Revisiting the Relationship between Indigenous Agency and Museum Inventories: An Object-Centered Study of the Formation of Lübeck's Jacobsen Collection (1884/1885) from the Northwest Coast of America

By Angela Hess

Cover: Objects from Lübeck's Jacobsen collection. Photo: Angela Hess, July 2019

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Table of Contents

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Chapter One: Introduction

In 2017, the Chugach Alaska Corporation, an organization representing the political interests of the Alaska Indigenous Peoples within the Chugach region, requested the return of a group of nine objects from a funerary context, comprising wooden masks and a baby basket, that had been in the possession of The Prussian Cultural Heritage Foundation (*Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz*, SPK), to its creator communities[1]. As part of the SPK, the Berlin Ethnological Museum had been curating the objects since the late 1880s and upon receiving the request, engaged in provenance research that soon revealed that the objects in question had been looted by Norwegian captain, explorer and amateur ethnologist Johan Adrian Jacobsen (1852 – 1947) between 1882 and 1884. In May 2018, the objects were successfully restituted and subsequently curated by Chugach community centers and local museums (The New York Times 16 May 2018). This example illustrates recent developments relating to colonial collections in European institutions that have not only informed new research approaches and projects but have also become a matter of politics.

On the one hand, colonial provenance research has begun to shed light on the complex webs of diverse actors contributing to the formation of museum collections (e.g. Förster *et al.* 2018). Especially regarding the establishment of many German ethnological museums, Adrian Jacobsen has played a vital role in assembling thousands of objects from various continents throughout the late nineteenth century. Originally commissioned by the former *Königliches Museum für Völkerkunde* (Royal Museum for Ethnology) in Berlin, Jacobsen's collections are nowadays spread throughout various institutions in Europe and North America, while only few objects, such as the Chugach grave inventory, have returned to their creator communities. Recent publications have stressed the entanglement of colonial systems, academia and museums (e.g. Bennett 2004, Edwards *et al.* 2006, Thomas 2010). In this sense, many German museums possessing ethnographic collections have assumed their responsibility as social actors in the process of decolonization by addressing the "colonial contexts" (see Deutscher Museumsbund e.V. [DMB] 2019) of their inventory and striving towards transparency, dialogues with creator

[1] The term "source community" has been widespread within museum research when referring to the groups that have produced the artefacts taken by other agents to form present-day (ethnographic) collections (see Peers and Brown 2003). I prefer to instead utilize "creator community", a term that focuses on the active rather than passive role of individual or collective agencies during the artefact production and their journey to museums (Byrne *et al.* 2011, 8).

communities involving digitization and provenance research, as well as proactive restitutions.

At the same time, French President Macron's speech at the University of Ouagadougou, meant to redefine African-French-relationships within a five-year-term, and the resulting restitution report (see Sarr and Savoy 2018) has turned the engagement with colonial objects into a political matter, associated with diplomacy, long-term co-operations and reparations, for the governments of former colonizing states. In Germany, where throughout the last decades provenance research projects have especially focused on Nazi-looted art and received financial support by the German Lost Art Foundation, the latter institution received governmental funding in the sum of almost 2 million euros for the conduction of new projects dedicated to colonial provenance research as of March 2019 (The Art Newspaper 14 March 2019). Current research projects therefore focus on objects[2] that arrived in German museums due to contexts of injustice resulting directly or indirectly from colonial systems, which also applies to the aforementioned Chugach example in a wider sense.

This thesis aims at adding to the academic contributions on colonial provenance research provoked by these recent trends and debates. Accordingly, the reconstruction of the networks enabling the formation of the Jacobsen collection within the *Lübecker Völkerkundesammlung*, a German institution hosting various ethnographic and archaeological collections, are central to this thesis. Given the task by zoo director and entrepreneur Carl Hagenbeck (1844 – 1913), a contested actor in the establishment of so-called ethnic or peoples shows (*Völkerschauen*), to recruit performers for an upcoming tour through the former German Empire, Adrian Jacobsen and his brother Bernard Fillip Jacobsen (1864 – 1935) travelled along the Northwest Coast of America, especially coastal British Columbia in Canada. At the same time, the brothers assembled around 2000 objects[3] produced by various Northwest Coast groups, which, along with nine men who would later on travel the country as the "Bella Coola" group[4], arrived in Germany in 1885.

[2] This includes human remains in museums and other institutions. Corresponding research, restitution and general debates within Germany have started long before the discourse on colonial provenance research but will not be addressed at this point. Further literature: Stoecker *et al.* 2015

[3] Terms I employ to describe the material elements of the Jacobsen collection, such as "artefact" or "object", do not imply an underlying ontological superiority as opposed to "things" and are therefore mere analytical categories.

[4] "Bella Coola" is an ethnic attribution by European settlers used throughout the nineteenth century for the Indigenous groups living along the Bella Coola River in British Columbia, an area that nowadays pertains to the territory of the Nuxalk First Nation.

In 1904, Richard Karutz (1867 – 1945), director of the former Lübeck Ethnological Museum, acquired "*a collection of 255 objects from the tribes of the Bella Coola, Ahts and Quackjult Indians*" (Gesellschaft zur Beförderung gemeinnütziger Tätigkeit 1905, 427; my translation) from the Hamburg firm J.F.G Umlauff, *Naturalienhandlung & Museum*, at the time a well-renowned trader in *ethnographica* and *naturalia*. This collection comprises objects assembled by the Jacobsen brothers in 1884/85 and artefacts produced by the "Bella Coola" group during their following participation in Hagenbeck's travelling exhibition in 1885 and 1886. As suggested by the introductory Chugach example, museum collections are not only mobile but also subject to transformations and contestations throughout time. Contrary to understandings emerging in the nineteenth century of museums as "time capsules for posterity" (Lubar et al. 2017, 5), seemingly permanent collections and the objects constituting them undergo various processes from deaccessioning to loss, that will eventually lead to the vanishing of objects themselves or the information and values attached to them. This museum taphonomy (*ibid*., 2) can be further illustrated with a quick comparison of the number of inventories within Lübeck's Jacobsen collection in 1904 vs. 2020: Within a little more than 100 years, around 30 objects and further correspondence relating to the collection have gone missing without further documentation due to WW II and multiple post-war relocations of the *Lübecker Völkerkundesammlung* in its entirety[5]. By considering object materialities and moving beyond the determination of provenance, this analysis therefore entails a reconstruction of the social dynamics constituting the Lübeck Jacobsen collection as the current resting place of these objects.

Few publications have dealt with the collections or individual objects stemming from Adrian Jacobsen's various contract works for the Berlin Museum (e.g. Etges *et al.* 2015), such as his first journey to the Northwest Coast of America between 1881 and 1883 or his later travel to South East Asia in 1887/88. Instead, more attention has been paid to the interpretation of his diaries and early ethnographic accounts (e.g. Glass 2010), alongside those written by Fillip Jacobsen (e.g. Bland 2012), addressing ethnic attributions and the reception of the brothers' works by late nineteenth century audiences. In an effort to discuss contested provenances of those inventories of Berlin's present-day Ethnological Museum to be integrated into the museum project Humboldt Forum, Jacobsen's 1881-1883 journey has been taken as the basis for an experimental exhibition at the former

[5] For a list of the 220 objects constituting Lübeck's Jacobsen Collection in the present day, see Appendix 1.

Humboldt Lab Dahlem[6], aiming at conveying the multiperspectivity of his travel accounts through a puppet show and a computer game (see König and Zessnik 2014). Furthermore, several objects of Lübeck's Jacobsen collection will be presented within the upcoming exhibition *Nordwärts/Südwärts: Begegnungen zwischen dem Polarkreis und Lübeck* (Northward/Southward: Encounters between the polar circle and Lübeck, 17 September 2020 – 10 January 2021, St. Annen Museum, Lübeck), curated by the head of Lübeck's Jacobsen collection Dr. Lars Frühsorge and further supplied with insights from this thesis (see Frühsorge 2020, in press).

Research on the Jacobsen collections originating from the 1884/85 voyage is especially scarce, while the brothers' collecting activities, especially in the wider contexts of portraying "Bella Coola" history (Kopas 2002 [1970]) or collecting practices on the American continent (Cole 1995 [1985]), have been examined more thoroughly. One exception marks the visit of art historian Bill Holm to Lübeck's Ethnographic Collection in 1993: In this context, he revised some of the cultural attributions within the Jacobsen collection and integrated a few objects into the *Bill Holm and Robin K. Wright Slide Collection* (1996), a document published by the Seattle Burke Museum documenting Northwest Coast artefacts in around 200 museums and private collections world-wide. Further exceptions are a graduate thesis on the collection history of the inventory in Cologne's Rautenstrauch-Joest-Museum (Gerhard 1991) and works from German anthropologist Wolfgang Haberland (1987; 1988; 1989), who worked as a curator in Hamburg's Ethnological Museum for several years. To this research niche, Haberland has contributed essentially, partially reconstructing the travel route of the Jacobsen brothers and defining the composition and current resting places of the associated Northwest Coast artefacts. These studies have shed light on the organization and reception of the *Bella-Coola-Völkerschau* as an element in the formation of 1884/85 Jacobsen collections.

The *Völkerschau* phenomenon has been studied extensively, including anthropological engagements with Adrian Jacobsen's further recruitments for Carl Hagenbeck (e.g. Thode-Arora 1989), such as the Inuit family Ulrikab from Labrador in 1880 (Lutz *et al.* 2007), but mainly in relation to its entanglement with the colonial project (see Dreesbach 2005; Blanchard *et al.* 2012). The recent documentary "From Bella Coola to Berlin" by Canadian

[6] *Reisebericht* (Travelogue), 23 September 2014 – 8 February 2015

producer and director Barbara Hager[7], albeit having little public outreach, marks the first comprehensive engagement with the "Bella Coola" show outside academia.

The significance of analyzing Lübeck's Jacobsen collection therefore lies in its potential to address the social relations that motivated the flow of Northwest Coast artefacts and the travel of *Völkerschau* performers to Germany from a perspective that considers Indigenous agency, which has been widely overlooked within and beyond the history of Jacobsen collections. Hereby, the possible entanglement of museum collections and colonial ethnic shows opens up a new research angle for museum studies informed by postcolonial critiques. The presented research is meant to recontextualize Lübeck's Northwest Coast artefacts in line with critical scholarly engagements with colonial collections that stress the importance of reformulating and reconsidering the history of museum collections and curatorial practices to allow for multivocality in present-day transfers of knowledge. As of now, there has been no comprehensive academic consideration of Lübeck's Jacobsen collection. Few exceptions comprise scarce mentionings of the Lübeck inventory within Haberland's publications on Jacobsen or the Bella Coola show, along with the exhibition of one of the collection's Nuu-chah-nulth wolf masks in Hamburg's *Museum am Rothenbaum. Kulturen und Künste der Welt* (MARKK) in 2019[8] and another exhibition in the same institution in the 1970s that entailed five objects from Lübeck's Jacobsen collection (see Haberland 1979). A more nuanced view of the objects in this collection than expressed by anthropologist Erna Gunther, "*I never thought that Jacobsen collected such junk!*" (in Haberland 1987, 372), may therefore reconsider ethnographic collections as a possibility to engage with forgotten chapters of shared colonial histories, while reconsidering the role of Indigenous actors as a constitutive element of collection formation processes.

Defining the Research Scope: Aims and Objectives, Hypotheses, Limitations

The main aim of this thesis consists in locating the social and material agencies within the formation of Lübeck's Jacobsen collection, especially considering Indigenous agency within the Northwest Coast artefact design, production, compilation and trade. By implementing an approach that integrates the materiality of the respective artefacts into a starting point for analyses, the reconstruction of Indigenous agency within this thesis follows its manifestation in the object. By considering the materiality of this collection, I aim at exploring Indigenous agency in relation to "*the distinctive sensual and corporeal*

[7] See Hager, B., 2006. From Bella Coola to Berlin. Retrieved from https://vimeo.com/ondemand/1491channel/235035770.

[8] Von Wölfen und Menschen (Of wolves and humans), 12 April – 13 October 2019

qualities of the actual objects" (Byrne *et al.* 2011, 12). Rather than providing an in-depth-analysis of the object's original use within creator communities (which is not always identifiable) and possible stylistic classifications or symbolic interpretations, this focus on materiality allows for a study of how material qualities of the respective objects acted upon the agents handling them and how these processes are transformed along their life histories. Especially Lübeck's "hybrid" artefacts of local and imported materials, as well as its early Northwest Coast souvenirs and general (remittance) works for Euro-Western visitors, up to artefacts used in daily or ceremonial activities of Indigenous Northwest Coast communities, provide a possibility to study the social dynamics of late nineteenth century collecting practices and the dimension of Indigenous participation opportunities in these networks. Studying the "Bella Coola" ethnic show as a part of these dynamics allows for a precise attribution of a part of the collection's provenience, while attaining information on the negotiations shaping Indigenous-European relationships and modes of mutual engagement within a specific historical context.

The question of the dimensions of Indigenous agency within the formation of collections has only recently entered the discourse on the formation of ethnographic collections. As an attempt that neither romanticizes the role of Indigenous actors within past asymmetrical colonial power relationships nor overlooks the resulting mechanisms of oppression and injustices, the questions posed within this thesis center around the involved spectrum of actors and their relations, both constituted by humans and non-humans, within the Jacobsen collection's provenances:

How can short- and long-term patterns of Indigenous agency be reconstructed within Lübeck's Jacobsen collection? Which role does Indigenous agency play within the nineteenth century Northwest Coast artefact market more generally, and in relation to the (collecting) activities of the Jacobsen brothers? How can a research focus on Indigenous agency help to revisit colonial ethnographic collections and which responsibilities result from it for present-day museum scholars or those holding access and authority over these collections?

Albeit aiming at providing a comprehensive picture of provenances, the inquiry after Indigenous agency asks for a temporal focus on the processes leading up to the termination of the "Bella Coola" tour and the participants' return to their homes. In this sense, the objects' life histories will mainly be considered up to the year of 1886. The events occurring afterwards, such as the division of the Jacobsen-Bella Coola-stock to various international institutions, mark a cease of creator community involvement until

the present-day and were predominantly shaped by German *ethnographica* dealers and agents.

A preliminary analysis of the objects in Lübeck's Jacobsen collection, in relation to the available information on its provenance, provides the basis for hypotheses used for the development of the research questions guiding this thesis:

According to past ethnic attributions of the Lübeck artefacts, the majority of the objects stem from the territories of the present-day Nuxalk First Nation and Nuu-chah-nulth communities, while a smaller amount possibly originated from Kwakwaka'wakw and Tsimshian territories[9]. In comparison to institutions curating the majority of the objects brought together by the Jacobsens in 1884/85 and those additionally produced by the "Bella Coola" performers, the acquisition of Lübeck's inventory from the Umlauff trade firm occurred at a late point within the sales chronology. The Lübeck Ethnological Museum was therefore the last institution to acquire more than 200 objects, after more than two thirds of the Jacobsen-Bella Coola-stock had already been sold.

Thus, the composition of Lübeck's Jacobsen collection further complicates conceptualizations of the homogeneity of collector motivations, striving for the completeness and coherence of their assemblages, as its formation could have been both a result of chance or an intentional compilation by the Umlauff firm or intermediary agents and middle persons. Due to the poor documentation of the 1884/85 journey, research on the conditions of acquisition or other forms of obtaining Northwest Coast artefacts becomes a complex endeavor, which renders an engagement with the processes guiding these procurements through the various involved social actors and the objects' effects on them more feasible.

Methodology and Theoretical Frameworks

The main data to be presented in this thesis was retrieved during visits to Lübeck's Ethnographic Collection and the document and photo archive in Hamburg's ethnological museum (MARKK) in the summer of 2019, following common methodologies employed within historical collections research (e.g. Feest 2018):

In Lübeck, I brought together data, mainly in the format of descriptions, inventory numbers, cultural attributions and special remarks, such as references to past visits by

[9] When relating to the names of Canada's past and present Indigenous population, I will employ a simplified orthography using English characters. This renders the text more readable and allows for a consistent description of the various denominations relating to present-day First Nations and the Indigenous Northwest Coast groups of the late nineteenth century.

researchers and publications, of the digitized Jacobsen collection via a database hosted by MuseumPlus and with the help of the collection's curator Dr. Lars Frühsorge, who further guided many of the practical steps during my stay. Possible mail correspondences between the museum and other institutions and further documentation dating to the acquisition of the Jacobsen collection were destroyed during WW II. The information retrieved from the museum database has been cross-referenced with the former museum's inventory book, allowing for the assessment of missing artefacts and faulty or doubly registered objects. In a later step, each object of the Jacobsen collection was individually examined, while specifically protocolling use wear, fragmentations, states of conservations or leftovers of Umlauff object labels and further unknown labels. Other special features or unexpected discoveries in relation to the artefacts, such as missing artefact parts, the "hybrid" composition of raw materials and twentieth century artefact modifications were equally documented.

At the MARKK in Hamburg, the *Jacobsen Nachlass* (Jacobsen legacy or inheritance, JAC), a compilation of Adrian Jacobsen's documents, such as letters, notebooks and photographs, was examined. Hereby, data mentioned within publications addressing the Jacobsen collections of 1884/85 and the Bella-Coola-*Völkerschau*, such as work contracts for the performers and letters Jacobsen had received from Hagenbeck and others, were of special relevance to assess the social networks enabling the formation of the Lübeck inventory. Newspaper articles from the late nineteenth century, partly collected by Jacobsen and supplemented with my individual research, further provide the possibility to study audience responses to the Bella-Coola-*Völkerschau,* such as their observations of sold *ethnographica,* the organization of the performances and possible interactions with the group. Furthermore, the account books of the Umlauff firm (UML) were consulted but yielded no relevant information concerning sales to Lübeck. To obtain pictures of the "Bella Coola" performers, as taken during their performance in Berlin in Carl Günther's photo studio, the museum's photo archive was separately approached, enabling the cross-reference of depicted artefacts with Lübeck's inventory, along with an identification of the participants and their possible role within the performances.

This data will be processed for the posed research questions in a twofold manner: On the one hand, working with the historical documents aids the conceptual construction of the material and social networks enabling the formation of Lübeck's Jacobsen collection, while rendering new or more accurate information on the individual objects. On the other hand, this builds a basis for the engagement with Indigenous agency considering its

historical setting, especially relating to the organization and events of the "Bella Coola" shows, as a first step of addressing value attributions within human-human or human-object interactions.

Recent anthropological efforts have suggested to transform the former academic treatment of ethnographic collections as fixed and static wholes and to shift the research focus towards the relationships between the people and objects affiliated with these collections. The frameworks developed in *Reassembling the Collection* (Harrison *et al.* 2013) with its exploration of Indigenous agency and *Unpacking the Collection* (Byrne *et al.* 2011), which approaches collections with Actor-Network-Theory (ANT) and accommodates the (inseparable) study of distributed agency, materiality and object biographies therewithin, will be adopted for the analysis of Lübeck's Jacobsen collection. Although the authors productively employ ANT in their examinations of Indigenous agency within the history of ethnographic collections, the frameworks I chose to assess the dimensions of Indigenous agency within Lübeck's Jacobsen collection center on hybridity and the reconstruction of the historical processes manifested within the objects' cultural biographies.

The collection's materiality constitutes a premise for an engagement with the networks of agency it has been producing, first as a part of the wider Jacobsen collection and afterwards in the Lübeck institution. In this sense, object agency as examined within this thesis, is "*contingent upon and emergent within social collectives*" (Harrison 2013, 16), it is distributed among both the material and social actors within the network that enabled the processes leading to the formation of the Jacobsen collection. Acknowledging that objects or things in a wider sense act upon humans (e.g. Gell 1998), further paves the way for an engagement with their cultural biographies (Gosden and Marshall 1999). Considering collections as parts of dynamic networks therefore provides the necessary means to make out their past human and non-human agents within their formation histories, while developing research along the encountered material remains of the present-day.

Working Definitions

In the context of anthropological research history, the term "Northwest Coast (of America)" or "Pacific Northwest" tends to encompass Indigenous peoples inhabiting the coastal areas (including off-shore islands and archipelagos) extending from the present-day state of Northern California in the South to the shores of the Gulf of Alaska in the North (Suttles 1990, 1). Since the presented definition of "the Northwest Coast of

America" consists of a coastline of several thousand kilometers and a corresponding wide range of diverse cultural practices, past endeavors utilizing the term to demarcate one homogenous culture area need to be handled critically. When applied to the area of the Canadian state of British Columbia in its geographical sense, as I aim to do throughout this thesis, "the Northwest Coast" entails an inland extension to the Coast Mountains (fig. 1).

Figure 1: Map of Northwest Coast First Nations territories following larger groups with a common language (https://www.bgc.bard.edu/objects-exchange-texts-maps) © Aaron Glass

As much of the following research relating to this geographical area deals with provenances as opposed to proveniences, the concepts employed stem from anthropologist Rosemary Joyce, who correctly observed that the terminologies are at times confused or applied interchangeably, depending on the research discipline (Joyce 2012): Provenance is therefore understood as "*the chain of ownership, ideally beginning*

with the creation of the object" (*ibid.,* 49), while provenience, usually associated with the archaeological find spot of an object, will be used in reference to the object's spatiotemporal production context. Accordingly, provenance and provenience, as constituents of "emplaced histories" (*ibid.,* 48) and object itineraries, form an essential foundation for the analysis of their cultural biographies. On a temporal scale, many of my research findings relate to the post-Contact period, a catchall term that I frame as the historical processes that emerged after the beginning of the systematic involvement of European and American foreigners along the Northwest Coast from 1774 onwards. Accordingly, early post-Contact events are situated within the last decades of the eighteenth century, while the "post-Contact" time framework itself encompasses the production and circulation of certain materials due to new contact and trade networks, that emerged after the colonization of the Northwest Coast by non-Indigenous agents more generally, and therefore applies throughout the first half of the nineteenth century.

Theorizing about collections, or colonial and ethnographic collections in a next step, further necessitates an examination of what referring to a group of things as a collection essentially entails: As observed earlier, Lübeck's Jacobsen collection complicates characteristics that could be considered as typical to collections, for example the collector's strive for coherence and pursue of objects that match his or her expectations, since it represents a fraction or the "leftovers" of an original larger collection. Nevertheless, the materials constituting Lübeck's Jacobsen collection will be analyzed as a result of collecting processes, such as the collector's intention to selectively obtain "*things removed from ordinary use and perceived as part of a set of non-identical objects and experiences*" (Belk 1998, 67).

When talking about ethnographic collections, it is acknowledged that "ethnographic" is not an attribution inherent to objects. Objects become ethnographic "*by virtue of being defined, segmented, detached, and carried away by ethnographers*" (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1991, 387), or in this case, by collectors engaging in similar attempts to bring together material culture that represents an othered and exoticized culture as entirely as possible. A collection with a colonial context has been formed due to processes resulting within or outside structures of formal colonial regimes, usually accompanied by asymmetric power relations that lastly enabled "*networks and practices that also supported the collection and procurement practices of European museums*" (DMB 2019, 23). Processes of settler colonialism by Europeans in the area of present-day Canada have created power imbalances since the sixteenth century, which is later on manifested within

land seizures or enfranchisement as results of the "Indian Act" (1876; see Henderson 2018). Similarly, ethnic shows in Germany might not have necessarily strictly propagated Germany's colonial interests, albeit reinforcing white supremacy as a part of colonial ideologies, but can certainly be considered as an outcome of essentially unequal power structures between colonizers and the colonized at the time. Lübeck's Jacobsen collection can therefore be considered as a colonial one, it originated within colonial contexts.

Outline of Chapters

This thesis aims at unfolding the past networks of social and material agencies within the formation of Lübeck's Jacobsen collection with the help of various object case studies. Therefore, each chapter introduces a group of objects that form the basis for an engagement with the various sociocultural, political, historical and economical dynamics at play during the objects' life histories. Although the chosen structure follows a chronological scheme, this mirrors a mere analytical purpose as some objects within Lübeck's inventory are composed of materials from various time periods and geographical locations.

The second chapter presents an examination of the main frameworks within which I chose to center my study on the history of Lübeck's Jacobsen collection. By presenting a rapprochement to the various stations of the collecting trip conducted by the Jacobsen brothers along the Northwest Coast, I discuss the problematics regarding the ethnic attributions under which the objects were recorded within the inventory books of the Lübeck collection upon their purchase in 1904 and situate them within present-day self-determined First Nation territories and identities. Subsequently, I illustrate the role of Indigenous agency during the vast trade networks emerging in North America's "contact zone" following the beginning of the maritime and land-based fur trade, as these processes deeply shaped the dynamics of the artefact trade a few decades later and ultimately form a part of the provenances of some of the materials within Lübeck's Jacobsen collection. Since the concept of hybridity has been commonly employed to assess shifting forms of amalgamated material culture resulting from colonial encounters, which essentially applies to both the early trade encounters touched upon within this chapter and the formation of Canada as a settler state in the late nineteenth century, I discuss the potentials and limitations of applying this approach to colonial collections.

Moving back to the specific study of the Indigenous agencies manifested in the material forming Lübeck's Jacobsen collection, the third chapter entails several object case studies illustrating the dimensions of Indigenous agency at play in the production and circulation

of objects to non-Indigenous traders during specific historical settings. Two artefacts, one described as a wolf mask manufactured by a Nuu-chah-nulth community, and a "shaman's dress" attributed to the "Bella Coola", provide the material means to address the vast trade networks entangled with Indigenous crafting and the role of "hybridization" when examining the objects' material characteristics. The subsequent subchapter presents Lübeck's argillite artefacts, extensively produced by Haida communities throughout the nineteenth century, and "souvenir" basketry, whose examination centers Indigenous women within the processes leading to the formation of Lübeck's Jacobsen collection. Both object categories hereby represent new lines of production specifically targeted at non-Indigenous audiences (e.g. tourists, sailors, collectors) and therefore illuminate Indigenous participation opportunities in the emerging artefact trade alongside oppressive governmental legislations that developed simultaneously.

Those objects that were likely produced and/or used by the nine Nuxalkmc touring Germany as the "Bella Coola" group with the Jacobsen brothers in 1885 and 1886 constitute the research scope for the following chapter. Insights into the historical records from this time hereby allow for an analysis of the organization and historical reception of the "Bella-Coola-*Völkerschau*", expanding the social and material network conceptualized in the former chapters. While the asymmetrical power relations involved in the display of humans in Europe's zoological parks during colonial times has provoked many debates, this chapter aims at recontextualizing the material remains of this phenomenon from a perspective that considers the past social participation opportunities of the performers. Additionally, the sales of the Jacobsen collection, that accompanied this *Völkerschau* as an ethnographic side-show, will be presented and discussed in relation to the specific object compilation of Lübeck's Jacobsen collection. The possible Western agents in the networks enabling the formation of the 1904 collection represent the last group of social factors influencing the biographies and the composition of Lübeck's inventory. Concludingly, I reflect on the ethical challenges that I have encountered throughout this research and present ideas for future collaborative studies on the Jacobsen collections from 1884/85.

Chapter Two: Contexts and Concepts for the Study of the 1884/85 Jacobsen Collection

A common phenomenon inherent to ethnographic collections assembled during colonial times is the misleading attribution of ethnic ascriptions in their inventories, which can happen either if collections are documented upon formation or later on. While provenance research might help to grasp the nuances and stress the cultural diversity and complexity of objects that originated from "the Northwest Coast Culture" or even larger groups within this category (e.g. Nuu-chah-nulth or Nuxalk), issues with temporality and cultural continuity further complicate the matter. On the one hand, employing analogies of contemporary Northwest Coast practices and material culture to explain past phenomena highlights present-day critiques of curatorial practices voiced by Indigenous persons affiliated with the respective museum collections held by Euro-American institutions (Harrison 2013, 8), especially in relation to object classifications imposed by non-Indigenous researchers in the past and present as a form of Othering. On the other hand, the representation of those historical objects as frozen in time, following a tradition of salvage anthropology and the history of presenting Indigenous peoples as anthropological specimens (Ames 1992, 79), subverts the objects' ongoing meaning for First Nations as creator communities and the according importance of repatriation processes (Frank 2000, 164f).

The nineteenth century cultures of collecting (Elsner and Cardinal 1997 [1994]), including the Jacobsen brothers, commonly failed to systematically document the provenances of their procurements and neither pursued inquiries into differences between the Indigenous peoples of Canada nor into local social and material variations. This issue will be taken up within this chapter by a juxtaposition of the ethnic ascriptions employed by Adrian and Fillip Jacobsen (reflected both in Lübeck's inventory books and historical documents) and present-day First Nations territorial claims. In this context, the analysis does not aim at reconstructing the brothers' journey in detail, it rather aspires to provide an overview of the known visited places to better understand the dynamics in the relationship between the late nineteenth century creator communities and Euro-American collectors. Due to a lack of (known) detailed documentation of the 1884/85 collecting trip, detailed provenances will therefore only be considered for specific object case studies in the course of this thesis, whenever feasible.

The examination of contested ethnic attributions provides the basis for the reconstruction of the role of Indigenous communities within the maritime and land-based fur trade as the beginning of diversified post-Contact networks with Euro-American actors, especially along the present-day region of coastal British Columbia. An engagement with the power dynamics at play during the early post-Contact period is hereby necessary to contextualize Indigenous agency within the emerging artefact trade in the following decades. Accordingly, this chapter provides an overview of recently discussed concepts for the study of colonial collections, respectively the contact zone (Pratt 1991; Clifford 1997; Oliver 2010; Boast 2011) and hybridity (Bhabha 1994; Liebmann 2013, 2015; Poulter 2014), in consideration of specific historical contexts, and assesses their potential for the study of the social and material agencies leading to the formation of Lübeck's Jacobsen collection.

The concept of indigeneity applied in the context of the history of the Jacobsen collection is relational (Merlan 2009, 305) for the analytical purpose of distinguishing between its creator communities and other non-Indigenous social agents, such as Euro-American settler colonists or traders, who were all involved in the formation of the collection. When referring to present-day indigeneity or Indigenous peoples, processes accompanying international activist movements and self-determination from the 1970s onwards are acknowledged. In this context, contemporary indigeneity as a "*contingent, interactive and historical product*" (*ibid.,* 319) is, broadly speaking, understood as the connection between groups and places as a matter of self-identification rather than a fulfilment of institutional criteria. It has been criticized that the concept of indigeneity still poses the danger of collectivizing and homogenizing distinct experiences in a (post-)colonial context (Smith 2008 [1999], 7). As a non-Indigenous researcher, my intentions therefore follow current attempts to revise colonial collections in Euro-American institutions and to open up possible approaches for further collaborative studies informed by post-colonial critiques - a project resulting from simple accessibility rather than the aim to follow a tradition of Western scholarship "speaking for" marginalized groups of the past and present.

2.1 First Nations Now and Then: Mapping Creator Communities of the Jacobsen Collection

In July 1884, twenty-year old B. F. Jacobsen, given the task to recruit a Kwakwaka'wakw group and bring together an ethnographic collection for entrepreneur Hagenbeck (Haberland 1988, 6), arrived in Victoria, the capital of British Columbia. His memories of this collecting trip, as published by a Mr. Dew in the Canadian tabloid "The Province", give

insight into the geographical locations he might have visited and obtained objects from (fig. 2), whether from direct trade with local Indigenous communities or via middle persons and curio shops:

"*Thus at the age of 18 [sic] I arrived on the coast of British Columbia in the year 1884. […] At Alert Bay two Indians and a canoe were hired and other preparations made for a visit to an Indian settlement near the head of Knight Inlet. […] Forcing our craft up this stream, which was a mass of rocks and small waterfalls, the party soon arrived at the small village. […] Next day I started buying curios and was able to secure quite a good collection. For the masks it was necessary to go with the men into the nearby woods, where these treasures had been hidden.* […]" (The Province August 1932 in Gerhard 1991, 165f.)

A letter from Fillip Jacobsen published in one of Cliff Kopas'[10] works also mentions stops along the "Indian villages on East Vancouver Island" (Jacobsen after Kopas 2002 [1970], 219) before his first arrival at Stephen Allan Spencer's cannery in Alert Bay on Cormorant Island, where he certainly procured objects for Hagenbeck from local Kwakwaka'wakw communities. Furthermore, this document indicates a stay at "Mam-mellika" (*ibid.,* 220), which coincides with the site of Mamalilikulla on Village Island, located on the route between Alert Bay and the Knight Inlet. At the time, Mamalilikulla was predominantly inhabited by a Kwakwaka'wakw group that is nowadays represented within the Mamalilikulla-Qwe'Qwa'Sot'Em First Nation. The newspaper account continues with the resumption of the journey back to the coast and Alert Bay after having spent a few days in a village at the head of Knight Inlet. During the late nineteenth century, the area of the Knight Inlet was inhabited by the Da'naxda'xw and Awaetlala peoples (present-day Da'naxda'xw First Nation). Accordingly, the village mentioned in the newspaper might refer to Dzawadi/Tsawatti[11] at the Inlet's head. For the return journey to Alert Bay, a different route was taken and Fillip Jacobsen decided to stay overnight in a small house that later turned out to be an "Indian grave house" (Kopas 2002 [1970], 233).

The next station mentioned within the 1932 article is Bella Coola, a settlement around 300km North of Alert Bay and Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) trading post from 1867

[10] Cliff Kopas (1911 – 1978) moved to the Bella Coola Valley in the 1930s where he opened a general store that is still being run nowadays. As an amateur historian, his publications comprise personal reminiscences and records he obtained throughout his life but lack mentionings of accurate sources.

[11] These denominations are unofficial but encountered in several historical records from the time in question.

onwards. The village of Bella Coola and the areas of the Bella Coola Valley and River comprise the traditional territories of the Nuxalk First Nation/Nuxalkmc.

Fillip Jacobsen spent the following winter months in Port Essington (Cole 1995 [1985], 67), at the time a cannery town located at the Skeena River in the Northwest of British Columbia. Port Essington and the area around the Skeena River have been continuously inhabited by groups of the Tsimshian First Nation, such as the Kitselas and Kitsumkalum. According to Kopas (2002 [1970], 234), Fillip Jacobsen, who would occasionally return to the villages along the Bella Coola River, travelled further up the coast to reach the Tongass region in Southwestern Alaska in the following year, yet again visiting several villages on the way. Although the presented sources need to be handled critically - the newspaper article having been published almost 50 years after the journey and Kopas' records lacking verification – we can safely assume that Fillip Jacobsen will have obtained objects from all the described locations.

Figure 2: Overview of Fillip Jacobsen's documented stops along the Northwest Coast in 1884/85. Scale: 1:10 000 000. Made with Natural Earth Data.

1: Victoria, 2: Alert Bay (Cormoront Island), 3: Mamalilikulla (Village Island), 4: Dzawadi/Tsawatti, 5: Bella Coola, 6: Port Essington (from there to Tshimsian and Haida territories), 7: Tongass (Alaska), 8: Tsaxis/Fort Rupert

Adrian Jacobsen, who had been hired by the Aid Committee of Berlin's former Royal Museum for Ethnology to assemble collections from Russia and Siberia in 1884 and 1885, joined his brother's collecting trip in June 1885. After his arrival in Victoria, he travelled

along the West coast of Vancouver Island up to Fort Rupert (Haberland 1989, 184) (fig. 3), the latter being the territory of the Kwakwaka'wakw communities at the time, especially the Kwagu'ɬ[12] group who refers to the village as Tsax̲is, fort of the Hudson's Bay Company since 1849 and home to anthropologist George Hunt. Haberland analyzed the stations of this West Vancouver trip, following an autobiographical account of Adrian Jacobsen from the 1920s (Haberland 1988, 7), where Jacobsen maintains to have been especially interested in obtaining dance masks and cedar blankets for the planned *Völkerschau*.

According to this document, Adrian Jacobsen and three Indigenous companions headed to "Kyuquot" (usually described inconsistently as "Kayoquath" or "Kayokaht" by Jacobsen, see Woldt 1884, 69), which might refer to the historic main village of the Kyuquot on Aktis Island. Since Adrian's previous journey to the Northwest Coast had included artefact procurements in the Kyuquot Sound villages "Chawispa" and "Markaht" (*ibid*., 84), an area nowadays governed by the Kyuquot/Cheklesahht First Nation of the wider Nuu-chah-nulth community, his return in 1885 is likely. Afterwards, their journey is said to have continued to "Koskimo" and the "Quatsino Inlet", an area comprising various islands and inlets around Northwestern Vancouver Island. The geographical denomination "Koskimo" is likely to relate to the present-day Quattishe Reserve No. 1 (or Xwatis in the Kwak'wala language), which used to be the main village of the Kwakwaka'wakw peoples inhabiting Quatsino Sound and Cape Scott, especially the Koskimo, during the late nineteenth century (Goodfellow 2005, 76). Adrian Jacobsen, who again had visited the villages located in Quatsino Sound in October 1881 in the context of his collecting trip for the Berlin Museum, and later on Franz Boas, both refer to the same place as "Koskimo".

Accordingly - and following the assumption that Jacobsen would return to the same places of the 1881 journey in 1885 with the intention to achieve similarly large purchases while relying on the networks of past acquaintances – villages of the "Quatsino Inlet" as described by Jacobsen in his 1920s memoir, can be attributed to either the main (winter) village Ow-i-ye-kumi (also Oyarkum or Owiyakamla, present-day O-ya-kum-la 11 Reserve) of the Quatsino people in 1885 or, more likely, their summer and fall village Te-na-te (also Da'nade', present-day Clienna 14 Reserve), both located on the shores of Forward Inlet[13]

[12] Throughout time Kwagu'ɬ became "Kwakiutl", a misnomer used for all Kwakwaka'wakw groups in much research literature, partly due to anthropologist Franz Boas' work on the Kwagu'ɬ band of the Kwakwaka'wakw in Fort Rupert/Tsaxis.

[13] In his diary containing the descriptions of the 1881-1883 journey to the Northwest Coast, Jacobsens expresses his disillusionment upon encountering the Quatsino main village abandoned. The account presumes with his struggles, having to travel further North to another Quatsino village. Since he was in Forward Inlet in October 1881, it is likely that the Quatsino people he had

(Hodge 1910, 338; www.sfu.ca). Since in 1881, Adrian Jacobsen had crossed Vancouver Island from Fort Rupert on the Eastern coast to the villages of the Quatsino people by foot and then hired a canoe to explore the inlets, Haberland (1988, 7) assumes that this route would have been repeated in 1885 in a reversed manner. The autobiographical account summarized by Haberland concludes with the brothers' meeting in Fort Rupert in late June, whereby Fillip is said to have brought with him a large and abundant collection of objects from Tsimshian and Haida communities. Here, the Jacobsen brothers began their search for Indigenous families willing to travel back to Germany with them in the following month (see Chapter 4).

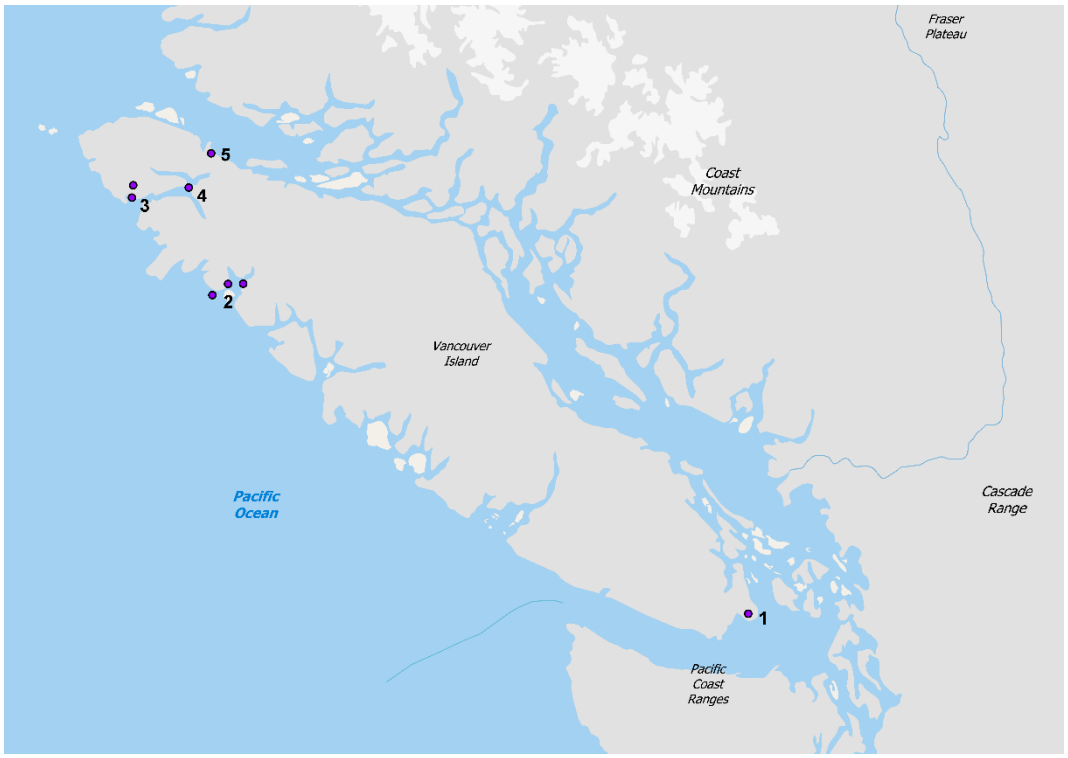

Figure 3: Overview of Adrian Jacobsen's documented stops along Vancouver Island in Summer 1885. Scale 1:3 000 000. Made with Natural Earth Data.

1: Victoria, 2: villages of Kyuquot Sound, 3: villages of Quatsino Sound (North: Te-na-te, South: Ow-i-ye-kumi), 4: Xwatis/"Koskimo", 5: Tsaxis/Fort Rupert

A note in Hamburg's *Jacobsen Nachlass* written by Adrian Jacobsen in February 1936 (JAC 22.7.5) summarizes his collection activities following a letter from 1890: The document stresses that the majority of objects from the 1884/85 journey, "*around 1800 very rare pieces*", was collected in West Vancouver and among the Tsimshian, the latter by Fillip. It

expected in the main village Ow-i-ye-kumi, were at the time in Te-na-te. In my opinion, Jacobsen wrongly assumed the main village to be inhabited during summer and perhaps still in October (calling it a "Sommerdorf"), as he goes on to describe the second village as a winter village ("Winterdorf") (Woldt 1884, 65).

stands to reason that the collection that would be shipped to Germany in July 1885 contained not only objects that were assembled in the various villages on the described route but also via intermediate traders (see Chapter 3.1).

A German newspaper report from 1885 (Zwickauer Tageblatt und Anzeiger, Beilage zu Nr. 262, 12 November 1885 in MARKK - Nachlass JAC 24.2, see Appendix 3) presents a somewhat different route, which I have not catered to, as a I believe that its author confused the stations visited by the Jacobsen brothers individually, respectively by declaring the route travelled by Fillip Jacobsen as Adrian Jacobsen's journey. For the sake of completeness, I will nonetheless compile excerpts from this document that attest to the various stations of the collecting trip[14] presented within this chapter:

"[…] *In July of the previous year [1884, sic!], Mister Adrian Jacobsen, engaged by Carl Hagenbeck, travelled from Bremen first to New York and thenceforth on the Pacific Railway to San Francisco, then he went further to* ***Victoria*** *by steamer […]. After a three-day stay in said place [HBC in Victoria], the journey continued to the small island* ***Alert Bay*** *[sic!] […] and from there to* ***Fort Rupert*** *[…]. Here, as during the trip through the* ***Knight Inlet****, […] Mister Adrian availed himself of the rich opportunity of collecting ethnographic objects from the tribe of the Quakult-Indians. […] With a rich loot he initially returned to* ***Alert Bay*** *and further to* ***Fort Rupert*** *[…] wherefrom further trips could be undertaken conveniently. That way Mister Jacobsen now went from here across Vancouver Island to* ***Koskimo*** *[…]. After this trip to the Longheads returned to the small island* ***Alert Bay*** *[sic!] and therefrom by steamer to the Northern shores of the mainland […]. First, he visited the* ***Bella-Bella****-Indians and then the* ***Bella-Coola****, always navigating the bays that reach far into the country by canoe […]. He was glad, once he had returned from Bella Bella, wherefrom he sent his rich ethnographic treasures, that were acquired with many troubles, […] to Victoria. From Bella Bella he adjourned further North to* ***Port Essington*** *on the Steena River where he stayed for the entire winter from 1884 to 1885 and wherefrom he travelled through the territories of the* ***Tschimsian*** *[Tsimshian] in all directions and also undertook larger trips to the* ***Heidas*** *[Haida]. Again, large collections were created and then he travelled to* ***Rivers Inlet*** *and consecutively to* ***Victoria*** *in spring. One more time Mister Jacobsen visited the Tschimsian in* ***Fort Simpson*** *and then returned to* ***Fort Rupert*** *on Vancouver Island, where he [?] met with his older brother Captain Adrian Jacobsen. [Before meeting his brother Fillip,] Captain Jacobsen hired a number of Indians and*

[14] As I have encountered various faults within this source, I have not embedded the following information into the two presented maps (fig. 2 and 3).

travelled along the ***Eastern Coast of Vancouver Island*** *by canoe, to make new acquisitions in said familiar places,* ***where he had collected for the Royal Ethnographic Museum in Berlin in the years 1881 and 1882****. […]"* (my translation and highlights)

This account provides many details on the brothers' collecting trip but wrongly attributes most of the visited stations to Adrian instead of Fillip Jacobsen. Nonetheless, it is noteworthy that this account bridges some of the gaps entailed within the other historical sources I have discussed so far and confirms that several more places (e.g. Bella Bella) were headed for during the attempt to compile a large Northwest Coast collection for Carl Hagenbeck, regardless if visited by Adrian or Fillip Jacobsen respectively. As the various object case studies presented within this thesis do (presumably) not stem from Eastern coastal regions of Vancouver Island, I have not gathered more information on the stations Adrian Jacobsen had visited in 1881 and 1882 (in Woldt 1884) to prove whether the corresponding excerpt of the 1885 article is correct. Certainly, a future in-depth engagement with this route will allow for an assessment of the provenance contexts of "Kwakiutl" or "Quakjult" (Kwakwaka'wakw) objects within the various collections that resulted from this trip and is therefore a worthwhile task.

The presented material illustrates that the determination of creator communities involved in the production of the objects within the larger Jacobsen collection is limited by a lack of documentation and the brothers' generalizing perspective on the Indigenous peoples of and beyond British Columbia. It should also be stressed at this point that especially the involvement of the Hudson's Bay Company within the area in question might have led entire villages with different Indigenous backgrounds to move closer to the forts in their attempt to participate in trade activities (Jonaitis 1991 [1989], 40). One example of this issue is the trading post in Fort Simpson, that, as a "meeting ground" for various trade groups, had attracted Haida, Southern Tinglit and Tsimshian communities from the 1830s onwards (Blackman 1990, 255). This and other forms of (semi-)permanent flows of Indigenous families leaving their home villages to pursue stable trade relationships and secure their livelihoods, such as annual migrations of communities inhabiting Haida Gwaii to Victoria from 1853 onwards (Jonaitis 1991 [1989], 48), further illustrate that the relation between people and place underwent constant transformations and needs to be conceptualized as dynamic and fluent.

A revision of the ethnic attributions in the inventory books for Lübeck's share of the Jacobsen collection widely coincides with the stations of the illustrated route: "Bella Coola", "West-Vancouver", "Ahts-Indianer", "Quakjult" and the more general "Nordwest-

Amerika" are the most common ones, followed by "Tschimsian", "Haida" and a single entry for "Penelakut". The remaining Umlauff company labels on a part of Lübeck's artefacts suggest that the entries in the inventory book followed pre-given information on their ethnic attributions[15]. It is hereby possible that the Umlauff firm had originally been given a list by the Jacobsen brothers with the corresponding information. Except for a few known misattributions (either detected by visiting researchers, the former museum personnel or myself) that expanded the number of involved creator communities recorded in 1904, the denominations employed in Lübeck's inventory book can be interpreted as follows:

While "Bella Coola" must be understood as a generalizing term for communities within the Nuxalk territory, "West-Vancouver" is likely to encompass various Nuu-chah-nulth groups in opposition to the "Quakjult" (a variation of the misnomer "Kwakiutl") living on Northwestern and Eastern Vancouver Island and the surrounding areas. "Ahts-Indianer" is a term employed by Adrian Jacobsen when referring to the Central Nuu-chah-nulth groups, perhaps the Ohiet in Barkley Sound (Haberland 1989, 186), but might instead simply be a synonym for Nuu-chah-nulth groups that were named "Aht" by the Department of Indian Affairs at the time (Arima and Dewhirst 1990, 410). The object attributed to "Penelakut" is missing but gives insight into the brothers' possible collecting activities among the Coast Salish groups on Kuper Island, located Southeast of Vancouver Island (Haberland 1989, 186).

As shown throughout this overview, several issues arise when mapping out creator communities of poorly documented colonial ethnographic collections. While attributions by non-Indigenous agents for Indigenous peoples are inconsistent, generalizing and often misplaced, self-determined denominations by First Nations throughout the late twentieth century cannot be read back to the late nineteenth century demographics without evoking further discussions on the role of cultural continuity. Nonetheless, I refer to the past creator communities of the Jacobsen collection by employing the denominations ascertained by present-day First Nations. This allows for an acknowledgment of the ongoing meaning of historical material culture for those communities affiliated with Lübeck's collection and serves as an attempt to deconstruct ethnic attributions used

[15] Out of a lack of space within this work, only the ethnic attributions mentioned in Lübeck's inventory book and database for the Jacobsen collection will be examined in order to assert the corresponding provenances of the chosen object case studies. For discussions on the ethnic attribution of the inventory of the 1884/85 collection in Berlin and Cologne see: Haberland 1989 and Gerhard 1991.

during colonial times, whose usage would otherwise reproduce the structures that the post-colonial critique on museum practices and research tries to overcome.

2.2 Trade Encounters in the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Century Contact Zone

For many centuries before European contact, the Indigenous peoples of the Northwest Coast had exchanged raw materials, such as abalone, obsidian or copper, food supplies, especially fish products, and canoes with each other, constituting large trade networks for the circulation of these goods between the coastal and inland regions (Kristensen and Davis 2015, 514). Relationships between Indigenous and non-Indigenous traders along the Northwest Coast are said to have begun after the Russian occupation of the Aleutian Islands and their expansion to Tlingit and Eyak territories, following an expedition led by Vitus Bering in 1741[16] (Suttles 1990, 70). Spanish, French, British and American expeditions soon joined in the systematic explorations of the Northwest Coast of America.

In the context of British Columbia[17], the best-known journey of the time is possibly Captain James Cook's voyage to Nootka Sound on the West coast of present-day Vancouver Island in 1778. Four years earlier, Spanish Ensign Juan Pérez Hernández had already arrived in Tlingit, Haida and Nuu-chah-nulth territories during his exploration of Northern California for the Spanish king in Mexico, marking the first documented European involvement and accompanying collecting activities in the area (Lohse and Sundt 1990, 88). Discovering the role of sea otter pelts as highly valued commodities on Chinese markets, many merchant boats, possibly 450 vessels in the course of the next 50 years (Cole 1995 [1985], 1), engaged in the maritime fur trade along the Northwest Coast. Another testimony to the vast dimensions of the fur trade was the foundation of the Russian-American company's fort in Sitka (Alaska), followed by many struggles between the occupying forces and local Tlingit communities around the turn of the century, amounting to a final battle won by the Russian-American Company in 1804. As Novo-Arkhangel'sk, the fort became the main hub for Russian trade activities until 1867 (Suttles 1990, 70).

The increasing erection of permanent posts and forts by the HBC in the area of present-day British Columbia and its growing monopoly status in the trade by the mid-nineteenth century, marked the continuous shift from maritime to land-based fur trade activities

[16] Accounts of older, possibly captured, shipwrecks exist but do not hold any further relevance for the development of the extensive maritime fur trade networks in the following decades.
[17] British Columbia only became a Canadian province in 1871. When utilizing this denomination in pre-1871 contexts, I refer to the geographical area which the present-day province encompasses for the sake of convenience.

(Mackie 2000 [1997], 292). While Nuu-chah-nulth communities had benefitted from and exerted control over the early maritime fur trade phase, often receiving their pelt stocks from neighboring groups (Moore 1977, 353 in Cole and Darling 1990, 125), this shift in the trade pattern privileged communities that had access to the decreasing population of sea otters and other animals whose pelts were sought-after. Especially Kwakwaka'wakw, Tsimshian and Tlingit peoples were able to profit from the intensifying fur trade, whereas Haida communities began to specialize in potato cultivation and crafting activities to presume their trade relationships, for example at the HBC store in Fort Simpson (Jonaitis 1991 [1989], 42). Due to the geographical position of Nuxalk communities during the land-based fur trade period, they equally assumed a position as middlepersons for the coastal-interior trade flows (Cole and Darling 1990, 125). The goods that could be obtained by Indigenous traders on the other end of the supply chain encompassed "*blankets, rice, flour, and other staples, cloth, and clothing*" (Blackman 1990, 255).

During the maritime fur trade, Indigenous material culture had not been the subject of systematic procurements yet, as most foreign traders, unless tasked otherwise, were mainly interested in sporadically obtaining "curiosities" or souvenirs (for objects collected by American mariners, see Malloy 2000). Encounters documenting these first inquiries after Indigenous material culture are found between communities inhabiting the Haida Gwaii archipelago (formerly Queen Charlotte Islands) and, for example, Captain George Dixon in 1787 and Captain Alejandro Malaspina in the 1790s (Holm 2015, 3). Douglas Cole (1995 [1985], 4) summarizes that within the realm of ritual paraphernalia "*animal masks were readily sold, human masks less readily, and that carved heads not used as masks might even be given away*". Albeit the motivations resulting in these distinctions remain unclear, the reluctance of Indigenous peoples to giving away masks and other ritually significant objects or instruments persists throughout the historical record and even more once the trade in Indigenous artefacts had been well-established (see Chapter 3.1). Historical records of further trade encounters during this period stress Indigenous participation possibilities and bargaining skills: While it is often maintained that "*in their avidity for European metal, the natives seemed willing to part with almost everything, from lances, whistles, and masks to the skins off their backs*" (Cole 1995 [1985], 3), the growing experience of the already adept Indigenous traders during the post-Contact period needs to be examined more carefully. Especially the early period of the maritime fur trade bears examples of exploitive exchange relationships, as evidenced by a deal in 1785, where 560 pelts, that were later on sold in China for the high price of 20.000 dollars, were exchanged for a few metal pieces (Jonaitis 1991 [1989], 20). At the same time, the

Nuu-chah-nulth traders who engaged with James Cook during his stay Nootka Sound reportedly employed tricks to their own benefits, such as attempting to sell "*bladders filled with water instead of oil and later added charcoal to furs to give them a more valuable gloss*" (Cole 1995 [1985], 2). By 1791, when Captain Joseph Ingraham visited Haida Gwaii to obtain pelts for pieces of iron, the local communities, who were well aware of the value of the desired pelts and had by now obtained an abundance of metals from foreign salesmen, were reluctant to engage in exchange with him. After tasking his blacksmith with the transformation of his stock of iron rods into collars similar to the copper necklaces worn during ceremonial activities of the Haida communities, he was able to obtain three pelts per collar until this trend declined shortly afterwards (Gunther 1972, 125). Notably, the representation of Indigenous women in these accounts is scarce and usually connected to astonishment over high-ranking individuals wearing labrets, the offer of enslaved women by Indigenous leaders to Euro-American traders and explorers or their employment as sex workers in emergent metropoles such as Victoria (Jonaitis 1991 [1989], 48). As much as individual Indigenous experiences within colonial encounters cannot be homogenized, these accounts provide glimpses into the dynamics leading up to the extensive trade in Northwest Coast artefacts in the following decades.

These and many other encounters documented in the historical records affiliated with the respective expeditions suggest that relationships between the Indigenous and non-Indigenous agents of the maritime and land-based fur trade networks held ambivalent power dynamics, especially in relation to the emerging artefact trade. On the one hand, European descriptions of Indigenous traders varied between their portrayal "*as both savages and shrewd traders*" (Mullins and Paynter 2000, 73). While it is maintained that the initial European interest in the Northwest Coast of America was restricted to their enrichment by the fur trade and a sole interest in material goods (Cole and Darling 1990, 128), the growing influence of the HBC secured British dominance in the region through intensifying agricultural activities by the 1840s (Jepsen and Norberg 2017, 36). The development of permanent foreign settlements on Indigenous lands around the second half of the nineteenth century initiating processes of dispossession and violence, accompanied by the activities of Christian missionaries, smallpox epidemics and continuous oppressive legislations (see Chapter 3.2), therefore demarcate the beginning of systemic unequal power structures in the interactions between Indigenous and non-Indigenous agents. On the other hand, various Indigenous communities with stable sources of fur and other goods needed by the Euro-Americans were able to secure wealth, as described by traders who witnessed extensive potlach activities, whereas the involved

Indigenous agents were initially not dependent on imported goods and therefore were able to choose the extent of their trading activities.

The concept of the contact zone , "*social spaces where cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in contexts of highly asymmetrical relation of power, such as colonialism, slavery, or their aftermaths*" (Pratt 1991, 34), has been contested in its application to curatorial practices (e.g. Boater 2011) following James Clifford's vision of "museum as context zones" (1997) but maintains its relevance for the discussion of agency within the trade networks along and beyond the Northwest Coast at the turn of the nineteenth century. The hereby often expressed concern with the concealment of colonial wrongdoings is valid, but the strength of conceptualizing the analyzed geo-temporal setting as a contact zone ultimately lies in "*remind[ing] us that social exchanges are interfaces, not one-sided affairs*" (Oliver 2010, 7). By framing the space of the post-Contact fur and artefact trade networks as contact zones, I aim at moving beyond the portrayal of its Indigenous *actors* as passive and instead consider the individual manifestations of strategies of negotiation, resistance and resilience as a part of the processes leading to the formation of Lübeck's Jacobsen collection.

2.3 "Everything is hybrid"? Reflecting on Hybridity as an Analytical Tool for the Study of Colonial Collections

Much research has been conducted on the material outcome of colonial encounters, especially on archaeological approaches to post-1492 artefact productions in the Americas (e.g. Harney and Phillips 2019; Hofman and Keehnen 2019). Contested concepts such as assimilation, creolization, bricolage, transculturation or the more recent engagement with hybridity have provided anthropologists with the analytical tools to theorize about "amalgamated forms of material culture" (Liebmann 2013, 25) among other social phenomena, commonly presented as the result of cross-cultural interaction enabled by colonization processes in a broader sense, throughout the last decades. Especially the concept of hybridity has sparked many debates regarding archaeological engagements with past "double objects" (e.g. Card 2013). As I will argue later on, exploring hybridity within Lübeck's Jacobsen collection opens up a new perspective for the reconstruction of Indigenous agency within the networks encompassing the flow of artefacts from the Northwest Coast to many American and European institutions.

The concept of hybridization can be grasped as "*the combination and modification of elements from two or more different social groups in ways that challenge preexisting power relations*" (Liebmann 2015, 322) and is, under certain circumstances, a tenable

approach to objects within colonial museum collections. The proposed definition is considerate of the criticisms revolving around the problematic identification of hybrid objects – I will return to the role of intentionality within the creation of hybridity as a political project, as suggested by the second half of the definition, later on by presenting case studies from Lübeck's Jacobsen collection (see Chapter 3).

In its application to museum objects, it has been argued that "*by their very collection and location in a museum they demonstrate two-way interactions and understandings created within a colonial or postcolonial context*" (Poulter 2014, 26), resulting in the premise that every museum object is essentially hybrid due to its material embodiment of continuous encounters and negotiations. While this premise restricts the exploration of hybridity in opposition to non-hybridity as a possible albeit problematic typological category, Poulter (2014) brings forward an important stance on moving beyond the scholarly trend to focus on Indigenous uses of amalgamated material culture to equally encompass non-Indigenous interactions with and understandings of what has been traditionally interpreted as "hybrid".

At the same time, the identification of hybridity for objects that have been decontextualized from their past spheres of interaction to become part of collections needs to be conducted cautiously. As Matthew Liebmann (2015, 321) has argued convincingly within his reflection on the effectiveness of hybridity as an analytical tool, categorizing objects as hybrid might reveal more about the respective scholar conducting research on, for example, his case study of a Hopi Mickey Mouse kachina doll, than about the doll's role to the Hopi carvers, who would not have pursued this distinction but rather associated it with legends around *Tusan Homichi*. In this sense, the identification of "archetypal examples of cultural hybridity" (Liebmann 2015, 320) reproduces the modernist dualisms (e.g. traditional/modern, Indigenous/Western, colonized/colonizer) and much of the contested Eurocentric theoretical baggage that the discussion on hybridity within postcolonial studies (e.g. Bhabha 1994) and its influence on anthropological theories meant to overcome. Hybridity is therefore not inherent to an object, it is rather a condition imposed on by individuals or groups interacting with whatever thing they characterize accordingly. For the museum context, one might even go as far as to argue that hybridity is a part of an object's cultural biographies (Gosden and Marshall 1999), one instance within the object's ongoing transformation of meaning through interaction.

Asserting hybridity as a typological category for an object's material traits poses the question after its counterpart, which leads back to Liebmann's definition of hybridization. Critics deconstructing this concept have rightfully expressed concerns with conceptualizing hybridization as the mixing of clearly demarcated "pure" cultural groups, deriving much of their argumentation from the term's negative connotations, such as its appropriation by eugenicists during the nineteenth century (Liebmann 2015, 325). As much as the definition of hybridity pursued in my research shares this critique, renouncing hybridity as a term would obscure its productivity within a continuation of postcolonial theorizing. Liebmann's definition therefore provides a viable solution by conceptualizing hybridization as the meeting and merging of things that are unlike in relation to each other, the exchange of elements produced by culturally different persons, ideas and materials as the ultimate byproduct of colonial contexts (Liebmann 2015, 326). A volume on the archaeology of hybrid material culture (Card 2013) has illustrated with the help of several case studies from various geographical and temporal contexts that the effectiveness of contributing to discussions on hybridity is dependent on many contextual factors and defies generalizing conclusions. Liebmann (2015, 337) asserts that studying hybridity is useful for an engagement with

"[…] *the transfer of power that occurs within the process of mixing, and for that reason, hybridity can be particularly useful for the investigation of colonial encounters. It makes us question what is Indigenous and what is foreign, as well as where the boundaries of those categories lie*."

Accordingly, the reconstruction of Indigenous agency within collection formation processes is centered at a discussion on prevailing power dynamics encompassing both past artefact producing or assembling processes and the networks enabling their transfer to institutions that in the present day hold the authoritative power to store, classify, interpret and display. Identifying this concept of hybridity within a colonial collection deconstructs and questions ideas relating to asymmetric power relationships between the "colonized" and "colonizers" by shifting the focus towards the role of hybrid objects as both a "tool of resistance and an instrument of domination" within a broader temporal scale (Liebmann 2015, 338).

Post-Contact Indigenous material culture from the Northwest Coast of America needs to be considered from a somewhat extended angle than Liebmann's definition of hybridity allows for, as the establishment of Canada as a settler state by colonization processes followed after decades of continuous encounters and consolidated relationships between

Indigenous and non-Indigenous persons within fluid trade contexts and constant renegotiations of power dynamics. In the context of present-day British Columbia, the initial maritime fur trade was carried out on the vessels of the fur buyers and the trade conditions widely structured by coastal Indigenous communities, whereas colonization in a wider sense began to occur with the establishment of permanent posts of Euro-American trade companies asserting their dominance over the respective Indigenous lands, which paved the way for the emergence of settler colonies.

Interpreting the hybridization for objects as the intentional expression of critiques on prevailing power dynamics by the respective Indigenous craftspeople therefore somewhat restricts a study on Indigenous agency, entailing both intentional and unintentional practices within the trade relationships that essentially enabled the production of amalgamated material culture. Another problem pertinent to archaeological interpretations arises with the reconstruction of past values or understandings attributed by the Indigenous craftspeople to the produced artefacts that would help to ascertain their intentional production of hybrid objects. Rather than merely identifying hybridity as the characteristics of certain objects within Lübeck's Jacobsen collection due to their availability introduced by Euro-Americans from the early post-Contact period onwards, I would like to use the concept to theorize about the social dynamics that might have led to the creation of amalgamated material culture and assess the scope of Indigenous agency within these dynamics. Looking at these dynamics helps to further pose questions on the material agencies of supposedly hybrid artefacts and their potential acting on the formation of collections: Did collectors, such as the Jacobsen brothers, specifically choose those objects that they might have interpreted as archetypal material expressions of contact between the "colonized" and "colonizers"? Did they notice these differing material properties, were they surprised by these amalgamations or is the discussion on hybridity simply a projection of present-day scholarly assumptions to the past? Were Indigenous communities more reluctant to give away "hybrid" objects, did they even make these distinctions, was any value attributed to these new materials? Does the observed (lack of) authenticity following the perspective of nineteenth century museum personnel play a role in the distribution of the Jacobsen collection's "hybrid" objects? When reflecting about hybridity in Lübeck's Jacobsen collection I will therefore follow an approach that explores the respective objects' role within "*the exchanges of power that simultaneously center and marginalize*" (Liebmann 2015, 337) the Indigenous actors involved in the collection's formation.

Chapter Three: On the Distributed Agency within Northwest Coast Artefact Trade Networks

Encounters produce objects, objects produce encounters. This mundane observation summarizes the manifestations of social and material agencies within the networks enabling the formation of Lübeck's Jacobsen collection. Conceptually, they are treated as inseparable and co-constitutive types of agency within this thesis. Social agency is hereby associated with human actors (e.g. creator communities and collectors) and material agency with non-human ones (materials collected by the Jacobsen brothers to form the larger Jacobsen collection of 1884/85). Again, this only aids analytical purposes since, depending on the ontological point of view, museum "objects" can be humans, spirits or other-than-humans and therefore have social agency, which might as well apply to certain objects from the Jacobsen collection[18]. Conceptualizing the history of ethnographic collections as networks is especially useful "*because networks allow both the implications and material traces of short-term shifts and long-term patterns to be explored*" (Byrne *et al.* 2011, 15). Accordingly, this chapter introduces the various actors that engaged in trade activities during the Northwest Coast early post-Contact period from a point of view that acknowledges that the agencies contributing to the formation of the Jacobsen collection were distributed, both among Indigenous and non-Indigenous agents, but at the same time deeply informed by the emergence of Canada as colonial settler state that instigated discriminatory policies towards First Nations. An examination of the role of hybridization from the early post-Contact period up to the late nineteenth century, either manifested in the form of objects used by Indigenous communities or within items manufactured for sale to non-Indigenous persons, framed along individual object case studies therefore presents those various groups, with a specific focus on creator communities, that actively shaped the compilation of Lübeck's Jacobsen collection.

3.1 Manifestations of Post-Contact Trade Networks within Lübeck's Jacobsen Collection

Many of the objects within Lübeck's Jacobsen collection show traces of what could be denominated as hybrid in its traditional scholarly understanding as a catchall-term: Iron drilling instruments and harpoons, glass pendants, metal buttons, European textiles and many other forms of amalgamated material culture are featured within the collection (see

[18] Since I am theorizing about historical objects whose provenances cannot be traced back to a specific Indigenous producer or group interacting with it, I will not delve further into ontological discussions at this point (see Jessiman 2017 on the spirit agency of the repatriated Haisla G'psgolox pole).

Appendix 1). If the production of hybrid objects were merely understood as the intentional material expression of critiques on social circumstances, especially when resulting from colonial systems, much information on (perhaps unintentional) Indigenous agency would be obliterated. As I wish to illustrate with the help of several object case studies, a discussion on hybrid objects as the material remains of interactions that took place in the nineteenth century Northwest Coast contact zone, provides a fruitful ground to reconstruct patterns of Indigenous agency and ultimately shed light on a multi-perspectivist formation history of Lübeck's Jacobsen collection. I believe that hybridity hereby provides the necessary theoretical framework to discuss the spectrum of Indigenous negotiation and participation opportunities under changing socio-political circumstances throughout the nineteenth century. Whether by the ingenious incorporation of traded items into objects used in daily life or ceremonial contexts to stress a community's active role in the market with "outsiders" or as a means to trick non-Indigenous "curio" buyers – a diversity of colonial experiences can be approached when considering hybridization as a framework to discuss the material results of colonial encounters, even if the carvers did not intentionally manufacture amalgamated material culture. While the following object case studies illustrate Indigenous agency within manufacturing processes enabled by long- and short-distance trade dynamics and the role of these hybrid objects in community usage contexts, later object discussions will address a transition within Indigenous crafting practices encompassing new production lines for non-Indigenous consumers as a result of external factors, such as the introduction of discriminatory policies by the Canadian government and the increasing Euro-American scholarly interest in Indigenous material culture.

The first example from Lübeck's Jacobsen collection shedding light on the extent of the post-Contact artefact trade networks is a shaman's dress or apron (fig. 4) attributed to "Bella Coola" and made of wool, leather, quill, iron/copper alloy, Chinese coins and plant fibers. The woolen fabric is blue on its exterior side and was covered with a red fabric on its interior side, probably as a means of repairing the heavily used dress, that furthermore indicates many instances of patching and mending. The horizontal leather applications on the exterior side of the dress comprise the remains of fringes with intertwined thimbles (?) and small funnel-shaped metal bells.

Figure 4: Exterior view of “Bella Coola shaman’s dress/apron” (inv.-nr. 4347) ©Völkerkundesammlung der Hansestadt Lübeck

Two Chinese wen were applied to the right bottom of the apron’s exterior side: One of the coins (fig. 5) reads 康熙通寶/kangxi tongbao (currency of Kang Xi) and refers to the second emperor of the Chinese Qing dynasty (1636 – 1912), which narrows down the coin’s minting date to the period of 1662 – 1722 (Lukas Saul pers. comm.; see also Keddie 1990, 9, fig. 8, Mooney *et al.* 2012, 84). The other coin is heavily eroded and covered with a thick layer of fringes rendering the identification more difficult. Nevertheless, the remnants of these mint marks strongly resemble the aforementioned characters.

Albeit being a wide-spread phenomenon for Northwest Coast artefacts produced in the late eighteenth and throughout the nineteenth century, both in Indigenous and non-Indigenous contexts, there is a considerable lack of research on the role of historic Chinese coins (especially regarding the commonly encountered Chinese temple tokens or Qing

Figure 5: Kangxi coin on inv.-nr. 4347 ©Völkerkundesammlung der Hansestadt Lübeck

dynasty coins) for the production, use and circulation of these objects[19]. The spread of Chinese Qing dynasty wen, that regardless of their minting date were circulating in vast amounts as currency in China until after the beginning of the twentieth century (Akin *et al.* 2016, 68) to Indigenous communities of the Northwest Coast, emerged following two major networks: During the maritime fur trade period, both Chinese sailors and European traders who had obtained Chinese wen via trading processes might have witnessed the popularity of these coins among Indigenous communities, that were already utilizing local coppers for manifold purposes, and therefore enabled their circulation networks of the following decades. As witnessed by the recollections of Jacinto Caamaño, who led a Spanish expedition to present-day Alaska and British Columbia in the late eighteenth century, Chinese wen were used by communities inhabiting Haida Gwaii and the Nootka Sound area as early as 1792, testified by a description of the clothing of Nuu-chah-nulth chief Taglas Cania (*ibid*., 74). By the second half of the nineteenth century, the flow of Chinese wen to Northwest Coast communities was intensified by Chinese immigrant workers, who utilized the coins, essentially bearing low monetary but high social value[20], for various non-currency purposes such as gambling, decorations or for their talismanic and even medicinal effects (*ibid*., 75).

The implementation of Chinese coins within the historic material culture of Indigenous groups of the Northwest Coast has especially but not strictly been observed for Tlingit communities. The Smithsonian Institution's Department of Anthropology houses a war vest entirely covered with Qing dynasty coins, a dancing vest with similar features and a mask with Chinese temple coins (Cole and Darling 1990, 123), all attributed to Tlingit peoples. While the first example supposedly served a "*defensive/and or decorative role in Tlingit body armor*" (Mooney *et al.* 2012, 80) - one might hereby assume its relation to Russian-Tlingit battles at the turn of the nineteenth century - the application of historic

[19] Publications have instead focused on the diffusionist models for the distribution of (proto-) historic Chinese coins along the Northwest Coast to argue for prehistoric trade relations between its first settlers and Asiatic peoples (a summary of the debate can be found in Keddie 1990, 2).

[20] During the nineteenth century, one wen is said to have at times corresponded to "*one thousandth of a silver dollar in China*" and one tenth of a cent in American English contexts (Akin *et al.* 2016, 68).

Chinese coins to ceremonial dresses and instruments was associated with wealth and status (Keddie 1990, 22). Two Haida clothing pieces, namely dancing skirts/aprons from Masset on Graham Island, resembling the "Bella Coola shaman's apron" in its arrangement of fringes and Chinese wen, were accessioned by the aforementioned institution in 1883 (www.collections.si.edu, inv.-nr. E89187-0 and E88790-0) and therefore suggest the material evidence for a stable non-currency circulation of (likely historic) Chinese copper coins to Northern British Columbia by the 1880s.

There are known examples of Kangxi coins circulating within British Columbia, as uncovered by archaeological stray finds at Faintail River (Mooney *et al.* 2012, 88), a historic mining site where placer miners are said to have utilized the coins for the gambling game *fan t'an.* Chinese immigrants comprised a third of placer miners working in British Columbia between 1874 and 1877 and had already been active in the region during the gold rushes of the previous two decades (British Columbia Ministry of Mines 1877, 400f. in *ibid.,* 80). Some Kangxi coins, the so-called "poem coins" carrying the protective properties of a charm or amulet, were collectibles and tied together to form a set encompassing a total of 20 coins, whose minting and correct bundling would result in a poem with a specific rhythm pattern and provide its curator with good luck (*ibid.,* 84f.). Most of the region's ceremonial aprons or leggings made in the nineteenth century further indicate a wide-spread use of puffin beaks decorating the leather fringes, which were either replaced with similarly shaped metal bells and thimbles for the production of the Lübeck copy or all attached to the artefact in an initial period, since puffin beaks and metal ornaments were in many instances combined simultaneously.

It is not possible to ascertain the production site of the "Bella Coola" shaman's dress or its individual elements, especially since other similar objects within Lübeck's Jacobsen collection have been subject to revised ethnic attributions. For example, a leather shaman's/dance leggings (inv.-nr. 4451, see Appendix 2) originally attributed to "Bella Coola" is more likely to originate from Tlingit communities following a stylistic analysis of the depicted bear motive (Haberland 1979, 130), while, according to art-historian Bill Holm's examination of the collection, yet another "Bella Coola shaman's apron" (inv.-nr. 4457, see Appendix 2) must have originated in communities of the Northern Northwest Coast instead. Concludingly, objects from Lübeck's Jacobsen collection attributed to "Bella Coola" need to be revised and were perhaps obtained in Bella Coola or from Nuxalk traders but not produced by the corresponding communities, which yet again illustrates

the long and continuous networks of trade through which these objects much have circulated before being acquired by Fillip or Adrian Jacobsen.

Another object containing elements from far-reaching trade networks is a forehead wolf mask[21] with tokens employed as eyes (fig. 6), yet again attributed to the "Bella Coola" in the inventory book of Lübeck's ethnographic collection but revised by Wolfgang Haberland as an artefact produced by Nuu-chah-nulth groups (Haberland 1979, 121). One token reads "[AD]AMS [T]OBACCO CO. MONTREAL", the other one "JO[A]B [T]ORONTO" encasing a somewhat roughly executed depiction of a scale. "Mc Mullen & Adams Tobacco" was founded in 1874 in Montreal following the city's flourishing tobacco industry due to a shortcut resulting from the American Civil War (Fong 2014, 91) and renamed into "Adams Tobacco Company" by 1882 (Young and Tulchinsky 2003, n.a.); contemporary sources refer to this business as "*one of the largest institutions in the country*" (The New York Times 7 February 1886). Historical records have shown that during the second half of the nineteenth century, a tobacconist named Joab Scales was active in the Toronto area (Ontario Exhibitors 1877, 7). I assume, that the minting of the second coin in question might have been commissioned accordingly for trading purposes by the Joab Scales & Company firm. As of now, a comprehensive study of the purpose and circulation of historical (tobacco or cigar) trade or store tokens, especially regarding their use by Indigenous communities for artefact productions, seems to be lacking. The fabrication of cigar store tokens was a common phenomenon of the late nineteenth century throughout North America to bind (adult male) customers to the respective stores and further advertise the company's services (Akin *et al.* 2016, 101). These tokens could also be used to facilitate purchases during periods of shortages in small change and, due to their manufacturing that was oriented on US American 5 cent coins, were kept for gambling with slot machines (Greene 2006, 25). In conclusion, both tobacco trade tokens date to the second half of the nineteenth century and, if attached simultaneously to the mask, became part of the wolf mask post-1882.

[21] Since wolf masks within Northwest Coast communities were and are usually worn on the forehead, they are sometimes also referred to as headdresses or frontlets.

Figure 6: Wolf mask (top) and detail view of "store tokens" (bottom) (inv.-nr. 4364) ©Völkerkundesammlung der Hansestadt Lübeck

Another forehead wolf mask (fig. 7) collected by Adrian Jacobsen in 1885 is currently held by the ethnographic collection of the *Kulturhistorisk Museum* in Oslo (Museum of Cultural History) and resembles the Lübeck copy in relation to its carving style and the use of vibrant red and blue colors. The accompanying catalogue text delivers relevant information that might validate Haberland's correction of the ethnic attribution of the Lübeck example:

> "*6374. Fantastic animal head; partly painted red and blue; […] From British Columbia. <note> From the Ahts Indians, West Vancouver (Kayoquaht). Used by the women in the wolf dances, in which 4 women lie down around a man and jump in time with each other, just like a wolf.*" (www.unimus.no; my translation)

Figure 7: Wolf mask collected by Adrian Jacobsen in the Kyuquot Sound area, Vancouver Island, 1885 (inv.-nr. UEM6374) © Museum of Cultural History, University of Oslo, Norway/Kirsten Helgeland

As observed earlier (see Chapter 2.1), "Kayoquath" probably relates to one of the historic villages of the Kyuquot groups in Kyuquot Sound, nowadays part of the wider Nuu-chah-nulth peoples of Northwest of Vancouver Island. Assuming that Adrian Jacobsen obtained both wolf masks in the Kyuquot Sound region, this would further add to the inventories suggesting that "Bella Coola" is simply a falsely applied ethnic attribution more generally within Lübeck's Jacobsen collection, resulting either from the Umlauff firm's cataloguing or Lübeck's museum personnel (as Oslo was given an ethnic ascription by Jacobsen that seems correct, he would not be accountable), and represents neither the creator community nor the place of acquisition of the Nuu-chah-nulth wolf mask.

I have not been able to locate other objects with coin applications within the wider Jacobsen collection of 1884/85, albeit several reasons, such as the possible loss or lacking documentation thereof and the absence of entirely accessible online databases, might explain this observation. A more difficult endeavor consists in reconstructing the flow of tobacco tokens, or trade tokens more generally, from Montreal and Toronto to Indigenous communities in West Vancouver. Trade with dogfish oil became especially relevant for many Nuu-chah-nulth communities from the 1850s onwards, followed by a shift to sealing and commercial fishing, accompanied by "curio" crafting for non-

Indigenous traders and other interested buyers in the following decades (Arima and Dewhirst 1990, 409).

Various scenarios seem plausible to explain the flow of tobacco tokens to Kyuquot Sound (if assumed that the objects did indeed originate in the area), although it needs to be noticed that the Lübeck wolf mask was probably produced on the eve of Adrian Jacobsen's procurement, which is evidenced both by the minting of the Adams Tobacco coin and the availability of vibrant red and blue color pigments following the increased trade in the late nineteenth century (*ibid.,* 403). This short time span between obtaining the necessary raw materials and producing the mask, lead me to assume that either a) non-Indigenous agents working at permanent local trade posts or engaging in short-term trading activities in the Kyuquot Sound area brought the tokens with them, or b) Indigenous families working seasonally for salmon canneries in British Columbia's coastal mainland or as hop pickers in Puget Sound in Washington (*ibid.,* 409) obtained them from other agents. Either way, the engagement with the encountered tobacco tokens, and ultimately also the Kangxi coins on the dance apron whose creator community cannot be retraced, reveals extensive and complex trade networks that form part of the history of Lübeck's Jacobsen collection.

To better situate the possible implications involved in trading the Lübeck and Oslo wolf masks[22] to outsiders of the creator community, I would like to provide a short insight into the role of wolf masks. As noted by early ethnographers working on the Northwest Coast (e.g. Boas 1895), winter used to be and still is a period of high ritual relevance for many Northwest Coast peoples, among them Nuu-chah-nulth communities and their performance of *tlukwana* (shaman's dance or wolf ritual), a dominant feature of their winter ceremonies. During these times, different types of wolf masks are either worn during the *tlukwana* by the performers in relation to initiation activities or displayed during other ceremonial events, such as weddings or funerals – usually more colorful masks, such as the Lübeck and Oslo example, are attributed to the latter usage (Moogk 1980, 13). Nuu-chah-nulth ritual wolf masks have been categorized according to their appearance and movements within the wolf dance as "crawling", "whirling" and "standing" (Ernst 1952), which has been adopted in many museum databases. The ownership claimed by various Nuu-chah-nulth community lineages on these masks differs

[22] While the presented wolf masks might have been carved for sale, making the subsequent reflection somewhat inapplicable, Lübeck's Jacobsen collection also holds a "whirling" wolf mask (inv.-nr. 4991, see Appendix 2) used in past Nuu-chah-nulth contexts (Haberland 1979), which sustains the relevance of considering possible implications of the trade with wolf masks.

depending on the type of wolf mask and is usually expressed in the object's iconography (Moogk 1980, 11). Their production would traditionally have been executed by male community members who followed strict rules regarding what has been defined as the "the formline principle" by art historians (Holm 1965), depending on the hereditary rights and privileges guiding the production processes and expressed within the finished product.

Despite the ceremonial relevance of wolf masks, scholars have argued that late nineteenth century Northwest Coast artefact collectors would be more successful in obtaining animal masks than those featuring anthropomorphic traces (Cole 1995 [1985], 4). Further factors that might have influenced the readily sale of wolf masks by one or various (non-)Kyuquot traders to Adrian Jacobsen, apart from the simple aspect of their reproducibility, could have resulted from external pressures, such as the work of the Catholic missionary Augustin Brabant in the area from 1874 onwards (Harbord 1996, 30) and the oppressive laws (e.g. the Indian Act) issued by the Canadian government at the time, both part of a system striving towards the erasure of Indigenous ceremonial practices. Nevertheless, an account by Fillip Jacobsen mentions a secret meeting with a member of the Indigenous community in the Knight's Inlet area, whereby a mask was sold or exchanged despite the fact that this interaction could have negative social and cosmological implications for the vendor (see Chapter 2.1). Thus, it needs to be assumed that some objects might have entered the Jacobsen collection under circumstances that the respective creator communities would not have approved of, whereby this acquisition context remains unknown, since there are no documents describing Adrian Jacobsen's collecting strategies in the Kyuquot Sound area. At the same time, the possibility that the Lübeck and Oslo masks were produced for sale cannot be excluded, since the Indigenous crafting of model poles and canoes, masks (commonly by male agents) and basketry (commonly by female agents) - all types of objects present within Lübeck's Jacobsen collection - became a wide-spread occupation among Nuu-chah-nulth communities from the 1860s onwards (Arima and Dewhirst 1990, 409).

Regardless of their production and acquisition contexts, that cannot be reconstructed with absolute certainty, the mere material traits of the presented objects allow for the consideration of Lübeck's Jacobsen collection from a perspective that encourages looking beyond the allegedly unilinear flow of artefacts from an Indigenous creator community to a museum and makes the multiple kinds of agency within this complex network visible. It is tempting to assume that trade materials, both from Indigenous and non-Indigenous

contexts, assembled within the objects of Lübeck's Jacobsen collection were employed by Indigenous communities to display and enact status and power amidst pressures exerted by the emergence of a settler colonialist state. While this assumption has research potential in terms of Indigenous perceptions and intentional creations of hybrid objects, it would need a much more comprehensive study of the provenances of the seemingly traded non-local materials and a localized analysis of the usage contexts of specific trade items. A few further scenarios emerge when looking at the presented artefacts through a "hybridity lense" and accordingly open up the possibility to extract the Indigenous agency at play within their production and circulation networks:

1. The "Bella Coola shaman's dress" might indeed have entailed numerous trade items (Chinese coins, metal bells, etc.) to signify the possibly high-ranking wearer's power, fitting Liebmann's definition of hybridity. More interestingly, a focus on the object's material elements that originated in far-distant contexts evokes various cultural biographies: The Kangxi coins were possibly curated by mobile Chinese agents for many decades before their circulation on the Northwest Coast, whereby initial human-object interactions and value attributions were situated in an entirely different context and continuously transformed; from the dress's production and subsequent heavy use by high-ranking individuals within an unknown creator community, up to its trade (perhaps either Adrian or Fillip Jacobsen or middlepersons valued it yet again for apparent hybrid elements) and the dress's present-day categorization as an ethnographical or museum object – to only mention a few elements of the dress's cultural biography.
2. If the Nuu-chah-nulth wolf mask (inv.-nr. 4364) was carved for sale, the application of tobacco trade tokens might have been the result of an attentive carver who had taken notice of the Euro-American fascination with hybrid artefacts (in their archetypal sense). In this case, the object's hybridization resulted from the actions of a clever manufacturer recognizing trends and instrumentalizing trade items to meet the target audience's demand, while negotiating a position of power in the respective trade transaction. In a different scenario, the wolf mask was used within Nuu-chah-nulth ceremonies: The application of trade tokens might hereby allude at the (perhaps female) mask wearer's status and success in former trade transactions with non-Indigenous outsiders. As an alternative, the respective community was so accustomed to the pre- and post-Contact availability of imported goods that the intentional

hybridization of the mask by employing trade tokens (and non-local pigments for that matter) did not play a role at all. Many other factors might have resulted in the creation of an "archetypical" hybrid object, but in all of the presented thoughts, hybridity ultimately manifests itself as the undeniable active involvement of the respective creator community in far-reaching trade networks, showing the multi-sitedness of a single object.

In conclusion, when working with colonial collections that are poorly documented and lacking provenance contexts, hybridized artefacts as a form of signifiers of post-Contact "cosmopolitanism" help to grasp the dimensions of Indigenous agency contributing to the respective collection's formation. Hybridity should hereby not be framed as the property of the individual material elements obtained by the Indigenous manufacturers through trade relationships, but rather as an opportunity to reconstruct the end product's embeddedness into mechanisms revealing Indigenous agency during specific moments in time that involved power negotiations under shifting socio-political circumstances.

3.2 Indigenous Crafting Between Assimilation Policies and Euro-American Acquisitiveness

Before the Canadian Confederation in 1867, which British Columbia joined as a province four years after its establishment, several policies had already been adopted to assimilate First Nations peoples according to Euro-Canadian constructed views of "civilization" in the growing settler state. These early documents, respectively the *Gradual Civilization Act* and the *Gradual Enfranchisement Act*, culminated in the *Indian Act* of 1876. Accordingly, the Department of Indian Affairs, that had been established by the British in 1755, and its employees were tasked with issues regarding the assessment of First Nation peoples' legal status as "Indians", the introduction of band councils to replace Indigenous societal systems and land ownership issues (Henderson 2018). The *Indian Act* was subject to amendments in the following decades, such as the prohibition of carrying out potlatches and other ritual activities in 1884 or the required attendance of Indian Residential Schools (IRS) in 1894, both bringing tremendous shifts to the lives of First Nation peoples and enforcing their detachment from producing and engaging with their various forms of material and immaterial Indigenous heritage. The oppressive, discriminatory and even genocidal character of this legislation is evident and its relation to the growing interest of non-Indigenous scholars in First Nations peoples' ways of life and material culture by the end of the nineteenth century seems inherently paradox.

In his analysis of the "scramble for Northwest Coast artefacts", Douglas Cole (1995 [1985]) observes that the acquisitiveness of Euro-American collectors was especially growing in

the 1880s as a result and part of the "museums age" or "museum movement". Especially in the context of ethnological museums, many European and American institutions had already been established in the first half of the nineteenth century, while others "*were founded, reorganized or expanded*" (*ibid.,* 49) in the following decades in accordance with the consolidation of anthropology as an academic discipline and its prevalent ideas of salvaging Indigenous practices and material culture. The increasing demand after Northwest Coast artefacts did not lead to scarcity at first, but rather created an initial period in which an abundance of objects were sold, witnessed by many well-equipped Northwest Coast collections in institutions of the present-day, which Cole (1995 [1985], 294f.) traces back to the following factors:

1. In comparison to other Indigenous groups of North America, Northwest Coast communities were especially active in relation to the production of diverse material culture and colonized at a somewhat later moment in time, so that collectors did not face many struggles with the procurement of complete collections.
2. As settler colonialism on the Northwest Coast occurred simultaneously with many systematic collecting trips, the introduction of non-Indigenous materials and the declination of the Indigenous population due to, for example the smallpox epidemics in British Columbia in 1862, lead to a surplus of Indigenous utilitarian and ceremonial artefacts.
3. Despite the government's drastic legislature, some Indigenous communities benefitted from wealth and the availability of European tools during the early post-Contact period. This again facilitated high artefact productivity to meet the growing demands of collectors and even "the growth of new lines of production especially for the trade" (*ibid.,* 295) whereby some parts of material culture became a renewable resource.

After having examined those objects of Lübeck's Jacobsen collection whose materiality is an imminent result of trade networks but also shows signs of creator community usage before their commodification, the following case studies will focus on objects that were crafted for trade with non-Indigenous agents, initiating a crafting phenomenon situated between the early phase of Northwest Coast souvenirs[23] and a material expression of colonial experiences.

[23] The category Northwest Coast "souvenir", that can be equated with the term "curio" employed by nineteenth century writers and Adrian Jacobsen himself, is employed to illustrate the ongoing

3.2.1 Argillite Carvings from Haida Gwaii

Most of the larger Northwest Coast museum collections from the nineteenth century will certainly entail carvings from Haida Gwaii – pipes, human figurines, dishes and many other shapes and sizes – made from a characteristic carbonaceous shale unique to the archipelago with its ubiquitous natural resources: argillite. Archaeological investigations have suggested that before its intensified quarrying and processing in the first half of the nineteenth century, argillite carvings were mainly restricted to the production of labrets (Keddie 1981). The styles, encompassing both Indigenous and non-Indigenous iconographies, and techniques developed to create and commodify argillite objects are said to have emerged in the early post-Contact encounters between European sailors and their practices surrounding scrimshaw and Haida men who soon applied their woodworking skills to create an entirely new type of material culture (Haberland 1979, 244). This phenomenon, particularly dominating the nineteenth century and revitalized within the last few decades, has produced a wide range of art-historical analyses (e.g. Macnair and Hoover 1984) dedicated to typologies, chronologies and the "masters" of argillite carvings themselves. What has hereby caught the attention of many scholars is the contested cultural hybridity of these objects, the co-existence of Indigenous cosmological motifs and European themes, from iconic patterns to daily life scenes, as perceived and materially expressed by the corresponding carvers. More relevant to these discussions on hybridity is however not the stylistic identification of merged Haida and European imagery, but rather the Indigenous agency manifested between withholding or sharing cosmological ideas and mocking or pleasing the non-Indigenous buyers during the production of these early souvenirs. As touched upon earlier, hereditary rights and privileges have guided much of what has been titled as art along the Northwest Coast and also applied to the control over argillite sources around Tllgaduu (Slatechuck) Mountain on Graham Island. While Haida carvers soon recognized foreigners' fascination with Northwest Coast imagery, the depiction of cosmological motifs, such as scenes relating to myths or family histories on early argillite pipes, was not always meant to be shared with outsiders (Wright 1982, 53). However, studies have suggested that the chosen styles employed for said early argillite pipes did not result in an exposure of Indigenous knowledge, but rather represent an expression of artistic freedom in the depiction of

(mass-)production of similar objects *for sale* in the present-day following continuous consumer demands. Rather than situating souvenirs at the lower end of a scale of value-attributions culminating in the production of "fine art", I define nineteenth century Northwest Coast souvenirs as objects that have been almost strictly carved for sale by Indigenous producers for non-Indigenous target groups, usually traders, tourists and other short-term visitors, and that had become a co-phenomenon of the fur trade by 1815 (Malloy 2000, xv).

Haida designs (*ibid.*), whereby the absence of the common rules of iconographic composition created a new form of allegedly "non-sensical" art (Anderson and Duff 1996), also associated with implicit or explicit jests about European ways of life on other argillite carvings.

Lübeck's Jacobsen collection comprises eight objects attributed to Haida creator communities, out of which three are heavily fragmented yet restored argillite carvings: one pipe, one knife and one plate (the two latter objects yet again originally wrongly attributed to "Bella Coola") (table 1; fig. 8). Considering that Adrian Jacobsen described the arrival of his brother Fillip in Fort Rupert in the summer of 1885 with a large collection from the Haida and Tsimshian (see Chapter 2.1), it stands to reason that a large part of the procured objects from Haida Gwaii were distributed to other museums and perhaps already sold during the 1885/86 Bella-Coola-*Völkerschau* (see Chapter 4). Fillip Jacobsen's own accounts do not mention the Haida Gwaii archipelago as a stop within his collecting trip, whereas a letter from Carl Hagenbeck to Adrian Jacobsen written in July 1885 (C. Hagenbeck to A. Jacobsen, 2 July 1885 in MARKK – Nachlass JAC 17.9) mentions Fillip having accomplished large purchases in said area. Accordingly, sites on present-day Haida Gwaii may constitute provenance contexts for Lübeck's argillite artefacts, while it is also possible that Fillip procured artefacts made by Haida creator communities, for example, within the large Haida camp in Port Essington, from seasonal workers at farms or construction sites in Victoria (see Keddie 2019) and/or via middlepersons along the route. While Lübeck's argillite carvings therefore do still not allow for a comprehensive analysis of provenance contexts, the Indigenous agency involved within the production and circulation of these "souvenirs" can be assessed and contribute to the layered historical processes of the collection's formation.

Table 1: Typological classification of the Haida argillite carvings in Lübeck's Jacobsen collection following the Macnair and Hoover chronology (2002 [1984]).

Inv.-nr.	**Description**	**Typological classification, production period**
4436	Bowl of a pipe	"early trade pipe" (after ca. 1850) or "ship panel pipe" (ca. 1841 - at least 1872)
4437	Knife	"Western tableware", ca. 1839 – 1880
4438	Plate	"Western tableware", ca. 1839 – 1880

Historic argillite carvings classified as “Western tableware”, mainly circular plates, such as the Lübeck copy, and oval platters, commonly depict patterns found on nineteenth century English and American glass- and chinaware, while the motifs featured on the dishes of the recent “renaissance” of Haida argillite crafts focus on traditional iconography. Lübeck’s argillite plate was decorated with half-circular sunburst motifs, a characteristic pattern found on many other contemporary argillite plates that was possibly influenced by the Euro-American usage of glass dishes of the Boston and Sandwich Glass Co. from 1840 onwards, as well as late Georgian furniture and tableware (pers. comm. John Veillette 1976 in Macnair and Hoover 2002 [1984], 62). Cutlery, such as the Lübeck knife, or other mugs and wine glasses have also been produced by Haida argillite carvers with few examples left in present-day museum collections. A collection of argillite knives and forks (inv.-nr. E88995-0, see www.collections.nmnh.si.edu) brought together by James G. Swan in 1883 within the National Museum of Natural History (Washington, D.C., USA) contains a knife with a decorated handle similar to the Lübeck example. The depiction of European customs and the reproduction of the colonizer’s material culture itself is a common motif pertaining to Haida argillite carvings, “*point[ing] out clearly that the Haida observed Euro-Americans at the table and sought to record the conventions of formal dining through the replication of a place setting*” (Macnair and Hoover 2002 [1984], 64).

Particularly striking is also Lübeck’s argillite pipe bowl shaped into a labret-wearing woman’s head. The composition of Lübeck’s argillite pipe bowl resembles quite common argillite versions of commercial clay pipe forms with portrait-like female heads traded after the first half of the nineteenth century (*ibid.* 79). An interpretation provided by art-historian Robin K. Wright (1980, 42; Macnair and Hoover (2002 [1984], 78) suggests the association of the Haida portrait-style pipe bowls with campaign pipes used, for example, by American politician Millard Fillmore in the 1850s. Carved elements indicating the object’s association with earlier types of panel pipes were placed along the pipe’s stem, depicting two (European?) dressed human figurines with missing heads, one seated on a chair, the other ducked, in front and behind a rounded chest-shaped structure with open sides, which often represents a cabin or the like on Haida ship panel pipes crafted from the 1840s onwards.

This diachronic synopsis of the seemingly contradictory use of Indigenous or non-Indigenous motifs within Haida argillite crafting allows for the reconstruction of possible production contexts ultimately said to originate from “*a complex mosaic of European*

consumer demand, Haida aesthetic conventions, technological change, and carvers' idiosyncratic stylistic innovations" (Mullins and Paynter 2000, 78). Since the first encounters between Haida lineage heads and non-Indigenous maritime fur traders in the 1770s, Euro-American accounts of the colonial experience have dominated. Nevertheless, argillite carvings provide a material expression of Indigenous agency, of Haida societies capturing, appropriating, commenting on and perhaps resisting the "European way of life" within the renegotiation of asymmetric power dynamics forged by the colonial system. Albeit the original intentionality of producing argillite carvings as the material contestation of colonization is difficult to confirm, some examples, such as the depictions of Europeans as figurines with white ivory faces or long noses (see examples in Macnair and Hoover 1984; also inv.-nr. 980.G.141A and 89.36.1 at Autry Museum of the American West, see www.collections.theautry.org), must have been understood and perhaps even intentionally meant as a form of mocking. At the same time, argillite pipes can hardly be used to smoke (Sheehan and Marsh 1981) and the intentionally diffuse composition of Haida iconography on these trade carvings could not have been "read" by the intended buying audience – these objects seem to excel in reverse colonial mimicry (Bhabha 1994; Balme 2007) by meeting and reformulating Euro-American demands, from either fascinating or disinteresting early traders, to pleasing collectors' desires and still constituting popular tourist souvenirs in the present day (Roth 2015).

In this sense, the argillite carvings present within Lübeck's Jacobsen collection provide the necessary production contexts for a discussion on hybridity, whether intentionally expressed or subconsciously reproduced by the repeated carving of specific scenes and themes. The mere act of carving objects for sale, paired with a control over the material resources and feeding into Euro-American acquisitiveness by creating imagery blurring the lines of indigeneity and non-indigeneity and by presiding over the meanings embedded in their stylistic choices, momentarily challenged the long-term shift in power relations brought during post-Contact times and enabled Haida communities to ascertain their role within the Northwest Coast artefact market.

Figure 8: Haida argillite carvings in Lübeck's Jacobsen collection (top row: inv.-nr. 4436, middle row: inv.-nr. 4437, bottom row: inv.-nr. 4438) ©Völkerkundesammlung der Hansestadt Lübeck

3.2.2 Basketry from West-Vancouver

Another category of objects within the Jacobsen collection predominantly produced for sale from the 1860s onwards is basketry from West-Vancouver, collected in vast amounts by Adrian Jacobsen in 1885 along various Nuu-chah-nulth creator communities (attributed to either "Ahts-Indianer" or "West-Vancouver" in Lübeck's object database,

see Chapter 2.1). The high amounts of obtained basketry items are witnessed by the current resting places of the original 1884/85 Jacobsen collection, such as the inventory in Cologne's Rautenstrauch-Joest-Museum (see Gerhard 1991). Around 20 items within Lübeck's collection, comprising colorfully weaved containers and hampers in various shapes and sizes, oval and round plates (comparable to place mats), hoses for glass bottles and bags (fig. 9), allow for an examination of a different angle to Indigenous agency within the collection's formation history, respectively the role of female agents within the historical production and trade networks encompassing (souvenir) basketry[24]. Research literature on the past and present lives of First Nations women, who would also have been the main agents regarding basketry manufacturing and trading in the majority of Nuu-chah-nulth communities, is particularly scarce (Moore 2013, 6f.), with few exceptions that have only entered the academic discourse in recent decades (e.g. Miller and Chuchryk 1996; Monture and McGuire 2009).The possible basketry manufacturing and distributing networks of the second half of the nineteenth century need to be reconstructed with the help of both historical accounts, usually produced before the emergence of "souvenir" basketry, and more recent ethnographic accounts expressing women's voices, whereby I will focus on examples from Nuu-chah-nulth contexts to approach this research gap in a somewhat cohesive manner.

From an archaeological perspective, communities throughout and beyond the Northwest Coast have been engaging in basketry production for thousands of years, witnessed by well-preserved finds from wet sites (e.g. Croes 1989). Historically, the functions of basketry are manifold, as illustrated by Otis Mason's double-volume *American Indian Basketry* listing about 118 alphabetically ordered functional contexts for woven objects encountered throughout the Americas (Mason 1988 [1904], 252- 254). On the one hand, the import and wide availability of Euro-American commodities throughout the nineteenth century made the main utilitarian purpose of woven containers for storing, transporting or cooking gradually irrelevant for many Northwest Coast communities (Turnbaugh and Turnbaugh 1986). On the other hand, especially those communities situated on coastal British Columbia soon noticed a growing interest in Indigenous artefacts among the increasing numbers of Euro-American visitors, from tourists travelling by steamships to avid collectors, and correspondingly met these demands by manufacturing objects for sale (Arima and Dewhirst 1990, 409). The continuous sale of

[24] In present-day Nuu-chah-nulth contexts, basket crafting is conducted by both women and men (see Green 2016).

souvenirs was further sustained by the increase in tourist traffic by steamships between Alaska and coastal British Columbia from the 1880s onwards. A few decades later, a touristic advertisement declared to its readers that "*the Indians of this district [Friendly Cove, Nootka Sound] are still noted for their skill in basket weaving and offer their wares for sale to tourists at various wharfs along the way*" (Canadian Pacific Railway/British Columbia Coast Steamship Service 1939, n.a.); further illustrated by a resident of the Tofino area in the surroundings of Clayoquot Sound who remembers "*how Indian women would take up stations on the wharf and sell woven basketwork, carvings and other artifacts*" (Horsfield and Kennedy 2014, n.a.).

As conveyed by early twentieth century ethnographic researchers (e.g. Newcombe 1902 in Laforet 1990, 281f), the historical basketry production processes were structured around the growth and harvest cycles of the used plant materials, namely cedar bark and a range of spruce roots and grasses. This often entailed groups of women travelling for several days or weeks to harvest high-quality plant materials for manufacturing and other purposes (Turner 2003, 135). The harvested fibrous materials utilized for basketry, clothing, fishnets or mats would then be peeled, split, dyed, dried and soaked before further processing. For example, cedar bark had to undergo a lengthy treatment of splitting, removal of the outer bark, bundling, dyeing and spinning to allow for its transformation into a woven product (*ibid.,* 136). The processed plant fibers would then be weaved into basketry by plaiting, twining, or numerous other techniques following regional and personal variations, which would be enhanced with other individual decorative techniques, especially during the late nineteenth century when weavers began to incorporate new decorative patterns, shapes and dyes (Laforet 1990, 286).

An ethnographic study conducted among elders of a Ditidaht community in the Southwest of Vancouver Island in the 1980s suggests that the production of basketry did not only involve elaborate harvesting networks, but also deeply depended on the nuclear family and included large exchange networks enabling the circulation of raw materials, dyes, designs and ready-made basketry among individuals. The knowledge systems constituting all the processes involved in basketry manufacturing were passed on among female relatives, while learning itself was often practiced by watching one another and autodidact learning. Similarly to argillite carvings produced for sale, Nuu-chah-nulth souvenir basketry manufactured in the 1980s depicted embroideries from "traditional" Indigenous contexts, such as whaling scenes that have been well-studies in the context of whaler's hats, and contemporary illustrations of ferries (King 2000, 265). In the case of

Lübeck's basketry, the employed patterns are mainly geometrical adornments, such as triangles or crosses, arranged in stripes or circles on the various items.

Alongside the omnipresence and shifting wide range of use contexts of Northwest Coast basketry, the variation in techniques and styles within a single basketry item's *chaîne opératoire* makes it somewhat difficult to allocate the exact Nuu-chah-nulth-aht involved in the production of the Lübeck examples. Furthermore, there are known cases of late nineteenth and early twentieth century collectors procuring basketry outside the region of the corresponding creator communities (Laforet 1990, 285), since these groups evidently traded basketry among each other too, rendering the whole reconstruction of provenance contexts even more complicated. A cross-comparison of the Lübeck inventory with basketry collected by Fillip Jacobsen in the Clayoquot Sound region for the American Museum of Natural History in the late 1890s (Cole 1995 [1985], 151) leads me to suggest that, in terms of the employed geometrical patterns and dyes observable in both museum collections, some items within Lübeck's basketry assemblage are indeed attributable to a Nuu-chah-nulth and perhaps even a Tla-o-qui-aht (formerly Clayoquot) context.

It has commonly been argued that despite the past sexual division of labor among Indigenous communities of the Northwest Coast, each activity was valued equally and acknowledged for its contribution to securing a family's livelihood and well-being (Turner 2003, 134). Considering the Indigenous agency of women within an "ethnographic" or colonial collection's formation history fosters the visibility of those past lives that have been marginalized through colonization processes and continue to be underrepresented in a research field historically dominated by the perspectives of white men. Approaching the history of Lübeck's Jacobsen collection as a network constituted by equally vital actors and actions, therefore helps to frame the observed Indigenous women's agencies at the center of the mechanisms that have formed the present-day Jacobsen inventory and acknowledge their active participation in the artefact trade.

Figure 9: Selection of basketry collected by Adrian Jacobsen in 1884 (first row: inv.-nr. 4462 a + b, 4468 a I+II; second row: inv-nr. 4469b, 4469c I+II, 4469d; third row: inv.-nr. 4498a, 4498b) ©Völkerkundesammlung der Hansestadt Lübeck

Concluding Remarks

Revealing the traces of Indigenous agency within the Jacobsen collection is a complex endeavor obstructed by many factors, such as the absence or inaccuracy of artefact contexts and biased, one-sided perspectives of historical records produced by European coevals that are often the main sources of provenance research within colonial collections more generally (see Davies 2011, 84). In the light of current research attempts to understand the agents and actions at play within collection formation histories, this task should nevertheless be pursued to rebalance past power dynamics and make visible the shared histories co-producing artefact trade networks. Hereby, it is vital to exhaust all available sources to acknowledge the active and participative role of Indigenous contributors beyond their roles as producers or traders - that often merely translates into a short note in the museum database - while enabling the possible present-day involvement of creator community descendants that I hope to begin with this study.

I have demonstrated that Indigenous agency can indeed be approached with the help of object-by-object case studies, framing materiality and hybridity as conceptual frameworks to overcome a lack of Indigenous perspectives within an abundance of accounts of Euro-American collectors active in the nineteenth century Northwest Coast contact zone. Evidently, further obstacles have arisen with the unfolding of this approach: Due to incomplete provenance contexts, Indigenous agents remain in a generalized and anonymous void, whereby I have attempted to rectify and stress the contestation of ethnic attributions that might facilitate in-depth studies of individual actors in the future. Distinguishing between producers, traders and even collectors is equally precarious, as many of the objects or parts of objects, which I have exemplary discussed with the help of a contextualization of Kangxi *wen* and tobacco trade tokens in Northwest Coast artefacts, have certainly circulated through vast networks before being collected by Fillip or Adrian Jacobsen, rendering the formation history of the Lübeck collection even more extensive. The study of objects that were specifically produced for sale and have been conceptually reduced to “tourist art” in many research contexts, opens up even more room for discussions. Revisiting these allegedly “inauthentic” objects helps to reconstruct Indigenous renegotiations of power in the form of control over the Northwest Coast artefact trade during its heyday. This form of Indigenous agency can be retraced both with the help of argillite carvings manifesting the material expression of individual colonial experiences and in the form of basketry as evidence for Indigenous women’s role. Albeit marginalized both by the colonial system and in the research canon, these women

constitute one of the main contributors to the formation history of Lübeck's Jacobsen collection.

The artefacts presented in this chapter were certainly produced along the Northwest Coast, whereby an assessment of their material properties evoke past networks spanning both short- and long-distance trade, while accommodating a multiplicity of Indigenous and non-Indigenous actors. While I hope to have illustrated the manifold ways in which these actors and interactions shaped Lübeck's collection as an assemblage, a future study considering the entirety of the 1884/85 Jacobsen collection, perhaps diving deeper into localized oral histories, historical records and the like, could help to demarcate specific chains of provenances and pinpoint individual Indigenous contributions to the creation of the Jacobsen collection. With the help of the next chapters, I attempt to move from theorizing about the distributed agencies in the Northwest Coast artefact market more generally to individual actors shaping the collection, starting with the production of those objects within Lübeck's Jacobsen collection that emerged as a result of the Jacobsen brothers' primary task at the Northwest Coast: the recruitment of nine Nuxalkmc for Carl Hagenbeck's ethnic travelling shows, ultimately touring what is now Germany as the "Bella Coola" group in 1885/86. Another essential component of the historical processes leading to the Lübeck collection is the instrumentalization of the collected Northwest Coast objects as a complimentary ethnographic exhibition accompanying the "Bella Coola" shows, in whose study I will return to the Jacobsen brothers' agencies as both collectors and traders.

Chapter Four: The Bella-Coola-*Völkerschau* (1885/86) and the post-1886 Division of the Jacobsen Collection

In 1877, Adrian Jacobsen, who was originally born in the Norwegian Tromsø region and joined his older brother living in Hamburg at the age of 21, became acquainted with Carl Hagenbeck, who hired him to recruit an Inuit family from Greenland and assemble a corresponding ethnographic collection in the same year (Thode-Arora 1989, 49). This arrangement marked the beginning of a series of contract works for both Carl Hagenbeck's ethnic or people shows (*Völkerschauen*) and the former Royal Museum of Ethnology in Berlin, whose director at the time, Adolf Bastian, had founded the *Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte* (Berlin Society for Anthropology, Ethnology, and Prehistory) in 1869. This association was tightly interwoven with the emergence of ethnology (in its early stages of armchair, salvage and physical anthropology) as an academic discipline, publishing studies on the various *Völkerschau* actors and financing much of the research and collecting trips for the museum founded in 1873 (Rothfels 2002). Upon Jacobsen's return from his first trip to British Columbia for the Berlin museum in 1883, Carl Hagenbeck, fascinated with his tales of Kwakwaka'wakw peoples of the Quatsino Sound area, commissioned him to "*hire a group of Kwakiutl, especially some with head deformations, and, at the same time, to collect artifacts*" (Haberland 1989, 184) for a new tour. As Adrian Jacobsen had already agreed to travel to Russia and the Siberia region for the Aid Committee of Berlin's former Royal Museum for Ethnology (see Chapter 2.1), Fillip Jacobsen was given the task instead. Several letters in Hamburg's Jacobsen archive describe both Fillip's success in assembling a collection and his struggles with the recruitment of "[…] *8-10 people, good dancers, who can dance with the masks to be able to eventually accept engagements*" (C. Hagenbeck to A. Jacobsen, 2 April 1885 in JAC 17.9; my translation).

Following these struggles, Adrian terminated his work for the Aid Committee and joined his brother in British Columbia, where they were able to hire a group of nine men, possibly hop pickers on their journey from or to Puget Sound or visiting a celebration in Victoria, from the village of Bella Coola, located in present-day Nuxalk First Nation territory, signing a contract with them in Victoria on July 25, 1885[25]. The contract overseen by Israel Powell, Superintendent of Indian Affairs at the time, lists the men's names as Ya Coutlas (also Tom

[25] Many different and contradicting accounts exist of the brothers' various attempts to hire a (Kwakwaka'wakw) group willing to go on a journey to Germany (see Haberland 1988, 7f.).

Henry), Ick-lehoneh, Kah-Che-lis, Ham-chick, Huck-mulshe, Isk-Ka-lusta (also Alec Davis), Que-noh, Elk-qut and Pooh-Pooh (also Billy Jones), and discloses various working conditions, together with the requirement of a deposit of 1.000 dollars that would be kept until the group's safe return to Canada. Accordingly, each man should be given a salary of 20 dollars per month, board and lodging and medicinal services (Haberland 1988, 56, Appendix 1). The Jacobsen brothers and the group arrived in Bremen (Germany) on August 15 (*ibid.* 10) and consecutively travelled the country for almost a year.

The phenomenon of the *Völkerschau* has been defined as a common entertainment business throughout Europe and North America during the nineteenth and early twentieth century, essentially entailing the staged exhibition of people from "alien" or "exotic", generally non-European, cultures (Thode-Arora 1989, 11). Usually the performing groups would be hired for several months either touring European parks, zoos, cabinets of curiosities, theatres, inns and other venues, or enacting scenes from their "traditional" ways of lives in a permanent outdoor setting, and later would return to their home countries upon the termination of their engagement (*ibid.* 11f). The history of these exhibitions can be traced back to several post-1492 colonial expeditions, whereby "the colonized" would mostly, but not exclusively (see Françozo 2015, 116ff), be presented to European royalty and other sovereigns. By the nineteenth century, these exhibitions of commonly Indigenous peoples had gained popularity as an affordable public enterprise (Thode-Arora 1989, 19), further promoted by Carl Hagenbeck and many other concurring European impresarios (e.g. the brothers Marquardt, Eduard Gehring or Willy Möller).

As an often-overlooked chapter of colonial history, critical examinations of the contested *Völkerschau* phenomenon have only entered the academic debate from the late 1980s onwards. While some scholars stress the entanglement of these exhibitions with colonial projects (e.g. Dreesbach 2005; Blanchard et *al.* 2012), commonly referring to "human zoos" as the systematic attempt to reproduce and institutionalize racist narratives to ascertain and justify colonization, others argue for the shows' societal value as the only form of "culture contact" available to the masses (e.g. Thode-Arora 1989), often depending on the impresario's intentions and networks. Undoubtedly, this topic is ethically disputable, on the one hand resulting in deaths, poor living and exploitative working conditions and general distress among the performers, on the other hand, bringing prestige to the actors in their communities back home (see Thode-Arora and Hempenstall 2014). Ultimately, individual experiences and agencies of the performing

groups are difficult to reconstruct, since, despite few exceptions (e.g. Lutz *et al.* 2007), there are no accounts portraying their perspectives.

In this context, the Bella-Coola-*Völkerschau* becomes a relevant historical event, as both its conception and execution produced the objects and composition of Lübeck's Jacobsen collection, allowing for a rapprochement to underrepresented Indigenous agencies within this phenomenon and the reconstruction of accounts relating to the Bella Coola group. Therefore, this chapter entails a twofold aim: One the one hand, I will present the historical reception of the Bella-Coola-*Völkerschau* in an attempt to retrace the performers' biographies during their stay abroad. At the same time, I will cater to the role of the Jacobsen collection, that was extended with the on-site productions of the performers in the later course of the tour, as an ethnographic side-show, meant to both provide extra cash for the impresarios and performers and to educate the audience about "*the* Northwest Coast Indians". On the other hand, I will present an overview of the dispersion of the original Jacobsen collection, albeit not entirely reconstructable, and situate the composition of Lübeck's Jacobsen collection therewithin. When studying the entangled agents of Lübeck's Jacobsen collection, the bigger context, that enabled the journey of the Jacobsen brothers and shaped the collection's biography, once it had reached its designated destination in the former German Empire, needs to be considered. This ultimately serves to situate the accompanying collecting motivations and strategies, as well as further agencies of individual actors within this extended network.

4.1 Historical Perspectives on the Bella-Coola-Völkerschau

Shortly after their arrival in Bremen, the "Bella Coola" group travelled together with the Jacobsen brothers to a total of 24 (known) locations in the former German Empire (and perhaps Vienna, see table 2; fig. 10). Apart from these public performances, the men were also hired for academic research. Their performance in the Institute for Geography in Halle, for example, resulted in various publications on the "Bella Coola" music and language (Blanchard *et al.* 2012, 220). Several local newspapers, some compiled by Adrian Jacobsen (MARKK – Nachlass JAC 24.1.; JAC 24.2), advertised their residence and as such they provide the primary sources to retrace the changing program elements, individual visitor impressions and the contemporary reception of these shows. For the relatively low sum of 50 pennies, visitors could partake in the performances that would take place almost every day for around 12 hours. A leaflet distributed among the *Völkerschau* audience (Von Schirp 1885) introduces the individual performance elements that represented a fixed content of the shows, consisting in five dances, accompanied by music, a shooting practice, the presentation of two games and a potlatch ceremony.

Contemporary staged photographs (fig. 11) and newspaper illustrations suggest that the *Völkerschau* participants took on various roles, whereby Ya-Coutlas, also known as Chief Tom Henry, was presented as the group's leading figure, Ham-Chick as a "shaman" and Pooh-Pooh as a "Hamatsa dancer". It is likely that, despite their little leisure time, the "Bella Coola" group enjoyed a certain freedom to change and add program elements according to their own preferences. For example, an article in the *Leipziger Nachrichten* (29 September 1885 in MARKK-Nachlass JAC 24.2.) mentions a spontaneously enacted "magician's [or shaman's] cremation", while another newspaper relating to the same residence of the "Bella Coola" group in Leipzig describes the erection of a house in the Northwest Coast style (Haberland 1988, 21f.). It is further conveyed that the nine men soon started producing carvings that would be sold on-site and in the context of remittance works that Carl Hagenbeck sold to private buyers (e.g. museums and scholars), which on the one hand added to the diversity of the show program and on the other hand provided the group with an additional source of income (Haberland 1988, 48ff), so that "*the fellows get more desire to work*" (C. Hagenbeck to A. Jacobsen 10 September 1885 in MARKK-Nachlass JAC 17.9).

Little is known about the personal lives of the nine Nuxalk men before, during and after the *Völkerschau*. Isk-Ka-lusta supposedly had a romantic relationship with a German woman, suggested by a photograph taken of the couple in Carl Günter's photo studio in Berlin and circulating as a story among the villagers of Bella Coola (Kopas 2002 [1970], 236). Further photographs taken in the aforementioned studio show all the actors in the European fashion of the time; the men's fondness for these garments, alongside beer and other German produce, is further supported by several preserved bills in Hamburg's Jacobsen archive (MARKK-Nachlass JAC 2.3.1). A journalist who reported on an evening spent with the group (Cronau 1885 in Haberland 1888, 50ff.) describes similarly how "*Jacobsen made these people acquainted with our civilized customs*" and their progress in learning the German language. Despite of these accounts that seem to reflect the group's initial content with their journey, letters written by Adrian Jacob to his wife Hedwig illustrate how the repetitive exposure to the public exhausted the men and resulted in homesickness until their return to Canada in July 1886 (Haberland 1988, 53f.).

Table 2: Revised known locations of the Bella-Coola-*Völkerschau* (after Haberland 1988:15, table 1; supplemented by Gerhard 1991: 127, table 4)

	Location, Name of Venue	**Approx. Duration of Residence**
1	Leipzig, Zoologischer Garten	11.09.85 – 14.10.85
2	Dresden, Zoologischer Garten	15.10.85 – 02.11.85
3	Chemnitz, Mosella-Saal	03.11.85 – 10.11.85
4	Zwickau, Zum Goldenen Becher	10.11.85 – 16.11.85
5	Halle, Salon zum Rosenthal	17.11.85 – 25.11.85
6	Lutherstadt Eisleben, Mansfelder Hof	27.11.85 – 29.11.85
7	Sangershausen, Schweizerhütte	30.11.85 – 02.12.85
8	Nordhausen, Hotel „Zum Schiff“	03.12.85 – 06.12.85
9	Bad Langensalza, Schützenhaus	09.12.85 – 11.12.85
10	Mühlhausen, Weymars Festhalle	12.12.85 – 16.12.85
11	Gotha, Thüringer Hof	?
12	Erfurt, Kaisersäle	25.12.85 – 02.01.86
13	Weimar, Stadthaus am Markt	03.01.86 – 06.01.86
14	Apolda, Hotel zur Weintraube	07.01.86 – 10.01.86
15	Naumburg, Reichskrone (Stadttheater)	12.01.86 – 17.01.86
16	Berlin, Kroll’sches Etablissement	20.01.86 – 07.02.86
17	Breslau, Zoologischer Garten	11.02.86 – 27.02.86
18	Berlin, Castan’s Panoptikum	01.03.86 – 01.05.86
19	Vienna, Präuschers Panoptikum (?)[26]	01.05.86 - ?
20	Hamburg, Hagenbeck’s Thierpark	08.05.86 – 16.05.86
21	Cologne, Castan’s Panoptikum	18.05.86 – 20.06.86
22	Aachen, Restaurant Bavaria	21.06.86 – 01.07.86
23	Elberfeld, Sommertheater Johannisberg	02.07.86 – 12.07.86
24	Krefeld, Thiergarten	13.07.86 – 19.07.86

[26] I would like to carefully suggest that the group performed in Vienna from May 1, 1886 onwards for an unknown duration, as suggested by a single document I have encountered, namely a contract with a certain Mr. Präuscher, who owned a cabinet of curiosities at the Viennese Prater (MARKK – Nachlass JAC 14.8, see Appendix 4).

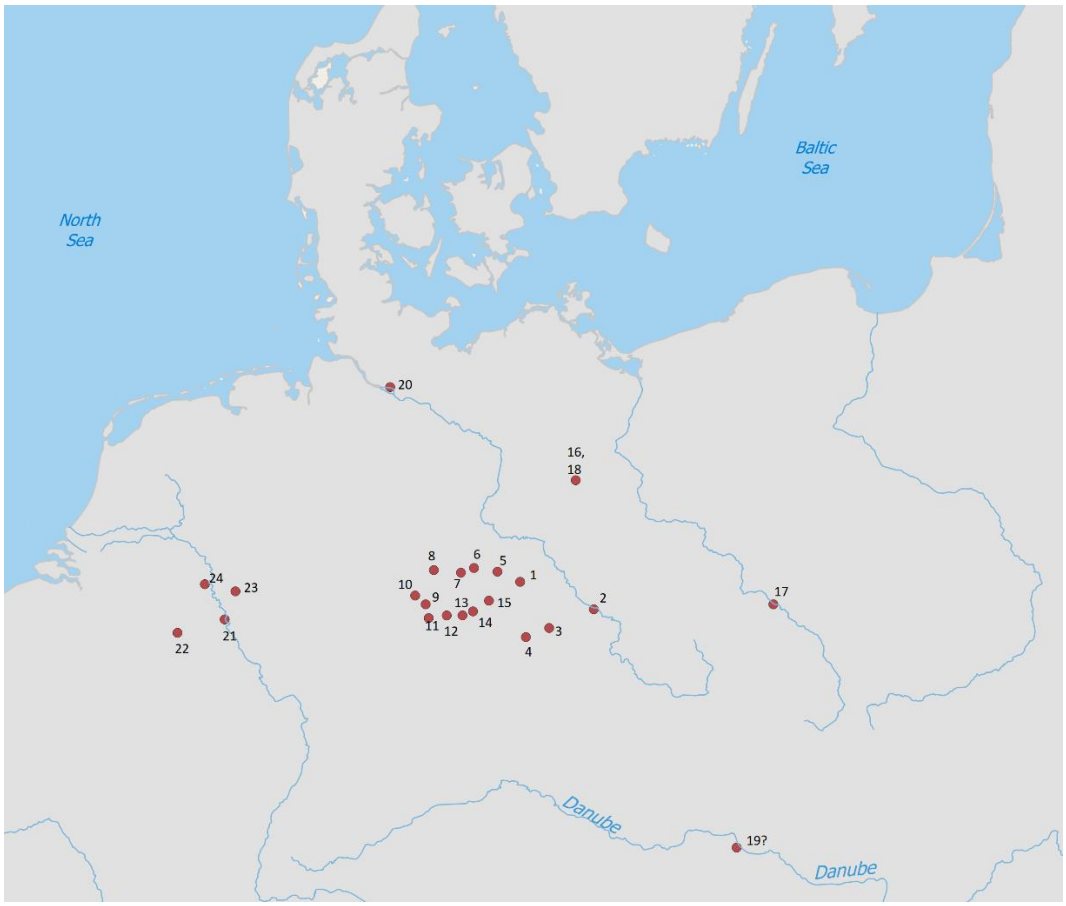

Figure 10: The (known) route of the Bella-Coola-*Völkerschau* 1885/1886. Scale: 1:10 000 000. Made with Natural Earth Data. The depicted numbers represent the cities in Table 2.

The Nuxalk men, who performed their dances and daily life scenes dressed in an attire assembled from various Northwest Coast peoples, soon sparked discussions over their authenticity or rather the alleged lack thereof. In academic circles, the Bella Coola show was a success and an impetus for many scholars, such as Franz Boas, to take up the systematic anthropological study of Northwest Coast groups (Rothfels 2002, 110). However, the show resulted in financial losses for Hagenbeck and the Jacobsen brothers. The stereotypical portrayal of the Indigenous population of North America at the time, reproduced in late nineteenth century popular culture, for example Karl May's adventure novels, and fostered by other contemporary ethnic shows, such as Frank Harvey's touring "Sitting Bull Sioux-Indians" in Berlin (1886), certainly contributed to the "Bella Coola" group's relative unpopularity among their visitors, since the group's appearance did not correspond to society's homogenized ideas and expectations of "the American Indian" (Blanchard *et al.* 2012, 221f.).

Figure 11: The "Bella Coola" group enacting a dance scene in Carl Günther's Berlin photo studio; original title on *verso*: *Bella-Coola einen Gesellschaftstanz aufführend (*engl. Bella Coola performing ballroom dancing), inv.-nr. 13.126, © MARKK

4.2 Artefacts on Tour: The Travelling Northwest Coast Ethnographic Side-Show

An essential component of the Bella-Coola-Völkerschau was an ethnographic exhibition entailing around 200-300 of the objects brought together by the Jacobsen brothers in 1884/85 (Haberland 1988, 54). As a firm element of the tour, this collection was mentioned in the show's accompanying leaflet and several contemporary newspaper reviews. For example, anthropologist Franz Boas, whose specific encounter with the "Bella Coola" group marked the beginning of his research interest in Northwest Coast anthropology, comments that

"[…] Through the performances of the Indians, the rich exhibition of tools tremendously gains in interest. There you can contemplate all the objects that had been used before: the strange masks, the dance rattles, representing birds and human heads, the carved dance hats, the neck and head rings made of real cedar bast, the 'medicine men's' medical instruments, e.t.c.

Some of the carved house posts, which these tribes use to erect and that represent the family tree, are marvelously beautiful; no less strange are the beautifully cut stone tools, axes, hammers, bowls, and the like […]" (Berliner Tageblatt 25 January 1886; my translation)

While I have not been able to make out whether parts of this ethnographic side-show were meant for sale to visitors, the many carvings produced by the nine men certainly were offered to the *Völkerschau* audience and made their way into the Jacobsen collection after the termination of this tour. It is likely that the size of the Jacobsen collection varied between 1500 and 2000 pieces during the beginning of the tour, as more shipments of remittance works arrived from British Columbia (another possible provenance context of Lübeck's Jacobsen collection!), single artefacts and parts of the collection were sold to interested buyers (see Chapter 4.4) and carvings made by the Nuxalk men added to the collection (Haberland 1989, 188).

This latter category of objects constitutes a unique case for the reconstruction of Indigenous agency within the formation history of the Jacobsen collections and deserves special attention, as a comprehensive analysis of all the preserved carvings could add a new angle to the study of the participants' generally underrepresented perspectives within the *Völkerschau* phenomenon, especially since little is known about the life of these men among present-day Bella Coola residents (except for the efforts in Kopas 2002 [1970] to identify some of the men after their return to British Columbia). By studying their labels, Haberland (1989, 188) identified three masks carved by the Nuxalk men, two curated by the Berlin museum (made in Leipzig) and another one located in Oslo (made in Hamburg; fig. 12). He further suggests that most wooden carvings in Lübeck's collection belong to the artefacts produced during the tour. This latter suggestion stems from the observation that some of these carvings were made of European linden instead of North American cedar wood, further supported by the correspondence between Adrian Jacobsen and Carl Hagenbeck (C. Hagenbeck to A. Jacobsen 10 September 1885 in MARKK – Nachlass JAC 17.9), in which the latter suggests to *"[…] arrange good soft wood for the people [the Bella Coola performers], whereof they can carve smaller things, such as canoes etc., since that is good advertisement for us when these things are sold and thus sent forth among the audience*".

6822. “Hametz-Mask”, processed in Europe by the Indians from Bella Coola traveling under Captain Jacobsen. The mask represents the god “Pæh-Pæh-Kvalanusiva” […]

Gifted by J.A. Jacobsen on 15 September 1886

(www.unimus.no; my translation)

Figure 12: “Bella Coola” group carving in Oslo’s Jacobsen collection, inv.-nr. UEM6822 © Museum of Cultural History, University of Oslo, Norway/ Mårten Teigen

Another evidence of these “made in Germany” carvings can be found in Hamburg’s Jacobsen archive (MARKK - Nachlass JAC 22.5), namely in a note book titled *Ethnographische Sammlung für Chicago 1893* (Ethnographic collection for Chicago 1893), where Adrian Jacobsen lists those parts of the collection to remain in Europe, and those to be sold at the Chicago’s World Fair or World’s Columbian Exposition of 1893, and remarks that a few objects were “*made in Europe by the Bella Coola Indians*”: 22 dance masks and mask fragments, 4 “little family trees”, 7 bows (predominantly made in Europe), 22 arrows (predominantly made in Europe) and 4 carving knifes constitute the inventory of objects made by the Nuxalk men that can be derived from this list (fig. 13). When considering that the men carved poles for contract works and erected an entire house in Leipzig, it stands to reason that there might have been more object types, such as model boats or poles, bowls and boxes (Haberland 1989, 188).

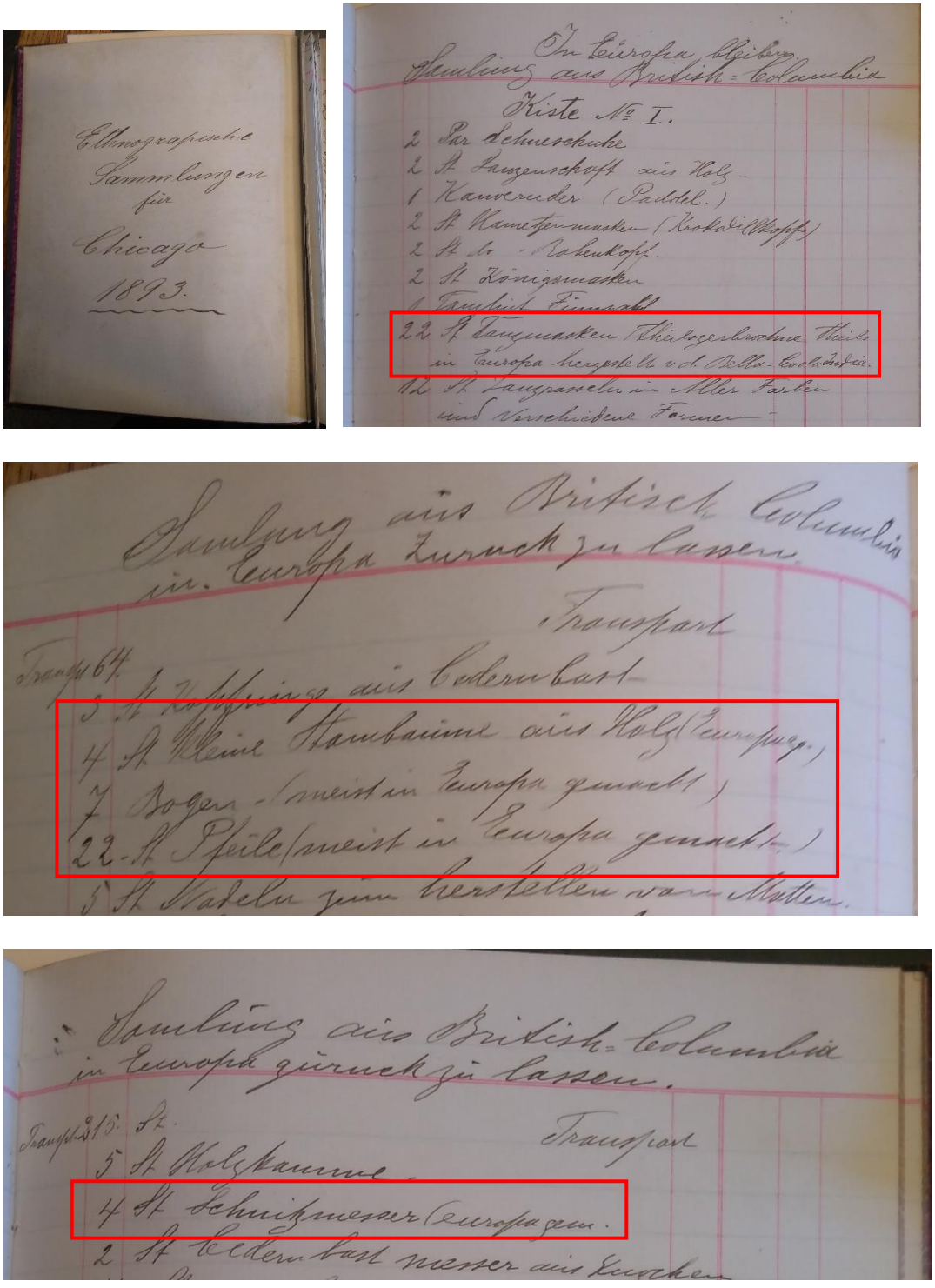

Figure 13: Excerpts in the note book titled “Ethnographic collection for Chicago 1893” that list the artefacts manufactured by the “Bella Coola” group (MARKK – Nachlass JAC 22.5). The corresponding passages are marked in red.

While it is impossible to identify the individual producers, as all of the men engaged in manufacturing activities both during the shows and their free time (Breslauer Zeitung 12 Feburary 1886 in *ibid.*, 50), the next section will explore Haberland's arguments on the "Bella Coola" group productions in the Lübeck collection and discuss their relevance to the exploration of Indigenous agency within its formation history: How many pieces of the Lübeck collection were possibly carved in Germany and how can they be identified in the first place? Is there a visible pattern in the production of carvings (materials, styles, types of object, …)? To what extent can the social dynamics at play during the Bella-Coola-*Völkerschau* be approached through these object-based studies, taken together with objects from the 1884/85 worn by the "Bella Coola" group during their performances?

4.3 Made vs. Worn in Germany: Indigenous Agency During the Bella-Coola-*Völkerschau*

The "Bella Coola" group took up their crafting activities from around mid-September 1885 onwards. Given the discovery of single "Bella Coola" group productions in two European museums, many of these objects must have made it into the various smaller Jacobsen collections following the deaccessioning of the larger bulk of accumulated objects from 1885 onwards (see Chapter 4.4). An extensive scientific analysis of all linden and other seemingly European wood objects in these divided Jacobsen collections would allow for an approximation to the total amount of "Bella Coola" group productions and ascertain their German provenance context, paving the way for many other relevant research questions, such as the objects' role in the collection trade networks at the time or discussions on their distribution patterns, perceived "authenticity" or "inauthenticity", etc. Such an analysis would require more time and resources than were so far available within the research scope for this thesis. Therefore, I will build on the premise that there are indeed "Bella Coola" group productions present within Lübeck's Jacobsen collection by drawing on the following arguments:

1) Haberland has extensively studied both the Bella-Coola-*Völkerschau* and the Jacobsen collections in Germany that resulted from the 1884/85 trip. A notation in Lübeck's database indicates Haberland's point of view that a part of the objects of Lübeck's Jacobsen collection with the inventory numbers 4341 to 4510, including a Hamatsa dance mask depicting a "bird monster with a crooked beak" (inv.-nr. 4351), was made of linden wood and therefore must have been produced in the Bella-Coola-*Völkerschau* context (see also Haberland 1979, 252). Furthermore, he suggests that the five wooden "skulls"

or “death masks” in Lübeck’s collection (fig. 14)[27] were carved by the “Bella Coola” group (Haberland 1988, 64, footnote 60) and argues that “*most of the carved Bella Coola objects in Lübeck, I believe, are also part of this special group*” (Haberland 1989, 188).

Figure 14: Wooden ceremonial skulls in Lübeck’s Jacobsen collection, perhaps produced by the “Bella Coola” group (top row: inv.-nr. 4354 and 4376, bottom row: inv.-nr. 4377, 4378 and 4379) ©Völkerkundesammlung der Hansestadt Lübeck

[27] The inventory book entries indicate that these wooden ceremonial skulls (see Hawthorn 1967, 129) would be attached to large *wolf* masks during dances – a wrong observation following the original identification of Lübeck’s hamatsa mask of the crook beaked of heaven type (inv.-nr. 4351) as a wolf mask. Many late nineteenth century newspaper articles referring to the “Bella Coola” ethnographic side-show falsely identify these bird or raven masks, which commonly but not exclusively had ceremonial skulls attached to them, as wolf masks (see Beiblatt zu Nr. 40 der National-Zeitung 20 January 1886 in MARKK - Nachlass JAC 24.2), which might explain these confusing categorizations.

2) Lübeck's share of the 1884/85 collection was assembled and sold almost 30 years after its arrival in Germany, when the largest part had already been sold to other institutions. In my opinion it is possible that the Umlauff firm, that was tasked with the sale of the Jacobsen collection by Carl Hagenbeck in 1893 (Gerhard 1991, 70, table 2), compiled the selection of 255 objects to form Lübeck's Jacobsen collection[28]. As the "Bella Coola" group productions were produced for a wider public, possibly enjoying less scientific attention within late nineteenth century academic circles than the "authentic" Northwest Coast counterparts, it seems logic that most institutions acquiring parts of the Jacobsen collection would show no interest in obtaining these pieces, resulting in the firm's initial struggle to sell them. Researchers referring to Lübeck's Jacobsen collection as "junk" and its composition pattern, comprising many doublets, fragmented or heavily used artefacts and an abundance of raw materials, might further validate the hypothesis that part of the "Bella Coola" group productions made it into the Lübeck collection because no other institutions had shown any interest in them due to their perceived "inauthenticity" or stylistic crudeness and therefore, the Umlauff firm saw an opportunity to deaccession them with the sale to Lübeck.

Stylistic comparisons of the alleged group productions in Lübeck's Jacobsen collection and Nuxalk objects contemporary to them, might provide another reference point to their provenance (Haberland 1989, 193). Lübeck's and Oslo's "hamatsa" masks show various similarities, such as the green and red color composition, application and conservation on the facial features and the beak's shape (fig. 15), which might justify their simultaneous production in Hamburg by one or more "Bella Coola" performers.

[28] Since any documents in possession of the former Ethnological Museum in Lübeck that might shed light on this matter were destroyed in the course of WWII, this argumentation remains speculative.

Figure 15: Detail view of Lübeck's "*hamatsa*" mask (inv.-nr. 4351) ©Völkerkundesammlung der Hansestadt Lübeck

Still, it needs to be noted that, although most of the alleged group productions have been fashioned in a "crude" manner, it is uncertain whether all men possessed equal carving skills, complicating this cross-comparison to a certain extent. Additionally, it needs to be taken into account that most of the objects in the Lübeck collection attributed to "Bella Coola" are misleading and often stem from different creator communities. As of now, it seems impossible to identify the reasons for this matter but in theory, it could be possible that these are the objects that were shown as a part of the ethnographic side-show accompanying the Bella-Coola-*Völkerschau*, since most of the other ethnic attributions seem, albeit generalized, to have been conducted somewhat properly. In light of the general false allocation of artefacts to their origin within communities in the Bella Coola valley, Haberland's stance that most of the carvings in Lübeck's collection are "Bella Coola" group productions needs to be examined carefully, while a scientific study of the utilized wood might be helpful to shed light on this matter.

Some of the objects in Lübeck's Jacobsen collection were possibly worn by the "Bella Coola" (e.g. leather shoes, blankets, feather headdresses, neck rings, rattles, etc.). I have identified one mask that was worn by one of the nine Nuxalkmc touring Germany in 1885/86, at least in Carl Günther's photo studio (fig. 16 and 17). This photograph's original title indicates the mask's connection to the "Nutlomatla dance"[29], and since these studio photographs were sold to the Völkerschau visitors, it stands to reason that this mask was also worn during the tour performances as a part of the "hunting scene" or "bear dance", mentioned in Von Schirp's (1885) program leaflet as an essential part of winter

[29] "Nutlomatla" was probably derived from the term "nulmal" (Boas 1895) or "noolmahl" (Hawthorn 1967), all anglicized variations relating to the "fool dancers" during Northwest Coast winter ceremonies.

ceremonies, entailing two performers wearing “Nutlomatla” masks. As in the case of many other ethnic attributions within Lübeck’s Jacobsen collection, this mask, which, according to a note on its photographic depiction (in Haberland 1988, 29, fig. 26), represents the “*king of the mountain goat*” is said to have originated in Bella Coola but was instead situated within Nuu-chah-nulth creator communities by Bill Holm. It might be interesting to additionally follow this lead in future studies to fully grasp the object biographies manifested in this part of the collection that was not actively produced by the group but formed an essential element within their performances. This mask, for example, underwent various transformations of meaning by the various agents interacting with it throughout its ongoing life history, such as its supposed Nuu-chah-nulth original usage context, its performative use by the “Bella Coola” group in their dances or the more recent scholarly interest resulting from Bill Holm’s examination, whereby more research needs to be conducted in the future to situate the mask’s role as the representation of a “mountain goat king”, “fool” or other entity, allowing for the creation of multiple narratives, perhaps with the help of affiliated communities, for this museum object in the present day.

Figure 16: The “Bella Coola” group wearing Northwest Coast costumes in Carl Günther’s photo studio in Berlin (original description: Nutlomatla Dance), Ident. Nr. VIII E Nls 2, 1885/86 © Foto: Ethnologisches Museum der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz

Figure 17: Comparison of "Bella Coola" group actor wearing the mask of the "mountain goat king" (see fig. 16) and Lübeck's mask (inv.-nr. 4969c, ©Völkerkundesammlung der Hansestadt Lübeck)

As noted earlier, historical records suggest that some of the performances not represented in Von Schirp's leaflet (1885) were added to the *Völkerschau*'s repertoire voluntarily, stemming from the "Bella Coola" group's own initiative. An example of a newspaper report (Deutsches Tageblatt 15 March 1886 in MARKK – Nachlass JAC 21.2; Haberland 1988, 17) relating to their residence in Berlin in March 1886 illustrates this aspect and further provides the evidence that at least a part of their carvings were also crafted as a result of their own intention to share their ceremonies, such as the Nuxalk thunder dance, and material culture with the audience, while negotiating their own participation opportunities with Adrian Jacobsen, who initially held the absolute authority over their performances:

"They [the Bella Coola] are born actors, always willing to accept the habits, albeit mainly the bad ones, of the civilized world. Captain Jacobsen's authority had resulted in the residing Bella Coola only showing their unadulterated native customs during their performances, but the resourceful Indians, on their own accord, strived to create something new that exceeded the scope of the daily productions. For a while already, Captain Jacobsen had been noticing that they were diligently carving new woodworks that were unfamiliar to him. He demanded a clarification of the purpose of these new masks and thus learnt about the intention to perform a new dance, the so-called thunder dance."
(my translation)

Unfortunately, I have not been able to identify further reports, photographs or the objects relating to the thunder dance performance during the Bella-Coola-*Völkerschau*. It also

remains unclear, if giving away ritual knowledge to uninitiated outsiders through these performances and the ceremonial objects that brought them to life posed a cosmological or ethical dilemma for the “Bella Coola” group or whether they might have seen these acts as a chance to keep alive the ceremonies that had been officially prohibited by the Canadian government since 1884. It has been argued that, before the arrival of the first Christian missionary Reverend W.H. Pierce to the Bella Coola Valley in 1883, masks were not supposed to be shown outside of ceremonial contexts, entailing the prohibition to sell them, and that infringing this rule could result in death (Seip 1999, 277).

Alternatively, the group was well-aware of the fact that they were acting as representatives of a homogenized Indigenous culture of the Northwest Coast (as noted earlier, they wore and used items from a range of creator communities) and therefore perceived their performances as staged shows to entertain and perhaps educate outsiders. After all, the men preferred to wear European clothes, both before (Haberland 1988, 45) and during their employment for Carl Hagenbeck, perhaps indicative of their shifting relationship with indigeneity. Ya Coutlas (or Tom Henry) had converted to Christianity in 1883 and burnt all of his ceremonial paraphernalia (Pierce 1933, 45f) so that the “chief” and his eight companions might have adopted a more liberal attitude towards the cultural norms that Nuxalk communities lived by at the time.

These possible perspectives of the “Bella Coola” group and the late nineteenth century Nuxalk creator communities need to be considered when approaching the transformation of values attached to colonial collections by affiliated creator communities. In the context of the formation history of Lübeck’s Jacobsen collection, these reasonings are entailed in the agency of the nine Nuxalkmc who produced wooden carvings as a way to actively permeate and deconstruct European authority over their practices and to self-determine their own representation to non-Indigenous audiences - at least to a certain extent that can be reconstructed through biased historical accounts. It remains arguable whether other types of “Bella Coola” productions, such as the listed bows and arrows or various wooden models, emerged in the same context of fluctuating power dynamics similar to the emergence of Northwest Coast souvenir productions or whether these practices were forced upon the men by Carl Hagenbeck, who acted as a broker for contract works for artefacts.

4.4 Unpacking the Jacobsen Collection(s)

In order to discuss the various manifestations of Indigenous agency within Lübeck's Jacobsen collection, it is necessary to examine other processes and actors that shaped its composition as part of its extended formation history. As illustrated earlier, the exact number of objects collected by the Jacobsen brothers at the Northwest Coast in 1884/85 is impossible to reconstruct, as many accompanying documents and even the collected items themselves were either destroyed or remain inaccessible. In addition to these numbers, the amount of carvings produced and sold by the "Bella Coola" group, alongside the reconstruction of individual and small-scale sales to visitors and other buyers, would have to be taken into account to address the full scope of what was sold as "the Jacobsen collection" to various institutions between 1885 and 1932[30]. In the context of my research, the sales years leading up to the formation of Lübeck's Jacobsen collection in 1904 (table 3) are especially relevant to assess the possible dynamics leading up to its composition, especially since the sales by the Umlauff company in the following decades only comprised their very last numbers of the Jacobsen collection. Having analyzed the exchange of letters written and received by Adrian Jacobsen, who had been given the task to sell the entire collection to a European museum[31], towards the end of 1885, Haberland (1989, 189f) concludes that many negotiations with various institutions in Leipzig, Vienna, Munich, Copenhagen and Frankfurt initially failed, since the museums could not meet the sum of 28.000 marks that Hagenbeck and Jacobsen hoped to gain from this trade.

[30] For an extensive examination of all the sales relating to the Jacobsen collection of 1884/85, see Gerhard 1991, 61-70

[31] At this point it is unclear which parts of the collection were owned by Carl Hagenbeck and to what extent Adrian Jacobsen made profit from these sales (Haberland 1989, 189).

Table 3: Sales of the Jacobsen collection before 1904 (after Gerhard 1991, 70, table 2)

Acquisition dates	Current holding institutions	Vendor	Total number of sold objects	Price
14.10.1885	GRASSI Ethnological Museum, Leipzig	A. Jacobsen	483	8000 mark
1885	Museum of Cultural History, Oslo	A. Jacobsen	97	600 croner
13.11.1886 1895	Ethnological Museum, Berlin	A. Jacobsen Umlauff	83 1	1.110 mark
31.10.1893	Field Museum of National History, Chicago	A. Jacobsen	670	
12.12.1893 02.05.1894	MARKK, Hamburg	Umlauff Umlauff	12 1	
16.06.1903	Rautenstrauch-Joest-Museum, Cologne	Umlauff	419	4000 mark
			1.766	

Archival documents in Cologne's Rautenstrauch-Joest-Museum relating to their purchase of parts of the Jacobsen collection indicate that the chosen amount of items was determined on the basis of plates and a list entailing a total of 715 objects offered by the Umlauff company (Gerhard 1991, 14). A photographic plate (*ibid.,* 19, fig. 1; see fig. 18) attached to a letter from Umlauff to the former director of the Ethnological Museum in Vienna in June 1886 might be one of the oldest photographs depicting objects of the 1884/85 Jacobsen collection (Haberland 1989, 190), including single items that are now part of Lübeck's Jacobsen collection (e.g. inv.-nr. 4969b and 4365, see Appendix 2; and 4969c, see Chapter 4.3). It seems reasonable that the Umlauff firm, that is said to have acquired at least 440[32] items of the Jacobsen collection in 1893, among them various "Bella Coola" group productions which Adrian was unable to sell to a museum in Bergen (Haberland 1989, 192), sold the "leftover's leftovers" to Lübeck.

[32] The total amount of known sales of the Jacobsen collection by the Umlauff company to various museums comprises more than 700 objects. Perhaps following the initial acquisition of 440 artefacts in 1893, more followed in the next years, or objects were counted differently due to fragmentation (Haberland 1989, 192). As Adrian Jacobsen gifted several objects and groups of objects to other museums in the course of deaccessioning the collection, it is likely that not all of the inventory remaining after 1893 was sold to Umlauff.

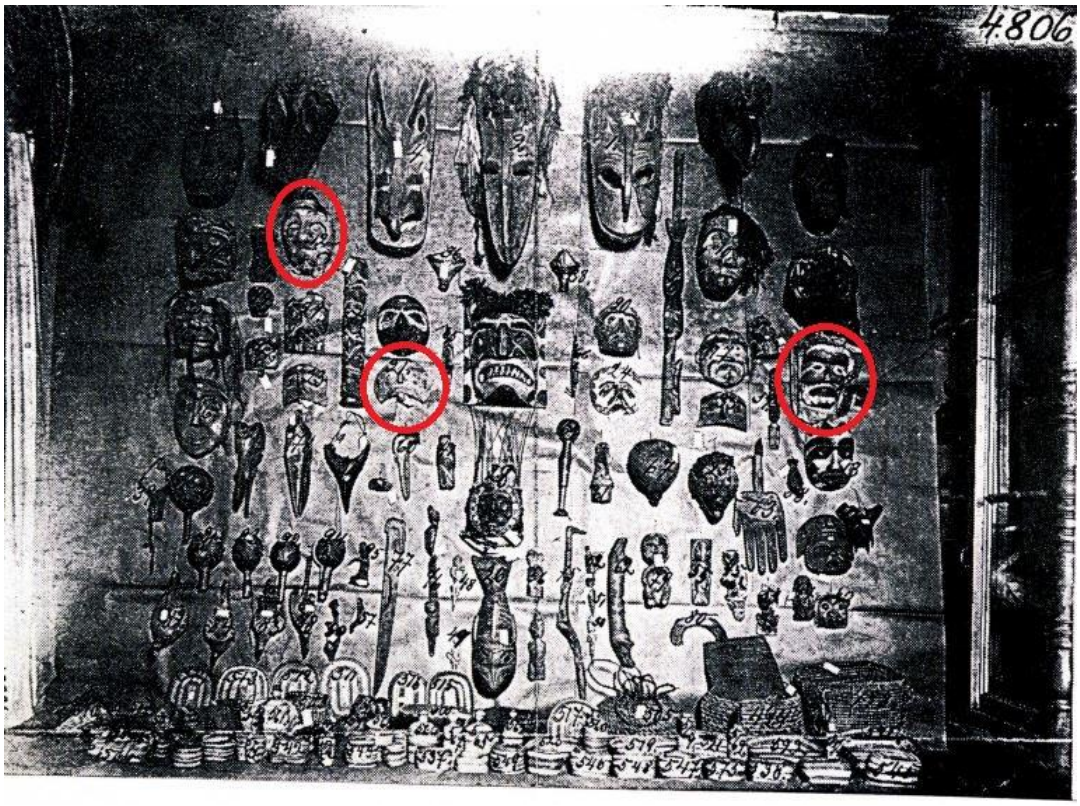

Figure 18: Photograph sent by Carl Hagenbeck or Adrian Jacobsen to Franz Heger, Curator of the Museum of Anthropology in Vienna, in June 1886 (after Gerhard 1991, 19, fig. 1; Weltmuseum Wien). The circled objects correspond to Lübeck's inventory with the numbers 4969b, 4365, 4969c (from left to right). These objects represent a selection of further objects that are perhaps depicted but difficult to demarcate within this photograph.

Since Lübeck's inventory books do not indicate acquisition prices, it remains disputable whether Lübeck's museum director at the time was able to negotiate an efficient deal or if the Umlauff firm was trying to move their Jacobsen inventory by all available means after having been storing it for more than ten years. Since Lübeck's museum had no object inventory from the Northwest Coast before 1904, the acquisition of the Jacobsen collection was certainly considered as a much-appreciated addition, regardless of the state of conservation of the various objects.

What can be reasoned from these circumstances is the fact that Lübeck's Jacobsen collection consists of those objects that were a) collected along the Northwest Coast, b) shipped to Germany after the Jacobsen's and Nuxalk group's arrival in Europe and c) produced by the Nuxalk group, ultimately comprising those items that no other contemporary museum wanted to acquire. Still, the overall composition is surprisingly diverse, a circumstance that is likely owed to the Umlauff firm's attempts to divide their Jacobsen inventory in a way that interested museums would be able to acquire a "complete" collection from the Northwest Coast. It includes various types of artefacts and, supposedly, entails at least one artefact from almost each of the Northwest Coast

regions visited by the brothers (see Appendix 1). Despite the apparently fragmentary nature of the collection, I have shown that these alleged "scraps" provide various opportunities to study the dimensions of Indigenous agency entangled within their production and circulation networks and therefore provide great insight into how creator communities actively navigated the demands for their material culture, deeply influencing what would be left to form Lübeck's Jacobsen collection while leaving behind the material forms of their colonial experiences.

4.4.1 Collector's Agencies: The Role of the Jacobsen brothers' Collecting Strategies in Relation to the Composition of Lübeck's Collection

Albeit the composition of Lübeck's Jacobsen collection only represents a small fraction of the objects that were accumulated on the Northwest Coast by the Jacobsen brothers in 1884/85, the types of collected materials span a wide range of usage contexts in the corresponding creator communities. This allows for a consideration of the Jacobsen brothers' collecting motivations and strategies, which I have not analyzed in depth due to the chosen focus on underrepresented Indigenous narratives manifested in the materiality of museum objects. Situating the role of the Jacobsen brothers within these trade networks that were actively shaped and constituted by Indigenous creator communities is still worthwhile. Especially when deriving these matters from the presence or absence of certain types of objects in Lübeck's collection taken together with the available historical records, the role of the Jacobsen brothers as collectors and traders can help to solve a range of questions within the wider context of the collection's formation history and the trade encounters shaping it.

In the preface to the diary of Adrian Jacobsen's first journey to British Columbia between 1881 and 1883, the editor A. Woldt (1884, V; my translation) remarks that "*he* [Jacobsen] *did not travel as a scholar, but as a simple collector and trader, who, without considering the scientific worth of the ethnographic objects he came across, simply purchased and exchanged everything that was available and thus acquired the most precious things*". The composition of Lübeck's Jacobsen collection further seems to support this argument and that Adrian Jacobsen did not change his habit of accumulating as many objects as possible for his employer, from an abundance of raw materials or objects whose functions remain unknown in the present day, that his contemporaneous scholarly colleagues did certainly not have much interest in, to tools and other items used on a daily life basis alongside ceremonial items. When putting Lübeck's Jacobsen collection in context with its dispersed counterparts, it appears that Carl Hagenbeck did not specify how his ethnographic side-show should be compiled and that the brothers' collecting motivations also might have

stemmed from the scramble for Northwest Coast artefacts between many competitors during the late nineteenth century in the attempt to establish leading museums while salvaging "vanishing cultures". Further elements that would contribute to the assessment of the Jacobsen brothers' collecting patterns are the preferred sources when obtaining artefacts. During his first visit to the Northwest Coast, Adrian Jacobsen complained much about the prices of artefacts, especially in curio shops (e.g. Woldt 1884, 36) which he probably avoided during the 1884/85 trip, but also among the direct trade with Indigenous communities and non-Indigenous intermediaries (e.g. *ibid.*, 52). His preferred source for artefact procurements was certainly via a direct visit to the various creator communities and as the historical records have shown, it is likely that his non-Indigenous colleagues living in proximity to these communities informed his routes and strategies.

Past research has elaborately focused on the role and perspective of collectors in establishing museum collections. In the case of Adrian Jacobsen, a comprehensive examination of his other, better documented journeys might certainly be more suitable to situate his agency within the collecting cultures of the late nineteenth century and colonial provenance research more generally. Nevertheless, the agency of the Jacobsen brothers during the 1884/85 trip becomes relevant when examining the purchase, and in some instances certainly theft or forced sales, of problematic or sensitive objects (see Chapter 4.4.2), ultimately allowing for a reflection on how to reformulate curatorial practices when engaging with these artefacts.

Another larger research question that would be necessary to assess the compilation of Lübeck's Jacobsen collection, pertains to the role of the Umlauff firm in equipping many of the larger ethnographic museum in Germany of the present-day. Especially their agencies in relation to acquiring, labelling, storing and exhibiting, advertising and offering, selling or deaccessioning objects and collections would allow for a revision of Lübeck's alleged purchase of Umlauff's "scraps" – although I hope to have illustrated how this abundance of seemingly unimposing, crudely fashioned and heavily-used or broken artefacts in Lübeck's Jacobsen collection entail immense potentials to retrace Indigenous experiences of colonial encounters.

4.4.2 Ethical Challenges and Considerations for Future Studies

In the light of current developments in the field of work and research ethics regarding colonial museum collections, I would like to discuss the main ethical challenges I have encountered during the process of engaging with the objects of Lübeck's Jacobsen collection and the data I was able to assemble from the affiliated historical source materials and recent scholarly publications. On the one hand, this discussion will render the presented research more transparent and on the other hand, provide leads that might help to reconsider present-day curatorial practices when engaging with the material remains of the various journeys undertaken by the Jacobsen brothers and perhaps open up further collaborative research projects to mitigate these issues.

The three main aspects worthwhile considering with examples from the inventory of Lübeck's Jacobsen collection result from

a) the collecting practices of the Jacobsen brothers, especially the procurement of ceremonial items,

b) my own research, again, specifically in relation to interacting with, learning about, depicting and bringing forward arguments about sensitive objects (see Lange 2011) or perhaps yet unidentified artefacts that, according to prohibitions by past creator community, I would not be supposed to integrate into my research due to my status as a female and/or non-Indigenous and/or "uninitiated" person, and

c) past and present-day curatorial practices, from storing to displaying sensitive heritage, and colleagues' future research projects on specific (known) parts of the Jacobsen collection that might be considered ethically problematic.

Evidently, these ethical challenges intersect and only represent some of the issues that were put forth by the research questions I chose to discuss. Retracing Indigenous agency within the formation history of a colonial collection necessitates these considerations to deconstruct and cease the reproduction of the deeply asymmetric power relations inflicted by the colonial system on the creator communities of Lübeck's Jacobsen collection. As my research approaches are centered around materiality - as the attempt to trace back the active role of past creator communities in shaping the flow of artefacts to Euro-Western institutions in specific historical settings by framing object-by-object case studies as starting points - the following examples are also focused on the challenges resulting from engaging with materials, rather than larger social phenomena, such as the *Völkerschau*.

Firstly, I would like to address the issue with human remains within Lübeck's Jacobsen collection, since they are a part of those sensitive objects that are easiest to identify based on their materiality and the ethical discourses they may spark in the future, especially in light of the development of repatriation debates in North America since the 1990s. While two objects of this collection, respectively tied up strands of human hair from "Bella Coola" (inv.-nr. 4410, see Appendix 1) and a Nuu-chah-nulth mask with human (?) hair adornments (inv.-nr. 4969b, see Appendix 2), fall under the DMB's (2013) broad definition of human remains (yet again, once their human origin is certified by an expert's assessment) and should therefore be subject to ethical reflections that include restitution efforts on a case-by-case level, Canadian museum policies on the matter, that have increasingly emerged since the Task Force Report on Museums and First Peoples (1991), define human remains merely as human skeletal remains (see Collison et al. 2019; Canadian Museum of Civilization Corporation 2011; Parks Canada 2000 in McManamon 2006). A reference within Lübeck's object database notes that the Karl-May-Museum in Radebeul (Germany), which acquired 27 objects of the 1884/85 Jacobsen collection via the Umlauff firm in 1929 (UML8, J1), owns a piece similar to Lübeck's hair strands, referring to it as "hair extensions" for ornamental purposes. Although human hair was regularly processed within Northwest Coast artefacts – for example, during his first trip to British Columbia between 1881 and 1883 Adrian Jacobsen collected several Nuu-chah-nulth mantles and shawls entailing twisted cedar bark and human hair (Green 2013) – several case studies have suggested that its presence in an ethnographic collection can hold ambivalent meanings for affiliated Indigenous communities. Bodily residues, including human hair, were and still are looked after for their spiritual power in Nuu-chah-nulth communities and the mentioned artefacts of the 1881-1883 collection with processed human hair probably displayed or worn during potlatch ceremonies to honor the corresponding hosts (*ibid*., 177f).

In her discussion on Ojibwe hair samples in a Pitt Rivers Museum collection from 1925, Laura Peers (2003, 92) rightfully concludes that

"*Hair, fingernails, blood samples, and other 'replaceable' human remains tend to be treated by some scientists as less significant than bones or organs, but clearly, in this case, the people from whom the hair was taken would not make such a distinction. And if hair is an extension of the individual, if its manipulation expresses social identity, if the cutting and analysis of Ojibwe hair has been so rooted in relations of cross-cultural power as it has been, then we as museum professionals need to take very seriously the implications of*

retaining, storing, displaying, or giving permission for testing such materials. The problematic dynamics surrounding these samples stem from the transformation of the hair from the very personal to the externally controlled, from person to museum object. "

In the context of an ethically informed engagement with colonial collections with First Nations material culture, Canadian institutions have also developed policy frameworks concerning the repatriation of sacred or ceremonial objects (Dekker 2018) that have been accompanying First Nations' claims of ancestral remains on equally important grounds (see Bell 2009). I have touched upon instances of questionable collecting strategies conducted by the Jacobsen brothers, especially regarding the procurement of masks (see wolf masks in Chapter 3.1), and objects, that outsiders or uninitiated persons might not have been supposed to engage with, least of all as ethnographic objects removed from their ceremonial contexts (see "fool's" mask in Chapter 4.3). While my research does not follow the aim to provide a morally informed judgement on whether these items should be repatriated or not, the encountered instances of injustices towards the creator communities of the Jacobsen collections, whether by alleged theft or extortion of their most valuable possessions under asymmetric power balances that enabled these procurements, or in the form of their physical presence in a western institution, provide points of references for future dialogues instigated by this new chapter of their cultural biographies. It stands to reason that the unidentified provenances of Lübeck's Nuxalk and/or Nuu-chah-nulth human remains and a variety of the objects whose catalogue entries describe former ceremonial usage contexts complicate an understanding of the values held by the creator communities through interacting with these objects. Nevertheless, these reflections might enable the future steps of reaching out to affiliated communities and proactively revisiting the curatorial practices in handling these sensitive objects, while considering their return.

Concluding Remarks

Although I chose to center my study on the role of Indigenous agency within the history of Lübeck's Jacobsen collection, a variety of other human agents contributed equally to its formation in 1904. As this chapter introduced various new agents that informed the composition of Lübeck's collection after the Jacobsen brothers had returned from the Northwest Coast, I will concludingly address the main (known) actors or groups of actors and actions that have been discussed throughout this thesis. The table (4) below visualizes the many agents, and certainly not all of them, involved within the production and trade networks that enabled the formation of Lübeck's Jacobsen collection. I have arranged the actors and groups of actors according to their chronological participation within this

formation to illustrate the various biographies that are embedded into the collection, whereby the extent of involvement varied throughout the historical processes of this formation.

Table 4: Examples of human agencies manifested within the formation processes of Lübeck's Jacobsen collection until 1904 (after Byrne et al. 2013, 7, fig. 1.1)

Actor	**Actions**
Creator communities	- Producing, using, repairing, passing on objects or object elements within creator community contexts - Manufacturing of contract works for other Indigenous or non-Indigenous buyers - Production of objects specifically for westerners (e.g. souvenir) - Giving away raw materials and used/new objects to other agents (e.g. exchange, trade) - withholding, losing and destroying objects …
"Bella Coola" group	- Carving wooden artefacts during *Völkerschau* - Carving wooden artefacts commissioned by German scholars …
Adrian and Fillip Jacobsen (collectors)	- Selecting artefacts according to own and/or employer's (C. Hagenbeck) ideas - Collecting artefacts (e.g. exchange, trade, theft, extortion) - Withholding, gifting, donating, selling collections or parts of the collections …
Middlepersons and traders	- Selecting and procuring artefacts from other agents - Bringing together artefacts from various Northwest Coast communities - Bridging and enabling long-distance artefact trade networks while informing the route of the Jacobsen brothers - Selling artefacts …
Umlauff firm	- Categorizing and labelling Jacobsen collection - Storing and splitting collection - Negotiating sales of entire/parts of Jacobsen collection with museums …

Lübeck's former museum personnel	- Categorizing and labelling Jacobsen collection - Storing and moving collection …

The various presented categories certainly overlap each other and took place within specific historical circumstances that need to be considered when contextualizing Lübeck's Jacobsen collection within this conceptual network spanned by the various contributors and their actions.

The research results listed in the table therefore further support my initial argument that, in the same vain that museum anthropologists have argued that collections can never be examined as static entities, detached from the many instances that shaped their material composition, Lübeck's Jacobsen collection is an assemblage that reflects a wide range of manifold actors, each shaping the collection by having differing personal agendas and acting in accordance with various convictions. Although the Jacobsen brothers have obtained and shipped the majority of the objects, thus performing actions that have resulted in the material presence of a share of this collection in Lübeck, I have shown throughout this thesis that it is difficult to demarcate specific collecting strategies. One reason is hereby that the main goal of their trip consisted in recruiting *Völkerschau* performers, while every object that was somewhat reasonably priced and available was collected. Additionally, Lübeck's collection was formed according to the leftovers of the original Jacobsen collection's leftovers that had been sold to the Hamburg Umlauff company, rendering the reconstruction of collector's motivations by assessing the collection's material composition even more complicated. Therefore, I argue that, specifically in the case of Lübeck's Jacobsen collection, but also in consideration of the many other Jacobsen collections spread around the world, the analytical focus on Indigenous agency allows for a much more nuanced study of its history, revealing personal histories and perspectives that have always existed in relation to these museum objects of the present-day but that past research endeavors have chosen to ignore.

Chapter Five: Conclusion

"The scramble for skulls and skeletons, for poles and paddles, for baskets and bowls, for masks and mummies, was pursued sometimes with respect, occasionally with rapacity, often with avarice. By the time it ended there was more Kwakiutl [sic!] *material in Milwaukee than in Mamalillikulla, more Salish pieces in Cambridge than in Comox."*

Douglas Cole, *Captured Heritage* (1995 [1985], 286)

Throughout this thesis, my larger research question centered on how various instances of Indigenous agency within specific historical settings have shaped the formation of a share of the Jacobsen collection from 1884/85 as it is curated today within Lübeck's larger Ethnographic Collection. Specifically, I have been interested in reconstructing these short and long-term patterns of Indigenous agency, that are materially manifested within the objects of Lübeck's Jacobsen collection, from the beginning of the fur trade along the Northwest Coast up to the collection's acquisition by Lübeck's former Ethnological museum in 1904. As the entire chain of provenances of the artefacts constituting Lübeck's Jacobsen collection are widely unknown, the main aim hereby consisted in situating the role of Indigenous creator communities and traders within the comprehensive reconstruction of the social and material networks that contributed to the collection's formation. Since this collection has remained largely unexplored, this research also aspires to bridge these gaps and provide new approaches to the study of the various Jacobsen collections from 1884/85 that are dispersed internationally. Lastly, revisiting this "ethnographic" collection whose formation was entangled with and enabled by processes resulting from colonial policies, this research ultimately aims at informing the curatorial practices on these objects in the future. The specific focus on Indigenous agency was chosen to connect my research to newer approaches within provenance research on colonial collections that have been less invested in the collector's motivations or strategies but rather have attempted to stress underrepresented narratives. Since many First Nations in Canada claim affiliations with much of their material culture that was taken (especially but not mainly) during the nineteenth century, this discussion gains much relevance for curatorial practices in the present-day.

By framing object case studies as the material witnesses of processes in which various agents constantly negotiated the values attributed to the artefacts of Lübeck's Jacobsen collection by interacting with them, I have shown that especially Indigenous agency manifests itself in manifold ways throughout the collection's wider historical formation context. Many Northwest Coast communities had engaged in trading raw materials and

artefacts through vast social networks long before the first European vessels arrived and gradually started their scramble for First Nations' material culture. During the early post-Contact period Indigenous communities evidently faced many struggles and injustices - which must not be obliterated by this important consideration of often romanticized Indigenous agency - but also actively controlled the flow of artifacts to non-Indigenous traders, by either offering or withholding their material culture and obtaining novel materials themselves, and thus enhanced their trade networks to far-reaching extents (Chapter 2). By the time the Jacobsen brothers had arrived in British Columbia, a flourishing wide-scale artefact trade had emerged, including new productions that were specifically fashioned for non-Indigenous target groups. Hereby, the creator communities of the Jacobsen collection did not merely meet European demands but actively shaped new fads that equally informed collectors' desires in their procurements, a process essential to understand the compilation of present-day Northwest Coast collections. Conceptualizing these new lines of production as the material results of hybridization can, especially in cases where object provenances cannot be accounted for in detail, shed light on Indigenous perspectives that past research endeavors have chosen to ignore and therefore remain substantially underrepresented within collection history research (Chapter 3).

These theoretical approaches to Lübeck's Jacobsen collections have somewhat mitigated the challenges brought forward by my methodological approach of deriving data from often biased and limited historical documents in Hamburg's Jacobsen archive and other accounts from the late nineteenth century. Nevertheless, these latter historical records provided the main sources to retrace the dimensions of Indigenous agency within a very specific chain of historical events, the very reason why around 2000 objects were brought from the Northwest Coast of America to Europe, namely the Bella-Coola-*Völkerschau* (Chapter 4). While it is certain that the nine Nuxalk men touring Europe together with the Jacobsen brothers in 1885 and 1886 produced a variety of wooden carvings that were sold to the audience and as contract works for museums and other buyers, it remains to be confirmed whether Lübeck's Jacobsen collection comprises objects that originated within these dynamics. Hereby, my study was limited by a lack of means to obtain an expert's opinion on the types of woods found within the collection. Identifying the objects in Lübeck's Jacobsen collection that were not produced but worn during these ethnic shows, have provided a productive alternative to assess the extent of Indigenous agency during this "moment" within the history of Lübeck's Jacobsen collection. Hereby, I have discussed how the "Bella Coola" group negotiated their representation to the European audiences

of the time through carving material culture and creating performances according to their own conceptions. I believe that future studies on objects that were either produced or worn by the various Indigenous peoples who found themselves in these contested spaces, and have by now been transformed into perhaps yet unidentified ethnographic objects through their presence in a museum, can help to reconstruct these instances of Indigenous agencies, amidst the problematic narratives created around these exhibitions by European impresarios and scholars, in the biographies of both human and non-human actors.

Two major issues, which I have referred to throughout this thesis, should inform future studies of the 1884/85 (and, together with the "Bella Coola" group productions, also 1886) Jacobsen collection: Firstly, most of the objects originally attributed to "Bella Coola" in Lübeck's inventory book, whose provenances have been revised, neither originated in the wider Bella Coola Valley region, nor in Nuxalk territories. Additionally, Fillip Jacobsen, who also collected in this region, seems to have focused on Tsimshian and Haida material instead, which makes the overrepresentation of the "Bella Coola" attribution in Lübeck's case even more peculiar. Various scenarios might account for this issue – perhaps those were the objects displayed during the ethnographic side-show of the Bella-Coola-*Völkerschau*, perhaps the Umlauff firm reproduced wrong information or simply attributed every object to "Bella Coola" whose provenance was unknown – and I hope that future consecutive studies might illuminate this matter. Secondly, as much as Lübeck's Jacobsen collection might have been conceptualized as junk in the past or perhaps not enjoyed much scholarly attention due to its large contingent of "tourist art" or "souvenirs" and heavily-used, fragmented or crudely fashioned artefacts, my presented research results suggest that turning the focus towards Indigenous agency can extract meaningful perspectives from widely overlooked museum objects.

Abstract

The starting point of this thesis is the Jacobsen collection of the *Völkerkundesammlung der Hansestadt Lübeck* (Ethnographic Collection of the Hanseatic City of Lübeck, Germany) – around 220 objects stemming from a larger collection, which was assembled by the Norwegian brothers Bernard Fillip (1864 – 1935) and Johan Adrian Jacobsen (1853 – 1947) along the Northwest Coast of America, especially among the First Nations of present-day costal British Columbia in 1884 and 1885. This collecting trip was commissioned by Carl Hagenbeck (1844 – 1913), who hired the brothers to recruit a Northwest Coast group for his next *Völkerschau* (ethnic or people's show) through the German Empire. At the same time, the brothers were asked to compile a collection that was presented as an ethnographic side-show during the Bella-Coola-*Völkerschau* resulting from this journey. As a contribution to the current academic discourse on museum practices in relation to colonial collections, this thesis entails the reconstruction of the provenances of these objects, from their production contexts up to the acquisition of the Jacobsen collection by Lübeck's former Ethnological Museum from the Hamburg J. F. G. Umlauff firm in 1904. Accordingly, this research considers Indigenous agency within the production and circulation networks that have enabled the formation of Lübeck's Jacobsen collection. The application of various theoretical approaches dealing with materiality and hybridity, alongside examinations of historical records, especially contemporary newspaper articles and documents pertaining to Adrian Jacobsen, frame this analysis of Indigenous participation opportunities within the collection's history. The various dimensions of this collection history are demonstrated with the help of object-centered case studies.

The question after the Indigenous scope of action hereby illustrates that the creator communities of the Jacobsen collected employed various strategies to negotiate the dimensions of the flow of artefacts to Western Institutions and that their position within these processes cannot be reduced to passively meeting the demands of European and American collectors. At the same time, the area of conflict, resulting from settler colonialism in the area and bearing vast negative consequences for Canada's Indigenous population, is equally relevant. This thesis therefore strives towards critically engaging with colonial provenance research and bringing forward the underrepresented Indigenous perspectives and experiences manifested in the materiality of Lübeck's Jacobsen collection.

Gegenstand dieser Masterarbeit ist die Sammlung Jacobsen der Völkerkundesammlung der Hansestadt Lübeck (Deutschland) – etwa 220 Objekte einer größeren Sammlung, welche durch die norwegischen Brüder Bernard Fillip (1864 – 1935) und Johan Adrian Jacobsen (1843 – 1947) in den Jahren 1884 und 1885 an der Nordwestküste Amerikas, insbesondere bei First Nations der Küstengebiete der heutigen kanadischen Provinz British Columbia, zusammengetragen wurden. Hintergrund dieser Sammelreise war der Auftrag Carl Hagenbecks (1844 – 1913), eine Nordwestküstengruppe für eine umfangreiche *Völkerschau* durch das Deutsche Kaiserreich zu rekrutieren und dabei Objekte zu sammeln, welche bei der aus dem Reiseunterfangen resultierenden Bella-Coola-Völkerschau (1885/86) als begleitende ethnographische Ausstellung präsentiert wurden. Anknüpfend an den aktuellen Forschungsdiskurs zum musealen Umgang mit Sammlungen aus kolonialen Kontexten, widmet sich diese Arbeit der Rekonstruktion der Provenienzen dieser Objekte, von ihren Produktionsumständen bis hin zum Ankauf der Sammlung durch das ehemalige Museum für Völkerkunde bei der Hamburger Firma J.F.G Umlauff im Jahr 1904. Die Erörterung der indigenen Handlungsmacht (*Indigenous agency*) innerhalb der Produktions- und Zirkulationsnetzwerke, die schließlich die Entstehung der Lübecker Jacobsen-Sammlung ermöglichten, steht hierbei im Vordergrund. Die Anwendung diverser theoretischer Ansätze zu Materialität und Hybridität, sowie die Diskussion historischer Quellen, von zeitgenössischen Zeitungsartikeln bis hin zu den überlieferten Dokumenten von Adrian Jacobsen, bilden hierbei die Grundlagen der Analyse indigener Partizipationsmöglichkeiten innerhalb der Entstehungsgeschichte der Lübecker Jacobsen Sammlung.

Durch objektbezogene Fallbeispiele werden die unterschiedlichen Ebenen dieser Sammlungsgeschichte aufgezeigt und chronologisch strukturiert aufbereitet. Die Frage nach indigenen Handlungsspielräumen zeigt hierbei auf, dass die Herkunftsgesellschaften der Lübecker Sammlung Jacobsen durch diverse Strategien aushandeln konnten, in welcher Form Objekte an westliche Institutionen übergeben wurden und hierbei nicht bloß passiv die Nachfragen europäischer und amerikanischer Sammlerinnen und Sammler bedienten. Nicht minder relevant ist hierbei das Spannungsfeld, welches aus der Etablierung Kanadas als Siedlungskolonie resultierte und weitreichende negative Konsequenzen für die unterschiedlichen Nordwestküstengruppen mit sich trug. Ziel dieser Arbeit ist es somit, zur kritischen Durchleuchtung kolonialer Sammlungsprovenienzen beizutragen und durch den gewählten Forschungsansatz bisher unterrepräsentierte indigene Perspektiven und Erfahrungen in Bezug auf den Sammlungsbestand hervorzuheben.

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Archival Material

Documents from the Jacobsen archive (*Jacobsen Nachlass*, MARKK – Nachlass JAC) of the *Museum am Rothenbaum. Kulturen und Künste der Welt* (Hamburg)

<u>Inventory number: document title (German)</u>

JAC 2.3.1: 1886 ohne Briefe; Unterlagen zu Vorträgen in Berlin

JAC 14.8: Völkerschau-Verträge

JAC 17.9: Jacobsen, Johan Adrian: Briefwechsel 1.1.1885 – 30.9.1885

- C. Hagenbeck to A. Jacobsen 2 July 1885
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- C. Hagenbeck to A. Jacobsen 10 September 1885

JAC 22.5.: A. Jacobsen: Liste ethnographischer Sammlungen für Chicago 1893

JAC 22.7.5: Erinnerung Jacobsen über Verbleib der Sammlung

JAC 24.1. Zeitungsausschnitte 1877 - 1900

JAC 24.2: Zeitungsausschnitte betreffend Bella-Coola in Deutschland 1885-86

- Leipziger Nachrichten 29 September 1885
- Beiblatt zu Nr. 40 der National-Zeitung 20 January 1886
- Deutsches Tageblatt 15 March 1886

Business records of the Umlauff firm (*Geschäftsbücher*, UML) from the document archive of the *Museum am Rothenbaum. Kulturen und Künste der Welt* (Hamburg)

UML8, J1: Geschäftsbuch Nordwestküste und Sioux

List of Figures, Tables, Appendices

Figures

Tables

Appendices

Appendices

Appendix 1: Object database with the inventory of Lübeck's Jacobsen collection

The list entails 220 entries with German descriptions, plus three additional missing objects marked red, and is sorted by inventory number. All information is derived from the MuseumPlus object database compiled by the *Völkerkundesammlung der Hansestadt Lübeck*.

Inv.-nr.	**Description**	**Ethnic attribution**
4344	Überwurf, Umhang	Nuxalk (Bella Coola)
4345	Halsring	Kwakwaka'wakw
4346	Halsring	Kwakwaka'wakw
4347	Schamanenschurz / Schürze	Nuxalk (Bella Coola)
4350	Kopfring	Kwakwaka'wakw
4351	Stirnmaske mit Darstellung des Vogelmonsters Krummschnabel des Hamatsa-Bundes	Nuxalk (Bella Coola)
4352	Vogeldarstellung	Nuxalk (Bella Coola)
4353	Lockfisch	Nuxalk (Bella Coola)
4354	Totenmaske	Nuxalk (Bella Coola)
4355	Holzfigur	Nuxalk (Bella Coola)
4356	Kultfigur	Nuxalk (Bella Coola)
4359	Tanzrassel	Northern NWC
4360	Kamm	Nuu-chah-nulth (Nootka / Ahts)
4361	Bootsmodell, bunt bemalt	?
4363	Stirnmaske, Dachs	Nuu-chah-nulth (Nootka)
4364	Stirnmaske, einen Wolf darstellend	Nuu-chah-nulth (Nootka)
4365	Maske (unvollendet)	West-Vancouver
4366	Teil eines Spieles, Spielstein	NW Amerika
4367	Löffel (zum Fischessen)	Tsimshian
4368	pfriemartiges Holzgerät mit nagelähnlicher Spitze	West-Vancouver
4369	Gerät zum Absprengen von Bast	Tsimshian
4371	anthropomorphe Holzschnitzerei einer sitzenden Figur	Nuxalk (Bella Coola)
4372	Gerät zum Absprengen von Bast	Tsimshian
4373	Hand und Arm	Nuxalk (Bella Coola)
4374	Kamm	Nuu-chah-nulth (Nootka / Ahts)
4375	Flöte (auf Objekt aber lesbar 4875)	Nuxalk (Bella Coola)
4376	Totenmaske	NWC
4377	Totenmaske	NWC
4378	Totenmaske	NWC
4379	Totenmaske	NWC
4380	Gerät/Werkzeug	Tsimshian
4382	Amulett	Nuxalk (Bella Coola)

4385	Maskenteil, frontlet	Heiltsuk (Bella Bella)
4386	Totempfahlmodell	Kwakwaka'wakw
4387	Löffel	Kwakwaka'wakw
4388	Schlafmatte (?)	West-Vancouver
4388	Sitzmatte	West-Vancouver
4389	Schlafmatte	Nuu-chah-nulth (Nootka / Ahts)
4390	Modell eines Totempfahles	Tsimshian
4392	Hand (einer Marionette ?)	Nuxalk (Bella Coola)
4394	Löffel (zum Beerenessen)	Tsimshian
4397	Löffel zum Fetttrinken	Kwakwaka'wakw
4398	Rassel	Nuxalk (Bella Coola)
4399	Spitze einer Robbenharpune	Haida
4401	Bohrinstrument / Ahle	West-Vancouver
4405	Holzfigur	Nuxalk (Bella Coola)
4406	Puppe	Nuxalk (Bella Coola)
4408	Kultgerät	Nuxalk (Bella Coola)
4410	Kopfschmuck, Haarverlängerer ?	Nuxalk (Bella Coola)
4411	Stück einer Maske - Objekt nicht vorhanden	Nuxalk (Bella Coola)
4412	Bärenpfote zum Fellkratzen	Nuxalk (Bella Coola)
4414	Pfeifenrohr	Nuxalk (Bella Coola)
4415	Rasselglocken	Nuxalk (Bella Coola)
4416	Spinnwirtel	Nuxalk (Bella Coola)
4417	Angelhaken	Kwakwaka'wakw
4420	Rudermodell - Objekt nicht vorhanden	?
4422	Aststück	Nuxalk (Bella Coola)
4423	Knochengerät	Nuxalk (Bella Coola)
4424	Knochengrät	Nuxalk (Bella Coola)
4432	Stein mit Bohrlöchern	Nuxalk (Bella Coola)
4433	Stein, beim Bauen gefunden	Nuxalk (Bella Coola)
4436	Pfeifenkopf	Haida
4437	Messer	Haida
4438	Teller	Haida
4440	Mörser	Nuxalk (Bella Coola)
4445	Steinhammer	Nuxalk (Bella Coola)
4448	Deckel einer Aufbewahrungskiste	Nuxalk (Bella Coola)
4450	Sitzkissen - Objekt nicht gefunden	Nuxalk (Bella Coola)
4451	Schamanenschurz / Tanzgamasche	Nuxalk (Bella Coola)
4453	Korb, netzartig geflochten	West-Vancouver
4454	aufgesplissene Därme als Rohmaterial zum Binden	Nuxalk (Bella Coola)
4455	Lederriemen	Nuxalk (Bella Coola)
4456	Seehundsdärme	?
4457	Schamschurz, Schamanenschurz, m. Stoffapplikationen	Nuxalk (Bella Coola)
4460	Tasche mit Blechstreifen verflochten	West-Vancouver

4461	Tasche	West-Vancouver
4463	Tasche in Korbform/ große Tasche,	West-Vancouver
4464	Fragment einer Maske / Maskenteil	Nuxalk (Bella Coola)
4465	Teil einer Maske, finnenartig	West-Vancouver
4467	Fragment einer Maske	Nuxalk (Bella Coola)
4470	Korb zum Einsammeln von Muscheln; Korb mit Kordel	Kwakwaka'wakw
4473	Kopfschmuck, zusammen gebundene Federn	Nuxalk (Bella Coola)
4476	Umhang	West-Vancouver
4479	Fischnetz	Nuxalk (Bella Coola)
4483	Schlinge	Nuxalk (Bella Coola)
4484	Keule	Nuxalk (Bella Coola)
4486	Halsharpune zum Seeotterfang	Haida
4489	Werkzeug aus Holz	Kwakwaka'wakw
4490	Lockfisch	Kwakwaka'wakw
4491	Schabmesser	West-Vancouver
4492	Holzring zum Fischen /Griff eines Fischnetzes	Tsimshian
4494	Baumrinde zum Binden	Tsimshian
4496	Hut	West-Vancouver
4497	Einlage in einem Frauenhut	Nuxalk (Bella Coola)
4499	Ring / Art Serviettenring	West-Vancouver
4500	Holzkelle / eckige Schale aus Holz	Nuxalk (Bella Coola)
4502	Federschmuck	West-Vancouver
4502	Kopfbedeckung für den Medizinmann	West-Vancouver
4504	Baumrindenbänder	Nuxalk (Bella Coola)
4505	Paket Baumrindenbänder	Nuxalk (Bella Coola)
4506	Paket weichgeklopfte Zedernbastrinde	West-Vancouver
4507	Sehnenstrang	Nuxalk (Bella Coola)
4509	Pfeifenrohr	Nuxalk (Bella Coola)
4510	Lockfisch	Nuxalk (Bella Coola)
4971	Umhang	Nuxalk (Bella Coola)
4972	Umhang	Nuxalk (Bella Coola)
4974	Flechttasche, groß	West-Vancouver
4975	Hoheitsring, gedrehter Halsring	Kwakwaka'wakw
4977	Därme als Rohmaterial	Nuxalk (Bella Coola)
4978	Tiersehne	Nuxalk (Bella Coola)
4979	Fischleine, aufgewickelt	Nuxalk (Bella Coola)
4982	Bindfaden	Nuxalk (Bella Coola)
4983	Magen eines Seelöwen	Nuxalk (Bella Coola)
4988	Schurz (?)	Nuxalk (Bella Coola)
4990	Stirnmaske, Reiherschnabel	Kwakwaka'wakw
4991	Wolfsmaske	Nuu-chah-nulth (Nootka)
10392	1/2 Umhang	Nuxalk (Bella Coola)
10500	Feder	Nuxalk (Bella Coola)
4341a	Umhang	West-Vancouver

4341b	Umhang	West-Vancouver
4342a	Schlafmatte	Nuu-chah-nulth (Nootka / Ahts)
4343a	Überwurf, Umhang	NW Amerika
4343b	Überwurf, Umhang	NW Amerika
4384a,b	Knochenspiel	Nuxalk (Bella Coola)
4391a	(Schnitz-) Messer	Kwakwaka'wakw
4391b	(Schnitz-) Messer	Kwakwaka'wakw
4402a,b	Armring(e), beim Kosiotanz getragen	Nuxalk (Bella Coola)
4407a	Anhänger mit Spiegelglaseinlagen	Northern NWC
4407b	Anhänger mit Spiegelglaseinlagen	Northern NWC
4413c	Ohrgehänge	Nuxalk (Bella Coola)
4413e	Ohrgehänge	Nuxalk (Bella Coola)
4419a	Lachsharpune	Kwakwaka'wakw
4419b	Lachsharpune	Kwakwaka'wakw
4425a,b	Pfeife (lt. Eingangsbuch); Pfeifenstiel (lt. Eingangsbuch)	Tsimshian
4426a	Umhang/ Pelerine	West-Vancouver
4426b	Umhang	West-Vancouver
4428a	Flintstein	Nuxalk (Bella Coola)
4428b	Flintstein	Nuxalk (Bella Coola)
4428d	Flintstein	Nuxalk (Bella Coola)
4430a	Steinklinge	Tsimshian
4430b	Steinklinge	West-Vancouver
4430c	Steinklinge	Nuxalk (Bella Coola)
4430d	Klinge	Nuxalk (Bella Coola)
4431a	Stein	Nuxalk (Bella Coola)
4431b	Stein (zum Messerschärfen)	Nuxalk (Bella Coola)
4439a	Bastklopfer	West-Vancouver
4443a	Steinaxtbruchstück	Nuxalk (Bella Coola)
4443b	Steinaxt	Nuxalk (Bella Coola)
4444a	Steinhammer	Nuxalk (Bella Coola)
4444b	Steinhammer (Mörser)	Nuxalk (Bella Coola)
4444c	Steinhammer (Mörser)	Nuxalk (Bella Coola)
4444d	Steinhammer (Mörser)	Nuxalk (Bella Coola)
4449a I-II	Paar Lederschuhe	Nuxalk (Bella Coola)
4449b I-II	Paar Lederschuhe	Nuxalk (Bella Coola)
4452a,b	Paar Beinbinden	Nuxalk (Bella Coola)
4462a,b	Korb mit Deckel	West-Vancouver
4468a I-II	kleiner Deckelkorb	West-Vancouver
4468b	kleines Körbchen, bunt	West-Vancouver
4469a	Flasche in geflochtener Hülle	West-Vancouver
4469b	Flasche in geflochtener Hülle	West-Vancouver
4469c I-II	Flasche in geflochtener Hülle, mit Deckel	West-Vancouver
4469d	Flasche in geflochtener Hülle	West-Vancouver
4474b	Leg- und Setzangel / Fischkette	Haida
4477b	Leine	Nuxalk (Bella Coola)

4480a	Pfeil	Nuxalk (Bella Coola)
4480b	Pfeil, defekt, ohne Spitzenblatt	Nuxalk (Bella Coola)
4480c	Pfeil mit Glas(scherben)spitze	Nuxalk (Bella Coola)
4480d	Pfeil ohne Vorschaft und Spitze	Nuxalk (Bella Coola)
4480e	Pfeil mit Steinspitze	Nuxalk (Bella Coola)
4480f	Pfeil mit Glas(scherben)spitze	Nuxalk (Bella Coola)
4480g	Pfeil, defekt, ohne Spitzenblatt	Nuxalk (Bella Coola)
4481a	Pfeil, ohne Spitze	Nuxalk (Bella Coola)
4481b	Pfeil, ohne Spitze	Nuxalk (Bella Coola)
4481c	Pfeil, ohne Spitze	Nuxalk (Bella Coola)
4482a	Bogen	West-Vancouver
4482b	Bogen	West-Vancouver
4482c	Bogen	Kwakwaka'wakw
4485a	Schale / Eßnapf	Nuxalk (Bella Coola)
4485b	Essnapf, bemalt	Kwakwaka'wakw
4485c	Holzschüssel	Kwakwaka'wakw
4485d	Fettschale	Kwakwaka'wakw
4485e	Holzschüssel in Bootsform	Nuxalk (Bella Coola)
4487a	Holz zum Absprengen von Bast	Tsimshian
4487b	Holz zum Absprengen von Bast	Tshimshian
4487c	Holz zum Absprengen von Bast	Tsimshian
4487d	Holz zum Absprengen von Bast	Tsimshian
4488a	Flöte	Nuxalk (Bella Coola)
4488b	Flöte	Nuxalk (Bella Coola)
4488c	Flöte	Nuxalk (Bella Coola)
4488d	Flöte, dreiteilig	Nuxalk (Bella Coola)
4488e	Flöte	Nuxalk (Bella Coola)
4493a,b	Holz zum Feuerreiben mit Holz und Bohrer	Nuxalk (Bella Coola)
4495a	Henkelkörbchen	Nuu-chah-nulth (Nootka / Ahts)
4495b I-II	kleiner Deckelkorb, verzogen	Nuu-chah-nulth (Nootka /Ahts)
4495c	kleiner Korb, bunt	Nuu-chah-nulth (Nootka / Ahts)
4495d	buntes Körbchen / Schälchen	Nuu-chah-nulth (Nootka / Ahts)
4495e	buntes Körbchen	Nuu-chah-nulth (Nootka / Ahts)
4495f	kleines Körbchen	Nuu-chah-nulth (Nootka / Ahts)
4495g	buntes Körbchen	Nuu-chah-nulth (Nootka / Ahts)
4495h	buntes Körbchen	Nuu-chah-nulth (Nootka / Ahts)
4498a	geflochtener Teller, oval	West-Vancouver
4498b	geflochtener Teller, rund	West-Vancouver
4498c	Flechtteller, oval	West-Vancouver
4501a	Kopfschmuck (Federbüschel mit Holzgriff)	Nuxalk (Bella Coola)

4501b	Kopfschmuck (3 Federn, bemalt, 2 an Spitzen	Nuxalk (Bella Coola)
4501c	Kopfschmuck	Nuxalk (Bella Coola)
4501d	Kopfschmuck	Nuxalk (Bella Coola)
4502c	Holzreifen mit 3 eingesteckten Federn	West-Vancouver
4508a	Harpune	Haida
4508b	Harpune	Haida
4508c	(Heilbutt -)Harpune	Haida
4969a	Maske	Nuu-chah-nulth (Nootka)
4969b	Maske mit beweglichen Augen	Nuu-chah-nulth (Nootka)
4969c	Maske mit abgesetzten Lederteilen	Nuu-chah-nulth (Nootka)
4976a,b	Paket einer Grasart, wird in den Schuhen getragen	Nuxalk (Bella Coola)
4980a	Grasprobe, fester gewickelt	Nuxalk (Bella Coola)
4980b	Grasprobe, oben geknotet	Nuxalk (Bella Coola)
4986a	Seegewächs, Arbeitsgerät zum Glätten von Holz	Nuxalk (Bella Coola)
10392	1/2 Umhang	Nuxalk (Bella Coola)
10500	Feder	Nuxalk (Bella Coola)
AM 0041 (o.Nr.)	Mattenfragment, einseitig zusammengenäht	?
AM 0042 (o.Nr.)	Mattenfragment, einseitig zusammengenäht	?
AM 0043 (o.Nr.)	Korb / Hülle für Kiste, zweifarbig geflochten	?
AM 0044 (o.Nr.)	Deckel eines Flechtkorbes	Nuu-chah-nulth (Nootka / Ahts)
AM 0064 (o.Nr.)	Nachbildung einer Walknochenkeule	Nuu-chah-nulth (Nootka)

Appendix 2: Photographs of the referenced objects within Lübeck's Jacobsen collection

The photographs appear according to their reference's order of appearance within the thesis. All photographs were provided as a courtesy of the Völkerkundesammlung der Hansestadt Lübeck and subjected to their copyright.

Inv.-Nr. 4451:

Inv.-Nr. 4457:

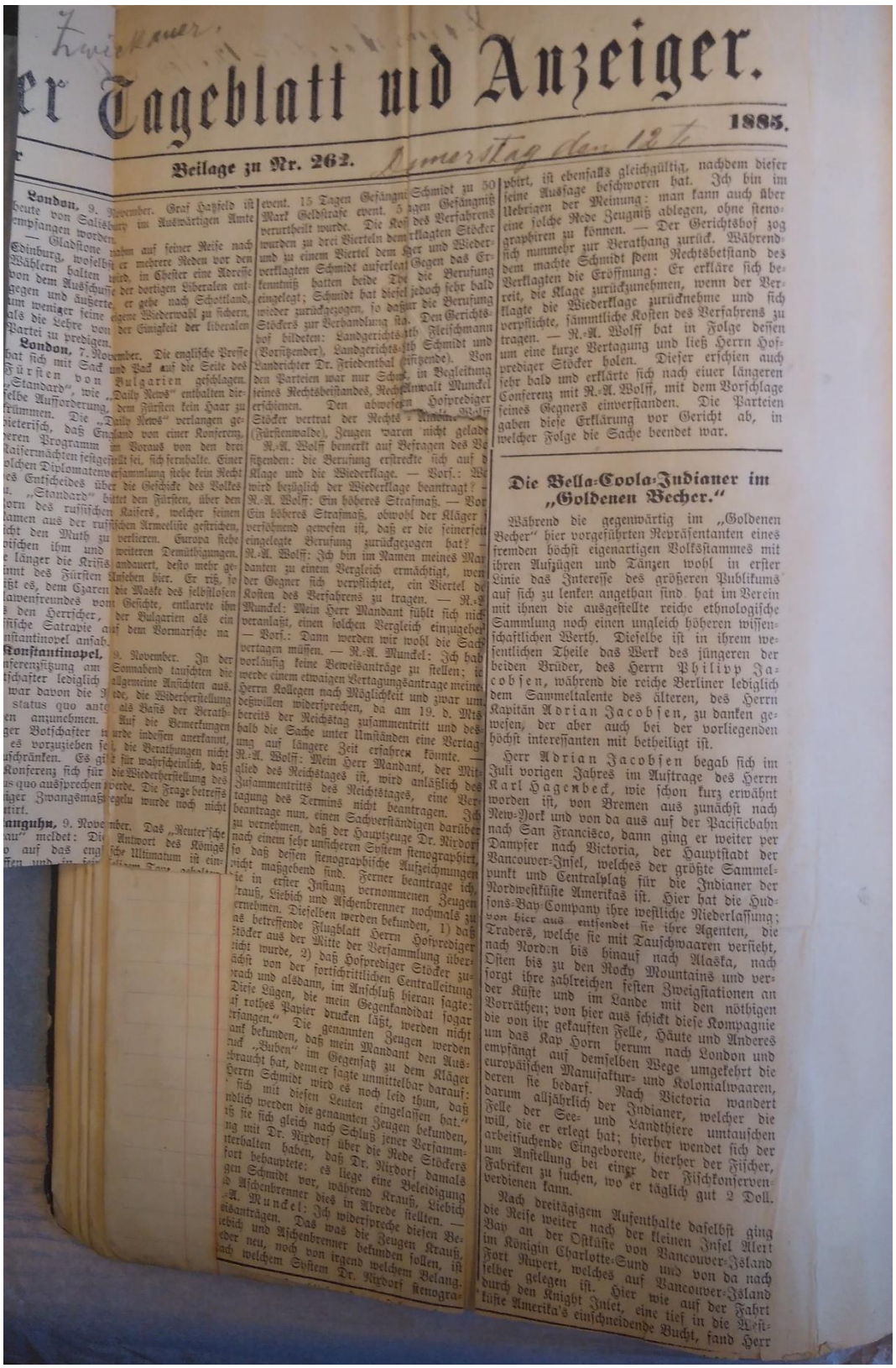
Inv.-Nr. 4991:

Inv.-Nr. 4969b:

Inv.-Nr. 4365:

Appendix 3: Beilage zum Zwickauer Tageblatt Nr. 262, Seite 2292, 12 November 1885 (MARKK - Nachlass JAC 24.2)

Photographs taken from the "Jacobsen Nachlass" in Hamburg's *Museum am Rothenbaum. Kulturen und Künste der Welt* in June 2019.



Zwickauer

er Tageblatt und Anzeiger.

1885.

Beilage zu Nr. 262. Donnerstag den 12 t

London, 9. November. Graf Hatzfeld ist heute von Salzsburg im Auswärtigen Amte empfangen worden.

— Gladstone nahm auf seiner Reise nach Edinburg, woselbst er mehrere Reden vor den Wählern halten wird, in Chester eine Adresse von dem Ausschusse der dortigen Liberalen entgegen und äußerte, er gebe nach Schottland, um wenig er seine eigene Wiederwahl zu sichern, als die Lehre von der Einigkeit der liberalen Partei zu predigen.

London, 7. November. Die englische Presse hat sich mit Sack und Pack auf die Seite des Fürsten von Bulgarien geschlagen. „Standard", wie „Daily News" enthalten dieselbe Aufforderung, dem Fürsten kein Haar zu krümmen. Die „Daily News" verlangen geheimerisch, daß England von einer Konferenz, deren Programm im Voraus von den drei Kaisermächten festgestellt sei, sich fernhalte. Einer solchen Diplomatenversammlung stehe kein Recht des Entscheides über die Geschicke des Volkes zu. „Standard" hütet den Fürsten, über den Zorn des russischen Kaisers, welcher seinen Namen aus der russischen Armeeliste gestrichen, nicht den Muth zu verlieren. Europa stehe zwischen ihm und weiteren Demüthigungen. Je länger die Krisis andauert, desto mehr gewinnt des Fürsten Ansehen hier. Er riß, so heißt es, dem Czaren die Maske des selbstlosen Bundesfreundes vom Gesichte, entlarvte ihn als den Herrscher, der Bulgarien als ein russische Satrapie auf dem Vormarsche nach Konstantinopel ansah.

Konstantinopel, 9. November. In der Conferenzsitzung am Sonnabend tauschten die Botschafter lediglich allgemeine Ansichten aus, war davon die Rede, die Widerherstellung des status quo ante als Basis der Berathungen anzunehmen. Auf die Bemerkungen der Botschafter wurde indessen anerkannt, es vorzuziehen sei, die Berathungen nicht einzuschränken. Es gilt für wahrscheinlich, daß die Konferenz sich für die Wiederherstellung des status quo aussprechen werde. Die Frage betreffs einer Zwangsmaßregelu wurde noch nicht diskutirt.

Hanguhn, 9. November. Das „Reuter'sche Bureau" meldet: Die Antwort des Königs Milan auf das englische Ultimatum ist ein-

event. 15 Tagen Gefängniß Schmidt zu 50 Mark Geldstrafe event. 5 Tagen Gefängniß verurtheilt wurde. Die Kosten des Verfahrens wurden zu drei Vierteln dem klagten Stöcker und zu einem Viertel dem Kläger und Wiederverklagten Schmidt auferlegt. Gegen das Erkenntniß hatten beide Theile die Berufung eingelegt; Schmidt hat dieselbe jedoch sehr bald wieder zurückgezogen, so daß nur die Berufung Stöckers zur Verhandlung stand. Den Gerichtshof bildeten: Landgerichts-Rth Fleischmann (Vorsitzender), Landgerichts-Rth Schmidt und Landrichter Dr. Friedenthal (sitzende). Von den Parteien war nur Schmidt, in Begleitung seines Rechtsbeistandes, Rechtsanwalt Munckel erschienen. Den abwesenden Hofprediger Stöcker vertrat der Rechts-Anwalt Wolff (Fürstenwalde). Zeugen waren nicht geladen.

R.-A. Wolff bemerkt auf Befragen des Vorsitzenden: die Berufung erstreckte sich auf die Klage und die Wiederklage. — Vors.: Wird bezüglich der Wiederklage beantragt? — R.-A. Wolff: Ein höheres Strafmaß. — Vors.: Ein höheres Strafmaß, obwohl der Kläger nicht vertreten gewesen ist, daß er die seinerseit eingelegte Berufung zurückgezogen hat? — R.-A. Wolff: Ich bin im Namen meines Mandanten zu einem Vergleich ermächtigt, wenn der Gegner sich verpflichtet, ein Viertel der Kosten des Verfahrens zu tragen. — R.-A. Munckel: Mein Herr Mandant fühlt sich nicht veranlaßt, einen solchen Vergleich einzugehen. — Vors.: Dann werden wir wohl die Sache vertagen müssen. — R.-A. Munckel: Ich habe vorläufig keine Beweisanträge zu stellen; ich werde einem etwaigen Vertagungsantrage meines Herrn Collegen nach Möglichkeit und zwar um deßwillen widersprechen, da am 19. d. Mts bereits der Reichstag zusammentritt und deshalb die Sache unter Umständen eine Vertagung auf längere Zeit erfahren könnte. — R.-A. Wolff: Mein Herr Mandant, der Mitglied des Reichstages ist, wird anläßlich des Zusammentritts des Reichstages, eine Vertagung des Termins nicht beantragen. Ich beantrage nun, einen Sachverständigen darüber zu vernehmen, daß der Hauptzeuge Dr. Nirdorf nach einem sehr unsicheren System stenographirt, so daß dessen stenographische Aufzeichnungen nicht maßgebend sind. Ferner beantrage ich die in erster Instanz vernommenen Zeugen Krauß, Liebich und Aschenbrenner nochmals zu vernehmen. Dieselben werden bekunden, 1) daß das betreffende Flugblatt Herrn Hofprediger Stöcker aus der Mitte der Versammlung überreicht wurde, 2) daß Hofprediger Stöcker zunächst von der fortschrittlichen Centralleitung gesprach und alsdann, im Anschluß hieran sagte: Diese Lügen, die mein Gegenkandidat sogar auf rothes Papier drucken läßt, werden nicht erfangen." Die genannten Zeugen werden auch bekunden, daß mein Mandant den Ausdruck „Buben" im Gegensatz zu dem Kläger gebraucht hat, denn er sagte unmittelbar darauf: Herrn Schmidt wird es noch leid thun, daß er sich mit diesen Leuten eingelassen hat." Schließlich werden die genannten Zeugen bekunden, daß sie sich gleich nach Schluß jener Versammlung mit Dr. Nirdorf über die Rede Stöckers unterhalten haben, daß Dr. Nirdorf damals fort behauptete: es liege eine Beleidigung gegen Schmidt vor, während Krauß, Liebich und Aschenbrenner dieß in Abrede stellten. — R.-A. Munckel: Ich widerspreche diesen Beweisanträgen. Das was die Zeugen Krauß, Liebich und Aschenbrenner bekunden sollen, ist weder neu, noch von irgend welchem Belang. Nach welchem System Dr. Nirdorf stenogra-

phirt, ist ebenfalls gleichgültig, nachdem dieser seine Aussage beschworen hat. Ich bin im Uebrigen der Meinung: man kann auch über eine solche Rede Zeugniß ablegen, ohne stenographiren zu können. — Der Gerichtshof zog sich nunmehr zur Berathung zurück. Während dem machte Schmidt dem Rechtsbeistand des Verklagten die Eröffnung: Er erkläre sich bereit, die Klage zurückzunehmen, wenn der Verklagte die Wiederklage zurücknehme und sich verpflichte, sämmtliche Kosten des Verfahrens zu tragen. — R.-A. Wolff bat in Folge dessen um eine kurze Vertagung und ließ Herrn Hofprediger Stöcker holen. Dieser erschien auch sehr bald und erklärte sich nach einer längeren Conferenz mit R.-A. Wolff, mit dem Vorschlage seines Gegners einverstanden. Die Parteien gaben diese Erklärung vor Gericht ab, in welcher Folge die Sache beendet war.

Die Bella-Coola-Indianer im „Goldenen Becher."

Während die gegenwärtig im „Goldenen Becher" hier vorgeführten Repräsentanten eines fremden höchst eigenartigen Volksstammes mit ihren Aufzügen und Tänzen wohl in erster Linie das Interesse des größeren Publikums auf sich zu lenken angethan sind hat im Verein mit ihnen die ausgestellte reiche ethnologische Sammlung noch einen ungleich höheren wissenschaftlichen Werth. Dieselbe ist in ihrem wesentlichen Theile das Werk des jüngeren der beiden Brüder, des Herrn Philipp Jacobsen, während die reiche Berliner lediglich dem Sammeltalente des älteren, des Herrn Kapitän Adrian Jacobsen, zu danken gewesen, der aber auch bei der vorliegenden höchst interessanten mit betheiligt ist.

Herr Adrian Jacobsen begab sich im Juli vorigen Jahres im Auftrage des Herrn Karl Hagenbeck, wie schon kurz erwähnt worden ist, von Bremen aus zunächst nach New-York und von da aus auf der Pacificbahn nach San Francisco, dann ging er weiter per Dampfer nach Victoria, der Hauptstadt der Vancouver-Insel, welches der größte Sammelpunkt und Centralplatz für die Indianer der Nordwestküste Amerikas ist. Hier hat die Hudsons-Bay-Company ihre westliche Niederlassung; von hier aus entsendet sie ihre Agenten, die Traders, welche sie mit Tauschwaaren versieht, nach Norden bis hinauf nach Alaska, nach Osten bis zu den Rocky Mountains und versorgt ihre zahlreichen festen Zweigstationen an der Küste und im Lande mit den nöthigen Vorräthen; von hier aus schickt diese Kompagnie die von ihr gekauften Felle, Häute und Anderes um das Kap Horn herum nach London und empfängt auf demselben Wege umgekehrt die europäischen Manufaktur- und Kolonialwaaren, deren sie bedarf. Nach Victoria wandert darum alljährlich der Indianer, welcher die Felle der See- und Landthiere umtauschen will, die er erlegt hat; hierher wendet sich der arbeitsuchende Eingeborene, hierher der Fischer, um Anstellung bei einer der Fischkonserven-Fabriken zu suchen, wo er täglich gut 2 Doll. verdienen kann.

Nach dreitägigem Aufenthalte daselbst ging die Reise weiter nach der kleinen Insel Alert Bay an der Ostküste von Vancouver-Island im Königin Charlotte-Sund und von da nach Fort Rupert, welches auf Vancouver-Island selber gelegen ist. Hier wie auf der Fahrt durch den Knight Inlet, eine tief in die Westküste Amerika's einschneidende Bucht, fand Herr

Donnerstag den 12. November.

[Be]ilage zum Zwickauer Tageblatt Nr. 264, Seite 2292.

Adrian reiche Gelegenheit, ethnographische Gegenstände von dem Stamme der Quakult-Indianer zu sammeln. Dieser Ausflug, der überall im Kanoe ausgeführt wurde, war, abgesehen von den vielfachen Beschwerden, durchaus nicht gefahrlos, indem Herr Jacobsen nahe daran war, von den habgierigen Indianern todtgeschlagen zu werden. Mit reicher Beute kehrte er dann zunächst nach Alert Bay und weiter nach Fort Rupert zurück, welches wegen der daselbst befindlichen Handelsstation der Husonds-Bay-Kompagnie ein sehr günstig gelegene Centralstation bildete, von wo aus mit Vortheil weitere Ausflüge unternommen werden konnten.

So ging nun Herr Jacobsen von hier aus quer durch die Vancouver-Insel nach Kuskimo, wo ein Hauptort der sogenannten „Longheads", Langköpfe, ist, welche dem Stamme der Quakult-Indianer angehören, die er aber auch schon in Fort Rupert kennen zu lernen Gelegenheit gehabt hatte. Es giebt nur drei Orte, in denen diese vorkommen, die beiden genannten und Novette, nordöstlich von Fort Rupert. Die Köpfe dieser Indianer werden bei der Geburt oder bald nach derselben künstlich gepreßt, so daß sie dadurch eine längliche Gestalt annehmen.

Nach diesem Ausfluge zu den Longheads ging Herr Jacobsen wieder nach der kleinen Insel Alert Bay und von da per Dampfer nördlich nach der Festlandsküste, wo die Eingeborenen an den tief einschneidenden Fjords wohnen. Zunächst ging es zu den Bella-Bella-Indianern und dann zu den Bella-Coola, immer im Kanoe die weit in das Land reichenden Buchten befahrend und in Gegenden gelangend, in die vorher noch kein Weißer gekommen war. Es war dies eine an Beschwerden und Mühseligkeiten reiche Fahrt; so hatte einmal unser Reisender nach einem Besuche der Bella-Coola-Indianer von Kims Criß, dem Verhungern nahe, fünf Tage lang in den unwirthlichen Felsschluchten liegen müssen. Froh war er daher, als er wieder nach dem Ort Bella-Bella zurückgekehrt war, von wo aus er seine reichen, aber auch mit vieler Mühe erworbenen ethnographischen Schätze, die wir jetzt hier bequem zu bewundern Gelegenheit haben, nach Victoria sandte.

Von Bella-Bella begab er sich dann weiter nördlich nach Port Essington am Skeena-Fluß, wo er den ganzen Winter von 1884 auf 1885 verblieb und von wo aus er das Gebiet der Tschimsian nach allen Richtungen hin durchstreifte und auch größere Ausflüge zu den Heidas unternahm. Wieder wurden hier reiche Sammlungen angelegt und dann im Frühling nach Rivers Inlet und dann nach Victoria gegangen. Noch einmal besuchte aber Herr Jacobsen die Tschimsian in Fort Simpsor und kehrte dann nach Fort Rupert auf Vancouver-Island zurück, wo er mit seinem älteren Bruder, dem Kapitän Adrian Jacobsen, zusammentraf.

Unterdessen hatte dieser, kaum von seiner großen Reise nach der Nordwestküste Amerikas und durch Alaska hindurch, nach Europa zurückgekehrt, wiederum eine neue große Reise wie vorher im Auftrage des ethnographischen Komitees in Berlin in Ausführung gebracht. Zunächst begab sich derselbe im Mai über Petersburg und Moskau nach Kasan, um bei den dort lebenden finnischen Völkerschaften, den Tschuwaschen und Tscheremissen, zu sammeln, ferner an der Kama bei den Wotjaken. Von dort ging es nach der Kirgisensteppe, wo weiter gesammelt wurde. Von Semipalatinsk wurde dann der Weg nach dem Altai eingeschlagen, wo wiederum die dortigen Kalmücken eine reiche Ausbeute lieferten.

Es wurde nunmehr ein nordöstlicher Kours eingeschlagen zu den am Baikalsee wohnenden Burjäten. Hierauf reiste der Kapitän Jacobsen von Irkutsk nach dem Amur in die Nähe der Mündung des Sungariflusses, in jenem, wo sich derselbe ein[...]ot verschaffte und die mandschurische Seite [des] Amur befuhr, wo er unter den hier wohnen[den] und dann auch bei den auf russischem [Gebi]ete wohnenden Golden und später am unt[eren] Amur bei den Giljaken sammelte.

Von Nicolajes[k], dem Hauptorte des russischen Küstengebi[etes] von Ost-Sibirien, nahe an der Mündung [des] Amur gelegen, begab sich Kapitän Jacob[sen] nach der Insel Sachalin und bereiste in [ein]em Boote die West- und Südküste der In[sel] bis zur Aniwa-Bay, wo ihn der sibirisch[e] Winter hinderte, mit dem Boote weiter [vor]zukommen. Zwei Monate verblieb Kapitän [J]acobsen auf Sachalin, wo er die Gelegenhe[it] ausgenutzt hat, fleißig unter den Ainos zu sa[mm]eln.

Ende Dezemb[er] hatte derselbe verschiedene Ainos mit Hun[des]litten angeworben, um zur Küste Sachalins [zu]rückzukehren. Die Reise war um diese Jahres[zeit] eine ganz außerordentlich beschwerliche, un[d es] starben denn auch von den Anstrengungen u[nd] von der Kälte die Hälfte der Hunde. Ende Januar langte er wieder in Nikolajewsk an und ging dann aufs Neue den Amur hinauf, wo wiederum bei verschiedenen [...]ischen Völkern gesammelt wurde. Auch der [...]urifluß wurde behufs Anlegung von Samm[lun]gen eine Strecke stromaufwärts befahren.

Im Monat April landete Kapitän Jacobsen in Wladiwostok und begab sich von da nach [ein]em an der koreanischen Grenze gelegenen ru[s]sischen Militärposten, wo in den benachbarten ko[r]eanischen Dörfern wieder gesammelt wurde. N[a]ch Wladiwostok zurückgekehrt, wurden auf ein[em] japanischen Dampfer verschiedene koreanische Häfen besucht, so Ginsan und Fusan. [Vo]n Korea schiffte sich dann der Reisende nach Japan ein, besuchte Nagasaki, Kobe, Kioto, Yokohama und fuhr dann mit einem amerikanischen Dampfschiffe nach San Francisco, wo er nach einer neunzehntägigen Fahrt anlangte un[d] von wo aus er sich sofort per Dampfschiff nach Victoria auf Vancouver-Island begab, dem Anfangsort seiner früheren so ersprießlichen Thätigkeit.

Erst daselbst erfuhr Kapitän Jacobsen von de[r] Hudsons-Bay-Company, daß sich sein jüngerer Bruder, der sich, wie schon erwähnt, in des er[s]teren und des Herrn Hagenbeck Auftrage im Juli 1884 nach British Columbia begeben hatte, augenblicklich weit oben im Norden, im Fort Simpsor, im Gebiete der Tschimsian-Indianer befände.

Kapitän Jacobsen sandte demselben sofort Na[ch]richt von seiner Ankunft und bestimmte Fo[rt] Rupert an der nordöstlichen Küste der Va[n]couver-Insel zum Ort der Begegnung. Un[ter]dessen nahm Kapitän Jacobsen eine Anzahl In[]dianer in Dienst und begab sich in einem Ka[]noe nach der Ostküste von Vancouver-Island, um daselbst an den bekannten Stellen, wo er be[r]eits in den Jahren 1881 und 1882 für das kö[ni]glich ethnographische Museum in Berlin ge[s]ammelt hatte, neue Erwerbungen zu machen. In Fort Rupert angelangt, war aber der Bruder noch nicht eingetroffen, ließ aber nicht lange auf sich warten, indem er bereits nach zwei Tagen ankam. Nun machten sich die beiden Brüder gemeinschaftlich daran, im Auftrage des Herrn Hagenbeck eine Anzahl von dortigen langköpfigen Indianern zu bewegen, mit nach Europa zu kommen. Der Halbblut-Indianer George Hundt, der vollkommen mit den Sitten und Gebräuchen der umwohnenden Indianer vertraut war, als wäre er selber ein [India]ner, außerdem nicht nur englisch, [...]ger Indianer, außerdem nicht nur englisch, [son]dern auch das „Fort-Rupert-Indianisch" oder [di]e Quakult ganz geläufig sprach, ein alter [Re]isegefährte und Freund des Kapitäns von [der] früheren Reise her, war dabei den beiden Brüdern von großem Nutzen. Er ließ sich bereit [fin]den, selber mit mehreren Indianern vom Quakult-Stamme nach Europa zu gehen. Elf Indianer hatten ihre Zusage gemacht, darunter [zwe]i langköpfige Weiber mit Kindern. Ehe aber die ganze Karawane Fort Rupert verließ, unternahmen die Brüder in Gesellschaft George Hundt's noch einen Ausflug, um einige noch fehlende ethnographische Gegenstände zu sammeln.

Die Zeit der Abwesenheit der Brüder von Fort Rupert hatte nun ein sich daselbst aufhaltender englischer Missionär benutzt, um den angeworbenen Indianern die Gefahren einer Reise nach Deutschland in den grellsten Farben auszumalen. Unter Anderem erzählte er den leichtgläubigen Eingeborenen, daß es nach Deutschland noch einmal so weit sei als nach England und daß die Leute nicht mit der Eisenbahn gerade quer durch Amerika, sondern zu Schiff um das Kap Horn herum transportirt werden würden, wobei sie sieben lange Monate auf dem Wasser den Gefahren und Unannehmlichkeiten einer Seereise ausgesetzt seien. Die Folge davon war, daß die Quakults bei Ankunft der Brüder Jacobsen in Fort Rupert die Flucht ergriffen hatten und keine Spur mehr von ihnen zu sehen war.

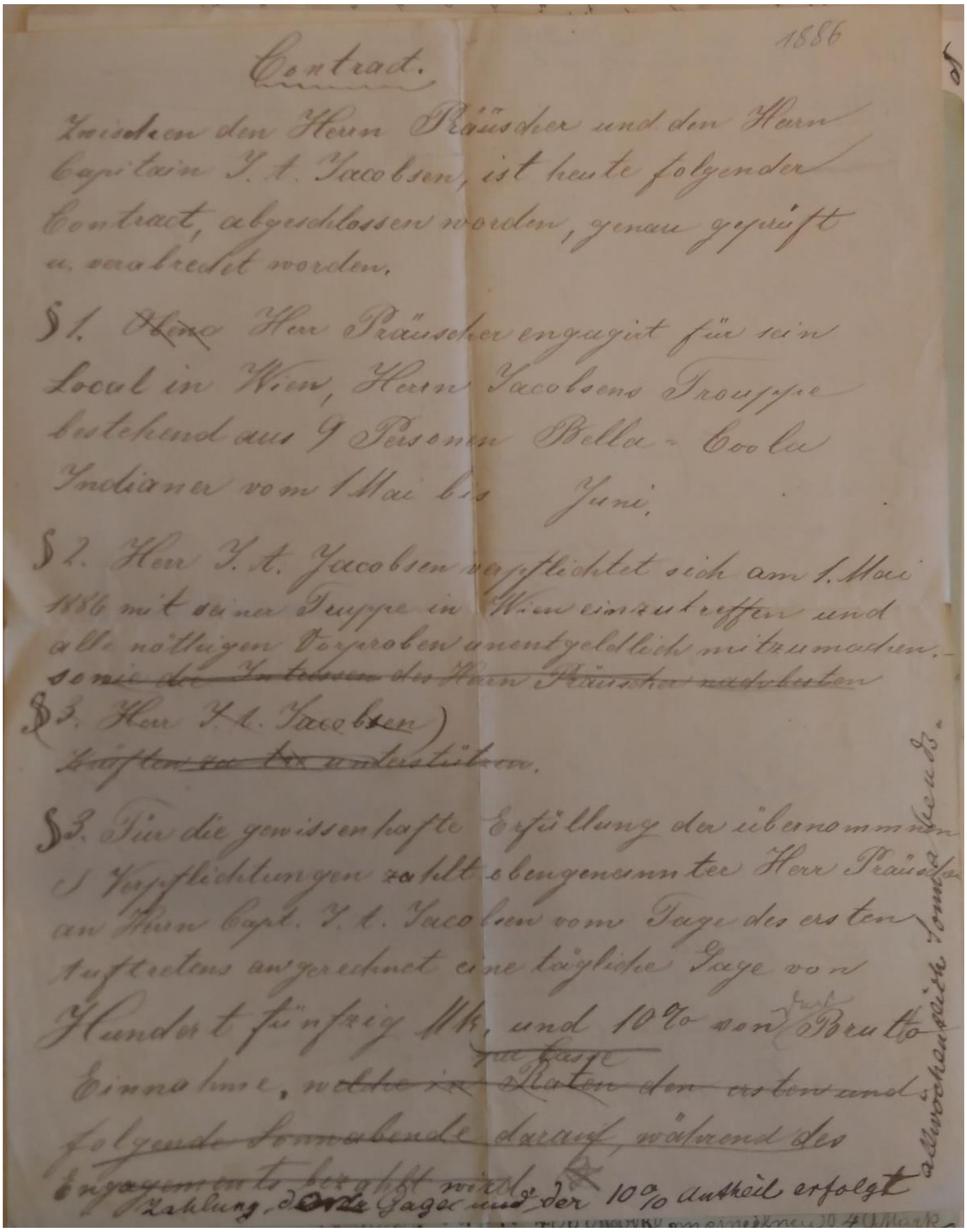
Nunmehr blieb nichts anderes übrig, als den Versuch zu machen, Eingeborene von nördlicheren Indianerstämmen zur Reise nach Europa zu bewegen. Dies glückte denn auch; auf dem Wege trafen die Brüder eine Anzahl Indianer vom Stamme der Bella-Coola, von welchen es gelang, neun zu einer Reise nach Europa zu gewinnen. Mit diesen gingen die Brüder nun nach Viktoria. Hier angelangt, versuchten verschiedene andere Indianerstämme, ihre Landsleute von deren Vorhaben abwendig zu machen, aber vergeblich; dieselben ließen sich nicht irre machen, namentlich Dank der Standhaftigkeit ihres Häuptlings Jakutlas.

Es wurde nun daselbst ein Contrakt mit den Indianern vereinbart und von der dortigen Behörde bestätigt, auch wurde für die richtige Befolgung der Vereinbarung eine Summe als Caution bei Gericht niedergelegt. Nachdem alle die Formalitäten erledigt waren, ging es an Bord eines Dampfers durch den Puget-Sund nach Catoma und Portland, von wo aus mit der Nord-Pacific-Bahn die Reise über Minneapolis und Chicago nach New-York angetreten wurde. Nach einem eintägigen Aufenthalte in New-York schifften sich die Brüder mit ihren Indianern am 5. August dieses Jahres daselbst ein und langten an Bord des Dampfers nach einer glücklichen Fahrt am 15. August in Bremen an.

Den vielfachen Anstrengungen und Beschwerden ist aber auch der Erfolg entsprechend; noch niemals haben die Hagenbeck'schen Schaustellungen so interessante Völkertypen vorgeführt, als dieses Mal.

Appendix 4: Contract between Adrian Jacobsen and Mister Präuscher regarding the performance of the "Bella Coola" group in Vienna in May 1886 (MARKK – Nachlass JAC 14.8)

Photographs taken from the "Jacobsen Nachlass" in Hamburg's *Museum am Rothenbaum. Kulturen und Künste der Welt* in June 2019.



1886

Contract.

Zwischen den Herrn Präuscher und den Herrn Capitain J. A. Jacobsen, ist heute folgender Contract, abgeschlossen worden, genau geprüft u. verabredet worden.

§1. ~~Herr~~ Herr Präuscher engagirt für sein Local in Wien, Herrn Jacobsens Trouppe bestehend aus 9 Personen Bella-Coola Indianer vom 1 Mai bis Juni.

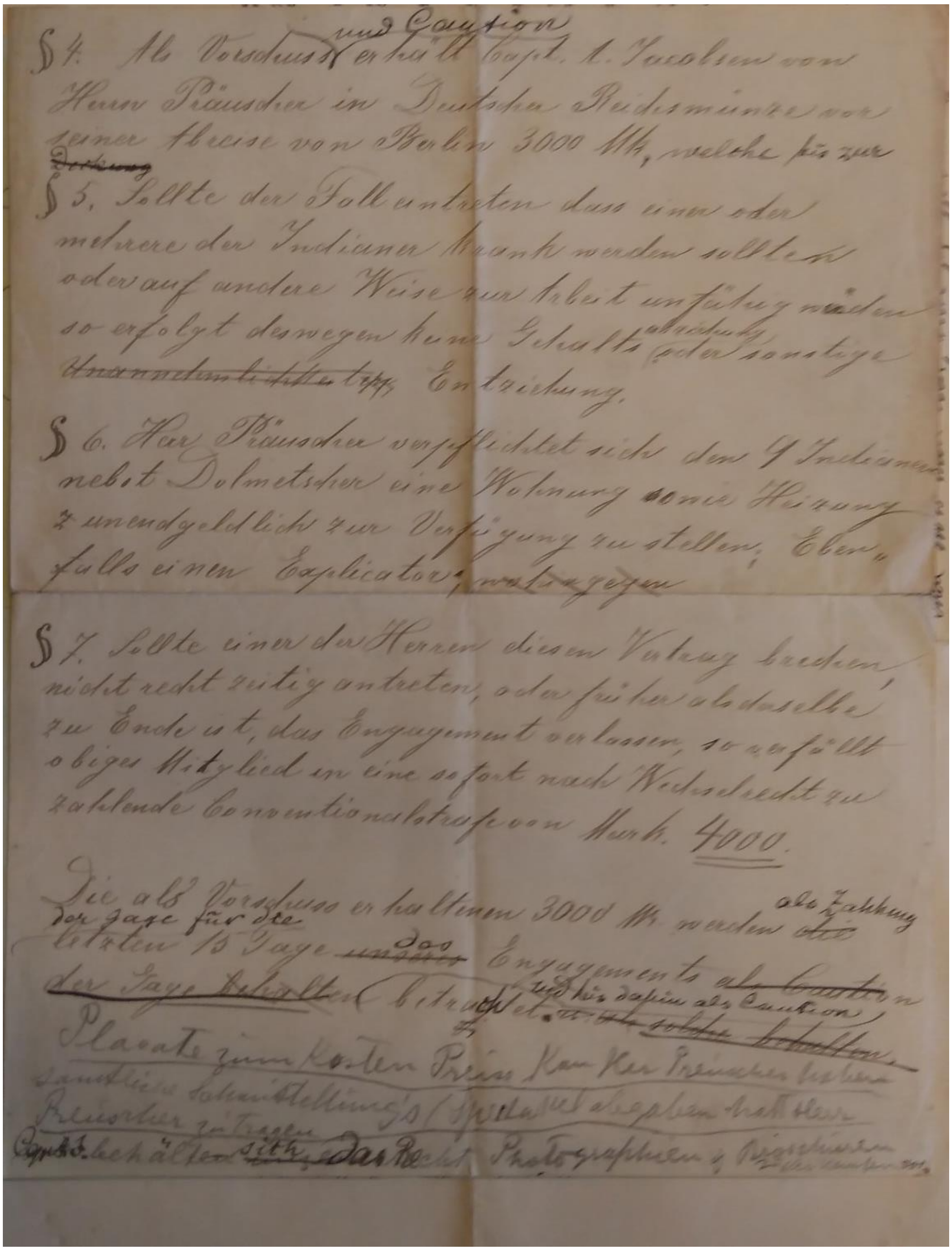
§2. Herr J. A. Jacobsen verpflichtet sich am 1. Mai 1886 mit seiner Truppe in Wien einzutreffen und alle nöthigen Vorproben unentgeldlich mitzumachen. ~~sowie die Interessen des Herrn Präuscher wahrzunehmen~~

§3. Herr J. A. Jacobsen) ~~kräften zu unterstützen~~.

§3. Für die gewissenhafte Erfüllung der übernommenen Verpflichtungen zahlt obengenannter Herr Präuscher an Herrn Capt. J. A. Jacobsen vom Tage des ersten Auftretens angerechnet eine tägliche Gage von Hundert fünfzig Mk, und 10% von der Brutto Einnahme, ~~welche in Raten den ersten und folgende Sonnabende darauf während des Engagements bezahlt wird~~ pro Tage

Zahlung der Gage und der 10% Antheil erfolgt allwöchentlich Sonnabends.

Flipside:



§ 4. Als Vorschuss und Caution erhält Capt. A. Jacobsen vom Herrn Präuscher in Deutscher Reichsmünze vor seiner Abreise von Berlin 3000 Mk, welche bis zur ~~Deckung~~

§ 5. Sollte der Fall eintreten dass einer oder mehrere der Indianer krank werden sollten oder auf andere Weise zur Arbeit unfähig würden so erfolgt deswegen keine Gehalts abziehung oder sonstige ~~[illegible]~~ Entziehung.

§ 6. Herr Präuscher verpflichtet sich den 9 Indianer nebst Dolmetscher eine Wohnung sowie Heizung z unendgeldlich zur Verfügung zu stellen; Ebenfalls einen Explicator, ~~[illegible]~~

§ 7. Sollte einer der Herren diesen Vertrag brechen, nicht recht zeitig antreten, oder früher als dasselbe zu Ende ist, das Engagement verlassen, so verfällt obiges Mitglied in eine sofort nach Wechselrecht zu zahlende Conventionalstrafe von Mark. 4000.

Die als Vorschuss erhaltenen 3000 Mk werden als Zahlung der gage für die letzten 15 Tage ~~unseres~~ das Engagements ~~als Caution~~ ~~der Gage behalten~~ (betrachtet. und bis dahin als Caution) ~~solche behalten~~.

Placate zum Kosten Preis kann Herr Präuscher liefern sämtliche Schaustellungs (Spesen) Ausgaben hat Herr Präuscher zu tragen

Capt. J. behält sich das Recht Photographien u. Broschüren [illegible]