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Summary

Many Sami groups were travelling in Europe with their reindeer in the so-called ”Lapp caravans”, presenting Sami culture to Mid-Europeans from the mid-1800s to the 1930s. The Lapp caravans were criticized by the media during that time, and later they have often been viewed in the light of racial theories and social Darwinism. However, in recent years there has been a new interest to study the Lapp caravans as media communications of that time, or as a part of the European way to represent other cultures, in addition to museums or literary descriptions.

This article deals with the cultural confrontations. It describes the experiences and histories of three Lapp caravans, that arose in the Finnish Sami area in 1910, 1925 and 1930. The Sami participants in the caravans were hired performers who followed programs and conditions set by outsiders. There is no doubt that the Sami suffered from the influences of racial theories and scorn by culturally superior spectators but they also met with positive reactions in these encounters.

The Sami were fulfilling the expectations of the the organizers who had their own concepts and criteria of the “genuine Lapp culture”. Nevertheless, many examples show that the Sami performers could even adopt an ironic attitude towards their role as “the wild people” and “the lower race”. Among the Sami there was many different attitudes towards the Lapp caravans. The Sami movement that arose in the Scandinavian countries at the beginning of the 20th century, were critical of the caravans. However, individual Sami families used the caravans as a source of income and enjoyed the positive experiences of travelling abroad.

Sami on the stages and in the zoos of Europe

At the end of January 1910, reindeer herder and house owner Juhani Jomppanen left his home at Menesjärvi in Inari, Finland, to travel abroad with his family. He was to lead a group of 17 Sami on a six-month tour in Germany. The group consisted of seven men, six women and four children. According to a local newspaper, hundreds of people stood at the railway station in Rovaniemi and stared wide-eyed as "these people from the back of beyond were taken as some sort of exhibits" to Germany.¹

Two men from Sweden had been assigned the task of recruiting apparently "rarer Lapps" to be seen in a so-called peoples show, *Völkerschau*, that was organized by Carl Hagenbeck of Hamburg and that usually engaged Southern Sami from central Scandinavia or reindeer-herding Sami from northern Norway. The reindeer had been sent in advance evidently along the coast of Norway. The expedition led by Jomppanen took with them huts and other paraphernalia, such as collars and sledges for the reindeer. From Rovaniemi the group travelled by train to Hanko, where they got on board ships destined for Hamburg.²

Jomppanen and his group formed one of the so-called Lapp caravans that travelled across European cities, especially in Germany, displaying Sami culture. At least 30 groups of Sami with their reindeer are known to have toured Europe, and some even the United States, during a period extending from the mid-1800s to the 1930s. Several hundred Sami probably acquainted themselves with the big cities of Europe in this way. Lapp caravans constituted only a small part of the exhibitions that were organized to display primitive peoples and "lower cultures" of the world in European amusement parks, circuses and, particularly, zoos.³

Exhibitions presenting foreign nations were extremely popular and – together with International Expositions – attracted millions of visitors.⁴ Among the most popular were presumably the exhibitions of ethnography and natural history⁵ that Hagenbeck organized in 1874-1931. For example, during Easter 1878, some 44,000 visitors came to Hagenbeck's park to see how an Inuit family from Greenland lived.⁶ Performances by Sami were a recurrent number in Hagenbeck's shows, and they also attracted large audiences.

Despite the popularity of the exhibitions, they have not been studied in any great detail, for instance, in research on the Sami. This can be explained by the fact that the golden age of the exhibitions, 1875-1910, coincided with the rise of global colonialism, racial theories and social Darwinism. Furthermore, as it is known that the exhibitions were held in circuses and zoos, the image of Lapp caravans had become very tainted both among the Sami and in previous literature.

The reference in *Perä-Pohjolainen* to "some sort of exhibits" illustrates the repute that the tours had even in their own day. Similarly, at the beginning of the 1920s, the Finnish author Ernst Lampén portrayed a Sami person as having been "an exhibit in German zoos".⁷ The tours have also later been considered as model examples of exploitation and humiliation. The attitudes of people in the Sami area are well reflected in Kari Autto's vehement outburst: "Lapps from Ounis, among others, were taken in great numbers with their utensils and reindeer to be exhibited in the zoos of Germany in 1925 and 1930. The purpose of the exhibition was clear: to show the German population the inferiority of other races in comparison with their own Aryan race."⁸

In a similar vein, research on the Sami has compared the participants of Lapp caravans to prisoners brought in from colonies and has simultaneously highlighted the inhuman nature of colonialism, as in the following description by Vilho Harle and Sami Moisio: "for at the time it was acceptable and normal to bring Sami people to be exhibited and examined in the same way as some extraordinary or wild animals. The exhibitions held in Europe sometimes included a section in which civilized Europeans were able to look and wonder at Sámi, who were exhibited along with monkeys and other silly animals."⁹ In his thorough article "Lappkaravaner på villovägar" (1981–82), Gunnar Broberg, a Swedish historian of science and ideas, examines Lapp caravans as part of the history of racism. He stresses that he has not written down the history of the Sami but discusses the activities of central Europeans in the light of racial theories and social Darwinism. In addition to their ethnocentrism, or their 'we' vs. 'they' mentality, Broberg considers the exhibitions racist because they presented diversity as being based on scientifically and biologically justified, hierarchical grounds.¹⁰ In Finland, Sven Hirn (1982) has discussed journeys made by the Sami to European countries from the 17th century onwards in relation to the knowledge and image of Sami that could also be found in European literature.¹¹

The recently kindled interest in Sami shows is reflected in the theme issue *Samer på utstilling* (2007) of the journal *Ottar*, published by the Tromsø University Museum. Contributions to the issue consider the

phenomenon an interesting research topic because, for one thing, the shows can be seen as mass media of the day, as indicated by the large number of visitors that they attracted. Furthermore, the connection between ethnographical shows and the development of anthropology and of museums that present foreign cultures is considered worth studying. A key question in the special issue, then, is whether it is possible to see the tours of Sami in other than negative light.¹²

The authors aim to shed light on how the Sami themselves experienced the tours: what motivated them to embark on long journeys abroad, how they experienced their performances and what life was like when they were not on stage. The collection also includes two articles written by Sami about their grandparents who took part in such tours.¹³ One of them, Odd Mattis Hætta, criticizes Broberg's use of the term "på villovägar (= on the wrong track, off the path)": he considers it a reflection of the general view that the Sami were intellectually inferior and let themselves be exploited. According to Hætta, such views "give the impression that the Sami did not understand what was best for them and that they did not gain any intellectual, let alone material benefits from these tours."¹⁴

There is thus reason to examine the tours from the perspective of cultural encounters and, along with museums and literary presentations, as part of the European tradition of presenting foreign nations. With regard to the Sami, attention has been drawn to the fact that the participants of the tours were hired performers who played their part on terms that were laid down by outsiders. In what follows, I shall examine these discussions in relation to three tours that Sami from Finland made in 1910, 1925 and 1930. Only fragmented information is available on the tours because the phenomenon has scarcely been discussed among the Sami or among researchers on the Sami.

Stereotypes of authenticity

The Finnish newspaper *Uusi Suometar* reported in October 1875: "Lapps in the capital of Germany. A certain Mr. Hagenbeck has imported into Berlin a Lapp family and a large collection of deer, skis, furniture, dogs, etc. for the inhabitants of the city to look and wonder at."¹⁵ The piece of news is significant because it gives an account in the first ethnographical show organized by Carl Hagenbeck, an animal trainer from Hamburg. The show served as an opening for his career as an interpreter and depicter of otherness, a career that eventually extended over sixty years.¹⁶

In his memoirs, Hagenbeck considers the show that he organized in 1875 as an epochal event and the first of its kind.¹⁷ This is not quite

true because similar exhibitions had been organized in different countries in the course of the 19th century. The first known exhibition involving the Sami was organized as early as 1822-1823 at the Egyptian Hall in London, presenting a dozen reindeer and a Sami family from Røros, Norway. Within the first six weeks only, the exhibition attracted 58,000 visitors. The group of Sami also toured England.¹⁸



*Mr Bullock's exhibition of Laplanders at the Egyptian Hall, Picadilly, 1822.
Lithograph by Thomas Rowlandson, London, 1822.*

However, Cathrine Baglo has made an obviously necessary, albeit cumbersome, distinction between two types of exhibitions.¹⁹ The exhibition held in London can be considered an example of an *entertainment exhibition* that aimed at providing visitors with glimpses of diversity, or even of sensation. These exhibitions were often organized in theatres, circuses or amusement parks – because, for one thing, these venues were built to accommodate large crowds. Such exhibitions presented, for example, a Sami dwarf, less than one metre tall, who allegedly lived on boiled grass and sour reindeer milk, or a young, two-metre Sami "giantess", who was hired under a long-term contract because of her peculiarity.²⁰

Hagenbeck's understanding of his shows as epochal is nonetheless right in the sense that they came to represent *ethnographical or anthropological exhibitions*, albeit in a heavily popularized form.²¹ A natural venue for such exhibitions was offered by zoos because they were based on a more or less scientific way of viewing the world. In contrast to entertainment exhibitions, Hagenbeck's idea was to pique the intellectual needs of his audience and to draw on concepts in anthropology, a new evolving

discipline at the time. He took as his starting point the attempt to present different cultures "without any artistic backdrop and to bring out [--] really an image that definitely presented a true copy of life in the wild". The aim was to erase all references to an organized or staged exhibition. The shows organized by Hagenbeck were indeed praised because the performers were not "acting" but, in a sense, were leading their ordinary lives on stage.²²

Along with other primitive peoples, the Sami brought on stage their everyday lives with their reindeer, "tents" and utensils. Although the idea seems rather dry, the exhibitions organized by Hagenbeck became a huge success. In a sense, they were documentary shows of the time, dealing with the question of the origins and development of humanity. In addition to being able to watch performances at regular intervals – for example, the Sami making crafts, performing music and harnessing or riding reindeer, visitors were able to wander around a Lapp village, touching objects and even performers.²³

The popularity of Lapp caravans was connected to the rising interest of Europeans, stirred by colonialism, in foreign cultures and distant countries. The disciplines of ethnography and anthropology also evolved from the same need to understand and be able to classify the diversity of a globalizing world. The development of museums with exhibitions on foreign cultures was strongly connected to this process. The International Expositions of Paris, St. Louis and Chicago have been considered the beginning of a new type of museum that houses permanent ethnographical exhibitions.²⁴ For instance, Sami artefacts and objects of cultural value ended up in the collections of museums in the United Kingdom and many other European countries especially from the 1850s onward.²⁵

Ethnographical exhibitions seem to have followed the principles of scientific research, such as those of anthropology, to a certain extent. It is likely that the exhibitions provided descriptions that were popularized versions of the latest research results. Some exhibitions included public lectures, and at the International Exposition in Chicago (in which the Sami also participated), for example, the exhibitions became a site of field work for students of anthropology, Frans Boaz among them.²⁶

As Broberg points out, the exhibitions were an ideal arrangement for "armchair anthropologists" because they were able to examine their research subjects conveniently, without having to make arduous journeys to remote corners of the world. That is why, for instance, one of the most well-known representatives of physical anthropology, Rudolph Virchow, who "never missed a *Völkerschau*" was able to measure the rare skulls of Lapps in the Berlin Zoo in 1879.²⁷

The shows organized by Hagenbeck, however, were not committed to science but aimed at popularization and even sensationalism: the objective was "to give millions of Europeans the first vivid image of how foreign nations lived".²⁸ Before the cinema and tourism, the shows provided ordinary Europeans with the only opportunity to come into contact with foreign nations. This took place on terms dictated by colonialism. Even though documentary and authentic styles were emphasized, the exhibitions were carried out within a set, standardized framework that was scripted by the organizers.²⁹

Hagenbeck took as his express starting point the wish to present authentic, primitive cultures that had remained outside European influence and that had not yet started the "process of civilization". The basic idea was to present primitivism and otherness on stage in the best possible way. The exhibitions were designed to satisfy the stereotypical expectations of the audience; as Rothfels puts it, they were "commercialized stereotypes".³⁰

Just as American Indians were expected to ride horses and Eskimos paddle kayaks, the Sami were to put up their huts in the zoo and harness their reindeer day after day. As early as during the recruitment process, the performers were carefully selected to meet the criteria of the "right" racial-theoretical type. They were not allowed to conduct themselves in ways that seemed too civilized and they were not even allowed to have names that sounded too European. Sometimes their contracts of employment specified, along with their wages, even the clothes that they were allowed to wear during performances.³¹

Baglo may well be right in arguing that the Sami were able to consider their lives on stage as jobs, as roles that they each played within the limits of the working day. A day's programme, including breaks, was strictly defined: "During this time, they had to remain within the camp and look like 'authentic' Sami. [--] When the working day was over, it was time for leisure and the Sami turned into tourists, cultural envoys or modern cosmopolitans", Baglo states.³²

It seems that the Sami were able to take an ironic stance towards the role that went with the requirement for authenticity. The whole concept of authenticity was based on "othering", the idea that the Sami had to appear as representatives of a different culture, as primitive and wild, in all respects. In this sense, the Sami probably saw their role as actors, contrary to the ideal that Hagenbeck strove for. Even though the Sami were influenced by many modern trends in their leisure time, they had to abstain from showing it during their working hours.

The Sami themselves may have exploited the expectations of European audiences. Thomas Andersson, a Southern Sami from Sweden, was presumably the first Sami who intentionally took advantage of the institution of Lapp caravans. At the end of the 19th century, he gathered up his family, lean-to hut and a few reindeer to leave for tours that took him all the way to Germany.³³ It is not known whether the way in which Andersson depicted Sami culture differed from those of other Lapp caravans. An evident example of an ironical stance, however, is given by the two Sami brothers who rented a railway carriage to tour Denmark and Germany, presenting themselves as the "wildest Lapps in the world".³⁴

In connection with Lapp caravans, reference has been made to representatives of other native peoples who were dragged into exhibitions against their will. For example, aboriginals from Australia or natives of Africa were treated almost as prisoners in the exhibitions. The position of the Sami seems to have differed from theirs in the sense that the Sami – the native people of Europe – set off voluntarily. They were paid for what they did and were provided for during their journey, even in the form of regular mealtimes. The journeys were probably the most harmful to the reindeer, vulnerable to death in foreign climates.

"Lapps of Königsberg"

Most Lapp caravans were raised in Norway and Sweden. In 1878, ten Sami (possibly from Finland) and 40 reindeer were taken by ship from Turku, Finland, via Hamburg to Paris.³⁵ However, it was only in 1909-1911 that the recruitment of Sami ensued properly in Finland. Among the organizers was Aleko Lilius, an "author and explorer". He is known to have delivered reindeer to exhibitions in Hamburg and Berlin on several occasions in 1909.³⁶

In his memoirs, the details of which have been called into question for their credibility³⁷, Lilius claims to have made personal acquaintance with Carl Hagenbeck. Lilius promised to deliver reindeer in better condition than the ones that Hagenbeck had in the zoo. After receiving the first herd of reindeer, Hagenbeck became inspired: "Now he wanted me to find Lapp families with their huts, reindeer, dogs, hunting equipment and so on. And a dozen people with all their household utensils."³⁸ Lilius had a purveyor in the Torne River valley, Eero Gadolin, who delivered a great herd of reindeer to Helsinki, along with Lapps who camped in Lilius's garden while waiting for their departure to Germany.

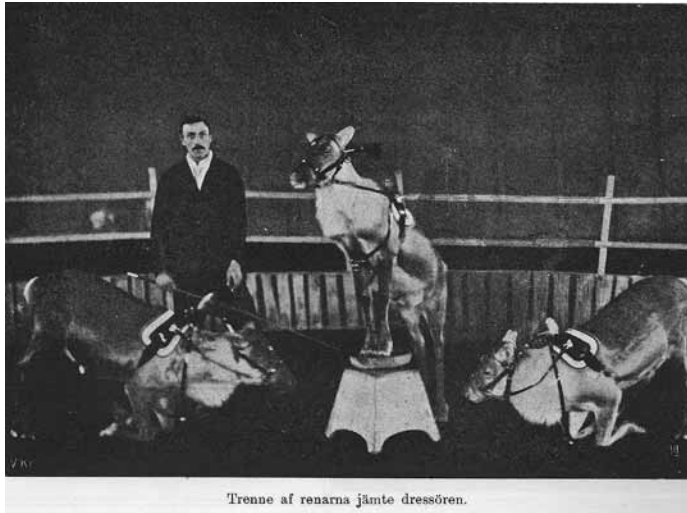
The reindeer and the Lapp-costumed people from Kittilä aroused curiosity already in Helsinki. Lilius organized a show in the Kaisaniemi

Park and planned to arrange a tour of his own in Finland. The group gained success also in Germany, and Lilius made ever greater plans: the group should tour Sheperds Bush in London, the Alps in Switzerland and even around the world. However, a deceitful partner ran away with their money and Lilius's plans eventually came to nothing.³⁹

An example of Lilius's bold plans was the recruitment of the Hungarian Sandor Krail to train reindeer to perform circus acts.⁴⁰ Lilius claims that the training succeeded in Helsinki, to the extent that reindeer and Lapphunds made practiced circles in front of the audience. The dogs were dressed in Lapp costumes and they had been taught to ride on reindeer and in sleds drawn by reindeer. Krail's success in training reindeer is evidenced in a photograph in the newspaper *Veckans Krönika*: the photograph shows reindeer kneeling down on their forelegs. Krail and Lilius are known to have travelled in March 1909 with the reindeer to Germany, the Circus Schuman in Berlin, as a contemporary newspaper in Helsinki confirms.⁴¹

However, the show in Berlin failed "unexpectedly". A full house witnessed how the reindeer darted in, three dogs at their heels, and became startled by the spotlights and the musical accompaniment. They leapt over the auditorium and onto the streets, one of the dogs biting a little boy on his calf on its way out and getting a circus horse to kick around, too.⁴² The owner of the circus was convinced that there was no need for another try. That may well have been the last attempt at training reindeer to become the crowd puller of a circus.





Trenne af renarna jämte dressören.



The newspaper Veckans Krönika followed the arrangements made by Aleko Lilius for a tour of Germany in 1909–1910. Left: Erkki Ketola aka Ketomella and Inkeri Valkeapää were reindeer herders from the northern part of Inari. The boldest experiment Lilius conducted was to hire the Hungarian Sandor Krail to train reindeer to perform circus numbers. The experiment ended catastrophically.

Lilius was still managing his affairs in the winter of 1909-1910⁴³, when Juhani Jomppanen (referred to as Juhani Jompa in some newspaper articles) and his group travelled to Germany. Most members of the group were from western Inari, the home district of Jomppanen; some were "Lapps from the hinterland of Kittilä".⁴⁴ The main incentive for reindeer herder Jomppanen to embark on the tour was probably not money, but his curiosity and desire for knowledge. Already earlier – on hearing about bald men of different religions and about the onion-domed churches in the east – Jomppanen had travelled to the Pechenga Monastery with an acquaintance of his.⁴⁵



Juhani Jomppanen (on the far left) led an expedition of Finnish Sami to Hamburg and Königsberg in 1910. Daughter Maaret on Juhani's lap and wife Marja on his left. Their sons (from left to right): Matti, Aslak and Juhani. Jouni Piera was born on tour in Königsberg. The family are wearing their winter clothes, which they also used in performances arranged in the heat of the summer. The photograph is a blow-up of a part of the photograph in page xx, which was taken in Hanko as the group was about to embark on their journey. Photo from Jouni Piera Jomppanen's collection, in the author's possession.

The preparations for the journey to Germany were managed in an excited hurry because Juhani's wife Marja was six months pregnant! The tour extended from Hamburg to Königsberg and lasted until the end of May. Little information is available about the tour. While family Jomppanen was on tour, they had a son, Jouni Piera, who later boasted about being a "Lapp of Königsberg" because that is where he was born. When he was old, he made reference to his father Juhani's stories and bragged about the visit that the German Emperor himself, accompanied by a bodyguard of hundreds of soldiers, had made to the Sami.⁴⁶

After returning to Finland, the group stayed in Helsinki for several weeks. Tour leader Jomppanen visited the Parliament during a plenary session and visited the adjoining restaurant to tell about the group's travels to an attentive audience. The travellers also attended a social evening organized by the Geographical Society of Finland, where leading researchers on Lapland of the time, Professors J. E. Rosberg and Frans Äimä, showed pictures that they had taken in Lapland (*skioptikonbilder*). The Sami, ridden by homesickness, eagerly commented on the pictures, drank great amounts of coffee, "one of the best worldly drinks", and performed musical numbers on request – not yoiks, but hymns!⁴⁷



8:s vuosik.

Helsingissä, Helmik. 12 p. 1910.

N:o 6

Sisältö. Kuvia: Lappalaisia matkalla maailman näyttämölle. — Seitsemän kuvaa muodista 19:nnellä vuosisadalla. — Kolme kuvaa Pariisin tulvista. — Toukolan uusi kansakoulurakennus. — Eräs „Hellaan“ flyygeleistä. **Muotokuvia:** Arvid Berner. — Lilly Rönöblad. — Selma Kajanus. — I. Timirjaseff. — Vaasalainen murhapolttaja.

Kirjoituksia: Kotiin palanneet siirtolaiset. — Muoti 19:nnellä vuosisadalla. — Kaksi runoa, kirj. U. V. Valakorpi. — Suomalaisen pianotehdas „Hellas“. — Pientä tietoa.

Lappalaisia matkalla maailman näyttämölle.



Sanomalehtien kertomuksista tunnettu lappalaisseurue matkalla Hagenbeckin eläintarhaan Hampurissa. Valokuva otettu Hangossa.

The newspaper Helsingin Kaiku noted Juhani Jomppanen's journey on its front page.

Reports by the Sami on their journey to Germany were varied. To a reporter from the newspaper *Hufvudstadsbladet* they told that they were disappointed at what the journey had to offer. They had expected to be able to move around freely as any tourist, but their activities had been strictly limited in both Hamburg and Königsberg. They had felt like prisoners.⁴⁸ To the newspaper *Perä-Pohjolainen* Jomppanen mentioned that the biggest setback of the journey had been the death of seven reindeer because of bad drinking water. The rest of the herd had been left behind in Germany for the summer to wait for a return ride (that apparently never took place). The group of Sami was already replaced by an "Indian camp", but the tour leader told the newspaper that the group intended to go back to Hamburg in the autumn. In June, the same newspaper reported that "content were these hay-shoed Lapps with their excursion". A slight change of mind had occurred because they "[--] did complain, however, the weather to have been so hot that they had decided never to go to Germany again, however great the reward."⁴⁹

Rosberg, who had the chance to interview the travellers as soon as they returned from Germany, later wrote in his book (1923) that the Sami had suffered from homesickness a great deal. "It may well be that this feeling was reinforced by the fact that they were held in strict confinement (*i sträng fångenskap*) and were only allowed to move within a limited fenced-in area. Such arrangements were made, according to official sources, so that they would not be able to access alcohol, but, in actual fact, so that they would not be able to escape or otherwise cause any economic harm to the organizers."⁵⁰

Lilius and the expedition led by Jomppanen were not the only ones who were let down in those years. In the winter of 1910–1911, a third Sami caravan was moving about Finland, on their way to St. Petersburg. According to Rosberg, this group had an even harder fate than Jomppanen's group because "they had to return empty-handed and at a great loss as it was not accepted [--] that poor Russians were cheated out of their money by rich Finns".⁵¹ An entirely different kind of scandal was witnessed at the Nordland exhibition that Swedes organized in Berlin in 1911. It was met with fierce disapproval by both Germans and patriotic Swedes because it presented Swedish culture along with that of Lapps, Eskimos and Samoyedic peoples.⁵²

In 1910-1911, traditional Lapp exhibitions seem to have gone through a kind of crisis. Their golden age was nearly over, and their negative progeny began to make their way into the papers. The confinement experienced by Jomppanen's expedition did not stand alone; Hagenbeck was accused of similar restrictions on several occasions. As a reason for

the precautionary measures, Hagenbeck states that, in addition to the excessive consumption of alcohol by representatives of native peoples, ethnographic exhibitions were afflicted by a "pathological" by-product: visitors made sexual advances to performers! According to Hagenbeck, this was particularly the case with performers who came from the tropics and were dressed lightly, such as "Somali negroes".⁵³

Lilius – who seems to have read Hagenbeck's memoirs with keen interest – claims that the same applied to Sami performers. He argues that "sexually starved" women of Hamburg harassed Sami men to the extent that their wives, as well as the organizers, were in straits. This "woman problem" in particular was seen as having a bad influence on the morale and feelings of the group so that it was decided that a high wall be built to separate the audience and the Sami from one another. Guards prevented any attempts to climb over the wall. "An idiotic newspaper in Hamburg took up this issue to accuse Hagenbeck of treating human beings as slaves or animals by 'putting them in a cage'," Lilius complains in support of Hagenbeck.⁵⁴

Lilius's character gives reason to suspect that his descriptions of the Sami were influenced more by Hagenbeck's book than Lilius's own scarce experiences. The phenomenon as such must have been real. Both Broberg and Rothfels have implied that anthropological exhibitions had an erotic and "voyeuristic" character. The exhibitions provided a "legitimate venue for both women and men to have a closer look at half-naked people". Fascination for nudity, beauty and exoticness⁵⁵ was most concretely directed at people who came from warm climates and were lightly dressed. Broberg, however, considers the same to have been the case with performances in which a Sami mother breast-fed her child, an event that was met with tremendous applause in the 1878 exhibition.⁵⁶

The overall impression of the conditions in which the Sami lived in the exhibitions is conflicted. The few contemporary reports by the Sami of the journey vary a great deal, as Broberg also admits. In connection with the scandalous exhibition in Berlin, Aslak Turi complained that the participants were confined so that it was possible to converse with outsiders only in the presence of a "German guard". By contrast, Maria Pappila from Jukkasjärvi commented that she was treated in the best possible way, despite the coldness of the lodgings. She was content with her income, which allowed her to pay back her debts to a merchant in Kiruna.⁵⁷

There are also examples showing that the Sami were not helpless or resourceless when it came to negotiating or receiving their wages. It is known that a group from Karasjok even went on strike at the Budapest

Zoo in 1913 because the payment of their wages was delayed.⁵⁸ It is possible to detect similar features in the way that Jomppanen's expedition behaved. Initially, the tour was supposed to continue over summer, but the group returned to Finland before the set date. It is possible that the decision to end the tour was made among the Sami.

An institution in crisis

Lapp caravans began to attract negative attention particularly in Sweden, the starting point of most caravans. The Berlin exhibition of 1911 called forth criticism from all quarters. Swedish nationalists criticized that the Swedish were mixed up with primitive peoples. The press, in turn, found fault with the size of the stage that had been reserved for a group of 70 performers, the sled rides that had to be made in the midst of asphalt and concrete, and the conditions that caused reindeer to die. They called for arrangements in which the Sami would not be brought on display but would rather be met in their own home environment.

Broberg has noted that the rising Sami movement, and a circle of Swedes that supported the cause, took a critical stance towards the exhibitions. They viewed the exhibitions from the perspectives of racial theories and human dignity. Their critique was targeted also, and particularly, at the exhibitions at Skansen. They were apparently seen as representing the same reprehensible institution on Swedish soil, even though Broberg considers them to have differed from the continental tradition.⁵⁹

Torkel Tomasson, a leading Sami activist at the beginning of the 20th century, pointed out that the enacted performances of Lapp camps, put in foreign contexts, gave a cheap image of Sami culture. Visitors were seen as taking peeks into the huts and everyday lives of the Sami "as if the Sami were in a monkey cage". Tomasson and Elsa Laula were leaders in a Sami movement, the activities of which culminated in 1917 in the first general assembly of the Sami in Norway and Sweden.

The movement put emphasis on the self-esteem of the Sámi, and its leaders denounced the views of the majority population that considered the Sami as exhibits, comparable to animals: "We Sami do not wish to act as guinea pigs to all sorts of social experiments and as an experimental field for so-called writers and scientists whose 'truths about the Lapps' make us an endangered species that soon cannot be found anywhere else than in the monkey cages of Skansen".⁶⁰

Among the Swedish Sami supporters, Professor K. B. Wiklund, in particular, criticized the Lapp exhibitions and the views of the Swedish that presented the Sami as a nation facing extinction. He emphasized the fact that the number of Sami was growing all the time even though

their relative proportion in the Scandinavian and Finnish population was diminishing. He argued that the Sami should be treated with respect. When the city of Gothenburg wished to put up a Lapp camp as part of its 300th anniversary celebrations in 1923, Wiklund started off a debate in the press, which resulted in the abandonment of the plans.⁶¹

The growing criticism towards Lapp caravans was also related to the crisis of racial theories and the development of the human rights movement. Likewise, colonial practices gradually dissolved after the First World War. All these reasons led to the fact that the inhumane depiction of "lower cultures" was considered more problematic than ever before. The development of photography and cinema, along with other means of communication and tourism, provided people with novel opportunities to come into "live" contact with foreign cultures. Especially films, as a new form of documentation and art, offered a convenient substitute for expensive tours. The first documentary film that concerned the Sami, *Laplanders at Home* by Robert W. Paul, was seen as early as 1903.⁶²

Nonetheless, Sami exhibitions continued well into the 1930s. The nature of caravans as not so objectionable and obligatory as is usually thought was evidenced by the fact that some Southern Sami took part in several tours, even across generations. The family of Daniel Mortensen, who participated in the Chicago International Exposition in 1893, for example, continued the tradition into the 1930s. Mortensen's, or Mortensson's⁶³, son Trygve Danielsen wrote an account of his travels in Europe in the 1930s, which was later published.

Danielsen's daughter Bente Waage Danielsen has pointed out that the travels not only brought economic benefits for the participants but had an inspirational effect on them in the sense that their world views expanded notably. Daniel Mortensen is indeed known as a man of great importance for Sami cultural history: after all, this reindeer-herding Sami, socialist and active member in Sami politics established a Sami-language newspaper, *Waren Sardne*, at the beginning of the 20th century.⁶⁴

The journeys stuck in the minds of the participants as unforgettable events and left their mark on the Sami, not least in the form of photographs handed out on tour.⁶⁵ Participants of Jomppanen's expedition turned their memories of the caravans into stories, as is revealed by Jouni Piera Jomppanen's reference to the German Emperor's visit. When Finland governed the Pechenga district and Finns increasingly travelled in Lapland, Juhani Jomppanen became a popular interviewee for travel writers. He was a "gentleman among the Lapps", who was well-informed on reindeer husbandry and other affairs in Lapland but whose knowledge

of the world was noted and often associated with Lapp caravans.⁶⁶ As Briitta Mattus later reported: "We spent three months in Hagenbeck's zoo. It was fun to be there. Juhani Jomppanen was our leader there, and a good leader he was, too."⁶⁷

The travels of the group seem to have turned into a local legend that also reached the ears of travel writers. This was probably the case with Ernst Lampén, who in his book *Jäämeren hengessä* (1921) recounts an interesting story. He states that he hired two "authentic" Lapp boys on his way from Ivalo to Nellim. Half-way across a bog, one of them – Sammeli Morottaja, according to Lampén – surprised him by beginning to sing a number from the operetta *The Merry Widow* and other such "continental warbles". It turned out that the boy had toured Germany in a Lapp caravan.⁶⁸

Lampén's story is amusing, but not true as such. Sammeli Morottaja does pose in a photograph taken by Lampén but he never visited Germany. This is witnessed by Sammelis descendants, who have concluded that Lampén stretches the truth, "as writers often do".⁶⁹ However, because Lampén's reference to the caravans is unusual for its day and is probably based on a true story, it is likely that he took the liberty of combining two unrelated cases for artistic effect: the story about warbling, which he had perhaps heard on his travels, and the character of young Sammeli, whom he had photographed. It is also possible that Sammeli, despite his being so young, could tell funny stories.

A new era of ethnographical exhibitions

In 1925 and 1930, Sami from Kautokeino and Enontekiö participated in two *Polarschau* tours, funded by the German L. Ruhe and recruited by artist Franz Dubbick. As the newspaper *Rovaniemi* reported on the first journey, the idea was to "take care of affairs by presenting this group of Lapps in several German cities, including Berlin, Hamburg and Lübeck".

There is a contemporary account of the group's performance in Germany that Yrjö Kokko, later a famous writer, who was at the time a young student in Hannover, wrote in his journals. Kokko and his companions saw the performance in a local zoo. "The *Völkerschau* at the Zoo, shows presenting the lives of exotic nations, had often been grandiose with large groups of people, animals and constructions. Therefore, it seemed strange that the auditorium was packed, even though only two modest huts were on stage, around ten reindeer with their stubs of antlers standing in the background. A stir ran through the audience as a frail Lapp woman appeared at the entrance of a hut, pattered hurriedly on to the other and disappeared. A silent and expectant artistic pause followed".

According to Kokko's account, a German gentleman came on stage to explain how very exceptional the following performance was: the Lapps came from Enontekiö, located as far from Germany as Alaska or Greenland of the Eskimos. Not only was it difficult to get these nomads to leave their native place, but it was "also dangerous for them because these children of the fresh, bacteria-free world of the North were not immune to the bacteria of the south. The same is true for the reindeer, many of which had also this time died on tour". Kokko continues:

After the introduction, the authentic Lapps and the Finns from Enontekiö, whose true identity was of course not revealed, depicted life in the North. The women wove strings with combs as their reeds, prepared cake bread, and one of them trudged along to the reindeer with a wooden milking cup in her hand and stooped down as if to milk a reindeer. One of the men worked on a wooden drinking cup with a scraper, and a reindeer was harnessed in front of a small sled, in which a nimble boy dressed in bright colours then sat down as a Lapp man began to walk the reindeer on a lead. A dog followed them, barking. The show may have been modest, but the audience was all the more delighted. Especially the children called forth the audience's applause because of their sheer existence.⁷⁰

The commentator's note on the trouble in getting the Sami on the move was true because, according to a Finnish reporter, the Sami feared the journey in advance, "imagining all sorts of dangers that they would face in an unfamiliar world". The papers stated that the worst impediment to their recruitment was the rumour that had even reached Lapland about a cruel German cannibal called Haartmann. For instance, a well-known Sami man from Enontekiö, Hukka-Salkko (Näkkäljärvi), refused point-blank to join the tour because "he had no wish of being turned into sausage".⁷¹

Nevertheless, Dubbick had succeeded in persuading four families, 16 people altogether, to join the tour. The Sami of the group belonged mainly to the families of two brothers, Duommá-Duommá (Tuomas Magga) and Duommá Heikka (Heikki Magga). The group also included members of the Kitti and Autto families as well as Niku Nutti.⁷² The willingness of the group to go on tour may be partly explained by the notable sum of money the participants were offered as reward. In addition to free fare and food, each family earned a hundred dollars, or about 4,000 Finnish marks, in a month. According to Parkkinen, however, the payments were made to the rural police chief of Enontekiö in Finland, from whom the members of the group could claim the money only upon their return from the tour.⁷³



In 1925, Frans Dubbick recruited a group of people from Enontekiö for a tour in Germany. Tuomman Aini (Magga), who is sitting on the left in a white fur coat, travelled to Germany again in the 1930s. Next to her, probably Inger Anni Magga, Tuomas's wife. To her right, Hansi Kitti is standing with his son Hannes, Arvi Autto (Elli's son) and "Nutti-Niku" aka Niko(demus) Nutti, who later died under suspicious circumstances in the reindeer riots at Ounistunturi. Standing behind the reindeer, Duommá-Heaika Jousset aka Heikin Jussa aka Jooseppi Magga, with his father Tuomban Heikki (in Sámi: Duommá-Heaikka) aka Heikki Magga, Tuomman Piera (Magga), Leevi Vieltojärvi and Duommá-Duommá, Tuomas Magga. Sitting on the right, Elli Autto (née Kemi) and Hansin Helli aka Helli Kitti (née Kemi) with her daughter Hilma. Duommá-Duommá's son Piera did not qualify to the performances in Germany because he was too tall and "un-Sami-like" in appearance as seen in the photo. For references, see endnote 71. Photo: National Board of Antiquities, Finland.

Some of the suspicions may have been caused by problems in communication that continued on tour: "He (Dubbick) speaks so bad Finnish that the Lapps complain that they have not quite been able to figure out the entire programme of the tour based on his explanations. Therefore, they do not know in any more detail what is required of them once they get to Germany, do they simply let the audience have a look at them or do they possibly have to perform a specific number. At any rate, it seems unlikely that they would be able to ride sleds in the summer."

Dubbick was able to spare expenses from the very beginning because the Sami wanted to travel from Karunki to Helsinki in their own freight cars on the train, in which they were able to make themselves at home. Because of the lack of an express freight train, the train journey only to Helsinki took five whole days. "Affairs were taken care of" also in

the sense that photographs of the group were sold to visitors. Dubbick forbade the Sami to accept any gifts because he wanted to avoid an impression of them as beggars.⁷⁴

During the tour in 1930, Dubbick seems to have expanded his business: he brought supplies from Enontekiö so that the Sami were able to make handicrafts to be sold as souvenirs to visitors. The Sami themselves would have gained a good additional income based on the sales, as a paper knife, for example, was sold for three German marks. It is not known, however, how much commission Dubbick took or, if perhaps there was a contract that allowed him to keep all the money himself.⁷⁵

For such hard-earned money, the group had to go through a careful recruitment process: there was still a rigorous requirement for authenticity. According to the newspaper *Rovaniemi*, Dubbick insisted that the group "be composed of racially pure, typical Lapps who all come from Enontekiö. Of course, they all perform in full Lappish attire." However, the German turned out to have more lax criteria than he was supposed to have because the group included many Finns from Enontekiö, dressed in Lapp costumes.⁷⁶ Once on tour, the criteria were put into effect more forcefully. According to Kokko, Petter, aka Piera, Magga was not qualified for the show because of his height and his "un-Sámi-like" appearance.⁷⁷

In his book, Kokko gives an ironic depiction of the musical performance that was part of the show, in which the German organizer asked the group to perform their traditional music. The performance did not include any yoiks; instead, the Lapps stroked up "Isontalon Antti", a swaggering Finnish folk song, for the audience to hear! One explanation for this case could be that the Finnish members of the group were, for one reason or another, assigned with the task of performing music. An equally appropriate explanation could be that, just as on the tour of 1910, the participating Sami were religious people who did not wish to perform pagan yoiks and chose instead – not hymns but – Finnish folk music.

The problem no longer existed on the tour of 1930: the Sami from Kautokeino yoiked as an important part of their brisk reindeer rides. According to Hætta, the group had a fixed programme in Germany, which they performed day after day. It included lassoing, harnessing reindeer and riding reindeer, accompanied by yoiks. The programme culminated in a staged wedding in which a festive procession walked to a ceremonial site in their fur coats, sometimes in temperatures rising above 30°C. During the group's travels in Germany, over a half of their reindeer died of the heat.⁷⁸

The participants that Hætta interviewed later told that after working hours, they were free to do what they pleased. By contrast, for Germans, the gates to the performance venues of the Sami remained closed and guarded. Hætta notes that the participants only had positive memories of the journey and were eager to tell more about it. This is of course natural because, in addition to telling about their memories – which have grown sweeter with time, the participants most likely wanted to emphasize the significance of their extraordinary journey. Furthermore, it strengthens the interpretation that the participants experienced the tour both as performers and tourists, gaining experiences that were of value to them.⁷⁹

A kind of a Finnish continuation to the Lapp performances in Germany was represented by the so-called Lapland weeks that were held in Helsinki in 1936 and 1951. They included an extensive presentation of Lapland's culture, with both Sami and Finnish participants. For instance, in 1936 Kaapin Jouni (Jouni Aikio) travelled with his whole family from Lemmenjoki to Helsinki. The group also included Skolts and Sami from Sompio. The group led by Kaapin Jouni set up a whole reindeer village with lean-to huts in the Kaisaniemi Park and wandered around the city in their Lapp costumes. The children rode up and down on the escalator at the department store Stockmann.

Jouni later told that although he had experienced wind and cold in all their forms, he had never been as cold as he was in the Kaisaniemi Park at -18°C. At the end, Jouni's "staff" was invited to the presidential residence, where President P. E. Svinhufvud himself together with his wife served the visitors coffee and cake. In 1951, it was President J. K. Paasikivi who acted as the host of the Lapland week. One of the performers was a seven-year-old boy from northwest Lapland. His name was Nils-Aslak Valkeapää, and the Lapland week marked for him the beginning of a 50-year career as a performing artist.

Competing interpretations

The Sami as well as outsiders have had contradicting views on the Lapp caravans and shows. Some think that the shows presented the Sami in the most disparaging light, as objects of callous curiosity and outright racism. Others consider them as journeys abroad by the Sami, during which they presented their own culture for a small charge. I wish to argue that the different views are not as incompatible as they may seem. Representatives of the former interpretation criticize, in a similar vein to Gunnar Broberg, the "system", institutions seeped with racial theories and social Darwinism. The latter interpretation starts out from the point

of view of the participants, what it was that attracted them to participate and how they adapted their own interests into a framework set by others.

Conclusions are drawn on the basis of the chosen point of view. If ethnographical exhibitions of foreign nations are examined as part of colonial practices, they can be seen to reflect the same asymmetrical relations and colonial mechanisms that led to the taking into possession of the Sami area in Scandinavia. Racial-theoretical and social-Darwinistic thinking are to be considered an ethically questionable tradition of research and public thinking that led to negative results as far as native peoples were concerned.

Particularly in recent Swedish research on the Sami it has been shown how scientific theories, especially when popularized, influenced the practical activities of government officials and decision-makers, for example, in legislation. Theories presenting the hierarchies and the potential for development of different races provided a basis for assimilation policies that were put in force in Sweden and Norway, in order to assimilate the Sami into larger and stronger nations "for their own good".

It is possible to examine Lapp caravans in relation to this widespread, European way of thinking. Hagenbeck's eventually desperate attempts to confine Sami performers away from the influences of civilization are comparable to the segregation policy and the so-called *lapp skall vara lapp* ('Lapps will/should be Lapps') ideology that Swedish officials drew on to isolate the reindeer-herding Sami from modern influences. It was a paternal attempt to cut the Sami off from the modern world.

It is also possible to examine the Lapp caravans as part of the history of economic exploitation. They were something that went under the name of "taking care of affairs", a form of business in which ethical principles were replaced by the pursuit of economic profit. In this respect the fact that the Sami were paid for their services pales in comparison with the profits that Hagenbeck, for example, gained from his shows decade after decade.

Yet another take on the Lapp caravans is to consider them as part of the explosive increase of interest in and information about other nations and cultures that was caused by colonialism. Decision-makers and government officials as well as researchers and ordinary citizens needed to analyze this information and to learn more. A practical way of doing so was to get in contact with representatives of other nations. Because of their popularity, the *Völkerschau* exhibitions played a significant role in the image that central Europeans formed of other nations during the period that extended from the 1870s to the 1930s.

Similar to the exhibitions that rested upon preconceived ideas and further strengthened them, interpretations of the exhibitions have been based on anything but objective views held by both the Sami and researchers on the Sami. In terms of *time*, ethnographical exhibitions reached their peak during a traumatic period in European history: the period of colonialism, racial theories and policies that aimed at assimilating the Sami into the majority population. In terms of *place*, the exhibitions sound suspicious: they were organized in circuses, amusement parks and zoos. In terms of *subjects* – the organizers and visitors who were representatives of "the German population" –, the exhibitions seem to have involved a faceless mass who are automatically seen as having adopted the "attitude of a master race". This interpretation is supported by the rhetoric that presented as scientific terms such words as *wild*, *primitive* and *lower race*.

The flipside of the coin is that racial theories and colonialism reflected a time of rapid globalization in Europe. It is worth considering why, for example, the ethnographical exhibitions of International Expositions have not been responded to with the same emotional force. Is it perhaps so that ethnographical museums are also absolved from their sins because they are based on scientific research, whereas exhibitions that are aimed at large public audiences are seen as representatives of detrimental popular culture, as opium for the masses?⁸⁰ In any case, the ethnographical exhibitions in question represented mass media before the time of cinema, radio and television. They attracted great amounts of visitors and therefore had to be organized at venues designed for large audiences. Such venues were provided by circuses, amusement parks and zoos.

It would be worth studying how ordinary European visitors experienced the exhibitions. Broberg's claim that the Lapp caravans were received on the Continent by "Haeckelians", social Darwinists of the worst kind who viewed everything through racial lenses⁸¹, may be oversimplified. At the other end of the continuum, one may find not only curiosity but also genuine desire for knowledge about the primitive peoples living "in our Europe". To all appearances, the Sami participants of the tours visited people in the cities, and it is hard to believe that such visits would have been arrangements made out of sheer curiosity.

Similarly, the aims of the organizers are easily oversimplified. It would be just as incautious to consider Hagenbeck, for example, simply as a representative of scientific racial thinking or racism, as it would be to see him as a huckster who only had his own economic interests in mind

in spending sixty years organizing exhibitions that presented foreign nations. It is not that such characteristics should be ignored or treated as less important, but a more subtle psychological profile of Hagenbeck, and others like him, would be extremely interesting in all its complexity.

It is equally important not to see the Sami as a uniform mass. It is only natural that the participants had different experiences of the tours. For some, they were perhaps a culture shock that they did not wish to experience again. For others, they were educational and mind-broadening journeys that were recollected and even repeated with pleasure. The criticism towards Lapp caravans seems to have its origins among the Sami themselves, among the leading figures of the Sami movement, who saw them as a means of putting into practice racial theories and ethnocentric thinking that disparaged the Sami. Participants in the tours have undoubtedly had their share of criticism from their own, but it must be remembered that not all Sami think along the same lines as Sami activists.

For the Sami participants themselves, the tours must have opened up a possibility not only to earn a little, but also to make interesting journeys to foreign cultures, journeys that provided an endless source of stories. In central Europe, the Sami were considered not only as sights to be seen but also as exotic guests, who were invited to meet influential members of the society. There is no doubt that the participants saw themselves as envoys who spread knowledge about their culture. They must have understood that many members of the audience had come to see the "wild" people of the North, representatives of a lower race in comparison with Europeans, but that a real-life contact provided some of them with a new, more personal image of the Sami.

Notes

After the author completed this article, Cathrine Baglo defended her dissertation, with the title *På ville veget? Levende utstillinger av samer i Europa og Amerika* (2011), at the University of Tromsø.

¹ *Perä-Pohjolainen* February 3, 1910.

² *Hufvudstadsbladet* March 25, 1910 and May 27, 1910.

³ On journeys made by Sami to Europe in the 17th and 18th centuries, see, e.g. Gunnar Broberg: "Lappkaravaner på villovägar. Antropologin och synen på samerna fram mot sekelskiftet 1900." *Lychnos* 1981–82, 28–29; Sven Hirn: "Lappalaiset matkakirjoissa ja maailmalla." *Opusculum* Vol. 2: 1982, 114–118. Broberg also refers to "exotic theatre" performances given by Swedes in Europe: for example, Carl von Linné represented himself as a Lapp in Holland. Practical joker and swindler Nicolaus Örn, in turn, posed as the "Prince of Sámi" in European courts. Broberg 1981–82, 42.

⁴ Broberg 1981–82, 38; Cathrine Baglo: "Utstillinger av samer I tida 1822–1934. Samer på utstilling." *Ottar* 4/2007. Tromsø Museum, Tromsø, 3–10.2007, 3.

⁵ E.g. *Perä-Pohjolainen* June 16, 1910.

⁶ Baglo 2007, 3.

⁷ Ernst Lampén: *Jäämeren hengessä*. Gummerus, Jyväskylä 1921, 69.

⁸ Kari Autto: *Ouniksen vaiettu terrori*. Handout, signed March 30, 2005, 8. Cf. Aage Solbakk: "Sápmelaččat Parisas gávpegálvun" [The Sami as merchandise in Paris]. *Min Áigi* August 12, 2005, in which Solbakk discusses the Lapp caravans in France that were organized by Johan Adrian Jacobsen of Tromsø.

⁹ Vilho Harle - Sami Moisio: *Missä on Suomi? Kansallisen identiteettipolitiikan historia ja geopolitiikka*. Vastapaino, Tampere 2000, 125. The authors use the views of Pekka and Marjut Aikio as reference.

¹⁰ Broberg 1981–1982.

¹¹ Hirn 1982.

¹² Theme issue "Samer på utstilling". *Ottar* 2007, 1.

¹³ Bente Waage Danielsen: "Min far har råkjørt med reinsdyr og pulk – i Paris!" *Ottar* 4/2007. Tromsø Museum, Tromsø, 41–47; Odd Mathis Hætta: "Samer på utstilling i Tyskland 1930." *Ottar* 4. Tromsø Museum, Tromsø, 33–40.

¹⁴ Hætta 2007, 39–40.

¹⁵ *Uusi Suometar* October 11, 1875.

¹⁶ There was another Hagenbeck who also organized similar shows in Hamburg: Wilhelm Hagenbeck who, according to Aleko Lilius, was Carl's "brother and rival". Aleko Lilius: *Ett herrans liv*. Söderström, Helsingfors 1957, 154.

¹⁷ Nigel Rothfels: "Carl Hagenbecks utstillinger av mennesker." *Ottar* 4 / 2007. Tromsø Museum, Tromsø, 20–22.

¹⁸ See Richard Daniel Altick: *The shows of London*. Belknap Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts 1978; Maria Lähteenmäki: "Saamelaiset Piccadillyllä." *Hiidenkivi* 5/2006, 20–22; Stein R. Mathisen: "Mr. Bullock's Exhibition of Lap-landers." *Ottar* 4/2007. Tromsø Museum, Tromsø, 11–17. Broberg considers the 19th century as a turning point in the sense that whereas the Sami were earlier depicted in a religious context (e.g. descriptions of witchcraft held their importance until the end of the 18th century), in the 19th century an understanding evolved that regarded the Sami as physical, biological beings. He also identifies a change in that whereas reindeer had earlier attracted most attention from Europeans, the Sami people and their culture now became the centre of attention. Broberg 1981–82, 29.

¹⁹ Baglo 2007, 3, see also Rothfels 2007, 18–24, 20–22.

²⁰ Hirn 1982, 120–122; Broberg 1981–82, 30–31.

²¹ Baglo 2007, 3, see also Rothfels 2007, 20–22.

²² Rothfels 2007, 19–21. The basic idea of the exhibitions was similar to that of ethnographical documentary films later on. For example, the film *Suonikylän talvielämä*

(1938) by Erik Blomberg and Kustaa Vilkuna followed the everyday activities of the inhabitants in a Skolt Sami village and gave a commentary on them from the viewpoint of an outside ethnographer. Rothfels has compared Hagenbeck's pursuits with the exhibitions organized by *Nordpolteater* in 1875 (i.e. the same year that Hagenbeck began organizing his shows). The genuineness of these was called into question by the press, first, on grounds of ethnographical correctness because the Lapps were seen to wear the "wrong costumes" and, second, on grounds of the requirement for authenticity because the Lapps of the exhibition were under too much European influence, as the media saw it; after all, they smoked cigars, consumed alcohol and even had a sense for currency! Rothfels 2007, 20–21.

²³ Rothfels 2007, 23.

²⁴ What is interesting in this regard is the development of *Nordiska museet* and the open air museum *Skansen* in Stockholm, Sweden. As early as 1873, an ethnographical exhibition on Scandinavia, which is considered the initial impetus for the development of *Nordiska museet*, included the panorama "Autumn migration in Luleå Lapland" by Arthur Hazelius that was based especially on the descriptions and photographs provided by Gustaf and Lotta von Düben. The panorama was also presented at the International Expositions in Paris, 1878, and Chicago, 1893. *Skansen*, established by Hazelius, also housed a Lapp camp from the very beginning. Broberg considers the Lapp exhibitions at *Skansen* a "serious countermove" to those on the Continent. He regards them, not as presentations of racial features and hierarchies, but as displays of the wealth of national diversity in Sweden. See Broberg 1981–82, 54–56; see also www.skansen.se. As far as the Sami were concerned, it probably did not make any difference whether they were presented for racial or national reasons. The ignorance of common people about the inhabitants of the North seems to have been as great in Stockholm as it was on the Continent. It is interesting to note that it was the exhibitions at *Skansen* that later aroused debates about whether it was fair to put Sami on display for city dwellers to gape at.



"Autumn Migration in Lule Lappmark", a diorama in the Scandinavian–Ethnographic Collection, 1874.
Photo: Axel Lindahl, *Nordiska Museet*.

²⁵ It has been noted in recent projects on the Sami cultural heritage that many sets of Sami artefacts can be found in museums, for example, in England, Germany and France. See Veli-Pekka Lehtola: ”Oikeus omaan historiaan.” *Sámiid rievttit gillii ja historjái. Saamelaisten oikeudet kieleen ja historiaan.* Tuomas Magga - Veli-Pekka Lehtola (eds.). Giellagas Institute, Oulu 2004, 52–65.

²⁶ Baglo 2007, 7.

²⁷ Broberg 1981–82, 58, 63.

²⁸ Rothfels 2007, 22.

²⁹ Baglo 2007, 7.

³⁰ Rothfels 2007, 22.

³¹ Baglo 2007, 4–7.

³² Baglo 2007, 8.

³³ See Jorma Lehtola: *Lailasta Lailaan. Tarinoita elokuvien sitkeistä lappalaisista.* Kustannus-Puntsi, Inari 2000, 22.

³⁴ Baglo 2007, 8.

³⁵ *Sanomia Turusta* January 7, 1878.

³⁶ *Hufvudstadsbladet* March 25, 1909 and October 9, 1909.

³⁷ Broberg 1981–82, 50–51.

³⁸ Lilius 1957, 152–177.

³⁹ Lilius 1957, 196–199, 201–208.

⁴⁰ It is true that the same had already been tried in Sweden in 1831 and 1859. The results were remarkable: while fireworks flared, the reindeer were kept calm – and they continued their eating! In Finland, the reindeer training at Circus Ducander had come to an end due to objections expressed by zoophilists. Hirn 1982, 122–123, 127.

⁴¹ *Veckans Krönika* 39/1909, 6, 9, 11, 16 /1910; *Hufvudstadsbladet* March 25, 1909.

⁴² Hirn 1982, 127–134.

⁴³ Sven Hirn has connected the adventures of Lilius with Juhani Jomppanen’s tour, arguing those to have been the reason for the premature end of the tour, but this is evidently a misunderstanding. Valkeapää and Ketomella were clearly recruited by Gadolin. He did not know people in the Inari region, such as family Jomppanen or the Inari Lake Sami, who were recruited by Swedes. According to Rosberg, there were two groups travelling in the south at around the same time, ”presenting themselves and their reindeer”. Furthermore, based on the photographs published in the newspaper *Veckans Krönika*, it was the group led by Valkeapää and Ketomella that was involved in Krail’s experiment.

⁴⁴ According to Jouni Piera Jomppanen, the group included Pikka-Matti (Aikio), Pekka Kuuva, Tuomas Nuvkka (Nikodemus) and his family from Kittilä, Uula Valle from Kaamanen (or Kaamasmukka), Juhani Jomppanen and his family from Menesjärvi, Inari, and Anni Morottaja and her sister Valpu from Sääsaari. Recounted by Jouni Piera Jomppanen and written down by Teuvo Lehtola. However, Hans and Matti Morottaja from Inari do not recognize the two Morottaja sisters mentioned last on the list. According to J. E. Rosberg, female members of the group included Anna Brita Morottaja as well as Anna and Valpu Saijets. See J. E. Rosberg: ”Anteckningar om lapparna i Finland”. *Geografiska Föreningens Vetenskapliga Meddelanden.* Bd IX (1910–1912), Helsingfors 1912, 116.

⁴⁵ Teuvo Lehtola, personal communication.

⁴⁶ Jouni Piera Jomppanen, personal communication.

⁴⁷ *Hufvudstadsbladet* May 27, 1910. The singing of hymns may be explained by the fact that religious Sami usually did not approve of yoiks.

⁴⁸ *Hufvudstadsbladet* May 27, 1910.

⁴⁹ *Perä-Pohjolainen* May 28, 1910 and June 16, 1910.

⁵⁰ J. E. Rosberg: *Lapplymne.* J. A. Lindelads förlag, Uppsala 1923, 167.

⁵¹ J. E. Rosberg: *Lappi.* Kansanvalistusseura, Helsinki 1911, 184–185; Rosberg 1912, 116–117.

- ⁵² Broberg 1981–82, 40–41.
- ⁵³ Baglo 2007, 7–10.
- ⁵⁴ Lilius 1957, 196–199.
- ⁵⁵ Rothfels 2007, 23.
- ⁵⁶ Broberg 1981–82, 46, 50.
- ⁵⁷ Broberg 1981–82, 36.
- ⁵⁸ Baglo 2007, 8.
- ⁵⁹ Broberg 1981–82, 40–41.
- ⁶⁰ Broberg 1981–82, 41.
- ⁶¹ Broberg 1981–82, 40, 70
- ⁶² See Lehtola 2000, 21–24.
- ⁶³ The way of writing the names of Southern Sami who lived on the border of Sweden and Norway sometimes differed according to the country in which a name was written.
- ⁶⁴ Danielsen 2007.
- ⁶⁵ Autto remarks ironically on the photographs: "In Germany, these Lapps were given post cards with photographs taken of them, and the cards were sometimes sold to people who came to see them. That is why the families of these people have so much photographic evidence of their travels, or however much was left after the Jerrys came and burnt down the whole of Lapland, forced by the Russians and the Western allies." Autto 2005, 8.
- ⁶⁶ E.g. Armas Launis: *Kaipaukseni maa*. Gummerus, Jyväskylä 1922, 77–79; Sakari Pälsi: *Petsamoon kuin ulkomaille*. Otava, Helsinki 1931, 24–25.
- ⁶⁷ Britta Mattus A-K 545. EAKA. TY.
- ⁶⁸ Lampén 1921, 69.
- ⁶⁹ Hans Morottaja and Matti Morottaja, personal communication. Anna-Brita Morottaja participated in tours to Germany and England in the 1910s and also later.
- ⁷⁰ Yrjö Kokko: *Poro. Muistelus*. WSOY, Helsinki 1969, 7–10. Kokko related the same story already a few years earlier, see Yrjö Kokko: "Perusääni." *Suomen matkailu* 2/1962, 23–24.
- ⁷¹ *Kaleva* March 8 and 10, 1925.
- ⁷² See Fig. 8; the names of the participants have been inferred on the basis of a list that Yrjö Kortelainen drew up for the National Board of Antiquities and an image analysis that was initially carried out by Kari Autto (Autto 2005) and later complemented with the help of interviews by Anne-Maria Magga, see Anne-Maria Magga: "Eanodaga sápmelaččat jodus." Research essay in Sami Culture, October 30, 2008. Giellagas Institute, University of Oulu.
- ⁷³ Jukka Parkkinen: *Yrjö Kokko - Sadun ja luonnon runoilija*. WSOY, Helsinki 2003, 74.
- ⁷⁴ *Kaleva* March 8, 1925; Autto 2005, 8; Parkkinen 2003, 74.
- ⁷⁵ Hætta 2007, 33–34.
- ⁷⁶ Autto 2005, 8.
- ⁷⁷ Kokko 1969, 7–10.
- ⁷⁸ Hætta 2007, 36.
- ⁷⁹ Hætta 2007, 36.
- ⁸⁰ Cf William Schneider: "Race and Empire: The Rise of Popular Ethnography in the Late Nineteenth Century." *Journal of Popular Culture* Volume XI, Issue 1/1977, 98–109.
- ⁸¹ Broberg 1981–1982, 54.

Carl Hagenbeck's Tierpark
Stellingen Winter 1910 Stellingen

Renn-
tier-
Herde

Lapp-
Hunde

Lappländer-Truppe



Täglich geöffnet von 8 Uhr morgens.
Entree: Wochentags Erwachsene **50** Pfg., Kinder **25** Pfg.
Sonn- u. Festtags: Vorm. Erw. **30** Pf., Kinder **15** Pf., Nachm. Erw. **50** Pf., Kinder **25** Pf.

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*From Finnish Sami exposition in Hagenbecks Zoo, winter 1910.
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Sur les Sames de la presqu'île de Kola