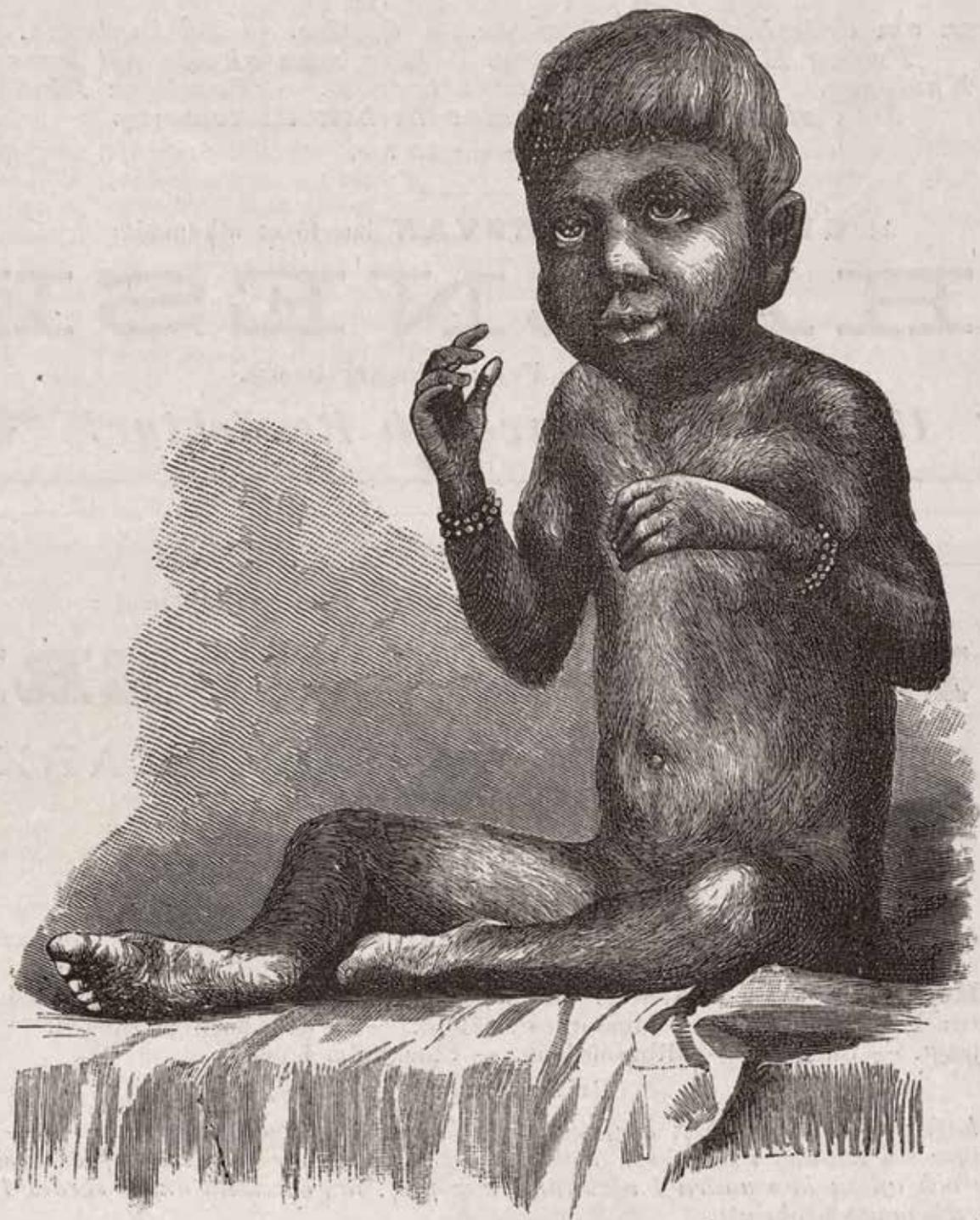


ÅSA BHARATHI LARSSON

Colonizing Fever

Race and Media Cultures in Late
Nineteenth-Century Sweden





»DARWINS FELANDE LÄNK.» (Se sid. 298.)

Colonizing Fever

Race and Media Cultures in Late
Nineteenth-Century Sweden

ÅSA BHARATHI LARSSON



Mediehistoriskt arkiv (Media History Archives) publishes anthologies, monographs, including doctoral theses, and collections of source material in both Swedish and English. In order to secure adequate research quality, submitted manuscripts are routinely subject to double-blind peer review by independent experts.

The editorial committee consists of Marie Cronqvist (Lund University), Anna Dahlgren (Stockholm University), Johan Jarlbrink (Umeå University), Solveig Jülich (Uppsala University), Mats Jönsson (University of Gothenburg), Pelle Snickars (Umeå University) and Ulrika Torell (The Nordic Museum).

Editor: Patrik Lundell (Lund University)

In digital form the series is CC-licensed – attribution, non-commercial, no derivative works 3.0. Open access via www.mediehistorisktarkiv.se. We want our books to be used and spread.

Printed books can be ordered at: www.ht.lu.se/en/skriftserier/serier/mediehistorisktarkiv/, or by email: skriftserier@ht.lu.se.

Publisher: Media History, Lund University

MEDIEHISTORISKT ARKIV NO 32

This book is published with generous grants from:

Stiftelsen Olle Engkvist Byggmästare

Kungl. Patriotiska Sällskapet

Kungl. Humanistiska Vetenskaps-Samfundet i Uppsala

Historisk-filosofiska fakultetens bidrag för doktorander, Uppsala universitet

Colonizing fever: Race and media cultures in late nineteenth-century Sweden
Academic Dissertation for the Doctoral Degree of Philosophy in Art History
at the Department of Art History, Uppsala University

Graphic design and cover: Johan Laserna

Cover image: Racial photograph, Vanadis expedition 1883–1885.

Photograph by Oscar Birger Ekholm. Courtesy of the Museum of Ethnography, Stockholm.

Print: Studio RBB, Riga 2016

ISSN 1654-6601

ISBN 978-91-981961-6-0 (print)

ISBN 978-91-981967-6-4 (pdf revised from the printed version)

Contents

Preface	9
Introduction	13
REVISITING LATE NINETEENTH-CENTURY SWEDISH MEDIA CULTURES	13
Aims and Questions	18
Colonial Modernity	20
Postcolonial Studies	25
Postcolonial Studies (again)	
– Colonial Complicity and Imperial Gaze	27
Visual Culture Studies	30
Cultural Histories of Media	35
Representations, Definitions and Delimitations	40
Materials and Modernities	43
Disposition	46
Part One	
Race and Scientific Media	
<i>The Vanadis Expedition 1883–1885</i>	49
GIVE TAKATA THE CARPET	49
METICULOUS NEWS	54
The Nationwide Press	57
Stories from the Crew	61
Swedish Boulevard Cultures	66

THE FLAG AND THE SHIP	69
Remediated Imagery	72
Joyful and Vivid Accounts – Travel Journals	81
The Royal Presence	83
RACIAL PHOTOGRAPHY	86
Photographic Forerunners	91
Dressed and Undressed Bodies	94
Displaying the World	107
CONCLUDING REMARKS: MAKING CONNECTIONS	114

Part Two

Race and Popular Media

<i>Shows, Exhibitions and Attractions</i>	119
A VAST MEDIA LANDSCAPE	119
ASTONISHING REALITY: RE-ENACTMENTS OF BUFFALO BILL'S WILD WEST	122
First Impressions – The Posters	127
Wild West Performances	131
Adjusting the American Narrative	137
INTIMATE STRANGERS – ETHNOLOGICAL EXHIBITIONS	143
To Amuse, To Inform and To Educate	144
The Cunningham Shows and Caravans	150
Racial Stereotypes and Physiognomy	172
THE LATEST ENTERTAINMENTS: SWEDISH PANOPTICON AND ORIENTAL MAZE SALON	180
Tableaux from Central Africa	183
The Lure of the East	189
CONCLUDING REMARKS: LEISURE AND PLEASURE	203

Conclusion	207
Coda	225
Notes	228
Bibliography	282
List of Figures	302
Acknowledgements	308
Index of Names	310

Preface

Democracy is deeply established here in this country. We respect the fundamental principles of human rights. Muddy theories on race have never found footholds. We consider ourselves, willingly, as free of prejudice and tolerant. But, yet, it is not that simple.¹

Olof Palme, radio speech 1965

The future is certain; it is only the past that is unpredictable.²

Russian proverb

“One never knows what a book is about until it is too late” asserted cultural theorist W. J. T. Mitchell.³ Mitchell points at the contradictory position writers find themselves in. Not knowing for certain what a book is supposed to be about, including the many kinds of responses and the different (possible) interpretations that come with the work when completed. It will certainly be the case with this book. Therefore, the intentions of the dissertation will be thoroughly explained. First, the different reasons for the study will be clarified, especially because the intention can, and often does, alter during the years of research. I found it quite strange that my initial investigation into visual representations of the colonial world in Scandinavia, and with Sweden as the primary case study, raised several eyebrows. There was always a brief moment of perplexed pause when explaining the aim in Sweden. “But why, Sweden was never part of the colonial project like Great Britain, France or Germany for that matter!” Visual representations of the colonial world in the last decades of the nineteenth century were not to be seen anywhere, people told me. Yet, when I looked at studies not only in art history and visual culture studies, but also in other disciplines in the humanities, I saw many different

PREFACE

narratives of colonial events.⁴ This material was often in clusters labelled “beyond Europe”, “foreign countries”, “exoticism” or “orientalism.”⁵ Texts and descriptions seldom commented on it, besides acknowledging the unusual material.⁶ As opposed to Anglo-American research, these specific colonial discourses have thus been scarcely visible in the Scandinavian art history and visual culture studies contexts.⁷

Discussing the difficulty of examining colonial and racial issues in visual culture, the visual cultural theorist Nicholas Mirzoeff described how he felt like an extra in a Hollywood police drama, being waved away from the yellow police line. The response was always the same: “There is nothing to see here. Move along!” It is of course not true, but when the statement comes from an authority we presume that we can have no response. Mirzoeff exposed the invisibility of race within visual culture studies in 2010. Regarding myself and my interest in visual representations of the colonial world in Sweden, the conjecture of “there is nothing to be found” has followed me, often with a hint that crossing the line would be futile.⁸ It is also interesting that scholars who claimed the non-existence of visual representations of the colonial world and those (few) who believed the quantity to be overwhelming still declared it to be harmless.⁹

The image of Sweden, and to some extent Scandinavia, as tolerant and free from “muddy race theories” is strong, as the initial quote by Swedish Prime Minister Olof Palme also illuminates. Yet the problem concerning colonial and racial issues in the art history and visual culture studies fields is far more complex. So is this work an attempt to reclaim these visual representations of the colonial world, to say that it is important, however small the amount may be? It would be rather simple to contradict the notions of non-existence, harmlessness, and unimportance. For example, the Swedish illustrated press published numerous articles and images containing representations of the colonial world on a monthly basis; subjects ranging from illustrated travel accounts by Henry Morton Stanley and orientalist art to racial cartoons. The challenge of this study is thus not merely to object. Art historian Reina Lewis has described the entwined problem with clarity:

[A] problem that crosses continents, yet tells us more about one than the others; a problem that is embedded in the seemingly distant ‘high’ culture of the nineteenth century, yet whose dynamics are active in everyday life in the late twentieth century. This problem is the relationship between imperialism, women, [men] and [media] culture.¹⁰

I have also met another kind of response to my research: that the subject investigated has been part of an ethical concern. Researchers in gender studies or postcolonial studies have, since the beginning in the 1960s, regularly been met with accusations of writing moral history. It both discredits the research work as well as minimizes the results. Nevertheless, this is not a work that aims to simplify European colonialism, and all that is connected with that discourse: exploitation, racism, white supremacy, violence, cultural and human genocide et cetera.¹¹ The narratives will not be about “good and bad” visual media and representations or “good and bad” Swedes and Scandinavians for that matter, or viewing the Indigenous populations as voiceless victims. Rather, this survey wishes to investigate visual representations of the colonial world in both scientific and popular formats. Consequently, I problematize how an imperial gaze was articulated at the end of the nineteenth century.

The reason for *Colonizing fever: Race and media cultures in late nineteenth-century Sweden* is my desire to confront the somewhat awkward silence and to see for myself whether “there is nothing to see here”. In other words, responding to the claim to “move along” – I prefer not to, but instead stick to the many colonial and racial issues in art history and visual culture studies.¹² Therefore, one aim of this work is to contribute to a historically and culturally informed perspective on contemporary struggles and political events.¹³ This study explicates Swedish nineteenth century history and asks: what happens with our narratives of the past when visual representations of the colonial world, which have been previously hidden by blind spots, once again become visible and estrange our known histories? History (or histories), as the initial quote highlights, is not a stable and fixed entity but in constant flux. All interpretation is historically conditioned; my accounts are too. Notable scholars such as Hayden White, Paul Ricœur, and Frank Ankersmit have illuminated the historical narratives and investigated the knowledge production prompted by the

PREFACE

historian. These intellectuals have different viewpoints, but one common approach, which I share, unites them. That is the complex and deeply intertwined problem of history, narrative and language.¹⁴ In gender research, expressing problems or concerns at the very beginning of work is not new; in fact it is a research path and a method of working.¹⁵ Reflexivity concerns not just the chosen material, the questions asked or results achieved. It aims to focus more profoundly on the different strategies that are used in written language, methods, and practices. For this reason, metacommentaries, as literary theorist Fredric Jameson eloquently discusses, are critical.

What initially needs explanation is, in other words, not how we go about interpreting a text but rather why we should even have to do so. All thinking about interpretation must sink itself in the strangeness, the unnaturalness, of the hermeneutic situation; or to put it in another way, every individual interpretation must include an interpretation of its own existence, must show its own credentials and justify itself: every commentary must be at the same time a metacommentary as well.¹⁶

I take seriously the notion by historian Michel Foucault, developed in *L'archéologie du savoir* (1969) and *L'ordre du discours* (1970), that every epoch has its discourses, which regulate what is to be questioned and how those questions are to be answered.¹⁷ Scientific research is performed in a particular manner, from the composition (structure, chapter, headlines, quotes et cetera) and the choice of images represented and displayed in the book, to the tone of the language. Narrative, telling through written language, is a common expression of knowledge production within the humanities. The difficulties are many. However, you have to accept the premise of communicating in language to be able to do, or share, research at all. Literary theorist Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak's notion of the subaltern is consequently crucial to my understanding of (im)possible representation and the researcher's position as an active writer of narration and knowledge.¹⁸ Furthermore, this work is written for scholars, in particular, historians of visual culture, art historians and media historians with an interest in the "lives of images", colonial discourses and media cultures in the last decades of the nineteenth century.¹⁹

Introduction

REVISITING LATE NINETEENTH-CENTURY SWEDISH MEDIA CULTURES

In 1889, when the wax cabinet Swedish Panopticon [Svenska Panoptikon] opened its door to the public, one of the centrepieces was a wax display of the famous American explorer Henry Morton Stanley and the Swedish lieutenant Peter Möller. The setting depicted an episode that showed Stanley and Möller in a discussion about an expedition in the Congo jungle.²⁰ Articles in the press were most delighted with the motif, claiming it to be one of the best in the whole Panopticon, since it staged a colonial event in a realistic manner which the Swedish public could relate to. *Aftonbladet* reported for example that: “the greatest illusions were truly made in the Congo scenes.”²¹

The Swedish Panopticon was not unique in displaying visual representations of the colonial world.²² In Sweden, and in Scandinavia for that matter, at the end of the nineteenth century ethnological exhibitions, circus performances, wax museums, travel journals, the illustrated press and ephemera such as posters, advertisements, postcards and brochures, were literally crammed with images from the overseas colonial world.²³ In the visual arts, the orientalist art was reaching its height in the European salons and art market.²⁴ Scandinavian artists such as Anders Zorn, Frans Odelmark, Julius Kronberg and Elisabeth Jerichau-Baumann exhibited and sold exotic and oriental motifs abroad as well as at home.²⁵ Importantly, these were often reproduced in the illustrated press, where most people saw them.²⁶ Additionally, racial photography and the display of Indigenous populations, also called ethnological exhibitions, were as

INTRODUCTION



Wax display: "Stanley och Löjtnant P. Möller" [Stanley and Lieutenant P. Möller], *Vägvisare genom Svenska Panoptikon* (Stockholm: Nya Tryckeri-Aktiebolaget, 1889).
Courtesy of the National Library of Sweden, Stockholm.

common as in the colonial empires as Great Britain, France and Germany.²⁷ Remarkably, these various visual representations of the colonial world were circulated in an area described as localized *outside of* European colonial activities.²⁸ How were these representations given meaning in a region considered far from the centre stage of colonial politics?

Colonizing fever investigates visual representations of the colonial world and makes the argument that these representations created a mutual vision of the European colonial project and its civilizing mission.²⁹ I claim that a mutual vision was reinforced by visual strategies and descriptions of how to visualize and understand the European colonial expansion and the civilizing mission for a Swedish audience at the end of the nineteenth century. Herein I make a reassessment of the concept of colonial complicity, where I wish to describe how the colonial discourse was comprehended at the time. Discourse is used to define forms of representation:

of historically and culturally located meanings.³⁰ Following Michel Foucault's discursive practices, such discursive formations establishes orders of truth by which dominant groups in society constitute the field of truth by inflicting specific knowledges, disciplines and principles upon subjugated groups.³¹ Colonial discourse is thus defined as a discourse that revolves around the phenomenon of colonialism.³² Moreover, the colonial discourse discloses aspects of colonial relationships between a colonial power and those included in the communities that it colonizes. The colonial discourse can hence occur on many levels, for example government policy, literary documents or material culture. The term was introduced by literary historian Edward W. Said, who saw Foucault's notion of discourse as valuable for describing a system within which ranges of practices termed "colonial" come into being.³³

Building on Said, postcolonial theorist Homi K. Bhabha has illuminated how certain disabling discrepancies within colonial relationships, such as hybridity, ambivalence and mimicry, reveal the intrinsic vulnerability of colonial discourse.³⁴ Colonial discourse is accordingly a complex of signs and practices that organize social existence and social reproduction within colonial relations. Additionally it is a system of statements that can be made about colonizers and colonial peoples, about colonizing powers, about the relationship between the two. Basically, it centres on ideas of race that began to emerge at the beginning of European imperialism. Through such differences it comes to represent the colonized as "primitive" and the colonizers as "civilized".³⁵

Likewise, I argue that an *imperial gaze* was established, and I suggest that a way of looking was formed in two ways. First of all it was an excluding visual practice. The "othering" of the Indigenous population and its categorization in the racial hierarchy was a fundamental way to distinguish Europeans from non-Europeans. Secondly, it had an inclusive visuality that directed viewers to become part of, belong to and thus be included within the European colonial project and its civilizing mission. A mutual vision for the audience was hence created in which an imperial gaze upheld the status quo. For example, the racial photographs from the scientific circumnavigation, the Vanadis expedition of 1883–1885, were reworked in many ways and circulated as photographs, illustrated travel

INTRODUCTION

journals and ephemera. Besides displaying (at the time more or less) scientific race theories at public lectures or in an exhibition context with magic lanterns, these images were also intermingled with entertainment, leisure practices and urban everyday life cultures, which engaged in colonial events. The othering of the Indigenous population thus conveyed a strict racial hierarchy. The Vanadis expedition itself promoted Swedish commercial and diplomatic ambitions; to some extent it served as a Swedish colonial substitute making the nation part of the European colonial project and the civilizing mission, which was further accentuated through the illustrated press, ephemera and the visual arts.

I am interested in the development of “latent colonialism”, to use literary historian Susanne Zantop’s concept, as a general urge for colonial possession, rather than “manifest colonialism” targeted at a specific object.³⁶ Zantop’s study of Germany’s colonial legacy and imagination showed how a German national identity was formulated. Through readings of historical, anthropological, literary and popular texts, Zantop has explored imaginary colonial encounters of “Germans” with “natives” in late-eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century literature. She has showed how these colonial fantasies acted as a groundwork for actual colonial ventures in Africa, South America and the Pacific. Zantop’s notion of colonial fantasies and colonial imaginations is crucial for this thesis’s understanding of a nation’s drive to be part of colonial endeavours without any significant overseas colonies. Sweden sold its colony Saint Barthélemy (in the north-eastern Caribbean) to France in 1878 and had no other overseas colonies in the late nineteenth century.³⁷ Zantop explains how colonial fantasies offered an arena for creating an imaginary community and constructing a national identity in opposition to the perceived racial, sexual, ethnic or national characteristics of their others both outside and inside Germany, Europeans and non-Europeans alike.³⁸ However, in contrast to German colonial fantasies, which developed into a colonial reality, the Swedish overseas colonial fantasies remained imagined. Therefore, the numerous mediated representations of the colonial world, which could be found in the late nineteenth century, are intriguing and yield questions about the presence of colonial cultures in Sweden.

When discussing colonial cultures and practices, one description that was used in late nineteenth-century Sweden was that of a colonizing fever [koloniseringsfeber]. The catchphrase fever was frequently used to describe contemporary tendencies which concerned a larger part of the public, for example American fever [Amerikafeber], variety fever [varietéfeber], gold fever [guldfeber], shopping fever [köpfeber] and reading fever [läsfeber] to mention a few.³⁹ The cultural meaning of fever had both positive and negative connotations at the time; the term was ambivalent.⁴⁰

Colonial practices were negotiated and evaluated depending on context. I thereby lay emphasis on the notion of the nineteenth-century colonialist attitudes, which the audiences were negotiating. Foremost, colonizing fever as an expression in late nineteenth-century discourse was repeatedly used to depict colonial practices. For example, in 1885 *Ny Illustrerad Tidning* described the British and German powers' colonizing practices in New Guinea as "colonizing fever".⁴¹ The paper explained colonizing fever as a condition which the European empires were involved in the expansion of overseas territories. Meanwhile Scandinavia, and with Sweden as an example, only had smaller foreign undertakings and their colonizing fever was, I maintain, renegotiated and visible in other domains. The dissertation title "Colonizing fever" hence wishes to emphasize the ambivalence the historical agents spoke of. It could, however, be considered problematic to reutilize a metaphor which speaks of an illness that "invades" society without human interaction. Simply put, the metaphor could be viewed as a communication model in which media, audience and recipients are seen as passive carriers. Media scholars Henry Jenkins, Sam Ford and Joshua Green have criticised similar notions concerning the idea of "viral media" and illuminate the notion of "passive users":

There is an implicit and often explicit proposition that the spread of ideas and messages can occur without users' consent and perhaps actively against their conscious resistance; people are duped into passing a hidden agenda while circulating compelling content. This notion of media *as* virus taps a larger discussion that compares systems of cultural distribution to biological systems.⁴²

INTRODUCTION

Colonizing fever should thus be seen as an indication of how various media were reworked in numerous ways, from country to country, from one medium to another. The circulation and spread of these representations were extensive, and transnational. Even though the primary focus of the investigation is Swedish media cultures, visual representations of the colonial world were not bound to stay in one place, but could be seen in the Nordic region (and globally), as will be shown in several examples. Therefore, an important differentiation is made between the empirical sources, as the material derives from the Swedish archives, and the object of study, which considers Sweden as part of a larger Scandinavian context.

Aims and Questions

Visual representations of the colonial world will be the subject of this book. The study does not attempt an analysis of colonialism *per se*. In brief, I am concerned with exploring how, in certain and distinct moments, the interaction between colonialism and visual representations was played out in connection to Swedish media cultures. The dissertation has a threefold aim. First of all, it seeks to draw attention to the presence of a colonial discourse within a material which has not received enough attention in art history and visual culture studies. Secondly, I analyze these visual representations of the colonial world, in an expanding media culture in late nineteenth-century Sweden. Thirdly, my analyses (and tentative results) explore how a mutual vision of the European colonial project and its civilizing mission was created *via* visual strategies and descriptions. My research questions can thus be summarized as follows: How were visual representations of the colonial world established, circulated and given meaning in late nineteenth-century Sweden? How did visual representations of the colonial world create a mutual vision of the European colonial project and its civilizing mission? Furthermore, how was race mediated, understood and given significance?

These questions are investigated in two different thematically organized studies that concern: (1) a scientific expedition and (2) contemporary entertainments. The two parts investigate visual representations of the colonial world and its relation to the incipient mass culture. It

juxtaposes an accumulation of conspicuously and self-consciously modern and widespread urban everyday life cultures, for example science expeditions, the press, ephemera, visual arts, visits to the ethnographical exhibitions, Wild West performances, ethnological exhibitions, wax museums, and new consumption and leisure practices.

The reason for framing the material into these studies is twofold. First of all my investigation explores materials from two emerging fields, in which the first one differs and takes its point of departure from a science context and the second from a mass culture context. However, these frameworks are not seen as separate and solid entities. Rather they are mutually interconnected and overlapping over time. Secondly, the two studies seek to highlight different approaches to *understanding*, *experiencing* and *looking* – which these media practices enabled. The first investigation illuminates, for example, how a Swedish scientific journey spread ideas of race by displaying ethnographical artefacts in a museum context in which the audience needed a booklet to understand their implications. The second study highlights, for example, how the Swedish spectators experienced ideas of race by visiting Wild West performances and within the narrative were able to understand their own position in the racial hierarchy. The different media cultures hence facilitated different ways of comprehending colonial culture by way of a more or less explicitly staged imperial gaze.

Important for my investigation is the fact that these various media are understood as working within a nineteenth-century media system. In short, I am studying the interchange between different media forms and formats, as well as how they concur in an ever-changing constellation. Therefore, the investigation has its focus on the *relations* between different media in regard of their technologies, practices and contents. The two parts focus on various media cultures and their capability to create a mutual vision of the colonial project. In other words, this is not an investigation that analyzes what people (the audiences, the readers et cetera) really saw, or what they might have been thinking about representations of the colonial world. Tracking such empirical evidence is very difficult and therefore my focus is on answering questions concerning the way colonial representations were established, given meaning (foremost from

INTRODUCTION

a production perspective) and circulated in an expanding media culture at the end of the nineteenth century in Sweden.

In addition, the voices of “the Other” will not be the subject of this work since the empirical sources investigated do not contain such information.⁴³ Another important aspect to make clear is that the investigation does not analyze visual representations regarding colonial practices within Sweden, for example of the Sámi culture and population. The reason for this delimitation is that the study is concerned with the representations of the colonial world overseas. There are, however, pioneering studies regarding colonial practices and cultures within the Nordic region.⁴⁴ Missionary practices, in the overseas colonial world and by Swedes, are another delimitation.⁴⁵

Colonial Modernity

Art historian Jonathan Crary has proclaimed that the problems of vision are inseparable from the operation of social power at the end of the nineteenth century.⁴⁶ Crary shows how the observer, beginning in the 1820s, became the site of new discourses and practices that situated vision within the body as a physiological event. In combination with the arrival of physiological optics, Crary uncovers how theories and models of subjective vision were developed, which gave the observer new autonomy and productivity, while concurrently allowing new forms of control and standardization of vision.⁴⁷ Hence, with an audience creating meanings of their own, it was of importance to direct and control not only what the public was seeing but also how they understood these images. Notions of new ways to understand perception and standardization of vision in the nineteenth century will be of importance, since I will claim that the visual representations of the colonial world in Sweden were directed into a mutual vision of the European colonial project and civilizing mission.

Scandinavia, in the last decades of the nineteenth century, is regularly described as situated far from colonial narratives. In historical surveys, Sweden is often depicted as an epoch of crises of all kinds in culture and society, in which different groups were on the opposite sides.⁴⁸ Clusters of problems: class struggle, women’s emancipation, issues of education,

20

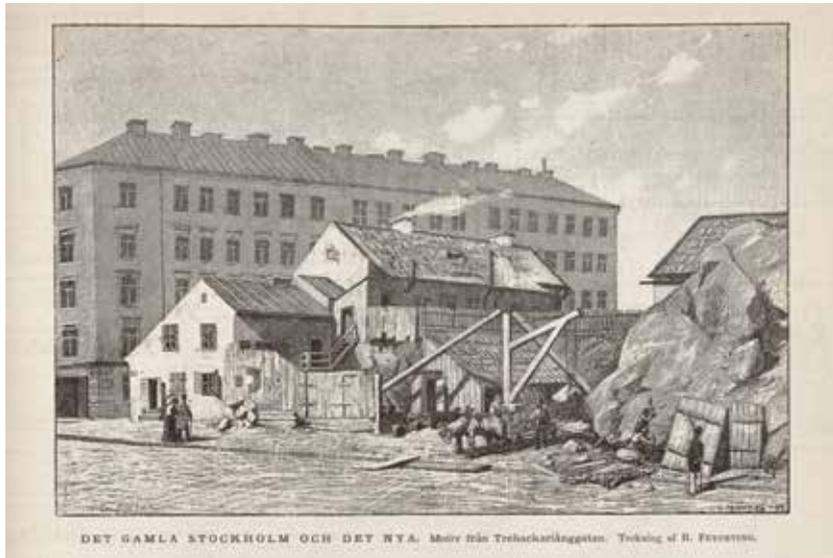
“Ett Paris café (Au Boulevard Saint-Michel) efter en teckning av Felician von Myrbach” [A café in Paris (Au Boulevard Saint-Michel) after a drawing by Felician von Myrbach], *Ny Illustrerad Tidning* 28 February 1885:9. Courtesy of the National Library of Sweden, Stockholm.



housing, criminality and prostitution, were brought together and summarized as “the social question”, thereby following the common narrative of Europe at the fin-de-siècle.⁴⁹ Similarly, the flaneur and his contemporary companion the flaneuse, frequently regarded as signs of modernity but also symbols of decadence, were assumed to walk the boulevards not only of Paris, but Stockholm, Copenhagen and Christiania as well.⁵⁰ According to Scandinavian historian Mark B. Sandberg, the Nordic countries at the end of the nineteenth century experienced a rather delayed modernization on the northern margin of Europe.⁵¹ The Scandinavian press at the time discussed the unique position of being observers of both “the old and the new”. For example, two recurrent topics in the Swedish illustrated paper *Ny Illustrerad Tidning* were that of the café cultures in European cities and the changing landscape of Stockholm.

The claim about different instants of modernization is especially true 21

INTRODUCTION



“Det gamla Stockholm och det nya. Motiv från Trebackarlånggatan. Teckning af H. Feychting” [The old and new Stockholm. View from Trebackarlånggatan. Drawing by H. Feychting], *Ny Illustrerad Tidning* 27 September 1884:39. Courtesy of the National Library of Sweden, Stockholm.

of Scandinavia’s compressed experience of modernity. Historian Marshall Berman speaks of a populace that “can remember what it is like to live, materially and spiritually, in worlds that are not modern at all. From this inner dichotomy, this sense of living in two worlds simultaneously, the ideas of modernization and modernism emerge and unfold.”⁵² Equally, the Nordic region was changing.⁵³ Industrialisation, urbanisation and secularisation were gradually detected.⁵⁴ Regarding improvements in new technologies, industries (iron, wood), innovations and products, an increasing optimism was widespread. One vivid example was the many universal expositions that were held during the last decades of the nineteenth century in the whole of Europe.⁵⁵

Besides the narratives of crises, Scandinavia at the end of the nineteenth century has also been depicted as a time when leisure and popular entertainment activities developed, often in connections with a rising

22

urban mass culture in which consumer culture and capitalism could not be overemphasized. These observations are well investigated and numerous scholars have contributed new insights into fin-de-siècle history.⁵⁶ Yet, as initially highlighted, one account is remarkably missing from these narratives. What about the world outside the Nordic region, and in particular what was the relation between the European colonial expansion that reached its peak at the end of the nineteenth century and its impacts in Sweden? As cultural historian Hannu Salmi states, European colonialism was long and its significance since the fifteenth century undisputable.⁵⁷ Nevertheless, it was in the nineteenth century that colonialist politics saw its zenith. Colonialism was then linked with imperialism and during the nineteenth century most of Africa and a considerable part of Asia was under European control.⁵⁸

The ideals of the Western nation as progressive and democratic were during the nineteenth century gradually transformed by the racial and evolutionary theories of national differences.⁵⁹ The evolution theories also provided a scientific framework for thinking about sexual differences; categorizations such as race, gender, class and sexuality became central in understanding “human progress”.⁶⁰ The emergence of race as a major concern in nineteenth-century Europe was demonstrated by the influences of Joseph Arthur Gobineau’s writings and Social Darwinism, which underpinned the European colonial expansion.⁶¹ Historians Nicolas Bancel, Thomas David and Dominic Thomas have asserted that there was a deep epistemological transformation that took place in Europe at the end of the eighteenth century, creating new scientific representations of race and prompting a fundamental change in European visual economy connecting to race and its inscription in the body.⁶²

Importantly, colonialism was not only about political and economic power. It should be understood as a *cultural phenomenon* that included ideas and values about race, the production of entertainment, as well as new cultural forms like tourism. Colonialist attitudes were detected in the humanities, European thought and everyday life styles. As Salmi puts it: “colonialism is associated with an economic boom that further accelerated the rise of consumer culture in the west.”⁶³ Similarly, gender scholar Anne McClintock has emphasized that “imperialism is not something

INTRODUCTION

that happened elsewhere – a disagreeable fact of history external to Western identity. Rather, imperialism and the invention of race were fundamental aspects of Western, industrial modernity.⁶⁴ Art historian Patrik Steorn further states that urbanisation and industrialisation in Scandinavia had drained the human race of its spiritual and physical energy. Degeneration was inscribed in the body itself. The white athletic masculine body became a symbol for the healthy and “pure Swedish race”.⁶⁵

This notion is vital since it is important to consider how the Swedish national identity was formulated during the same time as colonial media cultures developed in late nineteenth-century Sweden.⁶⁶ Until now overseas colonial significances have rarely been emphasized in histories of nineteenth-century Sweden.⁶⁷ The Nordic region has often been explained as situated outside the European colonial project, literally on the periphery of Europe both geographically and politically – and therefore not considered to have a colonial past.⁶⁸ Nevertheless, current developments in research about Scandinavian colonialism have scrutinized archives for new material and questions, as well as revisiting previous sources.⁶⁹ These progresses should be seen as part of the so-called imperial turn in the humanities, which has shifted focus to the colonial effects within Europe.⁷⁰ My dissertation adds some further knowledge to this emerging research field.

In general, postcolonial studies, visual culture studies and cultural histories of media are the three most important research fields on which this study draws in terms of theories and methodologies. These are not complete inventories, but rather research that emphasizes and concerns similar aims and questions to those of this investigation. The main method is to historicize the chosen empirical material from a colonial context. Colonial studies is dependent on a trans-disciplinary approach and the three sections based around previous research will thus highlight studies that are important for this investigation. Evidently, it is not the only research this analysis depends on. Previous research on racial photography, for example, is directly related to some parts of my analysis.

Postcolonial Studies

Postcolonial studies is defined as an inter-disciplinary field of perspectives. Postcolonial studies has been gaining importance since the 1970s. Many hold the publication of Said's influential analysis of Western constructions of the Orient as the beginning of the research area. Moreover, the growing currency within the academy of the term postcolonial was established by the arrival in 1989 of *The empire writes back: Theory and practice in post-colonial literatures* by Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin. Although there is substantial discussion over the precise limits of the field – and the definition of the term “postcolonial”, in a broad sense – post-colonial studies focus the connections between European nations and the societies they colonized in the modern period. As a consequence, post-colonial history has often been perceived through the lens of the usual European colonizers such as Great Britain, France, Portugal and Holland.⁷¹ The Nordic region in the context of both colonizer and colonized has thus tended to be disregarded in these postcolonial histories.⁷²

Historian Anne J. Kershen claims: “In terms of colonial history, the Nordic countries manifest all variations of experience, from colonizing powers, to colonies themselves.”⁷³ While colonialism was far-reaching, this does not make it a complete history. However, it implies a narrative with universal consequences. Anthropologist Kristín Loftsdóttir and historian Lars Jensen argue that to abandon the notion of a complete universal history involves the acknowledgement of the transnational and transcontinental connections that have shaped European history, and furthermore how they have been played out in a local context; i.e. not only at the cosmopolitan centres nor at the colonial margins overseas.⁷⁴ Until recently, research regarding involvement of the Nordic countries in colonial activities was rare as already stated. Yet, in the past few years it has come under increasing scrutiny from anthropologists, archaeologists and historians.⁷⁵ A growing number of publications have begun to dissect the nature of Scandinavian colonialism, its expansion and adaptation, and its contribution to a Eurocentric worldview and production of racial theory. Research has mainly focused on Nordic geopolitical, economical and archaeological history. But European colonial practices also prompted other impacts. One such area was the creating and circulation of popular

INTRODUCTION

and massproduced visual representations of the colonial world, in a growing media culture at the end of the nineteenth century.

Still as, archaeologists Magdalena Naum and Jonas M. Nordin assert: “A pendulum of awareness of the colonial past swings between gross unfamiliarity with the facet of national history, a denial that Scandinavian kingdoms had anything to do with atrocities caused by colonialism, and the recognition of the participation in the colonial act driven by economic ambitions and want of profit.”⁷⁶ To sum up the discussion, the colonial ties are usually perceived as weak in the Nordic countries, and their international relations are regularly positively perceived as categorized by development aid, peace building and cooperation – rather than sinister colonialism and imperialism. Nevertheless, the participation in the colonial project needs to be set in a broader framework in which the differences between the great European Empires and the Nordic countries need to be discussed.

I will later describe how for example the British Empire influenced Swedish media cultures. However, it is vital to nuance the impact. The colonial project and agenda was indeed different; while Great Britain dominated and created an imperial vision, Sweden was struggling to keep up the pace in establishing itself as a region of at least some importance in colonial politics. One example was the different positions at the Berlin conference in 1884–1885, when the division of Africa was finalized. The union between Sweden and Norway, and Denmark (Iceland, Greenland, Faroe Islands) attended as representatives in Berlin; Finland was under Russian rule at the time, but without any actual political power to demand colonies.⁷⁷ The Swedish-Norwegian delegation fully embraced the agreement taken at the conference, as historian of technology David Nilsson has claimed, and thus aspired to be part of the new colonial politics being drafted. Hence, the official attitude to the European colonial expansion was that of support.

To complicate this further, it is vital to understand that colonial politics were framed with ambivalence and anxiety. The struggle for world dominance was not a straightforward road for any empire that staked its claims. “But colonialism was not only good to think”, states historian

all kinds, from knowledge to spices, from narratives to military command posts. There were compelling reasons to invent systematic beliefs about cultural differences, uniting such disparate projects as the precarious formation of national identity and the relentless exploitation of economic resources.”⁷⁸

Another key issue is that of gender and its connections to colonialism. Historian Clare Midgley detects how studies on gender and colonialism in Great Britain have developed unconnectedly.⁷⁹ In gender studies the interaction of gender and class has been the focus, often ignoring race and ethnicity and “rarely attempting to place the history of men and women within the context of Britain’s role as a leading imperial power.”⁸⁰ Colonial history instead has been mainly written as the exploits of male policy makers, explorers and missionaries – with no attempt to evaluate the importance of their masculine gender. A similar absence of attention has been established to *gender metaphors*, which are essential to imperial discourse. The descriptions of colonial exploration and conquest as the penetration of virgin lands or feminised representations of colonized men use gender as “a primary way of signifying relationships of power.”⁸¹ As will be demonstrated in this study, visual representations of the colonial world are entangled with gender. This book highlights how gendered audiences consummated such representations and how racial stereotypes were feminized and sexualised. The colonial project was not the only preserve of the masculine gender; male dominance in fields of science, military power and commerce is also visible in sources, as is evident from recurring male figures in this book: Hjalmar Stolpe (the anthropologist), Peter Möller (the military officer) and Max Rhodin (the circus artist).

Postcolonial Studies (again)

– Colonial Complicity and Imperial Gaze

When *The New York Times*’ feature “Nineteenth Century” (1899) was giving a summary of the century, it marked Europe as an entity, which together brought “light” and “progress” to Asia and Africa. “We step upon the threshold of 1900, which leads up to the new century, facing a still brighter dawn for human civilization” the reader was informed.⁸² The

INTRODUCTION

article continued enthusiastically: “Through agitation and conflict European nations are working toward an ultimate harmony of interests and purposes, and bringing awakened Asia into the sweeping current of progress. Light has been let into the ‘Dark Continent’ beyond the ancient boarders and is rapidly spreading.”⁸³ The Nordic region was seen as belonging to the Western hemisphere and part of this mission, and was most willing in helping to “spread the light to the heathen world.”⁸⁴ Accordingly, Scandinavian countries were engaged in colonial practices such as missionary, military work, commerce and science.⁸⁵

When describing European colonial politics, stability, order and the importance of the civilizing mission were recurring themes in the Swedish *fin-de-siècle* debate. Such issues were not framed as a problem. On the contrary, it was the duty and obligation of the greater European empires, and voices were almost unanimously encouraging in the Nordic region.⁸⁶ For instance, when the Swedish-Norwegian union accepted the invitation to the Berlin conference in 1884, it was not to seek advantages in commerce and navigation but to reinforce “une œuvre essentiellement civilisatrice.”⁸⁷

I argue that within debates about European crises and difficulties colonial expansions thus *created* a common ground between different groups that were on the opposite side in other conflicts. Postcolonial scholars Diana Mulinari *et. al.* claim that “the lure of an enterprise as powerful and authoritative as the Western civilising project, attracts even those who never belonged to its centre or were its main agents.”⁸⁸ Concurring with the above scholars, one way to describe these practices is that of *colonial complicity*, to highlight the manifold ways the Nordic countries took part. Colonial complicity refers to “processes in which (post)colonial practices, products and imaginaries are made to be reflected as part of what is understood as ‘national’ and ‘traditional’ culture of the Nordic country.”⁸⁹ Then again I would like to problematize the impact by referring to these processes: colonial ideas, practices and products as *a mutual vision of the European colonial project and the civilizing mission*, and in so doing as an alternative to colonial complicity. The latter notion has explicitly negative connotations, which the empirical sources surveyed do not speak of.

28 Quite the reverse; the involvement in the European colonial project was

seen as progressive, and its civilizing mission as inevitable.⁹⁰ The illustrated press, for example, regularly applauded the colonial project and the civilizing mission with comments such as “the glorious days of colonialism” and published numerous articles highlighting the “benefits” of colonialism.⁹¹ Another example are the Scandinavian countries’ willingness to participate in the Berlin conference.⁹²

A mutual vision should be understood as imagined and interconnected with the social constructions of national identity. Therefore, the much-cited historian Benedict Anderson’s notion of the nation as “an imagined political community and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign” is important for this investigation, since it elaborates the social construction of nations alongside gender, race and class.⁹³ These categories should be understood in a specific historical context and as highly intertwined. By using the term mutual vision of the European colonial project and the civilizing mission, the dissertation wishes to underscore ideas of the late nineteenth century, which spoke of participating support.⁹⁴

The dissertation elaborates moreover on the term imperial gaze, which has been theorized by film historian E. Ann Kaplan.⁹⁵ Film scholars such as Robert Stam and Ella Shohat have also discussed the term colonial representation. Following theories by Said and the look to empower the colonizer and disempowered, the colonized began to be theorized more actively.⁹⁶ Theorists have been responding to Said’s notion in various ways and Kaplan’s concept – the imperial gaze – also illuminates the feminist appropriations of the concept.⁹⁷ “The imperial gaze reflects the assumption that the white western subject is central, much as the male gaze assumes the centrality of the male subject.”⁹⁸ Thus, film theorist Laura Mulvey’s theories of the male gaze have been crucial for Kaplan’s development of the imperial gaze.⁹⁹ According to Kaplan, the imperial gaze is a one-way look.¹⁰⁰ It involves *oppressors defining how the oppressed are to be seen*, including how they are perceived themselves. Returning the gaze of the oppressors can therefore be seen as confronting subjugation, a claim of equality. I use the notion of imperial gaze to describe two interweaving visual practices: inclusion and exclusion. The first construed an excluding gaze, which defined “the Other” strictly in a racial hierarchy

INTRODUCTION

from the perspective of the white Western subject, and secondly as an including gaze, which spoke of a mutual vision of the European colonial project and civilizing mission.

Visual Culture Studies

A second important research field for this dissertation is visual culture studies. Regarding the “Nordic imperial turn”, previous research in art history and visual culture studies includes a few important benchmarks.¹⁰¹ Art historian Tomas Björk has disclosed how the orientalist discourse was seen early on in Swedish visual culture, negotiating colonial effects in the nineteenth century. Several artists were engaged in travelling overseas to depict the “Orient”, as well as never leaving the country (the so-called “armchair orientalists”) but creating orientalist art anyway, selling both to a domestic and international market. Björk asserts that different prejudices and well-known racial stereotypes flourished in Sweden, both visually and textually, thereby creating a relationship to the “Orient” and the “Other” as well as placing Sweden as part of Europe.¹⁰² Art historian Jeff Werner has examined how *whiteness* in nineteenth-century Swedish visual culture stood in close relation to the colonial practices and race science.¹⁰³ Artists such as Anders Zorn, Carl Larsson and Jenny Nyström contributed to new visions of national identity at the turn of the twentieth century, in which Scandinavians were represented as “blond, blue-eyed and fair-skinned.”¹⁰⁴ Björk and Werner’s contributions will be of significance since their analysis of colonialist attitudes in the visual arts also had an impact on the popular media cultures surveyed in this study.

From a Scandinavian perspective, art historian Elisabeth Oxfeldt’s investigation of Nordic orientalism in the visual arts has also shown the appropriation of Oriental imagery within Danish and Norwegian nineteenth-century nation building.¹⁰⁵ Mark B. Sandberg’s investigations of wax displays and Scandinavian modernization are additionally crucial.¹⁰⁶ Sandberg asks, for example, why modernity created a cultural fascination around the idea of effigy. He shows that the idea was a gateway to understanding other aspects of visual entertainment in that period, including

portability of sights, spaces and entire settings. Sandberg states that Scandinavian audiences wanted an extraordinary degree of authenticity, a cultural liking for naturalism that made its way beyond theatre to popular forms of museum display. The Scandinavian wax museums and folk-ethnographic spectacles thus helped pre-cinematic viewers and audiences to understand and figure out social implications of both voyeuristic and immersive display techniques.

The impacts of European colonial expansion were seen in the Nordic region, and thus concerned the national identity as well as the Nordic identity. It is evident that visual representations of the colonial world at the end of the nineteenth-century not only attracted attention in the Nordic countries. Important for this study is that they circulated and spread on a far greater level than during previous decades due to developments in media technologies. If the above-mentioned scholars have been contributing to new perspectives in the art history field, my dissertation aims to not only broaden the “art category” to an analysis of scientific and popular media cultures, but also to investigate how visual representations of the colonial world were understood and given meaning within a nineteenth-century media system. The investigation involves how various media were established, displayed, commented upon and circulated. What differentiates this study from previous research concerning visual culture and colonial impacts is that it examines *a media landscape* rather than a specific medium (as for example the traditional visual arts) or genre (as for example orientalist art).

Another aspect that distinguishes this survey from earlier research is the problematizing of race and colonialism as important parts in understanding the late nineteenth-century media cultures in a Swedish context. As Benedict Anderson has persuasively claimed in his analysis of a vernacular print culture, visual and literary culture played a critical role in the construction of imagined national communities in Europe that strengthened imperial ideologies and practices.¹⁰⁷ Visual representations of the colonial world were not a minor subject, I argue. Instead they were a dominant and popular component of the media cultures circulating in Sweden – which will be evident in the many illustrations in this book. The change in focus and the survey of empirical sources which have

INTRODUCTION

previously been neglected, naturally open up new narratives of Sweden and colonial history. “The relationship between the cultures of different continents, as mediated by imperialism, is a crucial aspect of modern history”, imperial historian John M. MacKenzie has stated.¹⁰⁸ Yet, so far it has “tended to be treated through the lens of individual disciplines and primarily in the context of high art.”¹⁰⁹

Like MacKenzie, I argue that “imperial culture also needs to be understood through the heterogeneity of its forms and in popular, intra-imperial and centripetal terms.”¹¹⁰ Other historians such as David Ciarlo and Anne McClintock have successfully analyzed colonial visual cultures in Imperial Germany and Great Britain. “Historians need to take visibility seriously as a dense source material in its own right, not merely as an ‘illustration’ – a reflection – of economic power or of political ideology.”¹¹¹ Ciarlo has surveyed the colonial and racial imagination in pre-World War I Germany, and shows a new landscape of consumer advertising that shaped German attitudes towards imperialism, colonies and racial hierarchies. Prior, MacKenzie’s investigation into music, arts and literature in the British Empire was ground-breaking since it displayed empirical sources that seldom have had an important position in historical studies of colonialism. His analysis suggests that Western art received a genuine inspiration from the East, thereby problematizing the notion of Said’s orientalism discourse.

In addition, McClintock’s work investigates the imperial culture in Victorian Britain and specifically draws on diverse cultural forms such as advertising, mass commodity, oral history, poetry and spectacles. McClintock elaborates on the term “commodity racism” when analyzing advertisements, for example Victorian cleaning rituals. McClintock asserts that soap became a symbol of British superiority due to its association with hygiene and its symbolism of progress. “Commodity racism became distinct from scientific racism in its capacity to expand beyond the literate, propertied elite through the marketing of commodity spectacle”.¹¹² The significance of commodity racism was according to McClintock that “no pre-existing form of organized racism had ever before been able to reach so large and so differentiated a mass of the populace”.¹¹³ Her

32 focus on race, gender and sexuality calls for a nuanced perspective on



“Söndagsstudier i Nationalmuseum. Åtta teckningar af Carl Hedelin” [Sunday studies at the Museum of Fine Arts. Eight drawings by Carl Hedelin], *Ny Illustrerad Tidning* 4 June 1887:23. Courtesy of the National Library of Sweden, Stockholm.

INTRODUCTION



“Till affischeringens historia. Sal för ankommande resande i Stockholms centralstation”
[The history of posters. Arrivals hall for travellers at Stockholm central station], *Ny Illustrerad Tidning* 10 February 1883:6. Courtesy of the National Library of Sweden, Stockholm.

colonial history, which has often concerned the activities of “prominent men”. Furthermore, I agree with Ciarlo that it is important that visual material should not be used as illustrations of explanations from textual sources: “visual history can also tell us a great deal about non-visual history.”¹¹⁴ Therefore, art history and visual culture studies’ long practice of visual analysis can not only contribute to historical studies of colonialism but also problematize the visual sources as independent empirical material.

Another theoretical inspiration for this study is the suggested shift away from a particular kind of object alignment. “Visual culture directs our attention away from structured, formal viewing settings like the cinema and art gallery to the centrality of visual experience in everyday life”, to quote Nicholas Mirzoeff.¹¹⁵ Consider for example the drawings from *Ny Illustrerad Tidning*, “Söndagsstudier i Nationalmuseum. Åtta teckningar af Carl Hedelin” [Sunday studies at Museum of Fine Arts. Eight drawings by Carl Hedelin] (1887) which demonstrated various positions of formal

viewing in the art galleries. This image could be compared to the illustration of Stockholm train station a couple of years earlier from the same illustrated magazine, “Till affischeringens historia. Sal för ankommande resande i Stockholms centralstation” [The history of posters. Arrivals hall for travellers at Stockholm central station] (1883). It displays another kind of viewing in the public sphere that grasps Mirzoeff’s phrasing, “visual experience in everyday life”. Basically, it displays how new advertisement practices were established in the public sphere. In the contemporary debate the observer’s position was seen as something that needed to be directed and controlled, regularly demarcated by gender and class. As several scholars have claimed, the formal viewing as well as everyday life visual experiences concerned new ways of visual practices. My investigation takes these concepts into consideration, and is therefore particularly interested in exploring media cultures and visual experience in the urban everyday life, naturally with particular concern for visual representations of the colonial world.

Cultural Histories of Media

Finally, a third important research field for this study is cultural histories of media. Research on the cultural history of media is an international and multidisciplinary field, which investigates the relationship between media forms, media usage, discourses and cultural contexts from a historical perspective. Thus, the field has grown from the often-quoted “cultural turn”. The field itself is perhaps sometimes difficult to separate from other multidisciplinary fields such as visual culture studies, new film studies and new media studies. As media historians Marie Cronqvist, Johan Jarlbrink and Patrik Lundell assert, the field is characterised by both empirical and theoretical approaches.¹¹⁶ The focus has been both on a wider understanding of media, and the interrelated aspects of different media forms. A medium has often been discussed as an instrument for storage and transmission of information. Definitions have varied, but a medium has sometimes been defined as a physical channel (book, photography, exhibition) or as a modality (sound, image, moving image, music, speech).¹¹⁷

INTRODUCTION

Yet media have also been examined in relation to technology for communication, which is seen as interweaved with social and cultural practices. Regarded as such, technology is not the same thing as a medium. A technology becomes a medium through complex cultural, social, economical and material elements, which change over time.¹¹⁸ Media history should hence not be understood as a collection of single media histories which describes different media developments in a straight linear way, but rather be comprehended as a field that emphasizes inter- and multimedia dimensions.¹¹⁹ Thus, to explore cultural histories of media is to examine not only the historical media landscape, but also to illuminate the medium's particular historicity and the historical mediation it expresses.¹²⁰ I am therefore interested in Mitchell's so-called "mixed media".¹²¹ "All the so-called visual media turn out, on closer inspection, to involve other senses (especially touch and hearing). All media are, from that standpoint of sensory modality, 'mixed media.'"¹²² Furthermore – and importantly – these mixed media are seen as *historical artefacts* rather than aesthetic objects. The thesis thus understands a medium as a tentative concept, in which the question of what constitutes a medium is essentially an empirical question. Nonetheless, the awareness that these media had different "value" (economic, commercial and, even more so, aspects of popularity) is further elaborated upon in the analysis. The majority of media surveyed are two-dimensional images (for example posters, art works, illustrated press) and texts. However travelling exhibitions, wax displays, costumes and ethnographical objects are also of great interest.

Equally, this work does not attempt to set a naïve linear teleological understanding of nineteenth-century media cultures, in which different media are replaced by another in a progression towards more advanced forms of expressions. Therefore, methodically I perceive the artefacts that I work with as belonging to a nineteenth-century media system, which I will use operatively when analyzing visual representations of the colonial world. This means, for example, that I am studying the exchange between different media as well as how they overlap in a different constellation. Basically, two thematical approaches are used: the media system's spatial and social dimensions. The former is concerned with the connection between the actual physical places in which media are created and consumed



Advertisement: "Cirkus Lindberg med kaptän Hopkins, wild west" [Circus Lindberg with captain Hopkins, wild west], *Norra Skåne* 15 November 1897. Courtesy of the National Library of Sweden, Stockholm.

and the imaginary spaces in which media are represented and distributed. Secondly, the social dimension is concerned with the tension between historical agents; individually or through organizations or institutions, that made use of the media system.¹²³ One advantage of studying visual representations of the colonial world as part of a nineteenth-century media system, is the possibility of analyzing different impacts other media have had. To exclusively analyze the material from a one-medium perspective runs the risk of neglecting relations between different media. For example, the Wild West acts in Sweden were reported in the press, but the press also referred to the posters to look for more information. Hence, *various* media practices contributed to establishing and circulating visual

INTRODUCTION

representations of the colonial world in a constant state of mix. Therefore, the thesis argues that audiences were involved within and negotiated a media landscape rather than a specific medium. Moreover, the different media and media practices enabled the public to relate and connect on various levels, and these representations were enhanced and created new meanings within an expanding mass culture.

Art historian Vanessa R. Schwartz points out that definitions of urban mass culture are “notoriously slippery” but should be described following two elements: “mass production by industrial techniques and consumption by most of the people, most of the time.”¹²⁴ Rather than using the term popular culture, the above definition of urban mass culture will be the emphasis for this work.¹²⁵ It is important to note that the two concepts were not common in Sweden or in Scandinavia at the fin-de-siècle. As media historian Pelle Snickars claims, an overall definition that covered all aspects of entertainments and establishments was unusual in the late nineteenth century.¹²⁶ In addition, popular culture has in itself transformed into a research field and with great concern for the media cultures of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. The word popular culture has also been connected with media cultures that are assumed to belong to the “lower classes” and therefore seen as something trivial. However, referring to urban mass culture I wish to highlight that the media cultures investigated were not yet labelled as belonging to a certain class. For example, the wax museums and wax exhibitions that were established in the 1880s were reaching the bourgeoisie as well as the working classes, with equal appreciation. Capitalism and mass culture were intertwined aspects, with new consumerism strengthening the economic dimensions of leisure and the everyday life. It is however also problematic to refer to Scandinavia as urban (and modern). Nonetheless, urbanization was discernible.

Another important aspect has been that the historical study of mass culture has until recently been focused primarily on the United States, for example as part of the history of Americanization. However, Scandinavian mass culture was not merely an imitator of modern cultural forms. Instead it created new meanings and practices. The nineteenth century
38 has been described as a time of “explosion of new institutions of visual

display”, and with sociologist Tony Bennett’s phrasing, the museum and exhibition spaces became “sites for sight”.¹²⁷ Bennett emphasizes the open spaces of exhibition and introduces the notion of the “exhibitionary complex”, which combined the effect of the panopticon with that of the panorama. If the panopticon made the individual always visible to the eye of the power, Bennett claims that the increasingly large and undifferentiated publics called into being by institutions of exhibition were organized around the crowd as viewers. Therefore, the crowd became spectators and the institution also made the audience recognizable to itself as a social group.¹²⁸

The discussion about the audience and the public has suggested that there was both passive and active participation. As media scholar Sonia M. Livingstone states, it is still common to comprehend the audience and the public as equally exclusive. “In both popular and elite discourses, audiences are denigrated as trivial, passive, individualized, while publics are valued as active, critically engaged and politically significant.”¹²⁹ This study does not separate the crowd as an active or passive participant, and the individual observer is always understood as constituted of gender, race, class and sexuality. However, the focus is not on what the crowd or observer actually saw, but on highlighting how visual representations of the colonial world were given meaning for an audience, which at the end of the nineteenth century was highly heterogeneous.

Finally, within the broad research field of cultural histories of media, the term everyday life, and its connection to consumption and leisure activities, needs to be addressed. Historian Rita Felski has problematized the notion of the everyday, a definition central to that of culture studies and sociology.¹³⁰ At first glance the everyday life seems to be everywhere, yet nowhere, because it suggests it does not have boundaries. Sociologist Henri Lefebvre has claimed that the everyday life is a particularly modern phenomena emerging in the nineteenth-century and he further points out the impact of capitalism and industrialism on human existence and perception.¹³¹ But as Felski has also illuminated, the concept is both secular and democratic.¹³² This study regards the everyday life as including both private and public activities, but also routine forms of work, travel and leisure.

*Representations, Definitions
and Delimitations*

The notion of (visual) representation has a multitude of theories. This dissertation will elaborate on the term extensively. Cultural theorists Stuart Hall and W. J. T. Mitchell have problematized the notion of representation in their respectively studies.¹³³ To begin, Hall considers representation as the medium or channel through which meaning production happens. Hall assumes that objects and people do not have constant, true meanings, but rather that meanings are produced by human beings, members in a culture, who have the power to make things mean or signify something.¹³⁴ Indisputably, for Hall, representation includes the understanding of how language and systems of knowledge production work together to produce and circulate meanings. Representation then becomes the process or channel or medium through which these meanings are both shaped and reified.

Mitchell in turn sets up the term representation to be a master-term of sorts for the “whole field of representations and representational activity.”¹³⁵ For Mitchell, representation is not approached as any single representation, but as part of a larger field. Mitchell extends the definition of representation by asserting: “representation (in memory, in verbal descriptions, in images) not only ‘mediates’ our knowledge (of slavery and of many other things), but obstructs, fragments, and negates that knowledge.”¹³⁶ In other words, representation not only mediates the knowledge we consume, it also affects knowledge through fragmentation and negation et cetera. Thus, representation constructs knowledge.¹³⁷ The above notions from Hall and Mitchell are crucial to the ways visual representations of the colonial world are examined in this thesis.

When discussing theories of representation, notions of authenticity and realism cannot be avoided. The two concepts were discussed in the late nineteenth-century visual culture. Authenticity has been discussed in relation to the experience of the authentic. It is important to highlight the term authenticity, with its notions of truth, reality and originality. I will use authenticity when the historical agents speak of it as such. Historian David Lowenthal argues that authenticity is negotiated and decided

in every epoch.¹³⁸ He asserts that authenticity has changed over time and between cultures. For example, Lowenthal shows how the late eighteenth-century ideal of authentic wholeness yielded to the cult of fragments and ruins. One century later, authenticity meant changing flawed original remnants with modern understanding of the spirit of antiquity. “The diverse authenticities we appraise – substance, form, originality, creativity, emulation – are seldom compatible.”¹³⁹ As Lowenthal further claims, it is “the criteria of authenticity we choose reflect current views about how yesterday should serve and inform today.”¹⁴⁰

Realism in the nineteenth century is a complex subject which concerns aesthetic programmes and interconnected intellectual and material changes.¹⁴¹ It often defines new styles in the visual arts and literature, beginning in mid-nineteenth-century France. In 1826, the word was used to designate a principle based not upon imitating past artistic achievements, but truthful and precise representations of the models that nature and contemporary life offered the artist.¹⁴² The French Realism movement agreed in their rejection of the artificiality of Classicism and Romanticism at the academies and on the necessity for contemporaneity in an effective work of art. Artists wished to portray the lives, appearances, problems, customs and mores of the middle and lower classes. Realism was intertwined with the intellectual developments such as the anti-Romantic movement in Germany, with its emphasis on the common man as the artistic subject, August Comte’s positivist philosophy, in which sociology’s importance as the scientific study of a society was underlined. The rise of professional journalism, with its accurate and dispassionate recording of current events, the development of photography, with its capability of mechanically reproducing visual appearances with great accuracy – all these developments stimulated interest in recording contemporary life and society, which will be of concern for the forthcoming analysis of visual representations of the colonial world.

A few limitations of this thesis have already been discussed, for example that this work is not a study of what the audience actually saw. Yet, there are also other delimitations such as time frame, geographical boundary and material. The time boundary is, for example, concentrated on the fin-de-siècle media cultures, roughly between 1880 and 1914.¹⁴³ In short,

INTRODUCTION

world politics changed with the First World War, and transformed colonial politics.¹⁴⁴ Regarding Swedish history, an adjustment would be 1880 to 1905, in which 1905 demarcates the end of the union between Sweden and Norway. The reasons for this attuned timeline are basically two. Initially, if one were to consider investigating until 1914, moving images would also be of vital importance. Secondly, colonial politics expanded in the late nineteenth century, and at the same time the Swedish identity was formulated and negotiated. This changed, however, in 1905 when the Swedish-Norwegian union came to its end.¹⁴⁵

Similarly, the reason for framing visual representations of the colonial world in relation to the Scandinavian context is to move away from a particular traditional research in art history and visual culture studies that still concerns the grand narrative of the nation. Historian Hanna Hodacs has described how the European expansion has barely made an impression on Swedish historiography; instead nineteenth-century Sweden has usually been disputed in a restricted national perspective.¹⁴⁶ This singular perspective, I would argue, neglects the nineteenth-century historical sources and tends to emphasize and reproduce twentieth-century national ideas and concepts. Visual representations of the colonial world will therefore be understood as collected, circulated and mediated enactments in Scandinavia, even though the study itself concentrates on media cultures in Sweden at the fin-de-siècle. For example, both Sandberg and Oxfeldt's studies show a nuanced perspective on how similar notions of modernity and national identity were elaborated in all of the Scandinavian countries. Nonetheless, the Nordic countries as a unity are yet a complex and problematic discourse. One reason is that the countries' historical, political and cultural backgrounds differ, and in my opinion the colonial contexts are in some instances dissimilar, for example regarding the Danish colonial project.¹⁴⁷

Naturally, the study does not aim to give a complete analysis of all the visual representations of the colonial world that were produced between 1880 and 1905. Instead, it will focus on different themes and media cultures in order to articulate the complex and often contradictory aspects of colonial impact. Another important issue is the "absence of reception" in the archives.¹⁴⁸ Historical sources concerning people's understanding

of media cultures are scarce, but can sometimes be found in the press, private letters, diaries et cetera. However, as stated this work does not primarily seek to find out what people's true and authentic experiences were.

Materials and Modernities

This book focuses on a variety of empirical sources such as the visual arts, ethnographical photographs, press, illustrated press, and ephemera of all sorts: leaflets, brochures, cartes de visite, advertisements, posters et cetera. The reason for the diverse material is to show that visual representations of the colonial world were circulated in many different ways within a nineteenth-century media system. This imagery reached a large audience. Referring to this material, the focus has been on two thematic approaches: the Vanadis expedition and contemporary entertainments. Most of the material surveyed has not received attention within Swedish art history and visual culture studies fields, with the exception of the work by Tomas Björk, who has examined the illustrated press and its exotic and orientalist motifs.¹⁴⁹ The main collections of concern are gleaned from physical and digital archives: the National Library of Sweden (Stockholm), the Maritime Museum (Stockholm), the Museum of Ethnography (Stockholm), Stockholm City Museum (Stockholm) and the University Library of Carolina Rediviva (Uppsala).¹⁵⁰ There are multiple archives and they pose questions about our perception of archive material, since in a Scandinavian context the colonial archives *per se* do not exist – as in other countries as Great Britain, Germany or France. Colonial material is rather found in a multitude of places: museums, institutions, organizations, private collections, but importantly never labelled as such. The colonial archive, paradoxically, is non-existent – and at the same time it is everywhere.

The disturbing images of “unknown” men, women and children who have been measured, staged and displayed dressed and naked have been difficult to select. These men, women and children are long deceased, and often connected with disturbing and tragic personal narratives, but their family members are most likely here today. I am most ambivalent as to

INTRODUCTION

their usage. As a researcher, these images are important empirical sources. But I am also sensitive to what contexts they have been created within and also what new contexts they are placed in.

Moreover, my investigation uses the term *fin-de-siècle* (rather than *Belle Époque*), de-emphasizing arguments on whether the phase that preceded the First World War was more or less, to paraphrase Schwartz: “Belle” or “plagued”.¹⁵¹ “While the phenomena occurring at the end of the nineteenth century were viewed pessimistically, the new century was expected to bring something better.”¹⁵² The *fin-de-siècle* had already been a topic of debate for several decades in the nineteenth century. It signified in particular the understanding of the decline and degeneration of Western culture. Discussions of *fin-de-siècle* frequently referred to decadent literature and visual arts in their own right, as Salmi has stated: “The term *decadence* originated from a poem by Paul Verlaine and in literature came to signify a counter-tendency to realism and naturalism narration.”¹⁵³

Besides, the *fin de siècle* as a subject of discourse has also drawn attention and has been analyzed from numerous angles, not least of which is modernity.¹⁵⁴ Modernity has been established as an interdisciplinary field in its own right within the humanities. Modernity is moreover deeply intertwined with our understanding of the visual culture of the late nineteenth century. Yet, modernity in Sweden and Scandinavia has to be problematized since the Nordic countries had a late modernity. Therefore it is questionable to describe Sweden as “modern” at the turn of the twentieth century. Still, modernity is in many ways linked to new forms of visualities, and historian Chris Otter describes how vision was constructed in the nineteenth century. Visuality concerns the eye’s physical features.¹⁵⁵ However, it was not only these physical properties that created possibilities or limited seeing. To be able to see is something that needs to be regarded within a historical changing context. For example street lights in the night, dimmed lights in the opera salon or blinds that block observation. Visuality is thus something that can be historicized. In this study, I will analyze how visuality was constructed in a specific context of colonial expansion in the late nineteenth century.

image production in the nineteenth century, including the reproductive technologies of lithography and, more importantly, photography gradually changed our relations with material, experience, and authenticity. Visual culture has a specific investment in vision as a historically specific experience mediated by new technologies and the individual and social formations they facilitate.¹⁵⁶ Nineteenth-century modernity is hence an especially meaningful term because it leads us to consider transformations of visuality that at once influence how visual culture studies have been theorized, and how the history of visual culture has been and will continue to be written. The field of visual culture explicitly refers to a wider scope of material than art history. Notably, it targets specific theoretical approaches to visuality and visual technologies. Mitchell has discussed what is at stake, and concludes that visual culture studies offer a path to “productive critical space.”¹⁵⁷

My contribution, using the lens of postcolonial studies, visual culture studies and cultural histories of media, concerns questions of visuality as historically specific experiences, where colonialism, race and Swedish media cultures intersect. In that regard the dissertation has a strong interdisciplinary approach. Although John M. MacKenzie warned against the scholarly sin of “writing less and less about more and more”, I aim to extend the perspective and follow his advice not only to condense and synthesize, but also to have “the courage to plunder other disciplines in order to make the widest connections.”¹⁵⁸ Postcolonial studies have concerned other disciplines in the humanities, for example economic history, history, science history, literature, archaeology and anthropology. Therefore, to examine visual media as the main category might open other questions and answers. Crucially, it underscores the fact that the previous neglect of certain visual material, are analogous to and displays a similar set of questions that have been of importance when writing colonial history. My thesis thus focuses a double neglect.

Swedish art history and visual culture studies fields have not yet fully explored the intertwined aspects of nineteenth-century media cultures, racial theories and colonialism in the Nordic region. *Colonizing fever* intends to change its current reluctance. Literary historian Stefan Jonsson asks what happens if colonialism is placed at the centre of Scandinavian

INTRODUCTION

culture and history. “So let us turn the perspective around. Let us consider colonialism as a central point, right in the middle of the Nordic countries, and that this fundamental colonial experience affects the participation of the Nordic countries in the big game on the world’s seas.”¹⁵⁹ As this study hopes to show, the intensifying colonial expansion at the end of the nineteenth century profoundly changed not only the colonized world and its culture, but also countries situated in “peripheral Europe”.¹⁶⁰ In that way it forces us to reconsider not only Swedish involvement, but the way we view colonial cultural histories from the perspective of dominant empires.

Disposition

The dissertation consists of two studies, where the first part differs from the second as it begins in a science field context and not in a mass culture context. However, these areas were intertwined, and image cultures crossed the boundaries between the sciences and entertainment practices. If the first part narrates the Swedish-Norwegian union activities in the colonial world and its various receptions, the second part investigates how the colonial world was popularised and envisioned at home.

The objective of “Part One: Race and Scientific Media – The Vanadis Expedition 1883–1885” is to analyze how the Vanadis expedition established Sweden as important in the colonial world – both for a national and an international audience. Moreover it examines how the expedition was understood and reinforced in various media. The press, racial photography, ephemera, ethnographical exhibitions, marine paintings and illustrated novels all came to situate the Swedish-Norwegian union far from the margin of colonial politics, but rather as a nation which perceived itself as important within the colonial project. The sciences – and especially race science – became an important feature, which the nation could successfully use to make itself significant in relation to the larger colonial empires such as Great Britain and France and its counterparts in the Nordic region. A racial archive was consequently set up following the same procedures as the European empires. The Indigenous population

“lowest cultures”, which were considered to soon be extinct. The science mission of the expedition was in that way also a civilizing mission. Two major exhibitions of ethnographical artefacts were displayed in Stockholm and Gothenburg after the voyage, and reinforced the argument to establish an ethnographical museum comparable to contemporary institutions, which displayed the colonial world.

“Part Two: Race and Popular Media – Shows, Exhibitions and Attractions” investigates different amusement practices, which specifically involved visual representations of the colonial world: the Wild West, the ethnological exhibitions and the wax museums. These entertainment practices, I argue, created a mutual vision of the European colonial project and the civilizing mission. For example, the ethnological exhibitions construed an imperial gaze in which the exhibited Indigenous populations were staged in their supposed everyday life of “hunting, eating and dancing”, in stark contrast to European modern life, leisure and work culture. These stagings created both a mutual vision and an excluding visual practice – in which indigenous populations were displayed in a strict racial hierarchy, reinforcing white supremacy. Moreover, there were various ways to perceive these spectacles and performances in a mass culture context: as entertainment, as moral narrative or as an educating mission. These visual representations of the colonial world could thus be seen as both nostalgic and modern contemporary stagings of colonial narratives. They often intermingled, but what became evident was that the audience had various entertainments to choose from. In short, visual representations of the colonial world were popular and appreciated, creating a colonizing fever at home.

The last part of the dissertation, the “Conclusion”, discusses the results and propose new subjects of research in which media, race and Scandinavian colonialism could be explored. The African-American scholar W. E. B. Dubois predicted in 1903 that the twentieth century would be defined by “the problem of the color line”.¹⁶¹ By and large this book examines how that line was drawn and sustained in Swedish media cultures at the end of the nineteenth century. Finally, the “Coda” reflects on contemporary postcolonial contexts, and the ways that racial stereotypes from the nineteenth century have re-emerged during the last few years.



121

Racial photograph, Vanadis expedition 1883–1885. Photograph by Oscar Birger Ekholm. Courtesy of the Museum of Ethnography, Stockholm.

PART ONE

Race and Scientific Media

The Vanadis Expedition 1883–1885

GIVE TAKATA THE CARPET

The first of my two studies will investigate a scientific and commercial voyage, the Vanadis expedition. It was a national enterprise between 1883 and 1885, with the intention that Sweden would also participate in the overseas colonial world.¹⁶² One of the aims of the study is to explore how the expedition created a mutual vision of the colonial project and civilizing mission for a larger national audience. This I suggest could be seen not only in textual sources about the mission but also in visual representations resulting from the voyage.¹⁶³ Evidently, the case study will also show how common and widespread visual representations of the colonial world were in late nineteenth-century Sweden. It was a time when new forms of media were reaching a larger audience. Illustrated press, ephemera of all kinds, posters, advertisements, postcards and cartes de visite, all became frequent in urban everyday life. In one way, the Vanadis expedition was itself a medium; it transported media so to speak and the crew used it in various ways. The crew itself were thus creators: reporters, photographers, painters, and illustrators. For the first time, the ship carried a professional photographer – on board to visually document the Swedish expedition.¹⁶⁴ The photographs were later remediated into art, illustrations and ephemera for a wider public.

Yet how did the expedition establish a mutual vision of the European colonial project and the civilizing mission that Swedes apparently also

1. RACE AND SCIENTIFIC MEDIA



Map of the route taken by the Vanadis expedition 1883–1885.
Courtesy of the Maritime Museum, Stockholm.

wanted to be part of? In which media, and how were visual representations of the colonial world circulated, understood and given meaning? What significance was given to race? To support the argument I will analyze various visual representations of the colonial world that surfaced around the last decades of the nineteenth century. The Vanadis expedition, or circumnavigation, went from Karlskrona, Sweden, on 5 December 1883, to England and then roughly to parts of South America, Tahiti, Hawaii, Japan, China, Yemen, Eritrea, Egypt, Malta, Gibraltar, and back to Stockholm.¹⁶⁵ The most frequent imagery from the circumnavigation was of the ship, the flag and Indigenous populations.¹⁶⁶ The boat and the flag were important visual symbols for the successful nation and the narratives emphasized the importance of the Swedish enterprise as part of the colonial world. The expedition was also spoken of as a civilizing mission due to the extensive research that was made by scientists on board. A racial archive was thus established, in which importantly non-Europeans were distinguished from Europeans. These archival documentations were later distributed in visual representations in different media such as photographs, travel journals and the illustrated press.

As is evident, my first case study takes its points of departure from a scientific context – detached from, but also associated with, contemporary mass culture. There were no strict boundaries, I argue, between the fields of science and urban mass culture. In fact, what will be evident throughout *Colonizing fever* are the intertwined relations between science, race science – and its various forms in: anthropology, ethnography, eugenics, physiology and anthropometry – entertainment, education and exhibition, as well as the connections to consumer culture and capitalism in the last decades of the nineteenth century. Furthermore, the study explores the activities by the Swedish scientific expedition in the colonial world, as well as how the voyage was given meaning through media within the nation. At the end of the nineteenth century, science appeared in many different public spheres, often intermingled with other attractions.¹⁶⁷ Science and entertainment were reciprocally constitutive, inextricable features of the world of leisure in the nineteenth century.¹⁶⁸ Science historian Solveig Jülich has shown how the early X-ray images around 1900 were part of both an expanding mass visual culture and a narrower medical context.¹⁶⁹ Science utilized various media to demonstrate and establish its results.¹⁷⁰ In that way it both introduced new knowledge to a broader audience and created its very conditions.¹⁷¹ Photography, posters, wax displays and magic lanterns were used to inform and popularize the latest news from the science world.¹⁷²

Science also worked in close relation with imperial endeavours.¹⁷³ The European colonial expansion was interconnected with the establishment of the sciences, exploratory expeditions and colonial trading.¹⁷⁴ New fields of research such as anthropology and ethnography became crucial, besides the natural sciences, in mapping the world.¹⁷⁵ According to literary scholar Mary Louise Pratt, these scientific travels had been marked by two simultaneous, intersecting processes in Northern Europe in the mid-eighteenth century, “the emergence of natural history as a structure of knowledge, and the momentum toward interior, as opposed to maritime, exploration.”¹⁷⁶ Pratt suggests that this can be called a “European planetary consciousness”, a change that occurred with “many others including the merging of bourgeois forms of subjectivity and power, the conception of a new territorial phase of capitalism impelled by searches for raw

1. RACE AND SCIENTIFIC MEDIA

materials, the challenge to expand coastal trade inland, and national imperatives to capture foreign territory in order to avert it being seized by competing European powers.”¹⁷⁷ All European countries were involved in scientific and exploratory expeditions around the world.¹⁷⁸ The Scandinavian countries were no exception.¹⁷⁹

In the first days of February 1905, only a couple of days after the celebrated Swedish scientist Hjalmar Stolpe had passed away, subscribers to the regional paper *Östgöta-posten* read an eventful anecdote about Stolpe from the 1880s.¹⁸⁰ It was a small paper but the narrative also circulated in national newspapers. This particular story took place during the Vanadis expedition. The Vanadis sailed in December 1883 and returned to Stockholm in May 1885; the longest leg at sea was 33 days between Lisbon and Rio de Janeiro.¹⁸¹ The ethnographer on the ship was Stolpe, and one of his tasks was to collect ethnographical material to bring back to Sweden. However, Stolpe was not the only one collecting.¹⁸² The captain and commander-in-chief, Otto Lagerberg was also keen to increase his own private collection. When the Vanadis reached Jaluit atoll (part of the Marshall Islands and under Imperial German dominion) in the autumn of 1884, it was said that the crew met the local population and their leader “his black majesty”, Kabua.¹⁸³ Kabua was described as a coarse man, and it was reported in the press that he was not “a terribly civilized man.”¹⁸⁴ On one of the occasions both Stolpe and Lagerberg had set their eyes on a beautiful carpet, and it was suggested, perhaps by Lagerberg himself, that Stolpe would sing to amuse the “locals”.¹⁸⁵ At this event, Lagerberg saw his chance to speak to Kabua about the rug. But nothing came of this, since Stolpe (who was famous for his singing voice among the crew) began to sing the Swedish national anthem, but changing the lyrics referring to Kabua. Every time Stolpe sang Kabua’s name, he would bow in front of him.¹⁸⁶ Kabua was said to be very enthralled by this, and since he did not understand a word of the song, which according to the reporter had been changed in such a way that the leader was ridiculed, Kabua said enthusiastically: “Give Takata the carpet.”¹⁸⁷

The above account was picked up both in the Swedish national papers such as *Aftonbladet* and regional paper like *Kalmar*.¹⁸⁸ And several years later the story was also retold in *Östgöta-posten*. The news that the Vanadis

reached the Marshall Islands was also summarized in the international press.¹⁸⁹ This narrative was furthermore documented in the popular and widespread travel journal *Jorden Rundt under svensk örlogsflagg: Ögonblicksbilder från fregatten Vanadis verldsomsegling 1883–1885 samlade av Svante Natt och Dag och i brefform återgifna af Richard Melander* [Around the world with the Swedish military flag: Images from the circumnavigation by the frigate Vanadis 1883–1885 collected by Svante Natt och Dag and epistolary depicted by Richard Melander] (1887), by the officer cadet Natt och Dag and with illustrations by the artist Ottilia Adelborg.¹⁹⁰

The photographs of the meeting with Kabua, by the professional photographer on board, Oscar Birger Ekholm, were likewise reproduced as xylographs and stereopticon cards. The photographs were circulated in different public and private settings, at museums or in photo albums.¹⁹¹ Having a photographer on board was, however, not unusual. In the 1880s, there were several enterprises around the world, which brought along photographers and artists to record their journeys.¹⁹² They produced visual proofs of having crossed the sea, and more importantly images were crucial for the narrative of discovery and conquest.¹⁹³ The above anecdote about Kabua was repeated in different media and came to stand out as a memorable moment in the expedition's seventeen-month journey around the globe and, as seen above, long afterwards.

The “Takata story” also touches upon the conflict between the captain and the ethnographer, since there were basically two different approaches to the expedition. Captain Lagerberg regarded the trade mission as the main reason for the voyage, and he was not willing to delay the schedule for the scientific research conducted by Stolpe.¹⁹⁴ In Prince Oscar Carl August Bernadotte's diary from the journey, the prince often complained about the hasty and often stressful travels: “The chief [Lagerberg] wants to rush past this beautiful scenery and, in so many respects, remarkable part of the world. That is one way to do a circumnavigation, I suppose.”¹⁹⁵

Stolpe on the other hand was determined to try to collect as much ethnographica as possible, which led to constant conflict with Lagerberg, who strictly followed protocol and time frames given by the Swedish-Norwegian officials.¹⁹⁶ In the *Daily bulletin* in July 1884, the reporter hence observed the promptness of Lagerberg: “the Vanadis left yesterday after-

1. RACE AND SCIENTIFIC MEDIA

noon punctually at four o'clock.”¹⁹⁷ Another important aspect was the racial photo-documenting mission by Stolpe and Ekholm. Kabua, for example, was portrayed in different photographs and so were the rest of the population (often completely undressed). This was done at the Marshall Islands, and more or less extensive research was conducted at other destination points as well. Descriptions of the populace as “uncivilized” or belonging to the “lower races” were well-established prejudices at the time, and both written and visual documentation were built on the wide spread racial hierarchy found in the late nineteenth century.¹⁹⁸ Social Darwinism, nationalism and race science were in short interconnected discourses, stemming from both the science field and political practices. In Sweden (and Scandinavia), these developed alongside ideas of a white Nordic identity.¹⁹⁹ The readers of both the regional and national papers received, for example, the following information about the trip to the Marshall Islands: “In a letter to *Aftonbladet* it says that of all the places visited by the Vanadis frigate in the Pacific Ocean, Jaluit, Marshall Islands is the least touched by civilization.”²⁰⁰

METICULOUS NEWS

One important medium – perhaps the most seminal one – for establishing and distributing representations of the colonial world for a larger audience towards the end of the nineteenth century was the press. Both regional and national papers such as *Blekingsposten* and *Dagens Nyheter* documented the Vanadis journey several times per month, making it impossible for the readers to miss the circumnavigation. When the Swedish Royal Navy planned the Vanadis expedition, the purpose remained similar to that of the earlier Swedish Eugenie expedition of 1851–1853 – to promote Swedish commerce and participate in global economical trade.²⁰¹

However, as archaeologist Hans Manneby describes, it was also a “public relations” event, aimed at endorsing not only Swedish trade, but also more importantly, Swedish-Norwegian commerce and industry.²⁰² The order to Captain Lagerberg in October 1883 was thus unambiguous: “to
54 forcefully protect the Swedish and Norwegian flag of commerce.”²⁰³ Yet,

the expedition also had a scientific mission and a role in the military education of the navy.²⁰⁴ On the occasion of the Vanadis expedition, Prince Oscar was made lieutenant and became the official representative; and with his participation the expedition indeed anticipated media recognition and prestige.²⁰⁵ The expedition would monitor the business trade and explore how to rationalize and make the consul Harald Ehrenborg's work even more successful.²⁰⁶

The Royal directives to Captain Lagerberg, from October 1883, instructed him: "It is your duty to help with everything necessary, to support the work of the inspector, and to provide for all reasonable requests."²⁰⁷ Lagerberg saw this as his actual mission. Stolpe's collecting assignment was of less importance, although the captain and the ethnographer sometimes wanted the same ethnographica on the journey.²⁰⁸ The consular matter was a rather sensitive issue at the time.²⁰⁹ At the time of the event it was commonly known by economists that the union between Sweden and Norway was not exporting as much as it was importing.²¹⁰ Another critical point was the on-going competition between Denmark and Sweden. One major reason for the first Eugenie expedition in the early 1850s was to accomplish a circumnavigation as successful as the Danish Galathea expedition in 1845.²¹¹ The participation in trade and scientific projects was thus one way for smaller countries to involve themselves in colonial practices. As archaeologists Magdalena Naum and Jonas M. Nordin assert, "They [the Swedish-Norwegian union and Denmark] remained, however, active players in the transoceanic trade, engaged in extensive exploitation projects at the fringes of their dominions."²¹² In view of that, the Vanadis expedition, among other Scandinavian expeditions in the nineteenth century and beginning of the twentieth century, should be understood as part of engaging in European colonial politics by proxy, that is via scientific and commercial exploration.²¹³

Historians have often emphasized that the decree from June 1883 was the first sign of an ambitious expedition.²¹⁴ The chief at the main base camp (Karlskrona) received instructions on extensive reconstruction work. The Vanadis was going to be ready for departure in early December and be able to travel for 18 months to foreign waters.²¹⁵ Scholar Jan Billgren asserts that the news was beginning to circulate amongst the public

1. RACE AND SCIENTIFIC MEDIA

in September 1883, but there are much earlier sources, which imply that the journey was known of previously.²¹⁶ Already, before the instruction from Swedish officials, in March 1883 both *Dagens Nyheter* and the Swedish-Finnish paper *Åbo Underrättelser* announced a rumour.²¹⁷ In *The New York Times* feature “Scientific Gossip” in May 1883, the topic was the new impact of the Vanadis expedition:

Sweden’s activity in science is creditable. Among other very able observers the corvette Vanadis, when she starts her trip around the world will carry out Dr. Stolpe from whom much interesting information may be expected. And the Swedish Academy of Sciences lately offered to reward the vessel bringing the first valuable intelligence – authoritative dispatches&co – to the party. Wintering at Spitzbergen for making meteorological observations in Spitzbergen.²¹⁸

One could therefore assume that the scientific mission was known, and circulated in the press both in the Nordic countries and as shown abroad, before it was launched officially through the decrees. During the expedition major European newspapers such as the British *Observer*, *The Guardian* and the French *Le Figaro* had updates about the expedition. The news about the Vanadis expedition could be found continuously in the European press, but the news was also reaching countries overseas: North America, Australia and New Zealand. The scientific and commercial missions by the Swedish-Norwegian union were in other words not solely a European concern. The mentioning of Stolpe showed that he was well recognized abroad. Stolpe’s ambition could also be detected in “Scientific Miscellany” in the American daily *Kirksville Weekly Graphic* in June 1884, in which the report stated: “The Swedish frigate Vanadis has started on a scientific cruise round the world, having among its passengers King Oscar’s second son and a government commissioner [Stolpe] who is to collect materials for starting a national museum of ethnography in Stockholm.”²¹⁹ In the Australian *The Argus Melbourne* similar news was highlighted.²²⁰ The international press usually only had a few details and they were often repeated and reprinted on numerous occasions.²²¹

The Nationwide Press

If the international press were repeating the news of the Vanadis expedition and the Swedish scientific and trade ambitions, the major Swedish newspapers such as *Aftonbladet*, *Dagens Nyheter* and *Svenska Dagbladet* revealed every possible detail that could be found about the seagoing mission to the public. Another significant aspect was how the Swedish reports of the Vanadis expedition were recited in the Norwegian and Danish domestic press.²²² The reports in the press were meticulous – the route itself, the different missions, the food and the wages of each member of the crew were noted and discussed. *Dagens Nyheter* reported for example on two separate occasions that the frigate was loaded with ammunition, gunpowder and projectiles and that consul Harald Ehrenborg would receive a salary of 600 Swedish kronor and around five Swedish kronor each day for food.²²³ *Aftonbladet* informed their readers on a monthly basis when and where to send letters. For example a small notice in the late fall of 1884 stated that all letters must be sent before 24 December, if they were going to reach the next stop on the voyage: Colombo, Ceylon [Sri Lanka].²²⁴

These small announcements of various detailed information, I claim, indicated the importance of the voyage, and the readers would have been in no doubt that besides the commerce and science missions, the frigate was also emphasized as a military assignment with “ammunitions and projectiles” on board.²²⁵ It was clear to the readers that the ship represented Sweden in foreign waters. The different information on ranks and the salary of the consul, the captain, the officers and the scientists also went towards underpinning the significance of the mission. The latest equipment was reported to be on board: electric lights as well as state of the art military devices were pointed out to the readers.²²⁶ Information about the total height, weight and number of cannons was also given. The Vanadis became an image of the new modern ship, and Sweden was promoted as a modern European nation.

Interestingly, according to newspapers, the ethnographical collections were also said to be of great importance. Extensive documentation and science research was to be executed in places where Indigenous populations

1. RACE AND SCIENTIFIC MEDIA

were soon to be extinct.²²⁷ Therefore, according to the press, the scientific collecting was considered to be part of a wider civilizing mission, for which a relatively small country such as Sweden thus also took responsibility. These notions had been illuminated at the meetings of Svenska sällskapet för antropologi och geografi [Swedish Society for Anthropology and Geography], which in part financed Stolpe's travel.²²⁸ The subscribers to the regional papers such as the Swedish daily *Blekingsposten*, *Kalmar*, *Östgötaposten* and *Stockholmsbladet* were also able to get as much detailed information about the circumnavigation. For example, the readers received the following information in the late autumn of 1883:

The Crown has decided that Amanuensis Hjalmar Stolpe, who is going to accompany the ethnographical research team, will receive a salary which will equal the salary of an officer with the rank of a captain. This will include the extra funding to an amount of no more than 2000 Swedish kronor.²²⁹

Before the journey in December 1883, *Blekingsposten* had weekly news, and during the months of October, November and December, there were several notices in the same week.²³⁰ The updates were a major concern for the national as well as the regional papers, and the subscribers could follow the expedition in their local papers. All of these reports indicated the prestige of the scientific and commercial mission of the expedition. The country was being represented abroad and the readers were receiving monthly information about the business surrounding the voyage.²³¹ The summary from *Blekingsposten* gives an insight into what the subscriber obtained on the reports from Hawaii on 29 August 1884.

Contents: The departure of Vanadis from Honolulu. – The Swedish flag honoured. – An Italian corvette and an Italian prince. – Festivities for Prince Oscar. – the royal palace in Honolulu. – Works by Swedish authors and Swedish craftsmanship in the royal palace. – Salute for the Duke of Södermanland. – Swedish military drills on land. – Festivities on the Vanadis ship. – Coronation. – Departure.²³²

1. RACE AND SCIENTIFIC MEDIA

All the stops from different harbours were reported in the press and there were even translations of articles in some of the major local papers. For example *Aftonbladet* translated an article from the Brazilian *Jornal do Commercio* in March 1884.²³³ The paper recapitulated the Brazilian account and reinforced the fact that the news of the *Vanadis* was not only a concern for the Scandinavian readers. The report highlighted prominent officials from Russia, Great Britain and United States, who were attending a banquet held for Prince Oscar.²³⁴ The celebrations were described in detail. The Great Salon was lavishly decorated with flags, flowers and candles.²³⁵ The report also claimed that over 5,000 people gathered to see the frigate leaving with Prince Oscar, and the final remark was made that the prince had spoken in elegant French to the crowd.²³⁶ The narrative that wherever the expedition went it was always greeted with the greatest enthusiasm – large banquets were held, flags were waved and gifts exchanged – could be seen at other destination points such as Lisbon, Honolulu and Jaluit.²³⁷ These narratives reinforced the significance of the Swedish-Norwegian mission.

In the first half of the nineteenth century the electric telegraph was in use, connecting countries and continents. When *Vanadis* travelled, brief news was telegraphed from the ports the *Vanadis* frigate visited to the papers at home in Sweden. Captain Lagerberg often telegraphed short notices, for example: “All well. The expected post has arrived.”²³⁸ From the above accounts I would state that the expedition drew much attention right from the start and became a widespread event in the press for a large audience. The importance of the voyage was also seen afterwards. *Aftonbladet* gave a vivid account from the welcoming ceremony on 8 May 1885, and when the *Vanadis* reached the Stockholm archipelago, Swedish sailing boats were said to have followed the frigate back to the capital.²³⁹ *Ny Illustrerad Tidning* depicted the event and the expedition was considered most successful, earning the same position as the famous *Vega* voyage of 1878–1880. Festivities and ceremonies were held over the following days and *Aftonbladet* reprinted the King’s celebratory speech.²⁴⁰ The King praised the voyage and the crew, and especially the fact that the Swedish flag had once again been represented all over the world not only in science and commerce but also in peaceful activities. The term “peaceful activities”

was also mentioned when the ethnographical collections, from the expedition, were displayed in Gothenburg in 1887 and *Göteborgsposten* spoke of the chance to finally see the “trophies of the peaceful visits”.²⁴¹

Susanne Zantop has claimed that “peaceful activities” were precisely a place in which “latent colonialism” was negotiated.²⁴² In a similar way I argue that the many reports from the Vanadis expedition about peaceful activities were concerned with placing the Swedish expedition within a far more brutal colonial context overseas. Historian Catarina Lundström has shown how the Swedish internal mission and colonial politics were well underway in late nineteenth century.²⁴³ Thus, it is also of significance to take into consideration the colonial politics of the northern parts of Sweden. The colonial practices *within* Sweden, in short, legitimized the great interest in an outward expansion. By comparing seventeenth-century Swedish colonizers’ relations with Delaware River Indians and the Sámi population, historian Gunlög Fur has for example revealed how these colonial projects resembled each other in formation and implementation. For administrators, military men and evangelists, Sámis and North American Indians each occupied the “savage slot”, demanding discipline and civilization to make them fit subjects of the Crown. As Fur states: “In this effort, arguments borrowed from encounters with other cultures could be used as tools,” with American missionaries for example, drawing upon their counterparts’ experiences in Lapland as they preached to the Lenape.²⁴⁴

Stories from the Crew

Previous examples of news have highlighted the establishment and circulation of events and the amount of reports from the Vanadis expedition. However, it was travel accounts in the press from the crew, which created a deeper knowledge of what actually happened and what the expedition encountered on the circumnavigation.²⁴⁵ One of the papers that had extensive reports from the Vanadis expedition was *Blekinge Läns Tidning*. The vicar Immanuel Kiellman-Göransson, who was on board the Vanadis, reported on a regular basis for the newspaper on for example Indigenous traditions, history and scientific work conducted by the scientist from the

1. RACE AND SCIENTIFIC MEDIA

Vanadis. Kiellman-Göransson's anecdotes were typical of the narratives about the colonial world. In his accounts from around the globe, the "low status" of the Indigenous people was regularly described. A common idea at the time was that the Indigenous population in the colonial world was considered soon to be extinct. Therefore it became important to document their behaviour, racial features and traditions. Kiellman-Göransson described, for example, the excitement of seeing some "real uncivilized people" in Jaluit, but found that most of the population was wearing European clothes.²⁴⁶ However, one vivid account of a man in traditional costume was thoroughly depicted. "Now we met an old man, who was dressed after the old tradition of Jaluit. [---]The whole costume was only a girdle [---] The old man's filthy brown skin was covered with tattoos in simple patterns. [. . .] His pitch-black hair was tied at the back and his ears had large piercings."²⁴⁷

In similar accounts, people with darker skin were portrayed as "dirty and uncivilized". In Lisbon, the vicar described them, as "small brown and black-haired people who walk the streets of Lisbon. Most of them are poorly dressed and one would not want to have anything to do with them."²⁴⁸ Wherever Kiellman-Göransson went he described the population in a strict racial hierarchy, classifying the different "races" such as the "Negros", "Mulattos" and "Europeans".²⁴⁹ The fascination with different races was a constant narrative and described in detail. For example, the people of Hawaii were given a thorough description of facial features and body composition. Kiellman-Göransson had opinions on their beauty as well. He concluded in his vivid account that he could not find any great beauty in these people.²⁵⁰ Moreover, Kiellman-Göransson's reports of the actual mission of the Vanadis were perceived as most important in his accounts. The reports of the many meetings with other European diplomats and royalty were detailed and praised the hospitality and civilizing manners.

Another popular account from the expedition was by the officer cadet, Natt och Dag. The reports were first printed in the local press, *Stockholmsbladet*, during the journey. By and large, Natt and Dag's narratives were similar to that of Kiellman-Göransson. Dramatic and detailed descriptions of the journey, the Indigenous population and the scientific

work were a common thread. Spectacular events relating to Indigenous culture and traditions such as the dancing traditions on Nouka Hiva, tea ceremonies in Japan and burial practices in Bombay [Mumbai] were highlighted. In describing the people of Jaluit, Natt och Dag followed previous descriptions. “We have taken a step down the civilization ladder”; and in his narrative he further described the “simple” clothing and poor living of the Indigenous population.²⁵¹ The people were characterised in terms of their supposed “ugliness” and were also compared to other Indigenous populations, with the Tahitian population considered to be “more beautiful”. In addition, Stolpe himself also wrote extensively for *Stockholms Dagblad*, making remarks on the “low civilizations” encountered. “On every road you can read the history of a people who have fought a great fight against nature, a people who are no less than our ancestors once were, but they are not, like our race, going to reach higher in their development. Instead they are doomed to extinction by the burning hot breath of civilization.”²⁵²

The vivid and meticulous descriptions differed from the previous shorter updates about the expedition. As Pelle Snickars claims, the press was a visualizing medium in the late nineteenth century and one of the features was that of highly descriptive reporting (as seen in the above examples).²⁵³ The reader had the chance to engage with and imagine the events around the globe, making it almost possible to be part of the expedition – yet from a distance. Historians Steven Shapin and Simon Schaffer’s concept of “virtual witnessing” has demonstrated the importance of communicative strategies, narrative tropes, and images to build consensus regarding “matters of fact”.²⁵⁴ More importantly, Shapin and Schaffer illuminate how scientific writing aimed to create *mental images* for the readers in such a way that they felt they had actually been there.²⁵⁵ The informative and detailed descriptions of the Vanadis expedition in the press, I argue, served as a way to create a colonial mental image for the reader similar to the intentions of scientific writing. It is also important to see how the reports remediated the qualities of the photograph and vice versa. At the end of the nineteenth century, the camera was still a relatively new medium, but it was considered to be more precise than language itself. Photography could document all details of reality. The

1. RACE AND SCIENTIFIC MEDIA

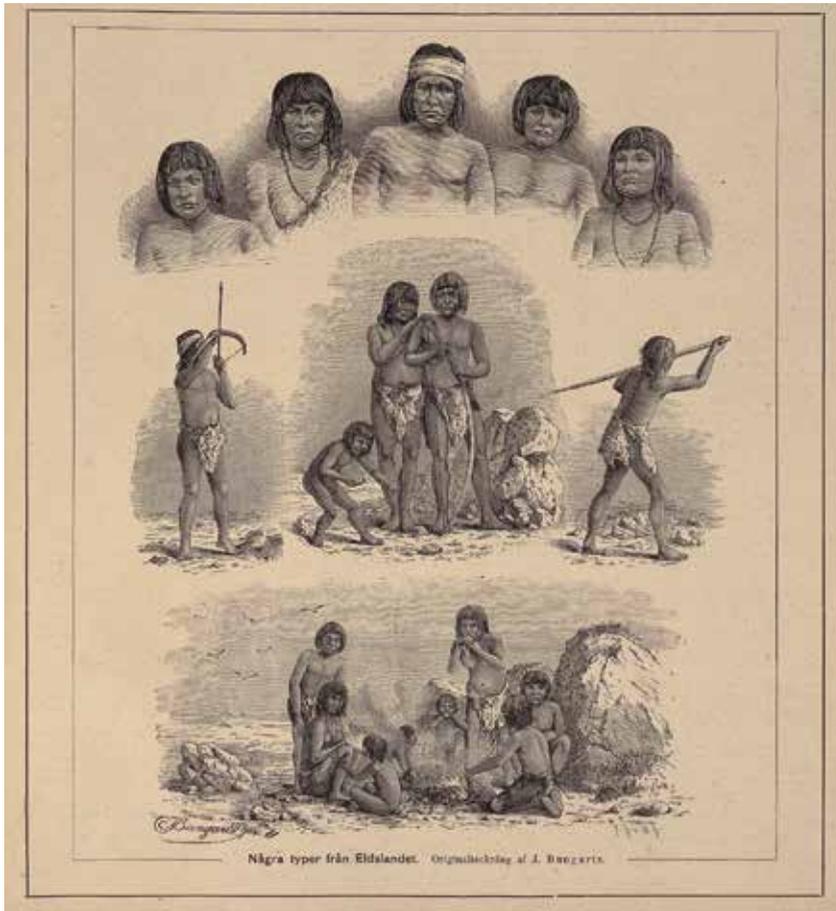


“Från Brasiliens urskog” [From the Brazilian forest] *Illustrerad Familj-Journal* 5 June 1881:23. Courtesy of the National Library of Sweden, Stockholm.

meticulously detailed writing in the press, the visualizing reporting, corresponded to the great interest in visual details.²⁵⁶ Alongside the visualizing reporting of the expedition, the press itself was transformed into a visual medium. Headlines, fonts and an abundance of content; the press has been described as crucial in creating a sense of modern life.

To follow these press events of the Vanadis expedition was hence to be part of the modern world. When the press claimed the expedition to be modern, it juxtaposed its modernity to overseas colonial encounters, which were perceived as “primitive”. Juxtaposition was crucial, and as Anne McClintock has argued, understanding the political, social and cultural dynamics of industrial modernity required an exploration of the racialized and gendered dimensions of imperial power.²⁵⁷

Detailed travel accounts from the colonial world were also popular themes in the illustrated press. On a regular basis, the Swedish audience was able to read articles about foreign places, traditions and cultures, which were richly illustrated. The images not only reinforced what the articles described, but created a way of visualizing the colonial world, often juxtaposed with European urban life. For example “Från Brasiliens urskog”



“Några typer från Eldlandet” [People from Tierra del Fuego] drawing by J. Bungartz, *Illustrerad Familj-Journal* 27 November 1881:48. Courtesy of the National Library of Sweden, Stockholm.

had a lengthy article about the Indigenous population from Brazil. The article contrasted practices and everyday life to the Europeans’ way of life.

“Några typer från Eldlandet” [Figures from Tierra del Fuego] by J. Bungartz, from November 1881, also from the same paper, had an article in which the population was described as follows: “These savages are depicted in the same manner by everyone who has seen them. They are

1. RACE AND SCIENTIFIC MEDIA

disgusting creatures, which are on the lowest level of culture and civilization.”²⁵⁸ The article went on to describe the population as “filthy with dirty brown copper skin” and “they do not seem to know that water is for cleaning.”²⁵⁹ According to the report, they ate raw meat and did not wear any clothes.

The people depicted in the magazine were visiting Berlin, and the newspaper noted what a remarkable appetite they had. The article concluded that the people were living in a patriarchal society where the men were served the food first, and the women and children had to settle for the leftovers. The common themes of such travel accounts were that the Indigenous people were portrayed as “uncivilized”, of an “inferior race” that would soon be extinct due to white supremacy. The accounts from the *Vanadis* were thus only one of many narratives of the colonial world the readers had access to. Historian Åke Holmberg asserts that the prejudiced images of other people were created in places where Europeans met the Indigenous people.²⁶⁰ The major empires created an imperial vision and the Swedish audience by and large implemented this vision. Holmberg describes this phenomenon as epigonic, which meant that the Swedish audience copied and incorporated images and narratives.²⁶¹

Swedish Boulevard Cultures

As Vanessa R. Schwartz asserts, the newspaper was quintessentially a modern and urban practice.²⁶² One of the treats of modern life was the shared participation in a culture in which representations were amplified to such an extent that they became almost exchangeable with reality.²⁶³ Therefore, to follow the *Vanadis*' whereabouts was to be part of the new everyday modern urban culture and the extensive reports created a sort of “spectacular reality”.²⁶⁴ Schwartz does not discuss colonial imagery, but rather focuses on the European boulevard cultures that flourished at the end of the nineteenth century. The press not only described the new life on the streets of Paris, for example the re-modelling of Paris and its “Hausmannization” in the 1860s – it created it as well.²⁶⁵ In a similar manner I argue that the daily press and the illustrated press were essential in creating colonial conceptions of the *Vanadis* expedition.

As for the Scandinavian countries, smaller versions of “boulevard cultures” were to be seen here too.²⁶⁶ There were unique developments in the Nordic countries, since literacy was exceptionally high, which boosted demand for various papers. Literacy increased steadily from the middle of the nineteenth century and with the mechanical printing press entering Sweden in the 1830s, output grew to include cheap papers and novels. Several papers were established each month, and it was common that a small town could have several newspapers to choose from. The fascination with the rapidly growing press was often discussed predominantly within the press itself. *Ny Illustrerad Tidning* from 1886 reported enthusiastically about their publications and number of readers.²⁶⁷ The newspapers aimed to reach a broad and diverse audience and the paper was addressed to an imagined universal reader.²⁶⁸

According to press historians Karl Erik Gustafsson and Per Rydén, the press had a central role in the modernization process, which steadily opened Sweden to the world.²⁶⁹ As a result, the outward appearance of the papers changed. Sweden moved closer to the leading countries such as the United States, England, France, Germany and – Denmark. The highly competitive American press introduced improvements and the Swedish papers were well informed concerning the foreign press.²⁷⁰ Media historian Johan Jarlbrink has explained how the role of newspaper staff changed in the last decades of the nineteenth century. In its second half, the Swedish press had often been seen as dishonest. During the interwar period, this image, however, was altered. Journalists came to be considered as authentic and essential providers of news – sometimes even as heroes.²⁷¹ However, the reporting of and from the Vanadis expedition had no real revealing journalistic ambitions. Instead, the reports came from the crew and the anecdotes were copied to both domestic and international press.

There were many factors behind why the press grew. The extensive school reforms from the mid nineteenth century had helped to enlarge the reading crowd. Political awareness intensified with social groups such as the labour association creating a larger readership. The supply of Swedish newspapers was growing each year and the circulation of newspapers resulted in lower prices. Some newspapers cost as little as three to four Swedish kronor for an annual subscription, something that an industry

1. RACE AND SCIENTIFIC MEDIA



Typefaces: Fraktur and Antiqua in *Kalmar* 11
October 1884. Courtesy of the National Library
of Sweden, Stockholm.

worker could make in less than two days.²⁷² Newspapers also changed themselves. Texts were divided into specific segments and elaborated on typefaces. These sections in the press came to be known as *följetonger* [feuilleton, serialized fiction], *diverse* [miscellaneous], *aktualiteter* or *varje-handa* [current news] and *annonsrader* [advertisement sections]. They were a sign of the popularity of the press and how the culture of everyday life was increasing its presence. The Vanadis stories were featured in all the above sections, for example: Immanuel Kiellman-Göransson's accounts on every stop were found in the feuilton section, the “Kabua story” in the miscellaneous segment, the information about “ammunition and wages” and Otto Lagerberg's concise reports on destination points in the current news pieces or telegrams and the travel journal by Svante Natt och Dag and public lectures about the Vanadis expedition were seen afterwards in the advertisement section.

Another important aspect was the establishment of a headline for each article, which at the end of the nineteenth century was more of a rule than an exception.²⁷³ Therefore, headlines such as “Vanadis expedition”, “The

frigate Vanadis circumnavigation” or “News from the Vanadis” became common sights in the papers, and the reader could easily find the latest update from the expedition. According to media historians Johan Jarlbrink and Patrik Lundell there was a common notion at the time that people were reading too much.²⁷⁴ The widespread circulation of the press was one important factor and the debate of what was appropriate reading was commented on and discussed in the Swedish press. There was, however, a mutual agreement that the press was generally a positive effect for “all classes”.²⁷⁵ Schwartz has eloquently pointed out that a culture that became “more literate” also become more visual.²⁷⁶ Therefore, it was not only that people were reading too much, they were also seeing too much. As regards the Vanadis expedition, images were not only emphasizing its importance but creating it as well.

THE FLAG AND THE SHIP

When the officer cadet Natt och Dag from the Vanadis expedition, wrote in his diary – published both in the papers and later as a book – about the presence of Swedish people around the globe, he touched upon the notion that Sweden was really part of the global world: “I start to believe that the Swedes are all over the world. They are always there when you least expect them to be.”²⁷⁷ There were several events in the late nineteenth century that highlighted Swedish resettlement in colonized parts. The United States was not the only destination for the wave of emigration – emigrants also headed to Australia, the Middle East, South America and Africa. The Vanadis expedition, in fact, not only displayed the expedition’s mission of science and commerce to readers, it also showed various encounters with Swedes, for example in Hawaii, Japan and Brazil. From every part of the colonial world, Swedes were to be seen and the press reinforced the notion that the country and its citizens were far from the periphery. Reports from Hawaii, for example, narrated news about emigrated Swedes who were excited about the expedition.²⁷⁸

The ship itself was a prominent symbol of the expedition; the Vanadis can almost be regarded as a medium *per se*. Swedish readers were well

1. RACE AND SCIENTIFIC MEDIA



“Fregatten Vanadis” [The Vanadis frigate 1883–1885]. Photograph by R. Ellis. Courtesy of the Maritime Museum, Stockholm

familiar with the frigate and knew its previous accomplishments. The choice of ship for this prestigious voyage was hence clear from the start.²⁷⁹ The Vanadis frigate was considered the best equipped and it had made several journeys, including the famous Mediterranean expedition of 1869–1870. Another prominent journey had been the West Indian expedition to St. Barthélemy of 1877–1878, when the Swedish colony was bought back by France.²⁸⁰

The national pride of the new scientific and trading mission was established from the start in the various press; for example one of the local Swedish newspapers reported zealously: “Not since 1853 has the triple-tongued blue and yellow flag been waving around the world.”²⁸¹ The “waving of the flag” or “showing the flag” was consequently often visible in the graphic documentation of the journey. The flag fluttering in the wind was naturally used at other events of national concern, which is why the press frequently referred to this particular imagery.

70 Yet the flag had historically been more of a military and royal symbol



Jacob Jacques Hägg, *Vanadis* [The Vanadis], 1885. Courtesy of the Museum of Ethnography, Stockholm. Oil on canvas.

than a national one. The first Swedish flags had been carried by the navy, in the late sixteenth century, and the design with the cross had been borrowed from Denmark.²⁸² In 1814 the union between Sweden and Norway demanded a new flag.²⁸³ There were two formal flags, either the military flag [örlogsflagg] or the civil flag [handelsflagg]. The first was flown by the navy and by fortresses on land and the civil flag was flown by merchant ships. A third flag symbolizing the union was introduced in 1844, with the military flag with both the Swedish and Norwegian flag incorporated. It was the flag visible on the Vanadis.

As a rule, the flag was intended to be a symbol to be used at sea and not on land, with the exception of military fortresses.²⁸⁴ This was as far as flags were used at all. Hence, when the flag began to be applied as a civic emblem during the latter half of the nineteenth century a lot of complaints were made about the apparent lack of interest by the Swedish citizens. In 1868, a captain asked his crew if they could describe the Swedish flag, only five out of 114 succeeded in the survey.²⁸⁵ In 1873, the Swedish flag was

1. RACE AND SCIENTIFIC MEDIA

raised over the Royal Palace as a sign that the king was at home. This generated discussions at the time, with comments that it was ridiculous and that the palace itself had been smeared with the “decoration”.²⁸⁶ Ethnologist Orvar Löfgren asserts that waving the flag privately was considered to be the practice of the *élite*.²⁸⁷ The flag was changed gradually from a military and royal symbol to a national one during the last decades of the nineteenth century.²⁸⁸

There were only a few illustrations in the press during the actual Vanadis expedition, and the majority showed the frigate with the Swedish-Norwegian military flag waving in the sky, often depicted by the officer and marine painter on board, Jacob “Jacques” Hägg. Hägg worked on several marine paintings and sketches during the journey, which were displayed and sold after the expedition, for example *Vanadis* (1885).²⁸⁹ In the papers the flag was often referred to as the triple-tongued blue and yellow flag, which emphasized Swedish dominance.

Remediated Imagery

In the 1880s, illustrations in the press were often only seen in the expanding advertisement sections. Illustrations were also to be found in the Swedish satirical magazines such as *Folkets Röst*, *Kapten Puff* and *Söndags-Nisse* or in the illustrated magazines *Svensk Familj-Journal*, *Idun* and *Ny Illustrerad Tidning*.²⁹⁰ These xylographs were often advertised in the daily papers, ads for *Ny Illustrerad Tidning* appeared regularly in the press, highlighting when new illustrations were to be seen in the forthcoming issue. The majority of newspapers in Sweden were, however, lacking images and the daily press seldom used pictures.²⁹¹ *Ny Illustrerad Tidning* for example had only two illustrations during the entire Vanadis expedition. But the voyage also received attention afterwards with Stolpe’s ethnographical exhibition in Stockholm, which was illustrated. Besides the frigate being illustrated in the press, Hägg’s painting *Vanadis på Fakarawa* [Vanadis in Fakarawa] (1884) was also photographed and sold as cabinet cards by photographer W. Erenius, in his studio at Hamngatan in Stockholm.²⁹²

72 In short, the Vanadis was reproduced and made collectible for the public. The painting depicted the ship passing Fakarawa in the Pacific in 1884.



Jacob Jacques Hägg, *Vanadis på Fakarawa* [The Vanadis in Fakarawa], 1884. Courtesy of the Maritime Museum, Stockholm. Watercolour.

“Vanadis expedition på Fakarawa 1884” [The Vanadis expedition at Fakarawa 1884], Svante Natt och Dag’s travel journal *Jorden rundt under svensk örlogsflagg. Ögonblicksbilder från fregatten Vanadis verdensomsegling 1883–1885 samlade av Svante Natt och Dag och i brefform återgifna af Richard Melander* [Around the world with the Swedish military flag: Images from the circumnavigation by the frigate Vanadis 1883–1885 collected by Svante Natt och Dag and epistolary depicted by Richard Melander] (Stockholm: Bonnier, 1887). Courtesy of the Uppsala University Library of Carolina Rediviva, Uppsala.



Jacob Jacques Hägg, *Vanadis expeditionen på Jaluit* [The Vanadis expedition in Jaluit], 1888. Wikipedia Commons. Private Owner. Watercolour 27 x 39 cm.



1. RACE AND SCIENTIFIC MEDIA

Hägg himself had used a photograph by Ekholm, and the same picture was seen in Natt och Dag's travel journal, *Jorden Rundt under svensk Örlogsflagg: Ögonblicksbilder från fregatten Vanadis verldsomsegling 1883–1885 samlade av Svante Natt och Dag och i brefform återgifna af Richard Melander*.²⁹³ Different photographs from the trip by Ekholm were also used. They were remediated as paintings, cabinet cards, xylographs, posters and book illustrations. The images of the Vanadis ship in foreign waters, like the one in Fakarawa and others in Jaluit and so on, were similar in placing the frigate surrounded by smaller boats and an Indigenous population.

The Swedish-Norwegian military flag can be seen in these paintings. The encounters with foreign lands, peoples and cultures were depicted in an untouched landscape, with tranquil weather and peaceful surroundings. The motif of the frigate at Fakarawa became a visual trope for the journey, showing one destination – but denoting the whole expedition. In other depictions of the Vanadis, the frigate was not even visible, instead a peaceful seascape of smaller boats could be seen.

Only a couple of years earlier the press had been crammed with accounts and imagery of the Vega expedition. *Ny Illustrerad Tidning* highlighted the events in 1878. The expedition under the leadership of Adolf Erik Nordenskiöld was the first Arctic expedition to navigate through the Northeast Passage.²⁹⁴ The Vega expedition was perceived to be among the foremost achievements in the history of Swedish science and was narrated as such during the voyage. Nordenskiöld became synonymous for this enterprise, and was made baron and commander of the Order of the North Star. In 1886, the artist Georg von Rosen depicted the explorer in a monumental painting to be viewed at the Museum of Fine Arts, the wax cabinets showed the events in life size figures and ephemera of the Vega circulated.²⁹⁵

These images and visualized accounts were revisited in the new Vanadis expedition. The Vanadis ship was described extensively in the press, as seen in the detailed accounts of overall height and weight and the different capacities. The audience got to fully comprehend its magnitude in these illustrations, which nearly always depicted the vessel surrounded by smaller boats or ships. The crew was not shown in these illustrations, in contrast to the small figures that can be seen in the smaller boats, for



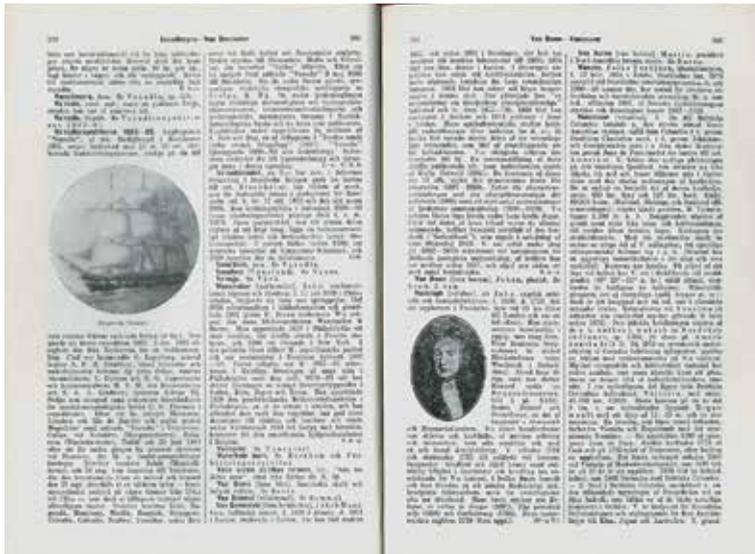
“Vega expeditionen” [The Vega expedition], *Ny Illustrerad Tidning* 28 February 1888:6. Courtesy of the National Library of Sweden, Stockholm.

example at Fakarawa. These figures were presumed to represent the Indigenous population. But even more so, displaying the ship was a common way to represent the whole country. The *Vanadis* was described, as seen in the press, as modern, powerful and significant, a kind of *pars pro toto* figure, also referring to Sweden.

Readers would be familiar with these patriotic narratives, both from earlier expeditions and from abroad. The use of the vessel metaphor to denote the whole country was a very popular theme within nineteenth-century European visual culture. The larger European empires displayed battle ships and cargos in foreign land, always with the flag rising high. Marine paintings were sought after and special exhibitions were held in London, Paris and Berlin and also in the Scandinavian capitals. More significantly, the choosing of the Pacific held a long tradition in the visual arts. Since James Cook’s explorations in the eighteenth century, artists had used similar themes. The British artist William Hodges depicted dreamy and romantic marine motifs from Cook’s travels, which were shipped back to England for immediately viewing.²⁹⁶



William Hodges, *View of Island Otaheite (Tahiti)* 1773. Watercolour 36,8 x 53,9 cm.
 © The Trustees of the British Museum.



“Vanadis expeditionen 1883–1885” [The Vanadis expedition 1883–1885], *Nordisk familjebok* (Stockholm: Gernandts boktryckeri, 1921). Courtesy of the Uppsala University Library of Carolina Rediviva, Uppsala.

In the nineteenth century the Pacific was still a territory of the unknown and boosted an image of the Europeans as vanquishers. The Vanadis ship was portrayed in the imagery as the *only modern* ship surrounded by smaller traditional boats. This was also emphasized in the detailed accounts in the press about the capacity of the frigate. The placing of the Vanadis in “uncivilized” places such as Jaluit and Tierra del Fuego signified for the readers how, and more specifically where, to position Sweden on the global map. There can be no doubt that an imperial gaze was established in these visual representations of the flag, the boat and the Indigenous populations. These narratives elaborated on ideas of a mutual vision of the European colonial project and its civilizing mission. To display the Pacific in connection to the Swedish venture was a powerful image for the Swedish audience; as a visual trope it was consequently repeated in various media. The ship was, for example, presented in the illustrated encyclopedia *Nordisk familjebok*, in which the Vanadis was displayed and described as “the most beautiful ship in the Swedish navy”.²⁹⁷

The frigate dominated the picture frame in *Nordisk familjebok*. It also described the expedition, and the ethnographical collections as most “valued.”²⁹⁸ In the book release for Natt och Dag’s travel journal, the poster fronted the Vanadis as the main image. These images were not something that was just added, or only served as an illustration. Rather when an image was used, it enhanced, emphasized and reinforced a certain aspect – a kind of viewpoint for its arguments. A visual rhetoric was directed at the audience, not only deciding what one was going to see but rather how the public was going to understand its importance. The visual tropes basically consisted of three themes: the boat, the flag and the empty land and infinite ocean. The visualized accounts from the press also elaborated on these themes when describing the capacity of the frigate, or when mentioning the “flag waving” seen around the world. Since illustrations were scarce, they had a great impact when they were shown; illustrations were thus important in reaffirming the story. For example in *Ny Illustrerad Tidning* the Vanadis entering Stockholm was highlighted as a very special occasion for the subscribers.

Historians Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin have pointed out that surveillance of colonial space was a common feature of



“Fregatten Vanadis på Stockholms ström. Teckning af Albert Berg” [The frigate Vanadis on the Stockholm stream. Drawing by Albert Berg], *Ny Illustrerad Tidning*, 23 May 1885:21. Courtesy of the National Library of Sweden, Stockholm.

Från fregatten VANADIS' verldsomsegling.

Jorden Rundt



under Svensk örlogsflagg.

Ögonblicksbilder

samlade af **S. NATT och DAG.**

i brefform återgifna af **RICH. MELANDER.**




Illustrationerna, delvis efter fotografier, utförda af **OTTILIA ADELBERG.**

Pris 2 kr. 75 öra. Albert Bonniers förlag.

Poster: Svante Natt och Dag's travel journal *Jorden rundt under svensk örlogsflagg: Ögonblicksbilder från fregatten Vanadis verldsomsegling 1883–1885 samlade av Svante Natt och Dag och i brefform återgifna af Richard Melander* [Around the world with the Swedish military flag: Images from the circumnavigation by the frigate Vanadis 1883–1885 collected by Svante Natt och Dag and epistolary depicted by Richard Melander] (1887). Courtesy of the National Library of Sweden, Stockholm.

exploration and travel writing. The development of landscape and the affiliated desire for a commanding view that could offer wide-ranging visual mastery was an important feature of nineteenth-century poetry and fiction. This concerned images as well. It became an important approach by which European explorers and travellers could obtain a position of panoramic observation, itself a representation of knowledge and power over the colonial space.²⁹⁹

The depictions of foreign land from the expedition by Hägg and Ekholm explicitly showed the panoramic observation and in extent a sort of surveillance of colonial space. Anne McClintock argues moreover that the myth of the colonial discovery of “empty lands” was a male fantasy but also represented a crisis in male imperial identity.³⁰⁰ She explores how visual representations of colonial discovery were framed by the explorers in two ways, as threatened and emboldened by their encounter with otherness. On the one hand, they projected male fantasies onto a territory considered “virgin”. On the other hand they feared the difference that lay ahead and dreaded the prospect of being immersed by a culture that they perceived as backward and heathen. McClintock suggests the idea of anachronistic space to capture the perception of colonial journeys moving forward geographically into a “new” territory, while at the same time travelling backwards in historical time.³⁰¹

According to this trope, colonized people – like women and the working class in the metropolis – do not inhabit a history proper but exist in a permanently anterior time within the geographic space of the modern empire as anachronistic humans, atavistic, irrational, bereft of human agency – the living embodiment of the archaic ‘primitive’.³⁰²

Regarding the Vanadis expedition, comments about new land and old civilizations were common. Kiellman-Göransson, *Natt och Dag* and Stolpe all described the colonial world they were entering as “virgin”, but also ancient and primitive. Historian Joan W. Scott has highlighted how gender metaphors such as descriptions of colonial exploration as penetration of virgin lands used gender as a way of demonstrating relationships of power.³⁰³ Stolpe explicitly highlighted the crisis in male imperial

all the necessary information for anyone who wanted to send a letter to someone on board the ship.³⁰⁷ Even if the reader would not be in the position to send letters, the tables became a powerful image by which the subscriber could follow the expedition, and be part of it from a distance. The information given in the papers for the different postal services also narrated the importance of the Vanadis, and visualized the destinations from time to time.

It was also these footholds that Captain Lagerberg followed strictly. International and domestic press also published these tables on a regular basis. Art historian Lena Johannesson has asserted that there were few pictures for the public to possess in the nineteenth century; nonetheless there was a multitude of images made accessible to the public.³⁰⁸ However, contrary to Johannesson, I would claim that a wider audience had the possibility of acquiring images and did so, for example, by collecting postcards, cartes de visite, ephemera and xylographs from the illustrated press. This was explicitly shown in the case of the Vanadis expedition in which the crew (from different ranks) collected various sorts of images.

Joyful and Vivid Accounts – Travel Journals

If the press was circulating illustrations of the flag and the ship, it was the travel journal *Jorden rundt under svensk örlogsflagg: Ögonblicksbilder från fregatten Vanadis verldsomsegling 1883–1885 samlade av Svante Natt och Dag och i brefform återgifna af Richard Melander*, based on previous accounts in the press by Natt och Dag, that visualized the events and encounters with non-Europeans for yet another audience.³⁰⁹ The illustrations were by the artist Ottilia Adelborg, who reworked Ekholm's photographs to depict the journey.³¹⁰ The first image the reader encountered was that of the Swedish-Norwegian union flag. The mission was established and the frigate was praised for its long history. Most of the images depicted non-Europeans; the genre "Folktyper" [Ethnic Types] was common and displayed Indigenous people's culture and traditions. Often portraits showed "racial features". Most of the images portrayed the Indigenous facial front and profile. This way of depicting non-Europeans was well established at the time. But as previously seen, the interest in describing

1. RACE AND SCIENTIFIC MEDIA



“Arabian Woman”, Svante Natt och Dag’s travel journal *Jorden rundt under svensk örlogsflagg: Ögonblicksbilder från fregatten Vanadis verdensomsegling 1883–1885 samlade av Svante Natt och Dag och i brefform återgifna af Richard Melander* [Around the world with the Swedish military flag: Images from the circumnavigation by the frigate Vanadis 1883–1885 collected by Svante Natt och Dag and epistolary depicted by Richard Melander] (Stockholm: Bonnier, 1887). Courtesy of the Uppsala University Library of Carolina Rediviva, Uppsala.

non-Europeans in racial terms was also common in the press. Both textual and visual accounts thus referred to an imperial gaze and Svante Natt och Dag’s travel journal became another medium that visualized the colonial world. Interestingly no images in the book displayed the crew itself. One reason could be that the publishing company sought to attract attention with a spectacular colonial narrative that primarily presented images of the people encountered on the trip. The illustration shows a typical ethnographical portrait of an African woman.

The reviews in the press of the travel journal by Natt och Dag were positive, and one of the reporters described it as a “joyful and vivid account.”³¹¹ The review also highlighted the illustrations and their techniques: “[these accounts] are a particular delight, easy to read and an entertaining story of both the vigorous seaman’s life on board and of customs and traditions, people and lands in the foreign harbours in which

the Swedish frigate anchored.”³¹² In short, the success of Natt and Dag’s journal was due to it being pedagogical in terms of geography, while explaining the different events in a simple written Swedish.³¹³

Then again, Natt och Dag’s account belonged to a long literary tradition of travel journals by people who had experienced encounters overseas. This exotic and often colonial genre was well established. If the early eighteenth-century travel writing was unstructured, by the nineteenth century a typical pattern had emerged. Proceeding from a base in civilization to an unknown region, the traveller often described experiences and observations day by day. This typical pattern of travel narrative was also evident in the Swedish press with the contributions of Kiellman-Göransson and Natt och Dag among others. Historian Roy Bridges claims that travel writing in the nineteenth century needs to be seen in the context which “became increasingly identified with the interests and preoccupations of those in European societies who wished to bring the non-European world into a position where it could be influenced, exploited or, in some cases, directly controlled.”³¹⁴ Bridges discusses how the increase of a “European technological expertise” required benefits which made it simpler to impact or control non-Europeans, and this notion came to function as a supposed intellectual superiority. Europeans could assert to be able to comprehend and decipher not only the territory they entered but the Indigenous populations as well.³¹⁵

The Royal Presence

In the early spring of 1883 the Vanadis expedition was a major public news item in Sweden, but it was not exclusively a domestic concern. For example when reaching Honolulu, Hawaii, the Vanadis’ whereabouts were well documented and detailed in the press on a daily basis over the two weeks that the delegation stayed. The Hawaiian *The Saturday press* and *The Daily bulletin* were the papers that reported most of the different activities of the Vanadis. For example on 2 July 1884, *The Daily bulletin* stated that a detachment of sailors, headed by their own band, went to the Makiki grounds “for the purpose of a drill” and a large number of spectators went out to witness the event.³¹⁶

1. RACE AND SCIENTIFIC MEDIA

These happenings could thus also be shared internationally from a distance, and the reader could take part in the everyday life of the Vanadis. The same holds true for other destinations as well (Peru, Japan, India), different anecdotes of daily life were popular in the international press. Wherever the Vanadis went, the foreign and domestic press were there, documenting and following the expedition. It became a strategy to establish and promote Swedish trade and the scientific mission. Jan Billgren claims that the reason for the press extensive reporting about the expedition was probably because of the royal presence on board, notably Prince Oscar.³¹⁷ Billgren is right, but he needn't be so hesitant. Actually, the satirical magazine *Söndags-Nisse* made fun of the way the expedition had been criticized by those who claimed it to be merely "a leisure activity for Prince Oscar".³¹⁸

Literary historian Andreas Nyblom has written about the great interest the public had in the royal family in the nineteenth century; detailed accounts of festivities, inaugurations and speeches were given on a daily basis in the press.³¹⁹ The affairs of the royal family were considered of interest to the general public and newspapers were always reporting and updating the readers on the whereabouts and affairs of the monarchs. Such news was popular – and it sold papers. One of the regional papers, for example, reported enthusiastically in June 1883: "It is always significant to have the triple-tongued blue and yellow flag fluttering around the world, but the expedition is drawing even more attention for having a young prince on the voyage."³²⁰ Nyblom claims that at the turn of the twentieth century the celebrity culture was intensified through various media.³²¹

Another intertwined aspect to take into consideration is that the Vanadis expedition became popular and was narrated in many different media as a result of nineteenth-century interests and a fascination for "public spectacle." As Johan Jarlbrink and Patrik Lundell note: "The second half of the nineteenth century was a time of great commemorations and a time of public spectacle."³²² The Vanadis expedition in many ways served as a spectacle, which one could follow from a distance: as a show, as a feuilleton in the press or as a "spectacular reality". Even the

the royal presence: “Prince Oscar of Sweden, who is on board the *Vanadis*, has been visiting Callao and Lima, and has met with a good reception.”³²³

The Swedish public had plenty of opportunities to follow the journey from start to finish throughout the seventeen-month journey. There were many ways that the readers of the various presses could be engaged: *feuilletons*, postal routes, telegrams and correspondence. After the expedition, the *Vanadis* was also a popular recurring subject. One of the reasons was its immediate achievement, since the expedition was understood as “one of the most successful expeditions in Sweden.”³²⁴ Billgren claims that the commercial success was of great significance because of the many new contacts that were established with government officials and monarchs and princes, who were usually accompanied by senior officials in government departments.³²⁵

Yet, I argue that an important factor was also how the press, which was the dominant medium for the expedition, popularized the mission to a broader audience. The colonial events retold and visualized in the press by reporters, the crew and constant recitation during the two years, made the *Vanadis* expedition a powerful narrative, which occasionally placed Sweden at the centre of different colonial endeavours. Orvar Löfgren has emphasized the importance of the media and its power to reinforce and reproduce a sense of national identity and belonging.³²⁶ Moreover Magdalena Naum and Jonas M. Nordin assert that by “supporting expansion and exploitation overseas, Scandinavian ruling class identified itself with the European imperial subject.”³²⁷ These notions were highly visible not only in the Swedish press but also overseas. From the beginning the official announcements of the *Vanadis* expedition spoke about the importance of engaging in the global market. Furthermore, bringing Prince Oscar on board demonstrated knowledge of creating good public relations abroad. Overall, the continuous repetitions of the importance of the mission for Swedish business and sciences were unmistakable to the readers of the various newspapers at home and abroad. All together, the weekly news of the *Vanadis* whereabouts, the monthly reports by different members of the crew, the telegrams and the few but crucial images, I would argue, connected the otherwise “unconnected readers”, who were able

1. RACE AND SCIENTIFIC MEDIA

to participate in a mutual vision of the European colonial project and civilizing mission, thus creating an “imagined community”, to borrow Benedict Anderson’s phrasing. However, the Nordic identity was also juxtaposed to internal affairs between the Swedish and Danish foreign politics. The on-going competition concerning trade and science within the Nordic region was always a factor. To understand why the Vanadis expedition became so popular and commercially viable one needs to look at how the nineteenth-century media system worked. Therefore, it is crucial to investigate other media forms as well, and not only what the press printed. The return of the Vanadis resulted in illustrated travel journals, lecture series and exhibitions; an important element was the wide-ranging photographs taken by Ekholm.

RACIAL PHOTOGRAPHY

With the invention of photography, a “new” medium was used to re-discover the colonial world. The use of photography, including the innovations in print media such as xylography, allowed new forms of knowledge and reached a wide audience. The first scientific photographs depicted bacteria and crystals, followed closely by zoological specimens and archaeological sites.^{327a} However, it was not long until the camera was used to depict the human body as part of the effort to racially classify^{327b} and rank people on an evolutionary scale. In 1862, the *British Journal of Photography* announced, “Photography will furnish an excellent method of determining the mean proportions of the skulls of the different races of men.”³²⁸ Nicholas Mirzoeff notes that the perfect body in Western culture has been sustained and made imaginable by the imperfect body of the racial Other.³²⁹ For two centuries, Western scientists, writers and artists implemented this particular notion of a visual classification of race. Race could not exist without a visual taxonomy of racial difference. In order to provide and classify such difference, entire archives of visual material came to exist in the nineteenth-century and twentieth-century museums, private collections and laboratories.

THE VANADIS EXPEDITION 1883–1885



Henry Morton Stanley, *Genom de svartas världsdel eller Nilens källor; kring de stora sjöarne och utför Livingstone-floden till Atlantiska havet* [Through the dark continent. On the sources of the Nile and around the Great Lakes of equatorial Africa and down the Livingstone River to the Atlantic Ocean] (Stockholm: Bonnier, 1878). Courtesy of the Uppsala University Library of Carolina Rediviva, Uppsala.

The Vanadis crew, 1884. Photograph by Oscar Birger Ekholm. Courtesy of the Museum of Ethnography, Stockholm.



right from the beginning. The Vanadis saw a professional photographer on board a Scandinavian seafaring expedition for the first time. Oscar Birger Ekholm, the photographer, produced a photo archive consisting of over 700 images from the journey.³³⁰ These images became crucial not just for science but also reached a wider population when remediated and circulated in the illustrated press, travel accounts and magic lantern shows. From Ekholm's depictions a racial image archive was created: the photographs underpinned race theories at a time in which the Indigenous populations were at the "bottom" of human evolution. Such views were supported by accounts in the press. Ekholm's photographs often juxtaposed explorers and explored as the above image – mainly the scientist Stolpe, but other members of the crew were also engaged in this way of self-fashioning. Displaying whiteness, masculinity, power and civilization,

1. RACE AND SCIENTIFIC MEDIA

these images re-enacted the white explorer, a visual trope made famous with the Stanley expeditions in 1870s.³³¹

Of the 700 images from the voyage, approximately 600 were developed into photographs from dry plates and around 150 were transferred to stereopticon cards. The photography collection can be divided into five different subject categories regarding content: topographical and architectural views, ethnographical objects, racial typing, excavations, life on the Vanadis and festivities or ceremonial summits.

The third largest collection was that of racial typing. A few of these images were displayed at the two exhibitions in Stockholm (1886) and Gothenburg (1887). The contribution was important and the collection was valuable for emerging ethnographical research, to which Stolpe and other scholars were dedicated. Besides the photographs, Stolpe and Karl Rudberg, the medical doctor on board, brought back human remains such as craniums and mummies to Sweden for anthropological studies. Some of these were on display, others went to Uppsala University for “laboratory work”.

Stolpe’s mission was clearly defined for the readers in the autumn of 1883: “If the possibility arises, Doctor Stolpe will take photographs and make measurements of the inhabitants, who will probably in the near future be an extinct indigenous population.”³³² Stolpe informed the members of Swedish Society of Anthropology and Geography in November 1883, and it was stated that: “he could not hope to do any significant ethnographical collecting on these islands, but he wanted to photograph the dying population, execute observations and conduct other anthropological research.”³³³ Therefore, the Royal Academy had a set of specific instructions for Stolpe. He was to conduct an anthropological mission that consisted of collecting information about body constitution and to execute anthropometric measurements. Besides these measurements, Stolpe’s mission was also to organize plaster casting of craniums, skeletons et cetera. The announcement was reported in several newspapers, both regional and national, and later published in the Swedish Society for Anthropology and Geography’s yearbook *Ymer Tidskrift*. Other press accounts also informed readers that Pontus Fürstenberg, the prominent art dealer and merchant from Gothenburg, would finance the ethnographer



Lotten von Düben, photograph of Maria Persdotter 1873. Courtesy of the Nordic Museum, Stockholm.

Stolpe and the accompanied photographer on board with 10,000 kronor.³³⁴ “With scientific guidance, photographs are [important] for our knowledge of racial types [...] how rich such a field must be for a skillful photographer during such a voyage.”³³⁵

Folklore historian Erika Brady has explored how the cylinder phonograph in the last decades of the nineteenth century opened up a new world for cultural research.³³⁶ It became one of the basic tools of anthropology. Through the Bureau of American Ethnology, the Smithsonian Institution took an active role in preserving Native heritage. Brady’s investigation shows how a new medium was important in depicting Indigenous populations that were presumed “soon to be extinct.” There are no accounts of phonography being used on the Vanadis expedition, but the usage of photography played a similar role. The aim of using photography on the Vanadis was to document Indigenous populations, instigating new scientific research, measuring and collecting data. Photography thus functioned in a comparable preservational way to the cylinder phonograph.

1. RACE AND SCIENTIFIC MEDIA

Still, photo documentation of races in Sweden was not novel. The Swedish couple Gustaf von Düben and Lotten von Düben travelled to the northern parts of Sweden as early as 1868 (and a second journey in 1870), documenting the Sámi people and created an ethnographical collection.³³⁷ Lotten von Düben was the photographer on the excursions to Sámi land, and Gustaf von Düben was a well-recognized medical doctor, anthropologist and race scientist who executed extensive research on the Sámi people. When the Vanadis expedition set out, racial research was thus well established by the von Dübens, Anders Retzius, Gustaf Retizus and Arthur Thesleff. They had all made contributions to the ethnographical field particularly regarding ethnographical photographic surveys, racial science and eugenics.³³⁸

In a Swedish context racial biology and anthropology exercised considerable influence in the first decades of the twentieth century.³³⁹ I would argue that Swedish research on race biology was established earlier, beginning with the early racial photography by von Dübens'.³⁴⁰ It is important to see how racial theory was adapted both within the country and abroad. Historian Mai Palmberg has stated that Sweden was the forerunner not only in terms of studying the Nordic countries but of the European scientific field as a whole.³⁴¹ The Swedish race scientists were considered to be leaders in their field internationally.

With regard to this dissertation, it is noteworthy that the Swedish Society for Anthropology and Geography held several public lectures on eugenics, "the Nordic race" and "races of the indigenous" in the capitals of Scandinavia in the late nineteenth century. These were also published in the newspapers and in *Ymer Tidskrift*. These lectures were based on various scientific journeys made both in Scandinavia and worldwide, as with the Vanadis expedition. According to historian Jon Røyne Kyllingstad, the most influential individual in the division of Europeans into races was Anders Retzius, the Swedish anatomist.³⁴² In 1840, Retzius presented a method of racial classification that separated humans into two basic categories: the dolichocephalics (long skulls) and the brachycephalics (short skulls). Retzius combined these categories with other theories on anatomic and geographic criteria. The cephalic index, which

90 referred to the ratio of the breadth to the length of the skull, became com-

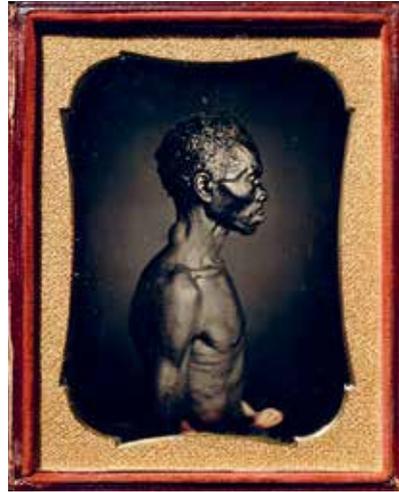
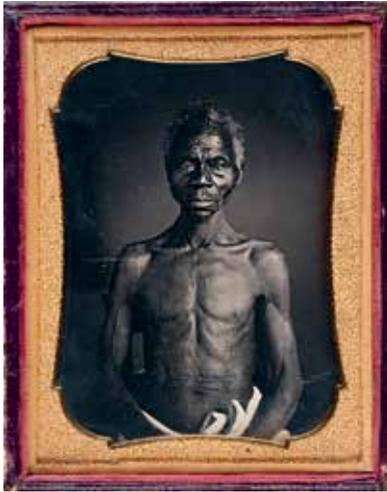
monly used for racial classification in the decades that followed and was the method used by Hjalmar Stolpe on the Vanadis expedition.

Photographic Forerunners

Before looking more closely at the racial photographs that Ekholm took during the expedition, one needs to understand the historical context within which they came into being. Before the 1850s two different ideas of the origin of the “human races” were in play. Scholars of the monogenesis tradition such as Carl Linnaeus, Johann Blumenbach and Immanuel Kant, described the origin of all races from a specific creative source, which was found in Adam.³⁴³ The idea from the Platonic notion of corruption as distance from the primary source, made scientists see how different races had fallen unevenly from the ideal Eden form incarnated in Adam. The theory of climate being a determiner of the human condition was seen as the main reason why certain “races” had “deteriorated”. However, by the mid 1850s, a second narrative had begun to influence scientists such as Charles White and Georg Forster. So-called polygenesis theory distinguished itself in that it explained that different races had sprung up in various places, and in different centres of creation. Certain races in particular places were seen to be original and natural – but also degenerate.^{343a}

As is well known, *The origin of species* (1859) by Charles Darwin heightened the debates on evolution theory, and literally cleared away the former disputes between monogenists and polygenists. As a result, in the last decades of the nineteenth century, the term “race” was used in changing and unstable ways, sometimes as identical with “species” sometimes with “culture”, sometimes with “nation”, sometimes to signify biological ethnicity or sub-groups within a national grouping.^{343b} It is important to note that the concept of race was fully formulated, but used in a variety of ways. Nonetheless, ethnologists and anthropologists specifically referred to race biology and promoted these ideas not only in their work but to a broader audience who read exhibition catalogues and press reviews, visited museums and attended open lectures – not just in the larger cities but all over the country. Race science hence transformed itself

1. RACE AND SCIENTIFIC MEDIA



Louis Agassiz daguerreotypes of African American slaves 1850s. Courtesy of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, PM# 35-5-10/53037 (digital file# 98750072).

into a kind of mass culture that took various forms, not the least photographically.

The earliest racial type photographs began to be produced in the second half of the nineteenth century. Louis Agassiz' daguerreotypes of African American slaves in the 1850s were, for example, both scientific and political. Another important predecessor was the ethnographical album, *Anthropologisch-ethnologisches album in photographien* (1873–1876) by Carl Dammann. In 1871, he began to photograph a group of people from Zanzibar, which was on tour in Berlin. Scientists applauded the result, and Dammann reported that he sent copies to learned societies, museums and fifteen universities in Germany and Britain. The use of facial front and profile was deployed, and although Dammann did not use a measuring stick, the way he framed his images became a model for future racial photography.³⁴⁴ The album was translated into English in 1875 with the title *Ethnological photographic gallery of the various races*.

92 At the time, the photographic medium was still fairly new, and there were no established conventions. Techniques varied: many anthropolo-



Photograph of Indigenous population from South Africa and Madagascar, *Anthropologisch-ethnologisches album in photographien 1873–1876* by Carl Dammann. Wikipedia Commons.

gists relied on the conventions set by artists and sculptors, while others relied on the development of methods by anatomists and phrenologists. Anthropologists “mixed” these different methods and the results were disputed. This “predicament” eventually led to the development in the 1880s of a clear set of guidelines, which enabled anthropologists to confidently use photographic techniques to make the comparisons required to racially classify people on an evolutionary scale. Historian Elizabeth Edwards notes how photography as a medium was used relatively late as a means to record ethnographic objects, which contrasts with its early use for recording antiquities.³⁴⁵ Edwards claims that “while giving the appearance of an unmediated reality, those realities are culturally constituted; we photograph what we already ‘know’ [---] Likewise, one of the defining features of the exotic Other is that it is never at home, always elsewhere,

1. RACE AND SCIENTIFIC MEDIA

a distant object. The temporal and spatial ambiguities of the photograph confirm and deny the space of the Other.”³⁴⁶

Art historian David Green points out that by the mid 1870s a specific set of photographic principles dominated the photographing of colonized and incarcerated people. “In numerous images the pattern is repeated: the subject, sometimes naked, is positioned full face and in profile to the camera, the body isolated within a shallow space and sharply defined against a plain background, the lighting is uniform and clear.”³⁴⁷ The visual documentation of the Indigenous population was in other words a new way to record data. However the visual language of facial front or facial side and back, was not exclusively reserved for the Indigenous populations. It was also implemented in documenting criminals, poor people or the mentally ill. “The stylistic similarities of the head-and-shoulder photographs created by colonial authorities . . . and the ‘mug shot’ – which also had a significant influence on eugenic photography” are evident, as historian Anne Maxwell acknowledges. “By providing an accurate visual record of the heads and faces of those who had fallen foul of the law, prison photography furnished eugenicists with an invaluable resource for identifying those believed to be carrying the genes for delinquency and crime.”³⁴⁸ In the 1860s, Swedish prisoners in Malmö prison and Warberg prison were for example documented in a manner similar to the colonial photography.³⁴⁹ By and large, photographic framing techniques developed in tandem. In 1882, the French criminologist Alphonse Bertillon applied the anthropology technique of anthropometry to law enforcement, creating an identification system based on physical measurements. The Bertillon standardized system was implemented in 1888.³⁵⁰

Dressed and Undressed Bodies

On the Vanadis expedition Stolpe and Ekholm followed the direction set by previous anthropologists; women, children and men of all ages were documented, measured and photographed, both dressed and naked. Sometimes these people posed in groups and other times by themselves.

94 Several photographs showed stages from being dressed to undressed –



Racial photographs, Vanadis expedition 1883–1885. Photographs by Oscar Birger Ekholm.
Courtesy of the Museum of Ethnography, Stockholm.

faced front, back and profile. Sometimes the setting was outside, against a wall or building. Other photographs were taken inside, against a neutral wall, and in some of the cases racial photographs were taken on board the Vanadis or at the harbour the expedition was visiting. The depictions were clearly staged for the sole purpose of racial photography. Often a cloth hanging over a wall was used as a prop to set the stage. Stolpe and Ekholm in short used camerawork to visualize scientific ideas on race. They used different angled shot against a neutral background to be able to show different “races”, “types” and “attributes”. Racial photography was thus in many respects performed, enhanced and deliberately enacted in terms of background setting, lighting, focus, angles, perspectives and postures – all in order to accentuate contemporary theories about race.

Anne McClintock has explored the racial typologies which were meant to elucidate the evolution and the hierarchy of “the family of man”. Historical progress was represented by a scale – or by a genealogical tree – with the European man as the zenith of human evolution. Other races

1. RACE AND SCIENTIFIC MEDIA



Carte de visite 1880s. Racial photograph, Vanadis expedition 1883–1885. Photograph by Oscar Birger Ekholm. Courtesy of the Maritime Museum, Stockholm.

were always below *him*. The metaphor of racial progress was mostly male.³⁵¹ But in regard to the Vanadis expedition, photographs of women were as a matter of fact as common as men. There are a couple of photographs by Stolpe and Ekholm, which are both concerned with racial theory as well as erotic and sexualized displays. The sexualization of the female body was explicitly shown in the photographs as well as in the text itself. The specific lighting and focus aimed to depict “beautiful” and “less beautiful bodies”, as noted down in the written records.

The image of an undressed woman was documented as beautiful. Other photographs from the journey staged Indigenous women half-dressed in Western clothes in a manner reminiscent of the erotic European studio portraits of prostitutes. I argue that a peculiar *imperial male gaze* was established in these racial photographs, which both organized non-Europeans in a strict racial hierarchy but also operated in a titillating way. Exotic women might have belonged to a degenerate race, even so they were sometimes (with pleasure, one might assume) depicted as half-dressed as the images above or even naked. Strict measurements were,







Page 97–98: Racial photographs, Vanadis expedition 1883–1885. Photographs by Oscar Birger Ekholm. Courtesy of Museum of Ethnography, Stockholm.

Above: Racial photographs, Vanadis expedition 1883–1885. Photograph by Oscar Birger Ekholm. Courtesy of the Uppsala University Library of Carolina Rediviva, Uppsala.

however, also always made and thoroughly described in detail in the accounts of Stolpe. Some of these images were reproduced in the illustrated press, magic lanterns and illustrated lectures and in scientific journals. The scientific purpose was to establish a study on the different races and to document dying races.

Another important means of documentation relating to the Vanadis photographs was the written descriptions that accompanied the images. The photographs were, however, categorized in many different ways. Initially so by Stolpe, although he did not complete the documentation.³⁵² The various categorizations gave different narratives and views of the trip. The artefacts were defined according to their modern use and whether they were part of a religious or domestic application. The scientists made notes on racial types, often referring to women in the photographs as



Colonial photographs, Vanadis expedition 1883–1885. Photograph by Oscar Birger Ekholm. Courtesy of the Uppsala University Library of Carolina Rediviva, Uppsala.



Colonial photograph, Vanadis expedition 1883–1885. Photograph by Oscar Birger Ekholm. Courtesy of the Uppsala University Library of Carolina Rediviva, Uppsala.

beautiful. In general, the descriptions of the photographs referred to the Indigenous people as “primitive” and having a “low status”.

Elizabeth Edwards’ notion of the *colonial photograph* is crucial since it concerns production, collection and exchange, as well as how the photographs themselves can be understood as material artefacts, social objects at historical junctions and as sites for performance and re-enactment. The racial and colonial photographs could thus also be comprehended, as Edwards claims, as “raw”, painful and unprocessed, a kind of unrealized documents. They are nascent, active and open – and therefore, impossible to locate in terms of meaning.³⁵³ Furthermore, Edwards points to the importance of photographs as not only speaking with one voice but also being able to “spring leaks” and show Indigenous counter-images.³⁵⁴ Some of the Vanadis documentation displays different forms of resistance in the re-enactments (gazes, postures, facial expressions). A few of the official remarks by the Vanadis crew about the photo documents of the

1. RACE AND SCIENTIFIC MEDIA



Photo album: Prince Oscar. Courtesy of the Maritime Museum, Stockholm. Photograph by Anneli Karlsson. Page 103–104: Racial photographs, Vanadis expedition 1883–1885. Photographs by Oscar Birger Ekholm. Courtesy of the Maritime Museum, Stockholm.

Indigenous people narrated how they were most reluctant to be photographed. It seems that most of them had to be persuaded by giving them something in return.³⁵⁵

Many of the racial photographs from the Vanadis expedition were reproduced. The circulation of these photographs initially occurred among the crew. Prince Oscar for example kept a large official album containing both reproductions of Ekholm and studio photographs which he had bought along the way. Officers had smaller albums; from the Vanadis they had various visual documentation: postcards, leaflets, tickets, Ekholm's reproductions. Some of Ekholm's photographs were later put on display, in for example travelling lecture series as well as reproduced in the print media. It should be noted that the racial photographs and measurements during the Vanadis expedition were *only* carried out in the Pacific region. In Japan other forms of documentation were made. This followed a specific logic at the time – the mission was only to document “lower”







Racial photograph, Vanadis expedition 1883–1885. Photograph by Oscar Birger Ekholm. Courtesy of the Museum of Ethnography, Stockholm.

indigenous population. The Indigenous population in South America and the Pacific were perceived as located at “the bottom of the list” following contemporary racial theory.

A vivid example of the blurring of boundaries between scientific racial photography and commercial mass culture is the fact that in India, Stolpe *bought* local studio portraits that showed racial classification. One reason is that Stolpe left the ship in India and travelled by himself without the photographer. Consequently, there was no staged racial photography documentation, while Ekholm only followed the ship to New Delhi. Another reason was that the measurements were difficult to execute. In private letters, Stolpe complained about the hardship of anthropometric work.³⁵⁶ Still, he would not have had a problem finding and acquiring racial photographs, since the research and imagistic production of racial types, conducted by British officials, had been established early with the pioneering work *People of India: A series of photographic illustrations, with descriptive letterpress, of races and tribes of India* (1868–1875).

These and other staged photographs were reproduced and sold as cabinet cards, souvenirs and postcards throughout the British Empire. It is

1. RACE AND SCIENTIFIC MEDIA

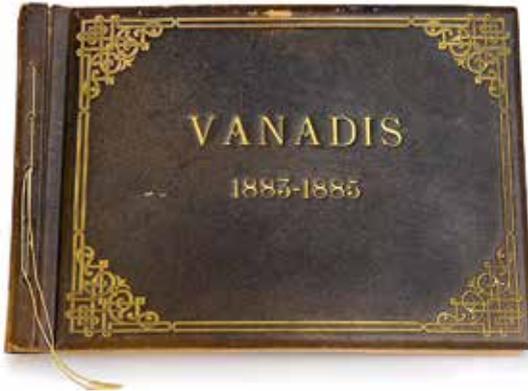


Photo album: Fredrik Riben.
Courtesy of the Maritime
Museum, Stockholm. Photo-
graph by Anneli Karlsson.

important to note that the compilation *People of India* was published basically at the same time as Lotten von Düben's racial photographs of the Sámi people. The photographs that Stolpe brought back from India came from different British studios in Mumbai and possibly other parts of India. Ethnography and photography were thus phenomena of the same century; they both came to the public eye around the same time in the late 1860s and they were both apart of a late nineteenth-century scientific obsession. It is essentially impossible to comprehend ethnography without photography, but it is also difficult to imagine nineteenth-century photography without the ethnographical uses it initially had. As described by historian John Hannavy, ethnographical photography was a tool for colonial endeavours, imperialist ambitions, nationalistic identifications and national constructions. All parts of the world were engaged in different forms of photography missions. The resulting images were, as shown, not displaying individuals but rather representing ethnic, regional and professional *types*. The greater, yet unspoken, ambition was to create a complete catalogue of all ethnic groups in the world.³⁵⁷ However, artists also participated in expeditions – the marine painter Jacob 'Jacques' Hägg was on board the *Vanadis*, for example. But as shown, Hägg only documented the frigate, which in the press came to play a significant role in reinforcing the nation. Stolpe and Ekholm, however, did extensive research and Stolpe's travel journals had several ethnographical drawings.

Stolpe brought back racial photographs to display in both public and private, and the albums of the officers and Prince Oscar's album show how disparate material from the journey was compiled into one album; displaying sights, racial photography by Ekholm and Stolpe and studio portraits on different "racial types".³⁵⁸ These depictions should be seen in a larger context of collecting ethnographica, a pastime enjoyed not only by Prince Oscar, but also by most of the crew.³⁵⁹ Edwards asserts that it is important to consider the whole *visual economy* on which these representations were based and functioned as specific sites of consumption, and where she emphasizes that photography had a particularly persuasive power. Photographs allowed a restrained domestication that permitted consumption and possession while sustaining the important distance between self and Other.³⁶⁰

Displaying the World

Stolpe's main mission on board the Vanadis expedition was to collect material, all in order to establish the first museum of ethnographical collections in Sweden. The Danish already had a much-celebrated collection of ethnography in Copenhagen. Norway also had "some fine collections" in Christiania, at least according to international ethnographers at the time. In other words, Sweden could not yet compete with the other Scandinavian countries, an argument often made by Stolpe himself. This was an assignment that Stolpe had raised before the Vanadis expedition, but struggled with unsuccessfully.³⁶¹ In fact, the ethnographical exhibition of 1878–1879 could have been Stolpe's major career breakthrough, but as science historian Olof Ljungström has shown, it instead became a major setback.³⁶² Stolpe was not able to establish the exhibit as a permanent feature, and this failure contributed to the delay in his academic advancement.³⁶³ However, after the Vanadis expedition, Stolpe mounted two exhibitions of the Vanadis collection in Arvsfurstens palats in Stockholm 1886 and at the Valand School of Fine Arts in Gothenburg in 1887.³⁶⁴ The publication and exhibition of the findings from the expedition were important to Stolpe's ambition to establish an ethnographical museum, and the photographs were crucial to this project.

1. RACE AND SCIENTIFIC MEDIA

Historian Samuel J. M. M. Alberti asserts that the status of a museum depended upon a combination of credibility, authority and expertise.³⁶⁵ Authority was not a given; it was reliant on context. It did not emerge exclusively from the expertise of one person, but rested on the credibility of all the individuals associated with a specific venue, which in turn depended on the distinct relationship between person, location and object.³⁶⁶ Credibility then, according to historian Graeme J. N. Gooday, was built on trust, perceived character and benefaction within particular localities and spaces. The museum as a pinnacle site for production and consumption of natural knowledge basically began in the middle of the nineteenth century.³⁶⁷ The museum, however, first needed a distinct feature (respectable or otherwise) to differentiate it from the range of other institutions to which it was closely linked – what Tony Bennett has tentatively called the “exhibitionary complex”.³⁶⁸

Stolpe’s work is interesting in this case. For example, while British imperialism was strongly connected to the status of the museum, the Swedish-Norwegian position in the imperial project was far from central. Nevertheless, I argue that Stolpe’s vision and anthropological work were closely connected with imperial ideas of science, vision and credibility.³⁶⁹ According to Ljungström, research was built around visual impressions, direct or subsidiary. Ideally the object would be physically transported, transferred from its original place to the collection, and a representation of the collection site or focus become more complete as pieces were gathered together where they could be studied side by side. In the cabinets or in the exhibition room, the artefacts in different displays represented an image of the real world. These items were not the only materials in the exhibition area. Other things were added to the original objects, such as paintings, drawings, photographs, transcriptions, casts, imprints, etc., which provided secondary access to the necessary visual knowledge.

I would argue that the work by Stolpe was based on the particular role of material culture in the museum, and on the relationship between his position as a curator and the collection he organized, exhibited and wrote about. Stolpe gradually gained a reputation as a curator with credibility, authority and expertise in his exhibition practices. According to ethnolo-

gist Ulla Wagner, the Vanadis expedition had several missions, but the most important was the collection of ethnographical material.³⁷⁰ The collection from the expedition marked the founding of both a new discipline – and a new museum tradition. In retrospect the journey’s most successful goal was the ethnographic collection.

Nonetheless, it is interesting to see how Wagner’s account differs from contemporary writings. The mission to circumnavigate the world in the 1880s was highly economic and political. “Showing the Swedish-Norwegian union flag”, was a common remark in the contemporary documentation.³⁷¹ In Stolpe’s exhibition of 1886 in Arvsfurstens palats, the collections were set in four different rooms, divided into different regions: South America, Japan, India and Pacific Islands. As soon as the audience entered the vestibule, which could be found on the first floor in the palace, they met a Japanese procession statue *Kintoki*. The exhibition consisted of artefacts displayed in glass cases, on poster walls and shelves. Boxes and glass cupboards were filled with ethnographical artefacts, and with Stolpe’s guide booklet, *Vägvisare genom Vanadisutställningen* [A Guide through the Vanadis Exhibition] the visitor could follow the Vanadis’ journey and its diverse material.

The material was divided into the different gallery halls, but it was not exclusively artefacts gathered from the expeditions. In Abyssinia, for example, Stolpe had received *donations* from missionaries, which were also on display. Hence, the different galleries were not homogenous. Stolpe bought contemporary artefacts as well as archaeological ones, others were donated (perhaps for religious reasons) and yet others were personally collected. However, all were exhibited. Science, commercialism and religion thus made a rare combination. Around 10,000 objects were to be found in the galleries. A few photographs were shown among the objects. From May 1886 and over the course of four hours a day, the public were able to visit the exhibition. The price of admission was 25 öre. The entrance price was kept low so it would be open to all classes, and therefore the pedagogical idea was to display the colonial worlds to not just one group of people, but the whole of Scandinavia’s “rich and poor” as the press proclaimed.

In a review of the exhibition in the Swedish press, the reporter was 109

1. RACE AND SCIENTIFIC MEDIA

truly impressed by the first room: South America. However, “the dark and rather gloomy room was not great for the profane gaze.”³⁷² The correspondent wrote that the benefit of the exhibition was the true scientific approach to the material from the expedition. Different artefacts such as mummies, craniums, and pots were most impressive. The tone was set in the introduction to the booklet by Stolpe, referring to the artefacts which were not seen in the first exhibition hall: “Due to space constraints, a multitude of tools and remnants from abandoned settlements [...], which give a rather good conception of the particular low culture status these indigenous have, are not exhibited in the galleries.”³⁷³

Stolpe wanted the exhibition to be on a greater scale but not all the materials could be displayed at the time. The ambitions were clear from the beginning: “May the exhibition contribute to the assertion of a museum of ethnography – which on the continent is widely recognized – and its importance for public education, for commerce and industry and for the sciences.”³⁷⁴ Bennett asserts that at the end of the nineteenth century, museums came to be linked more to formal education systems and were called to function as instruments of popular instruction.³⁷⁵ Bennett further states that “the audience had to be appropriately directed by eyes that know how to see – rationally ordered collections were to instruct untutored eyes in what was to be seen within the realm of the visible by placing a filter of words between sight and its objects.”³⁷⁶ Thus the audience was in need of a curator who could direct what to see and highlight what was of importance. Moreover, the focus on different thematic approaches followed ideas of evolution. It was important not only to display thousands of ethnographical objects, carefully labelled, but also to organize and construct a visual pedagogy that could explain the aim of the exhibition. Stolpe in fact worked with the same kind of evolutionary pedagogy used internationally. For example, at the National Museum of Victoria, when exhibiting Aboriginal boomerangs, visitors could read the exhibit as a sign of the evolutionary processes through which differentiation and complexity arose out of an undifferentiated and simple origin.

Stolpe emphasized that only a few of the photographs from the expedition were on display: “Unfortunately, it has been quite impossible even

generous support of Pontus Fürstenberg made it possible to produce on the journey.”³⁷⁷ In the Swedish-Finnish paper *Finland* in June 1886, the reporter gave a vivid account of the different galleries:

In the first room you only find things dug up from graves in Peru [---] The second room, however, contains the collections from Japan, and here everything is new, shining, almost alive. [---] In the middle of the room stands a pavilion where you can see Japanese people sitting with their legs folded underneath, contemplating and with much deliberateness slurping tea, their favourite drink.³⁷⁸

Stolpe wanted to establish a new museum as well as promoting a new field of research: ethnology and anthropology. The exhibition also played a part in educating the public about the colonial world, and like before the press became the dominant medium in spreading the narratives of the Vanadis journey. The cost of collecting ethnographical material was however something that was debated in the press. Subscribers not only knew the total amount of Stolpe’s own wages, but also the cost of shipping ethnographical materials and the expense of processing photographs et cetera.³⁷⁹ In *Åbo Underrättelser* on 18 May 1886, the readers were informed of the work that Stolpe began in October 1885 and the total cost. Furthermore, it was reported that most objects were from the expedition, but some had been donated as well. 12,000 Swedish kronor came from the Swedish government and around 5,000–6,000 was from private donors.³⁸⁰ “[F]rom a cultural historical view – this exhibition ought to be the most plentiful and fascinating that has been shown in our country.”³⁸¹ In addition, *Ny Illustrerad Tidning* had two articles explaining the exhibition in a detailed way. The first account was from October 1886, and concentrated on the second gallery hall: Japan. Stolpe himself wrote the article, and it was richly illustrated by Carl Hedelin. The ten illustrations were numbered, and explained in the main text. Stolpe began to explain the reason why there was a concentration on just one gallery, and the reason that *Ny Illustrerad Tidning* wanted to show the more popular themes in the Japanese section. Thus the choosing of the subject came from the illustrated journal itself. Stolpe began with a vivid description of a tea ceremony in Japan.

1. RACE AND SCIENTIFIC MEDIA



“Från Vanadisutställningen”
[From the Vanadis exhibition], *Ny Illustrerad Tidning*
23 October 1886:43. Courtesy
of the National Library of
Sweden, Stockholm.

The illustrations of the ceremony highlighted different customs and costumes. Stolpe did not merely use images to “illustrate” certain narratives. Instead he focused on illustrations, and from those images explained detailed facts that made the reader aware of the artefacts. Through the illustrations, one might argue the enactment of a tea ceremony took place. Japan was hence not colonized, but represented as a country that was gradually becoming accessible to the Western world.

112 Stolpe’s exhibition was in many way a success, or as one reviewer commented: “When you left the exhibition you took away impressions of

distant countries and people – and all this gives the same feeling as when you look up at a clear starry night sky – it is so vast, so varied, so infinite, so why do I worry about the small things when I am part of something much bigger.”³⁸² In Gothenburg, the Vanadis exhibition was set up differently, on a smaller scale. Newspapers hinted that a new exhibition was going to arrive in early February 1887, however, the exhibition had to be put on hold because of the difficulties in putting together the collections. The initial problems were reported in the press and *Göteborgsposten* informed the readers:

The Vanadis exhibition is meant to open in Valand already this Wednesday, but it is not sure that this will be possible. The exhibition will take place in the greater galleries on the upper and lower level. From a first glance at the collections that have arrived, it is not known if the space will be enough. On the lower level the exhibition will show collections from India and the Pacific Islands, while the upper level will feature the collections from Japan and Siam.³⁸³

Moreover, the report stated how successful the exhibition had been in Stockholm, both that it attracted so many people and that the collections were “magnificent”. The Vanadis exhibition in Gothenburg opened on 12 February, and the papers advertised the event on several occasions. The review from *Göteborgsposten* praised the event and the exhibition. The reporter highlighted how the exhibition was important not only for adults but children as well. The huge collections from all different parts of the world made it possible to compare objects. Newspaper reports in March, however, stated that although the exhibition was ambitious, the public had not yet visited the exhibition in such large numbers that Stockholm had seen the previous year. One explanation was that no information about the expedition was to be found. Hjalmar Stolpe continuously gave lectures at the exhibition, but the catalogue *Vägvisare genom Vanadis utställningen* [A Guide through the Vanadis exhibition] only arrived a couple of weeks into the Gothenburg exhibition.

Thus, at the beginning the public’s only information about the objects came from Stolpe himself (if the audience got the chance to be there at the right time when Stolpe was in the galleries). Then again, *Göteborgs-* 113

1. RACE AND SCIENTIFIC MEDIA

posten claimed that the exhibition had been most anticipated. The chance to finally see the “trophy of the peaceful visits” from Prince Oscar’s circumnavigation on the *Vanadis* was most valuable according to the press. The narratives of labelling it as the “Prince’s expedition” reinforced the importance of the mission. The ethnographical collections were seen as “trophy”, conquered – although in a “peaceful way” – and won. The Swedish-Norwegian conquest had brought thousands of artefacts back, and the grandness of the collection made it possible to compare it to other collections from European powers.

It remains strange that Stolpe’s booklet was not distributed when the Gothenburg exhibition opened. The public naturally required some kind of information to access the ethnographical objects, that is, to be able to understand them at all. The press was also quick to comment and praised the booklet when it finally arrived. Another important aspect of why the Gothenburg exhibition was less visited could have been the ticket prices: 50 öre, double the price in Stockholm. Prices were later reduced to 25 öre and a ticket gave admission to one adult and two children. Therefore, if the Gothenburg crowd were not at first keen to go, the last couple of weeks were well visited and appreciated.

CONCLUDING REMARKS: MAKING CONNECTIONS

The displayed ethnographical collections from the *Vanadis* exhibitions were eventually incorporated into Riksmuseet. Furthermore, in 1889, at the Orientalist Congress in Stockholm, Stolpe exhibited the collection from the *Vanadis* once again to a larger audience – and in 1894 a smaller exhibition took place at Stockholm College.

The *Vanadis* exhibitions were, I would argue, major events that came to establish visual representations of the colonial world to a wider audience. The stories in the press about the ethnographical artefacts, which were brought back from the journey, accentuated Sweden’s role in the colonial project. The intentions were articulated in the press on several occasions. The main points that appeared as a constant refrain were first-

that had collected ethnographical materials and brought them back to Sweden. Secondly, the importance of photography was emphasized in the press and, finally, this particular mission was to explore Indigenous people and Sweden's place in the colonial world.³⁸⁴

Stolpe's intentions were thus closely interconnected regarding his mission as an act of knowledge seeking to position Sweden at the centre of Europe. With the establishment of an ethnographical museum Stolpe was determined to create a museum of the same magnitude as the Danes. After the expedition, Stolpe held many lectures on the "Indigenous Population". For those unable to attend the public meetings held by the Swedish Society for Anthropology and Geography, the lectures were summarized extensively in the press. A popular way to stage the lectures was to use a stereopticon, which basically was a projector with magic lantern slides. It had two lenses, usually one above the other, and it was used for both entertainment and education. Stolpe used this technology on his lectures, and was a forerunner in using new technology among Swedish ethnographers. Displaying the photographic documentation from the Vanadis was to a large extent the sole work of Stolpe, and in November 1894 a report on Stolpe's lectures on the Indigenous people of the Philippines was published in the local paper *Norra Skåne*.

Doctor Stolpe held a lecture on the Negrito people, whom he encountered and personally researched during the circumnavigation of the Vanadis. Negritos or as they call themselves Aetess, live in the forest on the islands of the Philippines: Luzon and Mindanao. They are said to be related to the people of Papua. However, many consider them to belong to a race of their own. They have dark skin and curly hair, and they are petite, real dwarfs. The average height of the male population is only 146 centimetres. As regards the shape of their skull, they are distinctly brachycephalic. [...] They are considered to be of the very lowest culture. However, the reason for this lies in their living conditions in the forest.³⁸⁵

The reader also got to know the religion, language and habits of the "Negritos". The article ended by stating that Stolpe gave a vivacious description of how he encountered the Indigenous from which he bought ethnographical material such as bows, arrows and jewellery. The narra-

1. RACE AND SCIENTIFIC MEDIA

tive illuminated how the articulation of race stemmed from the racial theories, in which measurements were of importance.³⁸⁶ A couple of years earlier in 1889, during the Orientalist Congress in Stockholm, Stolpe also got the chance to speak about the expedition and his findings. The Vanadis expedition was by and large still a noteworthy happening in the late nineteenth century, and Stolpe kept on promoting the voyage and especially its ethnographical findings.

Part one of *Colonizing fever* has explored how the Vanadis expedition's mission of science and commerce aimed to promote the Swedish-Norwegian union in the overseas colonial world. The extensive reports in the international and domestic press confirmed the importance of the mission, as well as placing Sweden closer to the larger European colonial empires. The national press, I argue, connected the readers on many levels and a form of visualizing reporting was established, in which an interest in vivid, meticulous and extensive reports can be detected. In short, the many detailed accounts of the whereabouts of the Vanadis created mental images for the reader. A sense of being on the actual site was articulated. The expedition was reported on a monthly basis and, given the amount of press coverage, it was more or less impossible for readers to miss the circumnavigation.

Still, the accounts from the Vanadis were only one of many narratives of the colonial world that readers had access to. Yet, to follow the Vanadis expedition was akin to be part of the modern world. The Vanadis travelled to places which were described as uncivilized, and the Swedish national identity was juxtaposed with that of the "primitive other". The expedition had scientific ambitions, but these were popularized and audiences following the journey became part of a spectacular colonial reality. Relatively new media such as photography established Sweden as a modern nation, but photography also became the medium used to portray the Indigenous population as inferior. Moreover, it was also a preservational medium that depicted races that were soon supposed to be extinct.

One might argue that the Vanadis expedition created a kind of colonial universe of its own, and the Swedish audience inserted themselves into it. Different media reinforced the notion of a mutual vision of the European colonial project and its civilizing mission. For example, the

flag, the boat and the Indigenous population were recurring themes in depicting the journey. Both implicitly (through press mediations) and explicitly (through photographic mediations), an imperial gaze was established. First of all, visual representations of the colonial world visualized non-Europeans in a strict racial hierarchy, in which white male hegemony was reinforced. The racial photography and anthropological measurements by Stolpe and Ekholm explicitly elaborated on the notion of race. Secondly, an excluding visual practice became imperative in which an imperial gaze was construed – where an urge to belong to the European colonial project and its civilizing mission became decisive.

Finally, the exhibitions in Stockholm and Gothenburg aimed to reach a wider audience. But to know how to understand the more than ten thousand objects on display, a booklet by Hjalmar Stolpe was required. Being able to organize, define and compare the ethnographical objects was of great importance. Stolpe's own activities on the expedition negotiated credibility, authority and expertise. At the time, the Vanadis expedition was considered a most fruitful journey in terms of diplomatic contacts and scientific research. However, in Swedish history it was soon compared to the more successful Eugenie expedition and therefore considered to be of less importance. Nevertheless, the Vanadis expedition was during its time considered an important journey foremost in regard to diplomatic contacts and scientific research. Still, to modern viewers its testimony of racial stereotyping and male imperial gazes read quite differently.



WILD WEST SHOW

Brä



På genomresa gifver

under ledning

föreställningar

**Onsdag, Torsdag, Fredag,
Lördag och Söndag.**

Onsdag och Torsdag fr. kl.
Fredag och Lördag hela d
Söndag från kl. 6 e.

OBS! Endast dessa 5 dagar i Örebro.



Poster: Brasil Jack i Örebro [Brasil Jack in Örebro], 1899. Courtesy of the National Library of Sweden, Stockholm.

PART TWO

Race and Popular Media

Shows, Exhibitions and Attractions

A VAST MEDIA LANDSCAPE

Numerous newspapers reported in the early summer of 1897 that rattan was out of stock in the shops of Motala, a small town in Sweden, due to the boys' love of playing "Texas Jack" ("cowboys and Indians").³⁸⁷ The canes served as "pipes" for the youngsters and the game included several occasions of "smoking the peace pipe", according to one account. Hence, rattan sold out immediately.³⁸⁸ A correspondent in the local Swedish paper *Kalmar* went on to describe how the instant success of "Texas Jack" had created a renewed desire: "All roosters in the city have been robbed of their most shiny feathers, all aniline dye has been used to paint redskin faces, and the boys have appeared with decorated Indian hats, a light cat skin thrown over their shoulders; the trousers decorated with feathers and tomahawks in their hands."³⁸⁹ The boys, in short, were painting their faces red and using props to create the "real" Wild West.

The Norwegian born Carl Max Alexander Rhodin was the man behind the show "Texas Jack". He had been touring with his concept in Scandinavia since the early 1890s.³⁹⁰ In fact, at almost the same time as the originator of the Wild West performance: William Fredrick Cody's Buffalo Bill's Wild West.³⁹¹ The American act was first introduced to an European audience in 1887, touring England, France, Italy, Austria, Germany and the Netherlands.³⁹² Cody visited London during the celebration of the golden jubilee of Queen Victoria's fifty years on the throne.³⁹³ Cody's performance became very popular and several different

2. RACE AND POPULAR MEDIA

circus troupes copied the sensational staging of “cowboys and Indians”. Rhodin was thus not alone: the German troupe, Circus Busch visited Sweden, claiming to have American Indians in their acts, at the same time as Cody toured the Continent.³⁹⁴ Authenticity was the word commonly used both in the press and in advertisements, when describing the uniqueness of these variations of Buffalo Bill performances in Sweden. The children’s play in Motala thus had a specific context.³⁹⁵ Authenticity was also decisive in Cody’s initial act in the early 1880s, with his famous ability to make the West come alive on stage, with props and hundreds of animals and actors.³⁹⁶

“Part Two: Race and Popular Media – Shows, Exhibitions and Attractions” investigates how visual representations of the colonial world in Swedish contemporary entertainments were established, circulated and given meaning.³⁹⁷ It takes its point of departure from a mass culture context, although science – and especially race science – were exceedingly intermingled into popular media and entertainment formats. Furthermore, the analysis wishes to explore how a mutual vision of the European colonial project and its civilizing mission was created through visual strategies and descriptions within popular culture. Hence, the second part of the dissertation will also reveal the presence of a colonial discourse in the last decades of the nineteenth century Sweden, and to some extent Scandinavia. Moreover, I will show how common and widespread these representations were. For example, the Wild West performances did not only tour bigger cities such as Stockholm and Gothenburg; they also found their way, for example, to Kalmar, Gävle and Sundsvall.

The appearance of race was a major concern in nineteenth-century Europe – not least since it was popularized in various ways. Among them were contemporary entertainments and the press.³⁹⁸ I argue that the Swedish audience had to negotiate within a vast media landscape rather than a specific medium. Wild West performances, for example, had a long and entangled media history. Initially, people from all over Scandinavia had the possibility of “looking at” American Indians on display in the so-called ethnological exhibitions and circus acts.³⁹⁹ In advertisements on posters and in the press “authentic and real Indians” were more or less constantly on show with other Indigenous population: the Zulus, the

Nubians and the Australian Aborigines among others. Predecessors such as P. T. Barnum's "Freak Shows" from the 1840s and Carl Hagenbeck's Völkerschau in Berlin, from the early 1870s, were re-staged and attracted large audiences.⁴⁰⁰ In Copenhagen, the ethnological exhibitions at the Tivoli were a well-known attraction and displayed hundreds of Indigenous groups beginning in 1878.⁴⁰¹ Furthermore, several "former slaves and runaways" were performing in townhouses, cafés and other establishments.⁴⁰² The audiences were promised a glimpse of "Real Authentic Negros" as the advertisements complacently proclaimed.⁴⁰³

The Wild West performances and ethnological exhibitions can thus be perceived as parts of a wider circus discourse in Sweden, which reached both bigger cities and smaller towns from north to south.⁴⁰⁴ Another contemporary and popular amusement was the wax museum and touring wax exhibitions, which displayed both historical and contemporary events. When the Swedish Panopticon was established in 1889 it was said that Stockholm was finally a modern city, comparable to Copenhagen and even Paris.⁴⁰⁵ Numerous extraordinary scenes could be viewed, ranging from the royal family having coffee in the Royal Palace, to the Arctic expedition and the murderer Deeming, to be found in the basement.⁴⁰⁶ The wax museum was both educational, with information leaflets, and served as entertainment. Crucial for my argument is that in several wax tableaux, depictions of colonial events were staged, for example the aforementioned display of Henry Morton Stanley and lieutenant Peter Möller.⁴⁰⁷ The common denominator for Wild West acts, ethnological exhibitions and wax displays was their emphasis on authenticity. A similar interest in realism and naturalism could also be seen in the visual arts and literature in the last decades of the nineteenth century. To juxtapose these entertainments, the Oriental Maze Salons [Orientaliska irrgångssalongerna] that emerged basically at the same time, mostly stood out as fantasy with glass mirrors and wax figures in exotic costumes.⁴⁰⁸

Colonial themes had thus found their way into contemporary entertainment and leisure culture and circulated in various media. For example, Oriental topics were seen at the Royal Swedish Opera and in theatre plays as well as in the art galleries, displaying "harems and battle scenes" and illustrated novels such as *One Thousand and One Nights*.⁴⁰⁹ In addition,

2. RACE AND POPULAR MEDIA

private and public smoking chambers in orientalist style were also in fashion and “oriental” influences in Swedish architecture could be seen in the last decades of the nineteenth century. For example, the great exhibition hall in “Moorish style” by Ferdinand Boberg, from the Stockholm Exhibition of 1897, became a popular attraction.⁴¹⁰ The Swedish audience had many attractions to choose from; the public could contemplate the Wild West performance in novels, cartes de visite, newspaper, posters – besides the actual show. Still, how did these representations create a mutual vision of the European colonial project and its civilizing mission? How was race mediated, understood and given meaning? Departing from a media culture that was popular and appreciated regardless of class, the second part of my study will elaborate on and explore these questions further.

ASTONISHING REALITY:

RE-ENACTMENTS OF BUFFALO BILL'S WILD WEST

The American performance Buffalo Bill's Wild West received critical acclaim in the last decades of the nineteenth century. In 1889, the show was in Paris at the World's Fair, as part of the American showcase.⁴¹¹ The account below from a Swedish local paper claimed that the new show could not be avoided. In the whole of Paris, image-based posters of Buffalo Bill's Wild West were displayed everywhere and the breakthrough was a fact: “Buffalo Bill, wherever you turn you will find Buffalo Bill on horse, Buffalo Bill chasing buffaloes, Buffalo Bill domesticating ‘mustangs’ or fighting with the Indians,” exclaimed the article. It went on to describe the appearance of the main protagonist: “Buffalo Bill with his high and free forehead, his daring eagle nose, his black hair curling down all the way to his knees and with his big wide hat jauntily thrown back on the neck.”⁴¹² The Wild West performance was even said to compete with the Eiffel Tower.

The report discussed the acts at length, giving full accounts of the origins of Buffalo Bill. The reporter not only informed readers, but the depiction also helped to convey the magnitude of the performance,

reaching a large audience. For example, Cody's camp contained both a large double canvas tent and several "wig-wams" and tents of cowboys that were an attraction in themselves.⁴¹³ The public was free to visit the camp before or after the acts. According to the account, the arena was as big as half of Humlegården park in Stockholm. Thirty to forty thousand spectators were able to see the show and the entrance ticket was as low as two francs.⁴¹⁴ In short, Buffalo Bill's Wild West was a performance with cowboys and Native Americans that portrayed life on the frontier, the West. Next to the title attraction of Buffalo Bill, the most popular stars were the American Indians, often called the Show Indians.⁴¹⁵

The Wild West performance became an immense success as it toured around North America and Europe, depicting the peak of the expansion and colonization Westward.⁴¹⁶ It was described as a "glorious West" founded around the adventures of "cowboys and Indians".⁴¹⁷ The use of real participants involved in the conquest of the American West was the main reasons of fascination.⁴¹⁸ Furthermore, it is important to note that while the performance was commercial, the managers asserted that one of their main objectives was education, and that claim was repeated and reinforced by contemporary commentators: "It is not only entertaining because of its novelty, but its paramount instructiveness, and no one who has read the history of the Western States over the past quarter of a century can fail to appreciate the object lessons of the Wild West Show."⁴¹⁹

Displays of Native Americans did not, however, originate from these shows or the Wild West. Instead, as historian L. G. Moses describes, they were rather as old as the Europeans' very first encounter with the Americas.⁴²⁰ Christopher Columbus, for example, returned to Spain and displayed nine American Indians as living proof of his arrival.⁴²¹ When Europeans travelled later on they would convey Native Americans to Europe, sometimes to act as guides for future expeditions – or simply as hostages.⁴²² It was also true that some American Indians were taken abroad for the only purpose of enriching their commander.⁴²³ Moses explains how three centuries after Columbus, "European scientists surveyed Native Americans; painters were commissioned to do portraits; royals received them as fellow sovereigns and bestowed gifts."⁴²⁴ Moreover, philosophers discussed their behaviour and writers wrote about the

2. RACE AND POPULAR MEDIA

condition of their human souls. The “strange and exotic creatures” of the Americas created an interest for generations of Europeans. Among these were the American Indians, who were closely associated with the making of the national myth of the Frontier and the West.⁴²⁵ Moses claims that America was a place which could: “ignite fantasies of remote explorers. Instead of a geographical expression, the West became, in the imaginations of the Americans stranded in the cities and towns of the late nineteenth century, a wild region inhabited by even wilder humans, some white and brown, but most red.”⁴²⁶ Historian Richard Slotkin states that one of the most long-lived and persistent myths has been the “Myth of the Frontier.”⁴²⁷ According to Slotkin, all that was significant in American history was represented in the story of expansion and colonization westward into the wasteland.⁴²⁸ At the same time a number of Americans were envisioning extending this destiny to an overseas empire.⁴²⁹ The frontier became important for staging one’s own national identity.

The Buffalo Bill’s Wild West acts were thus part of celebrating the dominion over the West, the last frontier. The performances became one imperative feature when establishing the American identity and it depicted a new, brash and confident America.⁴³⁰ Historian Sam Maddra has argued that the performance worked on a number of levels. The performers were introduced to the audience as the exotic Other, the savage who needed to be controlled, justifying the subjugation of the Other and in so doing also “legitimizing American manifest destiny.”⁴³¹ Historian Birgitta Steen asserts that Scandinavians and other Europeans referred to America both as a topographical area and a political nation.⁴³² In the Nordic mind, America existed as both a foreign country and a familiar land. It was moreover an emotional and intellectual construction and it served both as a country to “discover” and a myth. The German author Johann Wolfgang von Goethe claimed that America was not a continent but a mental condition.⁴³³ Among other Europeans he held the impression that America – the New World – was the future.⁴³⁴ America was consequently transformed into a utopian ideal, established during the Enlightenment.⁴³⁵

124 The fascination with the Wild West performances should be regarded within such a context. These performances reinforced the image of



George Catlin, *Nord-Amerikas indianer och de, under ett åttaårigt vistande bland de vildaste af deras stammar, upplefvade äfventyr och öden* [The manners, customs, and conditions of the North American Indian] (Stockholm: PG Berg, 1848). Courtesy of the Uppsala University Library of Carolina Rediviva, Uppsala.

America and cultivated the dream of independence. Another central concept besides the utopian territory was the belief that the American Indians were doomed to extinction by the civilization process.⁴³⁶ It became the most romantic of all impressions concomitant with the American Indians.⁴³⁷ The image of the predestined and dying race was produced and appreciated in ephemera, literature and the visual arts, besides the dominant medium at the time: the press.⁴³⁸ The Swedish audience could for example read about the subject in the article “Äro Nord-Amerikas Indianer en af naturlig orsaker bortdöende stam? [Are the American Indians of natural causes an extinct tribe?] (1879) in the year book *Ymer*. Before the Wild West performances, George Catlin introduced displays and performance in the mid-nineteenth century.⁴³⁹ Catlin wrote several books about Native Americans, with one of the best known, *The manners, customs, and conditions of the North American Indian* (1841), translated into Swedish in 1848 and reprinted on several occasions.⁴⁴⁰ Authenticity was central to

2. RACE AND POPULAR MEDIA

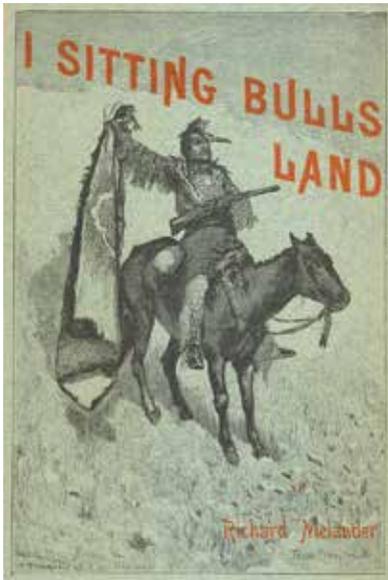
Catlin's work, and his displays are often said to be the first Wild West acts.⁴⁴¹

Prior to these shows, Swedish audiences had encountered narratives of the Westward expansion in the illustrated press. For example *Svenska Familj-Journalen* had recurrent pieces, and one of the most popular was that of "Uncle Barkman's stories" in the 1860s about immigrants' encounters with American Indians.⁴⁴² Another important aspect was the circulation of the popular and inexpensive dime novels depicting life out on the frontier in the 1870s.⁴⁴³ The character Buffalo Bill was a well-known figure for Swedish audiences. The Wild West became, as historian Robert F. Berkhofer Jr. claims, "dime novels come alive."⁴⁴⁴ Interestingly, Cody's performances were remediated into dime novels by Ned Buntline, and these circulations of Wild West performances made them even more popular.⁴⁴⁵

These novels were introduced to Swedish readers early on; hence Westward expansion and colonization were familiar themes when the first acts of the Wild West appeared.⁴⁴⁶ The Swedish reviewers preferred the more authentic stories and admired novelists such as the Frenchmen Gabriel Ferry and Gustave Aimard, as well as Britain's Fredrick Marryat and Mayne Reid.⁴⁴⁷ In addition, the most popular books in Sweden about American Indians were those by American writers such as James Fenimore Cooper and Edward S. Ellis, and German author Karl May, which had been translated and were dominating the market in the last decades of the nineteenth century.⁴⁴⁸ As literary historian Yvonne Pålsson has shown, at the same time Swedish authors were also publishing stories of the West, clearly inspired by the American and European authors.⁴⁴⁹ The novels about Native Americans and the Westward expansion grew immensely popular in Scandinavia and when the Wild West act began touring in Sweden, the crowds came in their multitudes. As Gunlög Fur notes, the distribution of European and American publications of literature and images did not move exclusively in one direction but should be seen as a more complex activity.⁴⁵⁰

In general, the Wild West performances were either included in the regular circus show or staged as a side act. This was in contrast to Cody's acts, which were never part of a circus troupe; instead Cody was quite

SHOWS, EXHIBITIONS AND ATTRACTIONS



Richard Melander, *I Sitting Bulls land*. *Skildringar från gränslivet i Amerikanska Västern* [In the land of Sitting Bull. Stories of the life on the frontier in the American West]. Ill. Fredrick Remington (Stockholm: Bonnier, 1892). Courtesy of the Uppsala University Library of Carolina Rediviva, Uppsala.

Karl May, *På lif och död eller fångad och befriad* [On life or death or captured and freed] (Stockholm: Ol. Hansen, 1897). Courtesy of the Uppsala University Library of Carolina Rediviva, Uppsala.

determined to distinguish it from other performances.⁴⁵¹ Circus troupes travelling in the Scandinavian countries such as Circus Madigan, Circus Lindberg, Circus London, Circus Busch, Circus Schumann, Circus Orlando and Circus Leonard *all* included Wild West acts.

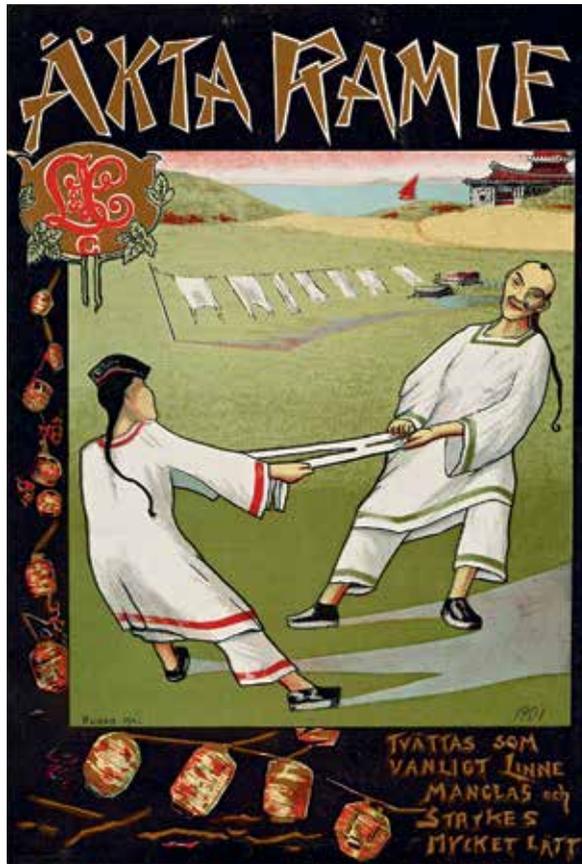
First Impressions – The Posters

Besides the numerous accounts in the press and the dime novels, a plethora of visual representations emerged *before* the shows. The posters that advertised the Wild West performances were one of the first features the audience came across.⁴⁵² As stated, posters of Buffalo Bill were everywhere in Paris during the summer of 1889.⁴⁵³ Jules Chéret's lithograph

2. RACE AND POPULAR MEDIA

techniques from the 1870s were then established and made it both cheaper and faster to produce advertisement posters.⁴⁵⁴ The colour techniques that Chéret introduced were transforming how a poster could look and the displays of posters practically changed the urban city.⁴⁵⁵ Lena Johannesson has described how the Trade Marks Act [varumärkeslagen] of 1884 simplified the design of the products.⁴⁵⁶ The act became one of the main drivers of the new visual rhetoric.⁴⁵⁷ The popularity of posters could also be seen in Sweden and the circuses were one major group that made use of it, reaching a broader audience. The technology to produce cheaper posters with pictures changed the way to promote shows, commodities and leisure activities.⁴⁵⁸ In the self-conscious fin-de-siècle, the poster's visual rhetoric was accordingly discussed at the time. In February 1883 *Ny Illustrerad Tidning* published a long article about the effects the posters had in Stockholm and around Europe.⁴⁵⁹ "Most countries, including Sweden, have allowed posters at train stations. Now it has been discovered that the arrivals hall is a very good place for posting posters, and Sweden was, with the exception of America, the first country to use posters in that way. The method is practical, as indicated by its usage in countries such as France, Belgium and Germany."⁴⁶⁰ The public space was therefore recreated and the visual rhetoric became of great significance in attracting crowds. The poster could show information with one single image, and functioned on several levels.⁴⁶¹ For example, the initial Buffalo Bill image-based poster displayed who the main attraction was and what the show was about, with further depictions of costumes, tents, American Indians and the wilderness in the background creating an "authentic" narrative not to be missed. Therefore posters were most effective in highlighting the Wild West performances but also displayed what the audience was *expected* to experience. Cody used posters early on for marketing purposes, along with other circus companies such as Barnum and Bailey.⁴⁶² They saw the advantage of promoting the shows before, during and even after the performances. In this way, they created a buzz around the performances.

Similar visual practices were also seen in Sweden. Expressions such as "No one should miss the show", "What everyone ought to see" and "You won't be disappointed" were catch phrases to attract audiences – besides implying that Wild West performances were something extraordinary,



Poster: Äkta Ramie [Authentic ramie], 1901. Courtesy of the National Library of Sweden, Stockholm

not to be missed. There was a fierce competition for audiences, who had several touring exhibitions and entertainments to go to, and the straightforward visual rhetoric was crucial for success. For example, the posters' visual markers such as bold letters and images were important in attracting the public. The posters often played with different visual markers such as “ethnic” typefaces. For example, when the Swedish company Österlund & Andersson was going to sell clothing containing ramie (natural fibres grown in Eastern Asia), they “imitated” characteristics from the Chinese written language to make a reference to the country as a whole.

2. RACE AND POPULAR MEDIA



Poster: Orientaliska-irrgångssalongen [Oriental maze salon] 1890. Courtesy of the National Library of Sweden, Stockholm

With regard to the Wild West shows, a certain aesthetic approach was also taken in relation to typefaces. The connotations of authenticity developed into rusty and bold letters. Rustic and clear letters were in favour (over the more sophisticated typefaces) in Wild West posters. Exclamation marks on “See the posters!” or the manicule to the headline, “Look for more info on the posters”, were small but not insignificant marks, as also shown on the poster for the Oriental Maze Salon.

The symbol functioned as punctuation, called an index, manicule or fist. This symbol was in common use between the twelfth and nineteenth centuries in the margins of books, and was included in lists of standard punctuation marks. Its typical use was as a bullet-like symbol to direct the reader’s attention to important text, having roughly the same meaning as the word “attention” or “note”. These manicules indicate, I would argue, not only a new place in which to find information, but also

introduced a novel visual language. They illuminated how different media were dependent on each other: the poster's manicules could refer to the press and vice versa. The manicule, in short, alluded to various forms of entangled and interconnected media; it suggested that the audience should look at the posters, read the press, or buy the photographs. As seen in the poster above, manicules were to be found on all posters, and were not exclusively for promoting entertainment.

Wild West Performances

There were several differences between the American Wild West performance and the acts performed in Sweden. The American performance in Paris consisted of several different acts, spanning three to four hours. The theme was mainly life out on the prairie:

The stage coach arrives, and then a couple of Indians are seen and they are crawling in the woods, they trick, and they attack and a wild fight begins, but then Buffalo Bill arrives and saves the cowboys. Or another scene with the settlers. The settler comes home after the hunt and is greeted by his wife, and he ties his horse next to the house before he enters. Then the Indians come. Charging the house, they set it on fire and chased the unhappy settlers ahead of them. But the flames that rise into the sky are a signal to Buffalo Bill – the avenger– and he frees the prisoners. [---]Even the Indians give special performances. They show their war dances, their sun dances, their love dances etc. and finally they show a battle between themselves. They are also in reality five different tribes: Sioux, Arraphoc, Brules, Ogallalla and Cheyenne – and they are difficult to control.⁴⁶³

The above account highlights the repetition of the same story in which Buffalo Bill saves the day for the White settlers. But what is perhaps more interesting is that there were special performances without the settlers, which emphasized American Indians as the main attraction. The Swedish public was also informed what the different tribes were performing and given news about their current status with remarks such as “difficult to control”.⁴⁶⁴ At the end of the 1880s most of the Westward

2. RACE AND POPULAR MEDIA

expansion was well underway.⁴⁶⁵ Yet a few areas remained and the American Indians were forced to the various reservations.⁴⁶⁶

What makes a visit to the Buffalo Bill's Wild West so interesting is partly because everything is so grand. It is really something to see 3-400 people on horseback in the circus arena, and secondly it gives a true and authentic image of the wild life that has been and still continues out there, the fight between the white and the red – a fight for life – which has run for such a long time. And nothing is of the circus fashion. The costumes are not made on the spot. The brisk cow-boys and Vaquiros [sic.] are not dressed up in theatre costumes – their tiny, sturdy costumes, the material, the wagons, everything is real.⁴⁶⁷

There are basically five aspects which are crucial in understanding the success of the performance. The show rested firstly on authenticity claims; the reality was depicted as “a fight for life”. Secondly, the grandness of the acts was central, with hundreds of actors contributing to “the authenticity”. As L. G. Moses has asserted, authenticity was the key issue for the show.⁴⁶⁸ Thirdly, the visual performance with clothes, material, weaponry, horses, actors et cetera was vital for its narrative. As the quote above claimed “everything is real”. This “astonishing reality” could be seen in the smallest details. The fourth characteristic was the narrative of the good and bad life, suggesting that hard work was interlinked with independence. In this way, the Wild West came not only to visualize an American life and identity, but also to set an example of living a moral life. Historian Joy S. Kasson has explained it as crucial for the understanding of the success of the Wild West acts.⁴⁶⁹ The fifth aspect concerned the exoticization of the American Indians, who were seen as a soon to be extinct human race. It was “the last chance to see these people and traditions”. As a Swedish reporter at the 1889 Paris World's Fair declared: “And the redskins! If you doubt them, visit them as I did after the show, to see them in their wigwams, at their fires and you shall soon see that they are real.”⁴⁷⁰

Claims of authenticity and grandness were also the main and initial statement in text-based posters. The public was informed that the attraction would be for all the senses: fighting, playing and hunting



Poster: Cirkus Busch Sioux-Indian-Truppen [The Sioux Indian troupe], 1 February 1887, Jönköping. Courtesy of the National Library of Sweden, Stockholm.

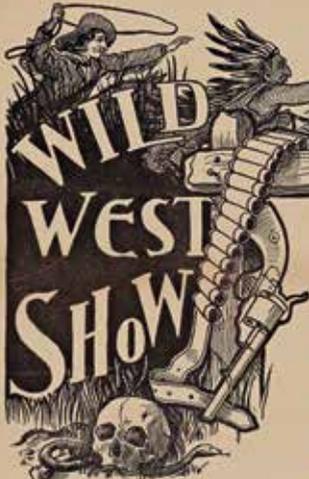
scenes. Even if the narratives of the good and bad life were not explicitly written out, at least some in the audience would know from Swedish dime novels that these entertainments were about White settlers and their struggles on the frontier among “hostile Indians”. The exoticization of the American Indian was emphasized as the main attraction, a soon to be extinct group. The Darwinian notion of “the survival of the fittest” was explicitly thematized in the performances. The Circus Madigan performance, for example, was more directly related to the narratives of the good and bad life on the frontier. The show’s features were also visualised in image-based posters. A Brazil Jack Wild West poster from 1899 – previously known as Texas Jack, whom Motala audiences met in the 1890s – depicted Brazil Jack chasing an American Indian. Attributes such as guns, bullets and a bullet holster, lasso, wild horses and a vanitas symbol could be seen.

It was undoubtedly the Native American performers who were one of the main attractions of the Buffalo Bill’s Wild West performances. 133



WILD WEST SHOW

Cirkus BRASIL JACK
(invid Auktionskammaren)
 gifver sin första föreställning Torsdagen den 1 Juni kl. 8,15 e. m. samt Fredagen den 2 Juni kl. 8,15 e. m. Lördagen den 3 Juni kl. 8,15 e. m. och Söndagen den 4 Juni gifves 2 föreställningar, den första kl. 6 den andra kl. 8,15 e. m., för sista gången härstädes. ==
 För hvarje föreställning nytt program.
 (2860) **Brasil Jack.**



WILD WEST SHOW

Brasil Jack
 i Örebro.
 På genomska gifver **Brasil Jacks Cowboy-Karavan**
 under ledning af **Direktör A. Alberti** från Paris,
 föreställningar i amerikanskt tält å **Hamnplatsen**
 Onsdag så Torsdag fr. kl. 6 e. m. | Ist: Nöje 50 kr; Lars 25 kr
 Fredag så Lördag hela dagen. | **Höghörselhall A. Alberti.**
 Söndag från kl. 6 e. m.

!!! Endast dessa 5 dagar i Örebro.

Advertisement in the press, "Cirkus Brasil Jack" [Circus Brasil Jack], *Dalpilen* 22 June 1899. Courtesy of the National Library of Sweden, Stockholm

Poster: Brasil Jack i Örebro [Brasil Jack in Örebro], 1899. Courtesy of the National Library of Sweden, Stockholm.

Their prominent leading role was fundamental to the story itself, and thus one of the reasons for its success. The American Indians played the roles of “the hostiles” that Buffalo Bill encountered and had to overcome.⁴⁷¹ The Native Americans were, as mentioned, perceived to be a race in decline and the Wild West performances played on this notion by advertising the act as being one of the last chances for the public to see a way of life that was soon to disappear.⁴⁷² Several scholars have claimed that the participation of the Show Indians has to be understood on many levels. It has mostly been seen as a “demeaning activity”.⁴⁷³ Moses has illuminated how the Wild West acts became a platform from which the Native Americans could speak out about mistreatment back home.⁴⁷⁴ They travelled around the world and they spoke of their cause and received much attention from the international press.⁴⁷⁵ As a matter of fact, the Swedish press often commented on the mistreatment of the American Indians.⁴⁷⁶

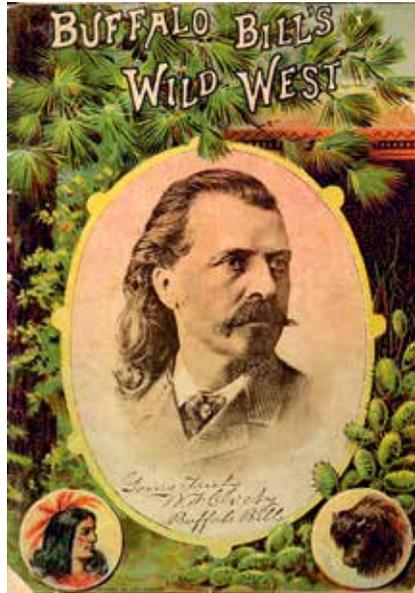
However, the Wild West performances were also reproducing stereotypes of the “violent American Indian” and the advertisements mainly sustained that image. As in the international posters, the Swedish posters often made the American Indians their main feature. It was also the “aggressive Indians” and their different encounters with cowboys that were the leading theme in the attractions. The text-based poster by Circus Busch promoted the show with the headline “the only authentic group that visited Europe”. In the aftermath of Buffalo Bill’s Wild West many troupes were formed consisting of Show Indians. Most of the circus troupes performed different more or less fictive characters of the Wild West, and a few were said to have real participants. In the poster from Circus Madigan, for example, the leading parts were played by the director and his wife. But in later shows, Circus Madigan advertised that authentic participants from North America would be performing. Circus Schumann was another company that had Native Americans performing. The preface to Richard Melander’s *I Sitting Bulls land: Skildringar från gränslifvet i Amerikanska Västern* [In the land of Sitting Bull: Stories of the life on the frontier in the American West] from 1892 describes how the Schumann circus had a couple of Sioux-Indians who danced their warrior dances and showed their skill in riding and shooting.⁴⁷⁷

and returned with the act in the following years. One example is Brazil Jack, who toured Scandinavia for more than a decade. The Wild West acts remained popular until the 1930s; by then the genre was of course well established in moving images.

Adjusting the American Narrative

Compared to the Buffalo Bills acts, Swedish performance troupes had to negotiate on all accounts: authenticity, grandness, visual performance, the narrative of the good and bad life and exoticization. One of the reasons behind this was of course a lesser budget. Most of the times the troupes were much smaller in scale and costly material and animals could not be afforded. If Cody's troupe consisted of hundreds of people, Circus Madigan for example, which was a large and prominent ensemble touring Sweden, consisted of forty actors at most. These negotiations can be seen in the posters below. Another compromise was reducing the programme. Cody's Buffalo Bill was a show which lasted for several hours, including special performances by the trick-shooting gun woman Annie Oakley and the "Congress of Rough Riders".

These performances or versions of them were seldom seen in Scandinavia. Instead the focus lay on certain acts between "cowboys and Indians". Shooting and throwing the lasso were, for example, standing features seen in Circus Lindberg, Circus Madigan and Circus Busch.⁴⁷⁸ The image-based poster however specifically detailed every act and performance. For example in the poster for Brazil Jack, the acts were divided into four parts. The last one would show target shooting, lassoing and shooting with an Indian bow. Besides the picture poster of Brazil Jack advertising the Wild West, the third and fourth part were also in bold letters. The audience would easily recognize the main attractions; the picture of Brazil Jack and the bold letters made it clear what not to miss. However, the poster implied that it was a grand show. But on closer inspection it was clear that it was Brazil Jack as *a one-man show* that the audience got to see. Then again, the visualization of "Brazil Jack" was clearly inspired by Buffalo Bill, with his long hair, moustache and "authentic" clothing.



Guide Booklet: "Buffalo Bill's wild west" 1889.
 Courtesy of the Buffalo Bill Museum and Grave,
 Golden, Colorado.

If the original performance by Cody elaborated on a moral narrative, the Swedish troupes were rather staging "highlights" without a particular story. Entertainment was thus paramount, not least in comparison with contemporary ethnological exhibitions displaying American Indians. These were also well established in Sweden at the time, and were often followed by a lecture about traditions, language and culture. A typical event such as the "Authentic Sioux Indians" in Wenersborg 1895 promised an extraordinary performance.

Authentic Redskins. No one should decline to go and see the Sioux Indians, which are shown in the Nyblomman vestibule, at the shoe factory. These rare people are shown during the agriculture meeting from 10 am to 10 pm. Tickets are 15 öre for adults, 10 öre for children.

Note: No one who visits will regret coming.⁴⁷⁹

Moreover, the press was the dominant medium for circulating news about the Native Americans and their current situation. If some of the 139

2. RACE AND POPULAR MEDIA

accounts were detailed about population, languages and culture, other notices in the paper narrated different “myths” and stereotypes about the American Indian, following the common narrative of “a blood-thirsty and greedy race”.⁴⁸⁰ The noble or ignoble savage was already well established as two stereotypical images of the American Indian. The press described these happenings and the people in the ethnological exhibitions as “exhibition objects”. For example, the article “De sista Indian höfvdningarna” [The last Indian Chiefs] (1905) discussed how the Sioux Indians “Apache Devil”, “Geronimo” and “Wolf Robe” had become exhibition objects in the World’s Fair in St. Louis.⁴⁸¹ Yet American Indians also received positive reviews when they travelled in circus troupes or the Wild West shows in Europe. By and large, contemporary discourse sometimes included criticism toward the colonization of Native American land. In 1882, *Illustrerad Familj-Journal*, for example, published a poem by Martin Kok and an illustration of fighting Indians “Hän öfver steppen” [Away across the grassland] which condemned the “pale men from foreign countries” who had stolen and colonized their land.⁴⁸² Contemporary popular culture hence included various forms of educational traits regarding, for example, ways of looking. When audiences went to see Wild West performances they were familiar not only with what they saw, but how they should look. Often the lectures with the displays narrated a moral story of the decline of the human race.

The man behind the “Texas Jack” show described above, Alexander Rhodin, was probably the most successful Wild West showman in Scandinavia. Rhodin’s acts became a huge success, and he toured with his famous Wild West act for many seasons in Norway, Finland and Denmark. However, his and other circus companies changed their names, either within the same year or even the same week. London Circus, Brazil Jack and Texas Jack were just a couple of name changes during the 1890s. Then again, Rhodin was well aware of the way to market oneself, and took great inspiration from Cody and the American circuses. He advertised extensively weeks before his shows, and when he entered a new town he invited the public to his camp to meet the crew. This was also what Cody did at the Paris World’s Fair. In addition, during his “advertisement walk” [reklam promenaden] as

SHOWS, EXHIBITIONS AND ATTRACTIONS



Carte de visite: Brasil Jack, 1907. Wikipedia Commons.

Rhodin liked to call it, he handed out cartes de visite to the audience before his shows. Fully dressed in a cowboy outfit he marched through the streets and greeted people, making headlines wherever he went. Similarly to Cody, Rhodin also made extensive use of the press. When US President Theodore Roosevelt, fresh from his big journey through Africa in 1906, visited the small Swedish town of Katrineholm on his way to Berlin, Brasil Jack (i.e. Rhodin) was there to receive him. The press followed Rhodin's account of the event. Brasil Jack was fully equipped in a cowboy outfit and had a band playing the "Stars and Stripes forever" when Roosevelt arrived. Moreover, flowers were given and photographs taken. It was said, according to Rhodin, that Roosevelt had claimed it to be "the funniest meeting in Europe".

The success was instant; people flocked to see the Brasil Jack performance over the following days. Rhodin toured with the Wild West

2. RACE AND POPULAR MEDIA

act for more than a decade. Intriguingly, when Rhodin became famous for his Wild West act, Cody was not in Europe. He had been forced back to New York in 1892 to stand trial for the mistreatment of his Show Indians.⁴⁸³ It was going to be another nine years before Cody returned to Europe. Meanwhile, several circus troupes in Europe continued the Wild West act while Cody was gone and copied vividly from his repertoire. The success of these enhanced and continued the success of Buffalo Bill – and Swedish audiences played their part in creating its enduring popularity. The fascination with Native Americans and the West in Sweden was sustained, with the interest also stemming from the large-scale migration to North America.

Gunlög Fur has analyzed how articles from *Svensk-Familj Journalen* framed the perceptions of America, of American Indians and the formation of the nation in the mid-nineteenth century.⁴⁸⁴ Fur argues that articles available to the American public filled Swedish immigrants with fear and prepared them for aggression in their encounters with American Indians, thereby becoming part of a politics of displacement – and sometimes one of ethnic cleansing. Hence, to visit the Wild West act was also to be able to see the land which so many Scandinavians had migrated to.⁴⁸⁵

The Wild West performances were, I would claim, thus both a nostalgic and contemporary staging of colonial events which connected the audience on many levels. In a similar way to the different mediated endeavours surrounding the scientific Vanadis expedition, these created a mutual vision of the European colonial project and its civilizing mission. A kind of imperial gaze was practised in the staging of Wild West performances. The audience would easily identify the struggle between two “races”, perceived in a strict hierarchy. In essence, portraying American Indians as the Other had the effect of uniting audiences in a more or less imagined Swedishness which spanned both class barriers and urban and rural areas. The Wild West performances could be seen in the bigger cities as well as in the smaller towns all across Scandinavia – and although Cody’s act never reached Stockholm, even the royal family was reported to have enjoyed the performance at Queen Victoria’s jubilee.⁴⁸⁶ Yet the Wild West acts were by no means exclusively

SHOWS, EXHIBITIONS AND ATTRACTIONS

reserved for the upper classes – the narrative was equally appreciated by the working class, and more importantly, it displayed how Swedish audiences were up to date with current entertainments and embraced new leisure activities.

INTIMATE STRANGERS – ETHNOLOGICAL EXHIBITIONS

Aftonbladet reported in early May 1886 about the on-going Colonial and Indian exhibition in South Kensington, London. 75 people were displayed: Three Punjabis, 19 Hindus, 15 Muslims, 6 boys from Bombay and Madras, 7 Sinhalese, 6 Malayans, 8 Chinese, “One Kaffir priest with wife”, Zulus, “Red Indians”, Australian Aborigines and Egyptians.⁴⁸⁷ Furthermore, the article declared that the people were comfortable and enjoyed their place in the exhibition, and kept most of their traditions such as “slaughtering sheep”. According to the press, the wife of the South African priest was “civilized”, and dressed in European clothes. The “winner of the ugliest people” was, according to the reporter, the Australian Aborigines. The British audience was very fond of the children on the set and the display area was a tranquil place compared to the loud noises made by the British workers who worked at the exhibition.

The excerpt from *Aftonbladet* highlights the popularity of the exhibition as well as the staging of Indigenous “everyday life”. As had been the case during the reception of the Vanadis expedition, the racial classification of the Australian Aborigines as “the lowest level of culture” was reinforced in the exhibition, in which different groups of people were ranked on the evolutionary scale. The interactions with the audience illuminated the many encounters which problematized the staging and human interactions further. These events were, however, not “cosmopolitan” or “foreign” events. The news brought to Swedish audiences about the London exhibition displayed a common interest and entertainment practice spread all around Europe: the ethnological exhibition.

2. RACE AND POPULAR MEDIA

Displays of the Other have a long history. Empirical sources show that in ancient Egypt, “black dwarves” from the Sudanese territories were staged.⁴⁸⁸ In the Roman Empire “barbarians and savages” walked the streets in Rome with the purpose of reinforcing Roman superiority and hegemony over the world. Beginning in the fifteenth century, explorers brought living or dead human specimens to the courts of European sovereigns.⁴⁸⁹ The strange, the different and the monstrous have thus long been matters of interest. Being connected to diverse types of display and areas of knowledge, the ethnological exhibition coalesces the functions of exhibition, performance, education and domination.⁴⁹⁰ These phenomena were the result of a combining of political, social and economical factors during the nineteenth century, which was well known for its interests in distant lands. The taste for far off places and exoticism is therefore crucial in understanding the different links between the ethnological exhibition and earlier visual staging such as the chambers of marvels.⁴⁹¹

To Amuse, To Inform and To Educate

The advertisement from Falu Hotel in 1886, found in one of the regional papers, showed a happening in the small town of Falun, Dalecarlia.⁴⁹² What was about to take place was advertised as a rare occasion – the forthcoming attraction was to see a “real African man”, who had been captured by a French captain and transported to Europe. According to the paper *Dalpilen*, “Uomogogowa” was going to be dressed in his “national costume” and he was going to show his skill in dancing and singing. Besides the information on the actual performance, there was also a comment on why this was a unique event. This “peculiar human race” was “completely wild”, a phenomenon to be found nowhere else but in Africa.⁴⁹³ Moreover, Uomogogowa’s religion was not Christianity but a pagan one; he worshipped the sun, the moon and animals.⁴⁹⁴ Even before the Swedish audience went to see Uomogogowa the crowd had received instructions on how to look, what to feel and experience. I argue that an imperial gaze structured these popular events, in which the Other was staged in a strict racial hierarchy. Both textual and visual

Zulukaffern
UOMOGOGOWA
 är anhörd hit och förevisas **å Falu Hotell,**
 1 tr. upp (ingång från gården), den 10 April kl.
 7-10 e. m. samt Söndagen den 11 April från
 kl. 5 till 10 e. m. **sista gången.**
 Denna märkvärdiga samenskornes härstammar
 från Afrikas urskegar, der de äro hölt och hållet
 vilda och föda sig af jagt och fiske samt frukt
 m. m.
 De bo på ihäliga träd eller i marken, och till
 bedja afgudar, såsom sol, måne, stjernor eller
 jorden, ormar eller andra djur m. m. Uomogo-
 gowa uppträder här i sin nationaldräkt och utför
 krigsdans och sång enligt sitt hemlands bruk
 Denna man har blifvit tillfångtagagen af en fransk
 sjökaptan och sedan öfverförd till Europa.
Vistelsen här blifver endast 2 dagar.
 Entré 50 öre, barn och tjänare 35 öre.
 (1113)

Advertisement: "Zulukaffern Uomogogowa" [The Zulu Kaffer Uomogogowa], *Dalpinen* 9 April 1886:14. Courtesy of the National Library of Sweden, Stockholm.

Advertisement: "Zulukaffern" [The Zulu kaffer], *Nyare Blekings-Posten* 5 March 1880:19. Courtesy of the National Library of Sweden, Stockholm.

På genomresa till Stockholm och endast
 några dagar.
En af optikens största uppfinningar
 eller den s. k. genomskinlige
Zulukaffern
 (en äkta Afrikansk neger),
 förevisas från och med i dag Fredag och
 tills vidare uti Hr Aug. Sandbergs lokal,
 Drottninggatan n:o 55.
Det är en verkligt lifvande menniska
 som man står framför och ser föremål som
 hålles bakom. Ej förut i Sverige förevi-
 sat. Entré 25 öre, (skolungdom 15 öre).
 Öppet från kl. 11 f. m. till 11. o. m.
 OBS. Ingen bör uraktlåta att se denna
 nyhet för dagen.

displays reinforced the notion of where the audience would place themselves in the event, as the above example displayed. Art historian Anna-Maria Hällgren's analysis of visual representations of social problems is an interesting juxtaposition to this study. Hällgren argues that representations of social ills such as poverty, prostitution and criminality should not only be seen as a presumed negative impact on society; these representations were also important in driving the vision to become a valuable resource. Hällgren asserts that representations of social problems were part of an instructional looking.⁴⁹⁵ Similar ideas were reflected in contemporary press and guide booklets that claimed that a lesson was to be learnt while watching the above performances.

The "zulukaffern" [Zulu kaffir] as a trope had been established long before Uomogogowa was being displayed.⁴⁹⁶ The fascination with this sort of performance, however, increased and flourished in the last decades of the nineteenth century. Several "Zulukaffers" were on display across Sweden at that time. For example, six years earlier an advertisement in one of the regional papers in the southern parts of Sweden

2. RACE AND POPULAR MEDIA



Poster: Zulukaffern Sam [The Zulu kaffer Sam] 1893, Westervik. Courtesy of the National Library of Sweden, Stockholm.



Poster: Zoolukafen Hackay [The Zulu kaffer Hackay] 1879, Jönköping. Courtesy of the National Library of Sweden, Stockholm.

displayed another man, without a name, describing him as “a real authentic negro”.⁴⁹⁷ Another example is the nineteen-year old “Soolukafen Hackay” from South Africa, who visited Kalmar. Both the press and image-based posters spoke about his capture and enslavement. It was claimed that the Indigenous boy was brought to London by a British captain and had been exhibited in England, and then set free, according to the circus director. Another performance that drew much attention was “Zulukaffern Sam” and his “warrior dances” – he was claimed to have followed Stanley for more than a year.

One of the most popular attractions was “The tour of ‘Bush-Negro Women’”. It toured for more than a decade around Europe, and visited Sweden from the late 1870s to 1890s. The information on their origins was narrated as two different stories. Either the two women, Miss Kitta Janson (Cetty Stjordt) and her niece Miss Alice Ruffen (Alice Refen), twice her age, were claimed to be born slaves from Alabama and sold four times. Other posters advertised that they were from South Africa



Poster: Busk-Negerqvinnor [Bush-Negro women] 1879, Gefle. Courtesy of the National Library of Sweden, Stockholm.



Poster: Tvenne brunskinnade Buske-qvinnor [Two brown skinned Bush-Negro women] 1876, Jönköping. Courtesy of the National Library of Sweden, Stockholm.

or South America. The advertisements also stated different spellings of their names. The circus director J. Sidoli sometimes advertised without his own name, and several posters displayed the two women as a solo performance without a connection to a circus company. In several posters it also looked like they were representing themselves without an agent.

The poster above did not show a photograph of the two African American women; instead an illustration displayed two women with identical haircuts, pierced ears and clothing. They were barefoot and holding their hands. The eyes, nose and mouth were exaggerated and the same black colour of their skin was seen in the big type letters promoting the show. Depictions of Black people were stereotyped and they were all portrayed in the same manner, men, women and children.

2. RACE AND POPULAR MEDIA

As art historians have pointed out, power relations were displayed by positions and postures. Textual framing also emphasized colonial ideas.⁴⁹⁸ Placing Indigenous people on their knees or far from the central focus implied a colonial setting and racial attitudes.

Different ethnological exhibitions were either connected to circus performances or could be displayed in their own right; in club houses, hotels, missionary buildings, public schools, libraries, community halls or factories. The performances went beyond the capital of Stockholm and were also popular in small villages and towns all over Scandinavia. For example the above-mentioned touring performances with Miss Janson and Miss Ruffen were staged in small towns such as Ängelholm, Kalmar and Falun. These ethnological exhibitions travelled to the bigger cities as well. There were different prices for adults, children and servants. The prices were as low as 25 öre for adults and 12 öre for children.

Shows were thus introduced to a broader population of farmers and workers, those who could not afford to go to museums, wax cabinets or the panoramas in the cities. Ethnological exhibitions often included “performances” of dancing, singing, fighting and eating; often these were said to be their special “talents”. For example, the presumed African American women were said to be very good at singing and South Africans at performing “hunting skills and specific warrior dances”. Almost all the exhibitions stated that the Indigenous people were runaways or former slaves. In addition, the displaying of Native women was often sexualized.⁴⁹⁹ As historians Rikke Andreassen and Anne Folke Henningsen claim, sexuality has always been a crucial component to understand the display of the Other.⁵⁰⁰ A dominant view connected to racial discourse was that non-Europeans had a different, and more explicit sexuality than Europeans. This was sometime emphasized in the discussed ethnological exhibitions.

148 However, the two African-American women described above were said to be “decent and dressed” in the posters, which implied that other exhibitions were not. The figure of the “Hottentot Venus” re-emerged and became a key element within the ethnological exhibitions displaying female bodies.⁵⁰¹ This kind of displaying of semi-naked women

could also be compared to the ethnographical photographs taken by by Oscar Birger Ekholm and Hjalmar Stolpe during the Vanadis expedition, as well as other colleagues in anthropology. Together with the posters, advertisements were important in producing and constructing *enticing knowledge* about the Other, as well as creating a colonial experience of distance.

Sociologist Robert Bogdan states that the ethnological exhibition was a staged performance which was researched, choreographed and presented in a distinctive pattern.⁵⁰² As seen from the Swedish posters and press, all the shows presented themselves as an extraordinary event. Still, the managers wanted to avoid charges of voyeurism and thus prided themselves on their educational credentials. Moreover, the directors of the show usually lied about the identity of the performers. The most popular way to promote a show was to use the exotic mode of presentation. It provided a principle for advertising literature, the staged appearance, the banners and other aspects of the “freak” promotion and display. “The exotic mode presented the performance to appeal to a large audience with ideas of the primitive and bestial,” Bogdan claims.⁵⁰³

The managers told the audience that they came from a strange part of the world and the Indigenous people would stage stereotypical and presumed manners of the countries represented. The actual narrative was going to maximize interest and exaggerating stories were common⁵⁰⁴ Thus, the staging of “racial diversity” was constructed around three distinct functions: to amuse, to inform and to educate. That meant that the same group could pass from an ethnological exhibition to music hall, from the science laboratory to a “native” village or circus act. As with the output from the Vanadis expedition, boundaries between science and popular culture were floating and constantly negotiated. Regarding shows in Sweden, ethnological exhibitions often combined a lecture and the actual show. It is important to note that a visit by the Swedish crowd was not just a chance to see racial diversity, but more importantly to understand one’s own place within the racial hierarchy.⁵⁰⁵

Historian Ingrid Millborn has analyzed posters of ethnological exhibitions.⁵⁰⁶ Although Millborn considers contexts of colonialism, science and entertainment practices, the psychoanalytical approach is central

2. RACE AND POPULAR MEDIA

to her analysis, which I argue is problematic. According to Millborn, posters of the African American women were for example not a display of submission but had a hidden latent message which reclaimed the women's position. Millborn states that the women's gaze and postures were not condescending, but they represented themselves and displayed what they thought the audience wanted.⁵⁰⁷ The argument Millborn gives is that the women "returned the gaze". However, in opposition to this I argue that images such as these should be taken more cautiously in regard to their visual rhetoric, and the racial stereotype on display. The poster was not a depiction of the women – but a racial stereotype made by an unknown artist. Moreover, the posters often depicted the Indigenous people as speaking with their own voice. The text and image worked together and were not separated. Instead they reinforced ideas of the Other in multiple ways. It is important to historicize how visuality was constructed; these images did not contain an inner meaning, but were created and given meaning in a specific context.

The Cunningham Shows and Caravans

For a couple of days now, people from Stockholm have with horror and fright sought out the big posters, which are plastered on walls and fences, which in a peculiarly naturalistic way visualize how the shipwrecked crew is eaten alive by cannibals. In truth, they are a real horror to see. Yesterday afternoon a few of these wild beasts in human disguise were shown at the Alhambra Concert Hall.⁵⁰⁸

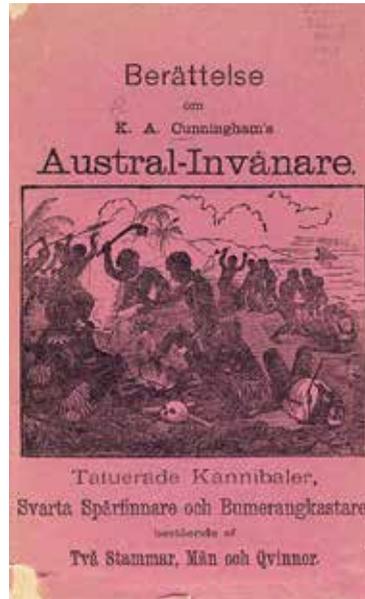
The Canadian theatrical agent Robert A. Cunningham's touring exhibition of Australian Aborigines became one of the most talked about colonial events in the 1880s. Cunningham's tour came to Scandinavia in 1886 and went on display for several months in Djurgården, Stockholm and Copenhagen.⁵⁰⁹ The press reported vividly about how the Swedish audience encountered not only the show but also the posters coating the walls. Already in 1882, Cunningham was approached by P. T. Barnum's agent while on the search for a group of Australian Aborigines to be exhibited in North America in the show "Ethnological Congress

2. RACE AND POPULAR MEDIA

of Strange and Savage Tribes”.⁵¹⁰ Cunningham obliged and found nine members of the Australian Aborigines.⁵¹¹ They performed with the Zulu, Nubian, Toda and Sioux performers who had been taken from other colonial territories.⁵¹²

As several scholars assert, Cunningham knew nothing of Aboriginal culture. Hence, his “actors” must have worked together as a group to develop a crowd-pleasing range of dances, songs, boomerang throwing and mock fights in stage costumes (as they deeply resented requests to be photographed naked).⁵¹³ Cunningham soon realized the value of professional photography, and sales of images became a feature of all the touring venues.⁵¹⁴ The same tactics were seen at the Wild West enactments. In 1884, Cunningham had left Barnum and toured Europe with the troupe. When the troupe arrived in Paris in 1885 only four of the nine had survived: Toby and Jenny who were married, their child little Toby, and another man, named Billy.⁵¹⁵ The other five had succumbed to illness and died along the way.⁵¹⁶ While in Paris, the four survivors stayed at the Jardin d’Acclimatation, a garden established to introduce and acclimatize exotic plants and animals. Eventually, in 1886, they reached Scandinavia. A brochure was republished in Swedish, which described the performance, and it was followed by reprinted documents from the Australian government and the international press.⁵¹⁷ When the show entered Stockholm, only three participants were alive and “displayed”.⁵¹⁸ The cover illustration of the Swedish edition was the same as the English and French editions from 1884.⁵¹⁹ It was not derived from a photograph displaying the nine Australian Aborigines, instead an image of “savages in the nineteenth-century Western imagination” was displayed. As historian Roslyn Poignant observes, “whatever their supposed ‘racial’ origins; they were said to be characterized by ‘ferocity’ and ‘treachery’; they practiced self-mutilation, lacked language and ate people.”⁵²⁰ The book cover displayed “the savages” feasting on the seashore. The Australian Aborigines dominated the picture frame, and a sunken ship could be discerned along with White settlers either dead or about to be feasted on. This image was also remediated into posters as previously seen, and was to be found earlier in Barnum’s advertisements in the United States.⁵²¹

Berättelsen om K. A. [sic] Cunningham's Austral-Invånare tatuerade kannibaler, svarta spårfinnare och bumerangkastare, bestående av två stammar, män och kvinnor [History of R. A. Cunningham Australian Aborigines tattooed cannibal, black trackers, boomerang and throwers, consisting of two tribes, male and female], 1886. Courtesy of the National Library of Sweden, Stockholm.



The image of “the savage” was a common trope in the visual arts and followed the conventions of depicting the others as naked, animal-like and wild. This imagery was common in displaying various Indigenous populations as “cannibals”, for example the advertisements for the “Wild Men of Borneo”, from the troupe Roylance & Co touring in the United States, depicted Indigenous people as “killing and feasting on shore”. In *Stockholms Dagblad*, the reader was informed about the event and the imagery was described as true and naturalistic in its depiction.⁵²²

If one analyzes the Cunningham booklet in detail, it began by stating that the displayed people belonged to an uncivilized human race; their traditions and customs had not reached the standard of modern civilization.⁵²³ The front cover reinforced such notions, and was also reproduced as posters to attract audiences. Cunningham’s own travels were described and before the description of the Australian Aborigines, he gave a statement on the difficulties in bringing them to Europe.⁵²⁴ The short brochure consisted of seven sections: “Their characters”,

2. RACE AND POPULAR MEDIA

“Peculiar customs”, “Their food”, “A strange weapon”, “The funny Australian dance by the cannibals”, “The black trekker” and “Peculiar burial traditions”. The edition followed the English and French versions, and various notices and articles from the international press such as the *Sydney Morning Herald*, *The Toronto World* and *Le cri du peuple* were to be found.⁵²⁵ The back cover of the book advertised the exhibition as:

The only troupe of these wild, devious, uncivilized people with red tattoos on their body and big rings in the nose and ears. Real blood-thirsty beasts in daunting human disguise, without intelligence and with little ability to speak. They perform peace, war, kangaroo, emu and tokato dances and their Midnight-Corroborés. Throwing with lance and boomerang.⁵²⁶

The quote reinforced the notion of the Other as without intelligence and language; it also implied that they were “beasts in human disguise”. The illustrated press highlighted the event on many occasions; *Ny Illustrerad Tidning*’s lengthy account “Kannibaler i Stockholm” [Cannibals in Stockholm] from 1886 described the event and was illustrated by the Swedish artist Ernst Ljungh. “[The show] has now found its way all the way up to our *ultima Thule*, the small tribe of Australian settlers, which have received much attention when they have been exhibited on the Continent, in London, Cologne, Berlin, Copenhagen, among other cities. [...] They are viewed daily by a fascinated crowd.”⁵²⁷

It was obvious that the booklet by Cunningham had served in *Ny Illustrerad Tidning* as background information. It literally repeated the narrative of Cunningham’s captures, and the public who were unable to attend the event got a vivid account. Unfortunately, as the reports stated, the exhibition space in the garden of the Alhambra was not a good place for the performance. But as the report went on, “they have been let out into an open space in Djurgården and there they have been able to show peculiar tricks.”⁵²⁸

Furthermore, in *Ny Illustrerad Tidning* race theories were explained as *comme il faut* for the Swedish audience. According to the article, the Australian Aborigine was on the lowest level of the human evolutionary scale, and was “inferior” to the African as well as to Europeans, with



"Australnegrerna i Stockholm. Silhouette af Ernst Ljungh" [Australian Negros in Stockholm. Silhouette by Ernst Ljungh], *Ny Illustrerad Tidning*, 26 June 1886:26. Courtesy of the National Library of Sweden, Stockholm

the same distance between the "Australian Negro" and the African. The article concluded that they were of two different types.⁵²⁹ The reader also learned that they spoke a few words of English, that they were satisfied with the food – but missed the kangaroos. Cunningham, himself stated that they were remarkable in eating but they could also starve themselves as animals do.⁵³⁰ The report described the throwing of a boomerang, which was compared to the hammer of Thor.⁵³¹ *Ny Illustrerad Tidning* concluded the article with information that these were soon to be an extinct race.⁵³² In addition, *Aftonbladet* reported that three "Australian-Negros" were shown, the child was not shy at all but the Swedish children were quite scared of the "cannibal."⁵³³ "They dance, sing, play and the impresario enlightens and displays what they can do."⁵³⁴ *Dagens Nyheter* also recounted the events from a press conference to which Cunningham had invited several Stockholm papers. "Mr. People-Eater took the cigar from his mouth and let out a couple of wild screams and then began to throw the boomerang."⁵³⁵

2. RACE AND POPULAR MEDIA

A report was seen earlier in *Dagens Nyheter*, in which it was stated that Cunningham described the actors as “truly blood-thirsting beasts.”⁵³⁶ However, the reporter perceived them as rather kind. They were not, according to the report, pretty to look at because of their appearances: devious with wigs and piercings in nose and ears.⁵³⁷ The visitor could touch them and feel their tattoos. They could actually handle them any way they wanted; but as the reporter said “as civilized citizens of Stockholm” they were cautious. The group was described as a “black-brown company”, which sang, danced and ran around like “wild beasts” in the audience.⁵³⁸ In the evening, a boomerang show was staged. A few hundred people watched Mr. Benny and Benny Junior throwing. However, the event was stopped by police officers.⁵³⁹ One should note that the excerpts from *Dagens Nyheter* and *Ny Illustrerad Tidning* accentuated the insensitive use of giving names such as “Mr. People-eater” or “Mr. Benny and Benny Junior”.

Descriptions of Indigenous populations as “cannibals” could also be seen in the popular comic strips published in the illustrated press.⁵⁴⁰ Racial stereotypes were continuously displayed on the last page of *Illustrerad Familj-Journal*, a section reserved for games and comic strips. The two main themes consisted of either “the Indigenous population meeting Europeans” – often referred to in the comic strip as “cannibals” – or “everyday life”. Within the first theme, the most common feature was the encounter with the white European (often male) that began with a threat by the “cannibal”, which lusted for human flesh. However, every comic strip ended happily with the Westerner tricking the “cannibal”.

The comic strip “Ett äfventyr på Nya Zeeland” [An adventure in New Zealand] elaborated on this narrative. The narrative showed the European traveller trapping the Africans with an umbrella, and thereby the European could escape being eaten alive. Historian J. H. Burma has identified two different cartoons; the anti-black cartoon expressed by Whites to reflect their alleged supremacy, and the anti-white cartoon in which whites were depicted as being outsmarted by “cunning blacks”. In the former, the derogatory Jim Crow stereotype of the nineteenth century was employed and transmitted in the urbanized Sambo charac-

Ett äfventyr på Nya Zeeland.



1) Den botaniska professoren: "Mycket vackert exemplar, verkligen mycket vackert! Med det skall jag förka min samling."



2) Han upptäcker tre vildar, som komma springande i full fart för att bemäktiga sig honom. "Men jag kan ju inte säga, att jag har rytmiskt lust att låta dessa tre karakter svärta mig till att förka sin samling af variteter. Elvud skall jag göra för att nedgå dem!"



3) Vänta litet — någon nyttja måste så väl denna parasol kunna göra som sköld — den laddas väl när skären får inte."



4) Vildarna slunga sina spjut och attackera sina plår med parasolerna, medan professoren förtviflat kryper in bland de låga växterna.



5) De vilde människornas anropa sig, begärliga efter en läckarebit, närmar sig att se efter det en fälla fräta vildebiten bakom parasolerna, men



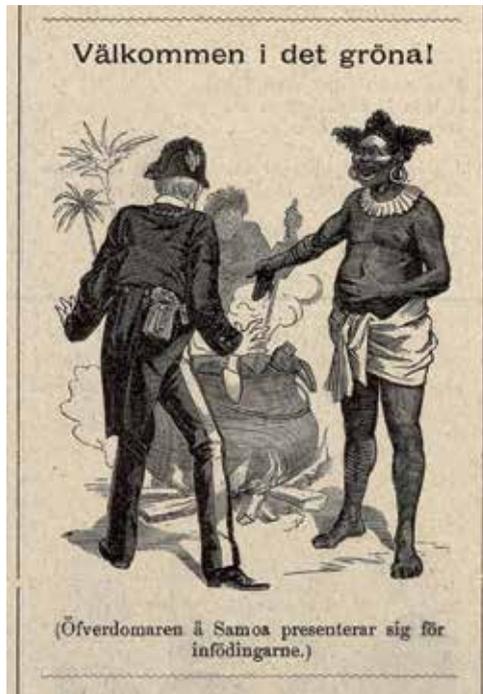
6) upptäcker till sin förvåning, att bytet är borta. Professorn begagnar dettas förvåning till att lägga benen på ryggen och söka komma å skad så fort som möjligt, men som han fick den sällsynta blomman med sig efter lösk, framstår icke denna historia.

ter, who always attempted, unsuccessfully, to imitate white culture with humorous consequences.⁵⁴¹ Anti-black cartoons were frequently seen in the Swedish illustrated press, but the anti-white cartoons were more rare. Instead comic strips about “indigenous behaviour” were often printed. Black people were caricatured as beasts and violent, as in the image below, part of a longer sequence on the brutal ways of the “savages”.

The depiction of Indigenous people was stereotyped graphically into exaggerating the mouth, eyes, ears and nose. The examples on p. 158 follow the same pattern, and men, women and children were depicted in an almost identical way. The themes, which were about “everyday life”, were often portrayed as everyday life activities of the “cannibals”, usually about “eating their own people”. The cartoon below showed how, after a marriage, the husband feasted on his own wife. In Anglo-American visual culture negative stereotypical images of Blacks and Irish were common, printed in periodicals such as *Harper’s Weekly*, *Puck* and *Judge*. These publications mirrored negative views of the Black population and other ethnic and religious groups. According to historian Richard Rice, newspaper cartoons in the late nineteenth century reveal the mind-set of the cartoonist, his editor and the reading public.⁵⁴² Visual and material objects of the developing mass production industrial society were full of images of black buffoons: “Books and short stories contained illustrations by prominent artists; commercial packages displayed logos; sheet music featured cover cartoons; wooden calendars were shaped into painted figures; knickknacks showed smiling faces on dancing bodies.”⁵⁴³ In *Söndags-Nisse* several cartoons and anecdotes about Indigenous behaviour were printed. The most common was the “cannibal theme” and in the comic strip on p. 160 the Indigenous people welcome the European into the cooking pot.

Moreover, in the last page of *Illustrerad Familj-Journal* different entertainment pieces were seen: crosswords, riddles and hand shadow figures. In some of the figures the reader could play with racial stereotypes. “The Negro” and “the Indian” had an exaggerated nose, mouth and head in profile. Besides Cunningham’s exhibition, several solo exhibitions and displays were seen around Sweden. For example, “Australian anthropophagi” in 1877 was seen in the southern parts, but also toured

2. RACE AND POPULAR MEDIA



Comic Strip "Välkommen i det gröna" [Welcome into the green], *Söndags-Nisse* 5 October 1890. Courtesy of the National Library of Sweden, Stockholm.

the whole country. In the poster for the advertisement, the Indigenous person was not given a name, but solely referred to as "the cannibal". He was brought from the Maori Islands of New Zealand and had previously been shown in all the larger cities: Paris, London, Berlin and Vienna. The performance consisted of dances, singing and eating in front of the audience. The event took place at one of the salons in the City Hall and was advertised as a "real example of a cannibal in Europe". The poster invited the public to examine the "Native's astonishing hair" and remarked that the show could be seen by both ladies and children. The image displayed a crouching man, with large hair, semi-nude and placed in the wilderness. It reinforced the message of the text, and moreover connected the man's closeness to animals. Other ethnological exhibitions and sideshows included: "Miss Ella, white negro" from Madagascar and her baby called "the mulatto", 1877 in



"Negern" [The Negro], *Allers Familj-Journal*, 28 April 1901:17. Courtesy of the National Library of Sweden, Stockholm.

"Indianen" [The Indian], *Allers Familj-Journal*, 26 May 1901:21. Courtesy of the National Library of Sweden, Stockholm.



Poster: Afrikansk-Neger Karavan [African–Negro caravan], 1895, Stockholm. Courtesy of the National Library of Sweden, Stockholm.

South Kensington. In Scandinavia several “caravans” were exhibited. But the groups from different countries were treated in rather different ways. One striking example was the “Sinhalese caravan” from Sri Lanka and the “Dinka caravan” from Sudan.⁵⁴⁴ The racial taxonomy was elaborated in many ways. Both groups were considered to be “uncivilized”, but they were also in turn strictly hierarchized with regard to each other. In 1890 a “Sinhalese caravan” was touring Sweden and *Dagens Nyheter* gave a vivid and detailed description of the event. It was the impresario Carl Hagenbeck who travelled with the group.⁵⁴⁵ The caravan came via Malmö, on a train carrying four elephants and oxen and their caretakers. A couple of days later the “main attraction” came by train.⁵⁴⁶ According to the report, the Sinhalese women were beautiful, with unusually beautiful white teeth, intelligent brown eyes and a fine appearance.⁵⁴⁷ The press got a preview of the show, which was staged at Stockholm’s Tivoli Djurgården in an enclosure in front of the café. A stage was set, in the background a couple of huts and a barrack where the group had their kitchen and sleeping places. The programme consisted of twelve features and played for one hour. According to the description the show featured: drum playing, sacrifice dance, elephants,

2. RACE AND POPULAR MEDIA



Photograph: "Sinhalese caravan". Courtesy of the Nordic Museum, Stockholm.

Uddacce dancers, driving ox-carriage, war elephants, wizards, devil dances, the "dwarf lady Verama" – who sang both "God save the Queen" and "Du gamla du fria" – dancing with sticks called "Cotton-Lie", celebratory dance and a festival procession for Buddha.⁵⁴⁸ Reviews were positive, and accordingly it was quite impossible to know what to admire the most: the athletic Sinhalese or the animals. The young women attracted much attention from the male audience with their appearance. The show was performed five times a day, with after-show refreshments served at the café. The reporter concluded that the Sinhalese crew had a strong impact and ought to be visited.⁵⁴⁹

An illustrated booklet was subsequently published in 1890, called *Singhaleserna: Invånare på ön Ceylon*. [The Sinhalese: Inhabitants of Ceylon]. The front cover displayed the Sinhalese performing a dance and the back cover illustrated the festival procession for Buddha. If one

as “brutal”, “savage” or “cannibal” at all. Instead the performers were referred to as “Inhabitants of Ceylon”. As with Cunningham’s publication, the illustrations were not based on photography but a drawing. However, photographic *cartes de visite* of the Sinhalese were sold after the shows. The women were fully clothed in traditional sarees and the children also wore clothes, as compared to the Australian Aborigines, who performed semi-naked. The booklet described the show and followed the previous pattern of claiming it to be one of the most interesting shows around. It described the flora and fauna of Sri Lanka but also of its history and religion. The population was thoroughly described: “they are of average size, the women are either light or dark brown.” Their hair was pitch black and their character was that of “submissive but cunning”. Their mental development, according to the booklet, was higher than most “Oriental people.” Moreover, they were described as being clean and concerned about their cleansing rituals.

In 1895, a group from Sudan reached Stockholm and Djurgården in the early summer. The advertisements were seen in the press and *Dagens Nyheter* reported on the event.⁵⁵⁰ 40 people were to be seen at Stockholm’s Tivoli; the summer weather had been tropical and the “caravan” seemed to enjoy the climate. The men were dressed in summer costumes and the women in European clothes. However, the account explained that the performances were not beautiful to look at. The visualization of race was of great concern, both in text and images – the pigmentation was regularly highlighted and emphasized. Descriptions often referred to skin colour in moral terms. The men were athletic and the women were curvaceous. The programme consisted of dancing and playing: warlike and peaceful. After the show, the Sudanese could be visited in their camp, where they made pancakes and talked to the visiting audience. This feature was also to be seen in the Wild West acts. According to the report, it was easy to make friends with the Sudanese. All in all, it was “a peculiar performance to watch and it was far cheaper than actually going to Africa. There was no danger in watching these people.”

Both the Sinhalese and the Sudan groups were described and visualized in stereotypes. Yet, some descriptions were ambivalent and accounts also spoke of positive attributes and aspects. Even if it is hard to

2. RACE AND POPULAR MEDIA

Stockholms
TIVOLI.

Öppet alla dagar från kl. 10 f. m.
OBS! Från och med *Freddagen den 21 Juni*
gäftar (å öfre platsen)

Dinka-Neger-Karavanen,
bestående af 40 personer
(infödingar från Sudan i Afrika),
Föreställningar
i Krigsdansar, Krigs- o. Fäktlekar, Krigs-
sånger och Hemlands-Ceremonier m. m.
Entré 50 Öre, hälften för barn.

Kristall-Salongen.

Hvarje afton **Stor Varietéföreställning.** Entré 1 kr.,
fr. kl. 7.30. Logepl. 1:50.

Stort, omväxlande program.

Nytt! Litte Carlsen, carriéneur
amusant.
Nytt! Gaetano Olloms, musikaliska
excentrics.

“Offentliga nöjen: Dinka caravan” [Public entertain-
ment: Dinka Caravan], *Dagens Nyheter*, 21 June 1895.
Courtesy of the National Library of Sweden, Stockholm.

empirically prove, it seems that racial stereotyping within popular culture was thus inscribed in the same kind of hierarchy as within “racial science”. In this case the Sinhalese were perceived as a “purer race” than the Sudanese – who in turn were seen as superior to the Australian Aborigines. Still, Swedes were situated above them all, even if it was not explicitly mentioned in press accounts, for example. Popular entertainment culture thus elaborated on scientific ideas, and spread the latter to a broad population.

However, it was not only the Indigenous population from the overseas colonial world that was staged. In Scandinavia, travelling circuses and ethnological exhibitions had several companies which staged Sámi people. In Stockholm, the outdoor museum Skansen by Arthur Hazelius displayed Sámi people. “Sámi villages” were also to be seen in the European metropolises such as Berlin’s zoological garden, as *Illustrerad Familj-Journal* reported enthusiastically in “Lappar i Berlins zoologiska trädgård” [Laplanders in Berlin’s zoological garden] in 1879. Rikke Andreassen and Anne Folke Henningsen who have surveyed ethnological exhibitions in Denmark around 1900 assert that the ethnological exhibitions displaying people from Africa, Asia, Australia or from the



“Lappar i Berlins Zoologiska trädgård [Laplanders in Berlin Zoological Garden], *Illustrerad Familj-Journal*, 25 May 1879:8. Courtesy of the National Library of Sweden, Stockholm.

Middle East among others reinforced the Danish national and white supremacy.⁵⁵¹ They argue moreover that the Danish “white race” was perceived as a positive example of how the human race had developed in the encounter with the “savage”. In addition, the Danish audience was part of a cosmopolitan and international community which engaged in colonial leisure practices.⁵⁵² Similar notions can be detected in the reception of the ethnological exhibitions in Sweden. The press commented on the racial hierarchy as well as creating a narrative of a belonging to the European colonial project and its civilizing mission. Moreover, it is important to consider that the national identity was not only construed in the juxtaposition of the Other. Swedishness, as Jeff Werner argues, was connected not only to the body but also the land-

2. RACE AND POPULAR MEDIA

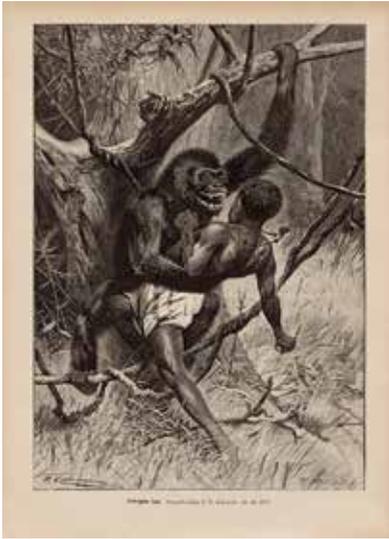


“Mestisen” [Mestizo] on the front cover of *Ny Illustrerad Tidning* (1886) by the Spanish artist José Maria Marqués. Courtesy of the National Library of Sweden, Stockholm.

scape. As Werner asserts that the development which created a white, Swedish landscape escalated during the last decades of the nineteenth century. Prior to, the thought that Nature was an economic asset had dominated.⁵⁵³

The fascination with race was recurrent and explicitly vivid, I would argue, in the Swedish illustrated press. For example, the illustration “Mestisen” [Mestizo] on the front cover of *Ny Illustrerad Tidning* (1886) by the Spanish artist José Maria Marqués portrayed a young man of

SHOWS, EXHIBITIONS AND ATTRACTIONS



"Urskogens fasa" [The horror of the primeval forest] from a drawing by Friedrich Wilhelm Kuhnert, *Illustrerad Familj-Journal* 1 September 1895:35. Courtesy of the National Library of Sweden, Stockholm.



"Leopardklädda människor" [People in leopard camouflage] from a painting by P. Brockmüller, *Illustrerad Familj-Journal* 3 January 1897:1. Courtesy of the National Library of Sweden, Stockholm.

both White and Native American heritage. The text informed of the various types which come from "mixing" races. The motif belonged to genre painting, the portrait displayed the face in profile, and the torso was slightly turned towards the picture frame. In other depictions the focus was also on the male black body and its "relation" to the animals.

Interest in people from other parts of the world was revisited on a regular basis in *Ny Illustrerad Tidning*. "Darwins felande länk" [Darwin's missing link] (1883) for example displayed a six-year-old girl from Borneo. The girl was named "Krao" and was "peculiar" in that she and her family were covered with hair over their whole body, linking them to apes. The interesting thing about "Krao" was that she was in between "human and monkey" – and thereby "Darwin's missing link". "Krao" was described in the paper as a lively and playful girl, but at the

2. RACE AND POPULAR MEDIA



"Darwins felande länk" [Darwin's missing link] in *Ny Illustrerad Tidning* 25 August 1883:34. Courtesy of the National Library of Sweden, Stockholm.

170 same time wild and hard to control. Thus, it was not only at the ethnological exhibitions that the audience could observe the "peculiar races". These also exhibited other people and events that shared an interest in the Other. In the last decades of the nineteenth century the Norwegian explorer and scientist Carl Lumholtz became famous in Scandinavia for his lectures about his travels to Australia. People went to see and listen to Lumholtz in Christiania, Copenhagen, Stockholm and Gothenburg, but also in smaller cities such as Helsingborg. The press followed these

27 Nov 1886, No 48

NY ILLUSTRERAD TIDNING

441





Carl Lumholtz och hans forskning i Australien" [Carl Lumholtz and his Research in Australia], Ny Illustrerad Tidning 27 November 1886:48. Courtesy of the National Library of Sweden, Stockholm.

FFOTON FRÅN AUSTRALISKA PARFELAND

illustrated lectures closely. The illustrated press was especially keen to document what Lumholtz exhibited in his lectures, from maps and artefacts to stereopticon slides. The Australian Aborigines were described in an article as people on “the lowest rung of the cultural ladder”. Lumholtz had, according to the report, studied them extensively and since they were an extinct group it was of great importance to study the Australian Aborigines as they were soon to disappear.

The illustrations in the illustrated press were especially keen to document what Lumholtz exhibited in his lectures, from maps and artefacts to stereopticon slides. The Australian Aborigines were described in an article as people on “the lowest rung of the cultural ladder”. Lumholtz had, according to the report, studied them extensively and since they were an extinct group it was of great importance to study the Australian Aborigines as they were soon to disappear.

2. RACE AND POPULAR MEDIA

which differed from the way the Indigenous population was portrayed in ethnological exhibitions. Nonetheless, the images portraying the Australian Aborigines were in the typical genre of “folk types”. One of the images in which two women were dressed in Western clothes contrasted with other illustrations, which showed a family in the wilderness and an older semi-naked woman smoking a pipe. Lumholtz’ accounts basically underscored the same views as Cunningham’s writings – again a lucid example of the lack of difference between the science and entertainment discourse on race.

Furthermore, the reports of Lumholtz travels were important in linking the colonial world and Scandinavia. The reports in, for example, *Tidning för Wenersborg stad och län* or *Ny Illustrerad Tidning* proudly presented Lumholtz as contributing to the overall civilizing mission, which the European empires had made their quest.⁵⁵⁴ Lumholtz donated large ethnographical objects to the Swedish Society for Anthropology and Geography, and received great recognition in Sweden for it.⁵⁵⁵ The Lumholtz narrative followed a theme, which was apparent in the many reports linking Scandinavians to a mutual vision of the European colonial project. Scandinavians were also to be seen where the civilizing missions took place. The same narrative could thus be found as previously shown in Stolpe’s accounts from the Vanadis exhibitions.

Racial Stereotypes and Physiognomy

In late nineteenth century, arguments about race were advanced in various media, ranging from detailed illustrations in scientific texts to highly exaggerated caricatures and lampoons, from portraits in oriental style in travel books to grotesque images on posters and ethnic entertainments. Some vivid examples can be found in the depictions of three southern African peoples: The Khoikhoi, the San and the Zulu. As seen previously in the ethnological exhibitions they were popularly known as “the Hottentot”, “The Bushman” and “the Kaffir”. An effective method of distancing non-Europeans from Europeans was through such stereotypical images. Visual culture stereotypes well known from the European empires were also visible and common in late nineteenth-

In the second part of the book, Schack discussed various parallels with animals. Physiognomy was an ancient system of understanding human character.⁵⁵⁸ Yet, only a trained person could fully and accurately describe human character based on physiognomy. It needed to be trained, and physiognomy became increasingly popular in the late nineteenth century with new media. Theories of physiognomy were, for example, often implicit in the articles about Indigenous populations in the illustrated press. In the article “Hottentotterna, deras tro, vidskep-liga föreställningar o.s.v.” [The Hottentots, their beliefs, superstitions, et cetera] from *Ny Illustrerad Tidning* 1884, for example the author claimed that the “Hottentots” were largely extinct.⁵⁵⁹ The “Hottentots” were, according to the report, “the true archetype of all that is ugly.”⁵⁶⁰ “We have also learnt this through the depictions and the descriptions which have been presented in the ethnological exhibition or at the market.”⁵⁶¹ The people from South Africa were described as “monkeys with a horrible smell.”⁵⁶² The “pure Hottentot type” in all “its ugliness” is beginning to be rare in South Africa because of “race mixing”, was one of the conclusions in the account.

In *Nordisk familjebok* (1887), the word “Negro” was thoroughly explained and defined.⁵⁶³ Initially the excerpt claimed that “Negros” could refer to all black people, which differentiated them from the “White, Yellow and the Red races.”⁵⁶⁴ But if one were to use the proper name it would be to refer to “Negros” who were living in Africa. Hence, according to *Nordisk familjebok*, the true and “authentic Negros” were to be found in South and Central Africa. The Black population was divided into different kinds of negros: “Bantu Negros”, “Sudanese Negros” et cetera. It was hence through physical and visual appearances that differentiations of various “Negro types” were made.⁵⁶⁵ The most distinct features of a “real Negro” were illuminated in eight different characteristics in *Nordisk familjebok*.⁵⁶⁶ At first, the head or cranium was supposed to be huge, which according to the account made black people endure more pain. Other features were the black eyes, the wide cheeks and the large nose with big nostrils, the big mouth that always showed the inside of the lip. The neck was said to be short and thick, the feet were flat, with a big toe functioning almost as a gripping tool. Moreover, the

2. RACE AND POPULAR MEDIA

account asserted that their black “woolly” hair and dark skin were other bodily features. The body composition was of average length but tended to be leaning backward because of the composition of the spine. The bodily features that were so clearly defined were also then connected to intellectual capacity and human qualities.⁵⁶⁷ “Regarding mental state, the Negro in general could be said to be on the level of a child, with a most lively imagination, lack of endurance and energy, and a most spontaneous mind, which focuses on gaiety, vanity and loose living.”⁵⁶⁸ It was moreover argued that slavery was a natural condition for the Black population because of their physiognomy. My general point here is that descriptions such as the one in *Nordisk familjebok* found their way in one form or other into popular entertainment and various forms of media, thus again underlining the claim that few differences existed between racial science and colonial popular culture.

The “fascination” with skin colour, for example, received attention in the article “Varför är negrer svarta” [Why are Negroes black] in *Illustrerad Familj-Journal* in 1899.⁵⁶⁹ It discussed the issue of climate, Darwin and perceptions of light. The article was illustrated with a detailed description of skin layers. The readers of *Ny Illustrerad Tidning* were thus quite well informed about the latest theories on race. Another example was, “Om orsakerna till de lägre folkslagens undergång” [On the causes of the extinction of the inferior people] from 1884. The article was a good example of the rhetoric around the European colonial project and its civilizing mission. Other similar articles displayed the same paradoxical narrative: harsh criticism of the injustice of colonial practices, yet also praising the same principles. The article provided an explanation of the causes of colonialism and why the Indigenous population was soon to be extinct. The report simply claimed that the success of civilization also caused the annihilation of the Indigenous populations. However, this was nothing one could prevent from happening. “The breath of culture is mortal for the inferior people”, a statement that echoes the utterance of Hjalmar Stolpe during the Vanadis expedition.⁵⁷⁰

The article also discussed the situation for the population in North America, Australia and the Pacific. It made the argument that these had been mistreated but that it was the Indigenous people’s way of life that

Ministryren. Af Ole Rosen.

III.

Barnen var just utkomna, och glöden slökades med utropet: "Så små!"

De jag och i min ungdom, kunde jag genom vägen se den bländande lifva som på glänsande och smukt sätt ett barn af utvecklingen öppnade

Men jag var mest och mest på varda, den glänande, lifviga världen, var det som blef jag som såldes från dem utlovar sig.

Och ännu grått och ännu, och utlovar sig, så att alla älskade följande mig upp i den lifviga världen efter i bredden.

Et en sula som var, ett ett smukt utlovar sig, men en strömmen af lif, både i lif och i lif i lif.

De älskade jag i drottning som smukt utlovar sig, Det var lifvet både och lifvet som såldes från dem utlovar sig, jag kunde vilja lifva lifva dem utlovar sig de lifva dem.

Och i ännu älskade lifva som smukt utlovar sig, Och ännu grått och ännu, och utlovar sig, så att alla älskade följande mig upp i den lifviga världen efter i bredden.

IV.

De var en lifva, lifva utlovar sig till utlovar sig, Lifvet både och lifvet som såldes från dem utlovar sig, jag kunde vilja lifva lifva dem utlovar sig de lifva dem.

Men ännu grått och ännu, och utlovar sig, så att alla älskade följande mig upp i den lifviga världen efter i bredden.

Och ännu grått och ännu, och utlovar sig, så att alla älskade följande mig upp i den lifviga världen efter i bredden.

Men ännu grått och ännu, och utlovar sig, så att alla älskade följande mig upp i den lifviga världen efter i bredden.

Och ännu grått och ännu, och utlovar sig, så att alla älskade följande mig upp i den lifviga världen efter i bredden.

Men ännu grått och ännu, och utlovar sig, så att alla älskade följande mig upp i den lifviga världen efter i bredden.

Och ännu grått och ännu, och utlovar sig, så att alla älskade följande mig upp i den lifviga världen efter i bredden.

Men ännu grått och ännu, och utlovar sig, så att alla älskade följande mig upp i den lifviga världen efter i bredden.

Och ännu grått och ännu, och utlovar sig, så att alla älskade följande mig upp i den lifviga världen efter i bredden.

Men ännu grått och ännu, och utlovar sig, så att alla älskade följande mig upp i den lifviga världen efter i bredden.

slagna af den lifviga lifva, och lifva utlovar sig till utlovar sig, Lifvet både och lifvet som såldes från dem utlovar sig, jag kunde vilja lifva lifva dem utlovar sig de lifva dem.

Men ännu grått och ännu, och utlovar sig, så att alla älskade följande mig upp i den lifviga världen efter i bredden.

Och ännu grått och ännu, och utlovar sig, så att alla älskade följande mig upp i den lifviga världen efter i bredden.

Men ännu grått och ännu, och utlovar sig, så att alla älskade följande mig upp i den lifviga världen efter i bredden.

Och ännu grått och ännu, och utlovar sig, så att alla älskade följande mig upp i den lifviga världen efter i bredden.

Men ännu grått och ännu, och utlovar sig, så att alla älskade följande mig upp i den lifviga världen efter i bredden.

Och ännu grått och ännu, och utlovar sig, så att alla älskade följande mig upp i den lifviga världen efter i bredden.

Men ännu grått och ännu, och utlovar sig, så att alla älskade följande mig upp i den lifviga världen efter i bredden.

Och ännu grått och ännu, och utlovar sig, så att alla älskade följande mig upp i den lifviga världen efter i bredden.

Men ännu grått och ännu, och utlovar sig, så att alla älskade följande mig upp i den lifviga världen efter i bredden.

Och ännu grått och ännu, och utlovar sig, så att alla älskade följande mig upp i den lifviga världen efter i bredden.

Men ännu grått och ännu, och utlovar sig, så att alla älskade följande mig upp i den lifviga världen efter i bredden.

Och ännu grått och ännu, och utlovar sig, så att alla älskade följande mig upp i den lifviga världen efter i bredden.

Men ännu grått och ännu, och utlovar sig, så att alla älskade följande mig upp i den lifviga världen efter i bredden.

Och ännu grått och ännu, och utlovar sig, så att alla älskade följande mig upp i den lifviga världen efter i bredden.

Men ännu grått och ännu, och utlovar sig, så att alla älskade följande mig upp i den lifviga världen efter i bredden.

Men vi dock i den lifviga lifva, och lifva utlovar sig till utlovar sig, Lifvet både och lifvet som såldes från dem utlovar sig, jag kunde vilja lifva lifva dem utlovar sig de lifva dem.

Men ännu grått och ännu, och utlovar sig, så att alla älskade följande mig upp i den lifviga världen efter i bredden.

Och ännu grått och ännu, och utlovar sig, så att alla älskade följande mig upp i den lifviga världen efter i bredden.

Men ännu grått och ännu, och utlovar sig, så att alla älskade följande mig upp i den lifviga världen efter i bredden.

Och ännu grått och ännu, och utlovar sig, så att alla älskade följande mig upp i den lifviga världen efter i bredden.

Men ännu grått och ännu, och utlovar sig, så att alla älskade följande mig upp i den lifviga världen efter i bredden.

Och ännu grått och ännu, och utlovar sig, så att alla älskade följande mig upp i den lifviga världen efter i bredden.

Men ännu grått och ännu, och utlovar sig, så att alla älskade följande mig upp i den lifviga världen efter i bredden.

Och ännu grått och ännu, och utlovar sig, så att alla älskade följande mig upp i den lifviga världen efter i bredden.

Men ännu grått och ännu, och utlovar sig, så att alla älskade följande mig upp i den lifviga världen efter i bredden.

Och ännu grått och ännu, och utlovar sig, så att alla älskade följande mig upp i den lifviga världen efter i bredden.

Men ännu grått och ännu, och utlovar sig, så att alla älskade följande mig upp i den lifviga världen efter i bredden.

Och ännu grått och ännu, och utlovar sig, så att alla älskade följande mig upp i den lifviga världen efter i bredden.

Men ännu grått och ännu, och utlovar sig, så att alla älskade följande mig upp i den lifviga världen efter i bredden.

Och ännu grått och ännu, och utlovar sig, så att alla älskade följande mig upp i den lifviga världen efter i bredden.

Men ännu grått och ännu, och utlovar sig, så att alla älskade följande mig upp i den lifviga världen efter i bredden.

"Om orsakerna till de lägre folkslagens undergång" [On the causes of the extinction of the inferior people], Ny Illustrerad Tidning 29 March 1884:13. Courtesy of the National Library of Sweden, Stockholm.

2. RACE AND POPULAR MEDIA

contributed to their own extinction. Another article, “Hvad afrikanen tænker om europén” from 1885 made fun of how African people perceived Europeans. Several different myths about white people were circulating according to *Ny Illustrerad Tidning*, both positive and negative: “The African people have a similar hate for the white colour as we have for the black colour.”⁵⁷¹

It is often argued that Joseph Arthur Gobineau’s race theories had a great impact on how racial thinking evolved into racism and ideas of white supremacy during the late nineteenth century.^{571a} In his, *Essai sur l’inégalité des races humaines* (1853–1854), Gobineau explained the rise and fall of the great civilizations in terms of miscegenation. The argument put forward by Gobineau was that all civilizations consisted of conquerors and subjugated, with the “master race” always being the whitest. Furthermore, there was a constant attraction and repulsion between the races, which eventually led to miscegenation. Gobineau asserted that there were three races: white, yellow and black, and that all civilizations were a result of white conquest.^{571b}

Importantly, Gobineau’s racial spectrum included both a class and gender dimension. In short, working classes were accordingly less white; the white race mostly masculine – the black the most feminine.^{571c} Such ideas could be perceived in the mentioned articles, which spoke of the unavoidable extinction of the Indigenous people and why the white population should rule. Articles from *Illustrerad Familj-Journal*, such as “Några ord om Sudan och dess folk” [A Few words on Sudan and their people] (1881), “Från min resa till Central Afrika” [From my journey to Central Africa] (1889), and “Dvergfolken i Afrika” [The dwarfs in Africa] (1899), were all concerned with defining and racially categorizing the Indigenous population as distinct from the Europeans. Physical and mental characteristics were debated and given exhaustively detailed descriptions, yet the civilization process was unavoidable and should hence not be interfered with.

Numerous accounts of colonial events followed this narrative strictly; the importance of the white man’s burden and civilizing mission was reinforced both textually and visually. It was not only crucial for the reader to engage in visualizing the racial hierarchy of “the others”,

“Nackarnas fysiologi” [The Physiognomy of the Necks], *Allers Familj-Journal*, 24 April 1904:17. Courtesy of the National Library of Sweden, Stockholm.

“Det talande porträttet” [The Portrait that Speaks], *Allers Familj-Journal* 25 May 1901:21. Courtesy of the National Library of Sweden, Stockholm.



2. RACE AND POPULAR MEDIA

several articles dealt explicitly with the white European man and woman, since it was important to see and distinguish the “European races” as well. There was, in short, an obsession with racial and bodily features in the illustrated press. It was important to see others and to position oneself in this hierarchy. Several articles in the illustrated press explained how to detect human faces and various races, including “Hur man känner igen en förbrytare” [How to identify a criminal] (1896), from *Illustrerad Familj-Journal*, while *Ny Illustrerad Tidning* published: “Det talande porträttet” [The portrait that speaks] (1901), “Nackarnas fysiologi” [The physiognomy of the necks] (1904), and “Några blad ur frenologins historia av Sven Holmström” [A couple of notes from the history of phrenology by Sven Holmström] (1894).

THE LATEST ENTERTAINMENTS:

SWEDISH PANOPTICON AND ORIENTAL MAZE SALON

In “Storstadssymptom” [City symptom] (1889) the reporter declared proudly that Stockholm would finally have its first permanent wax museum building, which would give the capital its “city flair”.⁵⁷² From its inauguration, several tableaux at the Swedish Panopticon depicted colonial events, often in direct relation to Swedish concerns. European cities with metropolitan ambitions considered the establishment of a wax museum a critical component of a well-rounded urban entertainment selection.⁵⁷³ Madame Tussaud’s establishment in London was the first permanent wax museum, founded in 1835, and along with the Castans’ panopticon in Berlin from 1871 and Musée Grévin in Paris from 1881, it served as an inspiration for museums around Europe.⁵⁷⁴ As Mark B. Sandberg notes, the 1880s and 1890s were “boom years” for the wax museum as a popular bourgeois amusement in Europe.⁵⁷⁵ Wax museums typically claimed to offer the visitors almost everything that might stimulate their interest. Historian Eva Åhrén asserts that the wax museums often displayed exotic people and curious artefacts from cultural and natural history.⁵⁷⁶

180 Then again, prior to the opening of Swedish Panopticon in the late



Poster: N. Nielsen's Panoptikon Vaxkabinett och stora Anatomiska Museum [N. Nielsen's Wax Cabinet and Great Anatomical Museum] Kalmar 1880. Courtesy of the National Library of Sweden, Stockholm.

1880s smaller venues and wax exhibitions were regularly on display in Sweden. These wax museums drew a lot of attention and exotic people were often on display and as seen in the image above. Other competing media were dioramas and stereopticon slideshows, which often contained exotic and ethnographical stagings. Pelle Snickars has illuminated how the Panorama International, a variation on the more famous Kaiserpanorama in Berlin, displayed images from the overseas world. The German inventor August Fuhrmann claimed that his Kaiserpanoramas were a “scientific geographical art institute” which served the knowledge of the country, but also promoted religious, historical, patriotic and colonial interests.⁵⁷⁷

Many of the Scandinavian wax museums imitated the popular Musée Grévin, in Paris. They all did so by incorporating sophisticated décor, the naturalistic staging of tableau scenes, and series display.⁵⁷⁸ Copenhagen was first in Scandinavia to establish a wax museum. The Scandinavian Panopticon [Skandinavisk Panoptikon] was founded as early as 1885, a mere three years after Musée Grévin.⁵⁷⁹ However, wax figures were also displayed in other contexts. In 1897, at the Stockholm

2. RACE AND POPULAR MEDIA

Exposition, dioramas with wax figures were shown in the Biblical Gallery and the Sports Pavilion. Arthur Hazelius had also used wax figures already in early 1870s in his Scandinavian ethnographic collection at Drottninggatan, Stockholm.⁵⁸⁰

In 1889, the Swedish Panopticon was established in an adjoined building to Kungsträdgården in Stockholm.⁵⁸¹ The board included Pontus Bernard Lundström, Richard Wawrinsky, Thor Thorén, Peter Möller and Arvid Gumaelius.⁵⁸² The purpose of establishing the new museum was not only to show historical figures and events, but also to display contemporary life at the *fin-de-siècle*.⁵⁸³ This was duly noted in various newspapers.⁵⁸⁴ One of the local papers asserted that the Swedish Panopticon was laid on Danish foundations because the director for the Swedish wax museum was the Danish entrepreneur, V. Salchow.⁵⁸⁵ The name of the museum was perhaps, as Sandberg also notes, intended to win back some of the territory claimed by Olsen, who named the Danish wax museum the Scandinavian Panopticon. One newspaper assured its readers that the Swedish Panopticon was Swedish and was owned by a Swedish corporation.⁵⁸⁶ This was a way to mark a new museum as both permanent and national – and to distinguish it from the travelling wax displays.

In general, the wax museums that were established in the 1880s aimed to reach a bourgeois market and their lavish interiors and new scenes were signs of rising status.⁵⁸⁷ They wanted to distinguish themselves from previous wax exhibitions, especially shows among travelling circuses.⁵⁸⁸ It was not a coincidence that the Swedish Panopticon was established at Kungsträdgården – the location had been part of the bustling hub of Stockholm for a long time. At the end of the nineteenth century, Kungsträdgården had several entertainment options for the urban crowd: cafés, restaurants, the variety theatre Sveasalen, the Royal Swedish Opera, Oriental Maze Salon, art galleries and studios surrounded the park.⁵⁸⁹ The Swedish Panopticon ranged over three levels and a basement. In the first year, the exhibition included twelve scenes, and many remained unchanged until 1924, when the museum was shut down.⁵⁹⁰ Initially, the wax museum offered 21 tableaux. It grew constantly and in the final years the Swedish Panopticon presented around

70 tableaux. A couple of figures and scenes were revised to follow the aging and current fashion of the actual person portrayed.⁵⁹¹

Several prominent artists were hired to create wax figures: Per Hasselberg, Alfred Nyström and Agnes Kjellberg.⁵⁹² It was the Danish artist E Ch. Christensen who was in charge of the work.⁵⁹³ Most of the time, the artists demanded that the people who were portrayed were able to model in situ, and the costumes were also of significance.⁵⁹⁴ Often the same tailor was hired as the one who did the actual outfit.⁵⁹⁵ Authenticity was of great significance in supporting claims to display extraordinary “scenes of the real”, as the Swedish daily press remarked in 1889.⁵⁹⁶ The reviews were, however, quite mixed. While the Stockholm papers were overwhelmed with enthusiasm for the Swedish Panopticon, several regional papers criticized the heavy reliance on portraying “Stockholm characters”.⁵⁹⁷

Tableaux from Central Africa

Nevertheless, at the Swedish Panopticon, there were several settings portraying the colonial world. I argue that, in different ways, these wax tableaux also took part in creating a vision of the European the colonial project and its civilizing mission. This was ensured with visual strategies and descriptions of how to understand the wax tableaux of the colonial world. I claim that it is important to see the whole display as working together. The visual representations of the colonial world were not a dominant feature, but they were placed in such a way that they became important.

The first exhibition room at the Swedish Panopticon displayed the Swedish King Gustaf III and his meeting with the famous sculptor Tobias Sergel in his studio. Miss Schröderheim, a model of Sergel’s, was posing as a Grace. Below her feet, the public could find the musician and poet Carl Michael Bellman. Gustaf III was to be found standing in his red and black Swedish costume listening to the music. The wax display alluded to the painting “Bellman i Sergels atelier” [Bellman in Sergel’s studio] (1865) by Johan Fredrik Höckert. These displays were next to a large window, which also served as a display window for the

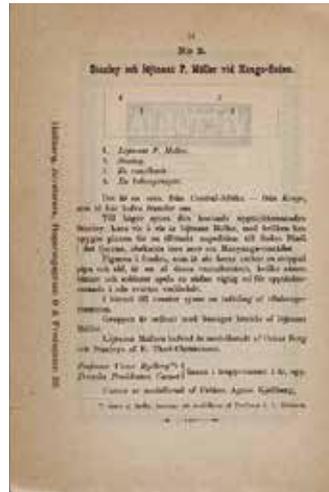
2. RACE AND POPULAR MEDIA

Swedish Panopticon, welcoming visitors from the outside. The tableau was described as, “A monument from the classical era in Sweden”.⁵⁹⁸ If visitors went down to the basement they would find grave robbers in 1889 and in 1892 the murderer Deeming leering about. The basement was separated from the other events. Sandberg asserts how the wax museum had educational aspirations and that the two levels, “the upstairs and the downstairs” were dependent on each other.⁵⁹⁹ “Not for weak nerves” as the sign to the Swedish Panopticon stated.⁶⁰⁰

In the next exhibition room to the right, the viewer would find Sir Henry Morton Stanley discussing an expedition across the river Niadi with the Swedish lieutenant Peter Möller. It was a scene from Central Africa and Congo. A person of Zanzibar descent was handing a smoking pipe and light to Stanley. An Indigenous person sat in the corner behind Stanley and Möller. “A hot sun is illuminating the scene” was reported in the guide booklet. Möller, who was actually on the museum board, had assisted in the making of the scene and it was consequently praised for its realism and authenticity. Peter Möller worked for the Free Congo State from 1883–1886 in various positions and founded the Matadi station in Stanley Falls. Möller completed several expeditions and published *Tre år i Kongo* [Three years in Congo] in 1888, followed by *Resa i Afrika genom Angola, Ovampo och Damaraland* [A journey in Africa through Angola, Ovampo and Damaraland] in 1899.

The next display was of the Swedish royal family having coffee. The “colonial motif” was thus placed in between two famous Swedish narratives: a nostalgic and contemporary setting with the Swedish King Gustaf III. The royal family was always of interest to the public and attracted a lot of attention, as seen from the Vanadis expedition. However, there is also another interesting point to be made: visitors to the wax museums depended on the public’s familiarity with the celebrities and other figures represented, but through the late nineteenth century the audience probably had little prior visual knowledge of the figures simulated, aside from what was provided by the press engravings or cartes de visite.⁶⁰¹ Therefore, as literary historian Michelle E. Bloom asserts: “even the simplest verbal identification form of a nametag helped the visitors make sense of the wax figures and the catalogues were of crucial

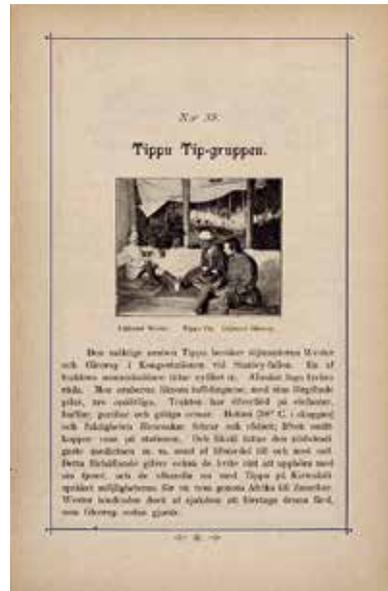
SHOWS, EXHIBITIONS AND ATTRACTIONS



Wax display: "Stanley och Löjtnant P. Möller" [Stanley and Lieutenant P. Möller], *Vägvisare genom Svenska Panoptikon* (Stockholm: Nya Tryckeri-Aktiebolaget, 1889). Courtesy of the National Library of Sweden, Stockholm.

importance, which clarified the visual representations.”⁶⁰² As previously seen, the importance of an exhibition catalogue was also noted in the newspapers. In the last tableau in the main exhibition, another African motif was set – the Arab Tippu Tip, who visited the lieutenants Wester and Glerup at the Congo station, Stanley Falls. The catalogue spoke of how the Arab and the “native cannibals” were “most unreliable”.⁶⁰³ The Arab Tippu Tip, also called Muhammad Bin Hamid, was a famous Arab trader in Central and Eastern Africa at the time. His chief interest was in ivory and the slave trade – besides his efforts at nation building, which brought him into conflict with the Sultan of Zanzibar and the Belgian King Leopold II. The Swedish lieutenant Arvid Wester was a station chief in Congo when Tippu Tip demanded that the station had to be closed down. However, Wester convinced Tippu Tip, after long negotiations, that the station need not be closed. These good relations encouraged Tippu Tip to endorse another Swedish Congo traveller, lieutenant Edvard Glerup and his journey across Africa from Stanley 185

2. RACE AND POPULAR MEDIA



Wax display: "Arab Tippu Tip", *Vägvisare genom Svenska Panoptikon* (Stockholm: Nya Tryckeri-Aktiebolaget, 1889). Courtesy of the National Library of Sweden, Stockholm.

Falls to Zanzibar in 1885–1886. Glerup became only the eighth European to have crossed the continent at the time, and hence became famous.

The press were most satisfied with the two "African motifs", as they were called. They were in a way both the beginning and the ending of the wax exhibition. In the two scenes, the colonial events were set within a Swedish context.⁶⁰⁴ As several reviews remarked, the wax displays were staged in dramatic ways to create an exciting narrative and visual connections between the wax figures and the audience. In the catalogue the first "African motif" was described as:

Stanley and lieutenant P. Möller at the Congo River. This is a scene from Central Africa – from Congo, which we have in front of us. [...] To the right the famous explorer Stanley; and his counterpart is lieutenant Möller, who is planning an expedition to the River Niadi [...]

The figures at the front are from Zanzibar [...] in the corner to the left there is a native from the Bakongo tribe.⁶⁰⁵

The main characters Stanley and Möller were praised for their likeness, the clothes were said to be authentic and the natives in the display were appreciated for their realism. “A beautiful little group is the meeting at the Congo River between the famous American explorer Stanley and our Swedish ‘Congo lieutenant’ P. A. Möller, who are being served by a couple of natives.”⁶⁰⁶ The reporter went on to describe the authenticity of the characters: “Stanley, Möller and the Negroes are all successfully depicted. Lieutenant Möller has also supervised the execution of the wax displays and helped with its set up.”⁶⁰⁷

The emphasis on “our Swedish Congo lieutenant” explicitly demonstrated that the tableau became inscribed into a nationalistic, colonial narrative. As previously seen, Scandinavians placed themselves in important positions as a way to connect to, relate to and enhance the colonial project. The illustrated paper *Idun* described the African motifs: “Two step in, and we are in the middle of Africa. Stanley to our right and Lieutenant Möller to our left. You no doubt noticed that they look young, which implies that the African climate is not so unhealthy in spite of the heat [...] The ugly black natives make a striking impact.”⁶⁰⁸

The colonial motifs were thus much appreciated. Still, the tableaux were changed and the two scenes of Stanley and Tippu Tip were also altered on several occasions. In 1893, Stanley was moved to scene eight and Tippu Tip to tableau 35. Two years later “the African motifs” were brought together into one single scene, called, “A Scene from the State of Congo in Central Africa”, basically referring to both tableaux. The change was due to reduced interest, but also to other tableaux being afforded more space. The Swedish Panopticon was keen on displaying contemporary events and Stanley and Tippu Tip were becoming “old news”. Another change happened in 1902, when the Boer generals Christian de Wet and Louis Botha were introduced. This scene was clearly a commentary on political events at the time. The Boer War broke out in 1899 and ended in early spring 1902. The Swedish press sided almost unanimously with the Boers. The war was seen as a fight

2. RACE AND POPULAR MEDIA



Wax display: "Louis Botha Boer", *Vägvisare genom Svenska Panoptikon* (Stockholm: Centraltryckeriet, 1902). Courtesy of the National Library of Sweden, Stockholm.

between David and Goliath, in which the British Empire was criticized for its harsh policies. Later on the Tippu Tip group was also replaced. Sven Hedin, the famous Swedish explorer, instead became a new wax figure in the museum in 1902. An updated explanatory text about Stanley was furthermore inserted in the catalogue of 1904. But the following year, the Stanley scene was taken away completely.

Wax exhibitions were also found in other towns with "exotic" and "foreign events" – also before the opening of the Swedish Panopticon. These wax displays were on a smaller scale. However, posters boasted of the grandness of the wax figures. Prices were often kept low in order to reach a wider public. The fascination with the colonial world was thus a well-recognized entertainment in the late nineteenth century when the Swedish Panopticon opened its doors. The two posters above showed the main attraction, with its wax figures of an Indigenous population. The imagery and the attached text evoked not only what

SHOWS, EXHIBITIONS AND ATTRACTIONS



Poster: Hartkopffs stora verdensberömda plastiska, mekaniska och optiska konstutställning [Hartkopff's world famous plastic, mechanic and optical art exhibition], 1877, Wexö. Courtesy of the National Library of Sweden, Stockholm.



Poster: Ett Ethnologiskt Konst-Museum [An ethnological art museum], c. 1880. Courtesy of the National Library of Sweden, Stockholm.

the public could encounter, but also how to understand them in a colonial context.

The Lure of the East

The Oriental Maze Salon was set up in Stockholm and became a success in the opening year of 1890. For seven years it was a popular attraction, standing in stark contrast to the attraction next door, the Swedish Panopticon. If authenticity and realism was sought in the wax museum, the Oriental Maze Salon evoked other senses and bodily experiences. *Dagens Nyheter* reported that the Eden Salon, which was part of the Oriental Maze Salon, was the name of a labyrinth decorated in oriental style, with a lot of mirrors, which made it easy for the visitor to be confused.⁶⁰⁹ The creator of the Oriental Maze Salon was the Swedish sculptor Richard Sundell.⁶¹⁰ The first mirror salon consisted of seventy columns

2. RACE AND POPULAR MEDIA



The Oriental maze salon mirror labyrinth at Hamngatan 18B, Stockholm, 1890. Courtesy of the Stockholm City Museum, Stockholm.

and forty different mirrors, three metres in height and one metres wide. In one article the salon was described as made in “Arabic-Egyptian style, and with Persian columns”.⁶¹¹

In the very same building, Sundell created two other salons in November of that same year: The Eden Salon and New Panopticon, the latter clearly as a competitor to the Swedish Panopticon. The opening hours were generous and admission cost one krona, presumably to attract a middle-class crowd. The main attraction was the labyrinth in which visitors made their way through a series of different floor-to-ceiling-mirrors placed at various angles. The Eden Salon was a combination of a mirror hall and a greenhouse. There were over six hundred mirrors, plus exotic plants, fountains and lightning, creating a vision of Eden. A year later in 1891, Sundell made a tropical garden room and a series of wax tableaux depicting harems and allegorical scenes, as “Morgonrodnad” [Dawn].⁶¹²



Wax display: "Morgonrödnad [Dawn] at the Oriental Maze Salon in Stockholm, 1892. Courtesy of the Stockholm City Museum, Stockholm.

One of the displays at the Oriental Maze Salon showed a scene from the Harem, which was naturally a popular theme in the visual arts. Art historian Mary Roberts has stressed that the Victorian audience was fascinated by the harem narrative. According to Roberts, the particular appeal of the subject was both the exoticism of harem life and the sympathy for the humiliation of the slave position.⁶¹³ The art salons of Europe flourished with orientalist paintings and it was also a popular motif for the art market. Artists such as Eugène Delacroix, Jean Léon Gérôme and John Fredrick Lewis became well known when their paintings were reproduced as illustrations and other ephemera. Art historian Linda Nochlin has specifically discussed the various absences in defining orientalist painting, which could be useful when analyzing the wax displays in the Oriental Maze Salon. Oriental motifs had four distinguishing features, which could be detected in paintings – all based on the figure of absence. First of all, the absence of history, secondly, the absence of the Europeans in the paintings, and thirdly, the apparent





Wax display: "Harem", 1892. Courtesy of the Stockholm City Museum, Stockholm.

Ett österländskt harem" [An oriental harem] by G. Simoni, *Illustrerad Familj-Journal* 6 December 1891:49. Courtesy of the National Library of Sweden, Stockholm.

2. RACE AND POPULAR MEDIA

absence of art.⁶¹⁴ The latter, Nochlin claimed, had to do with the artists' approach to realism. "The Orientalist artist tries to conceal his [her] art, insisting on a plethora of details which authenticate the total visual field as a simple, artless reflection of a supposed Oriental reality."⁶¹⁵ The fourth characteristic, which Nochlin points out, is the absence of work and industry.

In the wax tableaux, the Oriental Maze Salon staged several displays which portrayed life in the Orient. Semi-nude young women were juxtaposed with older men in turbans and smoking. Absence of history is implicit, these stagings were presented as if to depict a timeless event. The European presence was of course there, but as with the paintings, the viewer stood in front of the display and was hence not visible. The wax tableaux aimed to evoke fantasies and were built on detailed and extravagant costumes, with the clothing and interiors presumed to be authentic, staging an Oriental reality. These tableaux also lacked images of work – instead leisure and idleness were portrayed. The image of the Orient as a place of no history, no progress and no modernity was explicit, juxtaposed as it was with the European identity.

John M. MacKenzie's work has re-evaluated Edward W. Said's approach and suggests that Western art received genuine inspiration from the East, and that the Western approach has been more ambiguous and interactive than Said or Nochlin have stressed.⁶¹⁶ In short, MacKenzie asserts that the Orient has proved to be an inspiration to European arts, even though it was constructed during an imperial period. This contradicts Nochlin's analysis of French orientalist painters such as Jean Louis Gérôme. MacKenzie has suggested that the images were idealized depictions of the Middle East. For example, the decaying building could display restoration ambitions.⁶¹⁷ MacKenzie also emphasizes that Nochlin's examination of French orientalist painters concerns a smaller number of works, and should not be seen as valid for all orientalist art work.

However, in my opinion, it is vital to place these paintings in a broader popular context, and as Nochlin stresses, the imperial ideology and colonial practices were fundamental aspects when these works were produced, reproduced, exhibited and mediated. At the same time the

idealization and exoticization were not objective or neutral viewpoints. To refer to the “Orient” in nostalgic and idealized terms could also imply that it belonged to the past. There were several articles and illustrations depicting, for example, ancient India and Egypt, which was admired for its history. But when it came to contemporary events, reports were unanimous, the civilizing mission was inevitable and their culture was considered soon to be extinct.⁶¹⁸

The male protagonist in the harem wax display at the Oriental Maze Salon was seated comfortably, smoking, on a divan while a young female concubine knelt next to him, playing an instrument. The display alluded to the painting *Ett österländskt harem* [An oriental harem] which was also remediated in the illustrated press. The tableau focused on movement, and the audience could see how the male figure raised his hand to touch the young girl’s shoulder. As art historian Tomas Björk rightly observes, the Western notion of the harem stands out in the construction of the Orient.⁶¹⁹ The word itself derives from the Arabian word, which means secret or holy. The term harem refers to either the women in the harem or the place itself where they were living. During the nineteenth century, only a few European male artists had the possibility to visit a harem themselves.⁶²⁰ The harem was closed to everyone except the sultan and the eunuchs guarding the compound; a few female European artists such as the British painter Henriette Brown visited a harem and depicted it in the 1840s.⁶²¹ These images were different from the male artists’ and, as Roberts has suggested, when female painters have depicted the harem, it has been portrayed as a place for female company rather than a place for men’s erotic fantasies and sexual pleasure.⁶²² Björk notes that the harem could function as a projection in which all the wishes and fantasies about the “sinful Orient” were played out, since those fantasies were forbidden in European societies.⁶²³ Reina Lewis has claimed moreover that the harem itself could mean two erotic fantasies; in which the first was about “unveiling” the Muslim woman and secondly a fantasy which displayed a man who had an abundance of wealth and women.

In the harem paintings several stereotypes were seen, for example there were exotic and expensive artefacts: textiles and furniture, which

2. RACE AND POPULAR MEDIA

spoke of an extravagance. Gold, jewellery and prosperity connoted sinful living. The women in the harem paintings were often displayed semi-nude. These displays could also be found in the wax tableaux of the Oriental Maze Salon. Oriental themes were popular in the visual arts and reached a wider audience when paintings were remediated into xylographs. For example, Frans Wilhelm Odelmark's "Från baden i Kairo" [From the Baths in Cairo] was reproduced in *Svenska Familj-Journalen* 1892. The Scandinavian female painters followed the tradition of their male contemporaries. Paintings by Jenny Nyström, Eva Bonnier and Elisabeth Jerichau Baumann reproduced the stereotypes of the harem.

Besides the wax displays, visitors to the Oriental Maze Salon would find tropical plants, warm winds and coloured light. The Swedish daily *Dagens Nyheter* proclaimed proudly that the attraction was the most prominent of all sights.⁶²⁴ *Aftonbladet* described the Oriental Maze Salon with the following remarks:

We come upstairs, we draw the curtains and we step back with an exclamation of amazement. In front of us the radiant light of a true fairy palace is seen. We are met with abundant, splendid and slim colonnades, richly decorated in the Oriental style, in gold, blue, and red with golden Persian sphinxes and the column capitals are equally golden.⁶²⁵

The reports varied as to what the precise Oriental influence was and in the Swedish daily *Stockholms Dagblad* the correspondent claimed that "the colonnades are of Indian design with golden sphinxes and splendid capitals, with gold and lavishly colourized."⁶²⁶ Several scholars have persuasively shown how the imagined "Orient" did not stem from "authentic" milieus. The Oriental style could signify various regions and the differences between "Persian" or "Indian" were seldom recognized. Hence, the attraction devoted itself almost exclusively to the Orientalist fantasy. The Swedish audience was, in short, transported to an exotic space, far away from Stockholm. One reporter emphasizes the stark contrast of the experience, he found himself whisked away from the cold snow into a "paradise", albeit in the middle of the capital.⁶²⁷ Another

reporter underscored the fact that when he left the Oriental Maze Salon, on the Stockholm street he returned to the “Western world.”⁶²⁸

Mark B. Sandberg argues that a domestication of the *exotic foreign* was an essential part of the metropolitan thinking in Scandinavian capitals.⁶²⁹ The displaying of prominent people and celebrities who visited the attractions were also important for making new leisure activities part of a modern and urban life style. *Nya Dagligt Allehanda* reported vividly that the Swedish royal family had visited the Oriental Maze Salon.⁶³⁰ It evoked the lure of the East, in richly decorated rooms. Mirrors and fountains were there to attract and confuse, but also giving the ability to see oneself in various angles and from various distances. As *Aftonbladet* reported on the opening day: “The Oriental Maze Salon offers most opulent occasions for those who never seem to get tired of one’s honourable self, to receive one’s covetousness satisfied. En face, half profile, full frontal, back and front to one’s satisfaction.”⁶³¹ Several reports in *Svenska Dagbladet*, *Söndags-Nisse* and *Idun* made remarks about the visitors’ experience of seeing reflections of themselves in the mirrors.⁶³² The race theories, which have been observed in previous parts of this dissertation, were thus also of concern for the Swedish crowd. In the Oriental Maze Salon the audience could playfully observe their own racial features – in an exotic setting.

Importantly, Jeff Werner shows how whiteness in nineteenth-century Swedish visual culture was related to race science and colonial practices.⁶³³ These depictions were, as with the imagery analyzed here, also remediated into various visual media. Moreover, Said has claimed that the Orient served as a mirror to the West self-image. At the Oriental Maze Salon that self-image could potentially be represented as a reversed Other.

The Oriental Maze Salon was also to be found in Gothenburg.⁶³⁴ The local papers reported that the latest attraction in Gothenburg was the Oriental Maze-Salon which Mr Magnus Lind, the prominent mirror maker, opened at the Grand Hotel Hagalund.⁶³⁵ Decorated with lavish ornaments, gold and mirrors it was said to be even a bit bigger than the Stockholm Maze. Rubensson, who during his many travels had seen several mazes in bigger cities, reported to the press that the Oriental

2. RACE AND POPULAR MEDIA

Maze of Gothenburg was truly the finest. “Finally, Gothenburg has become a major city.”⁶³⁶ The success of the Oriental Maze Salon in Stockholm led Bernard Olsen to create his own mirror maze at the Danish Scandinavian Panopticon. He introduced the Mirror Cabinet [Spejlkabinet], the Palm House and the Kaleidoscope.⁶³⁷ Likewise in Helsinki, the Oriental Maze Salon attracted a large audience and was constantly advertised in the press.⁶³⁸ Orientalist fantasies were also to be seen in the Royal Swedish Opera, the variety theatre and the art galleries. In 1886, the Royal Theatre played *Paul and Virginie* (1876) and it was well documented in the press. *Ny Illustrerad Tidning* recapped the story and published illustrations by Victor André.⁶³⁹ The Swedish Panopticon also had orientalized motifs in its repertoire, including the popular biblical story of the Pharaoh’s daughter.

Contemporary audiences also encountered orientalist everyday life motifs in other visual media, for example in the magazine *När och fjärran*, which carried several reports from Egypt, Morocco and Algeria. Travel journals, novels and non-fiction were often illustrated with orientalist motifs. A popular book was *Jordens länder*, which came in several editions, presenting foreign countries in illustrations and text. Exhibitions at the Museum of Fine Arts in Stockholm and smaller venues included orientalist art in their repertoire and became even more frequent from the 1880s and onwards. For example at Stockholm’s Konstförening, the Swedish artist Henric Ankarcrona’s “Karavan i öknen” [Caravan in the desert] was on display 1866, and in 1879 Ankarcrona showed “Attack på fyrkant – beduiner anfalla suavbataljon” [Attack – Bedouins attacking the Suav battalion]. 1883, the art patron Theodore Blanch opened the art gallery at Kungsträdgården and one of the first pieces to be displayed was Julius Kronberg’s “Kleopatra” [Cleopatra]. Kronberg’s painting had received critical acclaim at the exhibition in Copenhagen the previous year and drew much attention in Stockholm as well.⁶⁴⁰ In 1888, Kronberg exhibited another oriental motif “Drottningen av Saba” [Queen of Sheba].



2. RACE AND POPULAR MEDIA



Poster: Reflex crème & reflex svärta [Reflex crème & reflex darkness] 1903. Courtesy of the National Library of Sweden, Stockholm.

Furthermore, the variety theatre Sveasalen in Kungsträdgården was designed in Oriental style, which was a growing trend. Orientalized public smoking salons, cafés, restaurants and private smoking chambers were set up. The artist's studios were crammed with exotic artefacts, furniture and textiles as seen in Jenny Nyström's painting "The studio" (1887). Kronberg displayed the "Queen of Sheba" in 1888 at the Museum of Fine Arts, where a couple of months earlier artefacts from the Vanadis expedition had been exhibited. From the early 1880s, the National Museum of Fine Arts had several exhibitions with colonial artefacts, motifs and themes on display.

It should also be noted that in the booming consumer culture, colonial and orientalized themes were popular for various products, such as

J. F. GERMUNDSONS
PATENTROSTADE **ABSOLUT**
KAFFE **RENT!**

J. F. Germundson
49

FABRIK FÖR SORTERING
TVÄTTNING OCH ROSTNING AF KAFFE

Kungsholmstorg N^o 2 RIKS TEL. N^o 2174
STOCKHOLM ALLM. TEL. N^o 15454

FABRIKSBODAR:

Malmskilnadsgatan N^o 34^A RIKS TEL. N^o 4148
 ALLM. TEL. N^o 4148
Storkyrkobrinken N^o 9 RIKS TEL. N^o 4149
 ALLM. TEL. N^o 1363
Birger Jarls gatan N^o 19 RIKS TEL. N^o 4150
 ALLM. TEL. N^o 851
Hörnet af Lutternsgatan.

PAUL HECKSCHER - T. K. F. STOCKHOLM - TRF.

Poster: J. F. Germundsons patentrostade kaffe [J. F. Germundson's certified coffee], 1899. Courtesy of the National Library of Sweden, Stockholm.

2. RACE AND POPULAR MEDIA



Poster: Standard cigaretter [Standard cigarettes], 1890. Courtesy of the National Library of Sweden, Stockholm.

shoe polish, cigarettes, soap, coffee and chocolate. The orientalist art motifs were often used thus, with “high art” from the salon reproduced in ephemera of all kinds. Advertisements, for example, were not only seen on posters, but advertised in the regular Swedish press. The same imagery could be seen in the greater colonial empires such as Great Britain, France and Germany.

Most of the significant work on race in advertising can be found in Anne McClintock’s pivotal research of 1995, in which she considers the supplementation of an elitist scientific racism with a popular commodity racism in late-Victorian Britain. McClintock points out how products like teas, tobacco, cocoa and soap promoted fantasies of a colonial landscape to consumers.⁶⁴¹ The significance of *commodity racism* was that it could reach a larger and more differentiated audience than before.

Although colonial ads and imagery in Sweden were not as plentiful, advertisements using images and racial stereotypes were present in Swedish everyday life. These representations were thus also in a way part of the European colonial project and its civilizing mission. As McClintock claims, the black person in commodity imagery was not necessarily a reflection of a black individual, but rather a cipher facilitating a white perspective on imperialism to be conveyed.⁶⁴² Furthermore, Stuart Hall asserts that “advertising translated things into a fantasy visual display consisting of signs and symbols enabling the popularisation of perceptions of superiority that were initially developed in elite discourses.”⁶⁴³ Therefore, commodity racism changed the narrative of evolutionary progress into mass-produced consumer attractions. The concept of race spread “in the sciences and humanities, and, at the same time was socially generalized to such an extent that the lower classes were granted membership into the ‘master race’ and in this way were definitively integrated into the realms of whiteness.”⁶⁴⁴

**CONCLUDING REMARKS:
LEISURE AND PLEASURE**

Various stagings of colonial events were showed in Sweden. According to Vanessa R. Schwartz, late nineteenth-century cities nurtured a culture of energetic crowd-pleasing and multi-sensory enjoyments that characterized real life as a spectacle.⁶⁴⁵ Furthermore, she argues that the representations of reality as spectacle construed a “common culture and a sense of shared experiences through which people might begin to imagine themselves as participating in a metropolitan culture because they had visual evidence that such a shared world, of which they were a part, existed”.⁶⁴⁶ I would claim that the Wild West acts, ethnological exhibitions, going to the wax museum or visiting orientalised milieus played a part in establishing a similar colonial reality. Different stagings emphasized both nostalgic and contemporary colonial events.

Part two has shown how various representations of the colonial world were established, circulated and given meaning. The Wild West

2. RACE AND POPULAR MEDIA

performances had to convert the colonial narrative on many accounts. The success of the American show by Cody resulted in many circus groups around Scandinavia copying the act, where travelling circuses often claimed to have real American Indians on stage. However, on closer inspection it was often a Scandinavian crew that re-staged acts of the American Indians.

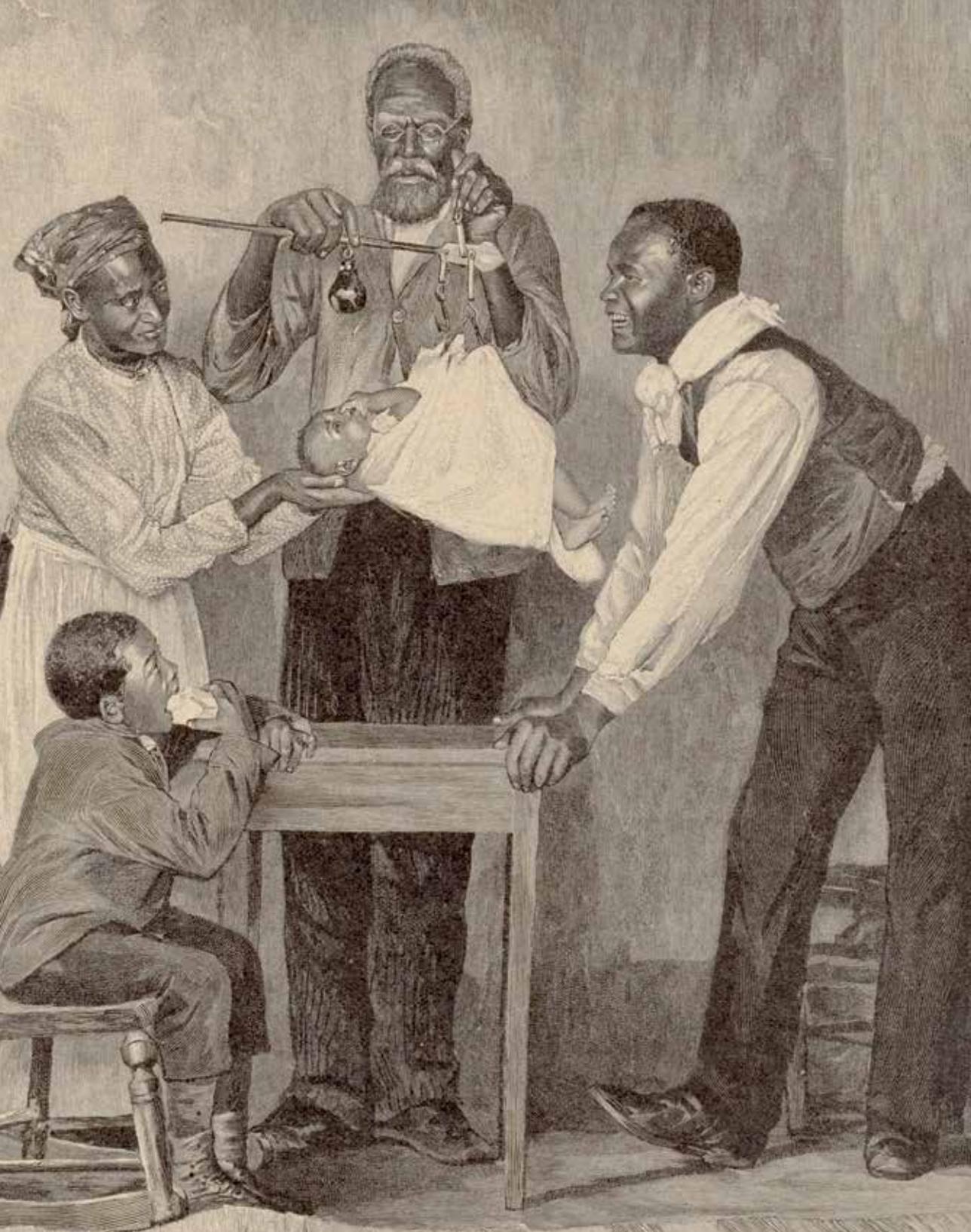
My analysis has basically highlighted five aspects the Swedish circus groups had to negotiate when staging Wild West acts: authenticity, grandness, visual performance, the narrative of the good and bad life and exoticization of American Indians. But as shown, Swedish audiences were able to familiarize themselves with the narrative about the struggles between the “white settlers” and “hostile Indians” before they went to see the shows in, for example, ephemera, the illustrated press and dime novels. The posters were one of the first impressions the audience encountered, and image-based and text-based posters elaborated on the ideas of the Other, reinforcing the notion, textually and visually, of “the hostile Indian”. Furthermore, the rusty and bold letters and illustrations connoted authenticity. The performances aimed to educate and entertain the audience and did so with a narrative about the Westward expansion and action-based events. In the Swedish programmes, however, the focus was put more on events such as riding, shooting or throwing the lasso. It is important to note that the narrative of the struggle between the White settlers and American Indians was also found in other media, and audiences were thus well aware of the story prior to visiting performances.

The ethnological exhibitions displayed a presumed “primitive life” and everyday culture of the Indigenous people. These exhibitions travelled to major cities, and also found their way to the smaller towns all over Sweden. These narratives were often framed with a lecture on the “primitive”. The audience had the possibility of not only hearing but “seeing and touching” the Indigenous people. I have argued that an imperial gaze was established in these entertainments. It included both an *excluding* visual practice in which Indigenous people were seen in a strict racial hierarchy, and an *including* visual practice which aligned itself with a white race colonial project and civilizing mission.

To amuse, to inform and to educate – these were leading words when promoting and staging such shows. A distinct pattern was constructed. The ethnological exhibitions included “performances” of dancing, singing, fighting and eating and these events were said to be their special “talents”. Almost all exhibitions stated that the Indigenous people were runaways or former slaves and the managers of the show exaggerated the performance and often lied about the performers’ identity.

The Swedish Panopticon staged colonial events which concerned a Swedish audience and they were placed at the beginning and end of the exhibition. In the wax museum, contemporary colonial events which related to Scandinavian matters were staged. For example, a scene of Stanley and Peter Möller, the Congo lieutenant showed them in a discussion over an expedition. The audience could connect to the Scandinavian participation in Congo, while at the same time the wax figures of Africans in the scene differentiated the Europeans from non-Europeans in a decisive racial hierarchy.

Finally, the Oriental Maze Salon differed in that it was aimed at evoking fantasies of the Orient, whereas the former entertainments were specifically concerned with staging authenticity. In the Oriental Maze Salon the audience could explore a mysterious and exotic Orient, which was compared to European modern life. At the same time, the mirror salons enabled the audience to study their own racial features. A mutual vision of the European colonial project and its civilizing mission was thus as much concerned with differentiating the Others as constructing ideas of the whiteness which was perceived as belonging to a European and a Swedish national identity.



“Den yngsta skall vägas” [The youngest shall be measured], by Harry Roseland, *Allers Familj-Journal* 28 December 1902:52. Courtesy of the National Library of Sweden, Stockholm.

Conclusion

In late nineteenth-century Sweden, Indigenous people were caricatured and made into stereotypes in Wild West performances, ethnological exhibitions and comic strips. Orientalized motifs displayed a presumed historical past, contemporary time or fantasy as in the Oriental Maze Salons. The scientific Vanadis expedition circulated ideas of the Other in the press. In most cases the narratives were straightforward, and left unsettlingly little room for ambivalence. Indigenous populations were inserted into a strict racial hierarchy in which the Australian Aboriginal was perceived as being on “the lowest level of the human evolutionary scale”. Such assumptions were rarely questioned. On the contrary, the empirical examples in this dissertation have demonstrated that they reinforced notions of the White man as superior. Swedish audiences, in short, embraced the European colonial project and its civilizing mission through different narratives of colonial events.

However, one might ask oneself if the European colonial project and its civilizing mission was done only for a good cause or, if it was also perceived as a suppression of colonized lives. A few articles published in the illustrated press raised issues concerning anti-colonialism. In fact, a small number of images without text depicted non-European people, in this case African Americans, with sympathy and without narratives about their supposed “inferiority”. “Den yngsta skall vägas” [The youngest shall be measured] from *Allers Familj-Journal* (1902) showed an African American family in their New York apartment, at the moment when their newborn child was measured. The article asserted that it was not uncle Tom’s cabin in the cotton fields in the South that the reader was looking at. The article told the reader that perhaps these people did not look poor,

CONCLUSION



“Negerbröllop” [A Negro wedding], *Allers Familj-Journal* 25 November 1900:47.
Courtesy of the National Library of Sweden, Stockholm.

but the grandfather and his son were factory workers and the women were probably in the cleaning industry. The report stated that they were well dressed and they had enough food and money to save for the newborn. The grandfather was described as a decent and hard-working man, who in the image carefully took note of the measurements. The joy in their faces, continued the article, could be seen while aunt Chloe (a reference to Harriet Beecher Stowe’s novel) was holding the baby. “What can be compared to such a pure and happy family event? And these people, some have wanted to take away their rights to be human. Indeed, people have seriously even claimed that Negroes do not have a soul – just because their skin is a different colour to ours.”⁶⁴⁷

This narrative, resembling the writings of Beecher Stowe, broke with previous accounts of the life of African Americans, who were depicted in demeaning ways. For example “Negerbröllop” [A Negro wedding] in



Harriet Beecher Stowe, *Onkel Toms stuga eller negerlivet i Nordamerikas slafstater* [Uncle Tom's cabin or, life among the lowly], republished 1895 with illustrations by Jenny Nyström. © Jenny Nyström/Kalmar läns-museum/Bildupphovsrätt 2016.

Allers Familj-Journal (1900) illuminated that slavery ended in 1865 and that the “Negros” were “poor both in their souls and materially”. “The ignorance and stupidity” was, according to the article, because the African-American wanted to be just like the “white man”.⁶⁴⁸ The illustration exaggerated physical traits, displayed clothes that were either too small or too big. Altogether it aimed to display African Americans as inferior, alluding to the stereotype of the Sambo and Jim Crow.

The 1902 article about a family attributed characteristics not based on their skin colour. It narrated a story of an everyday event and made no reference to negative stereotypes. It also had a direct reference to Beecher Stowe's novel *Uncle Tom's cabin* from 1852, quite deliberately I assume. It was one of the most famous depictions of African American lives, with a strong anti-slavery message. It was translated into Swedish the same year as a feuilleton in *Aftonbladet*. The following year it was published as a book, and in 1895 the publishing company Hedlunds from Gothenburg published the novel with illustrations by Jenny Nyström.⁶⁴⁹

CONCLUSION



“Bild ur negerernas lif: Doktors besök” [An image of the life of the Negro: The doctor’s visit], by Harry Roseland, *Allers Familj-Journal* 4 September 1904:37. Courtesy of the National Library of Sweden, Stockholm.

The front cover of the September issues in 1904 “Bild ur negerernas lif: Doktors besök” [An image of the life of the Negro: A doctor’s visit] and “Bild ur negerernas lif: Svart drager och vinner” [An image of the life of the Negro: Black makes a chess move and wins] (1904) by Harry Roseland, depicted people of African descent in a realistic manner. Roseland was famous in his day for specializing in genre painting, and that of African American everyday life scenes. These were not followed with an explanatory text, as most images were. But the reader familiar with such imagery would easily recognize the group of images to which these belonged.⁶⁵⁰ The satirical magazine *Söndags-Nisse* had a few anti-colonial



“Bild ur negernas lif: Svart drager och vinner. Efter en teckning af H. Roseland.
Black makes a chess move and wins] by Harry Roseland, *Allers Familj-Journal* 16 October 1904:42. Courtesy of the National Library of Sweden, Stockholm.

cartoons such as “Berättigad undran” [Justified question] (1879), which showed Great Britain as a mother. The attached text asked why Great Britain took so many foreign children when her own children were being neglected.⁶⁵¹

Thus, there were a few visual representations that were critical of and even condemned colonial practices. The colonization of Africa, Asia and Australia was much admired in exhibitions, performances, travel journals, ethnographical lectures and ephemera. Nonetheless, it is important to stress that counter-images to racial stereotypes did exist. However, there is also a danger in highlighting imagery such as the above at the end of a 211

CONCLUSION



“Berättigad undran” [Justified question], *Söndags-Nisse* 2 March 1879. Courtesy of the National Library of Sweden, Stockholm.

book. It raises several postcolonial concerns. First of all it can reinforce a contemporary notion that colonial cultures were harmless. Especially that of colonial cultures in Scandinavia, which in contemporary historiography has been perceived as being situated outside the colonial project.⁶⁵²

As several scholars have stated, Sweden has not considered itself a colonial power, even though the country possessed colonies overseas.⁶⁵³ Peace and conflict researcher Peter Johansson has claimed that Sweden established a self-image as a country without colonies – and therefore is still interpreted as a nation without a colonial past.⁶⁵⁴ Gunlög Fur has problematized the Swedish discourse of innocence: “Sweden shares a set of discourses with its Nordic neighbours regarding its role in the history of European expansion. Engagement with colonialism proper appears limited and distant in time, and this ‘indirect’ form of Scandinavian involvement allows room for claims of innocence in confronting colonial histories.”⁶⁵⁵

One of the main discoveries in this dissertation has been how resilient and re-circulated the racial stereotype was. For example, before the audience encountered ethnological exhibitions, they already knew and had been taught how to look at, feel about and comprehend various stagings through other media (ephemera, visual arts, illustrated press) and media cultures. The racialized seeing was highly visualized and the few examples of anti-colonial imagery were exceptional. Another postcolonial concern is the risk of giving a voice to the Other. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak has raised the issue of speaking about the Other, claiming to speak with its own voice.⁶⁵⁶ The images by Roseland, for example, thus need to be viewed with caution. What the empirical material does display is that Swedish audiences had few counter-images to consider in the late nineteenth century. Racial theories at the time were well established and deeply rooted, not only within the science field but also in an expanding mass culture. For example, the Wild West performances and ethnological exhibitions popularized ideas on race and visualized a strict racial hierarchy and white hegemony.

Colonizing fever has shown that visual representations of the colonial world were articulated in multiple ways, with deceptively contradictory understandings of the ‘colonized’: as members of a dying race and ethnological objects (Vanadis expedition), as romantic beings in the form of the noble savage (Wild West performances), as savages existing at a primitive stage of social development (ethnological exhibitions), as hostile, as friendly, as objects of desire or display in spectacles (wax museums), as marketable commodities (ephemera) or as relics of antiquity (Oriental Maze Salons). Importantly, the study has been about Swedish (and European) ways of seeing, behaviour, practices and attitudes – not of the colonized people. Likewise it has not been a study of social and political history, for which visual representations mainly provide illustrations. The concern has been about representations for the Swedish public, but not always made by Swedes. My investigation of visual representations of the colonial world should not be seen as giving one single accurate interpretation as the only account constructed from the material, discarding or excluding other readings. Images can of course have a variety of meanings. The book does not assume to uncover all there is to know about

CONCLUSION

these particular visual representations of the colonial world. In short my text, like the representations, is subject to a historical condition. The intention has thus not been to produce an uncomplicated study that excludes the possibility of discrepancies, ambiguities, contradictions or of varying registers of meaning in representations.

In previous research visual culture has often been situated on the brink of or outside the traditional art history field. However, this narrative is no longer valid. Art history as a discipline has expanded, not only regarding a wider field of visual culture, but also pertaining to questions of visuality, media and how vision has been constructed historically. The issue of race and its connection to visual culture is one such area of concern, and the aim of this dissertation has been threefold. First of all, it aimed to draw attention to the presence of a colonial discourse within a material which has not received attention in art history and visual culture studies. Secondly, I analyzed these visual representations of the colonial world, in an expanding media culture in late nineteenth-century Sweden. Thirdly, my analyses investigated how a mutual vision of the European colonial project and its civilizing mission was created *via* visual strategies and descriptions. Studying visual representations of the colonial world in a nineteenth-century media system has been done through a methodology that has aspired to illuminate how various media were presented and represented, framed and re-framed, and how various forms of mediated circulation reached both public and private spaces. In other words, it has been most productive to study the different intermediary relations that produced a differentiated amount of narratives about the colonial world.

“Part One: Race and Scientific Media – The Vanadis Expedition 1883–1885” and “Part Two: Race and Popular Media – Shows, Exhibitions and Attractions”, were separated into two different studies, although the book has also emphasized that they are interconnected and overlapping. Nonetheless, there are evidently differences between the two studies, with the first part focusing on scientific media and the second part exploring popular media. First of all, the Vanadis expedition was investigated as an event with a clear beginning and end. This contrasts with the second study, which literally jumps from different occurrences within a time span of twenty-five years. Secondly, the expedition highlighted the reception

abroad as well as how the journey was perceived in Sweden. In regard to Wild West performances, ethnological exhibitions and wax displays – they were analyzed solely in terms of a Swedish context. However, the study shows how imagery was reworked and elaborated, crossing national boundaries. Finally, a striking difference between the two studies is that the Vanadis expedition was mediated in various media *but* the audience experienced it from a distance, while the second part accentuated performances, attractions and shows that were staged right in front of the audience. This was not only the case in the capital, Stockholm. The attractions could be seen in the northern parts of Sweden: Gävle, Östersund and Umeå, as well as in the south: Malmö, Kalmar, Helsingborg and Gothenburg.

The foremost conclusion drawn from the first part is that the Vanadis expedition established a mutual vision of the European colonial project and its civilizing mission with explicit ambitions in trade, diplomatic relations and sciences. The expedition was staged and represented in numerous media such as the press, travel journals, photography, illustrated press, photo albums, ephemera and visual arts. These media circulated in both public and private spaces, reaching a wide audience. The dissertation has shown how the press, which was the dominant medium to spread news about the expedition, reinforced the Vanadis mission as being important for society at large. Detailed, extensive and vivid reports created mental images for the reader. They evoked a sense of actually being on the boat. It was nearly impossible to miss the news about the journey; different narratives were published on a monthly basis. To follow the expedition in the press was hence to be part of the modern world and a relatively new medium such as photography associated Sweden with modernity, at the same time as it was used to depict the Indigenous population as belonging to the “lower” races. Importantly, photography functioned as both a preservational and a distributive medium.

Racial science was also crucial for the expedition; one of the main purposes was that the ethnographer Hjalmar Stolpe would collect ethnographical material, including human remains such as mummies and craniums. The ethnographical survey conducted measurements of the Indigenous populations and a racial photo archive was established. Consequently, I

CONCLUSION

argue that an imperial gaze was constructed in different ways in the press, illustrated press, visual arts, photographs, ephemera, travel journals, lectures and exhibitions – basically in two ways. First of all, it was concerned with an excluding visual practice, in which Indigenous populations were strictly categorized in a racial hierarchy that differentiated them from Europeans. Secondly, an imperial gaze was established through an including visual practice in which Swedes were made to feel connected to the European colonial project and its civilizing mission. For example, the dominant imagery was that of the boat and the flag. These representations reinforced the notion that Sweden was part of the European colonial project and its subsequent civilizing mission. The boat and the flag were symbols of progress, modernity and knowledge. These visual representations were seen in many different media. Moreover, two exhibitions were set up after the Vanadis journey and attracted a large audience. My analysis shows, however, that the collected material from the expedition did not have the capability to describe itself. Hence, it became important to have some sort of information, a guide booklet, to be able to understand the artefacts at all. The curator, in this case Hjalmar Stolpe, was also of the utmost importance, for it was the anthropologist who could explain the objects and their various relations.

The second part of my dissertation highlighted contemporary entertainments, and elaborated on colonial events such as Wild West performances, ethnological exhibitions, wax museums and Oriental Maze Salons. In a similar manner as the Vanadis expedition, these enactments also created a mutual vision of the European colonial project and its civilizing mission. For example, in the Wild West performances a narrative of life on the ‘last frontier’ were seen as a fight for life between the White settler and the American Indian, who was portrayed as brutal and uncivilized. In the ethnological exhibitions an equivalent vision was construed in the specific performances of the Indigenous people, which displayed a population on the ‘lowest rung’ of the civilization ladder. In visual and textual sources arguments of the civilizing mission were regularly illuminated; Indigenous populations were considered soon to be extinct and performances were advertised as “the last chance” to see “uncivilized people”.

the notions of white supremacy. In the wax museum, contemporary colonial events relating to Scandinavian matters were also staged. For example, a scene of Stanley and Möller, the Congo lieutenant, showed them in a discussion over an expedition. The audience could connect to the Scandinavian participation in Congo. At the same time the wax figures of Africans in the scene clearly differentiated the Europeans from non-Europeans in a racial hierarchy. The Oriental Maze Salons differed from the previous attractions, since they were intended to evoke fantasies of the Orient. The former entertainments were specifically concerned with staging authenticity. In the Oriental Maze Salon the audience could explore a mysterious and exotic Orient, compared to European modern life.

As this dissertation has vividly exhibited, visual representations of the colonial world circulated in media forms such as the illustrated press, ephemera, the visual arts, travel journals as well as wax museums, panoramas and magic lanterns. It is important to note, however, that the Wild West performances and the ethnological exhibitions travelled all around Scandinavia, while the wax museums and Oriental Maze Salons were established in cities such as Stockholm, Copenhagen and Gothenburg. Orientalist motifs were also reworked in the visual arts and architecture. Consequently, an imperial gaze was staged in many ways and elaborated on excluding and including visual practices in the different performances and attractions.

Basically, I would like to highlight five observations – or claims and conclusions – that stand out in this study. First of all the dissertation has shown that it was almost impossible *not* to encounter visual representations of the colonial world in late nineteenth-century Sweden. The two parts of the book have displayed various media cultures and their extensive re-circulation of colonial representations within science and popular culture. Sweden was not a colonial power – but racial stereotypes in science and popular culture were nevertheless to be found in abundance.

Secondly, taken together these images, attractions and events created a colonial discourse that was present, and felt in society at large. From posters of “Cunningham’s Cannibals” displayed in public space to racial

CONCLUSION

stereotypes in illustrated family papers, all such imagery created a common understanding of a racial hierarchy, where Swedes were perceived as superior to other, degenerate races. In general, the dissertation has thus demonstrated how a colonial discourse did in fact exist in Sweden during the late nineteenth century.

Thirdly, the colonial discourse was mediated to Swedish audiences via a vast media landscape rather than in a specific medium. For example the Wild West performances were to be found in various media formats: ephemera, literature, visual arts, photographs – besides the actual shows. Thus, if a Swedish colonial discourse benefitted from an abundance of racial imagery, it also took advantage of the fact that such representations were scattered in a number of different media forms and formats.

A fourth conclusion is that visual representations of the colonial world were a transnational phenomenon and imagery crossed continents in numerous ways. The depiction of the Other was built on racial theories that promoted ideas about Indigenous people as inferior, visualized as a specific set of features that could be seen all around Europe. Again, it was the abundance of racial imagery that created a widely mediated colonial discourse, yet the specific Swedishness of such depictions has been hard to locate empirically. Within popular culture at least, colonial imagery and attractions were quite similar, and basically the same type of stereotypes flourished across Europe.

Finally, a fifth claim pinpoints the resilience of the racial stereotype. Before an audience went to see an ethnological exhibition, for example, they already knew how to feel about, see and understand the act from previous colonial posters, ephemera, press, novels, visual arts and so on. Racial theory and ideas about race and white hegemony were deeply rooted and popularized. Science legitimized such claims, and by and large reinforced the resilience of racial stereotyping. For example when the explorer Karl Lumholtz in lectures spoke of Australian Aborigines as doomed to inevitable extinction due to the civilizing mission, the audience would beforehand have encountered such racial theories in the press, in an exhibition context, depicted in a comic strip or in a staged performance. The European colonial project and its civilizing mission were repeatedly perceived as important and worthy of support. For example

the illustrated family magazines had several articles which applauded the colonial endeavours.

Race and racial theory have been a leading theme in this book. Racial sciences were not isolated to a specific field but were often popularized in urban mass culture. As scholars Barbara Lüthi, Francesca Falk and Patricia Purtschert assert: “Race has played an influential role in the rise of colonialism because of the division of human society or human beings in order to establish a dominance of colonialists over subject peoples and thereby also legitimized colonial enterprises. It quickly turned into one of imperialism’s most supportive ideas.”⁶⁵⁷ My contribution has aspired to present research in art history and visual culture studies in which questions of visibility as a historically specific experience, colonialism, race and Swedish (and Scandinavian) media cultures were of great concern. In that regard, the study has had a strong interdisciplinary approach. Questions of visibility have been analyzed in various ways, but above all as a specific visual practice that enacted visual representations of the colonial world. Theories on physiognomy were popularized, for example, and the audience had many different ways to practise a kind of racialized seeing – for example in ethnological exhibitions, lectures, scientific articles in the illustrated press and entertainment practices.

I started by arguing that the late nineteenth-century colonial context could be described in terms of “a mutual vision of the European colonial project and the civilizing mission” rather than “colonial complicity”.⁶⁵⁸ My argument has been that the empirical sources speak of a willingness to participate in the colonial project. Furthermore, the dissertation has aimed to situate colonial history in a region which is usually not considered to have been affected by colonial practices.⁶⁵⁹ The study has sought to show that visual representations of the colonial world were present in various media cultures and that the audience negotiated a vast media landscape rather than a specific medium. The imagery from Great Britain, Germany, France and North America found its way into visual representations that were showed in Sweden. Thus, the exchanges were not limited to national boundaries.

One of the contributions of this book, I claim is that it has brought new light to visual material that has not received attention within art 219

CONCLUSION

history and visual culture studies. The analyzed visual media were highly visible in the last decades of the nineteenth century. This imagery forces us to rethink how nineteenth-century Swedish visual cultural history has been written. If one of the conclusions is that it was impossible not to see visual representations of the colonial world, it is important to note that an imperial gaze could also be detected earlier in the history of European colonialism. Nonetheless, it was during the last decades of the nineteenth century that representations of colonial events *increased* and reached a wider audience in which an imperial gaze could multiply.

As a consequence, I have proposed that different expanding media cultures, with a specific emphasis on visual representations of the colonial world, became a form of a colonizing fever. Susanne Zantop has claimed that Germans preoccupied themselves with an imaginary drive for colonial conquest and possession that eventually grew into a collective obsession. “German colonial fantasies were different even when they imitated or rewrote those of other European nations”, she states. By virtue of being in a sort of pure empire of the imagination, “German fantasies were not only differently motivated, but had a different function: to serve not so much as ideological smokescreen or cover-up for colonial atrocities or transgressive desires, but as *Handlungersatz*, as substitute for the real thing, as imaginary testing ground for colonial action.”⁶⁶⁰

Thus, Zantop illuminates how Germans could create a colonial universe of their own, and insert themselves into it. This notion has been of concern for the material investigated. I claim that the Swedish audience engaged in various media cultures full of visual representations of the colonial world. From the scientific Vanadis expedition, news about its whereabouts in the colonial world was reported on a monthly basis. The reader could take part in the exploration from a distance; meticulous and vivid reports created mental images of experiencing the expedition in situ. Nonetheless, it was not only the expedition that the Swedish audience could follow. In Sweden, various new attractions which explicitly elaborated on colonial narratives, such as Wild West performances, ethnological exhibitions or wax displays, created a “colonial universe” at home. At the time, the newspapers spoke of colonizing fever, when explaining the greater empires’ desire for more foreign territory. This

phenomenon was negotiated in regard to Sweden. It is important to see how the interest in overseas colonial cultures served to legitimize practices at home. The interest in these representations was one way for Sweden to be part of the European colonial project and its civilizing mission.

Colonizing fever has not claimed to cover all aspects of visual representations. Still, the analysis shows that it was not only the greater empires that engaged in a colonial culture, but also countries on the periphery involved in consummating different cultural productions of colonialism. This was shown, for example, when the audiences went to see Wild West performances and ethnological exhibitions, read comic strips about “savages and cannibals” or followed a scientific expedition.

The past and the present are full of concurrences. Events happen simultaneously in the same place and in different places and are understood contrarily by those who experience them. In the humanities, the researcher confronts them and asks what does this mean? Even more importantly, of all the things that do happen – what do we narrate? Who decides what events should be important enough to remember? What material are we going to use? Initially, I problematized the notion of late nineteenth-century Sweden as a time of crisis. I argued that there was a concurrent event to the crisis narrative, about a mutual vision of the European colonial project and its civilizing mission. This is a postcolonial notion which seeks to highlight that European history, and in this case Swedish history, needs to be framed around other concurrences that speak of colonial activities and practices. The material investigated has been found in various of archives, sometimes under difficult circumstances, since there has not been a colonial archive to visit. Instead writing colonial history in a Swedish context has been about reconstructing findings and revisiting material that has not been of interest in contemporary writings but nonetheless played a part in the late nineteenth century.

When I began my research project, the subject of “Scandinavian colonialism” had just emerged as a field in which a lot of research was still to be done. In regard of art history and visual culture studies, I would say that there are still archives to be surveyed and revisited. There are basically three areas of research which could be explored, continuing the research

CONCLUSION

set out in this dissertation. First of all, a survey that includes Scandinavian sources, secondly a broadening of the time frame to include other media, for example moving images, and thirdly an investigation of the voices of the Other. These perspectives would all be of great interest. Research into colonial cultures in Scandinavian history is only in its early days. Another important investigation would be visual representations of the colonial world within and outside Sweden, where the Sámi culture would be problematized.⁶⁶¹

An important context for this study has been colonialism, and in the concluding part it is important to probe questions about differences and similarities between colonial formations. Different terms such as classical colonies, colonialism without colonies or colonialism at the margins offers a reconsideration of how the colonial map has been theorized. Investigating colonialism without colonies – and with Sweden as the case study – broadens our view of colonial history and its postcolonial present. The explicit understanding of the concept colonialism without colonies has been expressed by historian Jürgen Osterhammel: “Situations in which dependencies of the ‘colonialist’ type appear, not between a ‘mother country’ and a geographically remote colony, but between dominant ‘centres’ and dependent ‘peripheries’ *within* national states or regionally integrated land empires. The theoretical construction ‘internal colonialism’ was developed to categorize such cases.”⁶⁶² The so-called classic colonies have often been homogenized within the field of imperial history and new imperial history has focused more on social and cultural questions.

Another emerging field is so-called settler colonialism.⁶⁶³ It displays specific characteristics: settlers meant a population moving from the metropolis to occupy a territory and forming a new society in spaces that were perceived as empty and free. Another area that has developed is scholarship exploring “colonies at the margins” (or colonialism without colonies) which involve countries that at first sight are not associated with colonial enterprises, such as Iceland, Sweden or Switzerland.⁶⁶⁴ As scholars Barbara Lüthi, Francesca Falk and Patricia Purtschert assert: “Such countries mostly fall off the radar when trying to understand colonialism as one of the most significant events structuring the world since

CONCLUSION

the rise of Europe to global dominance since 1500.”⁶⁵ I argue that it is of importance to insert these spaces into an analytical framework by addressing their connection to, support for and benefit from colonial activities.

Postcolonial analysis aims to illuminate and criticize power relationships between culture and colonialism. Postcolonial theory has consequently become a tool for questioning Western knowledge and discussing its dominance. Despite expressions of concern about the usefulness of the term postcolonial, scholars have created new productive research about colonialism without colonies. In short, postcolonial theory has allowed an expansion of the framework for historical and theoretical understanding in many ways. Challenging the framework points to the persistence of colonial structures and power relations in countries that have never been regarded as, or understood themselves as, official colonial powers. Still, such countries (like Sweden) in reality have entangled histories with colonial powers regarding, for example, science or popular culture as this dissertation has testified.

Reflex Crème & Reflex Svärta

BÄSTA & BILLIGASTE
Skoputningemedel



KEM·FABR·ELEKTRON GEFLE

NORDENSKA BOONFERTIGARIEKT, GEFLE

1903



121

Poster: Reflex crème & reflex svart [Reflex
crème & reflex darkness] 1903. Courtesy of
the National Library of Sweden, Stockholm.

Coda

This book has had a troubling subject. It has brought to light the presence of racial stereotypes, colonial attitudes and racism in late nineteenth-century Scandinavia, with Sweden as the main case study. As initially stated, it has been difficult choosing images regarding racial photography from the Vanadis expedition or imagery from the ethnological exhibitions that were touring Sweden. I have in my dissertation tried to refrain from becoming normative. Still, some images (and personal narrative connected to them) have been utterly saddening. I have with a few exceptions decided to display adults only. The imagery of children I came across has been most disturbing. I think it is important to reflect on the imagery being re-published, and the risk of reproducing stereotypes and colonial narratives. I became aware of it even more when teaching about racial and colonial discourses in art history at the universities of Uppsala and Stockholm. The students' awakening to issues of colonial heritage in Scandinavia was overwhelming.

I was also ambivalent about the rich material I came across on racial stereotyping and the general racialization from the late nineteenth century and onwards. Often people in ethnological exhibitions and racial photographs, for example, do not have voices. No documents of their thoughts and concerns are kept. No names, no history – which is deeply worrying as well. At the same time: what happens if these representations remain in the archives never to be displayed? Then they are to some extent silenced again. Similar issues have been raised by historian Esther Captain, for example at the conference, “Austere histories: Social exclusion and the erasure of colonial memories in European societies”.⁶⁶⁶ Captain 225

CODA

illuminated, for example, how museum policies in the Netherlands have widely discarded colonial material.⁶⁶⁷

Racism and racial stereotypes have proved persistent; the issues are complex and so are the various contexts to consider.⁶⁶⁸ Nonetheless, this work has attempted to trace some of the historical roots of racial stereotyping in science and popular culture. Nicholas Mirzoeff's description: "There is nothing to see here. Move along!", regarding the resistance of investigating racial issues in visual culture studies, highlights that there are indeed things to see, to discover and to analyze. This dissertation has displayed and analyzed the presence of a colonial discourse in Swedish media cultures, and moreover how these representations were accessible and re-circulated. Naturally, this imagery also sheds light on contemporary contexts. If racial stereotyping, as I have shown, had both a scientific and popular media history in Sweden, my study is also implicitly linked to the ways that twenty-first-century discourses on racism and racial stereotyping have re-emerged during the last years in Nordic mass and social media.⁶⁶⁹ There are many linkages, but I will only refer to two examples that to my mind have accentuated the relevance of my thesis topic.

Firstly, within the art and cultural sector a number of works have lately thematized national racism. For example in the case of the art work of Makode Linde's *Painful cake* (part of the performance and art installation series *Afromantics*) in 2012, at the Museum of Modern Art (Stockholm), or the author Jonas Hassen Khemiri's article "Kära Beatrice Ask", in the Swedish daily, *Dagens Nyheter* (2013), later published as "Sweden's closet racists", in *The New York Times* (2013). In short, both Linde and Khemiri have in their respective fields confronted racial stereotypes and colonial heritage.⁶⁷⁰ Another similar event, in May 2014, was the restaging of the 1914 ethnological exhibition, which had exhibited Africans in Norway. "The Congo village" [Kongolandsbyen] in Oslo (former Christiania) was part of an art installation and the celebration of the 200th anniversary of Norway's constitution.⁶⁷¹ And exactly while writing these lines, Linde's critically acclaimed retrospective exhibition "Negerkungens återkomst" [The return of the Negro king] opened, re-staging issues of racism, colonialism and national identity in Sweden.⁶⁷² All these events stirred a heated debate in mass and social media. Thus, the challenging

position I found myself in was that these public disputes were “convenient” for my work.⁶⁷³ Hence, the significance of my study became easy to justify. Nonetheless, it was also a disheartening fact.⁶⁷⁴

Secondly, another reminder of Sweden’s colonial heritage has been the repatriation of human remains and cultural artefacts that has been under way since the early 1990s.⁶⁷⁵ In the Nordic archives, various colonial material has been repatriated both outside and within the Nordic countries, for example via the repatriation processes between Denmark and Greenland.⁶⁷⁶ I am aware that it is a much larger discussion, which my work has not dealt with. Still, some material analyzed in this book has been repatriated, for example the human remains from Hawaii in 2009 and from Nuku Hiva and Tahiti in 2015, collected on the Vanadis expedition.⁶⁷⁷

The problem of colonial visual culture heritage is thus also a contemporary question (and an academic research problem). Colonial artefacts located in the Nordic countries are part of “our” culture heritage. Then again, besides the repatriation processes, how should colonial visual culture heritage in the twenty-first century be understood? More specifically, how does one write colonial history in a Swedish art history and visual culture context? That is a conundrum this book has explicitly challenged. Nonetheless, with this notion comes a huge pitfall – how to avoid reproducing existing power relations of today’s postcolonial and global world, in which the Western hemisphere – with Sweden as an example – is once again staged as the centre and not in the “periphery”, reproducing “Others” as silent voices. Throughout the study, this has been a constant battle to tackle. Nevertheless, I hope that the reader will see the dissertation’s resistance to giving only *one* account of late nineteenth-century Swedish cultural history.

Notes

1. Radio speech by Olof Palme, 25 December 1965, in: Olof Palme, *Politik är att vilja* (Stockholm: Prisma, 1968), 64–65. Original quote in Swedish: “Demokrati är fast förankrad här i landet. Vi respekterar de grundläggande fri-och rättigheterna. Grumliga rasteorier har aldrig funnit fotfäste. Vi betraktar oss gärna som fördomsfria och toleranta. Men så enkelt är det ändå inte.”

A few commentaries about the usage of citations that I make ought to be mentioned: first, quotations with [...] indicate a quote in which a few words have been taken away. Quotations with [---] signify a quote that has a sentence or several sentences taken away. The title of each work is given in the original language and the initial year of publication is listed in the main text. If another edition is used, it will be specified in the endnotes and bibliography. English translations of the Swedish empirical sources are in brackets in the main text only. For example *I Sitting Bulls land: Skildringar från gränslifvet i Amerikanska västern* [In the land of Sitting Bull. Stories of Life on the Frontier in the American West] (1892). It also concerns articles from the Swedish press and titles of the visual sources surveyed. The English translations of the visual material are found in the List of Figures. Finally, when information has been available each illustration is measured in the metric system. It also concerns the given information of artists, techniques and location of the illustration, which is specified in captions and in the List of Figures.

2. The proverb (and sometimes referred to as “the old Soviet joke”) has been attributed to different sources, for example, see: Lawrence W. Levine, *The unpredictable past: Explorations in American cultural history* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 1. Christopher S. Wren, *The end of the line: The failure of communism in the Soviet Union and China* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1990), 10. Historian Bernard Bailyn discusses the unpredictable history in: Mary Lou Beatty, “The past is unpredictable: A conversation with Bernard Bailyn”, *Humanities*, vol. 19:2, 1998, 1–10.

3. W. J. T. Mitchell, *What do pictures want? The lives and loves of images* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2005), 5.

4. For example see: Eva-Lena Bengtsson, *Verklighetens poesi: Svenska genrebilder 1825–1880* (Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 2000), 265–278. Louise Nilsson, *Färger, former och ljus: Svensk reklam och reklampsykologi, 1900–1930* (Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 2010), 188–191, 196. Olle Wilson, *Raffinerade rum: Bensinstationer och preci-*

sionskultur i Sverige 1926–1956 (Stockholm: Nordiska museets förlag, 2012), 69. Anna-Maria Hällgren, *Skåda all världens uselhet: Visuell pedagogik och reformism i det sena 1800-talets populärkultur* (Möklinta: Gidlund, 2013), 23–25. Art history and visual culture studies are used throughout the book to refer to the whole field. I will use visual culture studies throughout the study instead of visual studies. See discussion in: W. J. T. Mitchell, “Showing seeing: A critique of visual culture”, *Journal of Visual Culture*, vol. 1:2, 2002, 165–181.

5. The Orientalist debate began with literary historian Edward W. Said’s *Orientalism* (1978). Said investigates the history and nature of Western attitudes towards the East, considering Orientalism as a powerful European ideological construction. According to Said, it was a way for philosophers, writers, and colonial administrators to handle the “otherness” of eastern culture, traditions and beliefs. Said traces the idea through the writings of Homer, Gérard de Nerval, Gustave Flaubert, Benjamin Disraeli and Rudyard Kipling. See: Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books Edition, 1978), 31–92. Said’s revision of the Orient, the Other and its power relations is found in his study *Culture and imperialism* (1993). In *Culture and imperialism*, Said describes how the ratification of empire building was embedded in the Western cultural imagination during the Age of Empire. Furthermore, how even today the imperial legacy colours relations between the West and the formerly colonized world at every level of political, ideological, and social practice. Examining some examples from the Western tradition, including significant works such as Jane Austen’s *Mansfield park* (1814), Giuseppe Verdi’s *Aïda* (1871), Joseph Conrad’s *Heart of darkness* (1899) and Albert Camus’s *L’étranger* (1942), Said highlights how culture and politics collaborated, knowingly and unknowingly, to produce a system of power that involved more than cannon and soldiers, a sovereignty that extended over forms, images, and the very imaginations of both the dominators and the dominated. The result was a consolidated vision that supported not just the Europeans’ right to rule but also their obligation, and made alternative arrangements inconceivable. Persistent as this vision was it did not go unopposed. Said also traces the development of an oppositional strain in the works of native writers who participated in the dangerous process of cultural decolonization. Working mainly in the languages of their colonial masters, these authors, including William Butler Yeats, Salman Rushdie, Aimé Césaire, and Chinua Achebe, recognized and exposed mechanisms of control and repression. See: Edward W. Said, *Culture and imperialism* (New York: Vintage Books Edition, 1994), 3–43. Several scholars have criticized Said’s notion of Orientalism as, for example, reproducing power hierarchies, lacking a gender perspective and missing the voices of the subaltern. For an overview see: Ania Loomba, *Colonialism/postcolonialism* (London/New York: Routledge, 1998), 22–82. For further reading see: Robert J. C. Young, *Colonial desire: Hybridity in theory, culture and race* (London/New York: Routledge, 1995), 163, John M. MacKenzie, *Orientalism: History, theory and the arts* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995), 46–47 and Robert Irwin, *For the lust of knowing: The orientalists and their enemies* (London: Allen Lane, 2006), 277–309. For further reading on exoticism and nineteenth-century cultural history see for example: Chris Bongie, *Exotic memories: Literature, colonialism, and the fin-de-siècle* (Stanford:

NOTES

Stanford University Press, 1991), 1–33 and Peter Mason, *Infelicities: Representations of the exotic* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1998), 1–42.

6. The art history and visual culture studies field in Scandinavia, and Sweden in particular, all began by discussing “the exotic and oriental” influences by the artist Egon Lundgren’s works of art in the mid-1850s and ended with Ivan Aguéli’s works at the beginning of the twentieth century. Different aspects of which the previous statements are worth pondering. First, the linear time considered in art history writing (and as explicitly described from Lundgren to Aguéli); secondly, the (white) male artists’ dominance and the lack of female agency; thirdly the art versus visual culture, and last, the often used term Orientalism. Another vital question is the implicit claims of Western art/visual culture production. Is there such a thing as Western art to speak of, and does it reproduce certain power relations? Does the omission of any mention of female agency, at the same time, work towards producing its non-existence?

7. It is itself highly thought provoking, it reminded me of a metaphor given by Nicholas Mirzoeff at *The 2010 Visual Culture Studies Conference* held at the University of Westminster, London, 27–29 May 2010.

8. See also the discussion by Mitchell in: W. J. T. Mitchell, *Seeing through race* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2012), 1.

9. In 2014, a media debate on the positive effects of colonialism took place, in which arguments of Scandinavian participation received attention. See further: Michael McEachrane, “Elever bör undervisas om svensk kolonialism”, *Aftonbladet* 29 October 2014.

10. Reina Lewis, *Gendering orientalism: Race, femininity, and representation* (London/New York: Routledge, 1996), 1.

11. Although the term *racism* was not used in the nineteenth century, but first became a term in the 1930s to refer to specific events in Nazi Germany, it is obvious that a racist discourse developed. See the discussion about racism in the nineteenth century by science historian Olof Ljungström. Olof Ljungström, *Oscariansk antropologi: Etnografi, förhistoria och rasforskning under sent 1800-tal* (Hedemora/Uppsala: Gidlund, 2004), 19–23. The research field on racism is vast. For an introduction to the history of racism see for example: George M. Fredrickson, *Racism: A short history* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002).

12. Nicholas Mirzoeff came full circle in the second conference *Now! Visual Culture* held at NYU, in New York City, 31 May – 2 June 2012, when describing the process of occupying the issues that we are not supposed to see. See Mirzoeff’s website/blog for this issue. www.nicholasmirzoeff.com/RTL/?cat=4, retrieved 2016-02-21. For further reading see also: Nicholas Mirzoeff, *The right to look: A counterhistory of visibility* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011), 1–35.

13. With contemporary political events, I am referring to the extreme right wing political parties re-entering European governments in the late 1990s and early 2000s (for example Austria, Hungary, France and Greece). For further reading see: Andrea Mammone, Emmanuel Godin & Brian Jenkins (eds.), “Introduction: mapping the ‘right of the mainstream right’ in contemporary Europe”, *Mapping the extreme right in contemporary Europe: From local to transnational* (London/New York: Routledge, 2012),

1–15. In concern for the Scandinavian countries, in Denmark the right-wing political party Dansk folkeparti (DF) gained influence and in Norway, Fremskrittspartiet (FrP) was rising after the Norway attacks in 2011 and gained prominent positions in the new government of 2013. Moreover, the Swedish election of the Nationalist party Sverigedemokraterna (SD) and Neo-Nazi party Svenskarnas parti (SvP) to national and regional administrations 2010 and 2014 are other examples, see for example: Stieg Larsson & Mikael Ekman, *Sverigedemokraterna: Den nationella rörelsen* (Stockholm: Ordfront, 2001) and Mikael Ekman & Daniel Poohl, *Ut ur skuggan: En kritisk granskning av Sverigedemokraterna* (Stockholm: Natur & kultur, 2010). Benjamin Teitelbum's dissertation about Swedish nationalist political parties is a recent thesis on contemporary Sweden see: Benjamin Teitelbum, *Come hear our merry song: Shifts in the sound of contemporary Swedish radical nationalism* (Providence: Brown University, 2013).

14. Hayden White explicitly points to our notion of constructing history: "If we view narration and narrativity as the instruments with which the conflicting claims of the imaginary and the real are mediated, arbitrated, or resolved in a discourse, we begin to comprehend both the appeal of narrative and the grounds for refusing it. If putatively real events are represented in a nonnarrative form, what kind of reality is it that offers itself, or is conceived to offer itself, to the perception in this form? What would a non-narrative representation of historical reality look like? In answering this question, we do not necessarily arrive at a solution to the problem of the nature of narrative, but we do begin to catch a glimpse of the basis for the appeal of narrativity as a form for the representation of events construed to be real rather than imaginary." Hayden White, *The content of the form: Narrative discourse and historical representation* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1987), 4.

15. Gender scholar Liz Stanley discusses feminist methodology and its importance: "Methodology matters, because it enables us to ask, and also to begin to answer, these interesting and important questions. This is because methodology is at its simplest, a set of linked procedures which are adopted because they specify how to go about reaching a particular kind of analytic conclusion or goal. Therefore, while questions of methodology are often presented in a purely 'technical way', at root they are concerned with the "getting knowledge" [...] Methodology matters, then within feminism, because it is the key to understanding and unpacking the overlap between knowledge/power". Liz Stanley, "Methodology matters", *Introducing gender & women's studies*, eds. Victoria Robinson & Diane Richardson (London: Macmillan, 1997), 198. For further reading on feminist methodology see: Sandra Harding, *Feminism and methodology: Social science issues* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987).

16. Fredric Jameson, "Metacommentary", *Modern Language Association*, vol. 86:1, 1971, 10.

17. Michel Foucault, *Archaeology of knowledge* (London/New York: Routledge, 2002), 34–44. Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of knowledge and the discourse on language* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1982), 215–239.

18. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, "Can the subaltern speak?", *Marxism and the interpretation of culture*, eds. Cary Nelson & Lawrence Grosswell (Urbana/Chicago: University

NOTES

of Illinois Press, 1988), 271–291. See also Anne McClintock, “The angel of progress: Pitfalls of the term postcolonial”, *Social Text*, vol. 31:32, 1992, 84–98.

19. It is also a work for an international audience, and an English-speaking one, outside Scandinavia. A general knowledge of Swedish cultural history is assumed. However, some of the data and suggested reading will be found in the endnotes and bibliography. This ambition is not without problems; scholars firmly familiar with Swedish culture, history and language will probably think that some of the sections in the book are superfluous. I hope that this will be exempted in the overall aim for this subject to reach a wider audience. For a discussion of “the lives of images” see: Mitchell, 2005, 5–28.

20. *Vägvisare genom Svenska Panoptikon* (Stockholm: Nya Tryckeri-Aktiebolaget, 1889).

21. “Bland Panoptikons vaggubbar. Ett kåseri för dagen.”, *Aftonbladet* 3 August 1889. Original quote in Swedish: “Största illusionen göra onekligen de båda Kongoscenerna.”

22. Visual representations of the colonial world intend to describe both historical and contemporary events as well as imaginary ones, for example depictions of “harems” in colonized parts overseas. Visual representations of the colonial world referring to the European colonial expansion abroad date back to the fifteenth century. This study focus on late nineteenth-century representations.

23. Scandinavia refers to Denmark, Norway and Sweden. The concept of Scandinavia was established in the late eighteenth century and re-emerged as a political concept in the 1830s. The definition is much debated and sometimes in the English-speaking world, Scandinavia is used to concern Finland as well as Iceland. Scandinavians have the term Norden (or the Nordic countries) to denote all five countries. That term and the adjective Nordic are increasingly seen in English. This compares with the term Northern Europe, which according to the United Nations includes: United Kingdom, Ireland, Isle of Man, the Channel Islands, Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. Some northern parts of Russia are also in the northern part of Europe. The geography of Scandinavia and its borders have shifted back and forth between the countries in the Nordic region, and these conditions are important to bear in mind. Besides Denmark, Norway and Sweden, the Nordic region includes territories such as Iceland, Finland, Greenland, Svalbard, the Faroe Islands and the islands of Åland. The Nordic region is used in this study when mentioning the area as a whole. Sweden, the Swedish-Norwegian union and the union between Sweden and Norway (officially called the United Kingdoms of Sweden and Norway, which was a personal union under one monarch 1814–1905) will be used throughout the book when referring to the country between 1814–1905. For further reading see: Hildor Arnold Barton, *Sweden and visions of Norway: Politics and culture 1814–1905* (Carbondale/Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 2003), 58–87 and Knut Helle (ed.), “Introduction”, *Cambridge history of Scandinavia vol. 1 prehistory to 1520* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 1–15.

24. Nicholas Tromans (ed.), “Introduction: British orientalist painting”, *The lure of the east: British orientalist painting* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 10–22. Lynne Thornton, *The orientalist: Painter-travellers* (Paris: ACR Edition Internationale, 1994), 16–23. Christine Peltre, *Orientalism* (Paris: Terrail, 2004), 12–14.

25. For further reading on orientalist art in Scandinavia see for example: Tomas Björk, *Bilden av Orienten: Exotism i 1800-talets svenska visuella kultur* (Stockholm: Atlantis, 2011), 154–349 and Elisabeth Oxfeldt, *Nordic Orientalism: Paris and the cosmopolitan imagination 1800–1900* (København: Museum Tusulanum Press, 2005), 22–55. It is important to note, as Tomas Björk asserts: “Works from the ‘Orient’ by Swedish painters and photographers contributed to thinking which represents Western thoughts as superior in dichotomies [...] That is not to say that all images should be seen as imperialistically coloured statements”. Tomas Björk, “Sweden and the ‘Orient’ in nineteenth-century visual culture”, *Sciascope 6: Blond and blue-eyed: Whiteness, Swedishness and visual culture*, eds. Jeff Werner & Tomas Björk (Göteborg: Göteborgs konstmuseum, 2014), 389. On the subject of “oriental” influences in Swedish literature, see: Dan Landmark, *Vi civilisationens ljusbärare: Orientaliska mönster i det sena 1800-talets svenska litteratur och kultur* (Örebro: Örebro universitet, 2003).

26. For example Julius Kronberg’s painting *David and Saul* (1885) was reproduced as xylograph by Ida Falander in *Ny Illustrerad Tidning* 1887.

27. Rikke Andreassen & Anne Folke Henningsen, *Menneskeudstilling: Fremvisninger af eksotiske mennesker i zoologisk have og tivoli* (København: Tiderne skrifter, 2011), 11–49. See also: Rikke Andreassen, *Human exhibitions: Race, gender and sexuality in ethnic displays* (Farnham: Ashgate: 2015). For further reading on racial photography see: Anne Maxwell, *Colonial photography and exhibitions: Representations of the ‘native’ and the making of European identities* (London: Leicester University Press, 2000). Racial photography refers specifically to images which elaborated on the ideas of race, while colonial photography describes not only racial photography but other depictions from the colonial world.

28. Carl Cavanagh Hodge (ed.), *Encyclopedia of the age of imperialism, 1800–1914* (Westport/London: Greenwood Press, 2008), 680. Several Swedish historians have highlighted the fact that there is a great absence of colonial perspective in Swedish historiography. For further reading see: Gunlög Fur, “Monument, minnen och maskerader – eller vem tillhör historien?”, *Makten över minnet: Historiekultur i förändring*, ed. Peter Aronsson (Lund: Studentlitteratur, 2000), 34–50. Cecilia Trenter, “And now – imagine she’s white” – postkolonial historieskrivning”, *Makten över minnet: Historiekultur i förändring*, ed. Peter Aronsson (Lund: Studentlitteratur, 2000), 50–63. Hanna Hodacs, *Converging world views: The European expansion and early- nineteenth-century Anglo-Swedish contacts* (Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 2003), 19–20. See also Bjørn Enge Bertelsen, “Introduction: Norwegians navigating colonial orders in Africa and Oceania”, *Navigating colonial orders: Norwegian entrepreneurship in Africa and Oceania*, eds. Kirsten Alsaker Kjerland & Bjørn Enge Bertelsen (New York/Oxford: Berghahn, 2015), 1–38.

29. The European colonial project refers to the expanding colonial practices from the second half of the nineteenth century by empires such as Great Britain, France and Germany, for further reading see: Paul Gillen & Devleena Ghosh, *Colonialism & modernity* (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press Limited, 2007), 58–67. Philippa Levine, “European empires”, *The Ashgate research companion to modern imperial histories*, eds. Philippa Levine & John Marriott (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2012), 187–223.

NOTES

30. Sara Mills, *Discourse* (London/New York: Routledge, 2004), 1–7 and 14–20.

31. Foucault, 1982, 215–239.

32. The European colonial expansion refers to a period starting from the fifteenth century. According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, the short definition of colonialism is the policy or practice of acquiring full or partial political control over another country, occupying it with settlers, and exploiting it economically. One of the problems in defining colonialism is that it is hard to differentiate it from imperialism. Like colonialism, imperialism also involves political and economic control over a dependent territory. The etymology of the two terms, however, provides some clues about how they differ. The term colony comes from the Latin word *colonus*, meaning farmer. This root reminds us that the practice of colonialism usually involved the transfer of population to a new territory, where the arrivals lived as permanent settlers while maintaining political allegiance to their country of origin. Imperialism, on the other hand, comes from the Latin term *imperium*, meaning to command. Thus, the term imperialism draws attention to the way that one country exercises power over another, whether through settlement, sovereignty, or indirect mechanisms of control. The legitimacy of colonialism has been a longstanding concern for political and moral philosophers in the Western tradition. Political theorists have struggled with the difficulty of reconciling ideas about justice and natural law with the practice of European sovereignty over non-Western peoples. In the nineteenth-century, the tension between liberal thought and colonial practice became particularly acute, as dominion of Europe over the rest of the world reached its zenith. Ironically, in the same period when most political philosophers began to defend the principles of universalism and equality, the same individuals still defended the legitimacy of colonialism and imperialism. One way of reconciling those apparently opposed principles was the argument known as the “civilizing mission”, which suggested that a temporary period of political dependence or tutelage was necessary in order for “uncivilized” societies to advance to the point where they were capable of sustaining liberal institutions and self-government. For further reading see: Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths & Helen Tiffin (eds.), “Introduction to part one”, *The post-colonial studies reader* (London/New York: Routledge, 2006), 9–14. Loomba, 1–94. For an overview on European colonies see: Levine, 2012, 187–223. and H. L. Wesseling, *The European colonial empires, 1815–1919* (London: Harlow, 2004), 74–121 and 121–147.

33. Said, 1978, 31–113.

34. Homi K. Bhabha, *The location of culture* (London/New York: Routledge, 2004), 94–121

35. For further reading see: Said, 1978, 1–28, Bhabha, 94–121 and Spivak, 1988, 271–291.

36. Susanne Zantop, *Colonial fantasies: Conquest, family, and nation in precolonial Germany, 1770–1870* (Durham/London: Duke University Press, 1997), 2.

37. Gunlög Fur, “Colonialism and Swedish history: Unthinkable connections?”, *Scandinavian colonialism and the rise of modernity: Small time agents in a global arena*, eds. Magdalena Naum & Jonas M. Nordin (New York: Springer Science +Business Media, 2013), 18–37. Historian Fredrik Thomasson’s project on St Barthelémy and Swedish

colonial politics has been published so far in “Contre la loi mais en considérant les circonstances dangereuses du moment: Le tribunal suédois de l’île de Saint-Barthélemy pendant la période révolutionnaire”, *Les colonies, la révolution française, la loi*, eds. Frédéric Régent, Jean-François Niort & Pierre Serna (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2014). Another work by Thomasson is “Raynal and Sweden: Royal propaganda and colonial aspirations”, *Raynal’s Histoire philosophique des deux Indes. Colonialism, and global exchange*, eds. Jenny Mander & Cecil Courtney (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2014). For further reading on the slave trade and its Scandinavian contexts see: Klas Rönnbäck, *Commerce and colonization: Studies of early modern merchant capitalism in the Atlantic economy* (Göteborg: Göteborgs universitet, 2009), 75–98. Holger Weiss, “Danskar och svenskar i den atlantiska slavhandeln 1650–1850”, *Global historia från periferin: Norden 1600–1850*, eds. Leos Müller, Göran Rydén & Holger Weiss (Lund: Studentlitteratur, 2010), 39. For further reading about the Swedish colony Cabo Corso see: György Nováky, *Handelskompanier och kompanihandel: Svenska Afrikakompaniet 1649–1663: En studie i feodal handel* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1990).

38. Zantop, 6–7.

39. This could also be seen in English, French and German as well.

40. Colonizing fever should not be confused with the term colonial fever, which could refer to typhoid fever, yellow fever or black-water fever. For further reading see: Warwick Anderson, *The cultivation of whiteness: Science, health, and racial destiny in Australia* (Durham/London: Duke University Press, 2006), 11–41. See also: Laura Otis, *Membrans: Metaphors of invasion in nineteenth-century literature, science and politics* (Baltimore/London: The John Hopkins University Press, 2000), 31.

41. “Hvar fjortonde dag”, *Ny Illustrerad Tidning* 10 January 1885:2.

42. Henry Jenkins, Sam Ford & Joshua Green (eds.), “Introduction: Why media spreads”, *Spreadable media: Creating value and meaning in a networked culture* (New York/London: New York University Press, 2013), 18.

43. Only a few occasions in the press highlight the voices of the “Other”, however it is through the accounts by the reporters and should be taken cautiously. Nonetheless, it is important to emphasize that sources as such could exist, probably in material such as mail correspondence, diaries et cetera.

44. For example: Sverker Sörlin, *Framtidslandet: Debatten om Norrland och naturresurserna under det industriella genombrottet* (Stockholm: Carlsson, 1988). Daniel Lindmark, *Education and colonialism: Swedish schooling projects in colonial areas 1638–1878* (Umeå: Umeå universitet, 2000). Linda Burnett Andersson, “Selling the Sami: Nordic stereotypes and participatory media in Georgian Britain”, *Communicating the North: Media structures and images in the making of the Nordic region*, eds. Jonas Harvard & Peter Stadius (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), 171–196. Mårten Snickare, “Kontroll, begär och kunskap. Den koloniala kampen om Goavddis”, *Rig: Kulturhistorisk tidskrift*, vol. 97:2, 2014, 65–77. Recent works aimed at a popular audience include those by science journalist Maja Hagerman. See: Maja Hagerman, *Det rena landet: Om konsten att uppfinna sina förfäder* (Stockholm: Norstedts, 2006) and *Käraste Herman* (Stockholm: Norstedts, 2015).

45. Nonetheless, it is a large and well-surveyed research field, which this thesis will

NOTES

occasionally touch upon. For example, the ethnological exhibitions which toured Sweden used missionary establishments on a regular basis. For further reading see for example: Karin Sarja, "Ännu en syster till Afrika": *Trettiosex kvinnliga missionärer i Natal och Zululand 1876–1902* (Uppsala: Studia Missionalia Svecana, Uppsala universitet, 2002) and Lotten Gustafsson Reinius, Ylva Habel & Solveig Jülich (eds.), *Bussen är budskapet: Perspektiv på mobilitet, materialitet och modernitet* (Stockholm: Kungliga biblioteket, 2012).

46. Jonathan Crary, *Techniques of the observer: On vision and modernity in the nineteenth century* (Boston: MIT Press, 1990), 1–25 and 97–137.

47. Crary, 67–97. Crary describes the shift as an emergence of subjective vision. This new development of vision created controversy because it implied that seeing was dependent upon one's subjective thoughts, which was based on what the observer saw. Therefore, this new way of seeing was thought of as unclear, unreliable, and always questioned among a large population of people, it needed to be controlled. Historian Chris Otter points to relevant critique of Crary's theories, see: Chris Otter, *The Victorian eye: A political history of light and vision in Britain 1800–1910* (Chicago: London: The University of Chicago Press, 2008), 25. For a critical review see film historian Tom Gunning, "Review: Techniques of the observer: On visions and modernity in the nineteenth-century by Jonathan Crary", *Film Quarterly*, vol. 46:1, 1992, 51–53.

48. Jakob Christensson (ed.), "Inledning", *Signums svenska kulturhistoria: det moderna genombrottet* (Stockholm: Signum, 2008), 9–19. Historian David Tjeder investigates the crises in masculinity throughout the nineteenth century in Sweden, see: David Tjeder, *The power of character: Middle-class masculinities 1800–1900* (Stockholm: Stockholms universitet, 2003), 23 and 66–73. For further reading regarding the emancipation struggles in the nineteenth century see: Ulla Manns, *Den sanna frigörelsen: Fredrika-Bremer-förbundet 1884–1921* (Eslöv: Östlings bokförlag symposion, 1997), 35–63. Manns has published a revised chapter in English, see: Ulla Manns, "Gender and feminism in Sweden: the Fredrika Bremer association", *Women's emancipation movements in the nineteenth century: A European perspective*, eds. Sylvia Paletschek & Bianka Pietrow-Ennker (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004), 152–164.

49. For example the female question, degeneration and class struggle were interlinked and debated in Sweden. These crises were not only of Scandinavian concern, around Europe these problems were grouped as: *la question sociale, the social question, die soziale Frage*. See: Andrew Robert Aisenberg, *Contagion: Disease, government, and the "social question"* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999), 66–113. For further reading relating to Sweden, see an introductory account: Roddy Nilsson, "Den sociala frågan", *Signums svenska kulturhistoria: det moderna genombrottet*, ed. Jakob Christensson (Stockholm: Signum, 2008), 139–178. Historian Per Wisselgren discusses how previous research in Sweden has focused on the social question as constituting several separate issues. For further reading see: Per Wisselgren, *Samhällets kartläggare: Lorénska stiftelsen, den sociala frågan och samhällsvetenskapens formering 1830–1920* (Eslöv: B. Östlings bokförlag, 2000), 30–40. For an analysis of how these different initiatives were followed by a similar rationality, see: Frans Lundgren, *Den isolerade medborgaren: Liberalt styre och uppkomsten av det sociala vid 1800-talets mitt* (Hedemora: Gidlund, 2003), 114.

50. For further reading about the flaneur and the flaneuse in Scandinavia at the fin-de-siècle see: Alexandra Borg, *En vildmark av sten: Stockholm i litteraturen 1897–1916* (Stockholm: Stockholmia, 2011), 103–128. For further reading on the flaneur and flaneuse in international research see for example: Patrik McGuinness (ed.), “Introduction”, *Symbolism, decadence and the fin-de-siècle: French and European perspectives* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2000), 1–19.

51. Mark B. Sandberg, *Living pictures, missing persons: Mannequins, museums, and modernity* (Princeton/Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2003), 11.

52. Marshall Berman, *All that is solid melts into air: Experience of modernity* (London/New York: Verso, 1982), 17.

53. For example *Allers Familj-Journal* had a lengthy article about the various changes, see “Stockholm 1801 och 1901”, *Allers Familj-Journal* 6 July 1902:27.

54. Lars Magnusson, “Industrialismens genombrott”, *Signums svenska kulturhistoria: det moderna genombrottet*, ed. Jakob Christensson (Stockholm: Signum, 2008), 99–138. For further reading on secularisation and urbanisation see the following chapters: Oloph Bexell, “Uppbrottet ur enhetskyrkan”, *Signums svenska kulturhistoria: det moderna genombrottet*, ed. Jakob Christensson (Stockholm: Signum, 2008), 55–98 and Henrik Ranby, “Det sena 1800-talets svenska stad”, *Signums svenska kulturhistoria: det moderna genombrottet*, ed. Jakob Christensson (Stockholm: Signum, 2008), 219–264. Architectural historian Jakob Lindblad has shown how commissioned churches saw their pinnacle during the second half of the nineteenth century, see: Jakob Lindblad, *470 nya kyrkor: Ett bidrag till Sveriges arkitekturhistoria 1850–1890* (Stockholm: Riksantikvarieämbetet, 2009).

55. Anders Ekström, *Den utställda världen: Stockholmsutställningen 1897 och 1800-talets världsutställningar* (Stockholm: Nordiska museet förlag, 1994), 18–62 and 106–197.

56. For example art historian Anna-Maria Hällgren has investigated leisure cultures in Stockholm at the fin-de-siècle, see: Hällgren, 78–126. The establishing of the variety theatres and music halls has been explored in: Björn Ivarsson Lilieblad, *Moulin Rouge på svenska: Varietéunderhållningens kulturhistoria i Stockholm 1875–1920* (Linköping: Linköpings universitet, 2009), 44–117 and 219–263. Literary historian Andreas Nyblom’s study analyzes celebrity cultures in the late nineteenth century, see: Andreas Nyblom, *Rykthetens ansikte: Verner von Heidenstam, medierna och personkulten i sekelskiftets Sverige* (Stockholm: Atlantis, 2008). Film historian Åsa Jernudd has investigated the early cinema at the fin-de-siècle, see: Åsa Jernudd, *Filmkultur och nöjesliv i Örebro 1897–1908* (Stockholm: Stockholms universitet, 2007), 83–95 and 117–139. Art historian Peder Fallenius has analyzed the establishment of the Swedish cinema palaces in: Peder Fallenius, *Storbiografens miljöer* (Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 2003), 25–35. The panoramas and Swedish panopticon have been surveyed by media historian Pelle Snickars in: Pelle Snickars, *Svensk film och visuell masskultur 1900* (Stockholm: Aura förlag, 2001), 47–97. Art historian Hedvig Brander Jonsson has studied how religious imagery in the nineteenth century was mass produced and given meaning for a larger audience. See: Hedvig Brander Jonsson, *Bild och fromhetsliv i 1800-talets Sverige* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1994).

57. Hannu Salmi, *Nineteenth-century Europe: A cultural history* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2008), 112–113.

NOTES

58. Levine, 2012, 187–223.

59. Barbara Caine & Glenda Sluga, *Gendering European history 1780–1920* (London: Continuum, 2004), 87.

60. Caine & Sluga, 87–117.

61. Caine & Sluga, 88.

62. Nicolas Bancel, Thomas David & Dominic Thomas (eds.), “Introduction: The invention of race – scientific and popular representations of race from Linnaeus to the ethnic shows”, *The invention of race: Scientific and popular representations* (London/New York: Routledge, 2014), 1–17.

63. Salmi, 113.

64. Anne McClintock, *Imperial leather: Race, gender and sexuality in the colonial contest* (London/New York: Routledge, 1995), 5.

65. Patrik Steorn, *Nakna män: Maskulinitet och kreativitet i svensk bildkultur 1900–1915* (Stockholm: Norstedts akademiska förlag, 2006), 34.

66. The thesis understands national identity in line with historian Benedict Anderson’s notion of nation. Anderson defines the nation as, “an imagined political community – and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign. It is *imagined* because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion.” Benedict Anderson, *Imagined communities: Reflections of the origin and spread of nationalism* (London: Verso, 2006), 6. See also the discussion by historian Anthony D. Smith in: Anthony D. Smith, *National identity* (Reno/Las Vegas: University of Nevada Press, 1991), 14–19. Historian Lars M. Andersson has investigated how the Swedish national identity was shaped in close relation to the representations of the Jew in the late nineteenth century, see: Lars M. Andersson, “*En jude är en jude är en jude...*” *Representationer av “juden” i svensk skämtpress omkring 1900–1930* (Lund: Nordic Academic Press, 2000).

67. Suvi Keskinen, Salla Touri, Sari Irni & Diana Mulinari (eds.), “Introduction: postcolonialism and the Nordic models of welfare and gender”, *Complying with colonialism: Gender, race and ethnicity in the Nordic region* (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2009), 1–2.

68. Mai Palmgren, “The Nordic colonial mind”, *Complying with Colonialism: Gender, race and ethnicity in the Nordic region*, eds. Suvi Keskinen, Salla Touri, Sari Irni & Diana Mulinari (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2009), 35. Lars Jensen has discussed the periphery-centre approach in regard to a Scandinavian context, see further: Lars Jensen, “Scandinavia – A peripheral centre”, *Kult 6 Special Issue: Epistemologies of Transformation: The Latin American Decolonial Option and its Ramifications*, vol. 6, 2009, 161–179.

69. There have been different groups working on “Scandinavian colonialism” issues. Initially in Denmark 2009, historian Lars Jensen’s project “The Nordic colonial mind” highlighted issues of colonialism. Several other projects are to be found at www.postkolonial.dk, retrieved 2016-02-21. In Sweden, a recent project GlobArch (Researching Scandinavian colonialism and the rise of a global world in the early modern period) by scholars such as Jonas M. Nordin and Magdalena Naum has contributed new knowl-

edge of the various relations of colonialism, see: www.globarch.org, retrieved 2016-02-21. See also “The postcolonial exhibition project in five acts” from 2006, see: www.rethinking-nordic-colonialism.org, retrieved 2016-02-21.

70. For further reading see: Natascha Eaton, “Art”, *The Ashgate research companion to modern imperial histories*, eds. Philippa Levine & John Marriott (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2012), 537–546. The field has also been called “Imperial tensions”, emphasizing the colonial impacts within Europe. For further reading see: Daniel J. Rycroft (ed.), “Imperial tensions: A conceptual introduction”, *World art and the legacies of colonial violence* (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2013), 1–31. See also Fredrick Cooper & Ann Laura Stoler, “Between metropole and colony: Rethinking a research agenda”, *Tensions of empire: Colonial cultures in a bourgeoisie world* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 1–58. For an introduction to postcolonial theory see: Loomba, 1–94.

71. For further reading on postcolonial history see: Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial thought and historical difference* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 3–72. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, *A critique of postcolonial reason: Toward a history of the vanishing present* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999), 198–312.

72. Prem Poddar, Rajeev S. Patke & Lars Jensen (eds.), “Introduction: Postcolonial Europe”, *A historical companion to postcolonial literatures: Continental Europe and its empires* (Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh Press, 2008), 1–6.

73. Anne J. Kershen, “Series Editor’s Preface”, *Whiteness and postcolonialism in the Nordic region: exceptionalism, migrant others and national identities*, eds. Kristín Loftsdóttir & Lars Jensen (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012).

74. Kristín Loftsdóttir & Lars Jensen (eds.), “Introduction: Nordic exceptionalism and the Nordic ‘Others’”, *Whiteness and postcolonialism in the Nordic region: Exceptionalism, migrant others and national identities* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), 1. The conception of “belonging to the European colonial project” in the nineteenth century and its twenty-first-century understanding are vastly different. In contemporary nineteenth-century empirical material the notions of engaging in colonial politics are visible. However, in twenty-first-century historical writing, the European countries are seen in their own “national narratives” as exceptional (except Great Britain and France), and their history elaborates on the notion of either having too “few” colonies to be relevant or that the colonies were lost in the nineteenth century and therefore not “important enough” to study. See also the discussion in John M. MacKenzie (ed.), “Introduction”, *Imperialism and popular culture* (Manchester/New York: Manchester University Press, 1986), 2.

75. Loftsdóttir & Jensen, 1.

76. Magdalena Naum & Jonas M. Nordin (eds.), “Introduction: Situating Scandinavian colonialism”, *Scandinavian colonialism and the rise of modernity: Small time agents in a global arena* (New York: Springer Science + Business Media, 2013), 4. Magdalena Naum and Jonas M. Nordin claim: “Perhaps the most widespread view among academics, the general public and politicians is, however, an opinion that Scandinavian participation in colonial politics was benign and their interactions with the encountered peoples in Africa, Asia and America were gentler and based on collaboration rather than extortion and subjugation.”, see: Naum & Nordin, 4.

NOTES

77. For further reading on the participation see: David Nilsson, "Sweden-Norway at the Berlin conference 1884-1885: History, national-identity making and Sweden's relations with Africa" *Current African Issues* 53, 2013, 1-55. See also Knut M. Nygaard, "Interconnecting the British empire: Swedish and Norwegian shipping to South Africa 1850-1914", *Navigating colonial orders: Norwegian entrepreneurship in Africa and Oceania*, eds. Kirsten Alsaker Kjerland & Bjørn Enge Bertelsen (New York/Oxford: Berghahn, 2015), 38-54.

78. Nicholas B. Dirks (ed.), "Introduction: colonialism and culture", *Colonialism and culture* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992), 6-7.

79. Clare Midgley (ed.), "Introduction: gender and imperialism mapping the connections", *Gender and imperialism* (Manchester/New York: Manchester University Press, 1998), 1.

80. Midgley, 1-2.

81. Midgley, 2.

82. "Nineteenth Century", *New York Times* 31 December 1899.

83. Ibid.

84. Lennart Wohlgemuth, "Swedish relations and policies towards Africa", *The Nordic countries and Africa: Old and new relations*, ed. Lennart Wohlgemuth (Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, 2002), 42-52.

85. For further reading see: Patrick Solomon, *Scandinavia and the great powers 1890-1940* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 20-71.

86. A degree of criticism of the colonial expansion was to be seen, but overall, from an official standpoint, the colonial project and the civilizing mission were applauded, see: Solomon, 20-71.

87. Nilsson, 22.

88. Keskinen, Touri, Irni & Mulinari, 1.

89. Keskinen, Touri, Irni & Mulinari, 1-2.

90. The civilizing mission was a rationale for intervention or colonization proposing to contribute to the spread of civilization, mostly amounting to the Westernization of Indigenous peoples. For further reading on civilizing mission see: Jürgen Osterhammel, *The transformation of the world: A global history of the nineteenth-century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014), 392-469 and 826-837. Michael Adas, "Contested hegemony: The great war and the Afro-Asian assault on the civilizing mission ideology", *Decolonization: Perspectives from now and then*, eds. Prasenjit Duara (London/New York: Routledge, 2004), 78-101. Alice L. Conclin, *A mission to civilize: The republican idea of empire in France and West Africa 1895-1930* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997), 11-38.

91. See for example *Illustrerad Familj-Journal* 15 January 1882:2 and "Om orsakerna till de lägre folkslagens undergång", *Ny Illustrerad Tidning* 29 March 1884:13.

92. Nilsson, 1-55.

93. Anderson, 6.

94. For further discussion on European colonial project see: Osterhammel, 392-469 and 826-837.

95. Gaze has been a much debated term and as historian Jeremy Hawthorne has asserted: “The gaze does not denote a well-defined theoretical or critical movement or school. In some ways the term is used like ‘discourse’: as a means to encourage a particular way of considering a text or an utterance, and relating it to a broader social-historical and ideological matters. Theories of the gaze cannot be traced back to a single place of origin or time of birth; they build on and incorporate a number of traditional literary-critical concerns, along with ideas and concepts from movements and bodies of theory such as psychoanalysis, discourse studies, and film studies.” Jeremy Hawthorn, “Theories of the gaze”, *Literary theory and criticism: An Oxford guide*, ed. Patricia Waugh (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 509. Colonial gaze is another term, however I choose to use imperial gaze to emphasize that the European colonial project and its civilizing mission was of equal concern for the Swedish audience as for the greater empires.

96. Theories of the Other, imperial gaze and colonial representation have been much discussed in the postcolonial field. For further reading see for example: Frantz Fanon, *Peau noire, masques blancs* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1952). Stuart Hall (ed.), “The work of representation”, *Representation: Cultural representations and signifying practices* (London: Sage Publication, 1997), 13–75. Bhabha, 94–121, and Spivak, 1988, 271–291.

97. Hawthorn, 514.

98. Ibid. See also art historian Jeff Werner discussion on “white gaze” and “tourist gaze” in: Jeff Werner, “Open your eyes to white”, *Sciascope 6: Blond and blue-eyed: Whiteness, Swedishness and visual culture*, eds. Jeff Werner & Tomas Björk (Göteborg: Göteborgs konstmuseum, 2014), 39–53.

99. Laura Mulvey, “Visual pleasure and narrative cinema,” *Screen*, vol. 16, 1975, 6–18.

100. E. Ann Kaplan, *Looking for the Other: Feminism, film and the imperial gaze* (London/ New York: Routledge, 1997).

101. The international research in art history and visual culture studies on colonial impacts is vast and impossible to give a justified account of. For further introduction to the subject see: Tim Barringer, Geoff Quilley & Douglas Fordham (eds.), “Introduction”, *Art and the British empire* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), 1–21. Visual culture can connote both a wider set of material and a certain kind of analysis. For a further discussion on the subject in a Swedish context see: Anders Åman, “Före och efter 1970: Från konsthistoria till konstvetenskap”, *8 kapitel om konsthistoriens historia i Sverige*, eds. Peter Gillgren, Britt-Inger Johansson & Hans Pettersson (Stockholm: Raster, 2000), 264 and Dan Karlholm, “Visuella kulturstudier: Beträktelser över ett expanderande forskningsfält”, *Konsthistorisk tidskrift/Journal of Art History*, vol. 72:3, 2003, 185–205. See also W. J. T. Mitchell’s discussion on the distinction between visual studies and visual culture studies in: Mitchell, 2002, 166. For an overview see for example: Matthew Rampley (ed.), “Introduction”, *Exploring visual culture: Definitions, concepts, contexts* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2005), 1–18.

102. Björk, 9–17.

103. For further reading on whiteness see for example: Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths

NOTES

& Helen Tiffin (eds.), “Whiteness”, *Postcolonial studies: The key concepts* (London/New York: Routledge, 2013), 273–274. Alfred J. López (ed.), “Introduction: whiteness after empire”, *Postcolonial whiteness: A critical reader on race and empire* (New York: State of New York Press, 2005), 1–31.

104. Jeff Werner, “Introduction”, *Sciascope 6: Blond and blue-eyed: Whiteness, Swedishness and visual culture*, eds. Jeff Werner & Tomas Björk (Göteborg: Göteborgs konstmuseum, 2014), 12–33.

105. Oxfeldt, 22–55.

106. Sandberg, 1–18.

107. Anderson, 85–115.

108. MacKenzie, 1995, xi.

109. Ibid.

110. Ibid.

111. David Ciarlo, *Advertising empire: Race and visual culture in imperial Germany* (Cambridge/London: Harvard University Press, 2011), 18–19.

112. Anne McClintock, “Soft-soaping empire: Commodity racism and imperial advertising”, *The visual culture reader*, ed. Nicholas Mirzoeff (London/New York: Routledge 2002), 508.

113. McClintock, 1995, 209.

114. Ciarlo, 19.

115. Nicholas Mirzoeff, *An introduction to visual culture* (London/New York: Routledge, 1998), 7.

116. Marie Cronqvist, Johan Jarlbrink & Patrik Lundell (eds.), “Inledning”, *Mediehistoriska vändningar* (Lund: Mediehistoria, Lunds universitet, 2014), 7–8. See also the discussion in Marie Cronqvist, Patrik Lundell & Pelle Snickars (eds.), “Inledning”, *Återkopplingar* (Lund: Mediehistoria, Lunds universitet, 2014), 9–31.

117. Solveig Jülich, Patrik Lundell & Pelle Snickars (eds.), “Mediernas kulturhistoria – en inledning”, *Mediernas kulturhistoria* (Stockholm: Kungliga biblioteket, 2008), 12–13.

118. Lisa Gitelman, *Always already new: Media, history and the data of culture* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2006), 11. For a wider discussion on media definitions see: Nicholas Abercrombi & Brian Longhurst, *The Penguin dictionary of media studies* (London: Penguin Books, 2007), 213–222.

119. Cronqvist, Jarlbrink & Lundell, 7–8.

120. For further reading on cultural history of media see: Anders Ekström, “Kulturhistorisk medieforskning: Fyra spår”, *Mediernas kulturhistoria*, eds. Solveig Jülich, Patrik Lundell & Pelle Snickars (Stockholm: Kungliga biblioteket, 2008), 31–47. Asa Briggs & Peter Burke, *A social history of the media: From Gutenberg to the internet* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2009), 1–13 and 91–121.

121. W. J. T. Mitchell, *Picture theory: Essays on verbal and visual representation* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1994), 95.

122. Mitchell, 2005, 257.

242 123. For further reading on nineteenth-century media systems, see: Jonas Harvard &

Patrik Lundell (eds.), “1800-talets medier: System, landskap, nätverk”, *1800-talets mediesystem* (Stockholm: Kungliga biblioteket, 2010), 7–27. Anders Ekström, Solveig Jülich, Frans Lundgren & Per Wisselgren (eds.), “Participatory media in historical perspective: An introduction”, *History of participatory media: Politics and publics 1700–2000* (London/New York: Routledge, 2011), 1–10.

124. Vanessa R. Schwartz, *Spectacular realities: Early mass culture in fin-de-siècle Paris* (Berkeley/Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1999), 7.

125. Hällgren, 15–25.

126. Snickars, 18.

127. Tony Bennett, “The exhibitionary complex”, *The nineteenth-century visual culture reader*, eds. Vanessa R. Schwartz, & Jeannene M. Przyblyski (London/New York: Routledge, 2004), 128.

128. Bennett, 119.

129. Ekström, Jülich, Lundgren, & Wisselgren, 3.

130. Rita Felski, “The invention of the everyday life”, *New Formations, A Journal of Culture/Theory/Politics*, vol. 39:9, 2000, 15–31.

131. Felski, 16.

132. Ibid.

133. Hall, 1997, 13–75.

134. Hall, 1997, 19.

135. Mitchell, 1994, 6.

136. Mitchell, 1994, 188.

137. In his closing, Mitchell offers a most challenging way of understanding representation. Mitchell wants us to stop seeing representations as only particular kinds of objects, but to instead think of representation “as relationship, as process, as the relay mechanism in exchanges of power, value, and publicity” noting that “nothing in this model guarantees the directionality of the structure” instead suggesting a dialectical structure. What is useful about this approach is Mitchell’s order to stop viewing representations in terms of only objects representing but rather to view representation with an eye toward the relationships and processes through which representations are created, valued, interchanged. Mitchell, 1994, 420.

138. David Lowenthal, “Authenticities past and present, *CRM: The Journal of Heritage Stewardship*, vol. 5:1, 2008, 6–17.

139. Lowenthal, 7.

140. Lowenthal, 9.

141. Neil Mulholland, “Representation and the idea of realism”, *Exploring visual culture: Definitions, concepts, contexts*, ed. Matthew Rampley (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2005), 117–123.

142. Rachel Bowlby, “Foreword”, *A Concise companion to realism*, ed. Matthew Beaumont (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), xv.

143. Derek H. Aldcroft, “The end of the old regime, 1914–1921”, *The European economy 1914–2000* (London/New York: Routledge, 2001), 4. Eric Hobsbawm, *Age of empire 1875–1914* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1987), 6–12. See also the discussion by

NOTES

Hannu Salmi: Salmi, 124–140.

144. For further reading see: James Myall, “Nationalism and imperialism”, *The Cambridge history of twentieth-century political thought*, eds. Terence Ball & Richard Bellamy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 104–124.

145. Francis Sejersted, *The age of social democracy: Norway and Sweden in the twentieth century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011), 173–76.

146. Hodacs, 19–20.

147. Kristín Loftsdóttir & Gísli Pálsson, “Black on white: Danish colonialism, Iceland and the Caribbean”, *Scandinavian colonialism and the rise of modernity: Small time agents in a global arena*, eds. Magdalena Naum & Jonas M. Nordin (New York: Springer Science + Business Media, 2013), 37–53.

148. For further discussion on the subject see: Snickars, 23, Hällgren, 26–27.

149. Björk, 128–139, 412–419. Furthermore, the immediate question would be: what material is not investigated? The answer to the question is quite complex. It is a seemingly impossible assignment to explore the whole visual representations of the colonial world, and nor is this the aim of the thesis. Three archives with colonial material are those at the Swedish Church Mission Archive (Uppsala), the Nordic Museum (Stockholm) and the History Museum (Stockholm), and especially that of the explorer Sven Hedin.

150. Regarding quantity it is an overwhelming image archive. For example, the circus collection from the National Library of Sweden, which is one of many collections I have studied, consists of approximately 3000 posters in the specific time frame 1880–1905.

151. Schwartz, 6.

152. Salmi, 6. For a lengthy discussion see: Salmi, 124–140.

153. Salmi, 124–140.

154. For further reading on the fin de siècle see for example: Sally Ledger & Roger Luckhurst (eds.), “Reading the fin-de-siècle”, *The fin de siècle: A reader in cultural history, c. 1880–1900* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), xiii–xxiv. Gail Marshall (ed.), “Introduction”, *The Cambridge companion to the fin de siècle* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 1–13. Daniel Woolf, “The broken mirror: Nationalism, romanticism and professionalization in the nineteenth-century west”, *A global history of history* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 345–399. La Belle Époque is a period in French history that was established after the First World War to describe the era before it. It often starts in 1871 and ends with the First World War in 1914. In the United States, the same era was called The Gilded Age (1860s–1896) and Progressive era (1890s–1920s) while in Britain the Victorian (1837–1901) and Edwardian era (1901–1910) overlapped. In Imperial Germany the era coincided with the reign of Kaiser Wilhelm II and in Russia with the reigns of Alexander III and Nicholas II. In Sweden, the Oscanian era refers to the reign of the Swedish king Oscar II from 1872–1907. The union between Sweden and Norway (1814–1905) overlapped the Oscanian period.

155. For a further discussion on visuality see Otter, 24. There has been a crucial discussion in Anglo-American research on the difference between vision and visuality. For example see Hal Foster, *Vision and visuality* (Seattle: Bay View Press, 1988). While vision often defines the biological functions of the eye, visuality on the other hand regards a

cultural and discursive practice.

156. Vanessa R. Schwartz & Jeannene M. Przyblyski (eds.), “Visual culture’s history: twenty-first century interdisciplinarity and its nineteenth-century objects”, *The nineteenth-century visual culture reader* (London/New York: Routledge, 2004), 3.

157. “I have already suggested that it opens the way to a more nuanced taxonomy of media based in sensory and semiotic ratios. But most fundamentally, it puts “the visual” at the centre of the analytic spotlight rather than treating it as a foundational concept that can be taken for granted. Among other things it encourages us to ask why and how “the visual” became so potent as a reified concept. How did it acquire its status as the “sovereign” sense, and its equally important role as the universal scapegoat, from the “downcast eyes” that Martin Jay has traced, to Debord’s “society of the spectacle”, Foucauldian “scopic regimes”, Virilian “surveillance”, and Baudrillardian “simulacra”?”. Mitchell, 2005, 264–265. See also: W. J. T. Mitchell, *Image Science: Iconology, Visual culture, and media aesthetics* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2015).

158. MacKenzie, 1995, xi.

159. Stefan Jonsson, “Den första människan. Anteckningar om Norden, litteraturen och kolonialismen”, *Ord & bild*, ed. Cecilia Verdinelli Peralta, vol. 2, 2008, 40. Original quote in Swedish: “Låt oss alltså vrida på perspektivet. Låt oss utgå ifrån att kolonialismen har en plats i Nordens mitt och att denna ursprungliga koloniala erfarenhet i sin tur präglar Nordens deltagande i det stora spelet på världshaven.”

160. See the discussion in: Stuart Hall, “When was ‘the postcolonial’? Thinking at the limit”, *The postcolonial question: Common skies, divided horizons*, eds. Iain Chambers & Lidia Curti (London/New York: Routledge, 1996), 242–260.

161. W. E. B. Dubois, *The souls of black folk* (Greenwich: Fawcett Publications, 1961), vi.

162. For further reading on the Vanadis expedition see for example: Hugo Cedergren, “Från världsomseglingen med Vanadis”, *Prins Oscar Bernadotte: En minnesbok av 32 författare*, eds. Bo Bengtsson & Hugo Cedergren (Uppsala: J. A. Lindblads förlag, 1953), 3–60. Albin Widén, “Fregatten Vanadis världsomsegling med utdrag ur Prins Oscar Bernadottes dagböcker”, *Aktuellt och historiskt* (Stockholm: Försvarsstaben, 1962), 124–165. Hans Manneby, *Båtsman Humbla: Dagboksanteckningar från Vanadis världsomsegling 1883–1885* (Stockholm: Rabén & Sjögren, 1978), 7–22. Ulla Wagner (ed.), *Resa med Vanadis: Hundraårsminnet av en världsomsegling: Eldlandet, Peru, Marshallöarna, Japan, Thailand, Indien: utställning på Etnografiska museet 17 februari–augusti 1984* (Stockholm: Etnografiska, 1984), 7–112. Kristian Lagercrantz, “Bedrägliga bilder. Vad fotograf Ekholm såg 1884”, *Med världen i kappsäcken: Samlingarnas väg till Etnografiska museet*, ed. Wilhelm Östberg (Stockholm: Etnografiska museet, 2002), 81–87. Jan Billgren, “Post till och från fregatten Vanadis 1883–1885”, *Postryttaren* (Stockholm: Postmuseum, 2010), 9–32. Bo G. Erikson, *Kungen av Birka: Hjalmar Stolpe arkeolog och etnograf* (Stockholm: Atlantis, 2015), 257–390.

163. The majority of my empirical material comes from the Museum of Ethnography, the Uppsala University Library of Carolina Rediviva, the Maritime Museum and the National Library of Sweden. “The Vanadis archives” constitute both official and private

NOTES

material (for example mail correspondence and diaries). The analysis focuses primarily on the official material: photographs, published travel journals, illustrated press, ephemera and visual arts. For example I have only included a small part from Hjalmar Stolpe's private diaries and letter correspondence from the Vanadis expedition. For further reading see: Erikson, 257–390.

164. On the Vega expedition of 1878–1880, the xylographer and painter Karl Johan Andersson was on board.

165. Spelling of countries and other geographical areas that have several different options of spelling and designation, the guidelines have been the standard of the *Oxford English Dictionary*. I have not changed the names of cities and countries when the historical agents are voiced, for example Bombay [Mumbai]. However, a distinction is made when I mention these places in my analysis. In regard to Swedish geography, there are three cases which have been Anglicized, so I use the English equivalent: the city of Gothenburg [Göteborg] and the two Swedish regions: Dalecarlia [Dalarna] and Lapland [Lappland]. In regard to Denmark, the capital Copenhagen [København] is Anglicized. Other geographies in the Nordic region will be kept in the original language. Lapland [Lappland] should not be confused with Sámi land or Sápmi [Sábme, Saemie, Säämi, Sää'mjännam]. Lapland relates to a region in Sweden, and Sápmi refers to the land of the Sámi people in the whole of Northern Fenno-Scandinavia. Unlike the English word Lapland, which sometimes denotes the land of the Sámi people, the Swedish word Lappland is not used to indicate the area specifically inhabited by the Sámi. An old Swedish word for the Sámi area under Swedish control was Lappmarken. In those cases, when I discuss the land of the Sámi people I will use Sápmi. Lappmarken is used when the historical agents speak of it as such. The Sámi population is known, in other languages, by their exonyms: “Lapp”, “Lapps” and “Laplanders”. These terms are derogatory but were commonly used in the nineteenth-century and twentieth-century texts and vernacular. The custom of giving pejorative names to Indigenous populations was common.

166. The definition of a circumnavigation depends on the method of travel. A basic definition of a global circumnavigation would be a route that covers at least a great circle, and in particular one which passes through at least one pair of points antipodal to each other. For detailed accounts and dates see: Billgren, 31 and Folke Lagerholm, *Deltagarna i fregatten Vanadis' jordomsegling 1883–1885: Förteckning med biografiska uppgifter intill 1928 års utgång* (Karlskrona: K. L. Svensson, 1929), 30.

167. Anders Ekström (ed.), “Vetenskaperna, medierna, publikerna”, *Den mediala vetenskapen* (Nora: Nya Doxa, 2004), 18–19.

168. Bancel, David & Thomas, 4.

169. Solveig Jülich, *Skuggor av sanning: Tidig svensk radiologi och visuell kultur* (Linköping: Linköpings universitet, 2002), 71–109.

170. Ekström, 2004, 9–29.

171. Ekström, 2004, 9–29. Studies on “public science” have shown how science used various media and other outgoing practices to establish its result for a broader audience. See also Steven Shapin & Simon Schaffer, *Leviathan and the air-pump: Hobbes,*

Boyle and the experimental life (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), 332–344. In their analysis the public's relations were interconnected with the production of sciences and crucial in the competition between different science definitions. The audience was a resource as well as the science being a resource for the audience.

172. Ekström, 2004, 9–29.

173. George N. Vlahakis, *Imperialism and science: Social impact and interaction* (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2006), 1–19.

174. David Mackay, *In the wake of Cook: Exploration, science & empire, 1780–1801* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 1985), 3–28. Large-scale scientific excursions by ship began in the 1730s with the English and French explorers, and in the 1850s by German travellers; those made by James Cook, Louis Antoine de Bougainville and Alexander von Humboldt drew particular attention.

175. The study uses the terms: race science, anthropology and ethnography for the emerging science fields, which were highly intertwined. For a further discussion see: Ljungström, 15–19. See also H. Glenn Penny & Matti Bunzl (eds.), “Rethinking German anthropology, colonialism and race”, *Wordly provincialism: German anthropology in the age of empire* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003), 1–33.

176. Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial eyes: Travel writing and transculturation* (London/New York: Routledge, 1992), 9.

177. Pratt, 9.

178. Tony Ballantyne (ed.), *Science, empire and the European exploration of the Pacific* (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2004). See also: Jeremy Black, *Europe and the world 1650–1830* (London/New York: Routledge, 2002), 5–39. Michael S. Reidy, Gary Kroll & Erik M. Conway, *Exploration and science: Social impact and interaction* (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2007), 161–189.

179. Kenneth Nyberg, “Om ordnandet av global kunskap – Linné och hans apostlar, *Global historia från periferin: Norden 1600–1850*, eds. Leos Müller, Göran Rydén & Holger Weiss (Lund: Studentlitteratur, 2010), 209–231.

180. “‘Takata’ får mattan.”, *Östgötaposten* 3 February 1905.

181. Manneby, 106–107. The ship was built in oak at Karlskrona Harbour, at a time when wood was being replaced by iron and the steamship was overtaking the sailing ship. The *Vanadis* was built during the transition as a frigate with both capacities. It measured 64 metres by 12 metres, weighed 2120 kilotons, was decorated with Nelson paint and a white belt across the broadside, and had 22 canon doors in black. With its three masts it had over 1643 square feet of sail. The ship was also equipped with a new steam engine with 1,400 horsepower, capable of 11.5 knots. The vessel was also endowed with modern dynamo electricity spotlights. For further reading see: Manneby, 18.

182. Several members of the crew were collecting ethnographical artefacts and memorabilia, including Prince Oscar. For further reading see: Widén, 146.

183. “‘Takata’ får mattan”, *Östgötaposten*, February 3 1905. Original quote in Swedish: “svarta majestät Kabua.” A major apprehension of this book is an investigation of the racial language of the nineteenth-century colonial discourse in which words such as

NOTES

“lapp” [“lapp”], “savage” [“vilde”, “barbar”], “savagery” [“barbari”], “native” [“in-föding”], “Negro” [“ neger”], “redskins” [“rödskinn”], “kaffer” [“kaffer”], “cannibal” [“cannibal”], “gypsy” [“zigenare”, “tattare”] and “blacks” [“svarta”], to mention but a few, were used frequently, and which I most reluctantly must refer to. It is important to note that the usage of these is in the historical context of the late nineteenth-century debate. It concerns other terms as well: “civilized”, “civilization”, “race” and “culture”. By no means should it suggest my ratification or acceptance of these arbitrary essentialist and racist definitions. These shaped colonial politics and science. In the present nationalist conservative and paleo-conservative climate they still hold a certain cachet. To evade scattering the text with quotation marks, these are dispensed with, occasionally with the first use of a word or where there may be any ambiguity. Aborigine and Aboriginal are capitalized except in an original direct quotation. When Indigenous is used as a proper name it is also capitalized, similarly with Black and White. All quotes from Swedish to English are translated by the author if not otherwise specified. The translation from nineteenth-century vernacular has been translated as closely as possible, although in some cases it has been difficult. It has not been my intention to create a “Swedish nineteenth-century language” into English. Instead, the translation has been made to conceive the meaning (but of course interpretation on some level has been unavoidable). I am aware that sometimes the mood or the typical of the nineteenth-century colloquial speech can disappear. However, the risk of generating something even more problematic is far greater I believe. The original Swedish quotes from the empirical sources are found in the endnotes.

184. “Takata’ får mattan.”, *Östgötaposten* February 3 1905. Original quote in Swedish: “var just inte så värst civiliserad.”

185. “Takata’ får mattan.”, *Östgötaposten* 3 February 1905.

186. Ibid.

187. Ibid. Original quote in Swedish: “Takata får mattan!”

188. For example in *Kalmar* 11 October 1884. it was reported that King Kabua and his “favourite” wife were said to have sat on a beautiful carpet. Dr. Stolpe asked the king if he could buy the carpet, but Kabua was not that keen. But Stolpe began to sing the national anthem, changing the lyrics to honour Kabua and the king was so impressed that he gave the carpet away. See: “Från Vanadis’ resa”, *Kalmar* 11 October 1884.

189. “Cruise of H.M. Dart”, *Brisbane Courier* 13 October 1884.

190. Besides Natt och Dag’s journal there was one other account, Prince Oscar’s. Prince Oscar’s four diaries were never published as a compilation, but a couple of excerpts were to be found in *Våra minnen* [Our Memoires] (1886) by the princes Carl, Oscar and Wilhelm Bernadotte. There were two other journals by C.G. Mårtensson and Johan Oscar Humbla’s accounts by Erik Lehman but they were published several years later, in 1915 and 1929 respectively. Mårtensson and Humbla’s accounts will not form part of this analysis.

191. Anthropologist Kristian Lagercrantz claims it was the first time that a professional photographer had come on board a Scandinavian frigate. For further reading

see: Lagercrantz, 81–87.

192. Yet, it is important to note that before photography was invented in the mid-nineteenth century, exploratory travels made use of painters as early as the fifteenth century, when the first documented European exploratory voyages were initiated. To mention a few, Theodore de Bry was a Flemish engraver, goldsmith and editor who depicted foreign lands reached by other explorers. Frans Janszoon Post was the first European artist to paint the landscape of South America, having travelled to Dutch Brazil at the invitation of Johan Maurits van Nassau-Siegen in 1636. And lastly, Zacharias Wagenaer was another Dutch artist who travelled to four continents, and worked both as an illustrator and a merchant. For further reading see, for example: Michael Jacobs, *The Painted voyage: Art, travel and exploration 1564–1875* (London: British Museum Press, 1995).

193. Annie E. Coombes, *Reinventing Africa: Museums, material culture and popular imagination in late Victorian and Edwardian England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 63–85.

194. Otto Lagerberg was known by his own crew as the “plantation owner”. The officer cadet Svante Natt och Dag described, in his journal, a common working week on the ship. “Monday and Friday are cannon exercises, Tuesday and Thursday sail training; Wednesday is a so-called economy day when the crew mend their clothes. Saturday is cleaning day. [...] The change of the watch happens every four hours.” See: Richard Melander (ed.), *Jorden rundt under svensk örlogsflagg: Ögonblicksbilder från fregatten Vanadis verldsomsegling 1883–1885 samlade av Svante Natt och Dag och i brefform återgifna af Richard Melander* (Stockholm: Bonniers, 1887), 15. Original quote in Swedish: “måndag och fredag kanonexercis, tisdag och torsdag segelexercis; onsdag en s.k. ekonomidag, då folket lappar och lagar sina kläder. Lördag generalrengöring[...] vaktombyte sker var fjärde timma “. For information on Prince Oscar Bernadotte see: Bo Bengtson & Hugo Cedergren (eds.), *Prins Oscar Bernadotte: En minnesbok av 32 författare* (Uppsala: J. A. Lindblads förlag, 1953).

195. Widén, 126. Original quote in Swedish: “Chefen vill jaga förbi denna natursköna och i så många avseenden märkliga del av jorden. Det är också ett sätt att göra en verldsomsegling på.” Widén also highlights the fact that Otto Lagerberg received good comments from the Dutch officials.

196. Ljungström, 81–83. Lagerberg was not enthusiastic about Stolpe’s participation and he complained in letters home that he had to be involved with scientists. Lagerberg’s strictness caused heavy financial hardship for Stolpe, since if he left the ship, according to Lagerberg, he would not be paid. Stolpe strongly objected to this before the journey. In reality, Stolpe jumped off and on the ship as often he could. He did excavations in Peru, travelled in Japan for a month and a half, and in January 1885 he decided to leave the expedition, together with the photographer Oscar Birger Ekholm, in India. Stolpe travelled for three months and reached Kashmir, and then arranged his own journey back from Aden; in Europe he took the opportunity to visit more museums and fellow scholars. Ekholm followed Stolpe as far as New Delhi and then took the train to Bombay [Mumbai] to reboard the ship. Stolpe’s financial

NOTES

problems came when he returned to Sweden, since Lagerberg had stopped all his payment. Stolpe also had to ship his collected material back from every harbour because Lagerberg had forbidden him to transport any material on the Vanadis.

197. “Local & general news”, *The Daily bulletin* 11 July 1884.

198. For further reading on race in the nineteenth century see, for example: Caine & Sluga, 87–117. Robert Bernasconi & Tommy L. Lott, *The idea of race* (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing, 2000), 1–45.

199. Jeff Werner, “A blue-and-yellow landscape”, *Sciascope 6: Blond and blue-eyed: Whiteness, Swedishness and visual culture*, eds. Jeff Werner & Tomas Björk (Göteborg: Göteborgs konstmuseum, 2014), 102–180. Steorn, 34–40.

200. “Från Vanadis’ resa”, *Kalmar* 11 October 1884. Original Swedish quote: “I ett brev till *Aftonbladet* heter det: ‘Af alla de platser fregatten Vanadis besökt i Stilla oceanen, torde med all säkerhet Jaluit en af Marshallöarne, vara den som minst blifvit berörd af civilisationen’”.

201. The first true circumnavigation of the world by a Swedish ship was undertaken in 1851–1853 by the frigate HMS *Eugenie* with Captain Christian Adolf Virgin. The assignment for this circumnavigation was to protect and improve existing commercial relationships in the Pacific and especially to encourage foreign countries to establish trade with Sweden. This latter task was specifically assigned to Swedish diplomats. Ethnologist Rolf E. Du Rietz claims that the *Eugenie* expedition was the most successful one. This is ascribable to the commitment and enthusiasm of Baltzar J.E. von Platen, Ministry of Marine Affairs, and Captain Virgin. Their achievements earned them high ranks on their return, and they found themselves in prominent new positions in Swedish science. The *Eugenie* voyage was ostensibly more concerned with scientific collections than with ethnographic material, as marked by the fact that four professional natural scientists were on board with instructions from the Academy of Science: Carl Skogman (official reporter), Karl Johan Johansson (physics), Hjalmar Kinberg (zoology), and Nils Johan Anderson (botany). The results and collections were both exhibited and published, although not in complete form, by the Academy of Science. See: Rolf E. Du Rietz, “Hjalmar Stolpe och etnografins framväxt i Sverige”, *Resa med Vanadis. Hundraårsminnet av en världsomsegling: Eldslandet, Peru, Marshallöarna, Japan, Thailand, Indien: utställning på Etnografiska museet 17 februari-augusti 1984*, ed. Ulla Wagner (Stockholm: Etnografiska, 1984), 6–10. Further reading on the *Eugenie* expedition 1851–1853 see: Christer Hägg, *Fregatten Eugénies världsomsegling* (Stockholm: Magnus Ullman förlag, 2004).

202. Manneby, 10–11.

203. Manneby, 12. Original quote in Swedish: “på det kraftigaste skydda de Svenska och Norska handelsflaggorna.”

204. Manneby, 9–12.

205. Manneby, 12–13. Although Prince Oscar spoke of the trading interests and was the official representative, the pressure to succeed in international trade was not on his shoulders alone; this new strategy imposed new demands on consular staff. The work between the Swedish-Norwegian government at home and its officials abroad

had to be more effective, and for this even greater expansion was about to develop

206. Manneby, 13. Harald Ehrenborg, consul inspector, was brought back from Liverpool to take responsibility for this work.

207. Manneby, 13. Original quote in Swedish: “Det åligger Eder, att på allt sätt underlätta hans bemödanden och lemna honom allt bistånd han af Eder skäligen kan begära.”

208. As well as trade, military exercises were central to the tour; even though they were not an explicit goal, such exercises could well be what the majority of the crew experienced. The crew was 340 men, including Captain Lagerberg, Prince Oscar, the marine doctor Karl Rudberg, and the priest Immanuel Kiellman-Göransson. The documents list the different positions: 19 officers, 12 officer cadets, 20 corporals, 103 able seamen, 23 stokers and mechanics, 12 cabin boys, 146 boatswains, and 5 civil officials; Consul Inspector Ehrenborg, ethnographer Stolpe, weatherman Gottfrid Fineman, photographer Ekholm, and the body servant of Prince Oscar.

Of the 340, two died on the trip and were buried abroad, 21 escaped. One of the officers, Arvid Lindman, later became Prime Minister of Sweden. Arvid Lindman was prime minister during two periods in Sweden: 1906–1911 and 1928–1930. For further readings see: Leif Lewin, *Arvid Lindman: Sveriges statsministrar under 100 år* (Stockholm: Bonnier, 2010). The expedition lasted nearly 500 days, and 300 of these days were on open sea.

209. Widén, 150–151.

210. Widén, 150–151. There was a general discussion about “sporadic business” [affärslösa tider], not only in Scandinavia, but also overseas. However, it was not true that the union’s imports and exports were diminishing. In Sweden, imports totalled 325 million Swedish kronor in 1884, up from 136 million in 1869, and exports brought in 238 million compared with 125 million in 1869. The complaint was rather over increased competition in trade and goods and a dispute over customs regulations. After timber, which accounted for almost half of Sweden’s total exports, iron was the next main export, distributed all over the world. It became of vital interest to Swedish-Norwegian industries to change the contemporary perspective. The mission, according to historian Albin Widén, was part of the Scandinavian countries’ attempts to get their proper share of global commerce without British and continental intermediaries. Widén discusses the aspect of shipping costs and the Scandinavian ships’ desire for regional agreements. Competition between sailing ships and steam ships was increasing at the end of the nineteenth century. The smaller countries fought an uneven battle with the greater empires such as the British, who could afford to build steam ships continuously and thus had an advantage in trade.

211. Du Reitz, 7. Other European expeditions such as the American Thomas Corwin expedition in 1881 and the French expedition *La Romanche* of 1882–1883 would most likely have been of importance. But also previous expeditions such as the Austrian Novara expedition (1857–1859) and the British Challenger (1872–1876), HMS Alert and HMS Discovery (1875–1876) expeditions were of significance. Of Swedish concern was the great success of the Vega expedition of 1878–1880, which was foremost a scientific expedition. In that aspect the Vanadis expedition, which had

NOTES

strong commercial and diplomatic ambitions, differed from Vega. For further reading on European expeditions see, for example: Pratt, 15 and Arne Hessenbruch (ed.), *Reader's guide to the history of science* (London/New York: Routledge, 2013), 243.

212. Naum & Nordin, 14.

213. The Nordic Polar expeditions are of utmost important. The Swedish polar expeditions began in the eighteenth century. For further reading see: Sverker Sörlin, "Rituals and resources of natural history: The North and the Arctic in Swedish scientific nationalism", *Narrating the Arctic: A cultural history of Nordic scientific practices*, eds. Michael Bravo & Sverker Sörlin (Canton, Mass: Science History Publications, 2002), 73–124. Gothenburgh University has an informative website mainly regarding Swedish polar history 1860–1980, see: www.ub.gu.se/portaler/polarportalen/, retrieved 2016-02-21.

214. Mannyby, 11. In a decree from 20 April 1883, the Vanadis crew was to be signed off. In another decree from 6 June 1883, by which time the expedition was probably known about, major repair work was instructed. The rumour about a new Scandinavian sea mission spread among navy crewmen, and many were eager to join the ship, but there was also a great danger of seamen deserting in foreign lands.

215. Mannyby 11.

216. Billgren, 19.

217. "Verldsomsegling", *Dagens Nyheter* 24 March 1883. "Från Skandinaviska länderna", *Åbo Underrättelser* 31 March 1883.

218. "Scientific Gossip", *New York Times* 13 May 1883.

219. "Scientific Miscellany", *Kirkville Weekly Graphic* 27 June 1884.

220. "Sporting Telegrams", *The Argus Melbourne* 30 June 1883.

221. For example in "News in brief", *New Zealand Herald* 7 July 1883, the account had been: "The despatch of the Swedish corvette Vanadis on a voyage round the world is contemplated. Several men of science will accompany her, among whom is Dr. Stolpe, the well-known ethnographer." This small announcement, and with minor changes, circulated for a couple of weeks in the different papers: *The Grey River Argus* 28 July 1883, "Late English and foreign News", *The Colonist* 6 September 1883, "News and notes", *The West Coast Times* 28 September 1883, "News in brief", *New Zealand Herald* 13 October 1883. This could also be seen in the Australian press throughout July to December 1883, for example in *The Capricornia*, *South Australia Register*, *North Argus*, *Australia Town & Country Journal*, *Evening News* and *Queenslander*.

222. To mention a few Norwegian and Danish newspapers that had recurrent reports from the Vanadis expedition 1883–1885: *Aftenposten*, *Bergens Adressecontoirs Efterretninger*, *Stavanger Amtstidende og Adresseavis*, *Hedemarkens Amtstidende* and *Romsdals Amtstidende*. In Denmark, *Politiken*, *Berlingske* and *Jyllands-Posten*, the three largest daily newspapers, circulated news about the circumnavigation.

223. "Vanadis's verldsomsegling", *Dagens Nyheter* 5 December 1883.

224. "Bref till Vanadis", *Aftonbladet* 25 November 1884.

225. "Fregatten Vanadis", *Dagens Nyheter* 29 November 1883.

252 226. "Fregatten Vanadis", *Blekingeposten* November 30 1883 and "Vanadis verlds-

omsegling”, *Blekingsposten* 22 June 1883.

227. “Vanadis’ verldsomsegling”, *Blekingsposten* 20 November 1883, 2. See also: In “Sällskapet förhandlingar, Sammankomsten den 16 November 1883”, *Ymer Tidskrift* (Stockholm: Central-tryckeriet, vol.1–3, 1881–883), xxii.

228. “Styrelsens årsberättelse för 1883”, xxxi.

229. “Vanadis’ verldsomsegling”, *Blekingsposten* 20 November 1883. Original quote in Swedish: “Amanuensen d:r Hj. Stolpe, hvilken skall medfölja för etnografiska forskningar, har af K. M:t tillerkänts rättighet att under resan beräkna sjöaflöning och kostpenningar i likhet med officer af kaptensgrad samt till ersättning af kostnaderna i land ett förslagsanslag af högst 2,000 kr.”

230. *Blekingsposten* on 5, 9, 23 and 26 October, 20, 23, 27 and 30 November and 4, 5, 11 and 18 December.

231. The regional Swedish papers received information from the major papers which was reprinted and recapped. With regard to the Marshall Islands and their population, the segment referred to the major newspaper *Aftonbladet*, from which the local paper had received its information. But it was also very often the other way around, for example *Dagens Nyheter* reprinted accounts from the expedition from different papers, among them *Karlskrona Weckoblad*. See: “Från Vanadis till Karlskronas Weckoblad”, *Dagens Nyheter* 20 December 1884.

232. “Från Vanadis’ verldsomsegling.”, *Blekingsposten* 29 August 1884. Original quote in Swedish: “Innehåll: Vandis’ afgång från Honolulu. – Svenska flaggan hedrad. – En italiensk korvett och en italiensk prins. – Festligheter för prins Oscar. – Kungliga palatset i Honolulu. – Alster af svenskt författareskap och svensk konstslöjd i kungliga palatset. – Salut för hertigen af Södermanland. – Svensk excersis i land. – Fest ombord. – Ordensutnämningar. – Afresa.”

233. “Fregatten Vanadis i Rio de Janiero”, *Aftonbladet* 6 March 1884.

234. *Ibid.*

235. *Ibid.*

236. *Ibid.*

237. “Från Vanadis’ verldsomsegling”, *Blekingsposten* 29 August 1884. “Brefven från Vanadis, *Blekingsposten* 5 December 1884.

238. “Från Vanadis’ verldsomsegling ”, *Blekingsposten* 29 August 1884. Original quote in Swedish: “Allt väl. Väntad post ankommen.”

239. Prince Oscar notes in his diary that small ships were greeting them already in Danish waters, see: Cedergren, 59.

240. “Vanadis återkomst”, *Aftonbladet* 11 May 1885.

241. “Vanadisutställningen”, *Göteborgsposten* 5 February 1887.

242. Zantop, 38

243. Catarina Lundström, *Den goda viljan: Kvinnliga missionärer och koloniala möten i Tunisien och västra Jämtland* (Lund: Nordic Academic Press, 2015), 57–65.

244. Gunlög Fur, *Colonialism in the margins: Cultural encounters in New Sweden and Lapland* (Leiden/Boston: Brill Academic Publishers, 2006), 31.

245. Several members of the crew wrote for the different papers, including Hjalmar 253

NOTES

Stolpe, who wrote for *Stockholms Dagblad*, the vicar Immanuel Kiellman-Göransson for *Blekinge läns tidning*, Svante Natt och Dag for *Stockholmsbladet*, Captain Lagerberg for *Post-och Inrikestidningar* and the medical doctor Karl Rudberg reported to various press.

246. “Bilder från Vanadis färd”, *Blekinge läns tidning* October 1884. From Immanuel Kiellman-Göransson’s travel reports compendium: Museum of Ethnography.

247. “Bilder från Vanadis färd”, *Blekinge läns tidning* October 1884. From Immanuel Kiellman-Göransson’s travel reports compendium: Museum of Ethnography.

Original quote in Swedish: “Men nu träffade vi en gammal man utstyrd efter den gamla jalutiska modejournalen.[---]Hela kostymen utgjöres nemligen av en flätad gördel [---]Gubbens smutsbruna hy var försedd med tatueringar i enkla mönster [...] Det korptsvarta håret var hopfästad i en stor knut på hjessan och örsnibbarna voro genomborrade och uttänjda till stora ringar.”

248. “Bilder från Vanadis färd”, *Blekinge läns tidning* January 1884. From Immanuel Kiellman-Göransson’s travel reports compendium: Museum of Ethnography.

Original quote in Swedish: “Det är en småväxt mörkhårig befolkning som rör sig på Lisabons [sic.] gator. Flertalet utgöres af mycket illa klädda individer med hvilka man helst vill hafva intet att skaffa.”

249. There are similar accounts of the Indigenous in Hjalmar Stolpe’s private letters. See Erikson, 261.

250. “Bilder från Vanadis färd”, *Blekinge läns tidning* November 1884. From Immanuel Kiellman-Göransson’s travel reports compendium: Museum of Ethnography.

251. Natt och Dag, 90. Original quote in Swedish: “Vi hafva nu trädt et steg nedför på civilisationens trappa.”

252. “Vanadis”, *Stockholms Dagblad* 6 August 1884. Original quote in Swedish: ”I hvarje liten trampad stig läser man en liten bit af historien om ett folk, som kämpar en hård kamp mot naturen, ett folk som ej står det ringaste lägre än en gång våra förfäder gjort, men hvilket det ej skall blifva förunnadt att i likhet med vår ras höja sig till en högre ståndpunkt, utan som är dömdt att förintas genom civilisationens brängheta andedrägt.”

253. Snickars, 44.

254. Steven Shapin & Simon Schaffer, “Pump and circumstance: Robert Boyle’s literary technology”, *Social Studies of Science*, vol. 14:4, 1984, 481–520. See also Shapin & Schaffer, 1985, 22–80

255. Shapin & Schaffer, 1985, 22–80.

256. For further reading on photography and science see: Lorraine Daston & Peter Galison, *Objectivity* (New York: Zone Books, 2007). See also Lombroso’s interest in the detail in: Siegfried Zielinski, *Deep time of the media: Toward an archaeology of hearing and seeing by technical means* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2006), 205–227.

257. McClintock, 1995, 13.

258. “Några typer från Eldslandet”, *Illustrerad Familj-Journal* 27 November 1881:48. Original quote in Swedish: “Dessa vilda menniskor skildras lika af alla, som ha sett dem. De äro några motbjudande varelser, som stå på kulturens allra lägsta trappsteg,

om det för öfrigt kan talas om någon den ringaste kultur bland detta folk.”

259. “Några typer från Eldslandet”, *Illustrerad Familj-Journal* 27 November 1881:48. Original quote in Swedish: “ha en smutsig, kopparbrun färg”[...] “De tycks alls icke känna till vattnet såsom varande ett rengöringsmedel”.

260. Åke Holmberg, *Världen bortom västerlandet. svensk syn på fjärran länder och folk från 1700-talet till första världskriget* (Göteborg: Kungliga vetenskaps- och vitterhetssamhället, 1988).

261. Ola Larsmo has in another way described the attitude as “ethno-chauvinistic”. According to Larsmo the Swedish attitude have been that its own culture has been perceived as right and natural in comparison to other groups. For further reading see: Ola Larsmo, “Sverige, Sverige, främlingsland: Historien om den kolonialstat som nästan blev”, *Arena*, vol. 5, 1996. See also: Mohammad Fazlhashemi, “Kolonialt medvetande utan kolonier”, *I andra länder: Historiska perspektiv på svensk förmedling av det främmande: En antologi*, eds. Magnus Berg & Veronica Trépagny (Lund: Historiska Media, 1999), 111–135.

262. See Schwartz, 26–27 and Anderson, 9–49.

263. Schwartz, 10.

264. Ibid.

265. Schwartz, 16–25.

266. Thomas Hall, *Planning Europe's capital cities: Aspects of nineteenth century urban development* (London: E&FN Spon, London, 1997).

267. “Litet statistik”, *Ny Illustrerad Tidning* 16 January 1886:3.

268. Schwartz, 27.

269. Karl Erik Gustafsson & Per Rydén, *A history of the press in Sweden* (Göteborg: Nordicom, 2010), 135–136.

270. Gustafsson & Rydén, 135–136.

271. Johan Jarlbrink, *Det våras för journalisten: Symboler och handlingsmönster för den svenska pressens medarbetare från 1870-tal till 1930-tal* (Stockholm: Kungliga biblioteket, 2009), 121–142.

272. Johan Jarlbrink & Patrik Lundell, *Från pressarkivet 1800-1899: En källsamling* (Stockholm: Kungliga biblioteket, 2012), 170.

273. Jarlbrink & Lundell, 120.

274. Jarlbrink & Lundell, 170.

275. For example one of the major critiques was on how to deal with papers that had been accused of “blackening the name of prominent citizens from the nobility”. The critical voices were concerned about the hasty speed of new media development, and urged this expansion to slow down, so one could discuss different regulations for it. The circulation of the press initiated questions of class. See: Jarlbrink & Lundell, 170.

276. Schwartz, 3.

277. Widén, 148. Original quote in Swedish: “Jag börjar tro att svenskarna är utbredda öfver hvarje fläck av jordklotet. Åtminstone finns de alltid der, hvarest man icke kan vänta dem.”

278. See for example: “Local & general news”, *The Daily bulletin* 2 July 1883 and “Lo-

NOTES

cal & general news”, *The Daily bulletin* 11 July 1884.

279. The *Vanadis* was completed in 1862 and made several voyages until 1893. The *Vanadis* made 15 journeys from 1863–1893.

280. Manneby, 18.

281. “Hvad nytt från Stockholm?”, *Blekingeposten* 30 March 1883. Original quote in Swedish: “Sedan 1853 har icke den tretungade blågula flaggan svajat jorden rundt”.

282. Orvar Löfgren, “A flag for all occasions? The Swedish experience”, *Flag, nation and symbolism in Europe and America*, eds. Thomas Hylland Eriksen & Richard Jenkins (London/New York: Routledge, 2007), 139. For further reading on the origin of European national flags and vexillology see: Gabriella Elgenius, “The origin of the European national flags”, *Flag, nation and symbolism in Europe and America*, eds. Thomas Hylland Eriksen & Richard Jenkins (London/New York: Routledge 2007), 14–31.

283. Ole Kristian Grimnes, “Nationalism and unionism in nineteenth-century Norwegian flags”, *Flag, nation and symbolism in Europe and America*, eds. Thomas Hylland Eriksen & Richard Jenkins (London/New York: Routledge, 2007), 146–147.

284. Grimnes, 146.

285. Löfgren, 2007, 139.

286. *Ibid.*

287. *Ibid.*

288. *Ibid.*

289. Jacob “Jacques” Hägg was the most famous marine painter in Scandinavia, besides Herman af Sillén. Hägg’s artistic career started in the 1860s and he produced over 600 oil and watercolour paintings, 25 etchings and around 1,600 sketches, drawings et cetera. For more information see: Christer Hägg, *Marinmålaren Jacob Hägg* (Stockholm: Magnus Ullman förlag, 2003).

290. The forerunner was the British *London Illustrated News*, which was the world’s first illustrated weekly news magazine, established in 1842, and in the 1880s was the dominant newspaper in Great Britain.

291. Jarlbrink & Lundell, 120.

292. Hamngatan 18 goes from Sergels torg down to Nybroplan past Kungsträdgården and Berzelii Park. It received its name in 1857.

293. It was also displayed in: Erik Lehman, *Med fregatten Vanadis på världsomsegling: f.d. båtsman Humblas dagboksanteckningar och minnen* (Västervik: Västerviks-posten, 1927).

294. The sea route between Europe and Asia through the Arctic Ocean, and the first voyage to circumnavigate Eurasia.

295. See also the front cover of *Illustrerad Familj-Journal* 26 February 1888:9.

296. Geoff Quilley & John Bonehill, *William Hodges 1744–1797: The art of exploration* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004). See also: Beth Fowkin Tobin, *Colonizing nature: The tropics in British arts and letters, 1760–1820* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005), 1–25, 144–168.

297. “Vanadis expeditionen 1883–1885”, *Nordisk familjebok*, Ugglepplagan (Stockholm: Nordisk familjeförlag tryckeri, 1921), 579. Original quote in Swedish: “svenska

flottans vackraste fartyg”.

298. *Nordisk familjebok*, 579.

299. Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin, 2013, 186.

300. McClintock, 1995, 27.

301. McClintock, 1995, 30.

302. *Ibid.*

303. Midgley, 2.

304. “Mexican delegate discharged from office: subjects under discussion”, *New York Times* 26 October 1902.

305. Billgren, 23.

306. *Ibid.*

307. *Ibid.*

308. Lena Johannesson, *Den massproducerade bilden: Ur bildindustrialismens historia* (Stockholm: Carlsson, 1997), 18. For further reading on the illustrated press, see also Lena Johannesson, *Xylografi och pressbild: Bidrag till trägravvyrens och till den svenska bildjournalistikens historia* (Stockholm: Nordiska museet, 1982).

309. Besides the accounts from the members of the crew, other authors reworked the story decades after the journey. Johan Oscar Humbla, one of the boatmen from the ship, published his journal in 1927, which was heavily inspired by the work of Svante Natt och Dag. One other example was the Swedish writer Moa Martinsson’s children’s book *Fregatten Vanadis: En pojkhistoria av Moa* from 1929.

310. Fredrika Bremer’s *Hemmen i den nya världen* (1853–1854), a travel account from North America in the first half of the nineteenth century, was an earlier encounter for the Swedish public. Bremer’s book could be viewed as a forerunner to the travel writing tradition in a Swedish context, though heavily influenced by other European travel writers.

311. “Litteratur”, *Kalmar* 13 August 1887. Original quote in Swedish: “pigga och lifliga framställningssätt.”

312. “Litteratur”, *Kalmar* 13 August 1887. Original quote in Swedish: “en särdeles angenäm, lättläst och underhållande skildring såväl af friskt sjömansliv som af seder och bruk, folk och land vid de främmande hamnarna, der den svenska fregatten kastade ankar.”

313. Billgren, 12.

314. Roy Bridges, “Exploration and travel outside Europe 1720–1914”, *The Cambridge companion to travel writing*, eds. Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 53.

315. Bridges, 53.

316. Local & general news”, *The Daily bulletin* 2 July 1883.

317. Billgren, 19.

318. “Fregatten Vanadis”, *Söndags-Nisse* 12 October 1884.

319. Andreas Nyblom, “Författarens ansikte: Ett bidrag till litteraturens mediehistoria”, *Mediernas kulturhistoria*, eds. Solveig Jülich, Patrik Lundell & Pelle Snickars (Stockholm: Kungliga biblioteket, 2008), 119–143.

320. “Hvad nytt från Stockholm?”, *Blekingsposten* 22 June 1883. Original quote in 257

NOTES

Swedish: "Att den tretungade blågula flaggan svajar jorden rundt är alltid i och för sig en betydelsefull tilldragelse, men den får ett ökad intresse genom att ombord å verldsomseglaren befinner sig en ung furste."

321. Andreas Nyblom, *Ryktbarhetens ansikte Verner von Heidenstam, medierna och personkult i sekelskiftets Sverige* (Linköping: Linköpings universitet, 2008), 39–59.

322. Jarlbrink & Lundell, 121. Original quote in Swedish: "1800-talets andra halva var jubelfesternas och de offentliga spektaklens tidevarv."

323. "South American news", *New York Times* 4 May 1884.

324. Widén, 150–151.

325. Billgren, 20.

326. Orvar Löfgren, "Medierna i nationsbygget: Hur press, radio och TV gjort Sverige svenskt", *Medier och kulturer*, ed. Ulf Hannerz (Stockholm: Carlsson, 1990), 85–120.

327. Naum & Nordin, 14.

327a. Maxwell, 11.

327b. Ibid.

328. Nicholas, Mirzoeff, "Photography at the heart of darkness: Herbert Lang's Congo photographs (1909–1915)", in *Colonialism and the object: Empire, material culture and the museum*, eds. Tim Barringer & Tom Flynn (London/New York: Routledge, 2007), 167.

329. Mirzoeff, 167.

330. Ekholm's collection was organized by Stolpe, who wrote a description. The list consists of 200 photographs and catalogue numbers. "Utkast till Katalog öfver Vanadis fotografier" (1885). Besides this catalogue, a list of photographs owned by R. Roesler exists. The list is written by Stolpe and contains 276 photographs. The Museum of Ethnography has the largest collection from the Vanadis expedition, which includes around 700 plates and copies (the digital archive Carlotta consists of 666 photographs but not all of them are from Ekholm). The National Library of Sweden holds the Kiellman-Göransson collection, which contains 466 copies. Västerviks museum has another collection which belongs to Erik Lehman. Another smaller collection is found in Arvid Lindman's archive, about 250 photographs. Prince Oscar Bernadotte's collection consists of both photographs by Ekholm and others that he bought along the way. Stolpe gave copies from the expedition to Pontus Fürstenberg. Stolpe's family archive consists of around 400 photographs from the Vanadis.

331. An article of the visual stagings of the scientist has been published, see: Åsa Bharathi Larsson, "Staging the white colonial explorer: Visual representations of science and the scientist on the Vanadis expedition 1883–1885", *Konsthistorisk tidskrift/ Journal of Art History*, vol.83: 4, 2013, 304–321.

332. "Vanadis' verldsomsegling", *Blekingeposten* 20 November 1883. Original quote in Swedish: "då tillfälle erbjuder sig för d:r Stolpe att taga fotografier och mätningar af en der boende, i en snar framtid utdöd folkstam."

333. In "Sällskapet förhandlingar, Sammankomsten den 16 November 1883, *Ymer Tidskrift* (Stockholm: Central-tryckeriet, vol. 1–3, 1881–1883), XXII. Original quote in Swedish: "Han hoppades visserligen icke att på dessa öar kunna göra några

betydligare etnografiska samlingar, men ville der fotografera individer af de utdöende folkstammarna,. [sic] anställa mätningar och för öfvrigt idka antropologiska forskningar.”

334. For further reading on Fürstenberg see: Charlotta Nordström, *Up the stylish staircase: Situating the Fürstenberg gallery and art collection in a late nineteenth-century Swedish art world* (Stockholm: Makadam förlag, 2015).

335. “Vanadis expeditionen”, *Blekingeposten* 23 November 1883. Original quote in Swedish: “Då man besinnar af huru stor vigt verkligt goda och under vetenskaplig ledning tagna fotografier äro för kändedomen om de olika folktyperna och huru rikt fält som för öfvrigt under en sådan färd måste öppna sig för en skicklig fotograf”

336. Erika Brady, *A spiral way: How the phonograph changed ethnography* (Jackson: University of Mississippi Press, Jackson, 1999), 11–27.

337. Gustaf von Düben’s work *Om Lappland och lapparne, företrädesvis de svenske. Ethnografiska studier* was published by Norstedts with Lotten von Düben’s photographs as xylographs in 1873.

338. Historian Pia Laskar’s survey has displayed how Thesleff’s documentation spread ideas on Romany culture and how Swedish scientists were deeply engaged in race science and eugenics, and also executed ethnographical expeditions throughout the nineteenth century. Thesleff’s extensive documentation of the Romany in Europe was much celebrated and recognized abroad; a British college claimed that Thesleff was the greatest living authority on the “Gypsy problem.” www.kb.se/samlingarna/oversikt/resor-tiderna/Thesleffs-fotosamling/Thesleffs-fotografier-av-romer-ett-rasbiologiskt-sammanhang/, retrieved 2016-02-21.

339. www.congresafsp2009.fr/sectionthematiques/st16/st16mottier.pdf, retrieved 2016-02-21.

340. Historian Gunnar Broberg has made important contributions in investigating how race science and the search for the Nordic race in Sweden were formulated. Gunnar Broberg & Nils Roll-Hansen, *Eugenics and the welfare state: Sterilization policy in Denmark, Sweden, Norway, and Finland* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2005), 1–9 and 259–273. See also Gunnar Broberg & Mattias Tydén, *Oönskad i folkhemmet: Rashygien och sterilisering i Sverige* (Stockholm: Gidlund, 1991).

341. Palmberg, 45. See also Helene Löow, *Hakkorset och Wasakärven: En studie av nationalsocialismen i Sverige 1924-1950* (Göteborg: Göteborgs universitet, 1990).

342. Jon Røyne Kyllingstad, *Measuring the master race: Physical anthropology in Norway, 1890-1945* (Cambridge: Open Book Publishers, 2014), 5.

343. All work on race science frequently concludes that Linnaeus’ classification system was of great importance since his ideas were based on four different human beings and herein we find the first articulations of a race theory founded on specific body features. As historians Robert Bernasconi and Thomas L. Mott assert, Linnaeus contributed to what was going to become *race thinking* in his twelfth edition of *Systema natura sive regne triva naturae* which was published from 1735 until his death in 1778. Hence, the definite racial categorization began with Johann Blumenbach who first proposed the idea that different people were going to be categorized according to

NOTES

their skin colour. Blumenbach's ground-breaking work *On the Natural Variety of Mankind* (1775) also argued the case on racial differences, presenting five races: Caucasian or white, Mongolian or yellow, Ethiopian or black, American or red and Malayan or brown. Blumenbach drew direct comparisons between physical differences and mental characteristics. This came to be developed in a practice of body measurement known as anthropometry, which basically assumed that people's differences were directly inscribed onto the body rather than social characteristics such as language, behaviour and dress. Bernasconi & Lott, 1–45.

343a. McClintock, 1995, 49.

343b. McClintock, 1995, 52.

344. Anne Maxwell, *Picture imperfect: Photography and eugenics, 1870–1940* (Eastbourne/Sussex Academic Press, 2008), 39–42.

345. Elizabeth Edwards, *Raw histories: Photographs, anthropology and museums* (Oxford/New York: Bloomsbury Academics, 2001), 51–81.

346. Elizabeth Edwards, "Photography and the making of the Other", *Human zoos: Science and spectacle in the age of colonial empires* eds. Nicolas Bancel, Pascal Blanchard, Gilles Boëtsch, Éric Deroo & Sandrine Lemaire (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2008). 240.

347. Maxwell, 11.

348. Maxwell, 48. See also Alan Sekula, "The body and the archive", *October*, vol. 39:3, 1986, 3–64. Sekula discusses the connection between the archival paradigm and the operations of power that control and regulate people. Sekula places the advent of photography in the context of the development of the police force and technologies of surveillance.

349. Anna Dahlgren, *Ett medium för visuell bildning. Kulturhistoriska perspektiv på fotoalbum 1850–1950* (Stockholm: Makadam förlag, 2013), 113.

350. In 1879, Alphonse Bertillon invented a method that combined detailed measurement and classification of unique features with frontal and profile photographs of suspects and which recorded the information on standardized cards in orderly files. Bertillon's system was based on five primary measurements: (1) head length, (2) head breadth, (3) length of the middle finger, (4) length of the left foot, (5) length of the "cubit" (the forearm from the elbow to the extremity of the middle finger). Each principal heading was further subdivided into three classes of "small", "medium" and "large." The length of the little finger and the eye colour were also recorded. Bertillon's system was later overtaken by fingerprinting, but the Bertillon "mug shot" endures. For further reading see: Maxwell, 48–79.

351. McClintock, 1995, 37.

352. The records relied heavily on two members of the crew: C.E. Ulff and E. Rydbeck. They completed the descriptions of the photographs in 1928, keeping the descriptions from Stolpe's records along with their own, but these are not easily separated.

353. Edwards, 2001, 5.

354. Edwards, 2001, 1–25, see also Homi K. Bhabha's work on mimicry in: Bhabha,

121–132.

355. Erikson, 288–289.

356. Erikson, 268.

357. John Hannavy (ed.), “Ethnography”, *The encyclopedia of nineteenth-century photography* (London/New York: Routledge, 2008), 499.

358. Collecting portraits was a common genre at the time and as well as collecting colonial photographs, the middle class engaged in taking their own photographs. Art historian Anna Dahlgren has claimed that the photo album functioned as a visual educational medium. The album could teach the identification of peoples, places and differences in relations. The album should be understood alongside the great interest in encyclopaedia collecting, which was reaching its height at the end of the nineteenth century. Dahlgren, 277–278.

359. Albert Khan’s archives in Paris at the beginning of the twentieth century were one example of a private interest which was intermingled with the science institutions and museums. In a Swedish context, for example the collections of Hallwyl and Fürstenberg are important.

360. Edwards, 2008, 240.

361. This body of work and the ethnographical exhibition of 1878–1879 positioned Stolpe as the leading ethnographer in Scandinavia and brought him recognition outside the country as well, with generally positive reviews from the international press. The grand exhibit of ethnography in Arvsfurstens palats in Stockholm, in 1878–1879, may be said to have been his tour de force as an ethnologist. Stolpe’s work resulted in a critical catalogue, which also became the 1878–1879 yearbook for the Swedish Society for Anthropology and Geography. In addition, he produced five volumes of photographic reproductions of most of the nearly 10,000 objects exhibited. His scientific and anthropological approach was, it should be stressed, very much concerned with the visual, as demonstrated by his devotion to extensive visual documentation, especially through photography. Ljungström, 78, 390.

362. Ljungström claims that Stolpe did not take the blame alone; the Swedish Society for Anthropology and Geography bore much of the criticism for not having foreseen such an event. In 1879 the collection was scattered; the private donations were returned, and the acquisitions of the SSAG (collected by Stolpe himself) were included in the larger collections of the Museum of Natural History. Since the Museum of Natural History had a much larger collection, it could dictate what to do with the objects from the Swedish Society for Anthropology and Geography. F.A. Smitt was the chief curator of the museum, and although he was more than eager to receive help from Stolpe in bringing the collections to the Museum of Natural History, he was not willing to give Stolpe a position. Instead Smitt appointed Kornelia Pålman as the ethnologist in charge of the collections of the Swedish Society for Anthropology and Geography. The disappointment for Stolpe was bitter. The exhibit failed mainly because of the economic situation, exacerbated by the absence of an interested paying audience. The project was the first major mission the Swedish Society for Anthropology and Geography had undertaken, and not only could it not

NOTES

finance the exhibit; it did not have a backup solution for creating a new museum to house the ethnographical material. The project came to a dead end and future plans were cancelled. Ljungström, 78–80.

363. Stolpe had to revise, reorganize, and re-establish his position, and in 1880–1881, financed by a generous grant from the Letterstedtska Foundation, he was able to travel around Europe, visiting over 80 museums in Germany, Holland, Belgium, Great Britain, France, Italy, Switzerland and Austria. It was this journey that established him internationally and made it possible for him to be part of the ambitious Vanadis expedition.

364. Widén, 157.

365. Samuel J.M.M. Alberti, “The Status of museums: Authority, identity, and material culture”, *Geographies of nineteenth-century science*, eds. David N. Livingstone & Charles W.J. Withers (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2011), 52.

366. Graeme J.N. Gooday, *The morals of measurement: Accuracy, irony and trust in late Victorian electrical practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

367. Alberti, 51.

368. Bennett, 117–130.

369. Alberti, 53.

370. Wagner, 3–4.

371. Manneby, 11–12.

372. “Vanadisutställningen i Stockholm”, *Tidning för Wenersborgs stad och län* 10 May 1886. Original quote in Swedish: “Det första rummet, dit man inkommer, ter sig något mörkt och dystert för en profan blick.”

373. Hjalmar Stolpe, *Vägvisare genom Vanadisutställningen: Arefurstens palats* (Stockholm, 1886), 5. Original quote in Swedish: “En mängd vid öfvergifna boningsplatser, såväl vid sundet, som vid de vestliga s.k. patagoniska kanalerna tillvaratagna lemnningar af infödingarnas redskap och afskråde från deras måltider, hvilka gifva ett rätt godt begrepp om dessa på synnerligen låg kulturståndpunkt stående människors lif, äro af brist på utrymme icke utställda.”

374. Stolpe, 3. Original quote in Swedish: “Måtte utställningen i sin mån bidraga till häfdande af ett allmänt etnografiskt museums – i utlandet mera än hos oss erkända – betydelse för den allmänna bildningen, för handeln och industrien samt för vetenskapen.”

375. Tony Bennett, “Pedagogic Objects, Clean Eyes and Popular Instructions: On Sensory Regimes and Museums”, *Configurations*, vol. 6:3, 1998, 350.

376. Ibid.

377. Stolpe, 26. Original quote in Swedish: “Tyvärr har det äfven varit omöjligt att exponera mer än ett fåtal af de öfver 700 fotografier, som, tack vare Herr Pontus Fürstenbergs storartade frikostighet, kunnat tagas under resan.”

378. “Stockholms-kåseri”, *Finland* 11 June 1886. Original quote in Swedish:

I första salen finner man endast saker uppgräfna ur grafvar i Peru [---] I den följande salen deremot är allt nytt, glänsande liksom lefvande, den innehåller samlingarna från *Japan*. [---] I salens midt är uppförd en liten paviljong, hvaruti man finner några

japaneser församlade till thédrickning; sittande på golfvet med benen under sig tyckas de med mycken betänksamhet sörpla i sig sin älsklingsdryck.”

379. “Vanadis’ verldsomsegling”, *Tidningen för Wenersborgs stad och län* 22 November 1883, 2. For example it states that Stolpe will receive the salary of a sea captain and additional costs of no more than 2,000 Swedish kronor. The art patron Pontus Fürstenberg is also mentioned as one of the great benefactors of the ethnographical expedition, and the cost of bringing a photographer was estimated at 10,000 Swedish kronor.

380. “Veckorapport från Stockholm”, *Åbo Underrättelser* 18 May 1886.

381. Ibid. Original quote in Swedish: “ur kulturhistorisk synpunkt måste betraktas såsom den både rikhaltigaste och mest intressanta som någonsin förekommit i vårt land.”

382. “Stockholms-kåseri”, *Finland* 11 June 1886. Original quote in Swedish: “Men när man gick derifrån full af intryck från aflägsna länder och folk, i hvilkas hem – och själslif man tyckte sig ha fått kasta en blick, så hade man nästan samma känsla, som när man länge betraktat stjärnhimlen – det är så mycket, så stort, så mångfaldigt, så oändligt, hvarför oroar jag mig och lägger så mycken vikt vid mina små enskilda angelägenheter? Jag är ju en så försvinnande liten del i det stora hela.”

383. “Vanadisutställningen”, *Göteborgsposten* 5 February 1887. Original quote in Swedish: “Vanadisutställningen är ämnad att öppna härstädes i Valands hus redan om onsdag, ifall det låter sig göras. Utställningen kommer att upptaga de båda största salarne i övre och nedre våningen, men vid en blick på de nu anlända packlärarna vill det synas som om utrymmet ändock icke blir tillräckligt. I den nedra våningen skall utställningen af sakerna från Indien och Söderhafsoarna ordnas och i den övre de från Japan och Siam.”

384. Andreas Nyblom, “Ritualer vid skriftkulturens altare”, *Återkopplingar*, eds. Marie Cronqvist, Patrik Lundell & Pelle Snickars (Lund: Mediehistoria, Lunds universitet, 2014), 109–135.

385. “Sällskapet för antropologi och geografi”, *Norra Skåne* 20 December 1894. Original quote in Swedish: “D:r Stolpe höll därefter ett föredrag om Negritofolket, angående hvilket han haft tillfälle att göra personliga studier under Vanadis’ verldsomsegling. Negritos eller som de sjelfva kalla sig Aëtas, bebo de otillgängligaste skogstrakterna på de Filippinska öarna Luzon och Mindanao samt anses stå i nära släktskap med nya Guineas papuasfolk. Af så många anses de dock som en alldeles sjelfständig ras. De ha mörk hud och krusigt hår samt äro mycket små, riktiga dvärgar. Medellängden för en fullvuxen man är blott 146 cm. Till huvudskålsbildningen äro de starkt brakyciefala [...]De anses stå på ytterst låg kultur, men detta torde närmast bero på att de äro hänvisade till ett kringvandrande lefnadssätt I urskogarna [...]”

386. Stolpe’s views assert that the reason for being at the lowest level of culture has to do with the environment itself. According to Olof Ljungström, Stolpe was seen to be more of the Germanic tradition rather than the Anglo-American evolution tradition, see: Ljungström, 73–233.

387. “Hvarjehanda: När pojkarne leka Texas Jack”, *Kalmar* 2 June 1897. See article on

NOTES

late nineteenth-century entertainments such as Wild West performances and ethnological exhibitions: Åsa Bharathi Larsson, "Iscensättningar av koloniala erfarenheter på circus och i mänskliga zoon. Svenska affischer i mediasystemet kring 1900", *Återkopplingar*, eds. Marie Cronqvist, Patrik Lundell & Pelle Snickars (Lund: Mediehistoria, Lunds universitet), 237–263.

388. "Hvarjehanda: När pojkarne leka Texas Jack", *Kalmar* 2 June 1897.

389. Ibid. Original quote in Swedish: "Alla tuppår i staden ha beröfvats på sina mest lysande fjädrar, all anilin har gått åt att färga rödskinnsanleten, och gossarne hafva uppträdt med indianlikt prydda hufvudbonader, ett lätt kattskinn kastadt öfver skuldorna, rikt fjäderbesatta byxor samt tomahawk i sina händer."

390. For further reading on Rhodin, see: Per Arne Wählberg, *Cirkus i Sverige: Bidrag till vårt lands kulturhistoria* (Stockholm: Carlsson, 1992), 269–297.

391. Joy S. Kasson, *Buffalo Bill's wild west: Celebrity, memory, and popular history* (New York: Hill & Wang, 2000), 15. The research field on Cody and Buffalo Bill is vast, see for example: L.G. Moses, *Wild west shows and the images of American Indians 1883–1933* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996). Bobby Bridger, *Buffalo Bill and Sitting Bull: Inventing the wild west* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2000). Sam A. Maddra, *Hostiles? The Lakota ghost dance and Buffalo Bill's wild west* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2006).

392. Kasson, 61–91. The Wild West act has never been labelled as a "show". Cody in fact tried to separate his act from the circus shows such as the "Freak show" and "Side show". The premiere poster for *The Wild West, Rocky Mountain and Prairie Exhibition*, May 17 1883 stated "No Tinsel, No Gilding, No Humbug! No Side show or Freaks." See: Moses, 1.

393. Bridger, 2.

394. I will use the terms American Indians and Native Americans interchangeably. But the term Native Americans has been controversial. According to the US Census Bureau's set of home interviews from 1995, respondents with an expressed preference refer to themselves as American Indians or Indians. Native American has been adopted by the major newspapers and in some academic circles. However, this term does not usually refer to Native Hawaiians or Alaskan Natives such as the Yupik. For further reading on the issue see: Raney Bench, *Interpreting Native American history and culture at museums and historic sites* (London/New York: Rowman & Little Field, 2014), ix–x.

395. Moses, 1.

396. Ibid.

397. The majority of material derives from the National Library of Sweden. However, the Nordic Museum and Stockholm City Museum have also been of importance. Material investigated includes: posters, ephemera, visual arts, illustrated press, photography, wax displays and costumes.

398. Bancel, David & Thomas, 1–3.

399. For further reading on circus history see, for example: Helen Stoddart, *Rings of desire: Circus history and representation* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000),

Virginia Press, 2001), 1–17. The Pawnee Indians from Nebraska travelled through Scandinavia, among them White Sox who died in Sweden. His body was examined and exhibited in the last decades of the nineteenth century. The human remains were returned in 1996. For further reading see: Dan Jibréus, “The long journey of White Sox”, *Nebraska History*, vol. 95, 2014, 100–123.

400. For further reading on P.T. Barnum see: Janet M. Davis, “Cultural watersheds in fin-de-siècle America”, *A companion to American cultural history*, ed. Karen Halttunen (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2008), 166–180. S.L. Kottar & J.E. Gessler, *The rise of the American circus 1716–1899* (Jefferson: McFarland and Company Inc. Publishers, 2008), 121–139. For further reading on Carl Hagenbeck’s ethnological exhibition see: Eric Ames, *Carl Hagenbeck’s empire of entertainments* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2008). For a historical overview of ethnological exhibitions see: Nicolas Bancel, Pascal Blanchard, Gilles Boëtsch, Éric Deroo & Sandrine Lemaire, *Human zoos: Science and spectacle in the age of colonial empires* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2008). The concept and usage of the “Human Zoo” has been discussed in the above work but this study chooses to use the term ethnological exhibition for the different stagings. For further reading see: Bancel, Blanchard, Boëtsch, Deroo and Lemaire, 23–25.

401. Rikke Andreassen, “The ‘exotic’ as mass entertainment: Denmark 1878–1909”, *Race & Class*: 45, 21–38. See also: Andreassen & Folke Henningsen, 11–49.

402. Ingrid Millbourn, *Det hemlighetsfulla mötet: Publik och gycklare: om skräcken och lockelsen att se varandra* (Stockholm: Carlsson, 2012), 142–193.

403. “Zulukaffern”, *Nyare Blekings-Posten* 5 March 1880.

404. For further reading about the different circus groups in Sweden see, for example: Wählberg, 269–297.

405. For further reading on the Swedish Panopticon see for example: Hällgren, 47–58 and 82–87, Eva Åhrén, *Death, modernity and the body: Sweden 1870–1940* (New York: University of Rochester Press, 2009), 51–79 and Snickars, 88–95.

406. The wax figure of the murderer Deeming was set up 1892. See: *Vägvisare genom Svenska Panoptikon* (Stockholm: Nya Tryckeri-Aktiebolaget, 1892).

407. *Vägvisare genom Svenska Panoptikon* (Stockholm: Nya Tryckeri-Aktiebolaget, 1889).

408. For further reading on the Oriental Maze Salons, see: Björk, 412–417 and Sandberg, 136–144.

409. In the late nineteenth century, John Payne and Sir Richard Francis Burton published revised editions that were translated into Swedish.

410. See: Björk, 405–412. Ekström, 106–204. Anders Ekström, Solveig Jülich & Pelle Snickars (eds.), “Inledning: I mediearkivet”, *1897: Mediehistorier kring Stockholmsutställningen* (Stockholm: Statens ljud- och bildarkiv, 2006), 7–47.

411. Moses, 80–105.

412. Gustaf G., “Paris under utställningen: Bref till länstidningen, Buffalo Bills wild west”, *Tidning för Wenersborgs stad och län* 9 August 1889. Original quote in Swedish: “Buffalo Bill, hvart Ni vänder Er, Buffalo Bill till häst, Buffalo Bill jagande bufflar, Buf-

NOTES

falo Bill tämjande ‘mustanger’, eller stridande med indianer – Buffalo Bill med sin höga fria panna, sin djärfva örnnäsa, sitt ända ner på axlarna sig ringlande svarta hår och sin stora vida filthatt käckt kastad på nacken.”

413. Gustaf G., “Paris under utställningen: Bref till länsstidningen, Buffalo Bills wild west”, *Tidning för Wenersborgs stad och län* 9 August 1889.

414. Gustaf G., “Paris under utställningen: Bref till länsstidningen, Buffalo Bills wild west”, *Tidning för Wenersborgs stad och län* 9 August 1889.

415. L. G. Moses uses the term Show Indians and it first appeared in the correspondence of the Indian service during the 1890s. I will also use this term for those American Indians who found employment in the various Wild West shows. As Moses uses the term within a larger setting of American Indian performance, I will also use it in a wider context. It does not imply any condescension, but seeks to recognize a professional status. Moses, xiii. From 1885 until the twentieth century Lakota Sioux were hired at Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota.

416. Kasson, 5 and 65–93. Moses, 80–106.

417. Kasson, 221–263.

418. For further reading on how Cody developed the act, see: Kasson, 11–65.

419. “Buffalo Bill’s wild west show – opening night in Glasgow”, *The Evening Citizen* 17 November 1891.

420. Moses, 10 and Kasson, 67.

421. Ibid.

422. Moses, 10.

423. Carolyn Thomas Foreman, *Indians abroad, 1493–1928* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1941), xix.

424. Moses, 11.

425. Richard Slotkin, “The wild west”, *Buffalo Bill and the wild west*, ed. David H. Katzive (New York: The Brooklyn Museum, 1981), 27.

426. Moses, 4.

427. Slotkin, 27.

428. Ibid.

429. Sam Maddra, “American Indians in Buffalo Bill’s wild west”, eds. Nicolas Bancel, Pascal Blanchard, Gilles Boëtsch, Éric Deroo and Sandrine Lemaire, *Human zoos: Science and spectacle in the age of colonial empires* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2008), 134.

430. Moses, 11–13.

431. Maddra, 2008, 135.

432. Birgitta Steen, “The Swedish image of America”, *Images of America in Scandinavia*, eds. Poul Houe, Sven Hakon Rossel (Amsterdam/Atlanta: Rodopi, 1998), 145.

433. Steen, 145.

434. Ibid.

435. Ibid.

436. Moses, 13.

437. Ibid.

438. James Fenimore Cooper's *The last of the Mohicans* (1826) introduced to an audience what became an essential part of American literature. It is more important to note how Native Americans figured as subjects in the self-conscious quest to create authentic American literature and art in the years between the war of 1812 and the Civil War. The noble and ignoble savages made ideal subjects for American high culture. Moses, 13.

439. Moses, 14, Kasson, 67–68. In 1837, Catlin opened his first exhibition at Clinton Hall, New York City. The American Indian gallery consisted not only of his nearly six hundred paintings and drawings completed on his trip to Missouri, but a large collection of Native American artefacts and a Crow tipi was placed at the centre of the exhibition. In 1840, he travelled to London, England, and showed *Tableaux vivants* with his lectures. The tableaux vivants were re-enactments of everyday life scenes from the Native people. Catlin hired Cockney actors when touring in Great Britain. In North America, Catlin invited American Indians to his *Gallery unique* (Baltimore, Washington) so they could verify and if necessary complement the collections.

440. Yvonne Pålsson, *I Skinnstrumpas spår: Svenska barn och ungdomsböcker om indianer 1860–2008* (Umeå: Umeå universitet, 2013), 85.

441. Kasson, 21–27.

442. See for example “Det stora rådslaget på Laramie”, *Svenska Familj-Journalen*, 1872. “En diligens öfverfallen af indianer”, *Svenska Familj-Journalen* 1872. See also: Gunlög Fur, “Colonial fantasies: American Indians, Indigenous Peoples and Swedish discourse of innocence”, *National Identities*, eds. Barbara Lüthi, Francesca Falk & Patricia Purtschert, vol. 18:1, 2015, 14.

443. Dime Novel has a special meaning but has also become a term for several different but related forms of late nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century North American popular fiction. In England the novels were known as “Penny dreadfuls”. Erastus Beadle published the first dime novel in 1860, and his quick success prompted many other firms to enter the market. Dime novels were short works of fiction, usually focused on the dramatic exploits of a single heroic character.

444. Robert F. Berkhofer Jr, *The white man's Indian: Images of American Indian from Columbus to the present* (New York: Knopf, 1978), 100.

445. Kasson, 20–27.

446. Pålsson, 86. See also Ulf Jonas Björk, “Stories of America: The rise of the ‘Indian book’ in Sweden 1862–1895”, *Scandinavian Studies*, vol. 75:4, 509–526.

447. Fur, 2015, 19.

448. Pålsson, 86.

449. *Ibid.*

450. Fur, 2015, 19.

451. John Springhall, *The genesis of mass culture: Show business live in America 1840–1940* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 115.

452. *The Oxford English dictionary* derives the French word affische from the Latin verb *affigere* (attach to something). The English synonym for affisch is *poster*, which could either mean a large printed text and/or picture, used for decoration or a printed text

NOTES

and/or picture, notice or advertisement displayed in a public space. It is the latter definition that is of concern for this investigation. The definition of a poster is that it has a text. The text is seen as the primary way to inform. In most of the cases a poster has a current and acute message, which is presented on a one-page document. The poster could be divided into text-based posters and image-text based posters. See: Michael Twyman, *The British library guide to printing history: History and techniques* (London: The British Library, 1998), 46–69. Michael Twyman, *A History of chromolithography: printed colour for all* (London: The British Library, Oak Knoll Press, 2013), 63–77. Olof Halldin, *Svenska Affischer: Affisckonst 1895–1960* (Bromma: Ordalaget, 2012), 8–20.

453. Gustaf G., “Paris under utställningen: Bref till länstidningen, Buffalo Bills wild west”, *Tidning för Wenersborgs stad och län* 9 August 1889.

454. Max Gallo, *The poster in history* (London: Hamlyn, 1974), 10.

455. Ibid.

456. Johannesson, 196–201.

457. Ibid.

458. Gallo, 10.

459. “Ett blad ur affischeringens historia”, *Ny Illustrerad Tidning* 10 February 1883.

460. Ibid. Original quote in Swedish: Sedan flera år tillbaka har i de flesta länder, så äfven i Sverige [...] Numera har man också funnit att ytterväggarna på stationerna äro mycket lämpliga affischeringsplatser, och Sverige var, med undantagmöjligen af Amerika, det första land der sådan affischer i någon mån användes på samma sätt som nu hos oss. Att metoden är praktiskt visar den stora användningen den sedermera funnit i Frankrike, Belgien och Tyskland.”

461. Besides the function and purpose, the poster also differed from painting in its immediate use. The picture poster was mass-produced but had a previous and unique model of some kind, for example a sketch. Compare this to the painting, which could of course have sketches but the single work itself was seen as the unique art object. Of course, mass production was not only confined to poster production, and it is important to note that printing graphics was older than book printing. The poster should also be seen as a commentary on current events and in this it had a role of actuality and presence. In this way, the illustrated poster had an ephemeral function in the sense that it was temporary and it was also available in the public space for a short amount of time. The picture poster could be seen as having aesthetic value and ambitions, but the purpose of creating a poster was to announce and/or sell a product, an idea or an event. Simply put, the poster was a commissioned product and the commissioning party decided its message. The poster had limits, which related to its place within the market, and it had a distinct function that demanded some use of popular imagery in its need to make an instant impact. See: Twyman, 59–69 and Halldin, 10–18.

462. Springhall, 81–102.

463. Gustaf G., “Paris under utställningen: Bref till länstidningen, Buffalo Bills wild west”, *Tidning för Wenersborgs stad och län* 9 August 1889. Original quote in Swedish: Eller en annan [sic]cen vid nybygget. Nybyggaren kommer från jagten, mottages af sin hustru och binder sin häst för att inträda i stugan. Indianerna komma, storma huset och

tända eld därpå, jagande de olyckliga nybyggarna framför sig. Men kallad af lågorna som höja sig mot skyn kommer Buffalo Bill — hämnaren — och befriar de fångna. [...] Äfven indianerna gifva några särskilda nummer. De visa sin krigsdans, sin soldans, kärleksdans etc, och visa slutligen en strid mellan sig inbördes. De äro också i värligheten af fem olika stammar, Sioux, Arraphoc, Brûles, Ogallalla och Cheyenne — och svåra att hålla ordning på.

464. Ibid.

465. Ray Allen Billington & Martin Ridge, *Westward expansion: A history of the American frontier* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2001), 279–321. Hugh Brogan, *The Penguin history of the United States of America* (London: Penguin Books, 2001), 51–73 and 219–249.

466. Michael Leroy Oberg, *Native America: A history* (London: Blackwell Publishing, 2010), 201–248.

467. Gustaf G., “Paris under utställningen: Bref till länsstidningen, Buffalo Bills wild west”, *Tidning för Wenersborgs stad och län* 9 August 1889. Original quote in Swedish: “Hvad som gör ett besök i Buffalo Bills Wild West så intressant är dels att allt är så oerhördt storartadt — det är ju någonting väldigt att se en 3–400 personer till häst på en gång på cirkusarena — dels att det ger en värlig och autentisk bild af det vilda lif som förts och väl ännu delvis föres därute, där striden mellan de hvite och röde — en strid för lifvet — så länge pågått. Och så, att ingenting är anordnad å la cirkus. Drägterna äro icke gjorda för ögonblicket. De hurtige cow-boys och Vaquiros [sic.] äro icke klädda i teaterdräkter utan i små värliga grofva kostymer, material, vagnar, allt är äkta.

468. Moses,

469. Kasson, 5–8.

470. Gustaf G., “Paris under utställningen: Bref till länsstidningen, Buffalo Bills wild west”, *Tidning för Wenersborgs stad och län* 9 August 1889. Original quote in Swedish: “Och rödskinnen! Om du tviflar på dem, så besök dem, som jag, efter föreställningens slut, se dem i sina wigwams, vid sina eldar och du skall snart se att de äro veritabla.”

471. Historian Richard White asserts, it was Cody’s story of vital Indians that was important for the narrative, and to legitimize Cody’s role in the conquest of America he needed the Native American performers. Richard White, “Fredrick Jackson Turner and Buffalo Bill”, *The frontier in American culture*, ed. James R. Grossman (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 7–67.

472. Sam Maddra observes none of the white performers were examined in the same way as the American Indians and the detailed accounts of and attentiveness to their differences reinforced the idea that the white race was more civilized and therefore superior. Maddra, 2008, 135.

473. Yet, the matter was much more complex, as Moses has described. In contrast to the ethnological exhibitions, the Show Indians received payment, which was often sent home to the reservations. It was one of the few ways the American Indians could earn an income. The Wild West acts consisted of separate performances in which Show Indians were allowed to display their culture, language and religion. The Indian Reservation Policy forbade the Native Americans from performing their culture and language,

NOTES

while the children were forced into Christian boarding schools and were thus separated from American Indian culture. See further: Moses, 60–80. Kasson, 65–93 and Maddra, 2006, 86–122.

474. Moses, 80–106.

475. Maddra asserts that: “on the whole they [Europeans] maintained their prejudice about the Indians, but these experiences educated the Indian performers about the white world in an unparalleled way”. Maddra, 2008, 135. Joy S. Kasson has also claimed: “newspaper stories continued to assert that the Indians were special favourites with audiences, and human-interest stories about Indians complicated the racial stereotype and hierarchies.”, Kasson, 219.

476. For example, see “Nordamerikas förenta stater”, *Faluposten* 19 February 188. “De sista Indian höfvingarna”, *Östgötaposten* 24 November 1905.

477. Richard Melander, *I Sitting Bulls land: Skildringar från gränslifvet i Amerikanska Västern* (Stockholm: P. A. Norstedt & Söner, 1892).

478. In the material surveyed I have not come across Wild West and circus groups that had features similar to that of the “Annie Oakley” or “Congress of Rough Riders” acts.

479. “Äkta rödskind”, *Tidning för Wenersborgs stad och län* 1 July 1895. Original quote in Swedish: “Äkta rödskind. Ingen bör underlåta att gå och se Sioux indianerna i Nyblommans lokal vid skofabriken. Dessa sällsynta människor förevisas under landtbruksmötet från 10 f.m. till kl. 10 e.m. Entré 15 öre för äldre, 10 öre för barn. Obs. Ingen som går dit ångrar besöket.”

480. For example, see “Nordamerikas förenta stater”, *Faluposten* 19 February 1881. “De sista Indian höfvingarna” *Östgötaposten* 24 November 1905.

481. “De sista Indian höfvingarna”, *Östgötaposten* 24 November 1905.

482. *Ny Illustrerad Tidning* had serials regarding American Indians, see for example: “Nordamerikas indianer i våra dagar”, [North American Indians in Present Time], *Ny Illustrerad Tidning* 4 October 1899: 40. A special feature on the difference between “civilized and uncivilized Indians” was published in “Nordamerikas indianer i våra dagar” [North American Indians in Present Time], *Ny Illustrerad Tidning* 11 October 1890: 41.

483. Cody was later cleared on all charges and began working with Buffalo Bill’s Wild West. In 1893 it was a huge success at the Chicago World’s Fair. Kasson, 93–123. Moses, 129–150. Maddra, 2008, 136–141.

484. Fur, 2015, 11–33.

485. Historian Karen V. Hansen has described the interconnected relations between the newcomers to North America and the protracted dispossession of Indigenous peoples who inhabited the continent, among those the large population of Scandinavians. For further reading see: Karen V. Hansen, *Encounters on the great plains: Scandinavian settlers and the dispossession of Dakota Indians, 1890–1930* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 27–107.

486. Bridger, 3.

487. Från skilda håll”, *Aftonbladet* 7 May 1886.

488. Nicolas Bancel, Pascal Blanchard, Gilles Boëtsch, Éric Deroo and Sandrine Lemaire (eds.), “Human zoos: the greatest exotic shows in the West”, *Human zoos: Science*

and spectacle in the age of colonial empires (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2008), 4.

489. The first exotic specimens to be presented in the great courts of Europe were treated in quite different ways, repeating the varied pattern of the cabinets of curiosities. Among those on show were the Tupi Indians brought to Europe by Hernán Cortés and presented to the King of France in 1550. “The savages” collected by Duke Wilhelm V of Bavaria in about 1580 who were showed alongside a range of “dwarves and cripples”. The Tahitian brought back to France by Bougainville in 1769 and a troupe of Africans who were established near Frankfurt 1784 by Frederick II of Hesse-Cassel in order to observe both their habits and morphology. These above cases show a pattern that was gradually established in the West, along with the development of a thirst for difference and exoticism. Bancel, Blanchard, Boëtsch, Deroo and Lemaire, 4.

490. Bancel, Blanchard, Boëtsch, Deroo and Lemaire, 24–25.

491. Bancel, Blanchard, Boëtsch, Deroo and Lemaire, 1–2.

492. “Zulukaffern Uomogogowa”, *Dalpilen* 9 April 1886.

493. *Ibid.*

494. *Ibid.*

495. Hällgren, 30–76.

496. The derogatory term “kafir” or “kaffer” were used in the former South Africa to refer to a Black person. The word derived from the Arabic term “kafir” (infidel), and Portuguese explorers adopted the term to refer to black non-Muslim people when they became involved in the slave trade along the coast of East Africa. Variations of the word have been used in English, Dutch and Afrikaans from the early sixteenth century to the twentieth century. The word was frequently used in the Scandinavian languages in the last decades of the nineteenth century.

497. “Zulukaffern”, *Nyare Blekings-Posten* 5 March 1880.

498. Beth Fowkes Tobin, *Picturing imperial power: Colonial subjects in eighteenth-century British painting* (London/Durham: Duke University Press, 1999), 27–81. See also David Bindman & Henry Louis Gates Jr. (eds.), *The image of the black in Western art: vol.v. The twentieth century, part 1: the impact of Africa* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2014).

499. For further reading about sexuality and race in ethnological exhibitions see: Andreassen & Folke Henningsen, 147–171.

500. Andreassen & Folke Henningsen, 147.

501. For further reading see: Sander Gilman, “The Hottentot and the prostitute: Toward an iconography of female sexuality”, *Race-ing art history: Critical readings in race and art*, ed. Kimberly N. Pinder (London/New York: Routledge, 2002), 119–139.

502. Robert Bogdan, “When the exotic becomes a show”, eds. Nicolas Bancel, Pascal Blanchard, Gilles Boëtsch, Éric Deroo & Sandrine Lemaire, *Human zoos: Science and spectacle in the age of colonial empires* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2008), 89.

503. Bogdan, 90–91.

504. *Ibid.*

505. For further reading about national differences in staging ethnological exhibitions, see: Bancel, Blanchard, Boëtsch, Deroo and Lemaire, 29–34.

506. Millborn, 142–143.

NOTES

507. Millborn, 27.

508. “Australisk sport”, *Stockholms Dagblad* 9 June 1886. Original quote in Swedish: “Under några dagar ha stockholmare med fasa och förskräckelse gått och tittat på en del stora affischer uppslagna på väggar och plank och på ett besynnerligt naturalistiskt sätt åskådliggörande huru besättningen på ett förlist fartyg uppåtes av kannibaler. I sanning fruktansvärda att skåda. Igår eftermiddag förevisades några av dessa grymma odjur i mensklig gestalt på Alhambras konsertsalong.”

509. Anna-Maria Hällgren has highlighted the event in her introduction but does not analyze the performance, see: Hällgren, 23-25.

510. Roslyn Poignant, *Professional savages: Captive lives and western spectacle* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 87. The “Cunningham’s Cannibals” performed in Copenhagen and Odense 19 April-5 May 1886. For an overview of the ethnological exhibitions in Zoologisk Have in Copenhagen see: Andreassen & Folke Henningsen, 22-23.

511. Cunningham’s troupe was composed of nine Aborigines from the Palm Islands and Hinchinbrook Island off the coast of North Queensland. For a further description of where they were from, see: Poignant, 16-25.

512. Poignant, 88.

513. Poignant, 96.

514. Poignant, 27.

515. Poignant, 164. It is important to note that Cunningham gave them the English names. For further reading about the Australian Aborigines’ original names and background, see: Poignant, 16-31.

516. Poignant, 121-163.

517. K. [sic] A. Cunningham, *Berättelser om K. A. Cunningham’s Australinivånare, tatuerade kannibaler, svarta spårfinnare och bumerangkastare, bestående af 2 stammar, män och kvinnor* (Stockholm: Accidens-Tryckeriet, 1886).

518. “Kannibaler i Stockholm”, *Ny Illustrerad Tidning* 26 June 1886:26.

519. R. A. Cunningham, *History of R. A. Cunningham’s Australian Aborigines, Etc.* (London: J. Elliott, 1884). It was also published in French with the title: *Histoire curieuse des Aborigènes d’Australie: cannibales tatoués, traqueurs noirs et lanceurs du boomerang, tribu mâle et femelle* (Paris: Imprimerie-Lithographie Lhoes, 1884).

520. Poignant, 27.

521. See for example poster: “Barnum’s Australian Cannibal. Boomerang Throwers”.

522. “Australisk sport”, *Stockholms Dagblad* 9 June 1886.

523. Cunningham, 2.

524. Cunningham, 3.

525. Cunningham, 9-16.

526. Cunningham, 17. Original quote in Swedish: “Den enda Trupp af dessa vilda, lömska, ociviliserade menniskor med röda tatueringar på kroppen och stora ringar i näsan och öronen. Verkligt blodtörstiga odjur i afskräckande och förfärlig mennisko-skepnad, utan förstånd och med ringa talförmåga. De utföra Freds-, Krigs-, Känguru-, Emu- och Tokatodanser samt deras Midnatts-Corroborés. Kastning med Spjut och Bumerang.”

527. “Kannibaler i Stockholm”, *Ny Illustrerad Tidning* 26 June 1886:26. Original quote in Swedish: “Den har nu hittat ända upp till vårt ulti­ma Thule, den lilla stamtrupp af Australiennbyggare, som blifvit så mycket omtalad, då den förevisades på kontinenten, i London, Köln, Berlin, Köbenhavn m.fl. städer. Dess antal är likväl nu reducerat till tre – men dessa tre äro i alla hänseende de första i sitt slag, som varit att se här hos oss. De ha sin lokal vid Alhambra på Djurgården och åskådas dagligen af en intresserad menniskoskara.”

528. “Kannibaler i Stockholm”, *Ny Illustrerad Tidning*, June 26 1886:26. Original quote in Swedish: “ I Alhambras trädgård finna de tyvärr ej tillfälle att visa sin konst, men de ha – som våra dagliga tidningar berättat – blifvit utsläppta på en fri plats på Djurgården och der få visa hvilka märkliga konststycken de förmå åstadkomma.”

529. “Kannibaler i Stockholm”, *Ny Illustrerad Tidning* 26 June 1886:26.

530. Ibid.

531. Ibid.

532. Ibid.

533. “Tre Australnegrer”, *Aftonbladet*, 9 June 1886.

534. Ibid. Original quote in Swedish: “De dansar, sjunger, leker, kastar bumerang im­pressarion upplyser och visar vad de kan göra.”

535. “Mr. Cunningham och hans kannibaler”, *Dagens Nyheter* 19 June 1886. Original quote in Swedish: “Hr människoätare tog cigarren ur munnen och upphävd några vilda härskrin och började sina kast.”

536. “Australiska gäster”, *Dagens Nyheter* 9 June 9 1886.

537. Ibid.

538. Ibid.

539. Ibid.

540. Janis L. Edwards, “Cartoons”, *Encyclopaedia of humour studies*, ed. Salvatore Attardo (London: Sage Publications Inc., 2014), 113.

541. George Paton, “Humor”, *Encyclopedia of race and ethnic studies*, ed. Ellis Cashmore (London/New York: Routledge, 2004), 194.

542. Richard Rice, “Racial and ethnic imagery in nineteenth-century political car­toons”, *Seeking a voice: Images of race and gender in the nineteenth-century press*, eds. David B. Sachsman, S. Kitrell Rushing & Roy Morris Jr. (West Lafayette: Purdue University Press, 2009), 27.

543. Rice, 30.

544. The ”Sinhalese caravan” performed in Copenhagen in May 1890 and the ”Dinka caravan” from March-May 1895. See Andreassen & Folke Henningsen, 22–23.

545. “Singhales karavan”, *Dagens Nyheter* 31 May 1890.

546. Ibid. In “En brokig kavalkad”, *Dagens Nyheter* 7 June 1890, informs of a parade through the city of Stockholm.

547. Ibid.

548. Ibid.

549. Ibid. See also the reviews in: “Bland Singhaleserna”, *Aftonbladet* 31 May 1890. The article speak of encounters between the Swedish audience and the Sinhalese perform-

NOTES

ers. Some of the performers could speak some English and German. The group travelled to Gothenburg see: “Annons” *Göteborgs Aftonblad*, 30 August 1890.

550. “Dinka-Neger karavan”, *Dagens Nyheter* 18 June 1895.

551. Andreassen & Folke Henningsen, 276.

552. Ibid.

553. Jeff Werner, “A blue-and-yellow landscape”, *Sciascope 6: Blond and blue-eyed: Whiteness, Swedishness and visual culture*, eds. Jeff Werner & Tomas Björk (Göteborg: Göteborgs konstmuseum, 2014), 109.

554. “Den norske upptäcksresande kand. Karl Lumholtz”, *Tidning för Wenersborg stad och län* 22 November 1886. “Carl Lumholtz och hans forskningar i Australien”, *Ny Illustrerad Tidning* 27 November 1886:48.

555. “Oscardagens stjärnfall”, *Tidning för Wenersborg stad och län* 2 December 1886. The paper reported that Lumholtz received the Order of Vasa in December 1886 after his successful lectures around the country.

556. Sophus Schack, *Fysionomiska studier* (Stockholm: Looström & Komp, 1883), 5.

557. Schack, 20.

558. It was revisited and popularized in the late eighteenth century by the Swiss pastor Johann Caspar Lavater. According to Lavater, physiognomy was a science because it was based on careful observation that made it possible to state laws of behaviour and relationships.

559. “Hottentotterna, deras tro, vidskepliga föreställningar o.s.v.”, *Illustrerad Familj-Journal* 30 November 1884:48.

560. Ibid.

561. Ibid.

562. *Nordisk familjebok, 1800-tals utgåva 11. Militärkonventioner-Nådaval* (Stockholm: Gernandts boktryckeri, 1887), 953–954.

563. Similar ideas were to be found in *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1884), which stated in the entry for “Negro” that this was “the lowest position on the evolutionary scale, thus affording the best material for comparative study of the highest anthropoids and the human species”. Moreover, the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* claimed that these anthropoid features included: a) the abnormal length of arm, which in the erect position sometimes reaches the knee-pan, b) weight of brain, as indicating cranial capacity, 35 ounces (highest gorilla 20, average European 45), c) “short flat snub nose”, d) “thick protruding lips”, e) “exceedingly thick cranium”, f) “short black hair, eccentrically elliptical or almost flat in section, and distinctly woolly” and g) “thick epidermis”. Not only were Black people thought to have thicker skin and thicker skulls than Whites, but also partly as a consequence of these presumed anatomical differences, they were thought to be less sensitive to physical pain and less able to think abstractedly, which was also noted for Scandinavian readers in *Nordisk familjebok*.

564. *Nordisk familjebok, 1800-tals utgåva 11. Militärkonventioner-Nådaval* (Stockholm: Gernandts boktryckeri, 1887), 953–954.

565. Ibid.

566. Ibid.

567. Ibid.
568. Ibid. Original quote in Swedish: “I psykiskt hänseende kan negern sägas i allmänhet stå på barnets ståndpunkt med liflig fantasi, brist på uthållighet och energi och ett lättroligt lynne, hvars mest framstående drag utgöras af glädtighet, fåfånga och lättsinne i god bemärkelse.”
569. Varför är negrer svarta?”, *Illustrerad Familj-Journal* 26 November 1899:48.
570. “Om orsakerna till de lägre folkslagens undergång”, *Ny Illustrerad Tidning* 29 March 1884:13.
571. “Hvad afrikanen tänker om europén”, *Ny Illustrerad Tidning* 18 July 1885:29.
- 571a. Werner, 75.
- 571b. Ibid.
- 571c. Werner, 77.
572. Gustaf. G., “Storstadssymptom”, *Tidningen för Wenersborgs stad och län* 15 March 1889.
573. Mark B. Sandberg, “Wax Museums: Europe, *Encyclopaedia of early cinema*, ed. Richard Abel (London/New York: Routledge, 2005), 686.
574. Sandberg, 2003, 26.
575. Sandberg, 2003, 26.
576. Åhrén, 68.
577. Snickars, 51.
578. Sandberg, 2003, 26.
579. Ibid.
580. Åhrén, 68.
581. Snickars, 93. Hällgren, 19.
582. *Vägvisare genom Svenska Panoptikon* (Stockholm: Nya Tryckeri-Aktiebolaget, 1889).
583. The prices were directed at an urban middle class; on Sundays, “the People’s Sundays” [Folksöndagar], the entrance fee was reduced to a quarter of the original price. The local papers highlighted the fact that the total amount for the entrance at the Swedish Panopticon would be about 1 krona and 45 öre. Original quote in Swedish: “Entrén till panoptikons härlighet är en krona. Men härtill kommer 10 öre för käpp eller paraply, samt 35 öre för en katalog, som sannerligen är nödvändig, således inalles 1 kr. 45 öre, hvilket utan tvifvel är bra mycket för den valuta som bjudes.” Gustaf G., “Svenska Panoptikon”, *Tidningen för Wenersborgs stad och län* 30 August 30 1889.
584. Grévin, Castan and Tussaud were all mentioned as important precursors. See Sandberg, 2003, 26-27.
585. Snickars, 92. Sandberg, 2003, 29.
586. “Svenska panoptikon”, *Svenska Familje-Journalen Svea* 3 August 1889.
587. Sandberg, 2003, 26-36.
588. Ibid.
589. Snickars, 85-92. Hällgren, 19.
590. *Vägvisare genom Svenska Panoptikon* (Stockholm: Nya Tryckeri-Aktiebolaget, 1889).
591. Åhrén, 68. Snickars, 93-94.
592. *Vägvisare genom Svenska Panoptikon* (Stockholm: Nya Tryckeri-Aktiebolaget, 1889).

NOTES

593. *Vägvisare genom Svenska Panoptikon* (Stockholm: Nya Tryckeri-Aktiebolaget, 1889).

594. Åhrén, 68.

595. Sandberg, 2003, 32–33.

596. “Svenska Panoptikon”, *Dagens Nyheter* 1 August 1889. “Svenska Panoptikon”, *Aftonbladet*, 1 August 1889.

597. “Svenska Panoptikon, *Dalpilen* 9 August 1889. Gustaf G., “Svenska Panoptikon”, *Tidningen för Wenersborgs stad och län* 30 August 1889.

598. *Vägvisare genom Svenska Panoptikon* (Stockholm: Nya Tryckeri-Aktiebolaget, 1889).

599. Sandberg, 2003, 20–21.

600. *Vägvisare genom Svenska Panoptikon* (Stockholm: Nya Tryckeri-Aktiebolaget, 1889).

601. Michelle E. Bloom, *Wax works. A cultural obsession* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003), 21.

602. Ibid.

603. *Vägvisare genom Svenska Panoptikon* (Stockholm: Nya Tryckeri-Aktiebolaget, 1889).

604. Between 1885 and 1930 around two thousand Scandinavians worked in the Congo. In the river traffic, Scandinavians constituted 90 per cent of the work force. Other worked as officers, medical doctors, civil engineers, judges or missionaries. Espen, Wæhle, “Scandinavian agents and entrepreneurs in the scramble for ethnographical objects during colonial expansion in the Congo”, *Navigating colonial orders: Norwegian entrepreneurship in Africa and Oceania*, eds. Kirsten Alsaker Kjerland & Bjørn Enge Bertelsen (New York/Oxford: Berghahn, 2015), 339.

605. *Vägvisare genom Svenska Panoptikon* (Stockholm: Nya Tryckeri-Aktiebolaget, 1889). Original quote in Swedish: “Det är en scen från Central-Afrika -från Kongo, som vi här hafva framför oss. Till höger synes den berömde upptäcksresanden Stanley: hans vis å vis är löjtnant Möller, med hvilken han uppgör planen för en tiltänt expedition till floden Niadi [...] Figuren i fonden är en af dessa zansibariter [...] I hörnet till venster synes en inföding af Bakongostammen.”

606. Gustaf G., “Svenska Panoptikon”, *Tidningen för Wenersborgs stad och län* 6 August 1889. Original quote in Swedish: “En vacker liten grupp är sammanträffad vid Kongofloden mellan den världsberömda Stanley och vår svenske “Kongolöjtnant” P.A. Möller, uppvaktade af ett par infödingar. Både Stanley, Möller och negrerna äro lyckade. Också har löjtnant Möller själf öfvervakat utförandet och biträdt vid gruppens ordnande.”

607. Ibid.

608. “Panoptikon”, *Idun* 9 August 1889:32. Original quote in Swedish: “Två steg, och vi äro midt inne i Afrika. Stanley till höger och löjtnant Möller till venster från åskådaren. Ni behagade observera, att de se lika ungdomliga ut båda två, hvilket tyder på att Afrikas klimat icke är så ohelsosamt trots hettan [...] De båda svarta fulingarne till infödingar göra god verkan.”

609. “Eden Salongen och Nya Panoptikon”, *Dagens Nyheter* 25 November 1890, in *Vägvisare genom Orientaliska irrgångs-salongen* (Stockholm: Accidens-Tryckeriet, 1892), 18–19.

276 610. *Vägvisare genom Orientaliska irrgångs-salongen* (Stockholm: Accidens-Tryckeriet,

1892).

611. *Tidningen för byggnadsväsendet in Vägvisare genom Orientaliska irrgångs-salongen* (Stockholm: Accidens-Tryckeriet, 1892), 13–15. Original quote in Swedish: “arabisk-egyptisk stil med delvis persiska kolonner”.

612. “Eden Salongen och Nya Panoptikon”, *Dagens Nyheter* 25 November 1890, in *Vägvisare genom Orientaliska irrgångs-salongen* (Stockholm: Accidens-Tryckeriet, 1892), 18–19.

613. Mary Roberts, *Intimate Outsiders: The harem in Ottoman and orientalist art and travel literature* (Durham/London: Duke University Press, 2007), 33–34.

614. Linda Nochlin, “The imaginary Orient”, *Art in America*, 1983, 119–131, 186–191.

615. Nochlin, 125.

616. MacKenzie, 1995, 60.

617. Ibid.

618. Björk, 223.

619. Björk, 340.

620. Thornton, 15.

621. Lewis, 127–144.

622. Mary Roberts, “Contested terrains.: Women orientalists and the colonial harem”, *Orientalism’s interlocutors: Painting, architecture and photography*, eds. Jill Beaulieu & Mary Roberts (Durham: Duke University Press, 2002), 180.

623. Björk, 340.

624. “Eden Salongen och Nya Panoptikon”, *Dagens Nyheter* 25 November 1890, in *Vägvisare genom Orientaliska irrgångs-salongen* (Stockholm: Accidens-Tryckeriet, 1892), 18–19.

625. *Aftonbladet* in *Vägvisare genom Orientaliska irrgångs-salongen* (Stockholm: Accidens-Tryckeriet, 1892). Original quote in Swedish: “Vi träda en trappa upp, slå upp ett brokigt förhänge och rygga tillbaka med ett utrop af häpnad. Framför oss utbreder sig i strålände ljussken ett verkligt fépalats. Hvert vi möter en skog af praktfyllda smäckra pelarrader i rikt orientalisk dekorerung, i guld, blått och rödt med gyllene persiska sfinxer på de likaledes förgyllda kapitälerna.”

626. *Stockholms Dagblad* in *Vägvisare genom Orientaliska irrgångs-salongen* (Stockholm: Accidens-Tryckeriet, 1892), 5. Swedish original quote: “pelarrader i indiskt mönster med gyllene sfinxer och präktiga kapitäl, sirade med guld och bjerta kulörer.”

627. *Söndags-Nisse*, 19 January 1890 in *Vägvisare genom Orientaliska irrgångs-salongen* (Stockholm: Accidens-Tryckeriet, 1892), 12.

628. *Söndags-Nisse*, 30 November 1890 in *Vägvisare genom Orientaliska irrgångs-salongen* (Stockholm: Accidens-Tryckeriet, 1892), 17.

629. Sandberg, 119–144.

630. “Kronprinsarna af Sverige och Danmark”, *Nya Dagligt Allehanda*, 1 March 1890, in *Vägvisare till Orientaliska irrgångs-salongen* (Stockholm: Accidens-Tryckeriet, 1892), 13.

631. “Edensalongen och nya panoptikon”, *Aftonbladet* 24 November 1890 in *Vägvisare till Orientaliska irrgångs-salongen* (Stockholm: Accidens-Tryckeriet, 1892), 15.

632. *Svenska Dagbladet*, *Söndags-Nisse* and *Figaro* in *Vägvisare till Orientaliska irrgångs-salongen* (Stockholm: Accidens-Tryckeriet, 1892), 5–18.

633. Jeff Werner, “Introduction”, *Sciascope 6: Blond and blue-eyed: Whiteness, Swedishness*

NOTES

and visual culture, eds. Jeff Werner & Tomas Björk (Göteborg: Göteborgs konstmuseum, 2014), 12–33.

634. “Göteborgs nyaste sevärdhet”, *Tidning för Wenersborgs stad och län* 18 November 1890.

635. *Ibid.*

636. *Ibid.*

637. Sandberg, 136.

638. “Program-Bladet”, *Tidning för Helsingfors* 17 February 1893.

639. The famous opera by Victor Massé was first published as a novel by Bernardine de St. Pierre.

640. But it was not only these exhibitions. More well-known events such as the celebrated exhibition “Från Seines strand” in 1883 had orientalist paintings in their repertoire. These various representations of orientalist art helped, as Reina Lewis claimed, to spread ideas about what the Orient was like and even more, these images came to reinforce these notions to a wider audience. Elisabeth Oxfeldt’s investigation of Nordic orientalism in the visual arts has also shown the appropriation of Oriental imagery within Danish and Norwegian nineteenth-century nation building. Oxfeldt, 22–55.

641. McClintock, 1995, 219.

642. *Ibid.*

643. Hall, 333.

644. Wulf D. Hund, Michael Pickering & Anandi Rammamurthy (eds.), “Editorial”, *Colonial advertising & commodity racism* (Vienna/Berlin: Lit Verlag, 2013), 14. David Ciarlo shows, for example, how a new landscape of consumer advertising of colonial products shaped German attitudes towards imperialism, colonies and racial hierarchies. Ciarlo, 148–213.

645. Schwartz, 1–13.

646. Schwartz, 6.

647. “Den yngsta skall vägas”, *Allers Familj-Journal* 28 December 1902:52. Original quote in Swedish: “– Ack, hvad kan väl jämföras med en sådan ren familjelycka! Och från dessa människor har man till och med velat taga rättigheten att vara människor, ja man har på fullt allvar påstått, att negrer icka hafva någon själ – och det blott därför, att deras hud har en annan färg än vår”.

648. “Negerbröllop”, *Allers Familj-Journal* 25 November 1900:47.

649. In 1893, Harriet Beecher Stowe’s novel was a hot topic in the World’s Columbian Exhibition in Chicago. In the Women’s Building, special editions of the novel were seen together with the numerous translations in 40 different languages.

650. Harry Roseland’s work included other depictions in which African American women were portrayed as fortune-tellers. These, which were seen in the Anglo-American press, were not published in the Swedish illustrated press surveyed. For further reading on Harry Roseland see: Lee M. Edwards (ed), *Domestic bliss: Family life in American painting 1840–1910* (New York: The Hudson River Museum, 1986). Guy C. McElroy, Henry Louis Gates Jr. & Christopher C. French, *Facing history: The black image in American art 1710–1940* (New York: Bedford Arts, 1990).

651. *Söndags-Nisse* 2 March 1879.
652. Loftsdóttir & Jensen, 1.
653. See for example: Fur, 2015, 12. Loftsdóttir & Jensen, 1 and Naum & Nordin, 4.
654. Peter Johansson, *Samerna – ett ursprungsfolk eller en minoritet? En studie av svensk samepolitik 1986–2005* (Göteborg: Göteborgs universitet, 2008), 145–245.
655. Fur, 2015, 12.
656. Spivak, 1988, 271–291.
657. Barbara Lüthi, Francesca Falk & Patricia Purtschert, “Colonialism without colonies: Examining blank spaces in colonial studies”, *National Identities*, vol. 18:1, 2015, 2.
658. Keskinen, Touri, Irni & Mulinari, 1–2.
659. Jensen & Loftsdóttir, 1.
660. Zantop, 6.
661. There are current research projects by art historians Márten Snickare and Charlotte Bydler that problematize Sámi culture and contemporary issues of resistance and epistemological violence. An emerging field addressing these issues is developing in Scandinavia.
662. Lüthi, Falk & Purtschert, 5.
663. Fiona Batemen & Lionel Pilkington (eds.), *Studies in settler colonialism: Politics, identity and culture* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011). Lorenzo Veracini, *Settler colonialism: A theoretical overview* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2010).
664. Patricia Purtschert & Harald Fisher-Tiné, *Colonial Switzerland: Rethinking colonialism from the margins* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).
665. Lüthi, Falk & Purtschert, 4.
666. The conference was held on 28–29 November 2013, organized by REMSO, Linköping University at Arbetets museum in Norrköping.
667. For further reading see: Esther Captain, *Oorlogserfgoed overzee. De erfenis van de Tweede Wereldoorlog in Aruba, Curaçao, Indonesië en Suriname* [*Overseas war legacy: The legacy of World War II in the former Dutch colonies*] (Amsterdam: Bert Bakker, 2010) and *Traces of slavery in Utrecht: A walking guide* (Utrecht: Utrecht University, 2013).
668. It is important to note the anti-racism movement in the Nordic region, both its history and contemporary events. Racism has always been confronted with opposition. For further reading see: Sven Lindqvist, *Antirasister: Människor och argument i kampen mot rasismen 1750–1900* (Stockholm: Bonnier, 1995), 1–50. See also: Steffano Fella & Carlo Ruzza (eds), “Introduction: Anti-racist movements in the European Union: Between national specificity and Europeanisation”, *Anti-racist movements in the EU: Between Europeanisation and national trajectories* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 1–32. For further reading on anti-racism movements in Sweden see: Jan Jämte, *Antirasismens många ansikten* (Umeå: Print och media förlag, 2013), 14–66. Jenny Malmsten, *Den föreningsdrivna antirasismen i Sverige. Antirasism i rörelse* (Linköping: Linköpings universitet, 2013), 47–60. See also in English: Allan Pred, *Even in Sweden: Racism, racialized spaces, and the popular geographical imagination* (Berkeley/Los Angeles/London: University of California Press, 2000), 1–57.
669. It was also the case in the United States and especially in the aftermath of the

NOTES

election of Barack Obama in 2008 and 2012. For further reading see: Shawn Michell Smith, "Obamas whiteness. Questionnaire on Barack Obama", *Journal of Visual Culture*, vol. 8:2, 2009, 129–133. Moreover, several scholars have pointed out the similarities between the racial discourse in Sweden in the 1990s and 2010s. For further reading about racism, whiteness and ethnicity in Sweden see: Tobias Hübinette, Helena Hörnfeldt, Fataneh Farahani & René Léon Rosales (eds.), "Om ras och vithet i ett samtida Sverige", *Om ras och vithet i det samtida Sverige* (Tumba: Mångkulturellt centrum, 2012), 41–75. Lawen Mohtadi & Devrim Mawi (eds.), "Förord", *Rasismen i Sverige: Nyckeltexter 2010–2014* (Stockholm: Natur & kultur, 2014), 8–15. A recent study from the Ministry of Employment is: *Afrofobi – en kunskapsöversikt över afrosvenskars situation i dagens Sverige* (Tumba: Mångkulturellt centrum, 2014), 19–69. See also the discussion in: Jeff Werner, "Introduction", *Sciascope 6: Blond and blue-eyed: Whiteness, Swedishness and visual culture*, eds. Jeff Werner & Tomas Björk (Göteborg: Göteborgs konstmuseum, 2014), 13–33.

670. For further reading regarding the artwork by Makode Linde see: www.makode-linde.com, retrieved 2016-02-21. Luke Harding, "Swedish minister denies claims of racism over black woman cake stunt", *The Guardian* 17 April 2012. Jonas Hassen Khemiri, "Sweden's closet racists", *New York Times* 20 April 2013. Ruben Östlund's film *Play* (2011) received much attention on racial issues in contemporary Sweden, see for example Stefan Helgesson, "Filmen lika mycket en berättelse om vuxnas frånvaro", *Dagens Nyheter* 14 December 2011. Illustrator Stina Wirsén's work is another example in 2012 that provoked issues of racism, see: Fredrik Söderling, "Lilla hjärtat 'uppenbart rasistisk' enligt forskare", *Dagens Nyheter* 22 November 2012. See also the discussion in: Michael McEachran (ed.), "Introduction", *Afro-Nordic landscape: Equality and race in Northern Europe* (London/New York: Routledge, 2014), 1–17.

671. Bewesigye bwa Mwesigire, "Norway to restage 1914 'human zoo' that exhibited Africans as inmates", *The Guardian* 29 April 2014.

672. The exhibition ran from 30 January until 24 April 2016 at Kulturhuset Stadsteatern in Stockholm. The official title of the exhibition was: Makode Linde

673. Other important events in Sweden that were happening during my research period were for example: the travelling exhibition "(O)mänskligt" about the Swedish Institute of Racial Hygiene, a collaboration between the Museum of Ethnography and the Living History Forum (2010–2013), the exhibition "Bevara bilden: Glasplåtar från Indien 1884–1885" about the Vanadis expedition at the Museum of Ethnography (2013), the exhibition "Varning för ras" about whiteness and race in contemporary Sweden at Mångkulturellt centrum, Botkyrka (2012–2013) and the exhibition "A Painted History. Swedish Nineteenth-Century History Painting", The Gothenburg Museum of Art (2014), which problematized national identity and the concept of Swedishness.

674. For further reading see: Karen Strohm Kitchener and Richard F Kitchener, "Social science research ethics: Historical and philosophical issues", *The handbook of social research ethics*, eds. Donna M. Mertens and Pauline E. Ginsberg (London: Sage Publications, 2009), 39–69.

280 675. Suggested reading for issues on repatriation see: Elizabeth Weiss, *Reburying the*

past: The effects of repatriation and reburial on scientific inquiry (Hauppauge: Nova Science Publishers, 2008), 1–35. Liz Bell, “Museums, ethics and human remains in England: Recent developments and implications for the future”, *The long way home: The meaning and values of repatriation*, eds. Paul Turnbull and Michael Pickering (Oxford/New York: Berghahn Books, 2010), 29–59.

676. Often the political processes have been slow; for example the now well-known story of the G’psgolox Pole, from the Museum of Ethnography, was initiated in 1991. In 2006 it was repatriated (with conditions) to the Haisala Nation, British Columbia, Canada. For further information see the documentary by Gil Cardinal *Totem: The return of the G’psgolox pole* (2003), www.nfb.ca/film/totem_the_return_of_the_gpsgolox_pole, retrieved 2016-02-21.

See also: ethnologist Lotten Reinus Gustavsson’s project *Försoningsritularer i det post-sekulära museet* (2010-2014, Vetenskapsrådet/Ramprogram för kulturforskning). Both Uppsala University and Karolinska Institutet have repatriated human remains of the Sámi people (this is an ongoing process). See: Björn af Kleen, “Mörk historia fram i ljuset”, *Dagens Nyheter* 25 January 2015. As regards Greenland, see: Mille Gabriel, “Introduction: From conflict to partnership”, *Utikut: Past heritage, future partnerships: Discussions on repatriations in the 21st century*, eds. Mille Gabriel & Jens Dahl (Greenland: IWGIA, Greenland National Museum and Archives, 2007), 12–22.

677. For further reading see “Överlåtelse av äganderätt avseende mänskliga kvarlevor från Hawaii i Statens historiska museers samlingar” (2009) in www.shmm.se/Documents/rapport_remiss/090305_SHMMutredning_hawaii.pdf, retrieved 2016-02-21 and www.ki.se/nyheter/karolinska-institutet-och-uppsala-universitet-aterlamnar-kranier, retrieved 2016-02-21.

Bibliography

ARCHIVAL SOURCES

- National Library of Sweden (Kungliga biblioteket)
The Photography Collection: Vanadis, Immanuel Kiellman-Göransson's Collection
Poster Collection: Circus, art, advertisement, book illustrations et cetera
Swedish Panopticon Collection
- Museum of Ethnography (Etnografiska museet)
Vanadis, photography, stereopticons, dry glass plates
Hjalmar Stolpe travel journals
Immanuel Kiellman-Göransson's travel reports compendium
- Stockholm City Museum (Stockholms stadsmuseum)
Oriental Maze Salon Collection, Stockholm
- The Nordic Museum (Nordiska museet)
Lotten von Düben Collection
Ethnological exhibitions ephemera
- The Maritime Museum (Sjöhistoriska museet)
The Vanadis Collection
Jacob Jaques Hägg paintings
- Uppsala University Library of Carolina Rediviva (Universitetsbiblioteket Carolina Rediviva)
Vanadis, photography
Book illustrations
- Tjolöholm Castle (Tjolöholms Slott)
Julius Kronberg
- Kalmar County Museum (Kalmar läns museum)
Jenny Nyström collection
- International
British Museum
William Hodges
Historisches Museum Frankfurt am Main
Ephemera
Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology
Harvard University
Louis Aggazis collection
The Buffalo Bill Museum and Grave, Golden, Colorado
Ephemera
National Portrait Gallery, Canberra
Photography collection

PERIODICALS

- Ny Illustrerad Tidning*
Illustrerad Familj-Journal
Allers Familj-Journal
Svenska Familj-Journalen
Söndags-Nisse
Ymer Tidskrift
Idun

NEWSPAPERS

Aftonbladet
Blekingsposten
Blekinge läns tidning
Dagens Nyheter
Dalpilen
Faluposten
Göteborgsposten
Göteborgs Aftonblad
Kalmar
Norra Skåne
Stockholms Dagblad
Stockholmsbladet
Svenska Dagbladet
Tidning för Wenersborg stad och län
Wenersborgs läns tidning
Östgöta-posten

Nordic region

Åbo Underrättelser
Finland
Tidning för Helsingfors

United States

The New York Times
The Daily bulletin
The Kirksville Weekly Graphic

Australia

The Capricornia
South Australia Register
North Argus
Australia Town & Country Journal
Evening News
Queenslander

New Zealand

New Zealand Herald
The Grey River Argus
The Colonist
The West Coast Times

UNPUBLISHED SOURCES

Teitelbum, Benjamin, *Come hear our merry song: Shifts in the sound of contemporary Swedish radical nationalism*, unpublished dissertation (Providence: Brown University, 2013).

PRINTED SOURCES

“Annons”, *Göteborgs Aftonblad* 30 August 1890.
 “Australiska gäster”, *Dagens Nyheter* 9 June 1886.
 “Australnegrerna i Stockholm”, *Ny Illustrerad Tidning* 26 June 1886:26.
 “Australisk sport”, *Stockholms Dagblad* 9 June 1886.

Bernadotte, Oscar, Bernadotte, Carl, & Bernadotte, Eugene, *Våra minnen. Från en resa i Orienten 1885 af Oscar Bernadotte, Carl Bernadotte och Eugene Bernadotte m.fl.* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlagsanstalt, 1886).

“Bland Panoptikons vxgubbar. Ett kåseri för dagen.”, *Aftonbladet* 3 August 1889.

“Bland Singhaleserna”, *Aftonbladet* 31 May 1890.

“Bref till Vanadis”, *Aftonbladet* 25 November 1884.

“Brefven från Vanadis”,

Blekingsposten 5 December 1884.

Bremer, Fredrika, *Hemmen i den nya världen: En dagbok i bref, skrifna under tvenne års resor i Amerika och på Cuba* (Stockholm: Bonnier, 1854).

“Buffalo Bill’s wild west show – opening night in Glasgow”, *The Evening citizen* 17 November 1891.

“Carl Lumholtz och hans forskningar i Australien”, *Ny Illustrerad Tidning* 27 November 1886:48.

Cooper, Fenimore, James, *The last of the Mohicans* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1937).

“Cruise of H.M. Dart”, *Brisbane Courier* 13 October 1884

Cunningham, K. [sic] A., *Berättelser om K. A. Cunningham’s Australinivånare, tatuerade kannibaler, svarta spårfinnare och bumerangkastare, bestående af 2 stammar, män och qvinnor* (Stockholm: Accidens-Tryckeriet, Stockholm, 1886).

Cunningham, R. A., *History of R. A. Cunningham’s Australian Aborigines, Etc.* (London: J. Elliott, 1884).

Cunningham, R. A., *Histoire curieuse des Aborigènes d’Australie: cannibales tatoués, traqueurs noirs et lanceurs du boomerang, tribu mâle et femelle* (Paris: Imprimerie-Lithographique Lhoes, 1884).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Dammann, Carl, *Anthropologisch-ethnologisches album in photographien* (Berlin: Wiegardt, Hempel und Parey, 1873–1876).
- “Den engelska forskningsresande Lloyd hos dvärgarne i Afrika”, *Illustrerad Familj-Journal* 1 October 1899:40.
- “Den norske upptäcktsresande kand. Karl Lumholtz”, *Tidning för Wenersborg stad och län* 22 November 1886.
- “De sista Indian höfvingarna”, *Östgötaposten* 24 November 1905.
- “Den yngsta skall vägas”, *Allers Familj-Journal* 28 December 1902:52.
- “Det stora rådslaget på Laramie”, *Svenska Familj-Journalen*, 1872.
- “Dinka–Neger karavan”, *Dagens Nyheter* 18 June 1895.
- Düben von, Gustaf, *Om Lappland och lapparne, företädesvis de svenske. Ethnografiska studier* (Stockholm: P. A. Norstedt & söners förlag, 1873).
- “Eden Salongen och Nya Panoptikon”, *Dagens Nyheter* 25 November 1890, in *Vägvisare genom Orientaliska irrgångs-salongen* (Stockholm: Accidens-Tryckeriet, 1892).
- “Edensalongen och nya panoptikon”, *Aftonbladet* 24 November 1890 in *Vägvisare genom Orientaliska irrgångs-salongen* (Stockholm: Accidens-Tryckeriet, 1892).
- Encyclopedia Britannica: A dictionary of arts, sciences, and general literature* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons. 1884).
- “En brokig kavalkad”, *Dagens Nyheter* 7 June 1890.
- “En diligens öfverfallen af indianer”, *Svenska Familj-Journalen* 1872.
- “Ett blad ur affscherings historia”, *Ny Illustrerad Tidning* 10 February 1883.
- “Ett pariscafé” (Au Boulevard Saint–Michel) efter en teckning av Felician von Myrbach”, *Ny Illustrerad Tidning* 28 February 1885:9.
- “Från min resa till Central Afrika”, *Illustrerad Familj-Journal* 26 May 1889:21.
- “Fregatten Vanadis”, *Dagens Nyheter* 23 March 1883.
- “Fregatten Vanadis”, *Dagens Nyheter* 29 November 1883.
- “Fregatten Vanadis”, *Blekingeposten* November 30 1883.
- “Fregatten Vanadis”, *Söndags-Nisse* 12 October 1884.
- “Fregatten Vanadis i Rio de Janiero” *Aftonbladet* 6 March 1884.
- “Från Skandinaviska länderna”, *Åbo Underrättelser* 31 March 1883.
- “Från skilda håll”, *Aftonbladet* 7 May 1886.
- “Från Vanadis’ resa”, *Kalmar* 11 October 1884.
- “Från Vanadis’ verdensomsegling”, *Blekingeposten* 29 August 1884.
- Gobineau, Arthur Joseph, *Essai sur l’inégalité des races humaines Vol 1–4*. (Paris: Librairie de firmin Didot Frères, 1853–1854).
- Gustaf G., “Svenska panoptikon”, *Tidningen för Wenersborg stad och län* 30 August 1889.
- Gustaf G., “Paris under utställningen: Bref till länstidningen, Buffalo Bills wild west”, *Tidning för Wenersborgs stad och län* 9 August 1889.
- Gustaf. G., “Storstadssymptom”, *Tidningen för Wenersborgs stad och län* 15 March 1889.
- Gustaf G., “Svenska Panoptikon”, *Tidningen för Wenersborgs stad och län* 6 August 1889.
- “Göteborgs nyaste sevärhet”, *Tidning för Wenersborg stad och län* 18 November 1890.
- “Hottentotterna, deras tro, vidskepliga föreställningar o.s.v.”, *Illustrerad Familj-Journal* 30 November 1884:48.
- “Hvad afrikanen tänker om europén”, *Ny Illustrerad Tidning* 18 July 1885:29.
- “Hvad nytt från Stockholm?”, *Blekingeposten* 30 March 1883.
- “Hvarjehanda: När pojkarne leka Texas Jack”, *Kalmar* 2 June 1897.
- “Hvar fjortonde dag”, *Ny Illustrerad Tidning* 10 January 1885:2.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- “Kannibaler i Stockholm”, *Ny Illustrerad Tidning* 26 June 1886:26.
- “Kronprinsarna af Sverige och Danmark”, *Nya Dagligt Allehanda* 1 March 1890, in *Vägvisare till Orientaliska irrgångs-salongen* (Stockholm: Accidens-Tryckeriet, 1892).
- “Late English and foreign news”, *The Colonist* 6 September 1883.
- “Litet statistik”, *Ny Illustrerad Tidning* 16 January 1886:3.
- “Litteratur”, *Kalmar* 13 August 1887.
- “Local & general news”, *The Daily bulletin* 11 July 1884.
- “Local & general news”, *The Daily bulletin* 2 July 1883.
- Melander, Richard (ed.), *Jorden rundt under svensk örlogsflagg. Ögonblicksbilder från fregatten Vanadis världsomsegling 1883–1885 samlade av Svante Natt och Dag och i brefform återgifna af Richard Melander* (Stockholm: Bonnier, 1887).
- Melander, Richard, *I Sitting Bulls land: Skildringar från gränslifvet i Amerikanska Västern* (Stockholm: P. A. Norstedt & Söner, 1892).
- “Mexican delegate discharged from office: subjects under discussion”, *New York Times* 26 October 1902.
- “Mr. Cunningham och hans kannibaler”, *Dagens Nyheter* June 19 1886.
- Möller, Peter, Pagels, Georg and Gleerup, Edvard, *Tre år i Kongo* (Stockholm: P. A. Norstedts & söners förlag, 1888).
- Möller, Peter, *Resa i Afrika genom Angola, Ovampo och Damaraland* (Stockholm: P. A. Norstedts & söners förlag, 1899).
- “Negerbröllop”, *Allers Familj-Journal* 25 November 1900:47.
- “News and notes”, *The West Coast Times* 28 September 1883
- “News in brief”, *New Zealand Herald* 13 October 1883.
- “News in brief”, *New Zealand Herald* 7 July 1883.
- “Nineteenth Century”, *New York Times* 31 December 1889.
- “Nordamerikas indianer i våra dagar”, *Ny Illustrerad Tidning* 4 October 1899: 40.
- “Nordamerikas indianer i våra dagar”, *Ny Illustrerad Tidning* 11 October 1890: 41.
- “Nordamerikas förenta stater”, *Faluposten* 19 February 1888.
- Nordisk familjebok, 1800-tals utgåva 11. Militärkonventioner–Nådaval* (Stockholm: Gernandts boktryckeri, 1887).
- Nordisk familjebok Uggleupplagan 1 A–Armati*, “Allers” (Stockholm: Gernandts boktryckeri, 1904).
- “Några typer från Eldslandet”, *Illustrerad Familj-Journal* 27 November 1881:48.
- “Några ord om Sudan och dess folk”, *Illustrerad Familj-Journal* 6 February 1881:6
- “Om orsakerna till de lägre folkslagens undergång”, *Ny Illustrerad Tidning* 29 March 1884:13.
- “Oscardagens stjärnfall”, *Tidning för Wenersborg stad och län* 2 December 1886.
- “Panoptikon”, *Idun* 9 August 1889:32.
- “Program-Bladet”, *Tidning för Helsingfors* 17 February 1893.
- Schack, Sophus, *Fysionomiska studier* (Stockholm: Looström & Kompani, Stockholm, 1883).
- “Scientific Gossip”, *New York Times* 13 May 1883.
- “Scientific Miscellany”, *Kirksville Weekly Graphic* 27 June 1884.
- “Singhalese-Karavan”, *Dagens Nyheter* 31 May 1890
- “South American news”, *New York Times* 4 May 1884.
- “Sporting Telegrams”, *The Argus Melbourne* 30 June 1883.
- Stanley, Henry Morton, *Genom de svartas världsdal: Eller Nilens källor, kring de stora sjöarne och utför Livingstone-floden till atlantiska hafvet* (Stockholm: Bonnier, 1878).
- “Stockholm 1801 och 1901”, *Allers Familj-Journal* 6 July 1902:27.
- “Stockholms-kåseri”, *Finland* 11 June 1886.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Vägvisare genom Orientaliska irrgångs-salongen* (Stockholm: Accidens-Tryckeriet, 1892),
- Stolpe, Hjalmar, *Vägvisare genom Vanadisutställningen: Arvfurstens palats* (Stockholm, 1886).
- “Styrelsens årsberättelse för 1883”, *Ymer Tidskrift* (1881–1883), vol. 1–3 (Centraltryckeriet, Stockholm).
- “Svenska Panoptikon”, *Dagens Nyheter* 1 August 1889.
- “Svenska Panoptikon”, *Aftonbladet* 1 August 1889.
- “Svenska Panoptikon, Dalpilen 9 August 1889.
- “Svenska panoptikon”, *Svenska Familje-Journalen* 3 August 1889.
- “Svenska Panoptikon”, *Tidningen för Wenersborg stad och län* 6 August 1889.
- Svenska Dagbladet, Söndags-Nisse and Figaro in Vägvisare till Orientaliska irrgångs-salongen* (Stockholm: Accidens-Tryckeriet, 1892), 5–18.
- “Sällskapet för handlingar, Sammankomsten den 16 November 1883, *Ymer Tidskrift* (1881–1883), vol. 1–3 (Centraltryckeriet, Stockholm).
- “Sällskapet för antropologi och geografi”, *Norra Skåne* 20 December 1894.
- Söndags-Nisse* 2 March 1879
- Söndags-Nisse* 19 January 1890 in *Vägvisare genom Orientaliska irrgångs-salongen* (Stockholm: Accidens-Tryckeriet, 1892).
- Söndags-Nisse* 30 November 1890 in *Vägvisare genom Orientaliska irrgångs-salongen* (Stockholm: Accidens-Tryckeriet, 1892).
- “Takata’ får mattan.”, *Östgötaposten* 3 February 1905.
- Tidningen för byggnadsväsendet in Vägvisare genom Orientaliska irrgångs-salongen* (Stockholm: Accidens-Tryckeriet, 1892).
- “Till affischeringens historia”, *Ny Illustrerad Tidning* 10 February 1883:6.
- “Tre Australnegrer”, *Aftonbladet* 9 June 1886.
- “Vanadis”, *Stockholms Dagblad* 6 August 1884.
- “Vanadis expeditionen”, *Blekingsposten* 23 November 1883.
- “Vanadis expeditionen 1883–1885”, *Nordisk familjebok*, Ugglepplagan (Stockholm: Nordisk familjeförlag tryckeri, 1921).
- “Vanadis’ verldsomsegling”, *Tidningen för Wenersborg Stad och Län* 22 November 1883.
- “Vanadis’s verldsomsegling”, *Dagens Nyheter* 5 December 1883.
- “Vanadis verldsomsegling”, *Blekingsposten* 22 June 1883.
- “Vanadis’ verldsomsegling”, *Blekingsposten* 20 November 1883.
- “Vanadisutställningen i Stockholm”, *Tidningen för Wenersborg stad och län* 10 May 1886.
- “Vanadisutställningen”, *Göteborgsposten* 5 February 1887.
- “Vanadis återkomst”, *Aftonbladet* 11 May 1885.
- Varför är negrer svarta?”, *Illustrerad Familj-Journal* 26 November 1899:48.
- “Veckorapport från Stockholm”, Åbo Underrättelser 18 May 1886.
- “Verldsomsegling”, *Dagens Nyheter* 24 March 1883.
- Vägvisare genom Svenska Panoptikon* (Stockholm: Nya Tryckeri-Aktiebolaget, 1889–1924).
- Vägvisare genom Orientaliska irrgångs-salongen* (Stockholm: Accidens-Tryckeriet, 1892).
- “Zulukaffern”, *Nyare Blekingsposten* 5 March 1880.
- “Zulukaffern Uomogogowa”, *Dalpilen* 9 April 1886.
- “Äkta rödskinn”, *Tidning för Wenersborgs stad och län* 1 July 1895.

SECONDARY SOURCES

Books

- Abercrombi, Nicholas & Longhurst, Brian, *The Penguin dictionary of media* (London: Penguin, 2007).
- Adas, Michael, “Contested hegemony: The great war and the Afro-Asian assault on the civilizing mission ideology”, *Decolonization: Perspectives from now and then* (London/New York: Routledge, 2004).

- Afrofobi – en kunskapsöversikt över afrosvenskars situation i dagens Sverige* (Tumba: Mångkulturellt centrum, 2014).
- Aisenberg, Robert, Andrew, *Contagion: Disease, government, and the “social question”* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999).
- Aldcroft, Derek, “The end of the old world 1914–1921”, *The European economy 1914–2000* (London/New York: Routledge, 2001).
- Alberti, M. M. J. Samuel, “The Status of museums: Authority, identity, and material culture”, *Geographies of nineteenth-century science*, eds. Livingstone, N. David & Withers, J. W. Charles (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2011).
- Ames, Eric, *Carl Hagenbeck’s empire of entertainments* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2008).
- Anderson, Benedict, *Imagined communities: Reflections of the origin and spread of nationalism* (London: Verso, 2006).
- Andersson, Burnett, Linda, “Selling the Sami: Nordic stereotypes and participatory media in Georgian Britain”, *Communicating the North: Media structures and images in the making of the Nordig region*, eds. Harvard, Jonas & Stadius, Peter (London: Ashgate, 2013).
- Andersson, M. Lars, “En jude är en jude är en jude...” *Representationer av “juden” i svensk skämtpress omkring 1900–1930* (Lund: Nordic Academic Press, 2000).
- Anderson, Warwick, *The cultivation of whiteness: Science, health, and racial destiny in Australia* (Durham/London: Duke University Press, 2006).
- Andreassen, Rikke & Henningsen, Folke, Anne, *Menneskeudstilling: Fremstillinger af eksotiske mennesker i zoologisk have og tivoli* (København: Tiderne skrifter forlag, 2011).
- Andreassen, Rikke, *Human exhibitions: Race, gender and sexuality in ethnic displays* (Farnham: Ashgate: 2015).
- Ashcroft, Bill, Griffiths, Gareth & Tiffin, Helen (eds.), “Whiteness”, *Postcolonial studies: The key concepts* (London/New York: Routledge, 2013).
- Ashcroft, Bill, Griffiths, Gareth & Tiffin, Helen (eds.), “Introduction to part one”, *The post-colonial reader* (London/New York: Routledge, 2006).
- Assael, Brenda, *The circus and Victorian society* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2001).
- Ballantyne, Tony (ed.), *Science, empire and the European exploration of the Pacific* (London: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2004).
- Bancel, Nicolas, David, Thomas & Thomas, Dominic (eds.), “Introduction: The invention of race – scientific and popular representations of race from Linnaeus to the ethnic shows”, *The invention of race: Scientific and popular representations* (London/New York: Routledge, 2014).
- Bancel, Nicolas, Blanchard, Pascal, Boëtsch, Gilles, Deroo Éric & Lemaire, Sandrine (eds.), “Human zoos: the greatest exotic shows in the West”, *Human zoos: Science and spectacle in the age of colonial empires* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2008).
- Bancel, Nicolas, Blanchard, Pascal, Boëtsch, Gilles, Deroo Éric & Lemaire, Sandrine (eds.), *Human zoos: Science and spectacle in the age of colonial empires* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2008).
- Barringer, Tim, Quilley, Geoff & Fordham, Douglas (eds.), “Introduction”, *Art and the British empire* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007).
- Barton, Arnold, Hildor, *Sweden and visions of Norway: politics and culture 1814–1905* (Carbondale/Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 2003).
- Batemen, Fiona & Pilkington, Lionel (eds.), *Studies in settler colonialism: Politics, identity and culture* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).
- Bell, Liz, “Museums, ethics and human remains in England: Recent develop-

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- ments and implications for the future”, *The long way home: The meaning and values of repatriation*, eds. Turnbull, Paul and Pickering, Michael (Oxford/New York: Berghahn Books, 2010).
- Bench, Raney, *Interpreting Native American history and culture at museums and historic sites* (London/New York: Rowman & Little Field, 2014).
- Bengtsson, Eva-Lena, *Verklighetens poesi: Svenska genrebilder 1825–1880* (Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 2000).
- Bengtsson, Bo & Cedergren, Hugo (eds.), *Prins Oscar Bernadotte: En minnesbok av 32 författare* (Uppsala: J.A. Lindblads förlag, 1953).
- Bennett, Tony, “The exhibitionary complex”, *The nineteenth-century visual culture reader*, eds. Schwartz, R. Vanessa & Przyblyski, M. Jeannene (London/New York: Routledge, 2004).
- Berkhofer Jr, F. Robert, *The white man’s Indian: Images of American Indian from Columbus to the present* (New York: Knopf, 1978).
- Berman, Marshall, *All that is solid melts into air: Experience of modernity* (London: Verso, 1982).
- Bernasconi, Robert & Lott, L. Tommy, *The idea of race* (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing, 2000).
- Bertelsen, Enge, Bjørn, ”Introduction: Norwegian navigating colonial orders in Africa and Oceania”, *Navigating colonial orders: Norwegian entrepreneurship in Africa and Oceania*, eds. Kjerland, Alsaker, Kirsten & Bertelsen, Enge, Bjørn (New York/Oxford: Berghahn, 2015).
- Bexell, Oloph, “Uppbrottet ur enhetskyrkan”, *Signums svenska kulturhistoria: det moderna genombrottet*, ed. Christensson, Jakob (Stockholm: Signum, 2008).
- Bhabha, K. Homi, *The location of culture* (London/New York: Routledge, 2004).
- Billington, Allen, Ray & Ridge, Martin, *Westward expansion: A history of the American frontier* (University of New Mexico Press, 2001).
- Bindman, David & Gates Jr. Louis, Henry (eds.), *The image of the black in Western art, vol. v: the twentieth century, part 1: the impact of Africa* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2014).
- Björk, Tomas, *Bilden av Orienten: Exotism i 1800-talets svenska visuella kultur* (Stockholm: Atlantis, 2011).
- Björk, Tomas, “Sweden and the ‘Orient’ in nineteenth-century visual culture”, *Sciascope 6: Blond and blue-eyed: Whiteness, Swedishness and visual culture*, eds. Jeff Werner & Tomas Björk (Göteborg: Göteborgs konstmuseum, 2014).
- Black, Jeremy, *Europe and the world 1650–1830* (London/New York: Routledge, 2002).
- Bloom, E. Michelle, *Wax works. A cultural obsession* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press).
- Bogdan, Robert, “When the exotic becomes a show”, *Human zoos: Science and spectacle in the age of colonial empires*, Bancel, Nicolas, Blanchard, Pascal, Boëtsch, Gilles, Deroo Éric & Lemaire, Sandrine (eds.) (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2008).
- Bongie, Chris, *Exotic memories: Literature, colonialism, and the fin-de-siècle* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991).
- Borg, Alexandra, *En vildmark av sten. Stockholm i litteraturen 1897–1916* (Stockholm: Stockholmia, 2011).
- Bowlby, Rachel, “Foreword”, *A Concise companion to realism*, ed. Beaumont, Matthew Beaumont (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010).
- Brady, Erika, *A Spiral Way: How the phonograph changed ethnography* (Jackson: University of Mississippi Press, Jackson, 1999).
- Bridger, Bobby, *Buffalo Bill and Sitting Bull: Inventing the wild west* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2000).
- Bridges, Roy “Exploration and travel outside Europe 1720–1914”, *The Cambridge companion to travel writing*,

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- eds. Hulme, Peter and Youngs, Tim (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).
- Briggs, Asa & Burke, Peter, *Social history of the media: From Gutenberg to the internet* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2009).
- Broberg, Gunnar & Tydén, Mattias, *Oönskad i folkhemmet: Rashygien och sterilisering i Sverige* (Stockholm: Gidlunds förlag, 1991).
- Broberg, Gunnar & Hansen-Roll, Nils, *Eugenics and the welfare state: Sterilization in Denmark, Sweden, Norway and Finland* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2005).
- Brogan, Hugh, *The Penguin history of the United States of America* (London: Penguin Books).
- Caine, Barbara & Sluga, Glenda, *Gendering European history 1780–1920* (London: Continuum, 2004).
- Captain, Esther, *Oorlogserfgoed overzee. De erfenis van de Tweede Wereldoorlog in Aruba, Curaçao, Indonesië en Suriname [Overseas war legacy: The legacy of World War II in the former Dutch colonies]* (Amsterdam: Bert Bakker, 2010).
- Captain, Esther, *Traces of slavery in Utrecht: A walking guide* (Utrecht: Utrecht University, 2013).
- Cedergren, Hugo, “Från världsomseglingen med Vanadis”, *Prins Oscar Bernadotte, en minnesbok av* 32 författare, eds. Bo Bengtsson, Bo & Cedergren, Hugo (Uppsala: Förlag Lindblads, 1953).
- Chakrabarty, Dipesh, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial thought and historical difference* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000).
- Christensson, Jakob (ed.), “Inledning”, *Signums svenska kulturhistoria: det moderna genombrottet* (Stockholm: Signum, 2008).
- Ciarlo, David, *Advertising empire: Race and visual culture in imperial Germany* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2012).
- Coombes, E. Annie, *Reinventing Africa: Museums, material culture and popular imagination in late Victorian and Edwardian England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994).
- Cooper, Fredrick, & Stoler, Laura, Ann, “Between metropole and colony: Rethinking a research agenda”, *Tensions of empire: Colonial cultures in a bourgeois world* (Berkeley: University of California Press).
- Conclin, L. Alice, *A mission to civilize: The republican idea of empire in France and West Africa* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997).
- Crary, Jonathan, *Techniques of the observer: On vision and modernity in the nineteenth century* (Boston: MIT Press, 1990).
- Cronqvist, Marie, Jarlbrink, Johan & Lundell, Patrik (eds.), “Inledning”, *Mediehistoriska vändningar* (Lund: Mediehistoria, Lunds universitet, 2014).
- Cronqvist, Marie, Lundell, Patrik & Snickars, Pelle (eds.), “Inledning”, *Återkopplingar* (Lund: Mediehistoria, Lunds universitet, 2014).
- Dahlgren, Anna, *Ett medium för visuell bildning. Kulturhistoriska perspektiv på fotoalbum 1850–1950* (Stockholm: Makadam förlag, 2013).
- Daston, Lorraine & Galison, Peter, *Objectivity* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2007).
- Davis, M. Janet, “Cultural watersheds in fin-de-siècle America”, *A companion to American cultural history*, ed. Halttunen, Karen (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2008).
- Dirks, B. Nicholas (ed.), “Introduction: colonialism and culture”, *Colonialism and culture* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992).
- Dubois, W. E. B., *The souls of black folk* (Greenwich: Fawcett Publications, 1961).
- Du Rietz, E. Rolf, “Hjalmar Stolpe och Etnografins framväxt i Sverige”, *Resa med Vanadis. Hundraårsminnet av en världsomsegling: Eldslandet, Peru, Marshallöarna, Japan, Thailand, Indien: utställning på Etnografiska museet 17 februari-augusti 1984*, ed. Ulla Wag-

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- ner (Stockholm: Etnografiska, 1984).
- Eaton, Natascha, "Art", *The Ashgate research companion to modern imperial histories*, eds. Levine, Philippa & Marriott, John (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2012).
- Edwards, Elizabeth, *Raw histories: Photographs, anthropology and museums* (Oxford/New York: Bloomsbury Academics, 2001).
- Edwards, Elizabeth, "Photography and the Making of the Other", *Human Zoos: Science and spectacle in the age of colonial empires* eds. Bancel, Nicolas, Blanchard, Pascal, Boëtsch, Gilles, Deroo, Éric & Lemaire, Sandrine (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2008).
- Edwards, L. Janis, "Cartoons", *Encyclopaedia of humour studies*, ed. Attardo, Salvatore Attardo (London: Sage Publications Inc., 2014).
- Edwards, M. Lee (ed), *Domestic bliss: Family life in American painting 1840–1910* (New York: The Hudson River Museum, 1986).
- Ekman, Mikael & Poohl, Daniel, *Ut ur skuggan: En kritisk granskning av Sverigedemokraterna* (Stockholm: Natur & kultur, 2010).
- Ekström, Anders, *Den utställda världen: Stockholmsutställningen 1897 och 1800-talets världsutställningar* (Stockholm: Nordiska museet förlag, 1994).
- Ekström, Anders (ed.), "Vetenskaperna, medierna, publikerna", *Den mediala vetenskapen* (Nora: Nya Doxa, 2004).
- Ekström, Anders, Jülich, Solveig & Snickars, Pelle (eds.), "Inledning: I medicarkivet", *1897: Mediehistorier kring Stockholmsutställningen* (Stockholm: Statens ljud- och bildarkiv, 2006).
- Ekström, Anders, "Kulturhistorisk medieforskning: Fyra spår", *Mediernas kulturhistoria*, eds. Jülich, Solveig, Lundell, Patrik & Snickars, Pelle (Stockholm: Kungliga biblioteket, 2008).
- Ekström, Anders, Jülich, Solveig, Lundgren Frans & Wisselgren, Per (eds.), "Participatory media in historical perspective: An introduction", *History of participatory media: Politics and public 1700–2000* (London/New York: Routledge, 2011).
- Elgenius, Gabriella, "The origin of the European national flags", *Flag, nation and symbolism in Europe and America*, eds. Eriksen, Hyl-land, Thomas & Jenkins, Richard (London/New York: Routledge 2007).
- Erikson, G. Bo, *Kungen av Birka: Hjalmar Stolpe arkeolog och etnograf* (Stockholm: Atlantis, 2015).
- Fallenius, Peder, *Storbio-grafens miljörer* (Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsalensis, 2003).
- Fanon, Frantz, *Peau noire, masques blancs* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1952).
- Fazlhashemi, Mohammad, "Kolonialt medvetande utan kolonier", *I andra länder: Historiska perspektiv på svensk förmedling av det främmande*, eds. Berg, Magnus & Trépagny, Veronica (Lund: Historisk media, 1999).
- Fella, Steffano & Ruzza, Carlo (eds.), "Introduction: anti-racist movements in the European union: between national specificity and Europeanisation", *Anti-racist movements in the EU: Between Europeanisation and national trajectories* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).
- Foreman, Thomas, Carolyn, *Indians abroad, 1493–1928* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1941).
- Foucault, Michel, *Archaeology of knowledge* (London/New York: Routledge, 2002).
- Foucault, Michel, *The Archaeology of knowledge and the discourse on language* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1982).
- Foster, Hal, *Vision and visuality* (Seattle: Bay View Press, 1988).
- Fredrickson, M. George, *Racism: A short history* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002).
- Fur, Gunlög, *Colonialism in the margins: Cultural encounters in New Sweden and*

- Lapland* (Leiden/Boston: Brill Academic Publishers, 2006).
- Fur, Gunlög, "Monument, minnen och maskerader – eller vem tillhör historien?", *Makten över minnet: Historiekultur i förändring*, ed. Peter Aronsson (Lund: Studentlitteratur, 2000).
- Fur, Gunlög, "Colonialism and Swedish history.: Unthinkable connections?", *Scandinavian colonialism and the rise of modernity: Small time agents in a global arena*, eds. Magdalena Naum & Jonas M. Nordin (New York: Springer Science +Business Media, 2013).
- Gabriel, Mille, "Introduction: From conflict to partnership", *Utimut: Past heritage, future partnerships: Discussions on repatriations in the 21st century*, eds. Gabriel, Mille & Dahl, Jens (Greenland: IWGIA, Greenland National Museum and Archives, 2007).
- Gallo, Max, *The poster in history* (London: Hamlyn, 1974).
- Gillen, Paul & Ghosh, Devleena, *Colonialism & modernity* (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press Limited, 2007).
- Gilman, Sander "The Tentot and the prostitute", *Race-ing art history: Critical readings in race and art*, ed. Pinder, N. Kymberly (London/New York: Routledge, 2002).
- Gitelman, Lisa, *Always already new: Media history, and the data of culture* (Cambridge: MIT, 2006).
- Gooday, N.J. Graeme, *The morals of measurement: Accuracy, irony and trust in late Victorian electrical practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).
- Grimes, Kristian, Ole "Nationalism and unionism in nineteenth-century Norwegian flags", *Flag, nation and symbolism in Europe and America*, eds. Eriksen, Hylland, Thomas & Jenkins, Richard (London/New York: Routledge 2007).
- Gustafsson, Erik Karl & Rydén, Per, *A history of the press in Sweden* (Göteborg: Nordicom, 2010).
- Hagerman, Maja, *Det rena landet: Om konsten att uppfinna sina förfäder* (Stockholm: Norstedts förlag, 2006).
- Hagerman, Maja, *Käraste Herman* (Stockholm: Norstedts förlag, 2015).
- Hall, Stuart (ed.), "The work of representation", *Representation: Cultural representations and signifying practices* (London: Sage Publications, 1997).
- Hall, Stuart, "When was 'the postcolonial'? Thinking at the limit", *The postcolonial question: Common skies, divided horizons*, eds. Ian Chambers & Lidia Curti (London/New York: Routledge, 1996).
- Hall, Thomas *Planning Europe's capital cities: Aspects of nineteenth century urban development* (London: E&FN Spon, London, 1997).
- Halldin, Olof, *Svenska Affischer: Affischkonst 1895–1960* (Bromma: Ordalaget, 2012).
- Hansen, V. Karen, *Encounters on the great plains: Scandinavian settlers and the dispossession of Dakota Indians, 1890–1930* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).
- Hannavy, John (ed.), "Ethnography", *The encyclopedia of nineteenth-century photography* (London/New York: Routledge, 2008).
- Harding, Sandra, *Feminism and methodology: Social science issues* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987).
- Harvard, Jonas & Lundell, Patrik (eds.), "1800-talets medier: system, landskap, nätverk", *1800-talets mediesystem* (Stockholm: Kungliga biblioteket, 2010).
- Hawthorn, Jeremy, "Theories of the gaze", *Literary theory and criticism: An Oxford guide*, ed. Waugh, Patricia (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).
- Helle, Knut (ed.), "Introduction", *Cambridge history of scandinavia vol. 1 prehistory to 1520* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).
- Hessenbruch, Arne (ed.), *Reader's guide to the history of*

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- science (London/New York: Routledge, 2013).
- Hobsbawm, Eric, *Age of empire 1875–1914* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1987).
- Hodacs, Hanna, *Converging world views: The European expansion and early nineteenth-century Anglo-Swedish contacts* (Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 2003).
- Hodge Cavanagh Carl (ed.), *Encyclopedia of the age of imperialism, 1800–1914* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2008).
- Holmgren, Åke, *Världen bortom västerlandet. svensk syn på fjärran länder och folk från 1700-talet till första världskriget* (Göteborg: Kungliga vetenskaps- och vitterhetssamhället, 1988).
- Hund, D. Wulf, Pickering, Michael & Rammamurthy, Anandi (eds.), “Editorial”, *Colonial advertising & commodity racism* (Vienna/Berlin: Lit Verlag, 2013).
- Hübinette, Tobias Hörnfeldt, Helena Farahani, Fataneh & Rosales, Léon, René (eds.), “Om ras och vithet i ett samtida Sverige”, *Om ras och vithet i det samtida Sverige* (Tumba: Mångkulturellt centrum, 2012).
- Hägg, Christer, *Marinmålaren Jacob Hägg* (Stockholm: Magnus Ullman förlag, 2003).
- Hägg, Christer, *Fregatten Eugenie:s världsomsegling* (Stockholm: Magnus Ullman förlag, 2004).
- Hällgren, Anna-Maria, *Skåda all världens uselhet: Visuell pedagogik och reformism i det sena 1800-talets populärkultur* (Möklinta: Gidlund, 2013).
- Irwin, Robert, *For the lust of knowing: The orientalisists and their enemies* (London: Allen Lane, 2006).
- Jakobs, Michael, *The Painted voyage: Art, travel and exploration 1564–1875* (London: British Museum Press, 1995).
- Jarlbrink, Johan, *Det våras för journalisten: symboler och handlingsmönster för den svenska pressens medarbetare från 1870-tal till 1930-tal* (Stockholm: Kungliga biblioteket, 2009).
- Jarlbrink, Johan & Lundell, Patrik, *Från pressarkivet 1800–1899: En källsamling* (Stockholm: Kungliga biblioteket, 2012).
- Jenkins, Henry, Ford, Sam d & Green, Joshua (eds.), “Introduction: Why media spreads”, *Spreadable media: Creating value and meaning in a networked culture* (New York: New York University Press, 2013).
- Jernudd, Åsa, *Filmkultur och nöjesliv i Örebro 1897–1908* (Stockholm: Stockholms universitet, 2007).
- Johannesson, Lena, *Xylografi och pressbild: Bidrag till trägravvyrens och till den svenska bildjournalistikens historia* (Stockholm: Nordiska museet, 1982).
- Johannesson, Lena, *Den massproducerade bilden: Ur bildindustralismens historia* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1997).
- Johansson, Peter, *Samerna – ett ursprungsfolk eller en minoritet? En studie av svensk samepolitik 1986–2005* (Göteborg: Göteborgs universitet, 2008).
- Jonsson, Brander, Hedvig, *Bild och fromhetsliv i 1800-talets Sverige* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1994).
- Jülich, Solveig, *Skuggor av samepolitik 1986–2005* (Linköping: Linköpings universitet, 2002).
- Jülich, Solveig, Lundell, Patrik & Snickars, Pelle (eds.), “Mediernas kulturhistoria – en inledning”, *Mediernas kulturhistoria* (Stockholm: Kungliga biblioteket, 2008).
- Jämta, Jan, *Antirasismens många ansikten* (Umeå: Print och media förlag, 2013).
- Kaplan, Ann E., *Looking for the Other: Feminism, film and the imperial gaze* (London/New York: Routledge, 1997).
- Kasson, S. Joy, *Buffalo Bill’s wild west: Celebrity, memory and popular history* (New York: Hill & Wang, 2000).
- Keskinen, Suvi, Touri, Salla, Irni Sari & Mulinari, Diana (eds.), “Introduction: postcolonialism and the

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Nordic models of welfare and gender”, *Complying with colonialism: Gender, race and ethnicity in the Nordic region* (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2009).
- Kershner, J. Anne, “Series Editor’s Preface”, *Whiteness and postcolonialism in the Nordic region: exceptionalism, migrant others and national identities* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012).
- Kitchener, Strohm Karen and Kitchener, F. Richard, “Social science research ethics: Historical and philosophical issues”, *The handbook of social research ethics*, eds. Mertens, M. Donna & Ginsberg, E. Pauline (London: Sage Publications, 2009).
- Kraucer, Siegfried *The mass ornament: Weimar essays* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995).
- Kottar, S.L. & Gessler, J.E., *The rise of the American circus 1716–1899* (Jefferson: McFarland and Company Inc. Publishers, 2008).
- Kyllingstad, Røyne, Jon, *Measuring the master race: Physical anthropology in Norway, 1890–1945* (Cambridge: Open Book Publishers, 2014).
- Lagercrantz, Kristian, “Bedrägliga bilder. Vad fotograf Ekholm såg 1884”, *Med världen i kappsäcken. Samlingarnas väg till Etnografiska museet*, ed. Wilhelm Östberg (Stockholm: Etnografiska museet, 2002).
- Lagerholm, Folke, *Deltagarna i fregatten Vanadis’ jordomsegling 1883–1885: Förteckning med biografiska uppgifter intill 1928 års utgång* (Karlskrona: K.L. Svensson, 1929).
- Landmark, Dan, *Vi civilisationens ljusbärare: Orientaliska mönster i det sena 1800-talets svenska litteratur och kultur* (Örebro: Örebro universitet, 2003).
- Larsson, Stieg & Ekman, Mikael, *Sverigedemokraterna: Den nationella rörelsen* (Stockholm: Ordfront: 2001).
- Larsson, Bharathi, Åsa, “Is-censättningar av koloniala erfarenheter på circus och i mänskliga zoon. Svenska affischer i mediasystemet kring 1900”, *Återkopplingar*, eds. Cronqvist, Marie, Lundell, Patrik & Snickars, Pelle (Lund: Mediehistoria, Lunds universitet).
- Ledger, Sally & Luckhurst, Roger (eds.), “Reading the fin-de-siècle”, *The fin de siècle: A reader in cultural history, c. 1880–1900* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).
- Lehman, Erik, *Med fregatten Vanadis på världsomsegling: f.d. båtsman Humblas dagboksanteckningar och minnen* (Västervik: Västerviks-posten, 1927).
- Levine, Philippa, “European empires”, *The Ashgate research companion to modern imperial histories*, eds. Levine, Philippa & Marriott, John (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2012).
- Levine, W. Lawrence, *The unpredictable past: Explorations in American cultural history* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993).
- Lewin, Leif, *Arvid Lindman: Sveriges statsministrar under 100 år* (Stockholm: Bonnier, 2010).
- Lewis, Reina, *Gendering orientalism: Race, femininity, and representation* (London/New York: Routledge, 1996).
- Lindblad, Jakob, *470 nya kyrkor: Ett bidrag till Sveriges arkitekturhistoria 1850–1890* (Stockholm: Riksantikvarieämbetet, 2009).
- Lilieblad, Ivarsson, Björn, *Moulin Rouge på svenska: Varietéunderhållningens kulturhistoria i Stockholm 1875–1920* (Linköping: Linköpings universitet, 2009).
- Lindmark, Daniel, *Education and colonialism: Swedish schooling projects in colonial areas 1638–1878* (Umeå: Umeå universitet, 2000).
- Lindqvist, Sven, *Antirasister: Människor och argument i kampen mot rasismen 1750–1900* (Stockholm: Bonnier, 1995).
- Ljungström, Olof, *Oscariansk antropologi: Etnografi, förhistoria och rasforskning under sent 1800-tal* (Hedemora/Uppsala: Gidlund, 2004).
- Loftsdóttir, Kristin & Jensen Lars (eds.), “Introduction: Nordic exceptionalism and the Nordic ‘Others’”, *Whiteness and postcolonialism*

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- in the Nordic region: exceptionalism, migrant others and national identities* (London: Ashgate, 2012).
- Loftsdóttir, Kristín & Pálsson, Gísli, “Black on white: Danish colonialism, Iceland and the Caribbean”, *Scandinavian colonialism and the rise of modernity: Small time agents in a global arena*, eds. Naum, Magdalena & Nordin, M. Jonas (New York: Springer Science + Business Media, 2013).
- Loomba, Ania, *Colonialism/postcolonialism* (London/New York: Routledge, 1998).
- López, J. Alfred (ed.), “Introduction: whiteness after empire”, *Postcolonial whiteness: A critical reading on race and empire* (New York: State of New York Press, 2005).
- Lundgren, Frans, *Den isolerade medborgaren: Liberalistyr och uppkomsten av det sociala vid 1800-talets mitt* (Hedemora: Gidlund, 2003).
- Lundström, Catarina, *Den goda viljan: Kvinnliga missionärer och koloniala möten i Tunisien och västra Jämtland* (Lund: Nordic Academic Press, 2015).
- Löfgren, Orvar, “A flag for all occasions? The Swedish experience”, *Flag, nation and symbolism in Europe and America*, eds. Eriksen, Hylland, Thomas & Jenkins, Richard (London/New York: Routledge, 2007).
- Löfgren, Orvar, “Medierna i nationsbygget: Hur press, radio och TV gjort Sverige svenskt, *Medier och kulturer*, ed. Hannerz, Ulf (Stockholm: Carlsson, 1990).
- Lööw, Helene, *Hakkorset och Wasakärven: En studie av nationalsocialismen i Sverige 1924–1950* (Göteborg: Göteborgs universitet, 1990).
- MacKenzie, M. John (ed.), “Introduction”, *Imperialism and popular culture* (Manchester/New York: Manchester University Press, 1986).
- MacKenzie, M. John, *Orientalism: History, theory and the arts* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995).
- Mackay, David, *In the wake of Cook: Exploration, science & empire, 1780–1801* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 1985).
- Maddra, A. Sam, *Hostiles? The Lakota ghost dance and Buffalo Bill’s wild west* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2006).
- Maddra, Sam “American Indians in Buffalo Bill’s wild west”, eds. Bancel, Nicolas, Blanchard, Pascal, Boëtsch, Gilles, Deroo Éric & Lemaire, Sandrine, *Human zoos: Science and spectacle in the age of colonial empires* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2008).
- Magnusson, Lars, “Industrialismens genombrott”, *Signums svenska kulturhistoria: det moderna genombrottet*, ed. Christensson, Jakob (Stockholm: Signum, 2008).
- Malmsten, Jenny, *Den föreningsdrivna antirasismen i Sverige: Antirasism i rörelse* (Linköping: Linköpings universitet, 2013).
- Mammone, Andrea, Godin, Emmanuel & Jenkins Brian (eds.), “Introduction: Mapping the ‘right of the mainstream right’ in contemporary Europe”, *Mapping the extreme right in contemporary Europe: From local to transnational* (London/New York: Routledge, 2012).
- Manneby, Hans, *Båtsman Humbla: Dagboksanteckningar från Vanadisexpeditionen 1883–1885* (Stockholm: Rabén & Sjögren, 1978).
- Manns, Ulla, *Den sanna frigörelsen: Fredrika-Bremer-förbundet 1884–1921* (Eslöv: Östlings bokförlag symposium, 1997).
- Manns, Ulla, “Gender and feminism in Sweden: The Fredrika Bremer association”, *Women’s emancipation movements in the nineteenth century: A European perspective*, eds. Sylvia Paletschek & Bianka Pietrow-Ennker (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004).
- Marshall, Gail (ed.), “Introduction”, *The Cambridge companion to the fin de siècle* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

- Mason, Peter, *Infelicities: Representations of the exotic* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1998).
- Maxwell, Anne, *Colonial photography and exhibitions: Representations of the 'native' and the making of European identities* (London: Leicester University Press, 2000).
- Maxwell, Anne, *Picture imperfect: Photography and eugenics 1870–1940* (Eastbourne/Toronto: Sussex Academic Press, 2008).
- McClintock, Anne, *Imperial leather: Race, gender and sexuality in the colonial contest* (London/New York: Routledge, 1995).
- McClintock, Anne, “Soft-soaping empire: commodity racism and imperial advertising”, *The visual culture reader. Second Edition*, ed. Nicholas Mirzoeff (London/New York: Routledge 2002).
- McElroy, C. Guy, Jr. Gates, Louis, Henry & French, C. Christopher, *Facing history: The black image in American Art 1710–1940* (New York: Bedford Arts, 1990).
- McGuinness, Patrik, (ed.), “Introduction”, *Symbolism, decadence and the fin-de-siècle* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2000).
- McGuinness, Patrik (ed.), “Introduction”, *Symbolism, decadence and the fin-de-siècle: French and European perspectives* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2000).
- Midgley, Clare (ed.), “Introduction: gender and imperialism mapping the connections”, *Gender and imperialism* (Manchester/New York: Manchester University Press, 1998).
- Millbourn, Ingrid, *Det hemlighetsfulla mötet: Publik och gycklare: om skräcken och lockelsen att se varandra* (Stockholm: Carlsson, 2012).
- Mills, Sara, *Discourse*. (London/New York: Routledge, 2004).
- Mirzoeff, Nicholas, *An introduction to visual culture* (London/New York: Routledge, 1998).
- Mirzoeff, Nicholas, “Photography at the heart of darkness: Herbert Lang’s Congo photographs (1909–1915)”, *Colonialism and the object: Empire, material culture and the museum*, eds. Barringer, Tim & Flynn, Tom (London/New York: Routledge, 2007).
- Mirzoeff, Nicholas, *The right to look: A counterhistory of visibility* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011).
- Mitchell, W. J. T., *Image Science: Iconology, Visual culture, and media aesthetics* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2015).
- Mitchell, W. J. T., *Seeing through race* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2012).
- Mitchell, W. J. T., *What do pictures want? The lives and loves of images* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2005).
- Mitchell, W. J. T., *Picture theory: Essays on verbal and visual representation* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1994).
- Mohtadi, Lawen & Devrim Mawi, Devrim (eds.), “Förord”, *Rasismen i Sverige: Nyckeltexter 2010–2014* (Stockholm: Natur & kultur, 2014).
- Moses, L. G., *Wild west shows and the images of American Indians 1883–1933* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996).
- Mulholland, Niel, “Representation and the idea of realism”, *Exploring visual culture: Definitions, concepts, contexts*, ed. Matthew Rampley (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2005).
- Myall, James, “Nationalism and imperialism”, *The Cambridge history of twentieth-century political thought*, eds. Ball, Terence & Bellamy, Richard (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).
- Naum, Magdalena & Nordin, M. Jonas (eds.), “Introduction: Situating Scandinavian colonialism”, *Scandinavian Colonialism and the Rise of Modernity. Small Time Agents in a Global Arena* (New York: Springer Science + Business Media, 2013).
- Nilsson, Louise, *Färger, former och ljus: Svensk reklam och reklampsykologi, 1900–1930* (Uppsala: Acta Uni-

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- versitatis Upsaliensis. 2010).
- Nilsson, Roddy, "Den sociala frågan", *Signums svenska kulturhistoria: det moderna genombrottet*, ed. Jakob Christensson (Stockholm: Signum, 2008).
- Nordström, Charlotta, *Up the stylish staircase: Situating the Fürstenberg gallery and art collection in a late nineteenth-century Swedish art* (Stockholm: Makadam förlag, 2015).
- Nováky, György, *Handelskompanier och kompanihandel: Svenska Afrikakompaniet 1649–1663: En studie i feodal handel* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1990).
- Nyberg, Kenneth, "Om ordnandet av global kunskap – Linné och hans apostlar", *Global historia från periferin: Norden 1600–1850*, eds. Müller, Leos, Rydén, Göran & Weiss, Holger (Lund: Studentlitteratur, 2010).
- Nyblom, Andreas, "Författarens ansikte: Ett bidrag till litteraturens mediehistoria", *Mediernas kulturhistoria*, eds. Jülich, Solveig, Lundell, Patrik & Snickars, Pelle (Stockholm: Kungliga biblioteket, 2008).
- Nyblom, Andreas, *Rykbarhetens ansikte: Verner von Heidenstam, medierna och personkulten i sekelskiftets Sverige* (Linköping: Linköpings universitet, 2008).
- 296 Nyblom, Andreas, "Ritueler vid skriftkulturens altare", *Återkopplingar*, eds. Cronqvist, Marie, Lundell Patrik & Snickars, Pelle (Lund: Mediehistoria, Lunds universitet, 2014).
- Nygaard, M. Knut, "Interconnecting the British empire: Swedish and Norwegian shipping to South Africa 1850–1914", *Navigating colonial orders: Norwegian entrepreneurship in Africa and Oceania*, eds. Kjerland, Alsaker, Kirsten & Bertelsen, Enge, Bjørn (New York/Oxford: Berghahn, 2015).
- Oberg, Leroy, Michael, *Native America: A history* (London: Blackwell Publishing, 2010).
- Otis, Laura, *Membrans: Metaphors of invasion in nineteenth-century literature, science and politics* (Baltimore/London: The John Hopkins University Press, 2000).
- Otter, Chris, *The Victorian eye: A political history of light and vision in Britain 1800–1910* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2008).
- Osterhammel, Jürgen, *The transformation of the world: A global history of the nineteenth-century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014).
- Oxfeldt, Elisabeth, *Nordic orientalism: Paris and the cosmopolitan imagination* (København: Museum Tusulanum Press, 2005).
- Palme, Olof, *Politik är att vilja* (Stockholm: Prisma, 1968).
- Palmgren, Mai, "The Nordic colonial mind", *Complying with Colonialism: Gender, race and ethnicity in the Nordic Region*, Keskinen, Suvi, Touri, Salla, Irni Sari & Mulinari, Diana (eds.) (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2009).
- Paton, George, "Humor", *Encyclopedia of race and ethnic studies*, ed. Ellis Cashmore (London/New York: Routledge, 2004).
- Peltre, Christine, *Orientalism* (Paris: Terrail, 2004).
- Penny, Glenn, H & Bunzl, Matti (eds.), "Rethinking German anthropology, colonialism and race", *Wordly provincialism: German anthropology in the age of empire* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003).
- Poddar, Prem, Patke, S. Rajeev & Jensen, Lars (eds.), "Introduction: Postcolonial Europe", *A historical companion to postcolonial literatures: Continental Europe and its empires* (Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh Press, 2008).
- Poignant, Rosalyn, *Professional savages: Captive lives and western spectacle* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004).
- Pratt, Louise Mary, *Imperial eyes: Travel writing and transculturation* (London/New York: Routledge, 1992).
- Pred, Allan, *Even in Sweden:*

- Racism, racialized spaces, and the popular geographical imagination* (Berkeley/Los Angeles/London: University of California Press, 2000).
- Purtschert, Patricia & Tiné-Fisher, Harald, *Colonial Switzerland: Rethinking colonialism from the margins* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).
- Pålsson, Yvonne, *I Skinnstrumpas spår: Svenska barn och ungdomsböcker om indianer 1860–2008* (Umeå: Umeå universitet, 2013).
- Quilley, Geoff & Bonehill, John, *William Hodges 1744–1797: The art of exploration* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004).
- Rampley, Matthew (ed.), “Introduction”, *Exploring visual culture: Definitions, concepts, contexts* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2005).
- Ranby, Henrik, “Det sena 1800-talets svenska stad”, *Signums svenska kulturhistoria: det moderna genombrottet*, ed. Christensson, Jakob (Stockholm: Signum, 2008).
- Reidy, S. Michael, Kroll, Gary, & Conway, M. Erik, *Exploration and science: Social impact and interaction* (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2007).
- Reinius, Gustafsson, Lotten, Habel, Ylva & Jülich, Solveig (eds.), *Bussen är budskapet: Perspektiv på mobilitet, materialitet och modernitet* (Stockholm: Kungliga biblioteket, 2012).
- Rice, Richard, “Racial and ethnic imagery in nineteenth-century political cartoons”, *Seeking a voice: Images of race and gender in the nineteenth-century Press*, eds. Sachsman, B. David, Rushing, S. Kitrell & Jr. Morris, Ray (West Lafayette: Purdue University Press, 2009).
- Roberts, Mary, “Contested terrains: Women orientalists and the colonial harem”, *Orientalism’s interlocutors: Painting, architecture and photography* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2002).
- Roberts, Mary, *Intimate outsiders, The harem in Ottoman Orientalist art and travel literature* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007).
- Rycroft, J. Daniel (ed.), “Imperial tensions: A conceptual introduction”, *World art and the legacies of colonial violence* (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2013).
- Rönnbäck, Klas, *Commerce and colonization: Studies of early modern merchant capitalism in the Atlantic economy* (Göteborg: Göteborgs universitet, 2009).
- Said, W. Edward, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books Edition, 1978).
- Said, W. Edward, *Culture and imperialism* (New York: Vintage Books Edition, 1993).
- Salmi, Hannu, *Nineteenth-century Europe: A cultural history* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2008).
- Sandberg, B. Mark, *Living pictures, missing persons: Mannequins, museums, and modernity* (Princeton/Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2003).
- Sandberg, B. Mark, “Wax Museums: Europe”, *Encyclopaedia of early cinema*, ed. Abel, Richard (London/New York: Routledge, 2005).
- Sarja, Karin, “Ännu en syster till Afrika”: Trettiosex kvinnliga missionärer i Natal och Zululand 1876–1902 (Uppsala: Studia Missionalia Svecana, Uppsala universitet, 2002).
- Schwartz, R. Vanessa, *Spectacular realities: Early mass culture in fin-de-siècle Paris* (Berkeley/Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1999).
- Schwartz, R. Vanessa & Przyblyski, M. Jeannene (eds.), “Visual culture’s history: twenty-first century interdisciplinarity and its nineteenth-century objects”, *The nineteenth-century visual culture reader* (London/New York: Routledge, 2004).
- Shapin, Steven & Schaffer, Simon, *Leviathan and the air-pump: Hobbes, Boyle and the experimental life* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Stanley, Liz, "Methodology Matters", *Introducing gender & women's studies*, eds. Victoria Robinson & Diane Richardson (London: Macmillan, 1997).
- Sejersted, Francis, *The age of social democracy: Norway and Sweden in the twentieth century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011).
- Slotkin, Richard, "The wild west", *Buffalo Bill and the wild west*, ed. Katzive, H. David (New York: The Brooklyn Museum, 1981).
- Smith, D. Anthony, *National identity* (Reno/Las Vegas: University of Nevada Press, 1991).
- Snickars, Pelle, *Svensk film och visuell masskultur 1900* (Stockholm: Aura förlag, 2001).
- Solomon, Patrick *Scandinavia and the great powers 1890–1940* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).
- Spivak, Chakravorty, Gayatri, "Can the Subaltern Speak?", *Marxism and the interpretation of culture*, eds. Cary Nelson & Lawrence Grosswell (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1988).
- Spivak, Chakravorty, Gayatri, *A critique of postcolonial reason: Toward a history of the vanishing present* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999).
- Springhall, John, *The genesis of mass culture: Show business live in America 1840–1940* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).
- Steen, Birgitta, "The Swedish image of America", *Images of America in Scandinavia*, eds. Houe, Poul, Rossel, Hakon, Sven (Amsterdam/Atlanta: Rodopi, 1998).
- Steorn, Patrik, *Nakna män: Maskulinitet och kreativitet i svensk bildkultur 1900–1915* (Stockholm: Norstedts akademiska förlag, 2006).
- Stoddart, Helen, *Rings of Desire: Circus history and representation* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000).
- Sörlin, Sverker, *Framtidsländet: Debatten om Norrland och naturresurserna under det industriella genombröttet* (Stockholm: Carlsson, 1988).
- Sörlin, Sverker, "Rituals and resources of natural history: The North and the Arctic in Swedish scientific nationalism", *Narrating the Arctic: A cultural history of Nordic scientific practices*, eds. Bravo, Michael & Sörlin, Sverker (Sagamore Beach: Science History Publications, 2002).
- Thomasson, Fredrik, *Contre la loi mais en considérant les circonstances dangereuses du moment: Le tribunal suédois de l'île de Saint-Barthélemy pendant la période révolutionnaire, Les colonies, la révolution française, la loi*, eds. Frédéric Régent, Jean-François Niort & Pierre Serna (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2014).
- Thomasson, Fredrik, "Raynal and Sweden: Royal propaganda and colonial aspirations", *Raynal's Histoire philosophique des deux Indes. Colonial writing, cultural exchange and social networks in the age of the enlightenment*, eds. Mander, Jenny & Courtney, Cecil (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2014).
- Thornton, Lynne, *The orientalis: Painter-travellers* (Paris: ACR Edition Internationale, 1994).
- Tjeder, David, *The power of character: Middle-class masculinities 1800–1900* (Stockholm: Stockholms universitet, 2003).
- Tobin, Fowkin, Beth, *Picturing imperial power: Colonial subjects in eighteenth-century British painting* (London/Durham: Duke University Press, 1999).
- Tobin, Fowkin, Beth, *Colonizing nature: The tropics in British arts and letters, 1760–1820* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005).
- Trenter, Cecilia, "And now – imagine she's white" – postcolonial historieskrivning", *Makten över minnet: Historiekultur i förändring*, ed. Peter Aronsson (Lund: Studentlitteratur, 2000).
- Tromans, Nicholas (ed.), "Introduction: British

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- orientalist painting”, *The lure of the east: British orientalist painting* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008).
- Twyman, Michael, *The British library guide to printing history: History and techniques* (London: The British Library, 1998).
- Twyman, Michael, *A History of chromolithography: printed colour for all* (London: The British Library, Oak Knoll Press, 2013).
- Veracini, Lorenzo, *Settler colonialism: A theoretical overview* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2010).
- Vlahakis, N. George, *Imperialism and science: Social impact and interaction* (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2006), 1–19.
- Wähle, Espen, ”Scandinavian agents and entrepreneurs in the scramble for ethnographical objects during colonial expansion in the Congo”, *Navigating colonial orders: Norwegian entrepreneurship in Africa and Oceania*, eds. Kjerland, Alsaker, Kirsten & Bertelsen, Enge, Bjørn (New York/Oxford: Berghahn, 2015).
- Wagner, Ulla (ed.), *Resa med Vanadis. Hundraårsminnet av en världsomsegling: Eldslandet, Peru, Marshallöarna, Japan, Thailand, Indien: utställning på Etnografiska museet 17 februari-augusti 1984* (Stockholm: Etnografiska, 1984).
- Weiss, Elizabeth, *Reburying the past: The effects of repatriation and reburial on scientific inquiry* (Hauppauge: Nova Science Publishers, 2008).
- Weiss, Holger, ”Danskar och svenskar i den atlantiska slavhandeln 1650–1850”, *Global historia från periferin: Norden 1600–1850*, eds. Müller, Leos, Rydén, Göran & Weiss, Holger (Lund: Studentlitteratur, 2010).
- Werner, Jeff, ”Open your eyes to white”, *Sciascope 6: Blond and blue-eyed: Whiteness, Swedishness and visual culture*, eds. Werner, Jeff & Björk, Tomas (Göteborg: Göteborgs konstmuseum, 2014).
- Werner, Jeff, ”Introduction”, *Sciascope 6: Blond and blue-eyed: Whiteness, Swedishness and visual culture*, eds.
- Werner, Jeff & Björk, Tomas (Göteborg: Göteborgs konstmuseum, 2014).
- Werner, Jeff, ”A blue-and-yellow landscape”, *Sciascope 6: Blond and blue-eyed: Whiteness, Swedishness and visual culture*, eds. Werner, Jeff & Björk, Tomas (Göteborg: Göteborgs konstmuseum, 2014).
- Wesseling, H.L., *The European colonial empires, 1815–1919* (London: Harlow, 2004).
- Widén, Albin, ”Fregatten Vanadis världsomsegling med utdrag ur Prins Oscar Bernadottes dagböcker”, *Aktuellt och historiskt* (Stockholm: Försvarsstaben, 1962).
- White, Hayden, *The content of the form: Narrative discourse and historical representation* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987).
- White, Richard, ”Fredrick Jackson Turner and Buffalo Bill”, *The frontier in American culture*, ed. Grossman, R. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994).
- Wilson, Olle, *Raffinerade rum: Bensinstationer och precisionsskulptur i Sverige 1926–1956* (Stockholm: Nordiska museets förlag, 2012).
- Wisselgren, Per, *Samhällets karlläggare: Lorénska stiftelsen, den sociala frågan och samhällsvetenskapens formering 1830–1920* (Eslöv: B. Östlings bokförlag, 2000).
- Wohlgemuth, Lennart, ”Swedish relations and policies towards Africa”, *The Nordic countries and Africa: Old and new relations*, ed. Lennart Wohlgemuth (Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, 2002).
- Wolf, Daniel, ”The broken mirror: nationalism, romanticism and professionalization in the nineteenth-century west”, *A global history of history* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).
- Wren, S. Christopher, *The end of the line: The Failure of communism in the Soviet Union and China* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1990).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Wählberg, Arne Per, *Cirkus i Sverige: Bidrag till vårt lands kulturhistoria* (Stockholm: Carlsson, 1992).
- Young, J. C. Robert, *Colonial desire: Hybridity in theory, culture and race* (London/ New York: Routledge, 1995).
- Zantop, Susanne, *Colonial fantasies: Conquest, family, and nation in precolonial Germany, 1770–1870* (Durham/London: Duke University Press, 1997).
- Zielinski, Siegfried, *Deep time of the media: Toward an archaeology of hearing and seeing by technical means* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2008).
- Åhrén, Eva, *Death, modernity and the body: Sweden 1870–1940* (New York: University of Rochester Press, 2009).
- Åman, Anders, “Före och efter 1970: Från konsthistoria till konstvetenskap”, *8 kapitel om konsthistoriens historia i Sverige*, eds. Gillgren, Peter, Johansson, Britt-Inger & Pettersson, Hans (Stockholm: Raster, 2000).
- Articles
- Andreassen, Rikke, “The ‘exotic’ as mass entertainment: Denmark 1878–1909”, *Race & Class*: 45, 2003, 21–38.
- Beatty, Mary-Lou, “The past is unpredictable: A conversation with Bernard Bailyn”, *Humanities*, vol. 19:2, 1998, 1–10
- Bennett, Tony, “Pedagogic Objects, Clean Eyes and Popular Instructions: On Sensory Regimes and Museums”, *Configurations*, vol. 6:3, 1998, 345–371.
- Billgren, Jan, “Post till och från fregatten Vanadis 1883–1885”, *Postryttaren*, vol. 9:32, 2010, 9–32.
- Björk, Jonas, Ulf, “Stories of America: The rise of the ‘Indian book’ in Sweden 1862–1895”, *Scandinavian Studies*, vol. 75:4, 509–526.
- Felski, Rita, “The invention of the everyday life”, *New Formations, A Journal of Culture/Theory/Politics*, vol. 39:9, 2000, 15–31.
- Fur, Gunlög, “Colonial fantasies: American Indians, Indigenous Peoples and Swedish discourse of innocence”, *National Identities*, eds. Lüthi, Barbara, Falk, Francesca & Purtschert, Patricia, vol. 18:1, 2015, 11–33.
- Gunning, Tom, “Review: Techniques of the observer: On visions and modernity in the nineteenth-century by Jonathan Crary”, *Film Quarterly*, vol. 46:1, 1992, 51–53.
- Harding, Luke, “Swedish minister denies claims of racism over black woman cake stunt”, *The Guardian* 17 April 2012.
- Helgesson, Stefan, “Filmen lika mycket en berättelse om vuxnas frånvaro”, *Dagens Nyheter* 14 December 2011.
- Jameson, Fredric, “Metacommentary”, *Modern Language Association*, vol. 86:1, 1971, 9–18.
- Jensen, Lars, “Scandinavia – A peripheral centre”, *Kult & Special Issue: Epistemologies of Transformation: The Latin American Decolonial Option and its Ramifications*, vol. 6, 2009, 161–179.
- Jibréus, Dan, “The long journey of White Sox”, *Nebraska History*, vol. 95, 2014, 100–123.
- Jonsson, Stefan, “Den första människan. Anteckningar om Norden, litteraturen och kolonialismen”, *Ord & bild*, ed. Peralta, Verdinelli, Cecilia. vol. 2, 2008, 35–47.
- Karlholm, Dan, “Visuella kulturstudier: Beträktelser över ett expanderande forskningsfält”, *Konsthistorisk tidskrift/Journal of Art History*, vol. 72:3, 2003, 186–205.
- Khemiri, Hassen Jonas, “Sweden’s closet racists”, *New York Times* 20 April 2013.
- Kleen af, Björn, “Mörk historia fram i ljuset”, *Dagens Nyheter* 25 January 2015.
- Larsmo, Ola, “Sverige, Sverige, främlingsland: Historien om den kolonialstat som nästan blev”, *Arena*, vol. 5, 1996.
- Larsson, Bharathi, Åsa, “Staging the white colonial

- explorer: Visual representations of science and the scientist on the Vanadis expedition 1883–1885”, *Konsthistorisk tidskrift/Journal of Art History*, vol. 83: 4, 2013, 304–321.
- Lowenthal, David, “Authenticities past and present, *CRM: The Journal of Heritage Stewardship*, vol. 5:1, 2008, 6–17.
- Lüthi, Barbara, Falk, Francesca & Purtschert, Patricia, “Colonialism without colonies: examining blank spaces in colonial studies”, *National Identities*, vol. 18:1, 2015, 1–9.
- Martinsson, Moa, “Fregatten Vanadis: En pojkhistoria”, *Tidevarvet*, vol. 2:1, 1929, 4.
- McClintock, Anne, “The angel of progress: Pitfalls of the term postcolonial”, *Social Text*, vol. 31:32, 1992, 84–98.
- McEachrane, Michael, “Elever bör undervisas om svensk kolonialism”, *Aftonbladet* 29 October 2014.
- Mitchell, W. J. T., “Showing seeing: A critique of visual culture”, *Journal of Visual Culture*, vol. 1: 2, 2002, 165–181.
- Mulvey, Laura, “Visual pleasure and narrative cinema”, *Screen*, vol. 16, 1975, 6–18.
- Mwesigire, bwa Bewesigye, “Norway to restage 1914 ‘human zoo’ that exhibited Africans as inmates”, *The Guardian* 29 April 2014.
- Nilsson, David, “Sweden–Norway at the Berlin conference 1884–1885: History, national–identity making and Sweden’s relations with Africa” *Current African Issues* 53, 2013, 1–55.
- Nochlin, Linda, “The imaginary Orient”, *Art in America*, 1983, 119–131, 186–191.
- Sekula, Alan, “The body and the archive”, *October*, vol. 39:3, 1986, 3–64.
- Shapin, Steven & Schaffer, Simon, “Pump and circumstance: Robert Boyle’s literary technology”, *Social Studies of Science*, vol. 14:4, 1984, 481–520.
- Smith, Michelle Shawn, “Obamas whiteness. Questionnaire on Barack Obama”, *Journal of Visual Culture*, vol. 8:2, 2009, 129–133.
- Snickare, Mårten, “Kontroll, begär och kunskap. Den koloniala kampen om Goavddis”, *Rig: Kulturhistorisk tidskrift*, vol. 97:2, 2014, 65–77.
- Söderling, Fredrik, “Lilla hjärtat ‘uppenbart rasistisk’ enligt forskare”, *Dagens Nyheter* 22 November 2012.
- Internet Sources
- www.nicholasmirzoeff.com/RTL/?cat=4, retrieved 2016-02-21.
- www.postkolonial.dk, retrieved 2016-02-21.
- www.globarch.org, retrieved 2016-02-21.
- www.rethinking-nordic-colonialism.org, retrieved 2016-02-21.
- www.ub.gu.se/portaler/polarportalen/, retrieved 2016-02-21.
- www.kb.se/samlingarna/oversikt/resor-tiderna/Thesleffs-fotosamling/Thesleffs-fotografier-av-romer-ett-rasbiologiskt-sammanhang/, retrieved 2016-02-21.
- www.congrespfp2009.fr/sectionthematiques/st16/st16mottier.pdf, retrieved 2016-02-21.
- www.nfb.ca/film/totem_the_return_of_the_gpsgolox_pole, retrieved 2016-02-21.
- www.cathedralgrove.eu/text/11-Contact.htm, retrieved 2016-02-21.
- www.shmm.se/Documents/rapport_remiss/090305_SHMMutredning_hawaii.pdf, retrieved 2016-02-21.
- www.makodelinde.com, retrieved 2016-02-21.
- www.ki.se/nyheter/karolinska-institutet-och-uppsala-universitet-aterlamnar-kranier, retrieved 2016-02-21.
- www.oed.com, retrieved 2016-02-21.

List of Figures

- Page 14 and 185: Wax display: “Stanley och Löjtnant P. Möller” [Stanley and Lieutenant P. Möller], *Vägvisare genom Svenska Panoptikon* (Stockholm: Nya Tryckeri-Aktiebolaget, 1889). Courtesy of the National Library of Sweden, Stockholm.
- Page 21: “Ett Paris café (Au Boulevard Saint-Michel) efter en teckning av Felician von Myrbach” [A café in Paris (Au Boulevard Saint-Michel) after a drawing by Felician von Myrbach], *Ny Illustrerad Tidning* 28 February 1885:9. Courtesy of the National Library of Sweden, Stockholm.
- Page 22: “Det gamla Stockholm och det nya. Motiv från Trebackarlånggatan. Teckning af H. Feychting” [The old and new Stockholm. View from Trebackarlånggatan. Drawing by H. Feychting], *Ny Illustrerad Tidning* 27 September 1884:39. Courtesy of the National Library of Sweden, Stockholm.
- Page 33: “Söndagsstudier i Nationalmuseum. Åtta teckningar af Carl Hedelin” [Sunday studies at the Museum of Fine Arts. Eight drawings by Carl Hedelin], *Ny Illustrerad Tidning* 4 June 1887:23. Courtesy of the National Library of Sweden, Stockholm.
- Page 34: “Till affischeringsens historia. Sal för ankommande resande i Stockholms centralstation” [The history of posters. Arrivals hall for travellers at Stockholm central station], *Ny Illustrerad Tidning* 10 February 1883:6. Courtesy of the National Library of Sweden, Stockholm.
- Page 37: Advertisement: “Cirkus Lindberg med kapten Hopkins, wild west” [Circus Lindberg with captain Hopkins, wild west], *Norra Skåne* 15 November 1897. Courtesy of the National Library of Sweden, Stockholm.
- Page 48 and book cover: Racial photograph, Vanadis expedition 1883–1885. Photograph by Oscar Birger Ekholm. Courtesy of the Museum of Ethnography, Stockholm.
- Page 50: Map of the route taken by the Vanadis expedition 1883–1885. Courtesy of the Maritime Museum, Stockholm.
- Page 59: “Från Vanadis verldsomsegling” [From the circumnavigation by Vanadis], *Blekingsposten* 29 August 1884. Courtesy of the National Library of Sweden, Stockholm.
- Page 64: “Från Brasiliens urskog” [From the Brazilian forest], *Illustrerad Familj-Journal* 5 June 1881:23. Courtesy of the National Library of Sweden, Stockholm.
- Page 65: “Några typer från Eldlandet” [People from Tierra del Fuego] drawing by J. Bungartz, *Illustrerad Familj-Journal* 27 November 1881:48. Courtesy of the National Library of Sweden, Stockholm.
- Page 68: Typefaces: Fraktur and Antiqua in *Kalmar* 11 October 1884. Courtesy of the National Library of Sweden, Stockholm.
- Page 70: “Fregatten Vanadis”

LIST OF FIGURES

- [The Vanadis frigate 1883–1885]. Photograph by R. Ellis. Courtesy of the Maritime Museum, Stockholm
- Page 71: Jacob Jaques Hägg, *Vanadis* [The Vanadis], 1885. Courtesy of the Museum of Ethnography, Stockholm. Oil on canvas.
- Page 73: Jacob Jaques Hägg, *Vanadis på Fakarawa* [The Vanadis in Fakarawa], 1884. Courtesy of the Maritime Museum, Stockholm. Watercolour.
- Page 73: “Vanadis expedition på Fakarawa 1884” [The Vanadis expedition at Fakarawa 1884], Svante Natt och Dag’s travel journal *Jorden rundt under svensk örlogsflagg: Ögonblicksbilder från fregatten Vanadis verldsomsegling 1883–1885 samlade av Svante Natt och Dag och i brefform återgifna af Richard Melander* [Around the world with the Swedish military flag: Images from the circumnavigation by the frigate Vanadis 1883–1885 collected by Svante Natt och Dag and epistolary depicted by Richard Melander] (Stockholm: Bonnier, 1887). Courtesy of the Uppsala University Library of Carolina Rediviva, Uppsala.
- Page 73: Jacob Jaques Hägg, *Vanadis expeditionen på Jaluit* [The Vanadis expedition in Jaluit], 1888. Wikipedia Commons. Private Owner. Watercolour 27 × 39 cm.
- Page 75: “Vega expeditionen” [The Vega expedition], *Ny Illustrerad Tidning* 28 February 1888:6. Courtesy of the National Library of Sweden, Stockholm.
- Page 76: William Hodges, *View of Island Otaheite (Tahiti)* 1773. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Watercolour 36,8 × 53,9 cm.
- Page 76: “Vanadis expeditionen 1883–1885” [The Vanadis expedition 1883–1885], *Nordisk familjebok* (Stockholm: Gernandts boktryckeri, 1921). Courtesy of the Uppsala University Library of Carolina Rediviva, Uppsala.
- Page 78: “Fregatten Vanadis på Stockholms ström. Teckning af Albert Berg” [The frigate Vanadis on the Stockholm stream. Drawing by Albert Berg], *Ny Illustrerad Tidning* 23 May 1885:21. Courtesy of the National Library of Sweden, Stockholm.
- Page 78: Poster: Svante Natt och Dag’s travel journal *Jorden rundt under svensk örlogsflagg: Ögonblicksbilder från fregatten Vanadis verldsomsegling 1883–1885 samlade av Svante Natt och Dag och i brefform återgifna af Richard Melander* [Around the world with the Swedish military flag: Images from the circumnavigation by the frigate Vanadis 1883–1885 collected by Svante Natt och Dag and epistolary depicted by Richard Melander] (1887). Courtesy of the National Library of Sweden, Stockholm.
- Page 80: Timetable for Vanadis from *Post- och Inrikes Tidningar* 22 December 1883. Courtesy of the National Library of Sweden, Stockholm.
- Page 82: “Arabian Woman”, Svante Natt och Dag’s travel journal *Jorden rundt under svensk örlogsflagg: Ögonblicksbilder från fregatten Vanadis verldsomsegling 1883–1885 samlade av Svante Natt och Dag och i brefform återgifna af Richard Melander* [Around the world with the Swedish military flag: Images from the circumnavigation by the frigate Vanadis 1883–1885 collected by Svante Natt och Dag and epistolary depicted by Richard Melander] (Stockholm: Bonnier, 1887). Courtesy of the Uppsala University Library of Carolina Rediviva, Uppsala.
- Page 87: Henry Morton Stanley, *Genom de svartas verldsdel eller Nilens källor; kring de stora sjöarne och utför Livingstone-floden till Atlantiska havet* [Through the dark continent. On the sources of the Nile and around the Great Lakes of equatorial Africa and down the Livingstone River to the Atlantic Ocean] (Stockholm: Bonnier, 1878). Courtesy of the Uppsala University Library of Carolina Rediviva, Uppsala.
- Page 1 and 87: The Vanadis crew, 1884 Photograph by Oscar Birger Ekholm. Courtesy of the Museum of Ethnography, Stockholm.

LIST OF FIGURES

- Page 89: Lotten von Düben, photograph of Maria Persdotter 1873. Courtesy of the Nordic Museum, Stockholm.
- Page 92: Louis Agassiz daguerreotypes of African American slaves 1850s. Courtesy of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology and Harvard University, PM# 35-5-10/53037 (digital file# 98750072).
- Page 93: Photograph of Indigenous population from South Africa and Madagascar. *Anthropologisch-ethnologisches album in photographien 1873-1876* by Carl Dammann. Wikipedia Commons.
- Page 95: Racial photographs, Vanadis expedition 1883-1885. Photographs by Oscar Birger Ekholm. Courtesy of the Museum of Ethnography, Stockholm.
- Page 96: Carte de visite 1880s. Racial photograph, Vanadis expedition 1883-1885. Photograph by Oscar Birger Ekholm. Courtesy of the Maritime Museum, Stockholm.
- Page 97-98: Racial photographs, Vanadis expedition 1883-1885. Photographs by Oscar Birger Ekholm. Courtesy of the Museum of Ethnography, Stockholm.
- Page 99: Racial photographs, Vanadis expedition 1883-1885. Photograph by Oscar Birger Ekholm. Courtesy of the Uppsala University Library of Carolina Rediviva, Uppsala.
- Page 100: Colonial photographs, Vanadis expedition 1883-1885. Photograph by Oscar Birger Ekholm. Courtesy of the Uppsala University Library of Carolina Rediviva, Uppsala.
- Page 101: Colonial photograph, Vanadis expedition 1883-1885. Photograph by Oscar Birger Ekholm. Courtesy of the Uppsala University Library of Carolina Rediviva, Uppsala.
- Page 102: Photo album: Prince Oscar. Courtesy of the Maritime Museum, Stockholm.
- Page 103-105: Racial photographs, Vanadis expedition 1883-1885. Photographs by Oscar Birger Ekholm. Courtesy of the Museum of Ethnography, Stockholm.
- Page 106: Photo album: Fredrik Riben. Courtesy of the Maritime Museum, Stockholm. Photograph by Anneli Karlsson
- Page 112: "Från Vanadisutställningen" [From the Vanadis exhibition], *Ny Illustrerad Tidning* 23 October 1886:43. Courtesy of the National Library of Sweden, Stockholm.
- Page 118 and 134: Poster: Brasil Jack i Örebro [Brasil Jack in Örebro], 1899. Courtesy of the National Library of Sweden, Stockholm.
- Page 125: George Catlin, *Nord-Amerikas indianer och de, under ett åttårigt vistande bland de vildaste af deras stammar, upplefvade äfventyr och öden* [The manners, customs, and conditions of the North American Indian] (Stockholm: PG Berg, 1848). Courtesy of the Uppsala University Library of Carolina Rediviva, Uppsala.
- Page 127: Richard Melander, *I Sitting Bulls land. Skildringar från gränslifvet i Amerikanska Västern* [In the land of Sitting Bull. Stories of the life on the frontier in the American West]. Ill. Fredrick Remington (Stockholm: Bonnier, 1892). Courtesy of the Uppsala University Library of Carolina Rediviva, Uppsala.
- Page 127: Karl May, *På lif och död eller fångad och befriad* [On life or death or captured and freed] (Stockholm: Ol. Hansen, 1897). Courtesy of the Uppsala University Library of Carolina Rediviva, Uppsala.
- Page 129: Poster: Åkta Ramie [Authentic ramie], 1901. Courtesy of the National Library of Sweden, Stockholm
- Page 130: Poster: Orientaliska-irrgångssalongen [Oriental maze salon] 1890. Courtesy of the National Library of Sweden, Stockholm.
- Page 133: Poster: Cirkus Busch Sioux-Indian-Truppen [The Sioux Indian troupe], 1 February 1887, Jönköping. Courtesy of the National Library of Swe-

LIST OF FIGURES

- den, Stockholm.
- Page 134: Advertisement in the press, "Cirkus Brasil Jack" [Cirkus Brasil Jack], *Dalpilen* 22 June 1899. Courtesy of the National Library of Sweden, Stockholm.
- Page 136: Poster: Cirkus Busch: Livet i vilda västern eller Sioux-indianernas öfverfall på den texikanska posten [Cirkus Busch: The life in the wild west or the attack by the Sioux Indians on the Texican post], 7 February 1887, Jönköping. Courtesy of the National Library of Sweden, Stockholm.
- Page 136: Poster: Cirkus Madigan: Barbaras hämnd eller Sioux indian hövdingen [Cirkus Madigan: The revenge of Barbara or the Sioux Indian chief], 11 November 1891, Jönköping. Courtesy of the National Library of Sweden, Stockholm.
- Page 138: Advertisement in the press: "Telegram!" Den stora amerikanska cirkus Madigan och "Texas Jacks" wild west show [Telegram! The great American circus Madigan and Texas Jack's wild west show], *Kalmar* 10 February 1897. Courtesy of the National Library of Sweden, Stockholm.
- Page 138: Poster: Brasil Jacks Internationella Theatro dell Varieté [Brasil Jack's International Varieté Theatre], 25 July 1899, Bollnäs. Courtesy of the National Library of Sweden, Stockholm.
- Page 138: Poster: Telegram kapten Brasil Jack [Telegram Captain Brasil Jack], 15 February 1903. Courtesy of the National Library of Sweden, Stockholm.
- Page 139: Guide Booklet: "Buffalo Bill's wild west" 1889. Courtesy of Buffalo Bill Museum and Grave, Golden, Colorado.
- Page 141: Carte de visite: Brasil Jack, 1907. Wikipedia Commons.
- Page 145: Advertisement: "Zulukaffern Uomogogawa" [The Zulu Kaffer Uomogogawa], *Dalpilen* 9 April 1886:14. Courtesy of the National Library of Sweden, Stockholm.
- Page 145: Advertisement: "Zulukaffern" [The Zulu kaffer], *Nyare Blekings-Posten* 5 March 1880:19. Courtesy of the National Library of Sweden, Stockholm.
- Page 146: Poster: Zulukaffern Sam [The Zulu kaffer Sam] 1893, Westervik. Courtesy of the National Library of Sweden, Stockholm.
- Page 146: Poster: Zoolukafen Hackay [The Zulu kaffer Hackay] 1879, Jönköping. Courtesy of the National Library of Sweden, Stockholm.
- Page 147: Poster: Busk-Negerqvinnor [Bush-Negro women] 1879, Gefle. Courtesy of the National Library of Sweden, Stockholm.
- Page 147: Poster: Tvenne brunskinnade Buske-qvinnor [Two brown skinned Bush-Negro women] 1876, Jönköping. Courtesy of the National Library of Sweden, Stockholm.
- Page 151: Australian Aborigines in R. A. Cunningham's Touring Company, Düsseldorf, Germany, c. 1885. Photographer: Julius Schaar. Courtesy of the National Portrait Gallery Canberra. Carte de visite photograph. 104 × 64 mm.
- Page 151: Poster: Australian cannibal boomerang throwers, printed in English, Berlin 1884. Courtesy of the Historisches Museum Frankfurt am Main, Coloured lithograph poster. Photo: Horst Ziegenfusz.
- Page 153: *Berättelsen om K. A. [sic] Cunningham's Austral-Invånare tatuerade kannibaler, svarta spårfinnare och boomerangkastare, bestående av två stammar, män och kvinnor* [History of R. A. Cunningham Australian Aborigines tattooed cannibal, black trackers, boomerang and throwers, consisting of two tribes, male and female], 1886. Courtesy of the National Library of Sweden, Stockholm.
- Page 155: "Australnegrerna i Stockholm. Silhouette af Ernst Ljungh" [Australian Negros in Stockholm. Silhouette by Ernst Ljungh], *Ny Illustrerad Tidning*, 26 June 1886:26. Courtesy of the National Library of Sweden, Stockholm.

LIST OF FIGURES

- Page 157: Comic Strip “Ett äfventyr på Nya Zeeland” [An adventure in New Zealand], *Illustrerad Familj-Journal* 15 May 1887:20. Courtesy of the National Library of Sweden, Stockholm.
- Page 158: Comic Strip “Hans egen skull” [For his own sake], *Allers Familj-Journal* 20 May 1894. Courtesy of the National Library of Sweden, Stockholm.
- Page 158: Comic Strip “En romans från Fidschieöarna” [A romance from Fiji], *Illustrerad Familj-Journal* 5 October 1884:40. Courtesy of the National Library of Sweden, Stockholm.
- Page 160: Comic Strip “Välkommen i det gröna” [Welcome into the green], *Söndags-Nisse* 5 October 1890. Courtesy of the National Library of Sweden, Stockholm.
- Page 161: “Negern” [The Negro], *Allers Familj-Journal*, 28 April 1901:17. Courtesy of the National Library of Sweden, Stockholm.
- Page 161: “Indianen” [The Indian], *Allers Familj-Journal*, 26 May 1901:21. Courtesy of the National Library of Sweden, Stockholm.
- Page 162: Poster: Australian anthropophagi [Australian anthropophagi], 1877, Kalmar. Courtesy of the National Library of Sweden, Stockholm.
- Page 162: Poster: De äkta kannibaler [Authentic cannibals], 1898, Venersborg. Courtesy of the National Library of Sweden, Stockholm.
- Page 163: Poster: Afrikansk-Neger Karavan [African-Negro caravan], 1895, Stockholm. Courtesy of the National Library of Sweden, Stockholm.
- Page 164: Photograph: “Sinhalese caravan”. Courtesy of the Nordic Museum, Stockholm.
- Page 166: “Öffentliga nöjen: Dinka-neger-caravan” [Public entertainment: Dinka Negro caravan], *Dagens Nyheter*, 21 June 1895. Courtesy of the National Library of Sweden, Stockholm.
- Page 167: “Lappar i Berlins Zoologiska trädgård [Lapplanders in Berlin Zoological Garden], *Illustrerad Familj-Journal*, 25 May 1879:8. Courtesy of the National Library of Sweden, Stockholm.
- Page 168: “Mestisen” [Mestizo] on the front cover of *Ny Illustrerad Tidning* (1886) by the Spanish artist José Maria Marqués. Courtesy of the National Library of Sweden, Stockholm.
- Page 169: ”Urskogens fasa” [The horror of the primeval forest] from a drawing by Friedrich Wilhelm Kuhner, *Illustrerad Familj-Journal* 1 September 1895:35. Courtesy of the National Library of Sweden, Stockholm.
- Page 169: “Leopardklädda människor” [People in leopard camouflage] from a painting by P. Brockmüller, *Illustrerad Familj-Journal* 3 January 1897:1. Courtesy of the National Library of Sweden, Stockholm.
- Page 2 and 170: “Darwins felande länk” [Darwin’s missing link], *Ny Illustrerad Tidning* 25 August 1883:34. Courtesy of the National Library of Sweden, Stockholm.
- Page 171: “Carl Lumholtz och hans forskningar i Australien” [Carl Lumholtz and his Research in Australia], *Ny Illustrerad Tidning* 27 November 1886:48. Courtesy of the National Library of Sweden, Stockholm.
- Page 173: Sophus Schack, *Fysionomiska studier* [Studies in physiognomy] (Stockholm: Looström & Kompani, 1883). Courtesy of the National Library of Sweden.
- Page 174: “Hottentotterna, deras tro, vidskepliga föreställningar o.s.v.” [The Hottentots, their belief, superstition ideas et cetera], *Illustrerad Familj-Journal* 30 November 1884:48. Courtesy of the National Library of Sweden, Stockholm.
- Page 177: “Om orsakerna till de lägre folkslagens undergång” [On the causes of the extinction of the inferior people], *Ny Illustrerad Tidning* 29 March 1884:13. Courtesy of the National Library of Sweden, Stockholm.
- Page 179: “Nackarnas fysionomi” [The Physiognomy of the Necks], *Allers Familj-Journal*, 24 April 1904:17. Courtesy of the National Library

LIST OF FIGURES

- of Sweden, Stockholm.
- Page 179: “Det talande porträttet” [The Portrait that Speaks], *Allers Familj-Journal* 26 May 1901:21. Courtesy of the National Library of Sweden, Stockholm.
- Page 181: Poster: N. Nielsens Panoptikon Vaxkabinett och stora Anatomiska Museum [N. Nielsen’s Wax Cabinet and Great Anatomical Museum] Kalmar 1880. Courtesy of the National Library of Sweden, Stockholm.
- Page 186: Wax display: “Arab Tippu Tip”, *Vägvisare genom Svenska Panoptikon* (Stockholm: Nya Tryckeri-Aktiebolaget, 1889). Courtesy of the National Library of Sweden, Stockholm.
- Page 188: Wax display: “Louis Botha Boer”, *Vägvisare genom Svenska Panoptikon* (Stockholm: Centraltryckeriet, 1902). Courtesy of the National Library of Sweden, Stockholm.
- Page 189: Poster: Hartkopffs stora världsberömda plastiska, mekaniska och optiska konstutställning [Hartkopff’s world famous plastic, mechanic and optical art exhibition], 1877, Wexö. Courtesy of the National Library of Sweden, Stockholm.
- Page 189: Poster: Ett Ethnologiskt Konst-Museum [An ethnological art museum], c. 1880. Courtesy of the National Library of Sweden, Stockholm.
- Page 190: The Oriental maze salon mirror labyrinth at Hamngatan 18B, Stockholm, 1890. Courtesy of Stockholm City Museum, Stockholm.
- Page 191: Wax display: “Morgonrodnad” [Dawn] at the Oriental Maze Salon in Stockholm, 1892. Courtesy of Stockholm City Museum, Stockholm.
- Page 192–193: Wax display: “Harem”, 1892. Courtesy of Stockholm City Museum, Stockholm.
- Page 193: “Ett österländskt harem” [An oriental harem] [An oriental harem] by G. Simoni, *Illustrerad Familj-Journal* 6 December 1891:49. Courtesy of the National Library of Sweden, Stockholm.
- Page 198: Julius Kronberg, *Drottningen av Saba* [Queen of Sheba], 1888. Courtesy of Tjolöholm Castle, Gothenburg. Oil on canvas.
- Page 200 and 224: Poster: Reflex crème & reflex svart [Reflex crème & reflex darkness] 1903. Courtesy of the National Library of Sweden, Stockholm.
- Page 201: Poster: J. F. Germundsons patentrostade kaffe [J. F. Germundson’s certified coffee], 1899. Courtesy of the National Library of Sweden, Stockholm.
- Page 202: Poster: Standard cigarretter [Standard cigarettes], 1890. Courtesy of the National Library of Sweden, Stockholm.
- Page 207: “Den yngsta skall vägas” [The youngest shall be measured], by Harry Roseland, *Allers Familj-Journal* 28 December 1902:52. Courtesy of the National Library of Sweden, Stockholm.
- Page 208: “Negerbröllop” [A Negro wedding], *Allers Familj-Journal* 25 November 1900:47. Courtesy of the National Library of Sweden, Stockholm.
- Page 209: Harriet Beecher Stowe, *Onkel Toms stuga eller negerlifvet i Nordamerikas slafstater* [Uncle Tom’s cabin or, life among the lowly], republished 1895 with illustrations by Jenny Nyström. © Jenny Nyström/Kalmar länsmuseum/Bildupphovsrätt 2016.
- Page 210: “Bild ur negerernas lif: Doktors besök” [An image of the life of the Negro: The doctor’s visit], by Harry Roseland, *Allers Familj-Journal* 4 September 1904:37. Courtesy of the National Library of Sweden, Stockholm.
- Page 211: “Bild ur negerernas lif: Svart drager och vinner” [An image of the life of the Negro: Black makes a chess move and wins] by Harry Roseland, *Allers Familj-Journal* 16 October 1904:42. Courtesy of the National Library of Sweden, Stockholm.
- Page 212: “Berättigad undran” [Justified question], *Söndags-Nisse* 2 March 1879. Courtesy of the National Library of Sweden, Stockholm.

Acknowledgements

I would like to take the opportunity to first express my deepest gratitude to my supervisors. Pelle Snickars has challenged my critical thinking and writing right to the very end. I could not thank you enough for taking on this project, showing enthusiasm for all the various manuscripts and most of all being supportive in every aspect of research life. Likewise, Jan von Bonsdorff has supported this project from the beginning, providing useful critique and guidance.

I had the fortune to have three readings of a larger portion of the manuscript.

Media historian Johan Jarlbrink's critical reading gave significant insights and new directions in the project. Art historian Tomas Björk's reading was vital in the last stages in flagging up important critical points I had to confront. Art historian Anna Dalhgren got to see the work half way through and contributed with a close reading of the visual sources. I am grateful to all three of you!

I would also like to thank my fellow doctoral students at Uppsala and Stockholm who have given crucial feedback at various stages. Hedvig Mårdh began her dissertation project at the same time as me and has seen my work through all the stages, thank you for your critical readings and friendship.

In addition, I would like to show appreciation to: Anna Orrghen, Emilie Karlsmo, Hedvig Brander Jonsson, Britt-Inger Johansson and Mari Granath Lagercrantz, who gave of their time after the final seminar and exchanged ideas and support.

For administrative matters and all the important things that come with it, I am happy to have had a helping hand from Inger Wikström, Azul Tarazona, Linnea Paulsson and Maria Leijon.

The Department of Art History has been a place of great stimulation. Throughout the years important encouragement and inspiration from colleagues has made my research life more enjoyable. I would like to thank all past and present colleagues! A special thanks to the ones who have seen me the most: Anna Orrghen, Emilie Karlsmo, Hedvig Brander Jonsson, Azul Tarazona, Hedvig Mårdh, Rebecka Millhagen, Eva Sandgren Lindqvist, Carina Jacobsson, Jakob Lindblad, Britt-Inger Johansson, Henrik Widmark, Anna Micro Vikstrand, Johan Eriksson, Ingela Wahlberg and Cecilia Anéer.

Generous grants have enabled me both to do research visits around the world and complete this dissertation: *Gustaf Adolfs akademi för svensk folkkultur, KIV resestipendium för*

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

doktorander, Sven och Dagmar Saléns stiftelse, Olle Engkvist Byggmästare stiftelse, Gunnar Wennerbergs resestipendium, Vitterhetsakademin, resebidrag, Rektors resebidrag från Wallenbergs stiftelsen, Forskningsinstitutet i Istanbul storstipendiet, Sven Kristersons stipendium, Kungliga Patriotiska Sällskapet, Kungl. Humanistiska Vetenskaps-Samfundet i Uppsala and Historisk-filosofiska fakultetens bidrag för doktorander, Uppsala universitet.

I have had outstanding service from museums and archives: Olof Halldin, Catarina Nordling, Charlotta Lindh and staff at the National Library of Sweden, Åsa Henningsson and staff at Uppsala University Library of Carolina Rediviva, Robert Ekstrand and staff at the Maritime Museum, Hille Lehti and staff at Stockholm City Museum, and Lotten Reinius Gustafsson, Karolina Mikulska and staff at the Museum of Ethnography. Additional archives: Nordic Museum, Kalmar County Museum, Tjolöholm Castle, National Portrait Gallery Canberra, Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, Buffalo Bill Museum and Grave, Golden, Colorado, British Museum and Historisches Museum Frankfurt am Main.

When transforming this work into a book I have trusted in my editor Patrik Lundell, thank you for overseeing this project. Johan Laserna created the files into an “extraordinary book” (to choose a circus paraphrase). Many thanks!

Throughout my time as a doctoral student I have had research visits and I would like to express my gratitude to the following: The Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul, which was the first research stay where I was able to contemplate the many different roads the empirical material could take. The Summer School of the Finnish Graduate School in Art History (held at the University of Turku) in 2010 was another event that truly gave me new perspectives and support in my first year. In 2012, I had the fortune to be part of an inspiring environment as a visiting assistant in research at the Department of the History of Art, Yale University and with great guidance from Professor Tim Barringer. Dr. Rosie Ibbottson invited me to participate in the Nordic Cosmopolitan workshop in 2014 in Aarhus.

I would like to thank my parents, the Eriksson’s and my lovely dear friends (none mentioned, none forgotten). Another group of people who literally gave me strength to finish the dissertation were my participants and instructor colleagues at Campus 1477.

Finally, Jens Eriksson has been part of my life longer than this thesis. Thank you for never letting go. Our wonderful Isak came into this world in the last stages and made everything worth it. Jens and Isak, my darlings, I love you. I could not have wished for a more loving and supportive family, nor can I imagine any future project without them.

Index of Names

- Adelborg, Ottilia 53, 81
Agassiz, Louis 92
Aimard, Gustave 126
Alberti, M. M. J. Samuel 107
Ancarkrona, Henric, 198
Anderson, Benedict 29, 31,
86
Andreassen, Rikke 148, 166
Andrén, Victor 198
Ankersmit, Frank 11
Ashcroft, Bill 25, 77
- Bancel, Nicholas 23
Beecher Stowe, Harriet 208,
209
Bellman, Michael, Carl 183
Bennett Tony 39, 108, 110
Berman, Marshall 22
Berkhofer Jr, Robert 126
Bertillion, Alphonse 94
Bhabha, K. Homi 15
Billgren, Jan 55, 84, 85
Björk, Tomas 30, 143, 195
Blanch, Theodore 198
Bloom, E. Michelle 184
Blumenbach, Johann 91
Boberg, Ferdinand 122
Bogdan, Robert 149
Bonnier, Eva 196
Botha, Louis 187
Brady, Erika 89
Brasil Jack, Brazil Jack 133,
137, 140, 141
Bridges, Roy 83
- Buffalo Bill 119, 120, 122,
123, 124, 126–128, 131–133,
135, 137, 139, 142
Buntline, Ned 126
Burma, J. H. 156
- Captain, Esther 225
Catlin, George 126–126
Chéret, Jules 127–128
Ciarlo, David 32, 34
Cody, Fredrick, William 119,
120, 123, 126, 128, 136–137,
139–142, 204
Columbus, Christopher 123
Comte, August 41
Cook, James 78
Cooper, Fenimore, James
126, 129
Crary, Jonathan
Cronqvist, Marie 20
Cunningham, A. Robert 150,
152–156, 159, 164–165, 172,
217
- Dammann, Carl 92
Darwin, Charles 91
David, Thomas 23
Delacroix, Eugéne 191
Dirk, B. Nicholas 26
Düben von, Gustaf, 90
Düben von, Lotten 106, 90
- Edwards, Elizabeth 93, 101,
107
- Ehrenborg, Harald 55, 57
Ekholm, Birger, Oscar 53–54,
74, 79, 81, 86–87, 91, 94–
96, 99, 101, 105–107, 117,
149
Ellis, S. Edward 126
- Falk, Francesca 219, 222
Felski, Rita 39
Ferry, Gabriel 126
Ford, Sam 17
Forster, Georg 91
Foucault, Michel 12, 15
Fur, Gunlög 61, 126, 142,
212
Fuhrmann, August 181
Fürstenberg, Pontus 88, 110
- Gérôme, Léon-Jean 191
Gleerup, Edvard, 194
Gobineau, Arthur, Joseph 23,
178
Goethe von, Wolfgang Jo-
hann 124
Gooday, N. J., Graeme 108
Green, David 94
Green, Joshua 17
Griffiths, Gareth 25, 77
Gumaelius, Arvid 182
Gustaf III 183–184
Gustafsson, Erik Karl 67
- Hagenbeck, Carl 121, 163
Hall, Stuart 40, 203

INDEX OF NAMES

- Hannavy, John 106
 Hasselberg, Per 183
 Hazelius, Arthur 166
 Hedelin, Carl 111
 Henningsen, Folke, Anne 148
 Hodacs, Hanna 42
 Hodges, William 75
 Holmberg, Åke 66
 Holmström, Sven 180
 Hägg, Jaques, Jacob 72, 74, 79, 106
 Hällgren, Anna-Maria 145
 Höckert, Fredrik, Johan 183
- Jameson, Fredric 12
 Jarlbrink, Johan 35, 67, 69, 84
 Jenkins, Henry 17
 Jensen, Lars 25
 Jerichau-Baumann, Elisabeth 13, 196
 Johannesson, Lena 81, 128
 Johansson, Peter 212
 Jonsson, Stefan 45
 Jülich, Solveig 51
- Kant, Immanuel 91
 Kaplan, Ann E. 29
 Kasson, S. Joy
 Kershen, J. Anne
 Khemiri, Hassen, Jonas 226
 Kiellman-Göransson, Immanuel 61, 68
 King Leopold II 185
 Kjellberg, Agnes 183
 Kok, Martin 140
 Kronberg, Julius 13, 198
 Kyllingstad, Røyne, Jon 90
- Lagerberg, Otto 52, 68
 Larsson, Carl 30, 197
 Lefebvre, Henri 39
 Lewis, Fredrick, John 191
 Lewis, Reina 10, 195
 Linde, Makode 226
 Linnaeus, Carl 91
- Livingstone, M. Sonia 39
 Ljungh, Ernst 154
 Ljungström, Olof 107
 Loftsdóttir, Kristín 25
 Lowenthal, David 40-41
 Lumholtz, Carl 170-172, 218
 Lundell, Patrik 35, 69, 84
 Lundström, Catarina 61
 Lundström, Bernard, Pontus 182
 Lüthi, Barbara 219
 Löfgren, Orvar 72, 85
- MacKenzie, M. John 32, 45, 194
 Maddra, Sam 124
 Manneby, Hans 54
 Marryat, Fredrick 126
 Marqués, Maria, José 168
 May, Karl 126
 Maxwell, Anne 94
 McClintock, Anne 23, 32, 64, 79, 80, 95, 202
 Melander, Richard 53, 74, 81, 135
 Midgley, Clare 27
 Millborn, Ingrid 149-150
 Mitchell, W. J. T. 9, 36, 40, 45
 Mirzoeff, Nicholas 10, 34-35, 86, 226
 Moses, G. L. 123-124, 132, 135
 Mulvey, Laura 29
 Mulinari, Diana 28
 Möller, Peter 13, 27, 121, 182, 184, 205, 217
- Natt och Dag, Svante 53, 68, 74, 81-82
 Naum, Magdalena 26, 55, 85
 Nilsson, David 26
 Nochlin, Linda 191
 Nordenskiöld, Erik, Adolf 74
 Nordin, M. Jonas 85
 Nyblom, Andreas 84
 Nyström, Alfred 183
- Nyström, Jenny 30, 197, 200, 209
 Odelmark, Wilhelm, Frans 13, 196
 Osterhammel, Jürgen 222
 Otter, Chris 44
 Oxfeldt, Elisabeth 30, 42
- Palme, Olof 9-10
 Palmberg, Mai 90
 Poignant, Rosalyn 152
 Pratt, Louise Mary 51
 Prince Oscar 53, 55, 58, 60, 84-85, 102, 107, 114
 Przyblyski, M. Jeannene 44
 Purtschert, Patricia 222
 Pålsson, Yvonne 126
- Queen Victoria 119, 142
- Reid, Mayne 126
 Retzius, Anders 90
 Retzius, Gustaf 90
 Rice, Richard 159
 Ricoeur, Paul 11
 Rhodin, Max 27, 119-120, 140-142
 Roberts, Mary 191, 195
 Roseland, Harry 210, 213
 Roosevelt, Theodore 141
 Rosen von, Georg 74
 Rubensson, Mauritz 198
 Rydén, Per 67
- Said, W. Edward 15, 25, 29, 32, 194, 197
 Salchow, V. 182
 Salmi, Hannu 23
 Sandberg, B. Mark 21, 30-31, 42, 180, 182, 184, 197
 Schack, Sophus 173, 175
 Schaffer, Simon 63
 Schwartz, R. Vanessa 38, 44, 66, 69, 203
 Scott, W. Joan 79
 Sergel, Tobias 183

Shapin, Steven 63
Shohat, Ella 29
Slotkin, Richard 124
Snickars, Pelle 38, 163, 181
Spivak, Chakravorty, Gayatri
12, 213
Stam, Robert 29
Stanley, Morton Henry 10,
13, 88
Steen, Birgitta 124
Steorn, Patrik 24
Stolpe, Hjalmar 27, 52, 58,
91, 113, 117, 149, 176, 215–
216
Sultan of Zanzibar 185
Sundell, Richard 189–190
Texas Jack 119, 133, 140
Thesleff, Arthur 90
Thorén, Thor 182
Tiffin, Helen 25, 77
Tip, Tippu (Muhammad Bin
Hamid) 185, 187–188
Verlaine, Paul 44
Wagner, Ulla 108–109
Wavrinsky, Richard 182
Werner, Jeff 30, 167–168, 197
Wester, Arvid 185
Wet de, Christian 187
White, Charles 91
White, Hayden 11
Zantop, Susanne 16, 61, 220
Zorn, Anders 13, 30
Åhrén, Eva 180

“For a couple of days now, people from Stockholm have with horror and fright sought out the big posters, which are plastered on walls and fences, which in a peculiarly naturalistic way visualize how the shipwrecked crew is eaten alive by cannibals. In truth, they are a real horror to see. Yesterday afternoon a few of these wild beasts in human disguise were shown at the Alhambra Concert Hall.”

Stockholms Dagblad 1886

In the late nineteenth century, Swedish media cultures showed a remarkably high amount of representations of the colonial world. Wild West acts promised authentic American Indian performances and a great narrative of the West. The ethnological exhibitions displayed a presumed everyday life culture of Indigenous populations and the wax museums staged colonial events from Congo that the Swedish audience could relate to. The orientalized motifs were immensely popular in the art salons and private art market, and these themes, along with racial comic strips, travel accounts from far off places, race science and colonial advertisements, were frequent subjects in the illustrated press and ephemera. At the same time, the ambitious scientific Vanadis expedition set out to collect ethnographical material to establish an ethnographical museum and to photograph Indigenous populations for the purpose of creating a racial archive.

Colonizing Fever: Race and Media Cultures in Late Nineteenth-Century Sweden explores how visual representations of the colonial world were established, circulated and given meaning. Yet Sweden has been perceived as localized outside overseas colonial politics. This study shows that there were other ways for the Swedish audience to engage and be part of colonial cultures and the European colonial project in the last decades of the nineteenth century.

Åsa Bharathi Larsson is a researcher and a lecturer at the Department of Art History, Uppsala University. *Colonizing Fever* is her doctoral dissertation.



MEDIEHISTORISKT ARKIV NR 32
LUND UNIVERSITY

ISBN 978-91-981961-6-0