigor and solidity of Franklin's autobiography, but it shares the hardworking stamina, the keen interest in the world around him, and the business mindedness. But there was also a very romantic side to this young man, who in his writings at times indulged in gothic sensationalism. The long line of

Jacobsen's life does not yield a plot structure that moves successfully in an ascending curve "from rags to riches," but it provides a complex and fascinating picture of this industrious, versatile, tough, and resilient captain and businessman from Risøya in Northern Norway.

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## NOTES

- 1 There are different spellings for these Inuktitut names. Throughout, I follow the spellings used by Moravian missionary Br. Kretschmer in his translation of Abraham Ulrikab's diary into German, i.e., the oldest version we have.
- 2 Taylor, "An Eskimo Abroad"; Thode-Arora, "Das Eskimo-Tagebuch"; Thode-Arora, "Abraham's diary."
- 3 McGrath, *Canadian Inuit literature*, 4; Petrone, *Northern Voices*, 108–112; Lutz, "Unfit for the European Environment"
- 4 Abraham, *The Diary of Abraham*.
- 5 Abraham, *Abraham Ulrikab im Zoo*.
- 6 Brookes, "Abraham's Diary." Radio program.
- 7 Rivet, *In the Footsteps*. See also Rivet, this volume.
- 8 Thanks to Rivet's energetic commitment, 2014 also saw the long overdue publication of two small monographs containing translations by Jacqueline Thun and myself of Jacobsen's 1880–81 diary (Jacobsen, "Das Tagebuch") from his halting German into French (Jacobsen, *Voyage avec les Eskimos du Labrador*) and into English (Jacobsen, *Voyage with the Labrador Eskimos*). Two years later Rivet's efforts even resulted in the release of a film, *Trapped in a Human Zoo*, which was first shown in Canada in February 2016 and which has now been released in a longer version on DVD.
- 9 Karrer and Lutz, *Minority Literatures*, 11–64.
- 10 Lutz, *Contemporary Achievements*.
- 11 Lutz, "Unfit for the European Environment," 53.
- 12 It may seem an unnecessary pedantry to readers not interested in textual analysis as such that I render here a somewhat detailed account of how Jacobsen's and Abraham's diaries were translated; but given the fact that Jacobsen's diary was written in halting German by a North Norwegian author not fully fluent in the idiom he used, and given that the Inuk Abraham's diary exists only as German translation from the original Inuktitut, it is essential for any scholarly work dealing with these diaries in detail to be aware of the fact that the existing English translations, however carefully translated they are, can only provide semantic approximations, based on rather brittle linguistic "originals."
- 13 Jacobsen, *Voyage with the Labrador Eskimos*, 37.
- 14 Abraham, *The Diary of Abraham*.
- 15 When referring to this German-language section of Jacobsen's autobiographical manuscript on his Labrador voyage, I shall use the term "diary," whereas "log" or "logbook" will be used for Jacobsen's entire text, which is much longer, begins in Norwegian, and continues in German after the *Labrador* diary.
- 16 Jacobsen, *Voyage with the Labrador Eskimos*, 11–75.



- 17 I am glad to be able to take this opportunity to thank archivist Jantje Bruhns and her colleagues at the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde for their exceptional commitment and for the unwavering support they gave to Jacqueline Thun, to France Rivet, to the film crew around Guilhem Rondot, and to myself. Working with Jantje Bruhns was always a pleasure.
- 18 See Bolz, this volume.
- 19 Our special thanks to my friend and fellow Canadianist Wolfgang Klooss of Trier University, who is an avid sailor from the Baltic to the Atlantic and who was a reliable source in helping to translate nautical terms used by Jacobsen.
- 20 Cf. Abraham, *The Diary of Abraham*, 63–65.
- 21 In an earlier article I discussed Abraham's diary in the context of Inuit writing in Canada, and I then called it "the oldest autobiography" (Lutz, "Unfit for the European environment," 80). I have since then been corrected and told by France Rivet that she learned from Newfoundland theological scholar Hans Rollmann that there is an older autobiographical text by an Inuk from Greenland.
- 22 Bataille and Sands, *American Indian Women*, 10f.
- 23 Cf. Carolan-Brozy, *Autorschaft/Autorität*.
- 24 Campbell, *Sketches*, v.
- 25 Nuligak, *I, Nuligak*.
- 26 Pitseolak, *People from Our Side*.
- 27 Thrasher, *Thrasher*.
- 28 Pitseolak, *Pitseloak*.
- 29 Freeman, *Life among the Qallunaat*.
- 30 Lutz, "Native Literatures," 116–118.
- 31 Karrer and Lutz, *Minority literatures*, 21.
- 32 Abraham, *The Diary of Abraham*, 63f.
- 33 Abraham, *Abraham Ulrikab im Zoo*, 125.
- 34 Abraham, *The Diary of Abraham*, 56.
- 35 Cf. Lutz, "'They Talk, We Listen,'" 76.
- 36 Cf. Lutz, "'They Talk, We Listen,'" 74f.
- 37 Abraham, *The Diary of Abraham*, 4.
- 38 Ashcroft, Griffith, and Tiffin, *The Empire Writes Back*.
- 39 Manuel and Posluns, *The Fourth World*.
- 40 Cf. Lutz, "'Writing Back,'" 87–94 *et passim*.
- 41 Cf. Lutz, "'Writing Back,'" 153–161.
- 42 I thank Cathrine Baglo for her input about Kujagi's story, here.
- 43 Abraham, *The Diary of Abraham*, 29.
- 44 We should also remember that Jacobsen was trained at the Tromsø Navigation School to keep a log.
- 45 Jacobsen, *Voyage with the Labrador Eskimos*, 59.
- 46 Jacobsen, *Voyage with the Labrador Eskimos*, 56.
- 47 Jacobsen, *Voyage with the Labrador Eskimos*, 56f.
- 48 Jacobsen, *Voyage with the Labrador Eskimos*, 80.
- 49 Jacobsen, *Voyage with the Labrador Eskimos*, 80.
- 50 Jacobsen, *Voyage with the Labrador Eskimos*, 40–41f.
- 51 Cf. Thode-Arora in *Trapped*, TV program.
- 52 Jacobsen, *Voyage with the Labrador Eskimos*, 30–32.
- 53 Jacobsen, *Voyage with the Labrador Eskimos*, 76.

- 54 Jacobsen, *Voyage with the Labrador Eskimos*, 77.
- 55 Jacobsen, *Voyage with the Labrador Eskimos*, 18.
- 56 Jacobsen, *Voyage with the Labrador Eskimos*, 32–33, 34, 36, 44.
- 57 Jacobsen, *Voyage with the Labrador Eskimos*, 71.
- 58 Jacobsen, *Voyage with the Labrador Eskimos*, 71, 73, 74, 75.
- 59 Jacobsen, *Voyage with the Labrador Eskimos*, 73.
- 60 Jacobsen, *Voyage with the Labrador Eskimos*, 75.
- 61 Jacobsen, *Voyage with the Labrador Eskimos*, 75.
- 62 Jacobsen, *Voyage with the Labrador Eskimos*, 74.
- 63 Jacobsen, *Voyage with the Labrador Eskimos*, 74.
- 64 Jacobsen, *Voyage with the Labrador Eskimos*, 71–73.
- 65 Jacobsen, *Voyage with the Labrador Eskimos*, 72.
- 66 Jacobsen, *Voyage with the Labrador Eskimos*, 73.
- 67 Jacobsen, *Voyage with the Labrador Eskimos*, 42.
- 68 Jacobsen, *Voyage with the Labrador Eskimos*, 53–54.
- 69 They are all reproduced in English in the *Voyage with the Labrador Eskimos* edition, 82–83 and 83–84.
- 70 Lutz, “The Circle,” 203–208.
- 71 Abraham, *The Diary of Abraham*, 64–65.





**Figure 0.9:** The Jacobsen boat house at Risøya. June 2016. Photo: Mari Karlstad, The Arctic University Museum of Norway.

## 7. From British Columbia to Berlin and Back Again: Jacobsen's Kwakwaka'wakw Collection Across Three Centuries

Aaron Glass and Rainer Hatoum

**Abstract** This chapter offers a detailed analysis of the important Kwakwaka'wakw component of Jacobsen's larger 1881–83 Northwest Coast collection for Berlin. Made with the help of an Indigenous guide, George Hunt, it had lasting influence on anthropology as Franz Boas used the objects in his own early fieldwork and publications. The chapter also demonstrates how unpublished notes by Jacobsen, Boas, and Hunt are reconnecting the Berlin collection to Kwakwaka'wakw families in British Columbia today.

**Keywords** Johan Adrian Jacobsen | Royal Ethnological Museum Berlin | Kwakwaka'wakw | George Hunt | Franz Boas

Shortly after she returned to Berlin from the Netherlands in 1929, the German Dada artist Hannah Höch began mining the collection of the local Museum für Völkerkunde for materials to use in her trademark photomontages. In the resulting series, *Aus einem Ethnographischen Museum* (“From an Ethnographic Museum”), Höch juxtaposed and interwove tribal masks and sculptures with images of European women in an attempt to both liberate the bourgeois female subject and elevate aesthetic appreciation for non-Western art.<sup>1</sup> One widely reproduced piece from 1930, entitled *Mütter* (Fig. 7.1), features an Indigenous mask from the Northwest Coast of North America partially occluding the head and upper face of a proletarian woman whose clothed (and pregnant) torso hovers in an abstract, polychromatic space. While one collaged eye belongs to a human, the other is that of the mask itself, suggesting an equivalence or shared aspect despite the ethnic, gendered, and material discrepancy between the two types of being.<sup>2</sup>



**Figure 7.1:** Left: Human face mask, Kwakwaka'wakw, collected by Johan Adrian Jacobsen in 1882. Courtesy U'mista Cultural Centre/Ethnologisches Museum Berlin (IV A 1285). Right: Hannah Höch (1889-1978), *Mütter*, 1930. Watercolor, collage. Collection Musée National D'Art Moderne, Centre Georges Pompidou (AM 3572 D). Digital Image © CNAC/MNAM, Dist. RMN-Grand Palais/Art Resource, NY. © 2023 Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York/VG Bild-Kunst, Bonn.

Twenty years later, the Dada-cum-Surrealist poet André Breton turned his own attention to Northwest Coast art in his never-ending search for access to the universal human unconscious. In a short essay entitled “Notes on the Transformation Masks of the Pacific Northwest Coast,” first published in 1950, Breton reflects on the dramatic mechanical masks that he saw in the American Museum of Natural History while living in exile in New York in the early 1940s and their potential to help inspire a political and spiritual transformation in modern consciousness. Though unreferenced in his essay, Breton obviously relied upon the texts of German émigré anthropologist Franz Boas to decipher the complex masks; in one passage, he draws on Boas’s<sup>3</sup> interpretation of a specific transformation mask in the Berlin museum collection, “where the outer image of the irritated ancestor opens up to his peaceful image, flanked on the lateral shutters by hands distributing gifts.”<sup>4</sup> Unbeknownst to either Höch or Breton, the particular Kwakwaka'wakw (Kwakiutl) masks that inspired their flights of primitivist fancy had been collected by the Norwegian sailor Johan Adrian Jacobsen (1853–1947), who shared their general ignorance as to the specific cultural meanings of these masks for their Indigenous makers and users.<sup>5</sup>

In the course of his historic travels on America's Northwest Coast between 1881 and 1883, Jacobsen assembled the world's largest "early" (pre-1885) collection of Kwakwaka'wakw material culture for Berlin's Königliche Museum für Völkerkunde (Royal Museum of Ethnology) under the guidance of its pioneering director Adolf Bastian.<sup>6</sup> This collection is highly significant for a number of reasons aside from its size and antiquity. Jacobsen assembled it just before the Canadian government revised the federal Indian Act in 1884 to prohibit and outlaw the potlatch and its accompanying ceremonies, which threatened the cultural sovereignty and vitality of First Nations throughout British Columbia. The collection is comprehensive across object types, both quotidian and ceremonial, and features many examples of ritual paraphernalia that indeed fell out of use by the early twentieth century. Many of the decorated items exhibit stylistic trends that were shared among neighboring groups to some extent or that were eclipsed in the twentieth century; as a result, a number of objects are non-canonical (or pre-canonical) by the standards of what came to be recognized as "Kwakiutl Art" in the mid-to-late twentieth century.<sup>7</sup> Among the Kwakwaka'wakw, Jacobsen had the help of an Indigenous guide, George Hunt, who went on to become the main collaborator of Franz Boas and who continued to think, and to write, about Jacobsen's objects for the following four decades. In fact, it was Jacobsen's collecting activity in the region that in large part inspired Boas to shift his ethnographic focus from the Eastern Arctic to the Northwest Coast, where he conducted the primary fieldwork that would inform his revolutionary innovations in anthropology and museology.<sup>8</sup>

After a century of inspiring artists, ethnologists, and curators the world over, both through its display in Berlin and its reproduction in print by Boas and others, Jacobsen's Kwakwaka'wakw collection is coming home to British Columbia—virtually, at least—through collaborative digital projects aimed at reconnecting the long-distant objects with the surviving cultural knowledge and hereditary prerogatives that animate them.<sup>9</sup> Drawing on primary archival material in a number of global institutions, this chapter reviews the history of Jacobsen's Kwakwaka'wakw collection and its formative influence on Boas, who relied upon the Berlin objects in his earliest fieldwork and seminal publications. Today, unpublished notes by Jacobsen, Boas, and Hunt are allowing us to reconnect the Berlin collection with Kwakwaka'wakw families in British Columbia who continue to practice the complex ceremonial culture witnessed by all three men in the late nineteenth century.

## JACOBSEN'S KWAKWAKA'WAKW COLLECTION

As a result of the scarcity of contextual information provided by Jacobsen himself for the ca. 600 Kwakwaka'wakw pieces he collected between 1881 and 1883,

there have been repeated efforts to reconstruct the collection's history and documentation from archival records.<sup>10</sup> The bulk of the Jacobsen collection itself is at the Ethnologisches Museum Berlin today, though some items were traded to other museums or lost during World War II and its aftermath. However, the main assembly of field notes, journals, and object lists that Jacobsen took during his travels is preserved at the Museum für Völkerkunde in Hamburg, which has only recently made them available to scholars.

When looking for more information on the objects Jacobsen acquired, prime attention was given to his original object and price lists (Museum am Rothenbaum – Kulturen und Künste der Welt Hamburg, JAC 22.1-2).<sup>11</sup> Unfortunately, it soon became clear that not too much may be expected from these sources, certainly not with regard to the Kwakwaka'wakw pieces in his collection. These lists contain entries with only minimal description (e.g., “1 mask black [3.50 dollars],” “1 bowl 1 [dollar]”), reflective of Jacobsen's lack of training in professional ethnology or museology, and they are very hard to correlate definitively with the objects in Berlin. As a result, research attention quickly shifted to his original travel diary notes, which were later used as the basis for a published account of his collecting expedition prepared by a Berlin journalist and amateur ethnologist named August Woldt.<sup>12</sup> Aside from a brief one-hour stop at Alert Bay on September 12, 1881, which resulted in the acquisition of a few objects,<sup>13</sup> the bulk of his collecting activities took place during two major stays in Kwakwaka'wakw country, both of which started and ended in Fort Rupert: the first lasted from October 9–31, 1881, and the second from March 2–April 16, 1882.

During these two visits, Jacobsen was completely dependent on the support of the Hunt family, and on that of George Hunt (1854–1933) in particular. Hunt was the son of the English Hudson's Bay Company factor at Fort Rupert and a Tlingit noblewoman from Alaska.<sup>14</sup> He was raised at Fort Rupert speaking Kwak'waka and was married into Kwagu'ł families, from whom he received chiefly standing and ceremonial obligations. Hunt and his two younger brothers acted repeatedly as Jacobsen's guides, translators, and providers of means of travel. Though in some ways similar, Jacobsen's two visits had their own foci as well. As detail is crucial with regard to the following reflections on the Jacobsen collection, we begin with a short overview of his itinerary.

Likely the most prolific episode of Jacobsen's first major stay in Kwakwaka'wakw country was a seven-day round trip journey during which the 26-year-old George Hunt, among others, took him to a number of villages by boat.<sup>15</sup> Leaving Fort Rupert (Tsaxis) on October 10, 1881, just a day after his arrival, Jacobsen and his group got to the village of Newitti (Xwamdasbe') on Hope Island, off the north tip of Vancouver Island, a day later (Oct. 11).<sup>16</sup> Then they went on to Alert Bay ('Yalis) on Cormorant Island (Oct. 12), Mamalilikala ('Mimkwamlis) on Village Island



(Oct. 13), and Tlawitsis (K̄alugwis) on Turner Island (Oct. 15), after which they returned to Fort Rupert (Oct. 16). Particular highlights of this round trip were a dance performance Jacobsen had asked for at Mamalilikala and a feast when visiting Tlawitsis. Not long after his return from this round trip, Jacobsen went on another adventurous trip which took him across the northern tip of Vancouver Island on the so-called Grease Trail (Oct. 18) in order to visit the villages of the Koskimo (X̄watis) (Oct. 20) and Quatsino (Oyaḡam'la) (Oct. 21) along Quatsino Sound, from which he returned to Fort Rupert (Oct. 24). On the way back to Victoria the steamer made another stop at Alert Bay (Oct. 31).

Jacobsen's second trip to Kwakwaka'wakw country included yet another brief steamer stop in Alert Bay (March 2, 1882) before arriving in Fort Rupert (March 3–7), where he witnessed parts of a major potlatch under way.<sup>17</sup> A month-long trip to the villages of Newitti, Koskimo, and Quatsino followed, this time by boat (March 8–April 4). The purpose of the second visit to these villages was less an interest in collecting objects than in collecting people: Jacobsen attempted to hire a small group in order to send them on tour in Germany for Carl Hagenbeck.<sup>18</sup> Jacobsen was particularly interested in representatives of these groups, as their women alone still practiced the old tradition of forehead deformation during childhood, which was exotic in Jacobsen's eyes. While no one was willing to join him in Newitti (March 9), he succeeded in putting a small group together during his stay in Koskimo (March 11–24). Yet his success was a temporary one. On the journey back, which took much longer than usual due to a number of factors, including very bad weather and another stop at Quatsino (April 1), much of the group had melted away with the last deserting him upon arrival at Fort Rupert (April 4). To make matters worse, bad weather also delayed his departure from Fort Rupert until April 16, after which he made another brief stop in Alert Bay on his way to Victoria.

When casting a closer look at the different kinds of field records in Hamburg—Jacobsen's diverse forms of diary and the various notebooks containing object and price lists—it becomes apparent that there are three sorts of record: first, small (DIN A6 format) pocket diary books characterized by very poor penmanship (e.g., JAC 18.4–12); second, a separate pocketbook-sized diary called "Agenda ou Tablettes Journalieres" (JAC 11.1), of which only the one from 1881 has survived (if there ever had been one for the other years); and third, large ledger-books that contain accounts of his various travels rendered in relatively good handwriting (e.g., 2011.37.1 [May 1877–December 1881] and 2011.37.2 [January 1882–October 1883]). Diary entries of the first type are narrowly bound in time and purpose, such as JAC 18.6 (September–November 1882) or JAC 18.7 (January–April 1883). The second kind of record documents Jacobsen's activities in 1881, though often

only very briefly, with remarks such as “arrival in/departure from” so and so; accordingly, entries related to his trip to the Northwest Coast constitute only a fraction of the diary. The same is also true for the third type of diary, where here too the entries pertaining to Jacobsen’s Northwest Coast trip start towards the end of the first ledger-book, following entries related to many of his preceding travel destinations (Greenland, Lapland, France, Belgium, and Germany). If one compares dates covered by the different kinds of diaries it becomes clear that those of the first two categories are less complete and pertain to periods of Jacobsen’s travels that are also covered in the third ledger-book diary entries. Since Jacobsen would most likely not have conducted fieldwork with his main diary, in which he had combined accounts from his various travels, and since the smaller journals of the first two categories show frequent water stains and other forms of damage, it is likely that the first category contains daily field records while the travel accounts of the third category are of a later date and are written after the fact. Therefore it is particularly frustrating to realize that we are missing almost all of the original diary entries of the first type for Jacobsen’s visits to the Kwakwaka’wakw.

The exceptions to this are one and a half pages that constitute the only entries for JAC 18.4. These describe part of Jacobsen’s return trip to Koskimo coming from Quatsino on Sunday, Oct. 23, 1881. Comparison between these notes and the related diary entries of the third type shows some relatively stark differences in content, including the fact that these “original” notes are assigned to a different day of the week (Tuesday and not Sunday as the other two diary types affirm).

Analysis of the content of the diaries supports our hunch that the journal entries of the third category may actually be “remastered” versions of earlier field notes made in preparation for the manuscript of his official travel account. When comparing the diary entries of the third kind with the book published by Woldt in 1884, the similarities are striking. A rather typical example shall illustrate the point. What follows is a juxtaposition of our English translation of Jacobsen’s reworked (third type) German diary entry about the events he witnessed on March 5, 1882, in Fort Rupert, with their published version (Jacobsen, 1977).<sup>19</sup> In order to ease comparison, the content is presented in smaller blocks:

Jacobsen’s ledger-book diary:	The published counterpart:
<i>There was a curtain made of canoe sails which made a kind of stage [...] then the curtain was lowered and now we saw a spectacular show.</i>	At one spot in the house were hangings made of canoe sails that hid a small stage [...] the curtain was suddenly let down again and we witnessed a wonderful drama.
<i>All kinds of animals, deities and demons were represented there with masks.</i>	A long line of masked dancers, representing animals, deities, and devils danced together.

Jacobsen's ledger-book diary:	The published counterpart:
<i>Here was a bear dancing alongside a monster with a huge head and a big mouth which it opened and closed. There was a wolf and eagle, in short, animals of all kinds.</i>	Here we saw a bear dance with a monster that constantly clapped his great jaw, then a wolf and an eagle clung together and danced the circle.
<i>It lasted only a moment, until the curtain was opened up again. This happened 2 times. While the masks were to be seen, whistles were blown in all keys (with wooden flutes of which I have sent the museum a mass [/large] number).</i>	It lasted only a few minutes, then the curtain was put up again and some musicians we could not see made a hellish noise with pipes and flutes. When the curtain fell again the whole dancing corps, which I think belonged to the Nemkis [Nimpkish] danced again to the music of the unseen flutists.
<i>After that dances without masks were performed, [and] because these are well known, I left the house to join a[nother] party [?] of the head chief. This dance that I described [above] was performed by the Nimpkis [tribe of] (Allert Bay) Indians.</i>	The second part of the festival consisted of the customary Indian dances without masks. At this point the head chief left the gathering to return to his house, where there was also a large dancing festival taking place
(Hamburg Museum, now MARKK 2011.37.02, p. 14)	(Jacobsen, 1977, pp. 70–71)

While we cannot go into detail regarding the relationship between the “third” diaries and the published version, additional short remarks pertaining to Jacobsen’s first visit to Alert Bay are of interest. While we only learn from the published account that Jacobsen acquired, with the help of a co-passenger who was a former missionary, some “ethnographic artifacts,” the diary notes are somewhat more explicit:

[We] went through the village and this is where I made my first purchases of real Indian curiosities – rattles[,] bowls[,] masks[,] weapons etc. Kunningham [*sic*] made these purchases and payed what he thought was right[.] And because there was so little time, the Indians were barely able to think, which is why I was able to buy there cheap.<sup>20</sup>

While the previous remark had been shortened in the published account of Jacobsen’s first stay in Alert Bay, the following was not included at all:

[...] the steamer blew its horn and we were on our way again [At this point the published account stops and the notes go on:]. Here I saw the cannery, which belongs to a company in Victoria that had just started this summer. On the main wharf lay hundreds of silver salmon. It was a gorgeous sight. Men and women were busy with the filling the cans (all Indians) [while a] few whites were busy cooking and gutting [the salmon or] to dip the trademark-labels in glue and stick them on [the cans]. The sight of Allert Bay made a good impression on the traveler – a real Indian village with sometimes painted houses and

a few poorly made poles without carving [which feature just] an eagle on its [/their] top[s].<sup>21</sup>

This description of Alert Bay is significant as Kwakwaka'wakw villages of the mid-to-late nineteenth century were characterized by houses with painted façades and simple crest poles (with a single carved figure on top), rather than the fully carved, multi-figure totem poles that they would soon begin carving in greater numbers in the 1890s.<sup>22</sup>

Another example relates to a declared attraction Jacobsen felt toward a Kwakwaka'wakw woman, which likewise never made it into the published account. In describing his first visit to Koskimo in October, 1881, Jacobsen calls attention to the wife of the young chief Wakash, who Jacobsen dubbed the “chieftainess of Quatsino.” This designation reflected the fact that she was from the neighboring Quatsino (Gwat'sinu'xw) people and of high rank—in fact, higher than her husband—as she was considered the head of several villages. From Jacobsen's reworked diary we learn:

On the first evening we arrived in the village of Koskimo the wife of the young chief disappeared. Towards the evening she reappeared and my translator surprised me with the news, that the chief's wife had made a song in my honor. This song, to which she had also composed the tune, was to be sung that evening [/night]. After supper, she then appeared with a blackened face, in her hand a small hammer of wood which she used as time keeper [/baton], and over her chest a magnificent... [At this point the notes stop].<sup>23</sup>

The next day (October 21, 1881), Jacobsen's notes include the following remark:

I have never been so tempted before by another Indian, than by this woman. I have to be surprised that Mr. Husband [“Herr Gemahl”] did not get jealous. But this probably came as in this exceptional case the woman had the say, and young Negetze [the son of the former chief Negetze, i.e., Wakash] let his wife rule. She called herself the ruler of 7 villages, but actually they were then only three.<sup>24</sup>

One of the reasons why this story never made it into the publication may be that these remarks are from a set of notes that appear only on the margins of Jacobsen's very early entries in his third type of diary and seem to have been added only *after* the travel account had been published in 1884. This notion is supported by remarks included elsewhere in these kind of marginal notes, such as “*When I*

*returned again in the summer of 1885 (via Japan) to Fort Rupert...*<sup>25</sup> So it is possible that Jacobsen returned time and again to his larger, more comprehensive travel diaries, adding reminiscences to them over years of increasing removal from the events they purport to describe.

Given Jacobsen's lack of ethnological training or expertise in Northwest Coast cultures, it is not surprising that his own textual documentation reveals little insight into specific object identification. Therefore, our attention was redirected to the content of the different shipments of the material that Jacobsen collected for Bastian, which were recorded both in the travel diary notes and in the accession ledgers of the museum in Berlin. Starting with Jacobsen's various travel accounts, we learn that he sent five shipments of material from British Columbia to Berlin around the periods he was in Kwakwaka'wakw country: his *first* shipment was dispatched September 14, 1881, a few days after his initial short visit to Alert Bay (his only stop in Kwakwaka'wakw territory at that point), from Port Essington on the northern coast of British Columbia;<sup>26</sup> a *second* shipment followed on October 3 from New Gold Harbor on Haida Gwaii (Queen Charlotte Islands) shortly before he arrived at Fort Rupert;<sup>27</sup> the *third* shipment left on October 31, at the end of his first extended visit to Kwakwaka'wakw country;<sup>28</sup> and a *fourth* shipment was made at the conclusion of his adventurous visit to Nuu-chah-nulth country, sometime between January 15 and February 20, 1882.<sup>29</sup> Having barely arrived in San Francisco to restock his outfit with supplies, Jacobsen journeyed up north again. During this trip he made his second and final major visit to Kwakwaka'wakw country (March–April 1882), after which he sent a *fifth* shipment from Fort Rupert to Berlin on April 16.<sup>30</sup> He then continued on to the Arctic journey that would keep him busy collecting for another year and a half, but that does not have relevance for this chapter.

While the itinerary of his travels and their reflection in different shipments seem clear enough, the ledger-book entries and circumstances at the Ethnologisches Museum in Berlin tell a somewhat different story. If we follow the itinerary in Jacobsen's various written accounts, the museum should have received its *first shipment*, and its first Kwakwaka'wakw objects, from Alert Bay. While the museum's first shipment actually does contain a few pieces from the Kwakwaka'wakw (IV 420–434), these are not identified at the museum as being from Alert Bay but from "Port/Fort Rupert," a place Jacobsen had not yet visited at that time. The already cited description of his first visit to Alert Bay mentions the categories of objects he bought there (e.g., rattles, bowls, masks, and weapons); however, the sum total of his collection records at the museum lists no such items as being from Alert Bay. Jacobsen's first shipment does indeed contain *masks* (IV A 420–423), *rattles* (IV A 424–426 [427 is missing]), *weapons* (IV A 428–429), and *bowls* (IV A 430–434).

Our conclusion therefore is that these earliest pieces labeled “Port/Fort Rupert” are most likely from Alert Bay.

If we follow Jacobsen’s written accounts, we should not encounter any Kwakwaka’wakw pieces again until the third shipment, but this is certainly not true when it comes to the museum’s ledger-book entries. According to the latter source, we find pieces identified as Kwakwaka’wakw just as strongly represented in the *second* as in the *third shipment*. In both cases these pieces are associated with specific villages (Port/Fort Rupert, Alert Bay, Newitti, Mamalilikala, Koskimo, and Quatsino) that Jacobsen, according to his own account, only visited *after* he sent off his second shipment. This likely means that the objects from the second and third shipments were mixed together at some point, presumably in the time between their arrival in Berlin and their cataloging at the museum.

The content of the *fourth shipment* actually does reflect Jacobsen’s travel accounts, as it contains objects associated with the different Nuuchahnulth villages that he visited at that time. Still, here too some mixing must have occurred, as we find quite a number of Kwakwaka’wakw pieces in this shipment as well. The two different language groups had a number of villages that were quite close to one another along the northwest coast of Vancouver Island. Members of both groups regularly engaged in commerce, marriage, and ceremonial exchange, all of which put their respective objects into regional circulation. Jacobsen almost surely recorded the names of his collection locations without being able to distinguish the tribal origins of specific objects, leading to a certain degree of misattribution in the museum’s records. As objects were diffused throughout the area, so were their aesthetic styles, making firm attributions based solely on formal criteria difficult in many cases.

Jacobsen’s second major visit to Kwakwaka’wakw country in 1882 found its expression in his *fifth shipment*. Jacobsen must have sent this off in two loads, as the Kwakwaka’wakw pieces are found as part of a category labeled “*fifth & sixth shipment*” in the Berlin ledgers. In contrast to the Kwakwaka’wakw pieces Jacobsen collected earlier, almost all relevant objects in this double shipment are simply labeled “Kwakiutl,” a designation that replaced “Fort Rupert” from his previous shipments (an intermediary step was his use of the label “Fort Rupert/Kwakiutl”). Given the fact that Jacobsen visited many of the different villages and Bands around the north end of Vancouver Island during this later visit, his increasing use of the generic “Kwakiutl” makes it very hard to trace the specific objects back to their source communities using the extant documentation. For instance, the mask depicted in Fig. 7.1 (IV A 1285) is catalogued as “Kwakiutl,” though the word “Kuskimo” (Koskimo or *Gusgimaxw*) is written on the back of the mask in pencil. In addition, there are numerous Nuuchahnulth pieces in these shipments,

which suggests three possible scenarios: Jacobsen collected some Nuu-chah-nulth objects among the Kwakwaka'wakw; he held onto some pieces collected earlier on his trip for later shipment; or objects again became mixed up at the museum prior to cataloguing.

For a variety of possible reasons, therefore, the archival documentation of Jacobsen's Kwakwaka'wakw collection raises as many questions as it answers. Are the discrepancies in collection locale due to Jacobsen's sloppy record keeping or to slippages that occurred between his own collection lists and the museum catalogues? At what point in his collecting trip, or in the cataloguing process in Berlin, did the generic "Kwakiutl" come to be assigned to all objects collected in Kwakwaka'wakw territory among various different Bands? How do we account for the presence of one tribe's material in shipments presumably assembled in other tribal territories?

While it is possible that some collection data was lost between the time Jacobsen acquired objects and when they were accessioned in Berlin, or in the translation of information across various intermediary documents, it is also true that Jacobsen was not always clear on the identification of specific objects or on the cultural or linguistic distinctions between the groups among whom he was collecting. As an example of the former instance, Jacobsen identified a specific *Dzunuk'wa* (Wild Woman of the Woods) mask, collected early on his voyages (IV A 555), simply as a *teufel* ("devil" or "demon"); cataloguers at the Berlin museum seem to have extrapolated his term, possibly based on his notes, to a number of other humanoid face masks painted black and red (including the example in Fig. 7.1), only some of which also depict *Dzunuk'wa*. Occasionally Jacobsen attempted to incorporate Kwak'waka' terminologies into his descriptions, as in the case of numerous feast dishes that he calls "Sloko" or "Slokolek" (from *luk'wa* or *luk'walil*). However, he frequently over-generalized Native terms that he learned, like "Hametze" (from *Hamatsa*, referring to the so-called Cannibal Dance),<sup>31</sup> to describe objects used in different ceremonies (such as Raven [IV A 1249], Wasp [IV A 1255], or Wolf [IV A 1255 and 1258] headdresses). In some cases, Jacobsen extended specific terms from one group to their neighbors; for instance, one human face mask (IV A 1313) labeled "Kwakiutl" is described as depicting "Masmasalanich ... the highest deity and also the original father of the Kwakiutl and the other coastal peoples; the chief, who hid the sun in a box," although the ancestral figure in question belonged properly to the *Awik'inuxw* people who live to the north of the Kwakwaka'wakw and speak a related Wakashan language (which may have been the source of Jacobsen's confusion). In general, it is clear that Jacobsen did not solicit much cultural information about the objects that he was often rapidly purchasing.<sup>32</sup>

Such discrepancies in tribal attribution are especially evident in the ethnographic articles Jacobsen began publishing just after his expedition.<sup>33</sup> Jacobsen wrote brief accounts of his journey<sup>34</sup> and his collection<sup>35</sup> in the *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, Germany's premiere anthropological journal, and he began to give illustrated slide lectures on his adventures. The autobiographical book about his voyage<sup>36</sup> certainly had currency in nineteenth-century European ethnological circles and—along with a partial illustrated catalog Bastian published the same year—provided the only significant textual accompaniment to Berlin's extraordinary new collection. Jacobsen's book included his early attempts to describe the shamanic and ceremonial activity that often accompanied the use of masks and other objects he collected. In fact, some of the longest index entries in the 1977 English edition are for "Feasts and Dances" and "Shamans," indicating Jacobsen's personal fascination and possibly his intuition about public and scholarly taste for the exotic. At a time when professional German ethnologists, such as Arthur and Aurel Kraus and Franz Boas, were also exploring Alaska and the Arctic, Jacobsen emerged as a notable if amateur authority on the North Pacific coastal region.

As mentioned above, Carl Hagenbeck had wanted Jacobsen to bring a group of Kwakwaka'wakw back to Germany in 1882, though this proved impossible at the time. However, a few years later Jacobsen was able to work with his brother Fillip—by then resident on the central coast of British Columbia—to coordinate a troupe of nine Nuxalk (Bella Coola), who spent a year touring Germany under the auspices of Hagenbeck's *Völkershauen*.<sup>37</sup> Their regular program of staged performances included what Jacobsen called "shaman" dances as well as the "Hamatsa" and the "Nutlamatla"—terms that refer properly to Kwakwaka'wakw and not Nuxalk ceremony—all of which he later discussed in subsequent ethnographic articles. Although he does not disclose this fact in the articles themselves (which only once mention the tour directly), a significant degree of Jacobsen's initial, first-hand exposure to Nuxalk ceremonial performance was provided on this German tour rather than *in situ* in coastal villages, as Jacobsen did not visit Bella Coola on his 1881–1883 voyage. As a result, and from the very beginning of his publishing career, Jacobsen confused the Salishan-speaking Nuxalk with the Wakashan-speaking Kwakwaka'wakw. For example, Figure One in his 1891 article, "Secret Societies of the Coastal Inhabitants of Northwest America," reproduced a photograph taken of the Nuxalk performing in Berlin over the winter of 1886, although the misleading caption and textual reference suggest that it depicts an actual Kwakwaka'wakw ritual episode.

Between the Nuxalk tour of 1885–86 and his retirement from ethnological collecting in 1895, as he tried desperately to find full-time work in a German or Norwegian museum, Jacobsen published a number of ethnological articles based



on his own collecting activity and the experiences of his brother Fillip among the Nuxalk in British Columbia.<sup>38</sup> Some of these (1891, 1894) were illustrated with non-Nuxalk objects from the 1881–83 Berlin collection, suggesting that he did not appreciate the differences between neighboring groups' use of objects similar in appearance (it is telling that the illustrated objects often lack tribal attributions altogether). Aside from the absence of theoretical or methodological rigor, Jacobsen's greatest overall problem in these articles is terminological.<sup>39</sup> His lack of understanding of Indigenous linguistics results in the serious conflation of different tribes, different ceremonies, and different social organizations. He regularly generalizes from one tribal group to the next, the two most frequent exemplars in these articles being the Nuxalk and Kwakwaka'wakw (which he generally renders with the already-imprecise term "Quakjutl"). At some points, he properly distinguishes the Kwakwaka'wakw "Hamatsa" (*Hamatsa*) from the Nuxalk "Alla Kotla" (*Elaxotla*), but then reverts to using only "Hamatsa" to describe *all* cannibalistic dances on the coast.<sup>40</sup> On the basis of faulty logic and shallow comparison of traits (e.g., interaction with fire), he equates a *shamanic* spirit ("Kle-sat-pli-lánna") among the Nuxalk with what were hereditary *dance* associations ("Nun-lehis-stalath") among the Kwakwaka'wakw.<sup>41</sup> And so on.

Despite his own ethnographic limitations, the primary value of Jacobsen's Kwakwaka'wakw collection rests both in its scope and depth of coverage, and in its very existence given the nascent colonial circumstances of its original assembly and the vicissitudes of subsequent European history, especially wartime destruction and looting. That so much material culture survives at all from the middle half of the nineteenth century is a gift to current Kwakwaka'wakw community members and scholars alike, regardless of the serious flaws in Jacobsen's collection records. No one scholar benefited more from Jacobsen's ambivalent gift than Franz Boas, who was to leave his own tremendous mark on the field of anthropology and on Kwakwaka'wakw history.

## JACOBSEN'S INFLUENCE ON FRANZ BOAS

Franz Boas (1858–1942) was first drawn to the city of Berlin in order to pursue his *Habilitation* in geography and to prepare himself for the associated 1882–83 research trip to Baffinland, Canada, where he studied the Inuit's relationship to their environment. Upon Boas's return to Berlin in 1884, Adolf Bastian offered him a temporary position to help catalog the newly arrived Jacobsen collection. This was Boas's first large-scale exposure to Native material culture from the Northwest Coast. Though inspired by the "wealth of thought [that] lay hidden behind the grotesque masks,"<sup>42</sup> Boas soon came to criticize Jacobsen's ignorance regarding

crucial pieces of data on the objects he had collected, such as the name of source villages, families, lineages, specific secret societies, object owners, and related cultural information (the songs, dances, and narratives that accompany object use). He realized that this kind of vital cultural information was almost impossible to secure subsequent to the initial collection activities.<sup>43</sup> The following year, in the fall of 1885, Boas attended the presentations and performances offered by Hagenbeck's Nuxalk troupe in Berlin, where he recorded some of their language and saw objects similar to those collected by Jacobsen put into quasi-ceremonial animation. These twin exposures to Jacobsen's collecting activities—of both objects and people from the Northwest Coast—changed the course of Boas's life, and he set off on his own first field trip to British Columbia in the summer and fall of 1886.

Although he focused this first field season on linguistic reconnaissance, Boas also intended "to study the masks in connection with the traditions" (i.e., the mythology of the region),<sup>44</sup> and he made his own small Kwakwaka'wakw collection that he sold to Berlin in order to help offset his travel expenses.<sup>45</sup> With him, he took photographs and drawings of the Jacobsen collection in Berlin, as well as of masks in London and New York, that he took or drew himself en route to western Canada.<sup>46</sup> Having been dissatisfied with Jacobsen's collection records, Boas vowed to record detailed ethnological data to accompany his own purchases, and he attempted to more fully document Jacobsen's pieces in retrospect. On his second day in Victoria, after serendipitously meeting one of his Nuxalk acquaintances from Berlin, Boas "showed him my drawings from various museums, and it was soon apparent that they will be very useful. I am now convinced that this trip will have the results I desire. Today I have made many notes about masks and such things."<sup>47</sup> A couple of days later he noted that he got a "wild-dance" story to go with a mask in Berlin and New York.<sup>48</sup> By the end of this first 1886 field trip, Boas was convinced that his was "the only collection from this place that is reasonably well labeled."<sup>49</sup> Throughout his career, but especially in his first decade of fieldwork on the Northwest Coast, Boas would routinely use these and subsequent research drawings as a prompt for eliciting related legends, songs, dances, and crest privileges.<sup>50</sup> As a result, he was able to retroactively shed ethnographic light on some of Jacobsen's most important Kwakwaka'wakw acquisitions.

The following year, in 1887, Boas wrote to Bastian in Berlin requesting additional drawings of the Jacobsen collection, and as a result he acquired a number of quick but detailed watercolor paintings by Albert Grünwedel, a fellow ethnologist at the museum, that he used in studying the ceremonial art forms.<sup>51</sup> Boas's first extended account of ritual objects came in his 1890 article, "The Use of Masks and Head Ornaments on the Northwest Coast of America," which was illustrated with material he sold to Berlin, including a number of cedar bark head rings also represented in the research drawings. Through his frustration in failing to elicit much

data based on his drawings, Boas came to realize that the visual art was intimately tied to various kinds of regional social structures—specifically, clans and “secret societies,” membership in which were both hereditary and affinal. More specifically, he soon “arrived at the conclusion that, except in a few instances, the masks were not conventional types representing certain ideas known to the whole people, but were either inventions of the individuals who used them, or that the knowledge of their meaning was confined to a limited number of persons.”<sup>52</sup> Given the hereditary nature of object and prerogative ownership in the region, Boas came to recognize the serious limitation of poor collection records (such as Jacobsen’s) that did not indicate the specific family or village of origin, instead assigning objects to a generic language group—a problem compounded by the confusion or conflation of various neighboring language groups.

Working with George Hunt, Boas continued soliciting information with the drawings of Berlin objects during their stint together with a Kwakwaka’wakw troupe at the 1893 World’s Columbian Exposition in Chicago.<sup>53</sup> In the summer of 1894, in anticipation of his extended winter field trip to Fort Rupert later that year to witness the Kwakwaka’wakw Winter Ceremonials, Boas again wrote to the Berlin museum requesting additional drawings of the collection there.<sup>54</sup> It is likely that in response he received another set of Grünwedel paintings, this time annotated with basic object descriptions based on Jacobsen’s collection notes. Whether based on the increased image quality or his own more sophisticated understanding of Kwakwaka’wakw culture, Boas’s use of the drawings to identify objects was much more successful this time around. Some of the more detailed Grünwedel paintings are covered with Boas’s field notes, which provide identifications for the objects in Kwak’waka, descriptions of stylistic features and iconography, references to mythology or performance contexts (including related song texts), and in some cases information on mask owners, family records, and specific marriage transfers.<sup>55</sup> On multiple occasions after this field trip, beginning possibly in the summer of 1895, Boas returned to Berlin to transfer some of this new data directly onto the museum’s catalog cards, thus supplementing and often correcting Jacobsen’s descriptions (or even his own earlier 1886 collection notes).<sup>56</sup>

Altogether, Boas left additional notes on some 52 catalog cards, of which 45 relate to Jacobsen’s Kwakwaka’wakw collection. The majority of these notes are brief and consist, for example, of the addition of appropriate Native terms (e.g., IV A 517 or 1290). Still, some thirteen or fourteen additions (four related to his own 1886 collection) are quite long and include more detailed ethnographic insights and even renditions of songs associated with masks. To give but one example, Figure 7.2 (IV A 1291) shows an object that Jacobsen simply described as a “bearded devil’s head” (*bärtiger Teufelskopf*) or “mountain spirit dance mask” (*Berggeist Tanzmaske*) and attributed

to the “Kwakiutl” in general. At some point, perhaps on his 1894 winter field trip, Boas recorded extensive English and Kwak’wala notes on the Grünwedel painting of this item, including the name of the mask (*Xa’yala*), the specific Band that used it (*Tłaskinuxw*), its role as one of a set of four masks used in marriage ceremonies (not dances), and an origin story about its ancestral advent among the tribe:

*From the drawing:* Chief of Lāsqēnox speared sea otter, who took him out to sea. He had to cut line it shook [?] canoe. Came to sea otter chief’s home.

Boas then wrote up these notes in German on the Berlin catalog card, improving the syntax and narrative flow of the validating legend:

*From the Berlin museum card [translated from the German]:* A chief of the Lāsqēnōx harpooned a sea otter, which pulled him into the sea. He tried to cut through the harpoon line but did not succeed. He passed the place where coals swim on the sea and finally reached the chief of the sea otters.

A couple of years later, he published an even more detailed version of the origin story along with an image of the Berlin mask in the section on marriage exchange of his first Kwakwaka’wakw monograph.<sup>57</sup>



**Figure 7.2:** Marriage mask, Kwakwaka’wakw, collected by Johan Adrian Jacobsen in 1882. Courtesy U’mista Cultural Centre/Ethnologisches Museum Berlin (IV A 1291).

As it is relatively easy to track the history of the songs that Boas collected (in comparison to other kinds of cultural information), it is worth taking a closer look at this topic. Known for his lifelong love for music, Boas's interest in Native music may be traced back to his work with Inuit in Baffinland and with the Nuxalk in Berlin.<sup>58</sup> This was not a short-term fascination, but one that he maintained—with a strong focus on Kwakwaka'wakw music—for the rest of his career.<sup>59</sup> Given Boas's extensive study of Kwakwaka'wakw ceremonialism and his theoretical and methodological attention to cultural holism, it is not surprising to find songs added to the Berlin catalog cards for masks and regalia.<sup>60</sup>

Although Boas's attention to Kwakwaka'wakw music began during his first fieldwork in 1886, the musical notes on the Berlin cards may be traced to the time of his first employment of a phonograph during the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago and made his first major wax cylinder recordings.<sup>61</sup> While Boas had employed drawings of the Jacobsen collection for years, it was this "fieldwork" in Chicago that resulted in the first and only connection of songs with the Berlin objects. Comparison of the words and associated information taken down in 1893 and the subsequent additions to the Berlin catalog cards, most likely in 1895, clearly proves the connection. In addition, in 1897 Boas sent twelve of the original Chicago cylinders to the Berlin museum, of which eight were associated with Kwakwaka'wakw pieces in the Jacobsen collection. Unfortunately, intensive search for these cylinders did not reveal them, and it seems that the recordings have not survived.<sup>62</sup>

Fortunately, Boas processed many of his own field notes on, and 1893 musical recordings related to, the Jacobsen collection in his first major Kwakwaka'wakw monograph, *The Social Organization and the Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians*, written with the extensive assistance of George Hunt. Commissioned by the U.S. National Museum as a catalog of its own Kwakwaka'wakw collection, much of it assembled by Boas and Hunt, the text was heavily illustrated with around 125 masks and other regalia forms drawn from the Berlin collection, most of them Jacobsen's. While some objects (such as that in Fig. 7.2 above) were used to illustrate the sections on crests, marriage, and clan organization, the majority were featured in the chapter called "Dances and Songs of the Winter Ceremonial."<sup>63</sup> Although many of the songs and descriptions of such objects include information first recorded on the research drawings, conspicuously absent (with rare exception) are the data identifying specific masks as the hereditary prerogatives of particular owners or families, as Boas mentioned in his 1890 article. Instead, the masks are generally used as exemplars of categories or types (for instance, "Mask of Ts'onoqoa" [*Dzunuk'wa*]<sup>64</sup>) as if they all signified the same thing, in much the same way that Boas often conflates the various Kwakwaka'wakw Bands with the generic and confusing term "Kwakiutl." In this way, Boas himself perpetuated some of the very ethnographic errors that he criticized

Jacobsen for. Nonetheless, he was able to publish many of the corrected object attributions and descriptions obtained in his first decade of fieldwork, and the book provided the first widespread visual access to this important collection.

Given the loss of many original 1893 wax cylinders, the publication of song texts and musical scores associated with the museum objects is especially significant.<sup>65</sup> As an illustrative example, one *Hamshamt'sas* transformation mask (IV A 1242) is a case in point (Fig. 7.3). Collected by Jacobsen during his second major stay in Kwakwaka'wakw country in March/April 1882 (it was part of shipment V & VI), it was one of the masks featured in a Grünwedel drawing that Boas likely took with him to Chicago. The handwritten notes on the drawing include song lyrics that correspond to a cylinder track recorded at the World's Fair. The very same notes may be found on the Berlin catalog card for this mask and in Boas's 1897 monograph, where the lyrics are accompanied by a printed musical score.<sup>66</sup> For the first time, this mask—which Jacobsen had erroneously associated with the *Awik'inuḡw* ancestor figure *Masmasalanich*—was culturally contextualized as a feature of the hereditary *Hamshamt'sas* dance society and introduced with other masks of the same category. Though Boas failed to make clear in his book that the World's Columbian Exposition was a major site of his own fieldwork, the knowledge gained there brought new ethnographic richness to the treasures housed in Berlin.



**Figure 7.3:** *Hamshamt'sas* transformation mask depicting a sea monster, Kwakwaka'wakw, collected by Johan Adrian Jacobsen in 1882. Courtesy U'mista Cultural Centre/Ethnologisches Museum Berlin (IV A 1242).

Despite its own flaws and errors, the 1897 monograph played a major role in solidifying Boas's reputation as an anthropological fieldworker and museum collector, and it became a standard reference guide for every major subsequent collector or ethnographer among the Kwakwaka'wakw.<sup>67</sup> Thanks in part to its reproduction of over 200 illustrated museum objects—the majority of which are in Berlin—the book established the first published “canon” of Kwakwaka'wakw art, and museums used it as a guide for their own acquisition of similar materials. This pattern was repeated on

the commercial frontier. In at least one documented case, Joseph Standley, owner of Ye Old Curiosity Shoppe in Seattle, hired Coast Salish or Nuu-chah-nulth carvers to make replicas from Boas's 1897 illustrations.<sup>68</sup> Copies of one particular and distinctive Jacobsen mask (I VA 1330) were then bought from Standley by ethnographers such as A. C. Haddon for the Horniman Museum in London,<sup>69</sup> while others have ended up in private German collections, perhaps by similar routes (Fig. 7.4).<sup>70</sup>



**Figure 7.4:** Left: Headdress, Kwakwaka'wakw, collected by Johan Adrian Jacobsen in 1882. Courtesy U'mista Cultural Centre/Ethnologisches Museum Berlin (IV A 1330). Middle: The headdress as published in Boas 1897 (p. 483, Fig. 128). Right: A replica of the headdress, likely Nuu-chah-nulth, collected by Alfred Cort Haddon in 1909. Courtesy of the Horniman Museum and Gardens (9.808).

While such replication effects further removed derivative objects from the original Kwakwaka'wakw cultural contexts at the source, another unintended consequence of Boas's publication actually facilitates the current reconnection of Jacobsen's material to some of the communities and families from which it came. In 1920, George Hunt wrote Boas to complain about myriad errors in the "book with many illustrations," which Hunt subsequently spent over a decade correcting or supplementing.<sup>71</sup> Hunt had helped Jacobsen assemble the original collection forty years earlier and had since been trained by Boas to do detailed ethnological fieldwork and linguistic recording. Boas suggested to Hunt that he simply annotate the margins of the book itself, which he did. In addition, Hunt copied his notes on the masks into a separate manuscript that he sent to Boas in New York in the early 1920s.<sup>72</sup> For the next decade, before his death in 1933, Hunt took it upon himself to substantially revise large portions of the 1897 monograph; his hundreds of pages of corrections and emendations include additional performance detail and histories for many of the Jacobsen objects (see next section below).

Hunt most likely toured the relevant villages with the book in hand, often recording the names of original owners as well as their genealogical data, and he was able to collect much more detailed information through image elicitation than Boas had. For

instance, one entry in Hunt's manuscript describes a Raven mask (IV A 892; Fig. 7.5) published in Boas 1897.<sup>73</sup> Hunt provided the Kwak'wala name for the general type of mask (*gwāxwē'wē Hem'sē'wē*); the iconographic symbolism and name of the spirit being represented in Kwak'wala (*gwāx'gwā'xwā'lā'nox'sē'wē*) with English translation ("Raven of the Mouth of the River"); the kin group of the original owner among the *Awik'inuxw* peoples to the north (from whom the Kwakwaka'wakw received numerous ceremonial prerogatives); the name and *'na'mima* (non-lineal kin group) of the *Tłatlasikwala* chief who received rights to the mask through marriage exchange (and presumably who owned it at the time of sale); and a historical interpretation for the presence of carved skulls, which symbolized the military prowess of the original *Awik'inuxw* owner in a particular battle. Having this kind of "Indigenous provenance"<sup>74</sup> for an object of this antiquity is rare enough, but it is extraordinary to have it reconstructed by Hunt over forty years after the object was collected. Hunt's archival notes, facilitated by Boas's historic publication, ensure that Jacobsen's Kwakwaka'wakw collection will continue to accrue new significance in its third century of public life.



**Figure 7.5:** Raven mask, Kwakwaka'wakw, collected by Johan Adrian Jacobsen in 1881. Courtesy of U'mista Cultural Centre/Ethnologisches Museum Berlin (IV A 892).

## RECENT COLLABORATIVE RESEARCH ON THE COLLECTION

Much of the Jacobsen collection was removed from Berlin by the Soviets at the end of WWII and kept largely inaccessible to Western scholars until its return to Berlin from Leipzig after 1992.<sup>75</sup> For most of the twentieth century, the general public and



Kwakwaka'wakw alike knew the collection primarily through its selective illustration in Boas's 1897 book, supplemented by a limited number of images published by Bastian and Woldt in 1884. In 1990, anthropologist Erich Kasten produced an important exhibit and impressive catalog, *Maskentänze der Kwakiutl: Tradition und Wandel in einem Indianischen Dorf* ("Masked Dances of the Kwakiutl: Tradition and Change in an Indian Village"), which brought extant Jacobsen and Boas objects from Berlin into dialogue with contemporary Kwakwaka'wakw life, ritual, and artistry through an ethnographic portrait of the Dzawad̓enuxw people of Gwayi (Kingcome Inlet). While Kasten illustrated more of Jacobsen's collection than anyone had since Boas, the pieces were offered primarily as artistic precedent and historical context for a discussion of the contemporary potlatch, and interpretation of them was mostly drawn from the museum's records and Boas's own publications. This project did not include the many items still in Leipzig at the time, nor did Kasten consult either Jacobsen's archival records in the Hamburg Ethnology Museum or Hunt's extensive manuscripts at the American Philosophical Society. As the exhibition did not travel beyond Berlin's Ethnologisches Museum, and as the catalog was not published in English, neither the objects nor the book was widely known outside of Europe.

Around 2005, both Glass and Andrea Sanborn, the former Executive Director of the U'mista Cultural Centre, independently visited the Berlin museum and were overwhelmed by seeing the Jacobsen pieces in person. After discussing their mutual interest in this extraordinary collection and inspired by the precedent set by the Yup'ik and Fienup-Riordan,<sup>76</sup> they decided to coordinate a project to document the pieces in a new digital database for the use of museums as well as academic, public, and Kwakwaka'wakw communities.<sup>77</sup> Grants were secured by Glass and U'mista, and in spring of 2007, Glass spent five weeks in Berlin with William Wasden Jr. (Hiłamas), a 'Namgis chief, artist, historian and song leader from Alert Bay, and Sharon Grainger, a photographer from Washington State. The team photographed around 550 objects (along with their collection cards and ledger-book entries) and entered Wasden's descriptions and interpretations into a database, which was then expanded with Boas and Hunt's archival notes from multiple sources, including Boas's research drawings and Hunt's later emendations to Boas's 1897 monograph. In this context, Hatoum (who had been present during the 2005 visits of Sanborn and Glass with then-curator Peter Bolz) got involved with the project's work. That, in turn, stimulated the development of a project (2009-2012) to digitize and research Berlin's Northwest Coast collection that effectively included the remainder of the Jacobsen collection from the region.<sup>78</sup> Once supplemented with new discoveries from Jacobsen's archive in Hamburg (see above) and additional Kwakwaka'wakw community perspectives, the database will be made public through the U'mista Cultural Centre and the Reciprocal

Research Network, an online database hub coordinated by the University of British Columbia Museum of Anthropology.<sup>79</sup>

The reunification of Jacobsen's objects with Boas and Hunt's archival notes and with contemporary community members has resulted in a number of preliminary discoveries that revivify the century-old collection.<sup>80</sup> Here we only highlight a few recent insights. Regarding a now rather well-known type of Kwakwaka'wakw mask resembling—and said to have been derived from—carved images of lions on European sailing ships, Hunt's archival notes on two Berlin masks (IV A 524 and 1289 [Fig. 7.6]) and his own collections in New York suggest a revision to long-standing and influential Boasian attributions.<sup>81</sup> Jacobsen had identified a couple of these masks as *Nutamahl* (Fool Dancer) masks, and Boas maintained this identification in his 1897 report, which illustrated many such masks under this generic category along with others that do not feature the leonine imagery.<sup>82</sup> However, Hunt documented a similar mask that he collected himself for the American Museum of Natural History as depicting *Sepa'xalis*, a character from an ancestral origin story of the *Gusgimaxw* people among whom it was purchased,<sup>83</sup> and later re-attributed a number of Berlin masks in the 1897 book along these lines.



**Figure 7.6:** Mask identified by George Hunt as depicting *Sepa'xalis* (Shining Down Sun Beam), Kwakwaka'wakw, collected by Johan Adrian Jacobsen in 1882. Courtesy U'mista Cultural Centre/Ethnologisches Museum Berlin (IV A 1289).

In the case of a highly distinctive wolf headdress (IV A 641) not published in the 1897 report, Boas's original notes on its corresponding Grünwedel drawing mention a published song related to this mask<sup>84</sup> and happen to record the name of

the artist as well as his Band and village: “Made by Ky’âte Nauette Tlatlasikoala” (paraphrased, in contemporary orthography: “made by K’odi, in the village of Newitti, home to the T’lat’lasikwala Band”). Having such an attribution for a late nineteenth-century museum object is highly unusual and provides the basis for potentially connecting the mask to K’odi’s descendants. Furthermore, Boas’s additional notes to the headdress’s catalog card in Berlin indicate that K’odi’s work was recognizable by the addition of red geometric projections on the nose, snout, or beak of his carved figures. This stylistic information allows us to identify a number of these distinctive masks in collections around the world, which have until now simply been classified as “old Wakashan,” a generic and temporally vague art historical category.<sup>85</sup>

Some of the transhistorical connections now being made are even more personal. While working on the collection in Berlin in 2007, Wasden used Hunt’s notes to identify a distinctive Dzunuḱ’wa mask (*gi’kamł*) (IV A 1286) as having belonged to his great- (x 4) grandfather Ṭḷḷḷkwudḷas (“The One You Will Acquire Copper From”), the head chief of a ’Nāmḡis lineage in Alert Bay at the time of its sale to Jacobsen in 1882. Wasden suggested that the highly unique mask format—with the presence of painted coppers on the cheeks and multicolored hair, both of which likely reference Ṭḷḷkwudḷas himself or an ancestor of his—could be revived by his family for potlatch use since the genealogical connection had been documented and now re-established.<sup>86</sup> In such cases, having the original mask repatriated is not necessary as contemporary carvers can be commissioned to create new versions—not exact replicas—that can be properly validated through display in a potlatch. In recent years, the Hunt family in Fort Rupert created new instantiations of two items from Jacobsen’s collection (IV A 554 and 1025) that George Hunt’s notes reveal were once owned by his close relatives (BGC/UCC 2019).

One of Wasden’s primary means of accessing and communicating with the Jacobsen collection in 2007 was through music, a central intangible cultural aspect of Kwakwaka’wakw masks and other ceremonial regalia. While documenting the collection, Wasden frequently performed or played recordings of songs inspired by his viewing of the museum objects, and he is deeply interested in reading Boas and Hunt’s notes on historic songs. As discussed above, Boas’s efforts resulted in some notable fieldnotes (most of which have survived) and cylinder recordings (only some of which have survived) related to masks in Berlin. Among notable cases is a song that Boas associated with a deer mask (IV A 891), which is one of the earliest and best-documented pieces Jacobsen acquired in the village of Newitti. For this mask, Boas actually tried to capture the song on cylinder twice, first in Chicago in 1893 and then, after the first recording was lost, again in 1930. Recordings of other songs have survived, some of which Wasden recognized and

are still sung in potlatches today. Among these are a “pacifying song” used to tame ritual initiates that Boas recorded both in 1893 and 1930 and a *Hamsamala* song recorded in 1893 that is associated with monster bird masks collected by Jacobsen and used in part of the Hamat̓sa dance cycle. Using archival notes that reconnect the recorded songs to specific masks and the particular families that claim them as hereditary wealth, Wasden and other song leaders may also be able to revive songs that haven’t been performed ceremonially in about a century.

Having met in Berlin through the work on the U’mista database, this chapter’s co-authors are now involved in an international collaborative project to produce a critical annotated edition of Boas’s landmark 1897 monograph in both print and digital formats.<sup>87</sup> Building on U’mista’s Berlin database, we are now working in museums and archives across North America and Europe to re-assemble the vast trove of ethnographic collections in various media—text, object, photography, sound recording, film—that either contributed directly to the production of the 1897 volume or that resulted from its wide circulation. This is an unprecedented effort within anthropology and the humanities, promising new ways of using ethnography and digital media to link together disparate archives, museums, textual repositories, and contemporary Indigenous communities. Our collective goal is to produce a critical historiography of the book as well as to recuperate long dormant ethnographic records for use in current cultural revitalization. At the core of the 1897 book, and our project to annotate it, is the Jacobsen collection and Boas and Hunt’s lifelong engagement with it.

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There is in Berlin a distinctive transformation mask (I VA 1243) associated with ʼNulis (“Oldest in the World”), the ancestor of a specific Kwakwaka’wakw kin group, and his change in spiritual state following an encounter with a grizzly bear (Fig. 7.7). Jacobsen, who didn’t record a collection location for it, called it simply a “large transformation mask [*Klappmaske*], black, within a human head.” The Berlin catalog card provides some additional genealogical information, all taken from Boas’s fieldnotes on a drawing by Grünwedel. The 1897 monograph expanded on this data and added associated song lyrics,<sup>88</sup> while Hunt’s later notes corroborated the lineage assignment initially recorded by Boas. It was this mask—collected in British Columbia, stored in Berlin (and then Leningrad and Leipzig), published in Washington, DC, and read about in New York—that Andre Breton saw in Boas’s book and described, somewhat fancifully, in his surrealist meditation on the power of transformation. If only Breton had known the full story.



**Figure 7.7:** Transformation mask associated with the chiefly title 'Nulis, Kwakwaka'wakw, collected by Johan Adrian Jacobsen in 1882. Courtesy of U'mista Cultural Centre/ Ethnologisches Museum Berlin (IV A 1243).

Working from cultural proximity rather than distance, Wasden recognized the mask in Berlin in 2007 as similar to one still circulating in his community, then owned by Chief Edwin Newman (holder of the hereditary title 'Nulis) and later displayed at his 2010 potlatch.<sup>89</sup> In 2008, while working at the UBC Museum of Anthropology, Wasden discovered another iteration of this mask, carved sometime in the early twentieth century and collected in 1973.<sup>90</sup> There were likely other versions too, at least between the Berlin and Vancouver versions, which provided for some material and ceremonial continuity. None of these masks are exact replicas of the previous iteration, but all have instantiated this prerogative over the past century and a half for subsequent holders of the hereditary title Chief 'Nulis.<sup>91</sup> The anthropological record may document and help confirm aspects of this pedigree, but Kwakwaka'wakw ceremonial, material, and kinship practices have kept this form of ephemeral wealth circulating even when the physical objects periodically ended up in museums.

As Boas noted, somewhat regretfully, on his final 1930 fieldtrip to Fort Rupert, in response to witnessing speeches that mentioned particular feast dishes: "The bowls, however, are no longer here. They are in the museums in New York and Berlin. Only the speech is still the same."<sup>92</sup> This illustrates one of the discursive modes by which the Kwakwaka'wakw kept hereditary prerogatives alive, despite

the potlatch prohibition and the absence of the objects that temporarily materialized them. As long as knowledge survives, objects can always be replaced. It is the ongoing presence—in the potlatch context, one is tempted to say “presents”—of Jacobsen’s Kwakwaka’wakw collection over all these decades, against so many odds, that continues to inspire artists, scholars, and the living Indigenous descendants who recognize it as their rightful cultural inheritance.

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## NOTES

- 1 Jolles, "Envisioning a Postcolonial Aesthetic," 22.
- 2 Lavin, "Hannah Höch's," 331.
- 3 Boas, "The Social Organization," 357–358.
- 4 Mauzé, "Surrealists," 293.
- 5 The term *Kwakwaka'wakw* (pronounced KWA-kwuh-kyuh [glottal stop] wahkw) means "Those who speak Kwak'wala," and is used to describe eighteen independent Bands, each with their own local terms of address (some of which are used in this chapter). This term is increasingly used to replace the famous misnomer "Kwakiutl," an Anglicized form of *Kwagu'l*, the Band living at Fort Rupert, where George Hunt lived and ethnographers such as Franz Boas did most of their work. The orthography used here for writing Kwak'wala was developed by the U'mista Cultural Society. *First Nations* (along with Inuit and Metis) is the preferred categorical term of address for Indigenous peoples in Canada, although we also use the term *Native* as a general descriptor.
- 6 Bolz, this volume; Cole, *Captured Heritage*; Bolz and Sanner, *Native American Art*; Jacknis, *The Storage Box of Tradition*. There are currently around 530 objects in the museum, now named the Ethnologisches Museum Berlin, that are safely attributable to the Kwakwaka'wakw, while an additional few dozen objects are hard to identify definitively based on either collection documentation or stylistic analysis. In addition, around 100 Kwakwaka'wakw objects seem to have been lost or de-accessioned during or after WWII. All of this makes it impossible to determine the original size of Jacobsen's Kwakwaka'wakw collection with any degree of confidence.
- 7 Hawthorn, *Kwakiutl Art*.
- 8 Darnell, *And Along Came Boas*; Jonaitis, *A Wealth of Thought*.
- 9 Glass, "Indigenous Ontologies"; Glass, Berman, and Hatoum, "Reassembling the Social Organization"; BGC/UCC, *The Story Box*.
- 10 Haberland, "Remarks on the 'Jacobsen Collections'"; Kasten, *Maskentänze der Kwakiutl*; c.f. Fienup-Riordan, *Yup'ik Elders*.
- 11 While some original correspondence between Jacobsen and Bastian still exists, in both Hamburg and Berlin archives (Fienup-Riordan, *Yup'ik Elders*), there is very little relevant information on Jacobsen's Kwakwaka'wakw collection in the surviving letters.
- 12 Jacobsen, *Capitain Jacobsen's Reise*. Though commonly identified as Adrian, Peter Bolz (Bolz, this volume) believes that Woldt's name was actually August based on a reference by Woldt's colleague Max Bartels in the 1893 book *Medizin der Naturvölker*.
- 13 Jacobsen, *Alaskan Voyage*, 8.
- 14 Jacobsen, *Alaskan Voyage*, 77; Jacknis, "George Hunt"; Berman, "The Culture as It Appears to the Indian Himself."
- 15 Jacobsen, *Alaskan Voyage*, 29–42.
- 16 For ease of cross-referencing with Jacobsen's diaries and publications, we maintain his own terms for Kwakwaka'wakw village sites, though at first occurrence we provide the accurate terms in parentheses. In many cases, Jacobsen confused village names with the Band names of the people who lived there.
- 17 Jacobsen, *Alaskan Voyage*, 70–78.
- 18 See Baglo, this volume; Ames, *Carl Hagenbeck's Empire*.
- 19 All original Jacobsen notes in German feature a highly idiosyncratic autography, choice of words and grammar, and reflect Jacobsen's limited education and the fact that German was not his first language.
- 20 2011.37.01, p. 175; cf. Jacobsen, *Alaskan Voyage*, 8.

- 21 2011.37.01, p. 175; cf. Jacobsen, *Alaskan Voyage*, 8.
- 22 Jonaitis and Glass, *The Totem Pole*, 36–38.
- 23 2011.37.01, p. 224; c.f. Jacobsen, *Alaskan Voyage*, 38–39.
- 24 2011.37.01, p. 225.
- 25 2011.37.01, p. 220.
- 26 Jacobsen, *Capitain Jacobsen's Reise*, 20; Jacobsen, *Alaskan Voyage*, 13.
- 27 Jacobsen, *Capitain Jacobsen's Reise*, 36; Jacobsen, *Alaskan Voyage*, 22.
- 28 Jacobsen, *Capitain Jacobsen's Reise*, 68–70; Jacobsen, *Alaskan Voyage*, 41, 43.
- 29 Jacobsen, *Capitain Jacobsen's Reise*, 119; Jacobsen, *Alaskan Voyage*, 69.
- 30 Jacobsen, *Capitain Jacobsen's Reise*, 137; Jacobsen, *Alaskan Voyage*, 78. Shipment one included the following items now in Berlin: IV A 420-516 (Berlin Act. No. 119/82); Shipment two: IV A 517-718 (IV A 517-524 are designated as Act. No. 119/82; the balance are Act. No. 595/82); Shipment three: IV A 720-1131 (Act. No. 1310/82); Shipment four: IV A 1132-1232 (Act. No. 1310/82); and Shipments five and six: IV A 1234-2299 (IV A 1234-1241 are designated as Act. No. 1310/82; IV A 1242-54 are Act. No. \_\_\_\_/83; IV A 1255-2299 are not given an Act. No in the Berlin records). The lack of direct correspondence between Jacobsen's shipment numbers and the museum's assigned accession numbers ("Act. No") adds to the confusion in the documentation.
- 31 Glass, *Writing the Hamat'sa*.
- 32 Fienup-Riordan, *Yup'ik Elders*, 6.
- 33 See Glass, "Northwest Coast Ceremonialism."
- 34 Jacobsen, "Reise nach der Nordwestküste."
- 35 Jacobsen, "Ethnologische Gegenstände."
- 36 Jacobsen, *Capitain Jacobsen's Reise*.
- 37 Haberland, "Diese Indianer sind Falsch"; Haberland, "Nine Bella Coolas in Germany"; Cole, *Captured Heritage*, 67–73; Ames, *Carl Hagenbeck's Empire*; see Baglo, this volume.
- 38 E.g. Jacobsen, "Geheimbünde der Küstenbewohner"; Jacobsen, "Der Kosiyut-Bund der Bella-Coola-Indianer"; Jacobsen, "Der Zweite Typus der Geheimbünde"; for a more complete list, see Fienup-Riordan, *Yup'ik Elders*; Bolz, this volume.
- 39 Glass, "Northwest Coast Ceremonialism"; Hatoum, "Digitization and Partnership."
- 40 Jacobsen, "Geheimbünde der Küstenbewohner," 4.
- 41 Jacobsen, "Der Zweite Typus der Geheimbünde," 1–2.
- 42 Boas, "The Kwakiutl of Vancouver Island," 307.
- 43 Bolz, this volume; Bolz and Sanner, *Native American Art*, 183; Fienup-Riordan, *Yup'ik Elders*, 23.
- 44 Franz Boas to John Wesley Powell, 23 August 1886. (Correspondences, Box 54, Records of the Bureau of American Ethnology, National Anthropological Archives, Washington DC).
- 45 Hatoum, "The Berlin Boas Northwest Coast Collection."
- 46 Glass, "Le Musée Portatif"; Glass, "Drawing on Museums"; Cole, *Franz Boas*, 101; Jacknis, *The Storage Box of Tradition*, 49.
- 47 Rohner, *The Ethnography of Franz Boas*, 21.
- 48 Rohner, *The Ethnography of Franz Boas*, 5.
- 49 Rohner, *The Ethnography of Franz Boas*, 40.
- 50 The largest repository of extant research drawings is the "Boas Collection 1943," in the Division of Anthropology at the American Museum of Natural History, New York City. This section of the chapter is drawn from Glass, "Le Musée Portatif" and "Drawing on Museums."
- 51 Franz Boas to Adolf Bastian, 12 April 1887, p. 3 (Boas file, Ethnological Museum Berlin). Letter translated by Henry Kammler.
- 52 Boas, "The Use of Masks"; reprinted in Jonaitis, *A Wealth of Thought*, 40.

- 53 Jacknis, "Northwest Coast Indian Culture."
- 54 Eduard Seler to Franz Boas, 26 July 1894 (Franz Boas Papers, American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia).
- 55 As part of the larger Boas project described below, Hatoum has been painstakingly deciphering Boas's highly idiosyncratic shorthand system, which he used along with German, English, and Kwak'wala scripts on these mask identifications and in his early field notebooks (Hatoum, "I Wrote All My Notes in Shorthand").
- 56 Boas was in Berlin from April to October 1895, working on various projects out of a borrowed office in the ethnology museum (Cole, *Franz Boas*, 180–181) and promoting the German publication of his first volume of Northwest Coast mythology (Boas, *Indianische Sagen*). It is possible that he transferred his initial fieldnotes from the previous winter's trip to Fort Rupert onto the museum's catalog cards at this time.
- 57 Boas, "The Social Organization," 364–365; see below.
- 58 Cole, *Franz Boas*, 32.
- 59 Hatoum, "Franz Boas and George Herzog"; Hatoum, "Self-Explanatory Objects?"; Hatoum, "The Berlin Boas Northwest Coast Collection"; Hatoum, "The First Real Indians That I Have Seen."
- 60 The songs Boas recorded in the Berlin catalog records are associated with Jacobsen objects IV A 565, 891, 892, 917, 1024, 1242, 1245, 1247, 1248; and with Boas objects IV A 6875, 6881, 6882, 6893 (Hatoum, "The Berlin Boas Northwest Coast Collection," 74).
- 61 Jacknis, "Northwest Coast Indian Culture"; Jacknis, "Franz Boas and the Music"; Hatoum, "Franz Boas and George Herzog"; Hatoum, "Self-Explanatory Objects?"; Hatoum, "The Berlin Boas Northwest Coast Collection."
- 62 According to Boas's field notes at the American Philosophical Society (APS W 1a.9), 119 cylinder recordings were made in Chicago in 1893 by him and John C. Fillmore. Of these, sixteen were explicitly linked to objects in Berlin's Northwest Coast collection: four to objects in Boas's own 1886 collection (IV A 6879, 6881, 6885, and 6893) and the remaining twelve to objects of the Jacobsen 1881–1883 collection (IV A 423, 565, 891, 1242, 1243, 1245, 1247, 1248, 1257 [no longer in Berlin], 1291, and 1335). These overlap with but are not identical to the set of Berlin catalog cards with Boas's additional song lyrics (see note 60). That some of the other songs must have been thought by Boas to be somehow related to objects in the Berlin collection is suggested by the fact that four of the twelve cylinders that Boas presented to the Berlin museum in 1895 referred to objects not listed above as well as to those included in Boas's 1897 monograph. It may be added that by the time the cylinders reached Berlin, those four cylinders not linked to specific Berlin objects had been broken. The remaining eight belonged to the following objects: IV A 565, 891, 1242, 1247, 1248, 1335, 6879, 6893. To this day, the whole set of cylinders (which were registered as IV A 7099) is missing. It might be that the set never became part of the collection of the Berlin Phonogramm-Archiv, which was founded in 1900 and eventually absorbed the museum's own cylinder holdings (Hatoum, "The Berlin Boas Northwest Coast Collection," 74).
- 63 Boas, "The Social Organization," 431–500.
- 64 Boas, "The Social Organization," 494–496.
- 65 Boas and Hunt later recorded and published alternate versions or new transcriptions for many of the same song lyrics; we are currently in the process of collating these versions for our current Boas 1897 critical edition project (see below).
- 66 Boas, "The Social Organization," 463–464.
- 67 Glass, "Frozen Poses," 106; Jacknis, *The Storage Box of Tradition*, 30.
- 68 BGC/UCC, *The Story Box*.

- 69 Duncan, *1001 Curious Things*, 14.
- 70 Rousselot, Müller, and Larink, *Totempfahl und Potlatch*, 45.
- 71 George Hunt to Franz Boas, 7 June 1920; Boas to Hunt, 22 July 1920 (Boas Professional Papers, American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia).
- 72 Berman, "Unpublished Materials," 199. Hunt's notes in turn provided material for an unpublished manuscript by Boas that incorporates many of Hunt's corrections. Boas tried to publish it in 1924 as an addendum to the 1897 report, but it was rejected by the Bureau of American Ethnology. Both documents are in the Boas Professional Papers, American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia.
- 73 Boas, "The Social Organization," 447.
- 74 Glass, "Indigenous Ontologies."
- 75 See Bolz, this volume.
- 76 Fienup-Riordan, *Yup'ik Elders*; Fienup-Riordan, this volume.
- 77 Glass, "Indigenous Ontologies."
- 78 Hatoum, "Digitization and Partnership"; Hatoum, "The Berlin Boas Northwest Coast Collection." The project "One History – Two Perspectives: Culturally Specific Modes of Representation of the 'Exotic Other' at the Pacific Northwest Coast" was financed by the Federal Ministry of Education and Research and was situated at the John F. Kennedy Institute, Free University, and the Berlin Ethnology Museum. Aside from Hatoum's digitization and research work, which soon came to focus on Boas's contributions to shed light on the Jacobsen collection (Hatoum, "La Collection Boas"; "Self-Explanatory Objects?"; "The Berlin Boas Northwest Coast Collection"), other sub-projects were run by the museum's director, Viola König; the curator of the North American collections, Peter Bolz; the head of the history department at the John F. Kennedy Institute, Andreas Etges; and anthropologist Tina Brüderlin.
- 79 Rowley, "The Reciprocal Research Network."
- 80 Glass, "Le Musée Portatif"; Glass, "Indigenous Ontologies"; Glass, "Drawing on Museums"; Glass, Berman, and Hatoum, "Reassembling The Social Organization;" BGC/UCC, *The Story Box*.
- 81 Glass, *Objects of Exchange*, 149–152; Glass, "On Lions, Fools, and Sunbeams."
- 82 Boas, "The Social Organization," 468–471.
- 83 Jonaitis, *Chiefly Feasts*, 174.
- 84 Boas, "The Social Organization," 78.
- 85 Glass, *Objects of Exchange*, 144–148.
- 86 Glass, "Indigenous Ontologies," 19.
- 87 Glass and Berman, "The Distributed Text"; Glass, Berman, and Hatoum, "Reassembling the Social Organization," <https://www.bgc.bard.edu/research-forum/projects/4/the-distributed-text-an-annotated>
- 88 Boas, "The Social Organization," 357–358, 670.
- 89 Hatoum, "Digitization and Partnership," 172.
- 90 Hawthorn, *Kwakiutl Art*, 243; Mayer and Shelton, *The Museum of Anthropology*, 39.
- 91 Glass, "Indigenous Ontologies," 31–32.
- 92 Rohner, *The Ethnography of Franz Boas*, 297.



**Figure 0.10:** Interior of the Jacobsen boat house at Risøya. June 2016. Photo: Mari Karlstad, The Arctic University Museum of Norway.

## 8. Yup'ik Elders in Museums: Fieldwork Turned on Its Head

Ann Fienup-Riordan

**Abstract** This chapter describes efforts begun in 1994 to bring Yup'ik elders to museum collections gathered from their region a century ago to preserve their knowledge and make it available to scholars and Yup'ik community members. The artifacts that provided our focus were the seven thousand objects collected by Johan Adrian Jacobsen from Alaska in 1882–1883 which were then housed in Berlin's Museum für Völkerkunde, today Ethnologisches Museum.

**Keywords** Yup'ik collection | Berlin | visual repatriation | Jacobsen | southwest Alaska | reversal of fieldwork

This chapter describes efforts begun in 1994 to bring Yup'ik elders to museum collections gathered from their region a century ago to simultaneously preserve their knowledge and make it available to scholars and Yup'ik community members. The museum artifacts that provided our focus were the seven thousand objects collected by Johan Adrian Jacobsen from Alaska in 1882–1883. Housed in Berlin's Museum für Völkerkunde, they constitute the largest unpublished collection of Yup'ik artifacts anywhere in the world, including detailed ethnographic and linguistic information. Bringing information about a major collection home to Alaska is an act of “visual repatriation” that we hope will illuminate the world view of its creators. Yup'ik elders working side by side with anthropologists and museum professionals can help us better understand the artifacts Jacobsen collected from their area. These are first steps in the two-way process of Yup'ik people owning their past and museum curators realizing the full value of the contents of their attics.

In 1881 Adolf Bastian, director of Berlin's Royal Ethnological Museum, commissioned a thirty-year-old Norwegian jack-of-all-trades, Johan Adrian Jacobsen, to travel to America's Northwest Coast and collect for his museum. Aware that the Geographical Society of Bremen was sending the Krause brothers to the Pacific Northwest, Jacobsen set his sights on Alaska.<sup>1</sup> He was especially interested in slate blades, nephrite (jade) amulets, and other Stone Age tools, and hoped to bring home evidence of ancient Eskimo adaptations.<sup>2</sup> Arriving in St. Michael in 1882,

the year after Smithsonian naturalist Edward Nelson (1899) left,<sup>3</sup> Jacobsen continually complained in his correspondence that “Mr Nielsen” had already gotten all the good stuff. In fact, plenty remained for Jacobsen, and he returned to Berlin in 1883 to great acclaim. His collection of 6,720 objects, a third from Yup’ik communities on the coast of the Bering Sea, was displayed in a special exhibit for Berlin’s Anthropological Society. This was the first of many trips Jacobsen made for the Royal Museum, which today houses more than 15,000 objects collected by him from all over the world.<sup>4</sup>

Jacobsen spent the following winter in Berlin cataloging his collection, but his lack of academic training earned him a cool reception among museum professionals. Franz Boas visited the museum and perused Jacobsen’s accession records, complaining about inaccuracies and exaggerations.<sup>5</sup> In part because of these limitations Jacobsen’s collection remained largely unpublished until World War II, when most of it was thought to have been destroyed during the bombing of Berlin.<sup>6</sup> The Soviet Army took much of Jacobsen’s material (along with other museum collections) by train through Poland to Leningrad as they retreated from Berlin. In 1978 these collections were sent to the Leipzig Museum of Ethnology in East Germany and, after the fall of the Berlin Wall, they were returned to the Museum für Völkerkunde.<sup>7</sup>

I first visited the Museum für Völkerkunde in 1994 looking for Yup’ik masks in preparation for the exhibition *Agayuliyararput/Our Way of Making Prayer*.<sup>8</sup> There I was stunned to find the staff busily unpacking this extraordinary Yup’ik collection, second only to Nelson’s in size and scope, yet with accession records still handwritten in old German script and almost completely unpublished.<sup>9</sup> I spent my brief stay in Berlin busily photographing masks. But along with photographs, I brought home a desire to return to Berlin and dig deeper into Jacobsen’s treasures.

## YUP’IK ELDERS TRAVEL TO GERMANY

After the mask exhibit opened in Anchorage in 1996 a team of Yup’ik elders and community leaders and I set to work planning for that return visit, and the National Science Foundation funded our project through a grant to the region’s nonprofit corporation, the Association of Village Council Presidents. After a year’s preparation, including a four-month battle with the US Passport Agency,<sup>10</sup> our seven-member “Yup’ik delegation” set out from Anchorage on September 5, 1997. The group included Marie Meade as interviewer and translator, Andy Paukan, mayor of St. Marys, as videographer, four elders representing the different areas of southwest Alaska—Wassilie Berlin, Paul John, Annie Blue, and Catherine Moore—and me as photographer and guide (Fig. 8.1). We spent three weeks working at the museum, joined during our last week by Esther Ilutsik of Dillingham and Henry Alikayak of Manokotak. As in



the mask exhibit,<sup>11</sup> what we sought was not so much the collection's physical return to Alaska but the return of the knowledge and stories, and the history and pride that they embodied, which we hoped we would be able to bring home.



**Figure 8.1:** Our group examining stone blades at the Ethnologisches Museum Berlin in September 1997. From left to right: Wassilie Berlin, Paul John, Catherine Moore, Annie Blue, Andy Paukan, and Marie Meade. Photo by Ann Fienup-Riordan.

From the beginning, the Yup'ik reaction to learning about the existence of Yup'ik collections has been gratitude and pride. Andy Paukan stated it well:

I am thinking that coming to Germany to examine these objects will make it easier for us to explain our culture to our young people and to our children. We will be able to tell them things with no reservations. Our work will make it easier to prepare teaching material about our culture for our younger generations, our children, our grandchildren, to our peers and even our own parents and grandparents. With this work, our roots and culture will come closer to us.

This attitude toward collections as opportunities to affect the future was the primary reason why elders and regional leaders supported this project and agreed to travel so far and work so hard. While in Germany, they saw themselves not as sightseers or solitary researchers, but as representatives of the Yup'ik nation. The

elders who traveled to Berlin were the recognized “professors” from their regions and were chosen both for their ability and their willingness to share what they knew. Their detailed knowledge was impressive. They spoke in collections not for my benefit or for that of the scholarly community, but to enlighten and empower their descendants.

Three of the four elders only spoke Yup’ik, and two were in their eighties and the others in their seventies. Yet they made a twenty-four-hour plane trip, crossing ten time zones, to a place with unfamiliar sounds and sights and foreign food. I remember teasing eighty-one-year-old Wassilie Berlin, calling him my *uicungaq* (“dear little husband,” or teasing cousin). This endearment has often worked to break the ice with elders. Instead of laughing, however, he looked at me seriously and said, “No, you are my daughter.” He said this in part because, since we had met, I had served him like a daughter. In the weeks that followed, he changed his mind. He and the other elders sometimes called me their mother because, along with Marie, I cooked and cared for them. Catherine Moore confided how scared she was when I went out of sight, and I realized the depth of their dependence. I was humbled one morning near the end of our trip when Paul John, the acknowledged leader of our group, said that we had been chosen by God to do this work. Although we had fun on our trip, this was very serious business.

## ELDERS’ WORK IN COLLECTIONS

Our work in the museum began with a brief tour of the storage room, where fourteen large cases with glass doors held the Yup’ik collections. Each elder wore a cotton *qaspeq*, and we stood together and sang “Tarvarnauramken,” a song describing the traditional act of purifying oneself with smoke. This song had closed the Yup’ik mask exhibit *Agayuliyararput* in Anchorage and subsequently opened the exhibit in each of its Lower Forty-Eight venues. Following the “blessing” song, Annie Blue led us in the Lord’s Prayer. Three weeks later our work ended with a feast and another prayer as we joined hands in a circle with the German museum staff we had come to know. Our group embodied geographic variation as well as all three religious denominations active in the region—Catholic, Moravian, and Russian Orthodox.

Between prayers we looked at all two thousand objects, one by one. Our major hurdle was not the German language, but the museum’s organization, in which “Eskimo” and “Arctus” are comprehensive categories. We were fortunate that although Yup’ik and Inupiaq collections were mixed, most objects from Alaska, Canada, and Greenland were stored separately by type (for example, net sinkers or spear points). They had not, however, been divided by Alaska region (Yukon, Kuskokwim, Coastal, Bristol Bay), which, as it turned out, would have been a disaster for our regionally

diverse group. When presented with a group of bows, for example, the elders would comment in turn on those from their area, being careful to mention the differences from bows of other areas. The separation between men's and women's things that I had anticipated did not take place. For example, Annie and Catherine knew almost as much about the use of bows and arrows as did Wassilie and Paul; conversely, Paul and Wassilie spoke eloquently about the making of sinew, technically "women's work."

Group dynamics followed Yup'ik protocols. We had several English-speaking visitors during our stay, but we did our best work when discussions were carried out in Yup'ik. The balance between men and women was critical. Because of his full-time teaching job in St. Marys, Andy Paukan originally planned to return home after the first week. It became clear, however, that if he left the other men would follow. He was the only man among them who spoke English and, as their roommate, provided an irreplaceable measure of security. Because of the value Andy placed on this work, he agreed to stay. Had he not done so, the whole trip would have fallen apart.

Formal Yup'ik etiquette dictated our roles as speakers and listeners while working in collections. As the eldest man, Wassilie spoke first, followed by Paul as the recognized expert orator with, as Andy liked to say, "a mind like a computer." Paul directed his explanations primarily to Marie, Wassilie, and Annie, while Catherine (raised at the Catholic Mission of Akulurak and consequently less knowledgeable about some traditional practices) often took a backseat. In cases in which Paul knew more about an object than Wassilie, he would still listen to Wassilie before giving a full explanation. When we looked at something that both men were familiar with, Paul would often tell Wassilie to go ahead and talk about it. That "talk" took a range of forms, including names, personal experiences, actions, stories, and songs.

## NAMES

The detailed vocabulary associated with the collected objects was a major point of interest. When looking at a box of harpoon points, elders sorted them by named type: *nuusaarpak* (three-pronged fish or bird spear point), *kukgar* (attachment to the spear point on a seal-hunting weapon thrown with a throwing board), *kuk-gacuarat* (small spear point), and *kukgarpak* (large spear point). We found *akit-nat* (arrow points) as well as *meq̄ercetaat* (arrow points used for hunting), *nuiret* (points for bird or rabbit spears), and *umit* (stone arrow points). A large needle used to string salmon heads had a special name, as did a rock used as a tool for decorating clay pottery. The comment "Ayuqut (They are the same)" let us move relatively fast through boxes of objects of a type we had already discussed.

During our second week we were confronted with two boxes, each holding a mixture of kayak and harpoon parts. Paul and Wassilie carefully separated them,

gave each a name, and described their use, placing kayak parts in one box and harpoon parts in another. When I looked the next day, the museum's collection manager had reordered the ivories according to the original confusion, since that was how they were located in storage. Yet we had recorded the information about the objects' function so that the elders' ordering could be replicated if and when the museum staff chose to do so.

Regional differences in design and designation were points of great interest. When presented with a box mixing Yup'ik and Inupiaq ivory spear points, the elders picked out ones from their area to comment on, ignoring those of their northern neighbors. Although technically the handiwork of Yup'ik speakers, things from Unalakleet were dismissed as Inupiaq and not investigated. Precontact regional hostilities were referenced. The third day we looked at a box of spear throwers (*nuqat*). I laid them out on the table, and each elder picked up those made from their area. Annie Blue chose a *nuqaq* made by the warlike Aglegmiut and playfully pretended to use it as a gun to shoot Paul and Wassilie across the table. Elders made old things familiar in their comments, emphasizing similarity between past and present over difference. Paul John designated an ivory story knife (*yaaruin*) a "cartoon-*alriit*." Catherine called a bladder water bottle (*mervik*) a "Yup'ik thermos." And when looking at ivory pieces, Andy commented, "I guess our ancestors forgot to patent these gas hose connectors."



**Figure 8.2:** Andy, Wassilie, and Paul modeling bentwood hunting hats and visors. Photo by Ann Fienup-Riordan.

## PERSONAL REFLECTIONS: THE PAST MADE PRESENT

Jacobsen's diverse collection also evoked a wide range of personal experiences. Wooden bowls were tremendously evocative. For example, Wassilie took up a young boy's bowl, like one he used as a child, and related the *inerquutet* (rules) from his area about what could and could not be placed in it. Looking at a large wooden snow shovel, Paul John recalled that a young man would shovel for four years before he would "graduate" (become a good hunter). After four years he would see a seal head emerging from the path he had been clearing. Again and again, I heard the traditional rules for living I had recorded in *Boundaries and Passages* (1994), but in this context they were organized dramatically, around real objects and activities, rather than didactically, around ideas of what it meant to be a "real person."

The elders continually used objects to make points in an ongoing conversation among themselves (Fig. 8.2). This was nowhere more striking than on the fourth day, when we looked at a model dance house. Its delicately carved ivory figures and unusual costumes drew no comment, but Andy and Paul both gave long explanations of the tiny drum model. In brief, they said that the drum holds the elders and all that is good, but that half of the Yup'ik people today are outside this drum. I was listening to a political statement about what it meant to be Yup'ik in the modern world that would certainly be restated in public hearings back in Alaska.

Equally eloquent was a ten-minute description of a wooden dipper by Paul and Wassilie. Wassilie first described the dipper's use, followed by Paul's detailed account of the drinking restrictions imposed on young boys to make them fleet and strong. Wassilie then described the face designs painted on the inside bottom of drinking containers, which reminded Paul of the story of the boy who was told to look into a water bucket, where he observed the face of an old man. His grandmother told him that this was his future visage and that he was destined to live a long life. Wassilie then told of a woman whose husband was lost on the ice. She told her son to look into the water bucket, and there he saw an image of his father in his boat, foretelling his safe return. Paul John concluded reflectively, "If we had continued to channel these customs to the present time, we would still have our own shamans who would be able to do that kind of work for us ordinary people." All this from three ounces of old wood!

The group hotly debated which personal experiences were worth recording. For example, while looking at a large wooden bowl (*qantaq*), Catherine Moore began to describe a similar bowl that had belonged to her father. Andy objected, saying that we should focus exclusively on objects in Jacobsen's collection, while Marie insisted that Catherine's comments were important. This issue came up several times and was never resolved.



**Figure 8.3:** Wassilie demonstrating how to split wood using a caribou-antler wedge and wooden mallet. Photo by Ann Fienup-Riordan.

The handling of the objects was savored as a personal experience that would be talked about for years to come. In the process the elders noticed everything: for example, an ivory story knife carved for a “lefty” and a restored ax with the blade put on backwards. In three weeks, we examined more than two thousand items—feeling each grip and point, looking down the line of each arrow, opening each tobacco box (Fig 8.4). Our German hosts gave us space to work, permission to touch, and privacy to explore, without which our work could never have gone forward.



**Figure 8.4:** Annie pretending to sniff snuff. Photo by Ann Fienup-Riordan.



During a lunch break Paul John observed Peter Bolz, the Museum's North American curator,<sup>12</sup> moving his hands in enthusiastic explanation, and he called Peter "a real dancer." In fact, all the elders danced through the collection—chopping with axes, shooting arrows, digging for mouse food, shoveling snow, mixing *akutaq*, and making fire with the bow drill. Needless to say, we played with all the toys, including tops, darts, balls, and an ivory spindle spun in a bowl in a game called *caukia*. Among the most dramatic explanations was Annie Blue's preparation of snuff tobacco. Assembling seven tools from different parts of the collection, she first pretended to cut, pound, and strain the tobacco, mix it with ash, and then sniff it into one nostril, sneezing and wiping the water from her eyes when she was done. Her presentation was so realistic that the group later questioned whether today's young people should be shown the video lest they want to revive the custom.

When we looked at an eagle-feather dance wand, Wassilie walked around the table and stood Catherine up, telling her to sing the *taitnaur* "asking song." Then he quickly left the room and returned carrying his coat as a gift, showing his muscles, and dancing to the beat. In fact, every day I had the overwhelming feeling of attending a dance festival. Unlike the mask exhibit, where exploring collections had paved the way for a major series of events, this was the event, not mere preparation. A book might be the result, but the action was here and now.

## SONGS AND STORIES

Just as the objects evoked names, remembrances, and dramatic displays, they also conjured a multitude of stories. The numerous bows and arrows started an avalanche of war stories that continued through lunches and long evenings at the hotel. A cutting board reminded Annie Blue of the story of the woman who turned into a bear by dressing in a bearskin with a board behind her back to take revenge on her unfaithful husband, Picartuli. Looking at spear heads, Andy asked Paul to describe the detailed division of a seal after the hunt. Among my favorite stories was when Annie Blue held a Nushagak carving (IVA5353) in front of her while she related an account of the creature *paalraayak*, named in Nelson's *The Eskimo about Bering Strait*,<sup>13</sup> but until now a mystery. Thanks to Bill Fitzhugh and Susan Kaplan (1982), who asked me years ago what a *paalraayak* was, my ears pricked up when I finally heard the answer:

They have mentioned *paalraayak*. And [...] the year before last, it was mentioned that there was such a creature in the area behind Assigyugpak [...]. In

the past people were told not to go in the area behind Assigyugpak. Since the younger generations don't pay attention to the teachings of the old, they have begun to travel around in that once-restricted area [...].

I'd like to look at that carving while I tell you this story. The animal they saw resembled a land otter like this, and its face looked like a land otter's face, but as they observed it, it would disappear into the ground and come back up again [...]. As the couple walked and their feet began to sink into the ground, a person suddenly emerged out of the ground near them [...]. And the land otter they had seen disappeared into the ground.

It was said that *paalraayiit* were attracted to *caagnitellriit* [people experiencing puberty, death, childbirth, or miscarriage]. *Paalraayiit* resided in the mountains. There are many mountains in our area, as you know. Since there were many mountains, the *caagnitellriit* were restricted from roaming in them [...].

It was said that when *paalraayiit* came to a person, they swam all over his body. And many came swimming up and down in front of his nose.[...]. Once they've entered a person, the person would soon be destroyed.<sup>14</sup>

Annie Blue's account meant different things to those assembled in Berlin. For me it was exciting to hear her solve a long-standing scholarly riddle. But Annie's motive for telling this story was not academic. As she made plain in her telling, rules guided a young person's actions in the past, and we ignore these rules today at our peril. She wanted the younger generation to hear her stories and gain awareness of their history to avoid very real dangers in the world today.

Academics like me were not the elders' primary audience. I was considered to be the guide, taking care of them in the strange German world "like a mother." Yet, listening, I learned much that would be of great interest to both the Yup'ik and academic communities. For example, I learned that dog feces were a common binding agent in shaping clay pots. Paul John described how aged seal blood was used as glue and how carvers collected and dried sea foam to use as sandpaper to polish wooden bowls. Examining two small carved faces with chin labrets (ornaments worn in holes pierced below the lower lip), he explicitly stated the connection between humans and animals which I had always hoped to hear.<sup>15</sup> He said, "The Nunivaarmiut used these ornaments on their chins. It was said that these represented walrus tusks. When men wore them, they were pretending to be walrus." Later, we examined a large mask with five-fingered hands projecting from its side.<sup>16</sup> Wassilie recognized it as a representation of *qunguq*, reaching its hand out of the sea and putting it down on the ice. The hole in the hand was where the hunter aimed his harpoon. Wassilie's comment



constitutes the most explicit explanation of this iconographic feature that I have ever heard.

Objects also evoked disclaimers about what they were not. For instance, Paul John looked at one carved figure and said, "This figure doesn't represent Qupurruyuli. But let me mention it since it suddenly came to mind." He then continued with a rare account of Qupurruyuli, the woman of the sea with flowing hair, who created a pathway through the ice for the hunter who owned her as a power source:<sup>17</sup>

When the traveling companions became curious, they looked and saw a pair of human hands in front of his kayak visible from down below. And since the hands were extended like this, the ice in the front was being moved to the sides, making a pathway for the kayak to glide through. The upper part of the person's long hair was visible above the water with the bottom part down below. And when they looked down from their kayaks, they saw the rest of her hair in the water. Since Qupurruyuli was a woman, her hair was very, very long. They all continued to move forward in the ice.

Then, just before they came out into the open water, the person behind the leader accidentally bumped into the tail of his kayak. Then suddenly the ice jammed up in front of them. But since they were close to the open water, they dragged their kayaks through the ice the rest of the way.

Since this figure suddenly reminded me of that story, I've just recounted it. The man who had Qupurruyuli as a power source was able to use it when he was in trouble in the ocean. He was able to help not only himself, but also his traveling companions using his Qupurruyuli.<sup>18</sup>

Not all stories inspired by the collection were deemed appropriate to be told. While looking at bags made of raven skins, the men remembered a raven story so embarrassing that they could not talk about it in front of us women lest it make us uncomfortable when we had intercourse with our husbands. The women later agreed that they "didn't mind not hearing it."

Among the most moving accounts was Wassilie's and Catherine's description of a small drum (*apqara'arcuun*) used by men and women in private. Holding the drum in front of their face, they would hit it from the front to summon their *avneq* (literally, "other half," felt presence) with song. Both had observed this when they were young and remembered the power of these private ritual acts.

Along with stories, Jacobsen's collection also evoked many songs. A loon skin hat for the sweat bath brought out a song about a loon, complete with its call.

Holding two stuffed squirrels from Nushagak, Annie Blue told a story about a squirrel and a ptarmigan singing a slow style *ingula* song. Wassilie sang the arrow song of the famous warrior Apanuugpak while we looked at slate blades. In fact, objects made of slate were particularly poignant, as they had been used before these elders were born.<sup>19</sup>

We even recorded the sounds of the objects, holding up a caribou-tooth belt to record the teeth tinkling against empty bullet shells or shaking a pair of thumbless dance mittens to hear the wooden dangles. Marie's response to one song was, "That's a good one, we'll have to bring it back." Just as objects evoked songs and stories, we sometimes treated songs and sounds as objects to take home.

Last but not least, we told jokes. When we looked at a large wooden bowl, Paul said off the record that it was Apanuugpak's homebrew pot but said he would not say that on the tape because it wasn't true. When examining a fish skin bag with delicately inset raven's foot designs, Paul quipped, "They represent our impending trip to Germany. It is exactly what happened recently. Here is the jet plane and here are its tracks." When we looked at a double bowl with a handle (IVA3902), Wassilie designated it an *iqvarcuutet*, a device for gathering berries, one side for blackberries and the other for red. Looking at a similar bowl, Paul said it was a bowl for twins, and Wassilie added that one side was for pee and one for poop. This Yup'ik ribaldry brought on peals of laughter in the privacy of collections. In public, however, Wassilie was constantly putting his finger to his lips in a futile attempt to hush us giggling women. Catherine agreed that we should not laugh in the presence of strangers, as they might think we were laughing at them.

## ELDERS' REFLECTIONS ON THE BROADER SIGNIFICANCE OF COLLECTIONS

We looked at many rare things while in Berlin: thumbless gloves worn by a young girl during her first menstruation, an eagle-feather hood, a painted bladder, and ice skates carved in the shape of puffins. Yet I think the elders were not as impressed by what they saw as by what they heard from our hosts and from one another. Along with sharing what they knew, the elders eagerly listened to their companions, learning as well as teaching. In the middle of our trip Andy said that he was reminded of what his father had taught him—that when you die you are still learning. And we were learning first and foremost from one another.



**Figure 8.5:** Wassilie demonstrating the use of a dance drum, with Annie Blue looking on. Photo by Ann Fienup-Riordan.

Wassilie spoke eloquently on the last day of our visit (Fig. 8.5). He expressed his gratitude to Jacobsen, who came to such a harsh environment so far from home to collect these objects. He also expressed his gratitude to the museum for the good care they were giving these things. He was impressed by the meticulous organization of objects and glad that they would be there for his children's children to observe: "Gosh, I'm so grateful for what he did. If he hadn't collected them, they would have disappeared long ago. Not one of the items would be visible now if our counterparts, the white people, hadn't collected them." Most of all he expressed gratitude to his fellow group members for all they had taught him. He had not realized how much there was to learn from these old things, and he was grateful

that he had been chosen to come. Later he added that he would like to do this kind of work again, although he hoped he would not have to travel so far. Catherine also expressed her gratitude, as well as her desire that the things we had learned be brought home: "I'm thankful that we came here even though it's far from home. My hope is that if these things of our ancestors were seen by a group of our young people, that they would begin to stimulate their minds."

Andy Paukan, the teacher, also spoke of his desire that what we had learned would be brought home for the benefit of the younger generation: "Our work seems to have opened up times ahead and filled it with information[...]. With this work, our roots and culture will come closer to us." Yet his pride was mixed with regret. He concluded, "Evidently, [our ancestors] lived a clean life. Their life was very good. By looking at their work, I envy them."

A determined leader as well as an eloquent orator, Paul John's words on his last day in Berlin were perhaps the most pointed and far reaching, moving beyond the walls of the museum. Doing his first fieldwork in a non-English-speaking country, he had been observing the German people, and he was impressed: "Here in Germany, I see that people truly live according to their traditions. I see that they have kept their ways." He contrasted their cultural integrity to the situation back home in southwest Alaska:

When I think about our home, I feel sad realizing that we Yupiit are not holding onto our traditional ways. And through my observation of this land and its people, I've realized that by not holding onto our traditions, our people have become confused about their own identity.

Even though I've heard about the vast ocean I had not pictured it in my mind before. And since I came here, by looking at the time difference I now believe that we indeed have reached the other side of the ocean. When night comes to our families back home, it would be morning here. Our places are so far apart.

Though we live far apart we've realized that people here have held onto their culture[...]. God indeed created many tribes of people with their own traditional ways and beliefs which were to be practiced until the end of the world.<sup>20</sup>

Finally, Paul spoke about how our work in the museum might help to remedy this situation.

When we were looking at the objects that were once used by our ancestors, I began to realize that they were persevering and hardworking people [...]. Though they didn't have excellent tools, their workmanship was so fine. The fact that they had taken care of themselves could be seen by their work.

Western-made material was totally gone from their work. Gosh, our ancestors took charge of their lives[...].

Since we have no understanding, we've abandoned our cultural ways. But those of us who came here have been granted more understanding regarding our people [...].

My vision is this. Many of us seem to have been in the dark for many years. And now, stories and information about our roots have emerged from this unknown, far away place across the ocean. Now that the knowledge is out, I hope our work together will be written and be presented to our people[...].

If our people begin to see them and begin to understand the culture of our ancestors they might begin to believe and gain pride in their own identity. I envision our people gaining more faith in their own identity by seeing the objects or seeing their pictures or reading about them in books. My hope is that our work will bring our people closer to their own culture.<sup>21</sup>

Much more important than any specific information they evoke, Paul sees collections as tools capable of teaching self-reliance and pride to young people until now kept at arm's length from their history. Knowledge is power, and it is Paul's strong hope that young people use this long-hidden knowledge as ammunition in their battle to take control of their land and lives (Fig. 8.6).



**Figure 8.6:** Wassilie, Marie, and Paul examining a king-salmon net made from *piirraq* (braided willow-bark line). Photo by Ann Fienup-Riordan.

Since our return, these elders have been honored in different ways. Catherine Moore's family gave her a surprise birthday feast on her return to Anchorage. Paul John has publicly described his experiences, stating how looking at these old things has increased his understanding of his own people. Togiak threw a village-wide potluck dinner for Annie Blue on the Friday following her return, after which she showed the pictures she had taken with her disposable camera and described her experiences. In October she was flown into Anchorage to receive the Alaska Federation of Natives' "Elder of the Year" award, including a beautiful wristwatch, which she joked she would keep on German time.

## CONCLUSION

The subtitle of this chapter, "Fieldwork Turned on Its Head," refers to the project's reversal of the traditional fieldwork paradigm in cultural anthropology. Whereas anthropologists are known to travel to distant lands to study the resident Natives, in this case Native elders traveled to one home of anthropology—the museum—to do their own fieldwork, coming to their own conclusions about the value of the ethnographic collections they explored. Archaeologists and material culture specialists within anthropology have always done research in museum store-rooms, and Franz Boas, Alfred Kroeber, and George Bryan Gordon are but a few anthropologists who had indigenous people working in their collections. The thrust of their work was to increase non-Natives' knowledge and understanding of Native peoples, but in this case, it is the Natives who seek an understanding of both collections and the collection process so that they can use them for their own ends.

Our project was neither the first nor the only one of its kind. Bernadette Driscoll (1995) traveled to European and Canadian museums with Canadian Inuit seamstresses in the 1980s to study Inuit clothing styles and the terminology and symbolism associated with them. This fieldwork triggered a renaissance in clothing manufacture in some Canadian communities.<sup>22</sup> In the early 1980s Susan Kaplan (personal communication) invited North Greenland Inuit to work in the museum and continues to work with Labrador Inuit using the Peary-MacMillan Arctic Museum and Arctic Studies Center collections. In the 1990s the repatriation movement has prompted increased access to, and scrutiny of, museum collections by members of many Native groups, often in collaboration with museum professionals. For example, Deanna Kingston (1999) has worked with King Island elders in the film archives of the National Museum of Natural History, while Stephen Loring and Aron Crowell of the Smithsonian's Arctic Studies Center have explored NMNH collections with several Alaska Natives.

Yup'ik elders' work in the Museum für Völkerkunde is an example of what I have described elsewhere as "visual repatriation."<sup>23</sup> As in Yup'ik elders' comments on masks and mask-making in preparation for the *Agayuliyararput* exhibit, their primary concern was not to reclaim museum objects but to re-own the knowledge and experiences that the objects embodied. As in the mask exhibit, instead of resentment at what has been lost and taken from them, elders expressed profound gratitude toward both the collectors and the museums for preserving them. While repatriation and struggles for the physical control of objects remain contentious issues, Yup'ik elders' work in collections provides a lesson in how Native access to collections can benefit everyone.

During recent decades museum professionals have become more specialized, often training in curation and conservation rather than anthropology or history. Many are not researchers themselves, and their primary responsibility is to the objects, not to the people whose ancestors made them. Their focus on the care and protection of objects can have disastrous consequences for visiting indigenous groups. I have accompanied Yup'ik elders on visits to museums thousands of miles from home and watched as their days in collections shrunk to hours as they waited for museum handlers to access objects, present them one at a time, and remove them before going on to the next piece. In contrast, our German hosts provided ideal circumstances to explore collections, giving us the space, time, and privacy we needed. As a result, elders moved into collections, owning them in ways that more restricted access would have made impossible.

Although several indigenous people have made short visits to the Ethnologisches Museum Berlin's world-famous ethnographic collections, ours was the first Native group to carry out a systematic study of an entire collection. Staff members were initially both concerned for the safety of their collections and wary of Native efforts to reclaim them. They were, however, willing to allow the visit, and their respect for these indigenous researchers grew as the days went by. Our workspace was in a large well-lighted open hallway between the museum's storage room and exhibit space, and passing staff members often stopped to watch the elders' animated interactions with collections, ask questions, and share in their excitement. Moreover, elders' expressions of thanks reassured them that it was not the objects that elders coveted but the opportunity to use them both to teach and to learn. Not one object was broken or damaged during our three-week stay. Instead, each was enriched with myriad bits of information, stories, and songs.

Boarding the plane to Berlin, exhausted by efforts to get passports for elders with multiple names and dates of birth, I vowed that I would never again try to take elders to objects. A week later, however, I knew absolutely that it was worth the effort. Ironically, though fragile objects like grass socks and gut-skin parkas

will endure in museum collections, elders will not. If we do not bring elders into museums over the next decade, we will lose an opportunity to understand collections in ways that Jacobsen and his contemporaries never imagined. More important than any specific information, in the hands of community leaders throughout southwest Alaska this knowledge of the past has the potential to shape the future.

## POSTSCRIPT

I wrote this chapter's paper in the weeks immediately following our return from Berlin, in October 1997, and presented it at a conference at New York's American Museum of Natural History a month later. The conference, celebrating Franz Boas and the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, was attended by dozens of anthropologists and museum professionals eager to hear about Yup'ik elders' work with Jacobsen's collection.<sup>24</sup> I published the paper the next year, in a volume of *Arctic Anthropology* dedicated to the work of James VanStone,<sup>25</sup> and it was reprinted twice—once in my own essay collection *Hunting Tradition in a Changing World: Yup'ik Lives in Alaska Today* (Fienup-Riordan 2000) and again in Laura Peers and Alison Brown's *Museums and Source Communities: A Routledge Reader* (2003). In their reader, Peers and Brown use as a taken-for-granted term of art the phrase “visual repatriation,” which I first coined in my work with Yup'ik elders in museums. This was a good thing, showing how far museums had moved toward open access and sharing knowledge in less than a decade. I think I can fairly say that my brief description of the Yup'ik encounter with Jacobsen's collection in Berlin has been among the most influential papers I have ever written, and it has contributed to opening museum doors for indigenous people worldwide.

In retrospect, this should not be surprising. As I noted in 1997, scholars like Betty Issenman and Bernadette Driscoll had already begun to bring men and women as collaborators into collections, and many have since followed their lead.<sup>26</sup> Consultation with Native informants and community representatives by anthropologists and museologists has been taking place since the days of Franz Boas in the early 1900s. The essential question is when does cooperation move beyond one group providing ideas and understandings to another to the co-conceptualization and co-commitments of true collaboration.<sup>27</sup> True collaboration, as many note, is the joint shaping of representations. These deep collaborations offer powerful alternatives to more conventional research approaches, and Yup'ik elders' work in the Jacobsen collection has helped to pave the way.<sup>28</sup>

What stands out in the Yup'ik experience is both the depth and breadth of their remembrances and their dedication to sharing this information with their younger generation as well as the world at large. Working closely with Yup'ik



language expert Marie Meade, we published two books combining photographs of what Jacobsen had collected and the knowledge elders shared: *Yup'ik Elders at the Ethnologisches Museum Berlin: Fieldwork Turned on Its Head* (Fienup-Riordan 2005) and *Ciuliamta Akluit/Things of Our Ancestors* (Meade and Fienup-Riordan 2005). And both objects and information from the Jacobsen collection were displayed as part of the 2007 Yup'ik science exhibition, *Yuungnaqpiallerput/The Way We Genuinely Live* (Fienup-Riordan 2007).

What has motivated Yup'ik men and women to work so tirelessly, returning to museums again and again? Through the 1930s, when the elders we worked with in Berlin were young, contact with non-Natives was minimal in southwest Alaska, and the Yup'ik view of the world remained intact and foundational. The primary role of elders as mentors for their younger generation was then and continues to be taken very seriously.<sup>29</sup> Moreover, from the Yup'ik point of view (and many indigenous peoples worldwide) objects are seen not primarily as material remnants of ancestral lives, but as persons themselves, both possessing awareness and capable of responding to human action, with whom contemporary Native people feel kinship. For Yup'ik people the objects Jacobsen and his contemporaries collected are like elders, and their role is to teach.

Among the many oral instructions that continue to guide people's lives in southwest Alaska today, the foremost admonition is for a person to act with compassion, sharing with and helping those in need. "Those who share," they say, "are given another day." This admonition also applies to knowledge. Many speak of their past to provide tools for understanding the present, claiming legitimacy for Yup'ik views of the world as alternatives to Western interpretations. A dozen years after his trip to Berlin, Paul John (April 2009) compared the effect of CEC's documentation efforts, including our work with the Jacobsen collection, to that of the election of President Obama. He said, "If white people see these books, they will think, 'These Yup'ik people evidently are knowledgeable and know how to take care of their own affairs through their traditional ways.' Like the African American who has become president, our young people will be able to independently practice their way of living."

I have said before and I say again that in sharing knowledge, Yup'ik elders are not just trying to say something but to *do* something. They know they possess a narrative tradition second to none, and they seek a future in which the Yup'ik view of the world will be both recognized and valued. Ironically, sharing knowledge, giving it away, enables us to keep it. This has always been true of oral traditions, and in Yup'ik elders' work with the Jacobsen collection, their efforts have reached far beyond their homeland. All the elders we traveled with are gone now, but what they shared will endure.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I want to acknowledge my friend and teacher, Jim VanStone, as the inspiration for this paper. Jim was originally invited to travel to Germany with our group, not as an outside expert but as an elder among elders. A bad back prevented him from making the trip, and I especially wanted him to share in the high points of our expedition.

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## NOTES

- 1 In fact, the outset of the Krause expedition was a major reason that the Royal Museum was able to secure funding for Jacobsen's expedition. Berlin high society had no intention of being bested by Bremen.
- 2 Jacobsen, *Capitain Jacobsen's Reise; Alaskan Voyage*; Krause, *The Tlinget Indians*.
- 3 Jacobsen, *Alaskan Voyage*, 159.
- 4 Fienup-Riordan, *The Living Tradition*, 219–226.
- 5 Thode-Arora, *Für Fünfzig Pfennig*, 52.
- 6 Westphal-Hellbusch, *100 Jahre Museum für Völkerkunde*.
- 7 Höpfner, "Die Rückführung der "Leningrad-Sammlung."
- 8 Fienup-Riordan, *The Living Tradition*.
- 9 Dissellhoff, "Bemerkungen zu einigen Eskimo-masken"; "Bemerkungen zu Fingermasken"; Hipszer, "Les Masques de Chamans."
- 10 I mention this battle to alert future researchers to problems I encountered while obtaining passports for Yup'ik-speaking elders. Our negotiation with the US Passport Agency was more than difficult. In the end neither Paul John nor Catherine Moore could get a regular passport, as neither could produce two qualifying documents with the same name and date of birth. Both had baptismal certificates and recorded birth dates in Catholic mission records, but as Paul John was a much-loved only child with a multitude of names and Catherine was born during the 1918 influenza epidemic, following which her parents died and she was adopted, names and dates in these official records were conflicting. Thanks to the intervention of Senator Ted Stevens's office, both elders received temporary passports, but otherwise neither would have been able to make the trip.
- 11 Fienup-Riordan, *The Living Tradition*, 23–30.
- 12 See Bolz, this volume.
- 13 Nelson, *The Eskimo about Bering Strait*, 444.
- 14 September 10, 1997.
- 15 Fienup-Riordan, "Eskimo Iconography and Symbolism."
- 16 Fienup-Riordan, *The Living Tradition*, 180–196.
- 17 See also Fienup-Riordan, *Boundaries and Passages*, 258.
- 18 September 11, 1997.

- 19 This is a real strength of Jacobsen's collection, as he had intentionally sought out "ancient things."
- 20 September 1997.
- 21 September 1997.
- 22 See also Issenman, "Inuit Clothing," "Inuit and Museums," "Inuit Power and Museums."
- 23 Fienup-Riordan, *The Living Tradition*, 23–30.
- 24 Kendall and Krupnik, *Constructing Cultures*.
- 25 Fienup-Riordan, "Yup'ik Elders in Museums."
- 26 Van Broekhoven, Buijss, and Hovens, *Sharing Knowledge and Cultural Heritage*.
- 27 Menzies, "Negotiating Indigenous Agendas."
- 28 Fienup-Riordan, "From Consultation to Collaboration."
- 29 Fienup-Riordan and Rearden, *Ciulirnerunak Yuuyaqunak*.



**Figure 0.11:** Interior of the Jacobsen house at Risøya. June 2016. Photo: Mari Karlstad, The Arctic University Museum of Norway.

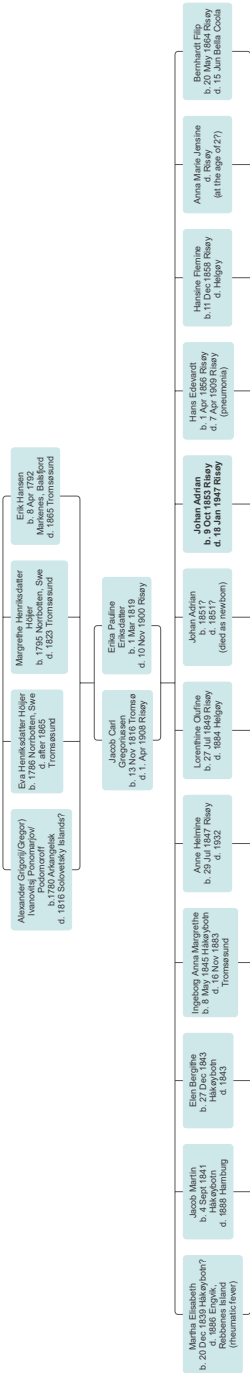


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DOI: <https://doi.org/10.18261/9788215069159-25-10>

# The Genealogy of Johan Adrian Jacobsen's Family

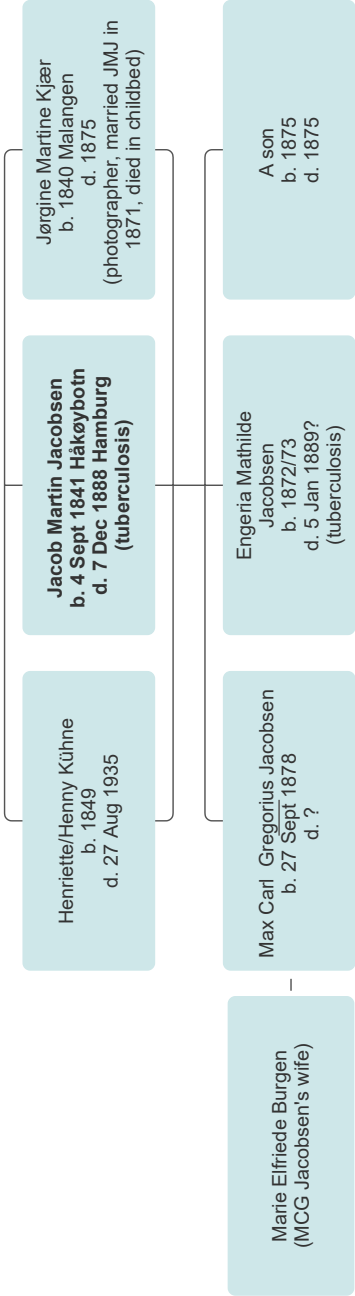
Compiled by Hilke Thode-Arora and Cathrine Baglo

THE FAMILY OF JACOB CARL GREGORIUSSEN AND ERIKA PAULINE ERIKSDATTER

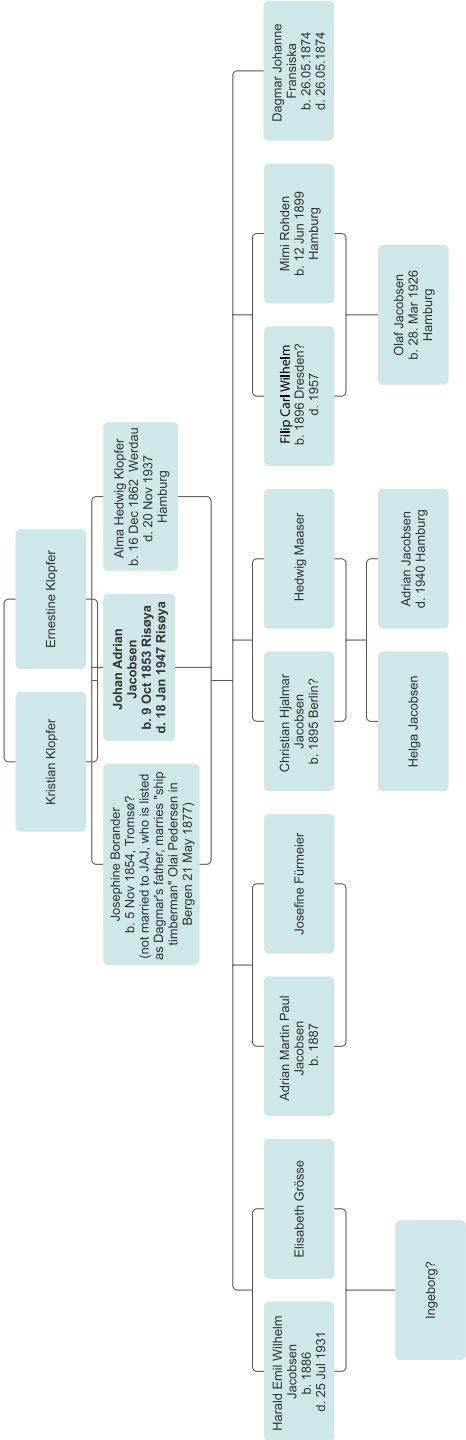




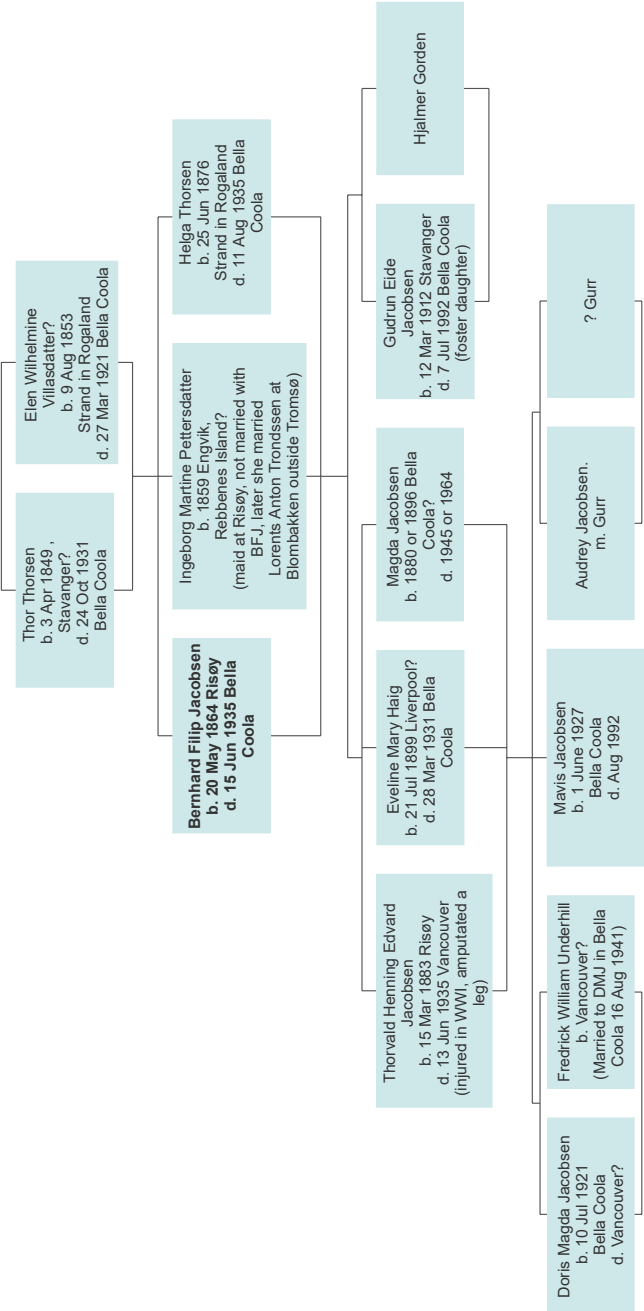
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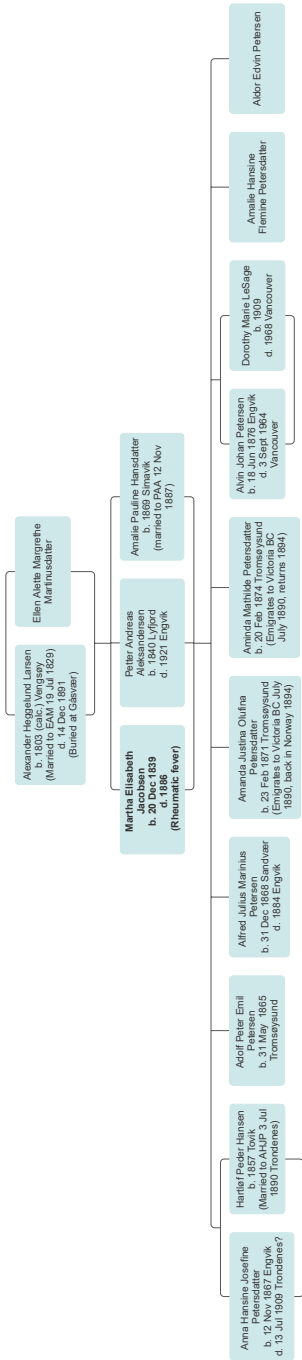
JOHAN ADRIAN JACOBSEN AND ALMA HEDWIG KLOPFER'S FAMILY



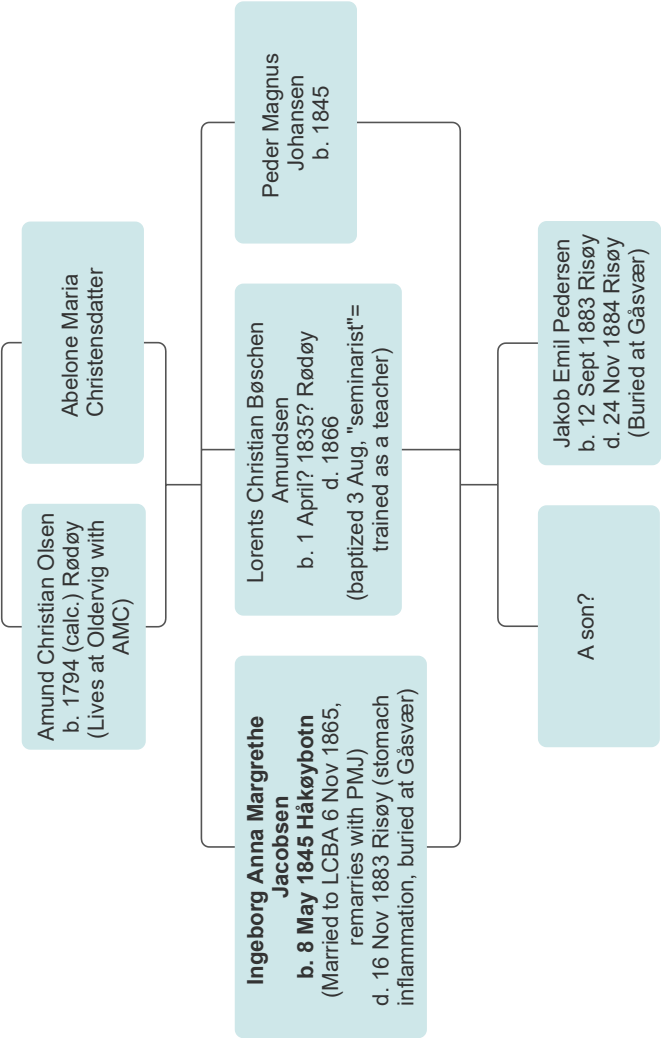
JOHAN ADRIAN JACOBSEN'S YOUNGEST BROTHER BERNHARD FILIP AND HIS FAMILY



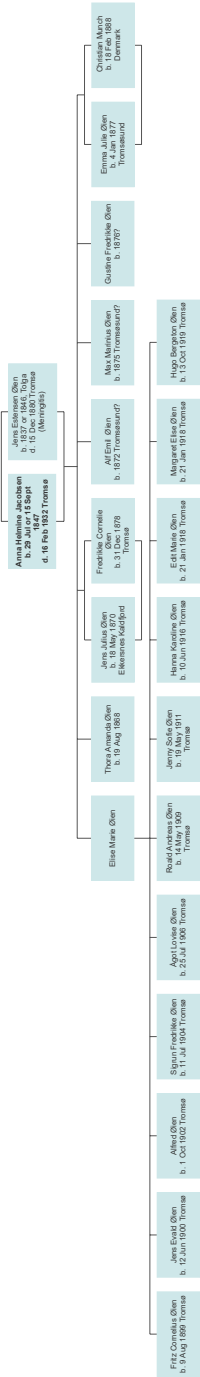
JOHAN ADRIAN JACOBSEN'S ELDEST SISTER MARTHA ELISABETH AND HER FAMILY



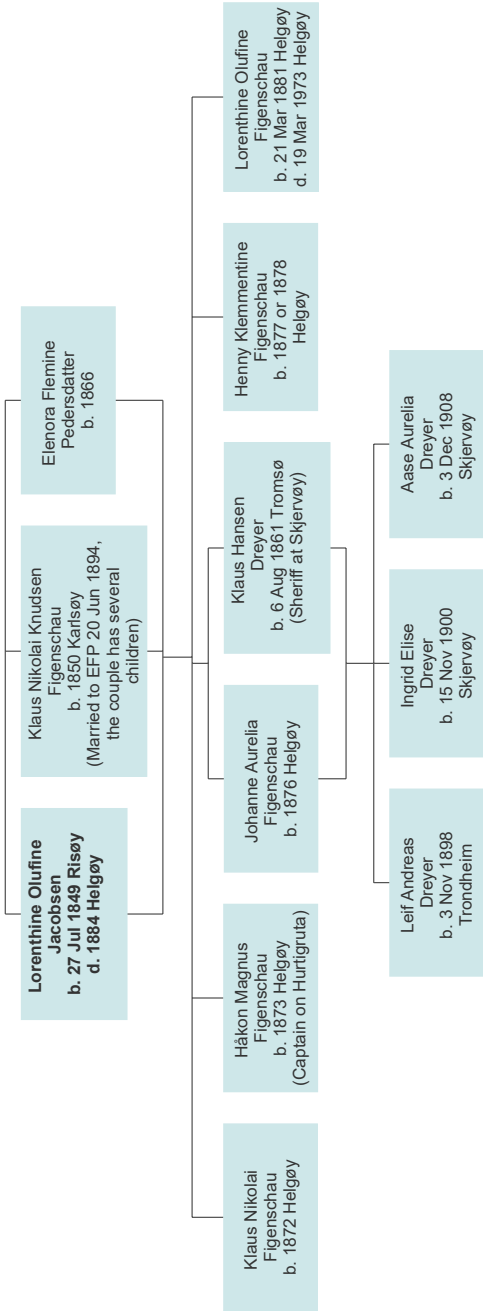
JOHAN ADRIAN JACOBSEN'S SISTER INGEBOURG ANNA MARGRETHE AND HER FAMILY



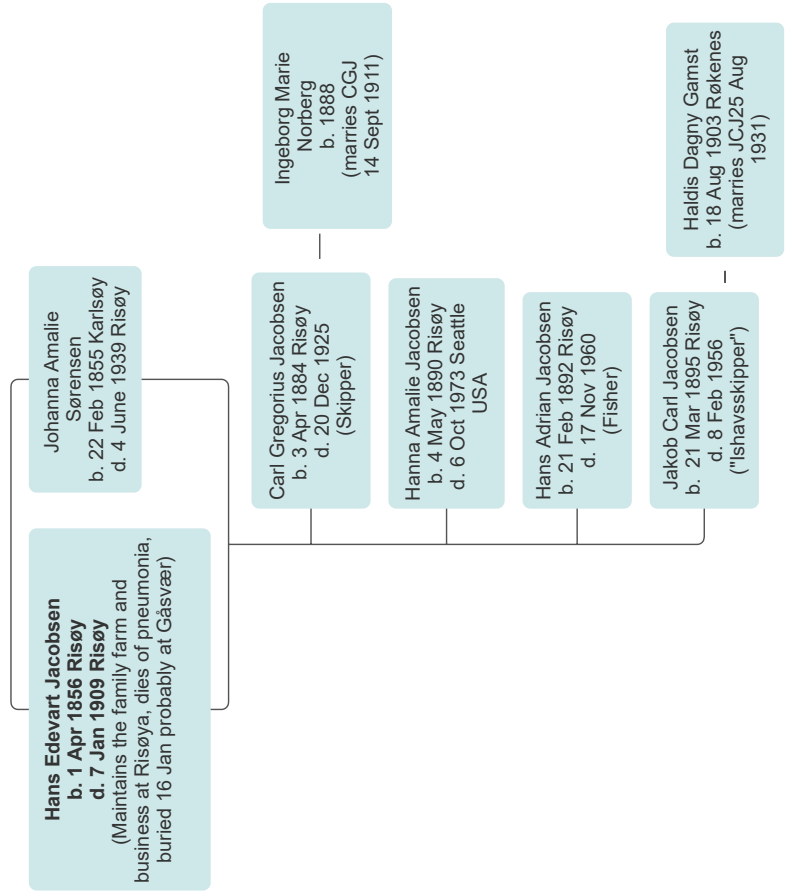
JOHAN ADRIAN JACOBSEN'S SISTER ANNA HELMINE AND HER FAMILY



JOHAN ADRIAN JACOBSEN'S SISTER LORENTHINE OLUFINE AND HER FAMILY

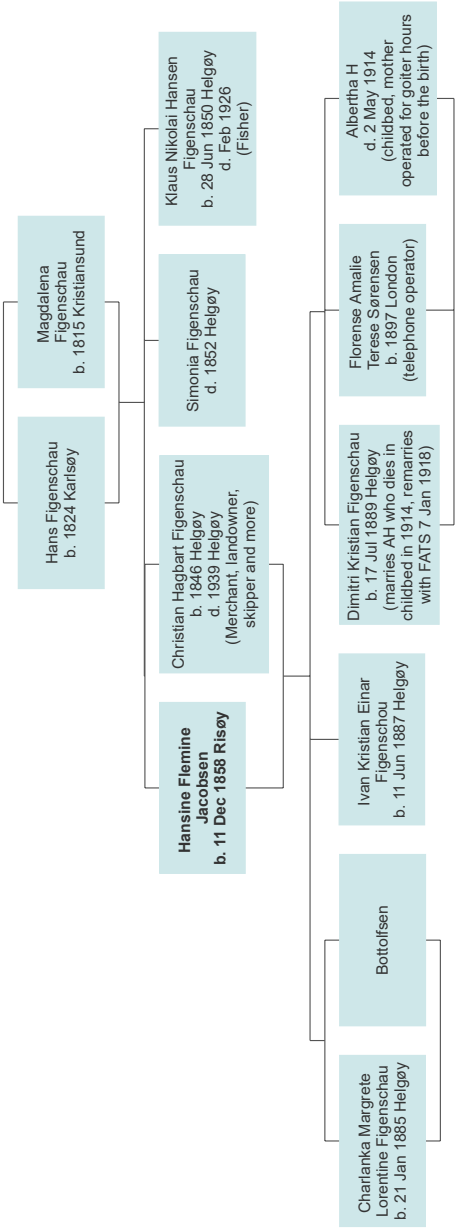


JOHAN ADRIAN JACOBSEN'S BROTHER HANS EDEVART AND HIS FAMILY





JOHAN ADRIAN JACOBSEN'S YOUNGEST SISTER HANSINE FLEMINE AND HER FAMILY



# Publications by Johan Adrian Jacobsen: An Annotated Bibliography

Compiled by Peter Bolz

**1883. “Reise nach der Nordwestküste von Amerika.” *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 15: 525-531, *Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte*.**

*Journey to the Northwest Coast of America.* This is the printed version of Jacobsen's first report about his American travels, given on November 24, 1883, one day after his arrival in Berlin, at the meeting of the Berlin Anthropological Society, under the chairmanship of Rudolf Virchow.

**1884. *Captain Jacobsen's Reise an der Nordwestküste Amerikas 1881-1883, zum Zwecke ethnologischer Sammlungen und Erkundigungen, nebst Beschreibung persönlicher Erlebnisse, für den deutschen Leserkreis bearbeitet von A. Woldt*. Leipzig: Max Spohr. VIII, 431 pp.**

*Captain Jacobsen's journey to the Northwest Coast of America, 1881-1883, for the purpose of ethnological collections and research, with descriptions of personal experiences. Revised for German readers by A. Woldt.*

This is Jacobsen's first book publication, a description of his travels to British Columbia, Alaska, and the Southwestern United States. The journalist August Woldt (not Adrian Woldt, as Erna Gunther claims; see 1977: *Alaskan Voyage*) transferred his diaries into a legible German text. The appendix contains the *Lebensbeschreibung des Capitain J. Adrian Jacobsen* (Autobiography of Captain J. Adrian Jacobsen, 403-422).

Different reprints are available, e.g., as British Library Historical Print Edition. It is also part of the series *Deutsche im Nordpazifik. Beiträge zur Entdeckung und Erforschung des nordpazifischen Raumes*, edited by Viola König. Hildesheim: Olms-Weidmann 2013.

**1887. *Kaptein Jacobsens Reiser til Nordamerikas Nordvestkyst 1881-83. Efter Hans Egne Optegnelser udarbejdet af A. Woldt. Oversat fra Tysk Ved J. Utheim*.**

***Med et Anhang: Ordprøver fra Alaska-Eskimoernes Sprog af H. Rink.* Kristiania: Alb. Cammermeyer. XXXVIII, 329 pp.**

Norwegian edition of Jacobsen's first book, translated from the German edition. With an appendix of a short dictionary of Eskimo languages of Greenland and Alaska by Hinrich Rink. Reprint edition: Saraswati Press, 2012.

**1889. "A Jacobsen's und H. Kühn's Reise in Niederländisch-Indien." *Globus. Illustrierte Zeitschrift für Länder- und Völkerkunde*: 161–168, 182–186, 200–204, 213–217, 225–229, 244–248, 261–265, 279–280, 299–302.**

*A. Jacobsen's and H. Kühn's travels in the Dutch Indies (Indonesia).*

**1890. "Reisen im ostindischen Archipel." *Petermanns Mitteilungen*: 103–105.**

*Travels in the East Indian Archipelago (Indonesia).*

**1890. "Geheimbünde der Küstenbewohner Nordamerikas." *Das Ausland. Wochenschrift für Erd- und Völkerkunde*: 267–269, 290–293.**

*Secret Societies of the inhabitants of the Northwest Coast.*

**1890. "Bella-Coola-Sagen." *Das Ausland. Wochenschrift für Erd- und Völkerkunde*: 352–354.**

*Legends of the Bella Coola.*

**1890. "Nordwestamerikanische Sagen." *Das Ausland. Wochenschrift für Erd- und Völkerkunde*: 421–425; 981–986.**

*Legends from the Northwest Coast.*

**1890. "Steine als Amulette bei wilden und civilisierten Völkern." *Das Ausland. Wochenschrift für Erd- und Völkerkunde*: 534–536.**

*Stone-amulets among savage and civilized peoples.*

**1890. "Eigentümliche Kultusgegenstände im Museum für deutsche Volkstrachten." *Das Ausland. Wochenschrift für Erd- und Völkerkunde*: 825–826.**

*Peculiar cult-objects in the Museum of German Folk-Costumes.* Jacobsen's one and only contribution as curator of this newly founded museum in Berlin.

**1891. "Bilderschrift der Eskimo." *Das Ausland. Wochenschrift für Erd- und Völkerkunde*: 1–4.**

*Eskimo picture-writing.*

1891. "Der Seehundsfang im Berringsmeer." *Das Ausland. Wochenschrift für Erd- und Völkerkunde*: 150–152.

*Seal hunting in the Bering Sea.*

1891. "Pfeilspitzen der Eskimos in Alaska." *Das Ausland. Wochenschrift für Erd- und Völkerkunde*: 356–359.

*Arrowheads of the Alaska Eskimo.*

1891. "Leben und Treiben der Eskimo." *Das Ausland. Wochenschrift für Erd- und Völkerkunde*: 593–598; 636–639; 656–658.

*Life and customs of the Eskimo.*

1891. "Nordwestamerikanisch-polynesische Analogien." *Globus. Illustrierte Zeitschrift für Länder- und Völkerkunde*: 161–163.

*Analogies between the Northwest Coast and Polynesia.*

1891. "Amerikanische und sibirische Nephritgeräte." *Globus. Illustrierte Zeitschrift für Länder- und Völkerkunde*: 314–317.

*Nephrite (jade) tools from America and Siberia.*

1891. "Nordwestamerikanische Totempfeiler." *Globus. Illustrierte Zeitschrift für Länder- und Völkerkunde*: 253–55.

*Totem poles from America's Northwest Coast.*

1891. "Geheimbünde der Küstenbewohner Nordwest-Amerika's." *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*: 383–395.

*Secret societies of the inhabitants of America's Northwest Coast.*

1892. "Die Sintflutsage bei den Haida-Indianern (Königin Charlotte-Insel)." *Das Ausland. Wochenschrift für Erd- und Völkerkunde*: 170–172; 184–188.

*The legend of the great flood of the Haida-Indians (Queen Charlotte Island).*

1892. "Berghaus' Physikalischer Atlas, Abt. VII: Atlas der Völkerkunde." *Das Ausland. Wochenschrift für Erd- und Völkerkunde*: 239–240.

*Book review of Berghaus' physical atlas, part VII: Atlas of ethnology.*

1892. "Der Kosiyut-Bund der Bella-Coola-Indianer." *Das Ausland. Wochenschrift für Erd- und Völkerkunde*: 437–441.

*The Kosiyut society of the Bella Coola Indians.*

**1894. “Die Stammesgeschichte der Tongasindianer (Süd-Alaska).” *Globus. Illustrierte Zeitschrift für Länder- und Völkerkunde*: 390–393.**

*The tribal legend of the Tongas Indians (South Alaska).*

**1894. “Der zweite Typus der Geheimbünde bei den Northwest-Americanern.” *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*: 104–115.**

*The second type of secret societies among the Northwest Americans.*

**1894. “Über den Haifang bei den Völkern des Nordens.” *Feestbundel van taal-, letter-, geschied- en aardrijkskundige bijdragen ... aan P. J. van Veth*. 79–82. Leiden: E. J. Brill.**

*Catching sharks among the people of the North.* Article in a Dutch festschrift, written in German.

**1894. *Eventyrlige Farter: Fortælle for Ungdommen. Ved Ingeborg v. d. Lippe Konow. Med illustrationer af Thorolf Holmboe*. Bergen: John Griegs Forlag. 179 pp.**

*Adventurous travels: Told to the youth.* A collection of dramatic tales from all of Jacobsen's journeys. Written and compiled for Norwegian readers by author and translator Ingeborg von der Lippe Konow from Jacobsen's German publications.

**1896. *Reise in die Inselwelt des Banda-Meerres. Bearbeitet von Paul Roland. Mit einem Vorwort von Rudolf Virchow*. Berlin: Mitscher & Röstel. XX, 271 pp.**

*Voyage to the islands of the Banda Sea. Revised by Paul Roland. With a preface by Rudolf Virchow.* Jacobsen's second book, again published with the help of a “ghost-writer,” describes his travels to Indonesia in 1887–1888, together with the ornithologist H. Kühn. It is dedicated to the members of the *Hilfscomité*, the committee who financed his collecting trips. The author of the preface, Rudolf Virchow, is the founder of Berlin's Anthropological Society. It also contains six pages of wordlists in seven different Indonesian languages or dialects, compiled by Jacobsen.

Several reprint editions are available, e.g., by Forgotten Books, London 2015: Fines Mundi, Saarbrücken 2016.

**1912. *Aus den Jugendjahren meines Seemannslebens*. Deutsche Jugendbücherei No. 73. Berlin-Leipzig: Hermann Hillger. 32 pp.**

*From the early years of my life as a sailor.* This booklet for young people starts with the *Lebensbeschreibung des Kapitäns Adrian Jacobsen* (Autobiography of the Captain Adrian Jacobsen, 3–7) which is dated “Stellingen, den 4. 11. 1911” (November 4, 1911). The illustration on the cover, however, is dated to 1912. The

following six chapters are anecdotes from Jacobsen's youth and experiences with the people he hired for his *Völkerschauen*.

**1912. *Unter Indianern und Eskimos*. Deutsche Jugendbücherei No. 83. Berlin-Leipzig: Hermann Hillger. 32 pp.**

*Among Indians and Eskimos*. This booklet for young people contains ten chapters in which Jacobsen tells stories from his travels to the Northwest Coast and Alaska and from his experiences with different *Völkerschauen* in Europe. The text is undated, but the illustration on the cover is dated to 1912.

**1924. *Unter den Alaska-Eskimos. Erlebnisse und Forschungen, von Kapitän J. Adrian Jacobsen*. Berlin: Ullstein. 155 pp.**

*Among the Alaska Eskimos: Experiences and investigations, by captain J. Adrian Jacobsen*. Jacobsen's Alaskan travels in 1882/83 (undated). The preface mentions that Jacobsen is now (at the time of this publication) 71 years old. This means that this little book was published in 1924. A reprint is added to *Capitain Jacobsen's Reise an der Nordwestküste Amerikas 1881–1883. Deutsche im Nordpazifik. Beiträge zur Entdeckung und Erforschung des nordpazifischen Raumes*. Herausgegeben von Viola König. Hildesheim: Olms-Weidmann, 2013.

**1926. “Das letzte in Europa lebende Nomadenvolk.” *Carl Hagenbeck's Illustrierte Tier- und Menschenwelt* 1, 4: 78–82; 5: 102–105.**

*The last nomadic people living in Europe*. Jacobsen describes the life of the Laplanders from his own experience.

**1928. “Jagd- und Fangreisen im nördlichen Eismeer.” *Carl Hagenbeck's Illustrierte Tier- und Menschenwelt* 3, 1: 5–9; 2: 21–25.**

*Hunting and catching trips into the Northern Polar sea*. Jacobsen describes his 1923/24 hunting trips into the Arctic.

**1928. “Eindrücke und Erlebnisse während meiner Reisen durch British-Columbia.” *Carl Hagenbeck's Illustrierte Tier- und Menschenwelt* 3, 5: 84–89; 6: 109–112.**

*Impressions and adventures during my travels through British Columbia*. Jacobsen compares his experiences from 1881–1883 with the changes that took place until 1928.

**1931. *Die weiße Grenze. Abenteuer eines alten Seebären rund um den Polarkreis*. Herausgegeben von Albrecht Janssen. Leipzig: F.A. Brockhaus. 159 pp.**

*The white frontier: Adventures of an old sailor all around the Arctic Circle. Edited by Albrecht Janssen.* Vol. 52 of the Brockhaus series *Reisen und Abenteuer* (travels and adventures). In 22 chapters Jacobsen tells anecdotes from his youth in Norway, his travels with *Völkerschauen*, and his collecting trips to the Northwest Coast, Alaska, and Northeast Asia. The last chapter (149–159) with the title *Das Leben des Kapitäns Adrian Jacobsen* (The life of captain Adrian Jacobsen) was written by Albrecht Janssen, one of his “ghostwriters.” It summarizes Jacobsen’s various travels and all his other activities to earn money for his growing family (he and his wife Hedwig had four sons) up to the time around 1930.

**1938. *Der weiße König des hohen Nordens. Bearbeitet von Albrecht Janssen.* Reutlingen: Enßlin und Laiblin. 32 pp.**

*The white king of the Far North. Revised by Albrecht Janssen.* In this booklet Jacobsen describes his two expeditions to the Northern Polar Sea. In 1923 and 1924 he was hired by wealthy people from Hamburg as a guide for the hunt on polar bears. With a brief introduction by Albrecht Janssen.

**1938. *Nogen opplysninger om familien Jacobsen fra Risøy, om stamfedre fra far og mor.* Tromsø: S. Wintervolds trykkeri.**

*Some information about the Jacobsen family at Risöya, about their paternal and maternal ancestors.*

**1944. *Gjennom ishav og villmarker: En norsk skipper på forskerfærd blant naturfolkene.* Oslo: Hanche. 199 pp.**

*Through Arctic waters and wilderness: A Norwegian captain’s research travels among primitive peoples.*

**1977. *Alaskan Voyage 1881-1883. An Expedition to the Northwest Coast of America. Translated by Erna Gunther from the German text of Adrian Woldt.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 266 pp.**

This English translation of Jacobsen’s first book from 1884 is abridged and contains some mistranslations. The picture on the cover does not show Woolfe on the left and Jacobsen on the right, as claimed by the translator, but Jacobsen on the left and Adolf Schöpf (director of the Dresden Zoo) on the right. And Woldt’s first name is not Adrian but August! Very useful, however, is Erna Gunther’s “Glossary of Place Names” (229–244).

**2014. *Voyage with the Labrador Eskimos 1880-1881. Translated by Hartmut Lutz.* Gatineau: Polar Horizons. 86 pp.**

This is a translation of Jacobsen's so far unpublished diary of his travels with the Labrador Eskimo *Völkerschau* in 1880–1881. The original diary is kept at the *Museum für Völkerkunde* in Hamburg (recently renamed the *Museum am Rothenbaum*, MARKK). This publication accompanies the book by France Rivet, *In the Footsteps of Abraham Ulrikab: The Events of 1880-1881*. Gatineau: Polar Horizons, 2014.

**2014. *Voyage avec les Eskimos du Labrador, 1880-1881*, translated by Jacqueline Thun. Gatineau: Polar Horizons/Horizons Polaires. 86 pp.**

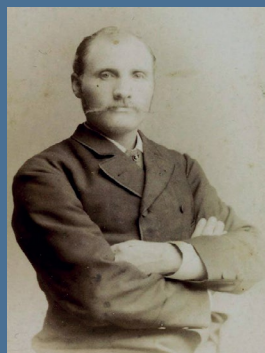
French translation of Jacobsen's diary of his travels with the Labrador Eskimos in 1880–1881.

**2019. *Voyage with the Labrador Eskimos 1880-1881*, translated by Dieter Riedel and Hartmut Lutz, and edited by France Rivet. Foreword by Cathrine Baglo. Introduction by France Rivet. Gatineau: Polar Horizons. Second edition. 299 pp.**

This extended version contains Jacobsen's diary from October 1879 to July 1881, excerpts from his publications, and his correspondence between July 1880 and December 1881. In an afterword, Christine Chávez and Barbara Plankensteiner from the *Museum am Rothenbaum – Kulturen und Künste der Welt* (MARKK) in Hamburg tell the story of Jacobsen's archive and collections in this museum.







This collection of essays addresses different aspects of the life and career of the Norwegian-born collector Johan Adrian Jacobsen (1853–1947). Raised on boats at sea and trained as a shipmaster, but not otherwise formally educated, Jacobsen rose to international fame as a collector of both living people and material things towards the end of the nineteenth century. Jacobsen contributed substantially to museum collections in Europe and North America, especially in Germany where he settled with his family.

Through his long-standing relationship with zoo purveyor Carl Hagenbeck in Hamburg, the prime entrepreneur of live ethnographic displays, he became a major actor in bringing representatives of Indigenous peoples from all over the world to exhibition venues in Europe.

The book's point of departure is the large archive Jacobsen left of his own work, such as books, publications, collection records, photographs, and other ephemera. Engaging with unstudied or understudied materials, especially at the Jacobsen Archive at Museum am Rothenbaum – Kulturen und Künste der Welt (MARKK) in Hamburg, the authors challenge simplistic perceptions of the history of ethnography, collecting, and museums. Moreover, insight is provided into the way Jacobsen's life and career reflect fundamental changes in the perception of culture and science at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century – changes that still resonate in today's climate of global cultural movement and exchange.

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