



Final report:
**Investigation into the provenance
of eight human skulls from Hawai'i**

Recipient:
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Disclaimer: Please be advised that this report contains details on how Hawaiian ancestors were stolen. As final report of the project "Investigation into the provenance of eight human skulls from Hawai'i", the document contains descriptions of the ancestral remains and the circumstances in which they were taken. Furthermore, on several occasions, archival material containing racist terms is cited.

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1. Project schedule & work steps

The project titled “Investigation into the provenance of eight human skulls from Hawai’i”, which was funded by the German Lost Art Foundation, commenced on 1 December 2020. Its objective was to understand the origin and appropriation contexts of the ancestral remains (in Hawaiian *iwi kūpuna*) which are currently located in the natural history collection of the Übersee-Museum Bremen and close any existing gaps in their provenance. A further task was to examine whether any indications as to the identity of the deceased exist, and whether there is any evidence that their families had agreed to the removal of the skulls from their burial sites. The project was initially planned to take three months, but it was extended to 31 August 2021 because of the Covid-19 pandemic and the associated travel and contact restrictions.

As part of the project, I was commissioned with carrying out historical provenance research into the eight skulls on a freelance basis. In line with the fee recommendations of the Bundesverband freiberuflicher Kulturwissenschaftler (German federal association of freelance cultural science researchers), 125 hours were allocated for the project.

An initial examination of the collection documentation and the archive material in the Übersee-Museum as well as a cursory inspection of the skulls to compare inventory numbers, inscriptions and labels was carried out between 7 and 11 December 2020 (approx. 40 hours of work). A second visit to the Übersee-Museum planned for January 2021 combined with the visit to the Bremen State Archives was cancelled because of the pandemic. Initial results were summarised in an internal interim report in mid-February. Despite several requests to the State Archives, it was only possible to inspect the holdings which were key to the investigation between 8 and 10 March 2021. The situation caused by the coronavirus and the associated contact restrictions meant that the Bremen State Archives and reading room were not open for use until that date. A follow-up visit was undertaken on 18 and 19 August 2021 (40 hours of work altogether). The remaining hours were used for the evaluation of the material inspected and the compilation of the interim and final reports. It was not possible to make a final visit to the Übersee-Museum within the planned project framework.

2. Sources & records available

The provenance research carried out for the Übersee-Museum Bremen focused on the questions as to where and when the skulls were appropriated in Hawai’i, and the circumstances under which they came into the collection of what is now the Übersee-Museum in Bremen. According to the collection documentation of the present-day Übersee-Museum, the *iwi kūpuna* were given to the museum or its forerunner institutions between 1865 and 1934. An initial overview of their origin was compiled by Henrike Schmidt in 2019, who was doing an internship at the Übersee-Museum at that time.

The research was based on the collection documentation of the Übersee-Museum, on source material available in the museum’s archives and the Bremen State Archives, and publications of the museum and its staff. In the Übersee-Museum, the examination focused primarily on inventory books, acquisitions catalogues and object databases as

well as correspondence and various lists of objects stored in the museum's archives. In the Bremen State Archives, the holdings relating to the Naturwissenschaftlicher Verein (Natural History Society) and the Anthropologische Kommission (Anthropology Committee) as well as documents relating to the political and economic relationships between Bremen and the Kingdom of Hawai'i in the 19th century were inspected. Documents relating to emigration to Hawai'i were also taken into account and lists of passengers¹ of the emigrant ships destined for Honolulu were examined. Moreover, research was undertaken into the people named as "collectors" or previous owners in the collection documentation in the personal data records (registers of births, marriages & deaths and the residents' registration index) held in the Bremen State Archives. These were Hermann von Eelking, Kurd-Felix Franke, Eduard Fürstenau and Simon Albrecht Poppe in particular. In addition, online portals for genealogical research such as www.ancestry.com, www.compgen.de and www.geni.com were consulted for further research into individuals.

The investigation concentrated in particular on the holdings in the Übersee-Museum and the Bremen State Archives relating to Hugo Schauinsland (1857–1937), who left the museum at least two of the eight iwi kūpuna now in the collection. From 1887 to 1933, Schauinsland was Director of the *Städtische Museum für Natur-, Völker- und Handelskunde* (City Museum of Natural History, Ethnology and Trading History) in Bremen, which was known as the *Städtische Sammlungen für Naturgeschichte und Ethnographie* (City Collections of Natural History and Ethnography) until 1896. He also visited Hawai'i during an expedition in 1896 and 1897. Thus, particular attention was given to the correspondence relating to this voyage, which is still available in the museum, the travel diaries preserved in his estate as well as publications about his voyage.

An overview of the archive holdings inspected is included in the Appendix to this report.

3. Historical contextualisation

Provenance research on cultural items and collections which found their way into museums and collections in the context of European expansion and global appropriation is not restricted to determining ownership sequences and examining legal aspects of the current ownership situation. The objective is a thick contextualisation of the holdings which records their involvement in social and political processes in the past and present, and which takes account of the different (post-) colonial experiences of the communities involved (Grimme 2018: 8)². A similar statement can be found in the "Guidelines on Dealing with Collections from Colonial Contexts"³ produced by the Deutscher Museumsbund e. V.:

"To understand the relations of possession and ownership concerning an object, it is often necessary to understand the circumstances under which the item was sold, acquired, or appropriated, and not merely to know the chain of owners and possessors." (Fine and Thode-Arora 2021: 15)

1 The Bremen passenger lists can be viewed online at: <http://www.passagierlisten.de> (last retrieved 25 Aug. 2021). The database only contains lists from the years 1920 to 1939. Earlier passenger lists are not preserved (Wesling 2002: 497–498).

2 An example for an attempt at a thick contextualisation is the Tanzania–Germany project: Shared Object Histories at the Ethnologische Museum Berlin (Museum of Ethnology, Berlin); c.f. Reyels et al. 2019.

3 <https://www.museumsbund.de/wp-content/uploads/2021/03/mb-leitfanden-web-210228-02.pdf> (last retrieved 23 Aug. 2021).

Hence, before presenting the results of the investigation into the provenance of the eight iwi kūpuna which are currently housed in the collection of the Übersee-Museum, the historical contexts and social developments which brought them to Bremen will be described.

First, a brief overview of the history of the Kingdom of Hawai'i in the 19th century is provided. This is followed by a portrayal of the relationships between the kingdom and the Hanseatic City of Bremen, and how the actors involved were connected to the forerunner institutions of the present-day Übersee-Museum. The focus of the investigation makes it appropriate to then describe the forms of burial which were usual in Hawai'i in the 19th century, cases of grave robbery by 'researchers' and the countermeasures taken by Native Hawaiians. To conclude, the significance of repatriating iwi kūpuna and moepū (burial items) for today's Native Hawaiian community is examined with the aid of publications by our collaborative partner Edward Halealoha Ayau.

3.1. The Kingdom of Hawai'i in the 19th century

As was the case in other regions of the world, the 19th century, in the second half of which the majority of the iwi kūpuna currently in the Übersee-Museum found their way into the collection, also brought far-reaching social changes to the Hawaiian Islands. The 1780s saw the beginning of the ascent of the nobleman Kamehameha, who had been of minor political importance until then. He successively achieved supremacy over the islands of the archipelago and converted its ruling system, which until then had been dominated by a number of high-ranking noble families, into a monarchy and reigned as Kamehameha I. After his death in 1819, even before the arrival of Christian missionaries, the monarchy began to break with the existing religious traditions which governed the social and political coexistence of the Hawaiian people. Promoted by high-ranking members of the Hawaiian nobility, Christianity spread across the islands during the next few decades. Taking on Christian values and rules led not only to a change in cultural practices but also to a change in the understanding of law and politics at this time. In 1839, Kamehameha III signed into law a comprehensive body of legislation, and in the following year a constitution which converted the kingdom into a constitutional monarchy. A particularly far-reaching intrusion into the bases of social coexistence in Hawai'i turned out to be the reorganisation of land ownership carried out between 1848 and 1855. During this process known as *māhele*, land was converted into freely negotiable private property (Menter 2017; *ibid.* 2013: 25–35).

Since the arrival of the first Europeans under Captain Cook in 1778, the kingdom had also become integrated into the evolving global trading system. The islands became an important re-provisioning post for the ships travelling between North America and China, and the sugar industry in particular attained economic significance. Sugar cane plantations were often operated by Euro-American immigrants. This section of the population, also called *haole*, gained more and more influence, due not least to the change in the land law, and from the middle of the 19th century pushed for closer economic and political ties with the USA (*ibid.* 2017: 11–12; *ibid.* 2013: 36).

With the support of influential *haole* representatives, David Kalākaua was elected as the new king in 1874. He prevailed over Emma Kalanikaumaka'āmano Kaleleonālani Na'ea Rooke, known as Queen Emma, the widow of Kamehameha IV, who contested

the election. The fact that his adversary had closer genealogical links to the Kamehameha family and was thus of higher rank weakened his claim to the throne in the long term, however. It was not solely Kalākaua's link to the *haole* which promoted the emergence of an influential Hawaiian opposition to his government, but also the fact he was of lower rank, which was seen as a flaw (ibid. 36–38).

In 1875, a long-discussed free trade agreement with the USA was signed, which gave Hawai'i an economic boost, but at the same time significantly increased the military and economic influence of the USA on the islands (ibid. 37). When the agreement was extended in 1887, the right of utilisation for the area which is now Pearl Harbour was finally granted to the US (ibid. 40).

Kalākaua reigned from 1874 to 1891 and during this time he championed the promotion of the interests of Native Hawaiians particularly in respect of cultural policy and the strengthening of their social position (Kamehiro 2009). This included the revival of cultural practices, for example the *hula* dance, which had disappeared from public life under the influence of Christian missionaries, and the establishment of a scholarship programme intended to enable young adults to study abroad. Moreover, numerous institutions and societies were founded and supported under his patronage, their tasks including the preservation of cultural traditions and research into the history of the kingdom (Menter 2013: 38; Maxwell 2014: 107). At the same time, Kalākaua used a comprehensive visual strategy incorporating many Hawaiian elements to stage his rule. The aim thereby was to strengthen his claim to the throne within Hawaii itself and convey the image of a stable monarchy and a sovereign nation state to the outside world (Kamehiro 2009; Maxwell 1999). However, the costs involved, for example the expenditure for the construction of the 'Iolani Palace and his coronation and birthday festivities, led to accusations from the Hawaiian opposition as well as from the *haole* that he was wasteful and corrupt. Overall, the government's emphasis on Hawaiian culture meant increasing alienation from its *haole* supporters (Menter 2013: 38–39; Kamehiro 2009: 128).

Under the threat of violence, Kalākaua was forced by the *Hawaiian League*, a newly established *haole* party with the support of the *Honolulu Rifles* volunteer regiment, to sign a new constitution in 1887. This not only significantly diminished the power of the king, but also excluded large sections of the Native Hawaiian population from elections by introducing requirements to own considerable property (ibid. 39).

David Kalākaua died in 1891. He was succeeded by his sister Lili'uokalani. Her efforts to restore the power of the monarchy and to strengthen the legal position of Native Hawaiians met with considerable resistance from the influential Euro-American immigrants, who now increasingly pushed for annexation by the USA. When the queen wanted to announce an amended constitution in 1893, the *haole* seized power and their representatives installed a provisional government and facilitated the landing of US troops in Honolulu with the agreement of the American envoy. To avert bloodshed, Lili'uokalani waived the right to exercise her political power without renouncing her claim to power. Despite being recognised internationally as a sovereign state, Hawai'i was annexed by the USA in 1898 and incorporated as the 50th federal state in 1959 (ibid. 40–43; Kamehiro 2009: 129).

The loss of national sovereignty was in no way simply accepted by the Native Hawaiian population. Newly founded political parties and representatives of the deposed government and the monarchy attempted to persuade the US government to champion the reinstatement of the lawful government of Hawai'i and refrain from annexation. A great many Hawaiians attended protest events against the efforts being made by the provisional government to annex the archipelago and attempted to exert influence by signing a petition directed at the US Congress. To this day, key actors in the Native Hawaiian community consider Hawai'i to be a sovereign nation according to international law which has been occupied by the USA since the overthrow of Queen Lili'uokalani (Menter 2013: 56–59). The revitalisation of Hawaiian handicrafts, arts and cultural practices which began roughly in the 1970s finally promoted greater debate about political autonomy for Hawai'i. Since the 1990s at the latest, one of the most influential actors in these debates is the Office of Hawaiian Affairs (OHA). The organisation is funded by the State of Hawai'i but at the same time is afforded a high degree of autonomy and serves to represent the interests of the Hawaiian people (Menter 2013: 125). The objective of the organisation is "the betterment of conditions of all Hawaiians and to provide Hawaiians the opportunity for a better life and future." (OHA cited as per *ibid.*: 127). Since 2015, the OHA has also been the official point of contact for the repatriation of iwi kūpuna and moepū (Ayau 2021: 137).

3.2. Relations between Hawai'i and Bremen

The Kingdom of Hawai'i continuously expanded its diplomatic and economic relations with other states during the course of the 19th century. It was recognised as a sovereign state by Great Britain and France in 1843. Hawai'i was the only 'non-western' state to achieve parity with the 'western' countries by signing international agreements. The agreements safeguarded the independence of the archipelago, and in the second half of the 19th century they initially provided a counterbalance to the growing economic and military influence of the USA. The kingdom thus established itself as a firm part of the international community of states at that time (Gonschor 2019: 27f, 35–37). In the middle of the 19th century, Hawai'i also entered into diplomatic relations with German city states, dukedoms and kingdoms. In 1853, the merchant Johann Heinrich Gossler, who was resident in Hamburg, was appointed Consul General for the Kingdom of Prussia. The same period also saw the signing of agreements with the Hanseatic cities of Hamburg (1848) and Bremen (1854) (Fritz 2017: 34–35). A copy of the printed version of the "Treaty of Friendship, Commerce and Navigation between the Free Hanseatic City of Bremen and the Kingdom of the Hawaii Islands" ratified on 27 March 1854 can be found in the Bremen State Archives.⁴

In the 19th century, particularly close trade relations developed between Bremen and Hawai'i. In the middle of the 1840s, whaling ships from Bremen regularly called at Honolulu. Within only a few decades, the archipelago became the key re-provisioning post for the merchant and whaling ships operating in the Pacific region. The first companies founded by merchants from Bremen were established only a few years later (Wätjen 1944; Prüser 1941).

These included Melchers & Reiners (1853)⁵, Hoffschlaeger & Co.⁶ and Hackfeld & Co. (1848)⁷. The merchants frequently took on political and diplomatic roles right from the start: From around 1855, Gustav Melchers of Melchers & Reiners was Consul and represented Bremen's interests in Hawai'i. In 1860, his business partner Gustav Reiners took over the office. The managing directors of Hackfeld & Co. likewise later held this office for a time (Wätjen 1944: 263–266).

Hackfeld & Co. was founded in 1848 by Heinrich (Hinrich) Hackfeld (1816–1887), a captain in the Bremen merchant fleet, and his brother-in-law Johann Carl Pflüger (1833–1883).⁸ They initially traded as suppliers for the whaling industry, later increasingly in the import/export of commercial goods, and finally as operators of sugar cane plantations, too. They moreover operated as shipping agents as well and maintained a fleet of cargo vessels which plied between Honolulu and Bremen (Hawkins 2017). The first ships included the *R. W. Wood*, *W. C. Talbot*, *A. J. Pope* and *R. C. Wyllie*; the later, larger ships included the *J. C. Pfluger*, *Marie Hackfeld*, *H. Hackfeld* and *Paul Isenberg* (n/a 1901: 48). During the course of the 19th century, the company grew to become one of the largest companies in Hawai'i. It operated subsidiaries and plantations on Kaua'i, Maui, O'ahu and Hawai'i Island, and a branch office in Bremen for a time (Hawkins 2017; n/a 1901). As of 1890, Hackfeld & Co. began producing fertiliser as well: The company was involved in Guano mining on Kauō (Laysan) and opened a fertiliser plant in 1895 in Kalihi near Honolulu (today part of Honolulu) (Prüser 1941: 77–78).

The company founders, Heinrich Hackfeld and Johann Carl Pflüger, commuted regularly between Bremen and Honolulu. In 1871, Hackfeld handed over the business operations to Pflüger in Hawai'i and returned to Bremen on a permanent basis. Ever since the company was founded, numerous members of the Hackfeld and Pflüger families had been involved in its operation. Links with the Bremen merchant families of Ehlers and Glade existed very early on, for example. When Paul Isenberg joined the company in 1881, the company's network branched out further. In 1868, Isenberg, who had initially worked for Hoffschlaeger & Co. on Kaua'i and was later successful in establishing the sugar industry there, married Beta Glade. Through his first wife, Hannah Maria Rice, who died as early as 1867, he was additionally closely related with the Rice family, who resided on Kaua'i (Hawkins 2017; Wätjen 1944; Prüser 1941). The company founders and the next managing director, Isenberg, maintained close relations with the Hawaiian monarchy as well, often serving in an advisory capacity (Hawkins 2017; Prüser 1941: 79). Johann F. Hackfeld (1856–1932), a nephew of Heinrich Hackfeld, who had worked in the company since 1877, on the other hand, supported the Reform Party which brought about the overthrow of Queen Lili'uokalani in 1893, and was in favour of the annexation of the islands by the USA (Hawkins 2017). After Isenberg's death in 1903 he took over the management of the company and performed this role until the company was confiscated and broken up by the Alien Property Custodian at the end of the First World War in 1918. He was living in Germany at that time and never returned to Honolulu (ibid.).

5 An overview of the development of Melchers & Reiners can be found online at <http://imagesofoldhawaii.com/honolulu-general-store/> (last retrieved 29 Aug. 2021).

6 No clear date for the founding of Hoffschlaeger & Co or its predecessor Stapenhorst & Hoffschlaeger can be found in the literature. Hoffschlaeger & Co was active in Hawai'i from 1858 at the latest (Wätjen 1944: 293).

7 A detailed overview of Hackfeld & Co. is provided by Hawkins 2017; online at <https://www.immigrantentrepreneurship.org/entries/hackfeld-heinrich/#edn7> (last retrieved 29 Aug. 2021).

8 Re. Hackfeld cf. Prüser 1966; re. Pflüger cf. Leuthold 2001.

With the declining importance of whaling in the region, the cultivation of *cash crops* such as coffee, rice and sugar cane became increasingly important for the company in the 1870s. Attempts were also made to cultivate cotton for a short while (Wätjen 1944: 294–295). For Hackfeld & Co., the operation of sugar cane plantations in particular became important (ibid. 293–294; Hawkins 2017). The decreasing number of Native Hawaiians as a result of diseases which had been introduced to the islands, and the increasing demand for labour, were reasons for the Hawaiian government to encourage immigration to Hawai‘i. The first groups of immigrants comprised mainly Portuguese, Chinese and various groups of Pacific islanders, but between 1880 and 1881 workers were also hired in Norway and Sweden (Kuykendall 1967: 116–141). In 1880, Hackfeld & Co. also obtained permission from the *Hawaiian Board of Immigration* to hire workers from overseas. The company concentrated its efforts on Northern Germany. From 1881 on, they were managed from Bremen by Paul Isenberg. Between 1881 and 1883, approx. 1 100 men, women and children arrived in Hawai‘i aboard the ships *Ceder*, *Iolani* and *Ehrenfels* having been recruited by Hackfeld & Co. Most of the settlers were assigned to the plantations on Kaua‘i, mainly around Lihu‘e, with the majority working in the fields. The company and Isenberg endeavoured to adapt the living conditions to the needs of the new arrivals. A German school was set up, for example, and an Evangelical Lutheran church was built (ibid. 134–135). From 1887, the pastorate was taken over by Isenberg’s brother Hans, who had married Mary Dorothea (Dora) Rice Isenberg (1862–1949), his brother’s daughter from his first marriage in 1883. He later also assumed the position of director for the plantations near Līhu‘e and Kōloa.⁹ In the years that followed, only smaller groups of German workers were hired. It was not until 1897 that a larger number of approx. 100 German workers again arrived in Hawai‘i. The total number of German immigrants in the 19th century is estimated to be approx. 1 300 people (Kuykendall 1967: 135).

3.3. The Übersee-Museum Bremen and its connections to Hawai‘i

Members of the Hackfeld, Isenberg and Pflüger families, which had business operations in Hawai‘i, also actively participated in the Naturwissenschaftlicher Verein zu Bremen, which was founded in 1864 and was one of the forerunner institutions of the present-day Übersee-Museum. For Heinrich Hackfeld, life-long membership of the Society is documented from 1873. In that year, J. C. Pflüger is recorded as a member for the first time as well (Naturwissenschaftlicher Verein Bremen 1873: 15–16). Paul Isenberg is also recorded as a life-long member from 1888 (ibid. 1889: 8). Although it was not possible to find any indication that Johann Hackfeld was a member, he also supported the development of the Bremen collection with donations. In 1900, he donated an ethnographic collection created by the Meyer family from Moloka‘i (Schauinsland 1900: 519).¹⁰ In fact, according to the collection documentation, a large portion of the approx. 286 objects which are associated with Hawai‘i in the present-day Ethnographic Collection at the museum were given to the museum by Isenberg and Hackfeld.¹¹ In addition, family

9 The estate of the Isenberg family is today in the custody of Kaua‘i Historical Society. The finding aid contains a brief summary of the family history incl. biographical details. Online at http://www.kauaihistoricalsociety.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/12/ms_57_isenberg_collection.pdf (last retrieved 28 Aug. 2021).

10 Cf. also ÜM Bremen, Chapter 1,6 / 198: A-K, 1896–1887, mainly Pacific voyage Schauinsland, correspondence with Johann Hackfeld, letter of 25 May 1898.

11 Excerpt from TMS database on objects from Hawai‘i dated 8 December 2020, provided by Dr. Stephanie Walda-Mandel, Head of Oceania Section in the Übersee-Museum Bremen.

members sent natural history collections to the museum as well. In June 1898, Dora Isenberg Meyer sent the museum a collection of lizards¹², and in 1886, Marie Hackfeld, wife of Heinrich Hackfeld, sent a collection of ferns to the museum (Naturwis.Verein Bremen 1886: 28).

The *Naturwissenschaftlicher Verein zu Bremen* and the closely associated *Anthropologische Commission* (founded in 1872) together championed the establishment of an ethnographic museum. Since its foundation, the Society cared for and supplemented the collection of the natural history gallery of the *Gesellschaft Museum (Museum Association)*, whose beginnings date back to the 18th century. Natural history and prehistoric objects as well as items from the fields of ethnography and anthropology were collected.¹³ The development and expansion of the collections did not follow any discernible systematic approaches. Through donations and occasional purchases, their expansion was more a matter of chance. Larger, cohesive collections were added only occasionally. Only the ornithological collection was expanded systematically and professionally cared for by the ornithologist Otto Finsch (1839–1917)¹⁴, who had been appointed curator for the collections in 1864 (Abel 1970: 22–23).

The holdings were officially taken over by the city of Bremen in 1876. As of 1877, the *Naturwissenschaftliche Sammlungen* (Natural History Collections) were the first to be made accessible to the public in the new extension to Bremen Cathedral. In the following year, the exhibition was extended with objects from the collection of the *Anthropologische Commission* and reopened in 1879 as the “*Städtische Sammlungen für Naturgeschichte und Ethnographie*”. The zoologist Hugo Schauinsland was appointed Director of the collections in 1887, and had a decisive influence on the development of the collections and the later museum until his dismissal in 1933 (ibid. 53–54). He played a crucial role in the planning and realisation of the Trade and Colonial Exhibition, which was shown as part of the 1890 Northwest German Craft and Industry Exhibition in Bremen’s Bürgerpark. The exhibition provided an opportunity for Bremen’s merchants to present their overseas trading operations by exhibiting samples and processing methods. At the same time, the aim was also to provide insights into the “regional geography and ethnological characteristics” of those regions from which the goods were imported (ibid. 57–64). Hackfeld & Co. and its Bremen subsidiary, J. C. Pflüger & Co., contributed 115 ethnographic objects from Hawai’i to this part of the exhibition (ibid. 62).

The great success of the Trade Exhibition, which stayed open even after the Craft and Industry Exhibition had closed on 15 October 1890, led to the decision to incorporate the holdings relating to trading history which had been exhibited into the *Städtische Sammlungen für Naturgeschichte und Ethnographie*. After the Bürgerschaft (Bremen parliament) had given its approval, construction of the new museum building started in the spring of 1892. Only a few years later in 1896, the *Städtisches Museum für Natur-, Völker- und Handelskunde* was opened. The collections in the new museum were presented according to the concept of the Trade Exhibition. Natural history and ethnography were combined with displays of Bremen’s overseas trade in ensembles and dioramas (ibid. 65–74). An anthropological exhibition was also set up at this time. On view in the

12 ÜM Bremen, Chapter 1,6 / 198: A-K, 1896–1887, mainly Pacific voyage Schauinsland, correspondence with Dora Isenberg, letter of 7 June 1898.

13 A detailed account of the early history of the museum is provided by Abel 1970.

14 Finsch also was an ethnographer and undertook expeditions. He played an important role in the preparations for the occupation of “German-New Guinea”; cf. Abel 1961.

exhibition, which was revised several times, was a “collection of skulls of the human races in all parts of the world”, among other things (ibid. 150; Fründt 2011: 73). In the middle of the 1930s, it was again supplemented by the section “Stammesgeschichte und Rassenkunde der Menschheit” (Tribal history and racial studies of the human race) (Fründt 2011: 73–75). It was not until the museum was established that a systematic expansion of the collections began, supported not least by the director’s research and collecting trips. At the same time, the operation of the museum was put on a more professional footing for the first time. The number of staff was increased, and a uniform system of recording objects was established (Abel 1970: 75–91; Fründt 2011: 54).

Schauinsland remained in office until 1933. Under his successor, Carl Friedrich Roewer (1881–1963), the museum was renamed the “Deutsches Kolonial- und Übersee-Museum (German Colonial and Overseas Museum)” (Abel 1970: 171–172). The Übersee-Museum has borne its current name since 1952. It first repatriated ancestral remains to the Pacific region in 2006 and 2017: In 2006, two individuals and, in 2017, 44 individuals were repatriated to Aotearoa New Zealand (Winkelmann 2020: 41).

3.4. Burial forms, grave robbery and countermeasures

In the 1880s, the newly established field of Völkerkunde (ethnology), considered Hawai’i to be confirmation of its *Salvage Anthropology*¹⁵ paradigm: Owing to the rapid social transformation which the kingdom underwent, including the renunciation of the old religion as of 1819 and the associated destruction of temple buildings and religious artifacts, the islands and their culture were deemed to be “lost for ethnography” according to the physician Eduard Arning (1855–1936)¹⁶, who spent time in Hawai’i in the 1880s (Arning 1887: 130). Those items which European ethnology viewed as testimony of “old Hawaiian” culture increasingly disappeared from public life in the course of the 19th century. It became difficult for outsiders – travellers and researchers – in particular to acquire these items (ibid.). These ‘collectors’ directed their interest not only at items classified as ‘ethnographic’, but also at human remains. Physical anthropology, which was closely connected to the ethnology of that time through its actors and its subject, considered skulls, bones and complete skeletons to be key objects of its investigations: Their measurement was intended to determine “racial types” and to enable conclusions about human behavior and character traits (Laukötter 2007: 38–42).

Explorers such as Otto Finsch, Augustin Krämer (1865–1941)¹⁷ and Richard Neuhauss (1855–1915)¹⁸, and also physicians working in Hawai’i such as Arning, pilfered human remains of Hawaiian ancestors from burial caves or removed them from shallow sand

15 Associated with the idea that societies would lose their cultural distinctiveness under the influence of European expansion, and that those described as ‘primitive people’ in particular would gradually disappear, the accumulation of the material culture of these communities became the key objective of ethnographic museums. On the significance of the *Salvage Paradigm* for the development of ethnographic museum holdings in the German Reich, cf. Penny 2002 and Zimmerman 2001.

16 The physician, a specialist in dermatological diseases, investigated the causes and transmission paths of Hansen’s disease, then called leprosy, in Hawai’i between 1883 and 1886. Although Arning championed better care for those suffering from the disease, he at the same time considered the deliberate infection of a human to be a crucial opportunity to furnish evidence for his assumption that the disease is transmissible; cf. Bergmann 2005. For Arning’s research in Hawai’i in general, cf. Bushnell 1967.

17 Krämer was a navy physician, anthropologist and ethnologist; cf. in detail Mönter 2010.

18 In 1884, Neuhauss undertook an expedition to Australia, New Zealand and Hawai’i for the purpose of procuring anthropological ‘material’ (Schindlbeck 1999).

graves for German museums and collections. Interment in caves and in burial sites near the coast and beach was one of the most common form of burial on the islands (Kirch 1985: 237–242). At the beginning of the 20th century, Westervelt (1904: 145–146) attributed the widespread use of burial caves to the geology of the islands, whose volcanic origin had created large numbers of caves and tunnel systems. The caves selected for this purpose were usually well hidden, and their entrances were sealed with wood, stones and earth after the deceased had been interred (Arning 83–85). Archaeological examinations prove that this type of interment was also maintained initially after the islands were Christianised (Allen and Hunt 1976). Arning (1931: 85) reported in “Ethnographischen Notizen aus Hawaii 1883–86” for example that he had found a New Testament in a burial cave. Mats woven from Pandanus leaves were used as sheets and cushions for the deceased (Green and Beckwith 1926: 180–181). Skulls and long bones of the deceased were frequently wrapped in several layers of tapa and laid to rest in caves (McAllister 1933: 99). Members of the nobility were also occasionally interred in boats, for example in the caves near Niu on O’ahu (Westervelt 1904: 146). Arning’s descriptions (1931: 85) make it clear that in more recent burial caves coffins were used for the interment as well.

In “Ethnographische Notizen”, Arning (ibid.) reported that only members of the nobility were interred in caves, and that “the deceased of the common people were buried in coastal drift-sand or in loose volcanic sand”. Other authors, however, agree with the description that the caves were used by all of the population (Westervelt 1904; Green and Beckwith 1926; Allen and Hunt 1976). Differences did exist in the amount and type of burial items, the degree of secrecy, and in how the deceased were interred in the caves, however. For members of the nobility, they were often secondary interments, where only the bones of the deceased, usually wrapped in tapa, were placed in the caves. Other parts of the population interred their deceased entirely in the caves (Allen and Hunt 1976: 4). Although the caves of both sections of the population were concealed, those where high-ranking individuals were buried were subject to particular secrecy. (Green and Beckwith 1926: 182; Westervelt 1904 149–150).

Moreover, the deceased were also interred in sand-graves in a way similar to that described by Arning. Both Westervelt and McAllister report this kind of burial (Westervelt 1904 149; McAllister 1933: 33). The latter also confirms Arning’s statement that these were often shallow graves near the coast and beach (McAllister 1933: 33). Judd called these graves “burial sands” in her article on the history of Kōloa on Kaua’i (Judd 1936: 53). These are sometimes associated with the unification process under Kamehameha I, and moreover with the dramatic decrease in the Native Hawaiian population at the beginning of the 19th century as a result of diseases which were introduced to the islands.¹⁹

In their later publications, Arning and Krämer gave very accurate descriptions of how they obtained skulls and bones in Hawai’i. Arning (1931: 84–85) describes in detail the looting of several burial caves on O’ahu in his “Ethnographischen Notizen”. He had to break off his search of some of the caves because “natives” arrived (ibid.). Krämer describes the removal of deceased from graves located in the dunes of Maui (1906: 130) in his publication on his second Pacific voyage:

19 According to conservative estimates, approx 300,000 people lived on the islands in 1778. By 1802 this number had already halved, and the population decreased further to under 78,000 in the 1880s (Menter 2013: 75–78).

“Travelling along the dunes until we reached the region of Makena, opposite the small island of Molokini, we found the Japanese, and the graves were close to the house on the dunes of Kaluiahakoko. After a lengthy search, we succeeded in obtaining several more or less complete skeletons. [...]”

He goes on by describing how they were carried away:

“[...] Every skeleton was individually packed into a sack and the remains also wrapped together in paper. We thus arrived with our strange freight under cover of darkness at Hotel Schröder, where luckily nobody was around at that time. We carried the sacks with our own hands to the rear part of the building and stored them underneath the veranda.” (ibid.)

Krämer received the information about the location of the graves from his coachman: “Although the man initially had some concerns, he became much more accommodating when the word dollar was mentioned. He explained that he had heard of a very isolated place on the southern beach in the dunes where the wind frequently exposed bones” (ibid. 129). The two reports clearly show that both Krämer (1906: 124, 128–131) and Arning (1931: 84–85) were aware that they were violating religious and cultural values with what they were doing. The Hawaiian people considered the opening of graves and burial caves of their deceased ancestors and the removal of their remains to be a serious violation, which had been made a punishable offence back in 1860. To protect burial sites, King Kamehameha IV had decreed that

“ [...] any person, not having any legal right to do so, shall willfully dig up, disinter, remove or convey away any human body from any burial place, or shall knowingly aid in such disinterment, removal or conveying away, every such offender and every person accessory thereto, either before or after the fact, shall be punished by imprisonment at hard labor for not more than two years, or by a fine not exceeding one thousand dollars.” (n/a 1869: 162)

After the overthrow of the monarchy in 1893 and the annexation by the USA in 1898, this law not only continued to apply, but was expanded in 1909 (Ayau 2021: 140). Green and Beckwith also reported from this time (1926: 183) that the Native Hawaiians continued to fight the theft of their ancestors: “A famous anthropologist who visited the islands in 1914 was unable to obtain bones for a museum collection in his own country so reluctant were the Hawaiians of such sacrilege [...].”

3.5. The significance of repatriations of iwi kūpuna

Back in 2002, Edward Halealoha Ayau, our research partner from Hawai‘i, and Ty Ka‘wika Tengan described in their article “Ka Huaka‘i O Na‘Oiwi. The Journey Home.” the enormous emotional, and also political and cultural significance accorded to the repatriation of stolen ancestors and burial items in the Hawaiian context (see also Ayau 2021). They make it clear that iwi kūpuna und moepū are not to be seen simply as ‘museum objects.’ They state that their repatriation and reburial provide a central opportunity for the Hawaiian people to engage with their own values and practices, and make an important contribution to their continuance and the actualization (Ayau and Tengan 2002). These processes also express the striving for self-determined societal development in the context of continuing foreign domination by the USA (ibid. 2002: 178–179).

From the end of the 1980s, the Hawaiian organisation *Hui Mālama I Nā Kūpuna O Hawai‘i Nei* in particular has championed the repatriation of iwi kūpuna and moepū to Hawai‘i. The organisation undertook 114 national and international repatriations between 1990 and 2015, and during this time also acted as one of the official contact points for return demands and repatriations under the 1990 Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) (Ayau 2021: 134). On the international level, NAGPRA is deemed to be the first law which not only recognises the right of Indigenous communities to have the mortal remains of their forebears returned to them, but also imposes a binding obligation to do so. All museums, universities and other institutions with federal funding in the US are bound by it (ibid. 2020: 64; Fründt 2011: 32–33). In Germany, how to deal with demands for the return of human remains and their repatriation has not yet been legally regulated. In the past ten years, interest in these issues has increased significantly, however. First guidelines were compiled in 2013 as the “Recommendations for the Care of Human Remains in Museums and Collections from the German Museums Association”. A critically revised and extended version was published in 2021.²⁰ In addition to the increasing engagement with this topic, the willingness to undertake repatriations has grown continuously, and their number rose sharply in the 2010s (Winkelmann 2020: 41).

In his contribution to the new edition of the Guidelines on the Care of Human Remains, Ayau (2021: 138) points out that the way many museums currently deal with demands for the return of ancestral remains is often painful for the descendants, because they are repeatedly required to justify their claim to have their dead returned and to prove the significance of their return. For the Hawaiian context, he makes reference to the 1860 law for the protection of burial sites enacted by King Kamehameha IV to point out that all grave openings and disinterments which took place after this date have to be deemed to be illegal (ibid. 140). Also, due to the great importance of an undisturbed resting place for the dead, it must be assumed that without the consent of relatives, the removal was unlawful: “The museum must provide unequivocal evidence that a Hawaiian family had agreed to the removal of historical human remains from their burial site and that official permission from the Hawaiian government for the export from the jurisdiction of the Hawaiian Islands exists.” (ibid.)

4. Investigation into eight human skulls from Hawai‘i

The investigation centred on eight iwi kūpuna which are presently in the natural history collection of the Übersee-Museum Bremen. Seven of them are listed in the current mammal catalogue under the numbers 4541, 4542, 4557, 4559, 4561, 4597 and 4598. No entry in the mammal catalogue can be found for the eighth skull, whose provenance is to be examined. It bears only the older inventory number 479. The investigation concentrated primarily on the historical source material available. A more detailed (anthropological) examination of the skulls was not undertaken.²¹

²⁰ Online at <https://www.museumsbund.de/wp-content/uploads/2021/06/dmb-leitfaden-umgang-menschl-ueberr-de-web-20210623.pdf> (last retrieved 30 Aug. 2021).

²¹ Descriptions of the skulls were largely taken from the database set up by Sarah Fründt. As part of her examination of the collection of human remains in the Übersee-Museum Bremen, Fründt also undertook initial anthropological evaluations, whose results are stored in the database (Fründt 2011: 57).

The investigation took the collection documentation in the museum itself as its starting point. The documentation on human remains in the Übersee-Museum had already been evaluated between 2009 and 2010 by Sarah Fründt as part of the work for her Master thesis “Die Menschen-Sammler: Über den Umgang mit menschlichen Überresten im Übersee-Museum Bremen”, and recorded in an Access database. The materials processed by Fründt include the following directories and catalogues:

- Donations to the museum
- General acquisitions catalogue, Volume 0 and Volumes 1–3
- Poppe’s card index/catalogue of the ethnographic, prehistoric and anthropological collection I-IV
- Systematic catalogue ethnography
- Ethnographic acquisitions catalogue, Volumes 1–3
- Indices of the Ethnology Collection (from 1936 onwards)
- Inventory books “Subject directories of the ethnological collection”
- Homo sapiens directories of natural history (several versions)
- Complete catalogue “Embryology, models, specimens - vertebrates”
- Partial directory human skulls after the “reorganisation of the human skull collection” (1952)
- Mammalia or mammal catalogue.

As part of the preparations for the project, Henrike Schmidt re-examined “Poppe’s card index”²² and the “Donations to the museum” catalogue²³ in respect of the iwi kūpuna.

The first step of the investigation was to use Fründt’s publication and database and the preliminary work undertaken by Schmidt to retrace the current knowledge on when and by whom the skulls were given to the museum. At the same time, a check was made as to whether more detailed information on their origin, such as place names, existed. To this end, the entries in the Access database of the museum’s natural history collection and those in Fründt’s database were compared with various inventories, including the “Donations to the museum” catalogue, the acquisitions catalogue from 1900, the “Mammalia catalogue” and the “Homo sapiens catalogue” as well as further loose-leaf inventory lists.²⁴ For the further research on the eight iwi kūpuna kept in the museum collection, the following starting points emerged:

MKN-RKN	Old number	Origin acc. to inscription or label	“Collector” acc. to Museum documentation	Date
4541	19 / 176	Kauai	N/A	N/A
4542	30	Kauai	N/A	N/A
4557	10 / 537	Sandwich Islander	N/A	N/A
4559	29 / 1357	Sandwich Islander	Franke, Kurt-Felix	1934
4561	24	Hawaii, Sandwich Islands	Eelking, Hermann von	1865
4597	21	Kauai	Schauinsland, Hugo	c1897
4598	17	Molokai	Schauinsland, Hugo	c1897
	479	Hawai [sic]	N/A	N/A

22 “Poppe’s card index”, which records the holdings of the ethnographic collection, was started in 1878 by Simon Albrecht Poppe and maintained until 1887; cf. Briskorn 2001: 42–43.

23 The “Donations to the museum” catalogue lists additions to the collection between 1808 and 1891, cf. *ibid.*: 40–42.

24 Blue folder with directories of objects and inventory lists in the office of Michael Stiller.

Information on the persons who delivered them to the museum and the arrival dates is only available for four of the skulls. The skulls identified by the numbers 4559 and 4561 were left to the museum by Kurt-Felix (also Kurd-Felix) Franke in 1934 and by Hermann von Eelking in 1865, respectively. Hugo Schauinsland is stated as being the “collector” of the skulls bearing the numbers 4597 and 4598 and the consignment data is estimated to be 1897. This information is missing for the four remaining skulls.

Inscriptions provide initial indications for a more precise geographic attribution for at least five of the skulls, according to which four of the iwi kūpuna originate from Kaua’i and one from Moloka’i. However, it was not possible to retrace on which sources this provenance information is based information in the course of the investigation. For two further skulls, the inscription or the label indicate the possibility that they originate from the island of Hawai’i (Big Island).

According to Fründt, several of the skulls bear traces of having been measured. These are the iwi kūpuna labelled with the numbers 4541, 4557 and 4561.

Moreover, there are at least seven further entries on iwi kūpuna in the museum’s inventory lists, which were sometimes maintained in parallel. However, these entries do not correspond to the numbering of the skulls still in the museum:

Number	Catalogue / director	Origin acc. to Museum documentation	“Collector” acc. to Museum documentation	Date	Source
N/A	Donations to the museum	Mumumi, Molokai, Sandwich Islands	Fürstenau, Eduard; Dreier, Johann Caspar	1886	Schmidt
1395	Poppe’s card index	Sandwich Islands	Poppe, A.	c1880	Schmidt
1396	Poppe’s card index	Sandwich Islands	Poppe, A.	c1880	Schmidt
1395	Systematic catalogue Ethnographica	Sandwich Islands	N/A	N/A	Fründt
2527	Systematic catalogue Ethnographica	Sandwich Islands	N/A	N/A	Fründt
547	Homo Sapien Katalog	Sandwich Islands	N/A	N/A	Fründt / Grimme

Bettina von Briskorn (2000) has already drawn attention to the problems created by the diverse documentation of the collections for researchers working with the holdings in her case study focusing on the Africa collections at the Übersee-Museum. Fründt (2011: 84–85) also makes reference to the difficult situation in respect of the documentation on the human remains stored at the museum:

“The situation regarding the documentation for the objects in the museum is still full of holes; it has not been possible to find all objects recorded in the catalogue, not all existing objects can be assigned unambiguously. This is down to the different inventory

and acquisition systems, which existed in parallel for a long time, and also the fact that information is actually missing.”

This means on the one hand that it is possible that the entries for which no skulls could be found in the collection correspond at least partially to each other. They may also possibly correspond in part with those without any information on arrival dates and donating persons. On the other hand, based on the documentation situation, it cannot be excluded that the collection contained further skulls from Hawai'i at an earlier point in time cannot be excluded.

To find indications as to whether three of the four iwi kūpuna with no information on when they were given to the museum and by whom are possibly those skulls which were left to the museum by Poppe and Fürstenau, both persons were included in the research as well. As was the case with the three known “collectors”, an attempt was made to find information on possible connections to Hawai'i, the context in which the skulls were appropriated in Hawai'i, and their handing over to the museum.

In addition to working out the historical context, particularly the connections between the Kingdom of Hawai'i and Bremen and giving particular consideration to the Hackfeld and Isenberg families, this produced five person-related starting points for the further research. The large number of lines of investigation meant it was not possible to undertake exhaustive research on all possible avenues of research within the framework of a project comprising a mere 125 hours.

4.1. Skull of an individual, listed in the inventory under No. 4557

Description

Lower jaw present, injury to back of skull

Survey marks

Inscription: “Sandwich Islander” & femininity symbol; No. 10 (crossed out); 4557; 537

Tied-on label: N. 537

Catalogue information

“537”, Mammalia - catalogue of natural history

“537 - Melanesian”, unclear from which catalogue the information originated

“537 AB - Melanesian - Sandwich Island near Neu-Mecklenburg? - mountain dweller; acc. to skull inscription female from Sandwich Islands”, Bohlken directory

Results of the investigation

For the skull listed in the inventory under number 4557, it has not been possible to find either the person who delivered the deceased to the museum or the date when this happened in the collection documentation.

The complex recording situation in the Übersee-Museum Bremen means the skull cannot be unambiguously assigned to a catalogue entry. It is recorded under number 4557 in the Mammalia catalogue. In Bohlken's directory from 1952 it bears the number 10. Both numbers can be found on the skull as inscriptions. It is also identified by the No.

537 (inscription and label)²⁵ and additionally bears the inscription “Sandwich Islander” and a femininity symbol. Already in 1952, the origin of the deceased seems to have been somewhat unclear, as Bohlken’s entry in his directory states: “537 AB – Melanesian - Sandwich island near Neu-Mecklenburg? - mountain dweller; acc. to skull inscription female from Sandwich Islands”.

✓ 536.	Bolivianischer Todauer.	Tikicaca-See 1886.	„	Tschürschädel
✓ 537.	Melanesier.			Gebirgsbewohner
538-541.	Melanesier.	Makalake Bay.	„	
✓ 542.		Windhoorn.	„	im Sumpf

— Fig. 1 ÜM Bremen, collection documentation: Skull catalogue, entry No. 537 (Photo Gesa Grimme).

Bohlken indicates in his directory that the inscription “Sandwich Islander” may not refer to Hawai’i, but to another island called Sandwich Island. At least two islands in the region of Pacific which is now called Melanesia could be meant: Dyaul, an island now part of Papua New Guinea, located off New Ireland (known as “Neumecklenburg” during German colonial rule) as well as the island of Efate, which today is part of Vanuatu. For both, in the 19th century in particular, the designation Sandwich Island was used at times.²⁶ After examining the ethnographic literature of that time, the impression is gained that the use of the name in the German context was not particularly widespread. In addition, the two islands do not appear to have triggered any particular ethnographic interest—at least no publications relating to this could be found. Moreover, in the collection documentation of the Übersee-Museum, the term “Sandwich Islander” seems to have usually been used for skulls for which it can be assumed with certainty that they originate from Hawai’i.

The use of the designation “Sandwich Islander” for an inhabitant of Djaul or Efate in the collection documentation can be assessed as being very unusual against this backdrop. Given the numerous, often parallel kept object directories, it seems more likely that the inventory numbers were mixed up in this case.

Apart from the note that the skull is that of a female individual, no indications as to the identity of the deceased or her biography could be found. Evidence that the family of the deceased had given its approval for the skull to be removed and taken away could not be located.

Given the injuries to the back of the skull, which indicate the use of violence, a more detailed anthropological (non-invasive) evaluation would have been advisable.

25 The way the “3” is written on the label is very similar to a “9”, but seems to be typical for the person writing the label (cf. also the label with the inscription “1357” with the skull listed under 4559 from the Franke Collection).

26 Discussion with Dr. Ulrich Menter, head of the Oceania Department at the Linden Museum Stuttgart.

4.2. Skull of an individual, listed in the inventory under No. 4559

Description

was halved and now joined together again with wire

Inscription: KN 1357; No. 29; 4559; On lower jaw: KN 1357; S; 4559

Stuck-on label: "Sandwich Islander"; tied-on label: KN 1357

Catalogue information

„KN 1357 EN 6589; Franz Collection“, Natural history catalogue

“Human skull (racial skull) and mummy parts“, Gen. Acquisitions catalogue, p. 379

“1357B - Sandwich Islander - Franke Collection - E.N.6589“, Bohlken directory

Results of the investigation

In her intermediate report, Schmidt already points out that the information “Franz Collection” in the Natural history catalogue is probably a mistake made during transfer.²⁷ The list of the catalogue information in Fündt’s database also supports this assumption. The complete entry on page 379 of the General acquisitions catalogue reads: “Acqu. No.: 6589; Spec. Cat: 100,- ; item: Human skull (racial skull) and mummy parts; From whom? Where from?: Dr. med. Kurt Felix Franke, Bremen Dobben 126; G. K. T.: G D 3./IV.34; date: 22./III”

The person who delivered the deceased to the Übersee-Museum is **Kurd-Felix Franke**, born 12 July 1895 in Braunschweig. The first name is also often written as Kurt-Felix. He studied medicine in Heidelberg. According to the author information in a volume of the *Deutsche Medizinische Wochenschrift* in 1927, he was working as a consultant at the “Sanatorium für innere und Nervenranke Schloss Hornegg” on the River Neckar at that time (Franke 1927). In 1928, he moved to Bremen and was registered as a physician for stomach, bowel and metabolic diseases at the address Am Dobben 31.²⁸ He died in 1970. His wife Melitta Franke, née von Hösslin, survived him by nearly 30 years. She died in 1998.²⁹

in 1931, Franke became a member of the “Naturwissenschaftlicher Verein” and stayed a member until at least 1958. On 22 March 1934, he passed on a collection of at least eight human skulls and “several mummy parts” to the museum. Apart from the skulls from Hawai’i, the collection contained two skulls from North America, two from Central and South America, one from the Admiralty Islands, and one from Cameroon, according to the entries in Fründt’s database. Two of the skulls have no information as to their origin. The database contains no entries relating to the mummy parts. A letter of thanks from the museum dated 3 April 1934 states “You were so kind as to hand over a number of human skulls and several Egyptian mummy parts to our anthropology collection.”³⁰ It remains unclear how the skulls came into Franke’s possession and what motivated him to hand over the collection to the museum. In the Bremen State Archives, it has not been possible to locate any minutes for the meetings of the Society for the year in which the skulls and mummy parts were handed over. The sagittal split (along the facial mid-line) of the skull may indicate a particular medical research interest.³¹ Franke’s medical

²⁷ Schmidt 2019: 2. (Internal document).

²⁸ StAB 4.80/2 file 4108_Frei p. 543; Bremen address book 1930: 94.

²⁹ <https://de.findagrave.com/memorial/111019806/melitta-franke> (last retrieved 25 Aug. 2021).

³⁰ ÜM Bremen, Chapter 1,3,3 / 178: Letters received and sent from 1 October 1933 to 30 June 1934, carbon copy of 3 April 1934 letter to Dr. med Kurt Felix Franke.

³¹ Discussion with an anthropologist who is a specialist on human remains in museums.

focus on stomach, bowel and metabolic diseases does not suggest any greater interest in the human skull and its anatomy, however. It is possible that Franke took over the collection from his father, who was probably Felix Franke³², senior consultant at the Diakonissenhaus Marienstift zu Braunschweig. According to initial research, Franke's father seems to have published articles relatively frequently and pursued various medical interests (Kreuter 1996: 382). To find out whether he conducted research on human skulls and possibly even had a collection of skulls, a more detailed examination of his publications would have to be performed.

No indications have been found that Kurd-Felix Franke had private or professional connections to Hawai'i.

No indications have been found as to who the deceased was. Evidence that the family of the deceased had given its approval for the skull to be removed and taken away could not be located.

4.3. Skull of an individual, listed in the inventory under No. 4561

Description

Lower jaw missing

Inscription: N 548; 1451; No. 24 (crossed out)

Survey marks

Enclosed label: "Skull of a Kanaka, inhabitant of Hawaii, Sandwich Islands, New Guinea. Don. by Dr. Elking 1866 through the Naturwissenschaftlicher Verein"

Catalogue information

"1 skull of a Sandwich Islander", Systematic catalogue Ethnographica

"548AB - Sandwich Islander - Hawaii - without lower jaw", Bohlken directory

"Sandwich Islander", Homo Sapiens catalogue of natural history

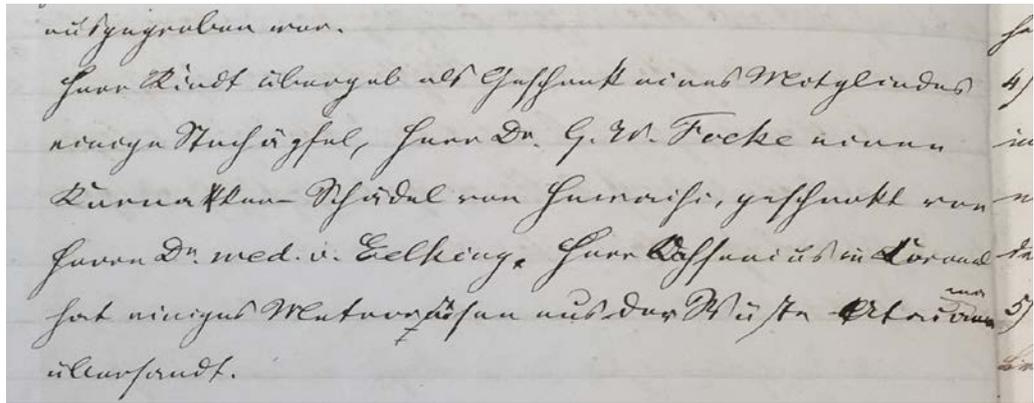
"No. 1451 skull of a Sandwich Islander, found on Hawaii, donated by Dr. v. Elking 1866 to the Nat. Verein", Poppe's card index

Results of the investigation

An entry corresponding to this catalogue information can be found in the first annual report of the Naturwissenschaftlicher Verein from 1866. It states that the skull was given to the Society on 17 October 1865 (Naturwissenschaftlicher Verein in Bremen 1866: 13). It is based on a note in the minutes of the meeting of the Society on 17 October 1865: "[...] Mr. Kindt handed over a member's donation of several thorn apples, Dr. G. W. Focke a Kanaka skull from Hawaihi, donated by Dr. med. v. Eelking [...]"³³

³² The entry in the residents' registration index gives Felix Franke as the father, but does not record his professional status, StAB 4.80/2 file 4108_Frei p. 543; Bremen address book 1930: 94.

³³ StAB 7.5190, 6: Holdings of the Naturwissenschaftlicher Verein zu Bremen, minutes of the Society meetings from 12 Dec. 64 – 14 Dec. 94, minutes of 17 October 1865.



— Fig. 2 StAB 7.5190, 6: Holdings Naturwissenschaftlicher Verein zu Bremen: minutes of 17 October 1865 (photo Gesa Grimme).

The person who delivered the deceased to the Übersee-Museum is **Johann Hermann Georg Friedrich Max von Eelking**, born 27 April 1818 in Bremen. In 1866, he is registered in the Bremen address book as a “practising physician, surgeon and obstetrician” at the address Wall 195, where he lived until his death on 11 December 1884.³⁴ His parents were Martin Max von Eelking (1772–1857) and Susanne Margarethe Miesegaes (1783–1861). He had two sisters, and four half-siblings from his mother’s first marriage, and a half-brother, Max von Eelking, from a previous marriage of his father (Eggers 1882; Brückner 1877). Around 1860, he married Marie Bornheim, a year later their son Max was born. The von Eelking family, an old-established family in Bremen, was ennobled during the 18th century. Members of the family served the city as mayor and Syndicus (lawyer), among other things. The family appears to have had far-reaching connections (Eggers 1882). One of Eelking’s relatives was involved in fishing and whaling off the coast of Greenland from a base in London at the beginning of the 18th century (ibid.; Lindemann 1869: 27–29).

Although Eelking was not a member of the Naturwissenschaftlicher Verein, he made several donations to it in the second half of the 1860s: Likewise in 1865, he donated a “slab of coal slate with impressions” on 13 November, on 23 January 1866 a “stag’s antlers found in the River Weser downstream of Bremen”, and on 14 November “several minerals from Australia” (Naturwissenschaftlicher Verein Bremen 1866: 13–15; ibid. 1867: 15). No further donations from him are known at present. He was also active as an art collector. In 1880, he donated an important collection of mediaeval art to the Germanische Nationalmuseum Nürnberg (Germanic National Museum Nuremberg).³⁵ It has not been possible to find any indications of a direct family or professional connection to Hawai’i or Australia, for example via his siblings. Nevertheless, the fact cannot be excluded that the skull came into Eelking’s possession via the expansive network of family relations. In this context, it would be possible to further pursue the question as to whether Eelking’s mother Susanne Margarethe Miesegaes and Marie Miesegaes were related. In 1858, Marie Miesegaes married Gustav Reiners, joint owner of Melchers & Reiners, a company based in Honolulu, and lived in Hawai’i from 1859.³⁶ In 1861, the couple returned to Bremen together.³⁷ Initial investigations into this did not produce any results.

³⁴ Entry in the death records 1875–1939 of the city of Bremen re. Hermann von Eelking:

<https://die-maus-bremen.info/index.php?id=101&L=0> (last retrieved 27 Aug. 2021); Bremen address book 1866: 35.

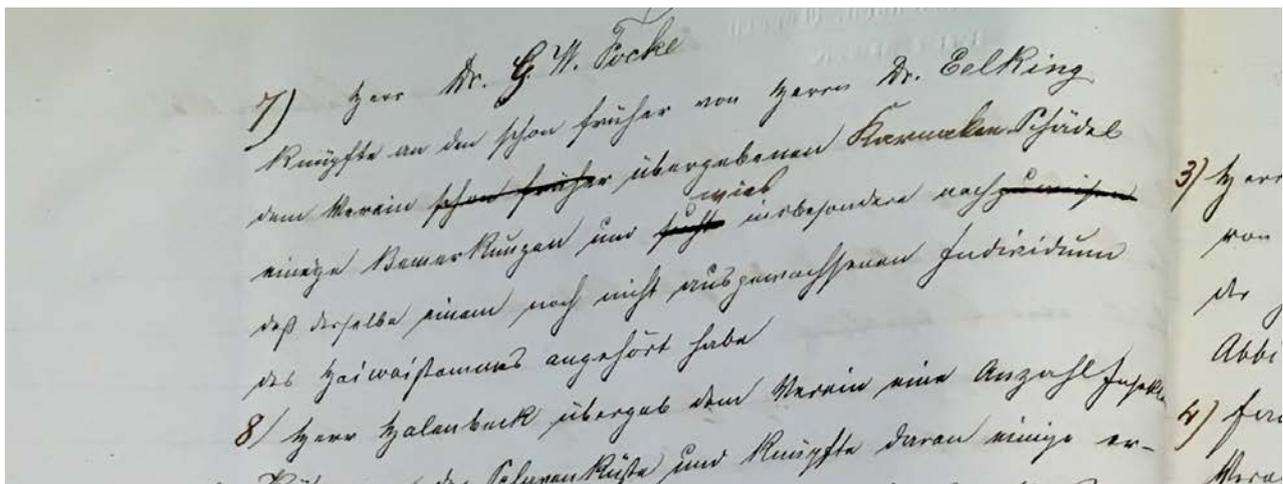
³⁵ https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Germanisches_Nationalmuseum#cite_note-99 (last retrieved 25 Aug. 2021).

³⁶ Hawaii State Archive; Honolulu, HI, USA: *Hawaii Births, Marriages, and Death Cards, 1850-1950*, Marriage Notices, entry Reiners-Miesegaes.

³⁷ <http://imagesofhawaii.com/honolulu-general-store/> (last retrieved 29 Aug. 2021).

Gustav Woldemar Focke (1810–1877), who presented the skull to the Society on behalf of Eelking, was one of the founders of the Naturwissenschaftlicher Verein. Like Eelking, Focke was a physician and very involved in the city’s medical profession (Focke 1878; *ibid.* 1912). It can be assumed that the two became acquainted in the course of their work. After the death of his older half-brother Alexander von Eelking, who had also been a practising physician in Bremen, Eelking took over his office as Director of the Verein der Bremer Ärzte (Society of Bremen Physicians), which was founded in 1832, in 1848. (Schmidt 1850: 214). Focke was also an active member of this society (Focke 1912). Moreover, there seems to have been a private connection between the two families. In a letter dated 25 September 1836, Focke sent his father greetings from Meta von Eelking, the sister of Herrmann von Eelking, one year his senior.³⁸ She died in 1842 (Eggers 1882).

Focke is probably also responsible for the survey marks on the skull. He gave a talk on it at the meeting of the Society on 6 February 1866. The minutes state: “7) Mr. G. W. Focke made reference to the Kanaka skull which Dr. Eelking had earlier donated to the Society and proved in particular that it had belonged to a not yet fully grown individual of the Hawaii tribe.”³⁹ More detailed information on the talk’s content could not be found. It appears that while Focke regularly gave talks, he only rarely published them (Focke 1878; *ibid.* 1912).



— Fig. 3 StAB 7.5190-6: Holdings Naturwissenschaftlicher Verein zu Bremen: Minutes of 6 February 1866. (Photo Gesa Grimme).

Apart from Focke’s assessment that the deceased was not an adult, no further biographical information is available. An indication as to the more exact origin may be provided by the inscription on the label, which reads: “Inhabitant of Hawaii, Sandwich Islands”. The entry in the minutes of the meeting on 17 October 1865 also states “Hawaii”⁴⁰ as the place of origin. Using this designation for the whole archipelago is rather unusual for the middle of the 19th century. At this time, the archipelago was either called Hawai’i Islands and in the European context usually Sandwich Islands. Thus, it is possible that

38 “The estate of Gustav Woldemar Focke (1810–1877) in the State and University Library Bremen, processed by Maria Hermes.” 2010 (2015): Entry FS XIV 28. Online at <https://media.suub.uni-bremen.de/bitstream/elib/3214/1/00105166-1.pdf> (last retrieved 23 Aug. 2021).

39 StAB 7.5190, 6: Holdings of the Naturwissenschaftlicher Verein zu Bremen, minutes of the Society meetings from 12 Dec. 64 – 14 Dec. 94, minutes of 6 February 1866.

40 StAB 7.5190, 6: Holdings of the Naturwissenschaftlicher Verein zu Bremen, minutes of the Society meetings from 12 Dec. 64 – 14 Dec. 94, minutes of 17 October 1865.

“Hawaii” refers to the island of the same name, today often also called Big Island. However, it has not been possible to find proof of this in the collection documentation.

Evidence that the family of the deceased had given its approval for the skull to be removed and taken away could not be located.

4.4. Skulls of two individuals, listed in the inventory under No. 4597 and No. 4598

Description

4597: Lower jaw present, whitish discolouring on the left side of the skullcap
Inscription: “Kauai”; 4597. On lower jaw: 4597

4598: Lower jaw present and connected to skull with wire;
Inscription: “Molokai”; 4598. On lower jaw: 4598
Tied-on label: Label: Prof. Schauinsland to the Pacific 17

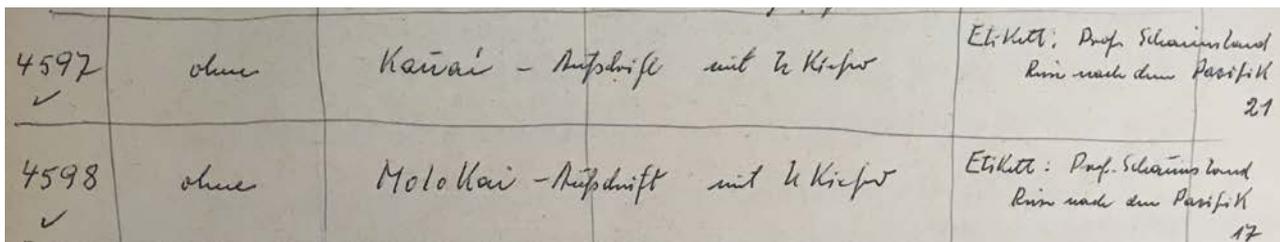
Catalogue information

4597: “Kauai - inscription with lower jaw. Label: Prof. Schauinsland voyage to the Pacific 21” inventory list (blue folder, Stiller’s office)

4598: “Molokai - inscription with lower jaw. Label: Prof. Schauinsland voyage to the Pacific 21” inventory list (blue folder, Stiller’s office)

Results of the investigation

The catalogue entry links the iwi kūpuna listed as numbers 4597 and 4598 to the first research trip undertaken by **Hugo Schauinsland**. This voyage took him to the USA, Hawai’i, Aotearoa New Zealand (incl. the Chatham Islands), Australia and from there via Colombo and Egypt back to Europe (Übersee-Museum Bremen 1999: 49–50).



4597 ✓	ohne	Kauai - Aufschrift mit 2 Kiefer	Etikett: Prof. Schauinsland Reise nach dem Pazifik 21
4598 ✓	ohne	Molokai - Aufschrift mit 2 Kiefer	Etikett: Prof. Schauinsland Reise nach dem Pazifik 17

— Fig. 4 ÜM Bremen collection documentation: Blue folder in Stiller’s office, inventory list, entries No. 4597 and No. 4598. (Photo Gesa Grimme).

From 1887, Schauinsland was the Director of the *Städtische Sammlungen für Naturgeschichte und Ethnographie* and the founding director of the *Städtische Museum für Natur-, Völker- und Handelskunde* which opened in 1896. During his time in office, he undertook five major expeditions:

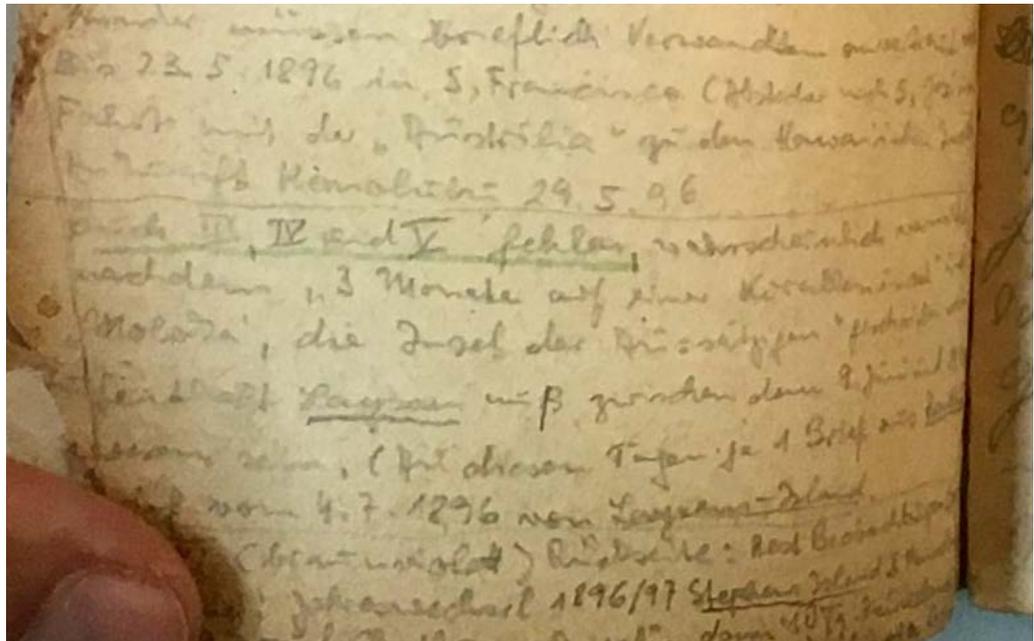
- The first voyage during 1896 and 1897 concentrated on the Pacific region.
- The second voyage in 1905 and 1906 took him to East and South-East Asia as well as the Bismarck Archipelago, which was then part of the German colony of “German New Guinea”.
- On his third voyage, he visited the International Zoology Congress in Boston as well as China and Japan between 1906 and 1907.

- During 1913 and 1914 he went on his fourth voyage, which took him again to East Asia and the German colony of “German New Guinea”.
- The destination of his fifth and final voyage during 1925 and 1926 was Egypt.

The documentation relating to these voyages which is still in existence has already been processed and published in “Unterwegs in Übersee. Aus Reisetagebüchern und Dokumenten des früheren Direktors des Bremer Übersee-Museums [Travels overseas. From travel diaries and documents of the former director of the Bremen Übersee-Museum]”.

Schauinsland visited Hawai‘i on his first as well as on his third voyage. Whereas in 1896 the time spent in Hawai‘i was of key importance for the success of his voyage, especially because of the research on Kauō (Laysan), he made only a brief visit to the archipelago in 1907: During the voyage from San Francisco to Japan, the ship stopped over in Honolulu on 1 October 1907. Schauinsland, who was accompanied by his daughter Martha on this voyage, used the day for excursions to the Nu‘uanu Valley and Waikiki. A visit to the new Hackfeld building, which had been completed in 1902, is also mentioned. The ship continued its voyage later that same afternoon, at approx. 5 p.m., (Übersee-Museum Bremen 1999: 270).

One of Schauinsland’s motivations for undertaking his first voyage to the Pacific region in 1896 and 1897 was the possibility to carry out research on Kauō (Laysan) on the local flora and fauna. It is likely that Johann Hackfeld, whose company had been involved in mining local Guano since the beginning of the 1890s, had made him this offer back in 1894. Further key research fields of the voyage were Stephens Island and the Chatham Islands, both part of Aotearoa New Zealand (ibid. 41). Schauinsland’s travels until 6 June 1896 can be retraced in the first two volumes of his diaries. The next three volumes (3–5) are missing. The records in volume 6, which is preserved, take up the record again from the end of December during Schauinsland’s stay on Stephens Island. It is assumed that Schauinsland destroyed the missing volumes after he had completed the work on his travel publications “Ein Besuch auf Molokai, der Insel der Aussätzigen [A visit to Molokai, the island of the lepers]”, published in 1900, and “Drei Monate auf einer Koralleninsel (Laysan) [Three months on a coral island (Laysan)]”, published in 1899 (ibid. 65).



— Fig. 5 StAB 7.254-1, diaries from the first voyage 1896/97: Note regarding the missing volumes Volumes III., IV and V in the first volume of the diary (photo Gesa Grimme).

After crossing the USA and spending time on the northwest coast of the USA and Canada, Schauinsland and his wife Ida, who accompanied him on the voyage, set off from San Francisco on 23 May 1896 on board the *Australia* bound for Honolulu. They arrived in Honolulu on 29 May, and were met by Alexander Isenberg, son of Paul Isenberg (ibid. 64).⁴¹ They stayed in Honolulu until at least 6 June, socialising first and foremost with the group of German entrepreneurs working in Hawai‘i and their families. Their excursions concentrated primarily on the urban area of Honolulu and the vicinities of the city. On 31 May, they took a trip through the Nu‘uanu Valley up to the Nu‘uanu Pali and via the Punchbowl Crater back to Honolulu. Moreover, on 4 June 1896 they visited the company’s fertiliser plant in Kalihi together with Wilhelm Averdam, who managed the fertiliser production for Hackfeld & Co., (ibid. 62–68).⁴² In contrast to an initial assessment expressed in the intermediate report⁴³, Schauinsland also visited Kaua‘i before crossing over to Kauō (Laysan). Although there are no personal records for this, a notice in the Pacific Commercial Advertiser from 16 June 1896 states that he returned from there on 13 June: “From Kauai per stmr Mikahala June 13 - Prof. H. Schauinsland, M. Schlemmer, wife and children, Miss Bompke, Dr. J. Friedländer, H. Salzmänn, and 11 on deck.”⁴⁴ Only a few days later on 18 June 1896, Schauinsland and his wife left Honolulu for Kauō (Laysan). They stayed on the island for almost three months instead of the planned eight weeks. The ship that was due to collect them did not arrive until the beginning of September after a long delay. Unfavourable weather conditions meant that the return journey, which commenced on 22 September, likewise took longer than expected. They did not arrive back in Honolulu until 20 October 1896 (Übersee-Museum 1999: 71). Schauinsland describes the stay on Kauō in his book “Drei Monate auf einer Koralleninsel” published in 1899. Immediately afterwards, the couple visited the islands of Hawai‘i, Maui and Moloka‘i. Their hosts on Moloka‘i were Rudolph Wilhelm Meyer (1826–1897) and his wife High Chiefess Kalama Waha (1832–1899), whose estate was close to Kala‘e in the centre of the island and who also had business connections to

41 Cf. StAB 7.254-2, diaries of the first voyage 1896/97: Entry of 29 May 1896.

42 Ibid., entries between 29 May and 6 June 1896.

43 Grimme 2021: 3 (Internal document).

44 Information from Edward Halealoha Ayau.

Hackfeld & Co. (Wilcox 1996: 4).⁴⁵ Schauinsland and his wife returned to Honolulu at the beginning of November. Their next travel destinations were Samoa and Aotearoa New Zealand. According to a newspaper item, they chose to travel via San Francisco. They left Honolulu on 20 November for this destination: "For San Francisco, per Monowai Nov, 20 - Earl H. Daggett, F A Peters, W S Crooks, Prof, Schauinsland and wife, D Hall and wife, Dr. Bryant, wife, and child, C L Gallen and Miss Jennie Wright."⁴⁶

Hardly any information could be found about Schauinsland's stay on Kaua'i. Diary entries are missing and the publications on his voyage contain only a single brief reference to his visit to the island: "On Kauai I found larger deposits of solid limestone between Tipukai and Koloa at a considerable altitude" (Schauinsland 1899: 31). In addition, with the sole aid of the last preserved entry from 6 June in the second volume of his travel diary and the notice published in the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, which dates his return to 13 June 1896, it can be stated that Schauinsland cannot have spent more than seven days on Kaua'i. Little is known about his visits to Hawai'i and Maui, either. They are afforded only cursory mention in the introduction to his publication "Ein Besuch auf Molokai, der Insel der Aussätzigen". The publication, in contrast, does provide a detailed description of the time spent with the Meyers, the collecting of flora and fauna for the museum, and the visit to the Kalaupapa peninsula, the site of the isolation ward for those suffering from Hansen's disease (formerly known as leprosy). He obtained prior permission for this visit from the *Board of Health*. Schauinsland appears to have used his stay on the island particularly to catch birds for the museum, for which he had likewise been given official permission: He was allowed to kill three specimens of each indigenous bird species (Schauinsland 1900).⁴⁷

References to the appropriation of the iwi kūpuna and their origin could be found neither in Schauinsland's publications nor in the volumes of his travel diary which are preserved. However, the general lists for the collections, which Schauinsland started to compile during his stay in Hawai'i and whose scope must have been considerable (Abel 1970: 75–76). In the years which followed, only the natural history holdings which he brought back were scientifically processed and published. Going through the essays on reptiles (Werner 1901) and insects (Alfken 1904) Schauinsland brought back to Bremen, it was possible to ascertain that visited the following locations in Hawai'i:⁴⁸

- O'ahu: Honolulu, Maluhia, Māhu-kona (written "Makukona["]), Kalihi, Pearl Harbour, Waikīki
- Kaua'i: Līhu'e (sometimes written as Lehue), Kōloa, Kīpū Kai (written as Tipukai)⁴⁹
- Moloka'i: Kala'e
- Hawai'i: Kilauea (crater and Halfway House), Hilo (date given: 26 October 1896), Māhu-kona (written "Makukona", probably identical to "Maku-kira")
- Maui: Lāhainā.

Although there were no indications that Schauinsland himself removed the iwi kūpuna from the graves, it is highly likely that he had the opportunity to do so on Kaua'i as well as on Moloka'i. The region around Kōloa on Kaua'i which he visited is associa-

45 Biographical information on Meyer can be found at <http://www.aloha.net/~mahalo/germans.html> and https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rudolph_Wilhelm_Meyer Wilhelm Meyer (last retrieved 29 Aug. 2021).

46 Entry under "Passengers", *The Friend* (54) no. 12: 94.

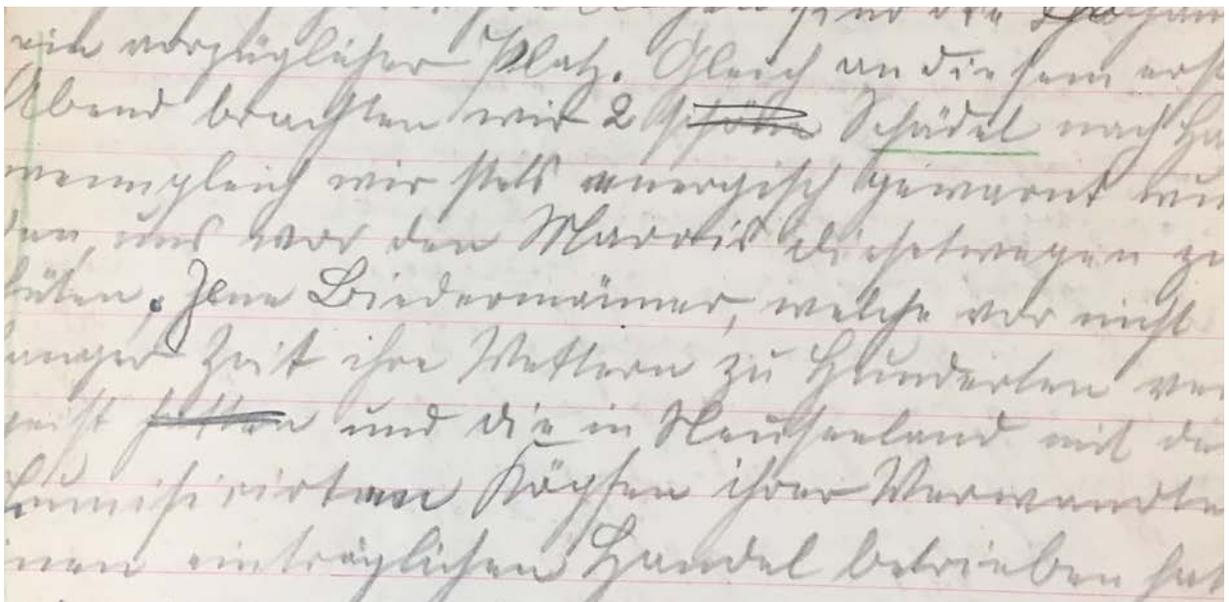
47 ÜM Bremen, Chapter 1,6 / 198: A-K, 1896–1887, mainly Pacific voyage Schauinsland, correspondence with Johann Hackfeld, Department of Interior, 1 June 1896.

48 Used here was Pukui et al. 1976.

49 A note about the incorrect spelling can be found at Cross 1915: 17.

ted in the literature with burial sites often located near the beaches (Judd 1936: 53). Human remains from that area can be found in other German collections as well. In 1887, Eduard Arning delivered a skull whose origin was given as “Koloa” to the Berlin Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte (BGAEU), for example.⁵⁰ It is also possible that Schauinsland came across burial caves or other burial sites on his excursions on Moloka’i. During his excursions through the highlands of the island, which he undertook particularly to hunt birds, he repeatedly came across remains of settlements: “Here as well, ancient settlements could again be recognised everywhere, albeit that all that remained of them were partially collapsed stone walls and huge, old cacti (*Optuntia tuna* Mill.)” (Schauinsland 1900: 526).

It seems unusual that Schauinsland does not mention the skulls from Hawai’i any further. During the later course of his voyage through the Pacific, Schauinsland went into great detail in his diary entries about the appropriation of skulls and skeletons: On the Chatham Islands, he excavated 15 Moriori skulls and two skeletons on the beach and in the dunes and also recorded this in his diary. On 22 January 1897 he wrote: “On this very first evening, we brought home 2 skulls, although we were always firmly warned to be on our guard against the Maoris because of this.”⁵¹



— Fig. 6 StAB 7.254-3, diaries of the first voyage 1896/97: Entry from 22 January 1897 (photo Gesa Grimme).

Schauinsland’s subsequent entries state clearly that he was involved in the removal of the deceased: “Collected avian bones and Moriori skeletons and put others aside for next time” (entry from 23 January 1896, cited from *Übersee-Museum* 1999: 94). This statement is also confirmed by Heinrich Poll (1903), who produced a publication on the Moriori ancestral remains. He reported that Schauinsland informed him that he had ‘collected’ them himself “on the beach or in the dunes near the beach” (*ibid.* 3).

The entries relating to his stay on the Chatham Islands lead one to assume that Schauinsland may also have recorded the appropriation of the skulls in Hawai’i in his diary. The volumes which refer to his stay on Kaua’i and Moloka’i no longer exist, however. It therefore remains unclear whether Schauinsland documented the skulls’ provenance

50 The author’s own research work on the Arning Collection, carried out for the Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz (Ethnologisches Museum und Museum für Früh- und Vorgeschichte) in 2018.

51 StAB 7.254-3, diaries of the first voyage 1896/97: Entry from 23 January 1897; cf. also *Übersee-Museum*: 1999: 94.

in them. With regards to other collections he took with him from Hawai'i, the still existing records of his stay only show that he at least did not take notes on his collecting activities in and around Honolulu in his diary.

Examining the correspondence preserved in the museum archives, which Schauinsland exchanged while preparing for and as follow up to the voyage, did not shed any more light on the questions of where and how Schauinsland appropriated the two skulls on Kaua'i and Moloka'i. The file only contains the written correspondence filed under "A-K"⁵². Schauinsland corresponded on both the national and the international level with a number of actors in relation to his voyage to the Pacific. These were mainly merchants and entrepreneurs from Germany, often from Bremen, and other researchers who spent time in Hawai'i or had settled there. These included:

- Louis Ahlborn, who managed one of the plantations near Lahaina on Maui.
- Wilhelm Averdam, who managed the fertiliser production for Hackfeld & Co.
- Andreas Barber, the captain of the H. Hackfeld, which took Prof. Schauinsland and his wife to Kauo (Laysan) and back
- Johann Hackfeld from Hackfeld & Co.
- Dora Isenberg, wife of Hans Isenberg, pastor of the German community on Kaua'i.
- Paul Isenberg, managing director of Hackfeld & Co.

He was in particularly close correspondence with Johann Hackfeld of Hackfeld & Co., whose managing directors had already championed the Naturwissenschaftlicher Verein and the Bremen collections in the 1870s (cf. Pp. 12–14). Hackfeld supported Schauinsland by procuring materials to prepare and package his collections, helping with travel logistics, and by putting him in touch with other useful contacts, among other things. After the voyage, he continued to take care of the procurement and shipping of natural history and ethnographic collections for Schauinsland. Between the end of 1897 and the middle of 1898, he brokered the procurement of several collections held by the Meyer family from Moloka'i, for Bremen. Rudolf Meyer had meanwhile died. They included corals, rocks, terrestrial shells, birds and a number of ethnographic objects, including an "'idol' from Thed. Meyer, Molokai + associated stone" (Übersee-Museum 1999: 120–121).⁵³ Dora Isenberg and Louis Ahlborn sent natural history collections to Bremen after Schauinsland's return. Isenberg sent birds and lizards and Ahlborn lava rock.⁵⁴ Like Schauinsland's travel diaries, this correspondence has already been processed and published in the book "Unterwegs in Übersee. Aus Reisetagebüchern und Dokumenten des früheren Direktors des Bremer Übersee-Museums". (Übersee-Museum 1999: 120–122).

If Schauinsland did not appropriate the iwi kūpuna himself during his stay in Hawai'i, it is possible that he obtained the remains through his connections to Hackfeld & Co. Johann Hackfeld and Dora Isenberg may have acted as intermediaries especially for the skulls originating from Kaua'i. Isenberg lived on Kaua'i from 1887 and Hackfeld maintained close contacts to the island (cf. p. 12). Both also sent Schauinsland natural

⁵² The hope of possibly finding the correspondence on the voyage with the correspondence filed under "L-Z" in the Bremen State Archives came to nothing. This part seems to have already been missing when the work on the book "Unterwegs in Übersee. Aus Reisetagebüchern und Dokumenten des früheren Direktors des Bremer Übersee-Museums" was being done.

⁵³ Cf. also ÜM Bremen, Chapter 1,6 / 198: A-K, 1896–1887, mainly Pacific voyage Schauinsland, correspondence with Johann Hackfeld, letter of 29 June 1898.

⁵⁴ ÜM Bremen, Chapter 1,6 / 198: A-K, 1896-1887, mainly Pacific voyage Schauinsland, correspondence Dora Isenberg as well as correspondence L. Ahlborn.

history and ethnographic collections for the museum after his return to Bremen. It is conceivable that due to the laws in force in Hawai'i the human remains were added to the collections without any further declarations. Moreover, the name Hackfeld turns up in other collections as donor of skulls from the region around Kōloa on Kaua'i.⁵⁵ However, it has so far not been possible to find any evidence that Hackfeld or Isenberg acted as broker in relation to the iwi kūpuna which are today in the Übersee-Museum.

It has not been possible to find any indications as to who the deceased were. Evidence that the families of the deceased had given its approval for the skulls to be removed and taken away could not be located.

In the entries in her database, Fründt assumes that the skulls likewise labelled with "Kauai", listed as numbers 4541 and 4542, also related to Schauinsland's stay in Hawai'i. The assumption is obvious, also since none of the surplus catalogue entries refer to skulls originating from Kaua'i. It has not been possible to find any archival evidence for this, however. It is moreover conceivable that Schauinsland also brought the skull labelled "Hawai", which is identified in the collection records with the number 479, back with him from his voyage. He was on Hawai'i at the end of October and visited Hilo, Kīlauea and the Kohala region on the northern coast of the island, and most probably had the opportunity to appropriate skulls on this island as well. It has likewise not been possible to find any archival evidence for this, however.

4.4. Skull of an individual, listed in the inventory under No. 4541

Description

Lower jaw missing, upper teeth almost complete

Survey marks

Inscription: "Kauai"; No 19 (crossed out); 4541;176

Catalogue information

"176", Mammalia catalogue natural history

"no lower jaw - Skull inscription: 176 Kauai", Bohlken directory

For the skull recorded under number 4541, the collection documentation contains no information on when the deceased was delivered to the museum and by whom.

The inscription "Kauai" led Fründt to assume in the corresponding database entry that the skull was connected with Schauinsland's stay in Hawai'i in 1896. The assumption is obvious. On the one hand, it can be proved that Schauinsland spent time on Kaua'i in June 1896. On the other, none of the surplus catalogue entries makes reference to skulls originating from Kaua'i. It could furthermore also be the case that the deceased found their way into the museum's collection through a brokering arrangement involving Johann Hackfeld or the Isenberg family, who lived on Kaua'i. However, has not been possible to find any archival evidence for this.

⁵⁵ The author's own research work on the Arning Collection, carried out for the Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz (Ethnologisches Museum und Museum für Früh- und Vorgeschichte) in 2018.

It has not been possible to find any indications as to who the deceased was. Evidence that the family of the deceased had given its approval for the skull to be removed and taken away could not be located.

4.6. Skull of an individual, listed in the inventory under No. 4542

Description

Lower jaw in place; teeth almost complete

Injury to the left side of the skull probably due to blunt force trauma, parts of the skull broken away, clear cracks visible

Inscription: Kauai; No. 30 (crossed out); 4542; inscription on lower jaw: 4542

Catalogue information

“Skull inscription: Kauai”, Bohlken directory

For the skull listed under number 4542, it was not possible to find information on either the person who delivered the deceased to the museum or the date when this happened in the collection documentation.

According to the entry in Fründt’s database, Ludwig Cohn (1920) performed measurements on the skull for his essay “Allgemeine Normen im Bau des menschlichen Schädels [General norms in the structure of the human skull]”. The database entry does not note any evidence that measurements had been performed, however. It may have been confused with the skull listed under number 4541, which does bear evidence that measurements were performed, according to Fründt. The article agrees with the inscription on the skull in giving the island of Kaua’i as origin. It does not contain any indications of how the skull found its way into the museum collection. Only its dimensions are given. The skull is likewise mentioned in Cohn’s essay “Das Verhältnis des goldenen Schnittes im Bau menschlicher Schädel [The ratio of the golden section in the structure of human skulls]”. No further information on the origin is given here either (Cohn 1921).

The inscription “Kauai” led Fründt to assume in the corresponding database entry that the skull was connected to Schauinsland’s stay in Hawai’i in 1896. The assumption is obvious. On the one hand, it can be proved that Schauinsland spent time on Kaua’i in June 1896. On the other, none of the surplus catalogue entries makes reference to skulls originating from Kaua’i. It could furthermore also be the case that the deceased found their way into the museum’s collection through a brokering arrangement involving Johann Hackfeld or the Isenberg family, who lived on Kaua’i. It has not been possible to find any archival evidence for this, however

It has not been possible to find any indications as to who the deceased was. Evidence that the family of the deceased had given its approval for the skull to be removed and taken away could not be located.

Given the injuries to the left side of the skull, which indicate the use of violence, a more detailed anthropological (non-invasive) evaluation would have been advisable.

4.7. Skull of an individual, identified by the No. 479

Description

Lower jaw missing, no teeth present, skull medially divided; parts of the facial skull (especially on the left) missing, parts of the left temple and the right occiput broken away (blunt force trauma?)

Almost white in colour

Inscription: 479; "Hawai"

Catalogue information

Not available

There is no knowledge of an entry in the collection documentation for the skull identified by the old inventory number 479. There is no information on when the skull was handed to the museum and by whom. It has likewise so far not been possible to find any other archival information. Since the museum documentation usually uses the term "Sandwich Islands" for the Hawaiian archipelago, it can be surmised that the inscription "Hawai" indicates the place of origin is the island of the same name (Big Island).

It is conceivable that Schauinsland also brought this skull back from his voyage to the Pacific. He was on Hawai'i at the end of October 1896 and visited Hilo, Kīlauea and the Kohala region on the northern coast of the island, and most probably had the opportunity to appropriate human remains on this island as well. Since the museum does not have any documentation on the deceased, this consideration remains speculative, however.

It has not been possible to find any indications as to who the deceased was. Evidence that the family of the deceased had given its approval for the skull to be removed and taken away could not be located.

Given the injuries to the left temple and the back of the head, which indicate the use of violence, a more detailed anthropological (non-invasive) evaluation would have been advisable.

5. Further entries in the museum documentation

As part of her preliminary investigation into the iwi kūpuna's origins, Schmidt found three further entries in the museum documentation which refer to ancestral remains from Hawai'i.⁵⁶ To find indications as to whether these can possibly be assigned to the skulls present in the collection for which information on previous holders and arrival dates is lacking, the people named in the entries were included in the investigation. As was the case with the three known "collectors", an attempt was made to find information on possible connections to Hawai'i, the context in which the skulls were appropriated in Hawai'i, and their handing over to the museum. Since there is nothing whatsoever to go on, the catalogue entries mentioned by Fründt which likewise make reference to human remains from Hawai'i were not taken into account.

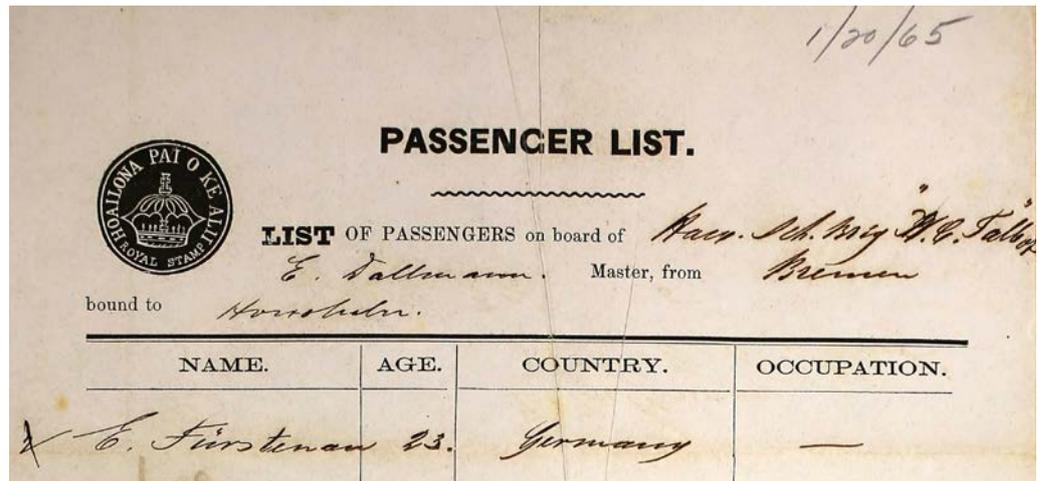
5.1. Entry “Donations to the museum” August 1886

Catalogue entry

“1 skull of a Sandwich Islander from Mumumi, Molokai Island (Mr. Ed. Fürstenau coll.), donated by Dr. med. J. C. Dreier from Bremen”, “Donations to the museum” Catalogue⁵⁷

Results of the investigation

The previous holder of the skull was in all probability **Eduard Fürstenau**. In 1865, Fürstenau arrived in Hawai‘i at the age of 23 aboard a ship belonging to the merchant fleet of Hackfeld & Co., the W. C. Talbot.⁵⁸



— Fig. 7 Hawaii, U.S., Arriving and Departing Passenger Lists, 1843-1898. Entry E. Fürstenau [sic].

It can be proved that he worked for the company from the beginning of the 1870s, but probably for some time before as well. In 1871, he was authorised as a partner and acted as managing director for a time together with Conrad Glade (Hawkins 2017). Fürstenau left the company in 1878 and returned to Bremen. In preparation for his departure, he sold his horse Black Prince on 12 April 1879.⁵⁹ The separation was apparently not wholly amicable: In the years that followed, a legal dispute between the two parties arose in Honolulu in Fürstenau’s absence.⁶⁰ Fürstenau is registered as living in Bremen from 1880 on: “Fürstenau, Eduard, private citizen, Schwachh. Chaussee 4a. Summer residence Friedrichsdorf near St. Magnus.”⁶¹ The last time this entry appears is in 1897. Research undertaken into his whereabouts in the registers of births, marriages and deaths held in the Bremen State Archives was unsuccessful. It was not possible to determine whether he had moved to somewhere else in Bremen, moved away or died. Until her death in 1886, Dorothee Fürstenau, née Schule, the widow of Johann Ferdinand Louis Fürstenau, who died in 1877, was registered at the same address.⁶² It seems likely that Eduard Fürstenau and the above-mentioned Fürstenaus were related, but this cannot be proved. In the registers of births, marriages and deaths in the Bremen

57 Schmidt 2019: 5 (internal document).

58 Hawaii State Archive; Honolulu, HI, USA: Series 82, Hawaii, U.S., *Arriving and Departing Passenger Lists, 1843–1898*. Entry E. Fürstenau [sic].

59 Advertisement in: *The Hawaiian Gazette*, 9 April 1879.

60 Reports incl. in: *The Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, 7 October 1882; *The Hawaiian Gazette*, 20 December 1882.

61 Bremen address book 1881: 72).

62 Entry in the register of deaths 1875–1939 of the city of Bremen for Dorothee and Johann Ferdinand Louis Fürstenau: <https://die-maus-bremen.info/index.php?id=101&L=0> (last retrieved on 25 August 2021).

State Archives, all that could be found for the couple was a son called Friedrich Hermann Heinrich, born 4 October 1843.⁶³

No evidence has been found that Fürstenau was a member of the Naturwissenschaftlicher Verein. He did donate a boat made out of walrus skin to the Verein only a few years after arriving in Honolulu, however (Naturwissenschaftlicher Verein Bremen 1868: 15). This was followed in 1871 by a “model of a double-hulled canoe” (ibid. 1872: 16). Fürstenau demonstrated his interest in natural science during his time in Honolulu as well. He was a member of the short-lived *Natural History and Microscopic Society* (Bushnell 1969: 105).

After returning to Bremen in 1879, Fürstenau handed over the skull listed in the catalogue to the physician Johann Caspar Dreier, who lived in Bremen, on a date unknown. Dreier had been involved with the Naturwissenschaftlicher Verein since its foundation and was also an active board member (Focke 1909). Evidence of a personal connection between Fürstenau and Dreier could not be found. Since Fürstenau donated boats from Hawai‘i to the Society soon after its foundation, it is not beyond the realms of possibility that they were acquainted.

The skull was handed directly to the *Städtische Sammlungen*. The *Naturwissenschaftliche Verein* did not act as broker here. Hence neither the annual report of the Society nor the minutes of the meetings contain any information about the handing over. According to the entry in the “Donations to the museum” catalogue, the donation was made in August 1886.⁶⁴ The location “Mumumi, Molokai island” which is recorded in the catalogue for the skull probably refers to Mo‘omomi (Pukui et al.: 158). This is a region on the northwestern coast of Moloka‘i, which is one of the best known prehistoric burial sites of Hawai‘i. The dead were interred there in shallow sand graves in the dunes (Kirch 1985: 240). It is not possible to prove that Fürstenau spent some time on Moloka‘i. It is probable, however, that he visited the island as part of his work for Hackfeld & Co., which also had business connections there. It is possible that Fürstenau removed the skull from one of the local graves during a business trip.

Despite the information available, the catalogue entry cannot be assigned to any of the skulls still to be found in the museum. Although in this case, detailed information on the origin of the skull in Hawai‘i and how it found its way into the museum is available, all trace is lost after it was added to the collection.

5.2. Entries “Poppe’s card index”

Catalogue entry

“No 1395 found on Sandwich Islands. From H. A. Poppe’s collection.”, Poppe’s card index

“No 1396 found on Sandwich Islands. From H. A. Poppe’s collection.”, Poppe’s card index

63 StAB births 1843: No. 1273, entry Fürstenau, Friedrich Hermann Heinrich.

64 Schmidt 2019: 4. (Internal document).

Results of the investigation

Schmidt found two entries in “Poppe’s card index” which refer to human skulls from Hawai’i.⁶⁵ The place of origin was given only as “Sandwich Islands”. According to the entries, the skulls came into the holdings of the *Städtische Sammlungen* with the collection of **Simon Albrecht Poppe** (1847–1907). In 1880, the *Anthropologische Kommission* bought the collection for the museum (Abel 1970: 43).

Poppe, who was born on 8 June 1847 in the Vegesack district of Bremen, was employed at the museum from 1878 to 1879 as “assistant for the ethnographic, prehistoric and anthropological collection” (ibid.: 38–43). After being appointed in October 1878, he started to catalogue the holdings in his area of responsibility. Only one year later, “Poppe’s card index” already comprised just under 1,700 entries (Briskorn 2000: 43). In 1879, Poppe tendered his resignation because of disputes over responsibility with Hubert Ludwig, the then Director of the Collections. He remained in contact with the *Naturwissenschaftlicher Verein* and the *Anthropologische Kommission* after his resignation, however. Before and after his time as collection assistant, he brokered the procurement of prehistoric, anthropological and ethnographic items for the museum. In January 1878, he received 12 marks from the *Commission* for “4 Bremen skulls”.⁶⁶ A few months previously, in November 1877, he had already sold a “Tinglit skull” to the *Commission*.⁶⁷ In 1891, he recommended the purchase of the ethnographic collection of his neighbour Stelling, who was an officer for Norddeutsche Lloyd.⁶⁸

Since Poppe struggled with health problems all his life and did not travel, it is almost completely out of the question that he himself was actively involved in collecting in Hawai’i. Through his father, however, he was very well connected early on. Georg Schorse Poppe was a highly respected captain in Bremen and Bremerhaven, who worked for Norddeutsche Lloyd, among others. In his obituary for Poppe, Borcharding (1908: 196) wrote: “In his ethnographic studies, he was in turn supported by friends of his father, who now procured many precious ethnographic objects for him, especially from the South Seas.” In addition, there were probably family connections to Chile. His father’s older brother Alfred Ludwig (Blasius) Poppe was working in Valparaíso for the trading company Godeffroy (Scheps 2005: 19).⁶⁹ In the middle of the 19th Century, Godeffroy was not only one of the leading companies in the German “south-sea trade”, but was also known for procuring natural history, anthropological and ethnographic collections. From 1861, the company ran the Godeffroy Museum in Hamburg (ibid. 2005). It can be assumed that the skulls came into Poppe’s possession via these contacts.

Information on the purchase of Poppe’s collection can be found in the correspondence and the minutes of the *Anthropologische Kommission* in the Bremen State Archives. After an initial assessment, the documents seem to mostly relate to the question of how the purchase was to be funded.⁷⁰ More detailed work with the documents was not

65 Schmidt 2019: 5. (Internal document).

66 StAB, 2-P. 1., 280, Anthropologische Kommission des Naturwissenschaftlichen Vereins und der Historischen Gesellschaft des Künstlervereins: Correspondence, receipt from 30 January 1878.

67 Ibid., receipt, November 1878.

68 Ibid., letter from Poppe, 24 October 1891.

69 The connection is likely, but additional research should be undertaken; c.f. also entry no. 2917 in the “Poppe” family record at https://die-maus-bremen.info/fileadmin/db_query/fab/poppe/ausgabe/vf1_male.html (retrieved last on 30 Aug. 2021).

70 StAB, 2-P. 1., 280, Anthropologische Kommission des Naturwissenschaftlichen Vereins und der Historischen Gesellschaft des Künstlervereins: Minutes of Meetings 1878–1880.

possible within the framework of the project. A memo found in the Übersee-Museum indicates that the museum must also have had archival holdings relating to the Anthropologische Commission and to Poppe.⁷¹ The memo gives the location as the office of Director Herbert Abel, who headed the Übersee-Museum from 1971 to 1976. It was not possible to locate these documents in the museum archives, however.

Despite the information available, the two catalogue entries cannot be assigned to any of the skulls still present in the collection. After their admission to the collection, their trace is lost.

6. Summary

The precarious situation brought about by the coronavirus pandemic meant that the project schedule had to be adjusted several times. The visit to the Bremen State Archives had to be delayed and only became possible at the beginning of March 2021. A second, final visit to the Übersee-Museum could not take place because of the delays in the schedule and the tight time budget. In addition, a detailed examination of all the documents viewed and their transcription was not possible within the planned project framework due to the vast amount of material. At times, only a cursory examination was possible. The large quantity of archived material which had to be viewed in the museum archives and the State Archives resulted from the rather large number of investigation lines which had to be pursued in the project.

The following results for the skulls from Hawai'i which were investigated between December 2020 and August 2021 can be stated:

For the skulls listed in the inventory under the numbers 4541, 4542, 4557 and 479, no evidence was found in respect to who handed them to the museum and to when this happened. There is no information at all about how they came to be in the Übersee-Museum's collection.

According to the inscriptions, the skulls numbered as 4541 and 4542 originate from the island of Kaua'i. For both, it can be assumed that they entered the collection via Hugo Schauinsland, who visited Kaua'i on his voyage to the Pacific in 1896 and 1897. However, there is no documentary evidence to prove this.

The skull identified with the number 479 bears the inscription "Hawai" and thus it could be assumed that it originates from the island of the same name. It is also possible that it found its way into the museum collection through Schauinsland and his voyage to the Pacific. No documentary evidence of this was found, however.

In the case of the skull listed in the inventory under 4457, the contradictory information as to the origin, stated once as "Melanesian" and once as "Sandwich Islander", can probably be attributed to a mistake in the collection documentation. The supposition noted by Bohlken in 1952 that the skull possibly originated from the Melanesian island of Djaul (possibly also the island of Efate), which was referred to as Sandwich Island, appears to be unlikely in the context of the Übersee-Museum. In the collection docu-

mentation of the museum, the term “Sandwich Islander”, which is inscribed on the skull, usually means the origin is Hawai‘i.

The skulls listed under the numbers 4559 and 4561 were left to the museum by Kurd-Felix Franke in 1934 and by Hermann von Eelking in 1865. While the addition of the skulls to the collection is well documented in both cases, it has not been possible to clarify the question of how they came into the possession of Franke and Eelking. Connections to Hawai‘i could be found neither for Franke nor for Eelking. In respect of the skull which was delivered to the museum by Eelking, the catalogue entries lead to the assumption that it originated from the island of Hawai‘i (Big Island).

The skulls labelled with the numbers 4597 and 4598 originate from Kaua‘i and Moloka‘i respectively, according to the inscription. The collection documentation considers the “collector” to be Hugo Schauinsland. They appear to have been added to the collection around 1897. Schauinsland visited both islands in 1896 during his voyage to the Pacific. It is likely that he appropriated the skulls on this occasion. If he himself did not remove the deceased from their graves, it is also possible that Johann Hackfeld or the Isenberg family acted as intermediaries through whom the skulls came into Schauinsland’s hands.

No information on their precise geographical origin could be ascertained for any of the eight iwi kūpuna. Apart from two cases, no information on the biography or identity of the deceased could be found. The information on the skull listed under the number 4561 is that the deceased was not yet fully grown, and for the skull labelled as number 4557 that the deceased was female. Details of the deceased such as names or family relationships are not available.

It is most likely that all eight iwi kūpuna investigated came into the collection after 1860. Although no arrival dates are available for four of the skulls, it can be assumed that they were added only after the *Naturwissenschaftlicher Verein* was founded in 1864. At that time, the efforts to expand the natural history, ethnographic and anthropological collections in Bremen intensified. Thus, all iwi kūpuna now in the collection of the Übersee-Museum were acquired in violation of the laws in force in Hawai‘i: From 1860 onwards, opening graves and removing the dead was a punishable offence.

Moreover, evidence that the family of the deceased had given its approval, as required by Hawaii, cannot be provided for any of them.

The question as to whether the further entries found by Schmidt in the museum documentation possibly refer to three of the four skulls which have no information as to who handed them to the museum and to when this happened cannot be answered. It can be proved that Fürstenau and Poppe—named in the entries as previous holders of the skulls—did spend time in Hawai‘i or had connections to the Pacific region. However, it remains unclear whether the skulls to which these entries refer are still in existence and present in the museum collection.

7. Unanswered questions and further research

The questions as to where in Hawai'i the iwi kūpuna were taken from their graves, and how they came to be in the possession of their previous holders, could not be answered within the project's framework. For four of the deceased, there was no information at all as to who handed them to the museum and when this happened. It is not impossible that new findings could be obtained by continuing the investigation and going into further detail. It is also possible that further, relevant archive material will be found at a later date. However, the apparently random, arbitrary creation of this 'collection' of human remains also raises the question of how probable it is that more detailed information on origin was documented in the first place. Moreover, the complex structure of the Übersee-Museum's records and the scattered storage of archival materials and collection documentation make it difficult to address individual research questions in a targeted manner. If the investigation is to be continued, careful consideration should first be given as to how realistic it is that further knowledge will be gained.

During the project, it became clear that it would have been helpful for an anthropological (non-invasive) evaluation to have been executed in parallel. It would thus have been possible to directly clarify questions relating to the injuries to the skulls, the weather conditions to which they were possibly exposed, and the survey marks, for example. The injuries which are evident on three of the skulls and which may indicate the use of violence lead to the recommendation that an anthropological (non-invasive) examination be conducted retrospectively in consultation with the Hawaiian partners. This would also allow the inscriptions to be examined under UV light, making it possible to view inscriptions and numbering in more detail. Any new information which comes to light could possibly be compared to the collection documentation.

Moreover, the question as to how the surplus entries in the collection documentation relate to the skulls still in the collection remains unanswered. Here as well, an anthropological examination and an investigation of the inscriptions might help find an answer. The question of whether further ancestral remains from Hawai'i have been in the collection at an earlier stage would also have to be addressed.

The decision as to whether further investigations and examinations are to be carried out should ultimately rest with the descendants of the deceased.

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9. Appendix**9.1. Documentation inspected in the archive of the Übersee-Museum
Bremen**

Findbuch-Kapitel: 1,3

Nr. 288, Bd.1	Ausgehende Brief- und Frachtsendungen 1932–1939
Nr. 131, Bd. 1 + 2	Allg. Museumskorrespondenz
Nr. 178, Bd. 1	Briefeingänge und -ausgänge 1933–1934
Nr. 179, Bd. 1	Briefeingänge und -ausgänge 1934–1935

Findbuch-Kapitel: 1,5

Nr. 224, Bd. 1	Schauinsland Verschiedenes
Nr. 413	Liste Botanische Objekte

Findbuch-Kapitel: 1,6

Nr. 198	Schauinsland Pazifik-Reise
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Findbuch-Kapitel: 1,8

Nr. 418	Korrespondenz 1860–1949
Nr. 432	Alte naturwissenschaftliche Objekterwerbungen

Findbuch-Kapitel: 4,1

Nr. 235	Geschenk und Verkauf
Nr. 240	D-Katalog Südsee
Nr. 242	Diverse Objektlisten
Nr. 416	Alte Sammlungen, verschiedene Länder

9.2. Im Staatsarchiv Bremen eingesehene Akten

Akten zu Hugo Schauinsland

StAB, 7.254, 1–4	Tagebücher der Ersten Reise 1896/97
StAB, 7.254, 10	Briefe der Ersten Reise 1896/97
StAB, 7.254, 17	Materialsammlung zum Werdegang von Hugo Schauinsland.
StAB, 7.254, 19	4 Rundfunkvorträge
StAB, 4.111 Pers., 4894	Hugo Schauinsland, Direktor des Museums
StAB, 9.S 3, 4743	Schauinsland, Hugo, geb. 1857/05/30

Naturwissenschaftlicher Verein & Anthropologische Kommission

StAB, 2-P. 1., 280	Anthropologische Kommission des Naturwissenschaftlichen Vereins und der Historischen Gesellschaft des Künstlervereins
StAB, 7.5190,1	Naturwissenschaftlicher Verein zu Bremen: Mitgliederbewegung; Vorstands- und Beiratsmitglieder, Ehrenmitgliedschaft, Satzungen und Statute. 1865–1958
StAB, 7.5190,2	Naturwissenschaftlicher Verein zu Bremen: Mitgliederbewegung, Mitgliedsbeiträge (1937–1940), Abonnenten der „Bremer Beiträge“, Auflistung der Mitglieder nach Berufen. 1867–1953
StAB, 7.5190,3	Naturwissenschaftlicher Verein zu Bremen: Mitgliederkartei, Mitgliederbewegung, Jahresberichte (1920 April–1922 März), Bremer Beiträge zur Naturwissenschaft (1933–1941). 1920–1953
StAB, 7.5190,4	Naturwissenschaftlicher Verein zu Bremen: Druckschriften und Korrespondenz, Bremer Beiträge zur Naturwissenschaft (1943–1944). 1867–1975
StAB, 7.5190,6	Naturwissenschaftlicher Verein zu Bremen: Schriftentausch (1871–1950), Jahresberichte (1892–1965), Protokolle der math.-phys. Gesellschaft Bremen (1907–1951), Protokolle der Vorstandssitzungen (1864–1902), Vereinssitzungen (1864–1890). 1864–1965
StAB, 7.5190,7	Naturwissenschaftlicher Verein zu Bremen: Vereinssitzungen (1891–1926), Vereinsgeschichte, -tätigkeit, Spenden an den Verein (1889–1964). 1889–1964
StAB, 7.5190,10	Naturwissenschaftlicher Verein zu Bremen: Beilagen zu den Abhandlungen des Naturwissenschaftlichen Vereins, Jahresberichte (1870–1891), Protokollbuch (1926–1935), Protokolle der Vorstandssitzung des Naturwissenschaftlichen Vereins (1919–1939), Sitzungsberichte der biologischen Arbeitsgemeinschaft des Naturwissenschaftlichen Vereins (1923–1932), Kontobücher (1865, 1938–1952), Schriftentauschpartner. 1870–1952

StAB, 7.5190,13	Naturwissenschaftlicher Verein zu Bremen: Geschäftsbücher (1925–1953) Mitglieder (1964), Verschiedenes (1864–1939), Jahresberichte (1922–1926, 1946–1949, 1952, 1962, 1964). 1864–1964
StAB, 7.5190,14	Naturwissenschaftlicher Verein zu Bremen: Jahresberichte (1864–1926) Satzungen, Ausstellungsfaltblätter – 100 Jahre Naturwissenschaftlicher Verein Schriftwechsel – Verschiedenes (1910, 1941–1955). 1864–1955
StAB, 9.V A 1114	Naturwissenschaftlicher Verein zu Bremen von 1864 e.V.
StAB, 2-T.6., p.2.N.3	Naturwissenschaftlicher Verein zu Bremen
StAB, 3-V. 2., Nr. 485	Naturwissenschaftlicher Verein zu Bremen
StAB, 9.S 0, 994	Naturwissenschaftlicher Verein zu Bremen

Simon Albrecht Poppe

StAB, 3-N.5., 19	Beeidigung des Assistenten der prähistorischen, ethnographischen und anthropologischen Sammlungen für Naturgeschichte und Ethnographie Simon Albrecht Poppe
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Beziehungen zwischen Bremen & Hawai'i

StAB, 6.40/1, C.6.Nr.4	Genehmigung eines zwischen den Hansestädten und den Sandwich-Inseln abgeschlossenen Handels- und Schifffahrtsvertrages
StAB, 4.70, 110/5	Auswanderung auf die Sandwich-Inseln
StAB, 2-A.-C., 2-C.29.a.	Verhältnisse der Hansestädte mit den Hawaii-Inseln. Generalia et diversa
StAB, 2-A.-C., 2-C.29.b.	Verhältnisse der Hansestädte mit den Hawaii-Inseln. Gegenseitige diplomatische Agenten, Konsuln usw.
StAB, 2-A.-C., 2-C.29.c.	Drucksachen über die Sandwich-Inseln und Anlagen zu den Berichten des bremischen Konsulats in Honolulu
StAB, 2-Dd., 2.H.2.	Hawaii, König von
StAB, 2-M.6., b.4.h.2.a.Bd. 1	Verschiedenes: u. a. Verträge mit Hawai 1868–1880

Firma Hackfeld & Co.

StAB, 4.70, 27/1	Der bremische Kaufmann J. Hackfeld als deutscher Konsul in Honolulu
StAB, 10.B Kartei, 2686	Hackfeld, Marie Gesine geb. Pflüger (1829–1917)
StAB, 7.500, 278	Briefkopierbuch des Kapitäns Hermann Haltermann
StAB, 10.B Kartei, 2718	Isenberg, Paul (1837–1903)

Dreier, Johann Caspar Heinrich

Eelking, Hermann von

Franke, Kurd Felix, Dr. med.

Fürstenau, Eduard

Poppe, Simon Albrecht