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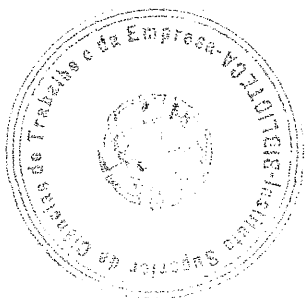
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*Franz Boas among the Inuit of
Baffin Island, 1883-1884*

JOURNALS AND LETTERS

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Introduction: Germans and Inuit on Baffin Island in the 1880s

The Simple Relationships between the Land and the People

In June 1883 Franz Boas (born Minden, 9 July 1858; died New York, 22 December 1942), aged twenty-four, left his home town of Minden in Westphalia in northwestern Germany, along with his servant Wilhelm Weiße, to join the *Germania*, the ship that was to take them to Cumberland Sound (Tinxidjuarbing) in Baffin Island (Qikiqtalik) in the North American Eastern Arctic. There Boas was to carry out a year's geographical/ethnographical research among the Inuit (singular: Inuk). This expedition, which followed the First International Polar Year (1882-3), was to prove decisive and trail-breaking for the development of ethnology in general (which later became cultural anthropology; as Boas understood it) and especially for the emergence of an ethnology of the arctic peoples of North America. Boas's objective, as he expressed it, was to investigate 'the simple relationships between the land and the people' (Boas 1885:62) with reference to the Inuit and their arctic habitat. He had explored this approach before beginning his field research by studying, on the basis of the available literature, 'the migrations of the Eskimo and their knowledge of the land they inhabited' in order to 'be able to establish a precise interconnection between the population of tribes, the distribution of food resources and the nature of the physical environment' (Franz Boas [FB]/Abraham Jacobi, 26 November 1882; see Boas 1883a, b).

In retrospect this, the first and only research trip that Boas spent among the Inuit, became personally and scientifically a key experience for him and ultimately one of special significance for the development of anthropology. Although this fact has been widely recognized in the litera-

ture (see Stocking 1965, 1992, 1996), so far no complete documentation has been presented of the notes Boas wrote in his native German between 1882 and 1884, the only texts being his numerous publications on the Inuit in both German and English (see Andrews et al. 1943) and some extracts from his letters and journals (Cole 1983; Cole and Müller-Wille 1984; Müller-Wille 1992). This omission is all the more surprising in that Boas influenced the academic and scientific life in the cultural sciences in North America in terms of both research and teaching (from ca 1890 until 1940) and thus was a prominent figure.

Hence, the aim of this publication is to effect, by editing all relevant journals, notes, and letters during Boas's first field research among the Inuit, a more complete picture of his early methodological approaches and techniques and his scientific development. In this sense, this edition must be seen first and foremost as a contribution to the history of anthropology, and especially to the discussion of ethnological field research methods and their ethical aspects. For example, the publication of the early field journals of Bronislaw Malinowski (1967) signified an important step in the re-evaluation of his work; this is now also the case with Boas (see Halpin 1994; Cole in press; Stocking 1996; and Stevenson 1997) with a renewed focus on the anthropology of Inuit in the Eastern Canadian Arctic. Secondly, Franz Boas's arctic journals are a valuable document on the history of the Inuit and of the Canadian Arctic at a period when deeply penetrating changes were influencing the way of life and living conditions of the Inuit. Thirdly, the journals and letters provide an insight into Boas's personal development and his relations with his family, his fiancée, his servant, and the Inuit and other residents of the Arctic.

As a precursor to Boas's original writings, I should like to discuss first the beginnings and early arrangements for his research in the Arctic in that they became a leitmotif for the investigations that followed; they attained the stature of classics in general anthropology in terms of their results and the resultant publications (Boas 1888, 1901-7), and they are still discussed in the literature as a basic model (see Smith 1984; Wenzel 1984; Dürr et al. 1992; Jacknis 1996). In this section I shall refer extensively to previously published works that have dealt with Boas's family background and Jewish heritage, his childhood and student career in Prussian Germany, and his first field research in the Arctic (Brilling 1966; Cole 1983, 1988, 1994, and in press; Cole and Müller-Wille 1984; Knötsch 1992a, b; Müller-Wille 1983a, 1992; Püschel 1983, 1988). Part of this introduction refers to discussions that I have elsewhere published in German (Müller-Wille 1994).

This edition of Boas's journals and letters (including excerpts from Wilhelm Weiké's diaries) was deliberately presented first in the original German, Boas's mother-tongue, even though this meant that the range of their publication would be quite limited. The sources do not give any indication whether Boas ever considered publishing his personal notes, though it is evident that many passages from his journals and letters entered his publications (often verbatim) in both German and English, for example, the essays he submitted to the *Berliner Tageblatt*. At one point, before even reaching the Arctic, he contemplated writing a popular travel account to raise money and cover his expenses (FB/Marie Krackowizer [MK], 21 July 1883). In fact, he did pursue this idea with the German publisher F.A. Brockhaus in early 1886, but this book never materialized (F.A. Brockhaus/FB, 8 January 1886, Leipzig/Berlin, in Boas 1972). It is apparent that Boas was very eager to preserve this particular record of his life in his professional and private papers, which were deposited by his heirs after his death in 1942 with the American Philological Society. It is also apparent that Boas never planned to write an autobiography (see Cole in press).

By editing and publishing the original German texts, my aim was to preserve in Germany the memory and spiritual legacy of Franz Boas as an internationally recognized scientist and to bring his standing in German-language ethnology to deserved recognition. Having been defamed as a German Jew and academic by a number of German colleagues in the 1930s, this recognition was denied him because of the blind, racist mindset in German professional and especially ethnological circles during the Third Reich. Boas had enjoyed such recognition in Germany before 1933, during the greater part of his period of wide scientific activities in both the New and Old World (Andree 1969; Fischer 1990; Cole 1994).

The anti-Semitic attitudes in German universities extended back to the later part of the nineteenth century, when aspiring Jewish academics felt that they were not exactly welcome there. Boas's own experiences during his habilitation procedure in Berlin are testimony to the prevailing attitudes of the time (Cole 1994; Cole in press). That these were not isolated cases can be noted from the parallel academic career of one of Boas's Jewish contemporaries, Alfred Philippson (1864-1953), who stayed in Germany and became a geographer of renown and who, after retiring from the chair in geography at the University of Bonn in 1929, was shunned by his colleagues and incarcerated in Theresienstadt between 1942 and 1945, although he returned to live in Bonn after the liberation in May 1945 (Philippson's diaries, in Böhm and Mehmel 1996).

Even after 1945, Boas and his scientific contributions were barely acknowledged, if they were heeded at all, in German-language ethnology (though there are exceptions, see Rudolph 1968a, b), but they were recognized in North America, where the analysis, further development, and criticism of his ideas had never ceased (see, for example, Stocking 1968, 1974, 1992, 1996; *Etnolog/Inuit Studies* 1984; Hyatt 1990; D'Souza 1995; Cole in press). Thus, for example, at the First International Congress of Arctic Social Sciences, held at Quebec in October 1992, the first steps were taken towards commemorating the international Jesup North Pacific Expedition, which had been conceived by Boas and was led by him between 1897 and 1902, and which was memorialized one hundred years later as Jesup II, with similar themes, within the framework of an international and interdisciplinary program of research. This offers excellent proof that Boas's scientific plans and concepts are still effective today (Fitzhugh and Krupnik 1994). Hence, we must also welcome the fact that on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of Franz Boas's death (1992), several publications on his work appeared in Germany (Dürr et al. 1992; Rodekamp 1994).

Boas and German Polar Research in the Early 1880s

Boas's approach to polar research, geography, ethnology, and the Inuit has been described in detail elsewhere (see Cole and Müller-Wille 1984; Knötsch 1992a, b, 1993; Müller-Wille 1994). Boas himself mentioned that even as a boy (around 1868-9) he was enthused about the northern polar regions and the history of their exploration, and was reading books about them (Cole and Müller-Wille 1984:41; Cole 1988; Liss 1996). In the 1860s the fever for geographical discovery aimed at exploring the polar regions became rampant in the German-speaking countries, as it had already become a few decades earlier in other European countries, especially in Great Britain; this was exemplified by the two German attempts on the North Pole in 1868-9 and 1869-70 (Abel and Jessen 1954; Krause 1992). Thus, it comes as no surprise that young Franz Boas, with his training in natural history, was deeply interested in these events. His student years (1877-81) took him from Heidelberg via Bonn to Kiel, where he graduated Dr.phil. in physics with *magna cum laude* on 21 July 1881, at the age of barely twenty-three, having been taught by Gustav Karsten, his supervisor; his minor subjects were philosophy (Benno Erdmann) and geography (Theobald Fischer). He had

already met the geographer Theobald Fischer in Bonn, where he took a lecture on polar geography with him, and he later studied under him in Kiel; Fischer influenced Boas through his lectures and seminars, and led him into polar research by stressing geographical issues with the focus on human environmental interactions. Fischer also became Boas's mentor during his time in Berlin after his arctic research, supporting and advising him in academic matters.

This period, the first few years after the founding of the Second German Reich (1871), was one of feverish international and national efforts to base polar research on the natural sciences. Major systematically planned and coordinated research schemes and networks were formulated and executed, aimed at effecting a deeply penetrating understanding of the physical conditions and interrelations in the Arctic that would provide clues for global conditions and change. This idea had been promoted in this sense for the first time in natural science circles in Europe in 1875 by Karl Weyprecht, an Austrian polar explorer and promoter of science (Weyprecht 1875; see Börgen 1882).

Under the energetic leadership of Georg von Neumayer (then head of the German Naval Observatory in Hamburg), the German Polar Commission, which had been founded to attain this nationally inspired goal, led the way in planning and organizing international collaboration and national contributions through stationary research programs within the framework of the First International Polar Year (IPY) in 1882-3, in which eleven nations with a total of fourteen research stations in both the Arctic and Antarctic participated (Barr 1983, 1985, 1992; Barr and Tolley 1982). In the summer of 1882 the German Polar Commission dispatched an expedition to South Georgia, a one-man operation to Labrador, and an eleven-man party (seven scientists and four workers) aboard the *Germania* to the north end of Cumberland Sound (Kingawa [K'ingua] Fiord/Clearwater Fiord). Here, between September 1882 and September 1883, the scientific staff carried out planned and scheduled stationary experiments of various types, as well as natural science measurements synchronized with the other research stations of the IPY (Börgen 1882; Neumayer and Börgen 1886; Neumayer 1890, 1891).

The German party spent the year in a prefabricated hut at the German Polar Station at K'ingua. The station hired the Inuk Ocheim as resident servant; he took up residence with his family in a tent and then a snow house barely 150 metres from the station. The Germans established relations (admittedly, very limited) with the indigenous Inuit and with the wintering Scottish and American whalers, whose crews included members

of various peoples and races including a few Germans (Abbes 1884b, 1992). Some expedition members, apart from their work in the natural sciences, also compiled ethnographic notes on the Inuit and collected ethnographic; these were published both during and after Boas's sojourn on Baffin Island (Abbes 1884a, 1890; Ambron 1883).

During the preparations for and execution of the International Polar Year, Boas completed his one-year compulsory military service near Minden (1881-2); in addition to his duties, he found enough time to plan his scientific career and to decide on geographical exploration from a fixed base among the Inuit in the uncharted regions of the 'British-American Arctic' (Cole 1988:129-31). At this time, it was still considered a compulsory initiation rite to venture into 'unknown lands' if one wanted to succeed in an academic career in geography, an issue of contention that later haunted Boas when obtaining the Dr.habil. at the University of Berlin in 1886 (Cole in press). Critical factors in the choice of location were the wintering whaling stations in Cumberland Sound, which had existed for some decades (Goldring 1986), especially the one on Kekerten Island which had been there since the 1860s (K'exerten/Qikritai), and the German Polar Station at the north end of Cumberland Sound.

In addition, the German Polar Commission, under Georg von Neumayer, and other polar researchers such as Moritz Lindeman had generously promised Boas logistical help and had arranged contacts with Scottish whalers in Dundee and other ports and with the British Admiralty in London. The latter still played an important role in the North American Arctic, although Great Britain had transferred its claim to sovereignty over the Arctic Archipelago to the Dominion of Canada in 1880. As far as can be determined from the correspondence, Boas did not establish direct contact with Canadian authorities or institutions before his expedition. However, he did establish contact with polar researchers in the United States such as Emil Bessels (from Heidelberg), Heinrich Klutschak (from Prague), and Frederick Schwatka. He engaged in preparatory correspondence concerning the language of the Inuit (Inuktitut) with Hinrich J. Rink (Copenhagen) and with some German arctic scientists and explorers such as Moritz Lindeman (Bremen) and Paul Hege-mann (Hamburg), the latter a captain on both of the German North Polar expeditions in the late 1860s.

In 1882-3 Franz Boas spent some months in Berlin, devoted to scientific preparation for his year of field research, with the aim of obtaining the support of scientific societies and established scientists such as Rudolf von Virchow and Adolf Bastian. He discussed his research plans with

them - for example, how he might investigate the various aspects of the social, economic, and spatial organization of the Inuit, which underlay their seasonal rhythms; and the physical data of the arctic environment with its resources, which have an impact on human environmental relations. He learned topographic and cartographic techniques in order to be prepared for his intended terrain surveys, for which he drew mainly on the British Admiralty charts as a reference (Admiralty Charts 1847, 1853, and 1875). He also began to learn Inuktitut, principally from Greenlandic material and he improved his command of English. These preparations provided a wide base for the execution of the expedition and the field research, which clearly combined the then accepted working methods in the natural and human sciences and their modes of interpretation. This became a prominent attribute of the development of scientific procedures, one that let Boas become the 'trail-blazer of the modern science of humankind' (Dürr et al. 1992; Rennet 1992).

In terms of his practical preparations for wintering in the Arctic, Boas sought the advice of earlier German polar explorers (Cole and Müller-Wille 1984:42). He proceeded on the assumption that during his sojourn he would have to look after himself independently and would have to adapt to the local customs and way of life of the Inuit without any contact with the outside world, even though he would be able to use the German Polar Station, with the supplies and items of equipment that would be left behind there, and to rely on the Scottish whaling station on Kekerten Island as a support base. His equipment was 'state of the art' for its day: the finest measuring instruments (thermometer, anemometer), glass-plate camera, and theodolite, with which he achieved the most precise measurements for a topographic map, single-handed and often in the most difficult circumstances; also rifles, tent, boat, sledge, kerosene stove, clothing, foodstuffs (enough for two winterings), and other items that fully met the needs of polar research at that time. In addition, in the manner of the contemporary explorations among 'natives' in the emerging European colonies, Boas took along a large store of barter goods - knives, needles, beads, coffee, tobacco, and molasses - for payment of his Eskimos' as guides, translators, and informants.

To carry out his scientific work freely and without interruption, and for his own well-being, at the urging of his family Boas took Wilhelm Weike with him as his servant and handyman. Leutnant von der Goltz (no first name given, a member of a large and highly placed Prussian military dynasty), who had been recommended by the German Polar Commission and was expected to be Boas's assistant but who from the outset had

seemed dubious to Boas, fortunately dropped out, without reason, shortly before the departure date.

Wilhelm Heinrich Christian Weike (born Häverstädt, 28 November 1859; died Berlin, early June 1917) was ten months younger than Boas and hailed from Häverstädt, a small farming village a few kilometres southwest of Minden i. W. One of three children, he had lost his father when barely a year old and grew up in Häverstädt, where he went to school for a few grades and worked on farms and for burghers in Minden (Bernd Giese-king, personal communication, April 1997). Since 1879 he had been employed as a servant in Boas's household (Cole 1988:131), and he was selected by Boas's father, who footed all his expenses, to keep Boas company in the Arctic and look after the daily chores. At Boas's request and with his instructions, Weike faithfully recorded in a diary his experiences among the Inuit, writing in simple, sober language, and extracts from this diary are included in this volume. During his sojourn he gradually acquired some knowledge of Inuktitut and English, and he taught his arctic contemporaries, such as James Mutch, some German; thus, as is apparent from his diary, he experienced no difficulty in communicating. At Christmas 1883 he froze a heel and several toes when on the ice of northern Cumberland Sound. He recuperated at the Scottish whaling station, which he did not leave between 7 January and 11 April 1884. His diary entries demonstrate that despite the barriers of language and his invalid condition, being a gregarious and quick-witted person he cultivated a close contact with the Inuit, both women and men, and became very familiar with their lifestyle. Weike certainly had a female friend; this is indicated in one of James Mutch's letters, where he writes: 'I hope William is happy with his new wife [Mathilde Nölting]. You had better tell him not to mention about Tookay or she, Mrs. W., might be jealous if he should go with you again [to Baffin Island as Boas had tentatively planned for 1886]' (James Mutch, FB, 14 January 1886, Peterhead/Berlin, in Boas 1972).

Weike was indispensable to Boas, since he handled almost all practical matters for him. Relations between the two were clearly those of master and servant. Boas addressed Weike (whose name he even sometimes misspelled as *Weiche* [FB, 27 April 1883]), by using the formal 'you' and his first name, Wilhelm. In turn, Weike used solely the generally expected formal address, 'Herr Doctor' ('Herr Dr.' or 'Hr. Dr.' in his diary), which the Inuit keenly adapted to 'Doctoraluk' (big doctor) as their nickname for Boas (FB, 31 October 1883). To the Inuit and whalers, Weike was Willie or William.

Wilhelm Weike contributed, if not always consciously, to the advance-

ment of academic science, as did the Inuit who shared with Boas their expertise, a contribution that has not always been appropriately acknowledged. In addition, Weike's diary provides an interesting angle on the conduct of scientific fieldwork in anthropology, seen from the perspective of a person quite unrelated to the subject.

On 17 and 18 June 1883, respectively, Franz Boas and Wilhelm Weike arrived in Hamburg to take passage on the *Germania* of the German Polar Commission, which sailed on 20 June for Baffin Island under Captain A.F.B. Mahlstede and his crew of four men to evacuate the personnel of the German Polar Station at K'ingua. For young Boas, this voyage meant the beginning of a scientific enterprise which ultimately took him to Columbia University in New York, where for decades, as a professor in the Department of Anthropology, he expounded the basics and outlines of the 'science of man' (i.e., cultural anthropology), as both a teacher and a researcher. For the even younger Wilhelm Weike, it was an extraordinary, singular event in cross-cultural experience, which he drew on during his life in Minden and later in Berlin.

Human Environmental Relations in the Arctic: The Ecological Approach

The 'initiation trip' (*Erstlingsreise*, Boas 1894:97) – Boas's first and only field research among the Inuit – has been analysed elsewhere in terms of its practical and technical aspects (Cole and Müller-Wille 1984). The journals, letters, and notes of Boas and some of his contemporaries, which are printed here chronologically, convey in the greatest possible detail the working methods and lifestyle that Boas adopted and pursued during his stay among the Inuit. In my view, his intensive field research methods are characterized by two conspicuous aspects that have had an influence on the scientific development of cultural anthropology as an academic discipline in general:

- 1 the observation, analysis, and interpretation of human environmental relations in the Arctic, i.e., the Inuit's organization of the utilization of space and resources in a seasonal rhythm under specific natural and geographical conditions;
- 2 the development and use of ethnological and geographical (interdisciplinary) modes of operation, which led to a cultural-anthropological field research method.

In discussing these aspects one must take into consideration that at this time, during the early 1880s, Boas was starting his scientific career and at this point was standing at the juncture of various professional directions, all of which were initially of great interest to him; for example, physics, psychophysics, physical geography (including topography and cartography), anthropogeography, physical anthropology, linguistics, folklore, and general ethnology. The year of his first field research, 1883-4, became for him a transition, step by step, from physical geography to anthropogeography and finally to ethnology, or rather to anthropology - Boas's 'science of man' in the widest sense. This evolution also entailed a personal change, which clearly reveals itself in his private papers during the period of more than two years covered in this documentation (Cole 1983, 1988, and in press; Cole and Müller-Wille 1984). The personal changes were related to Boas's increasingly competing loyalties: to his family (his parents and sisters in Germany), his fiancée in the United States, his *Heimatgefühl*, sense of cultural identity with Germany, and finally his serious commitment to *Wissenschaft*, knowledge and science. He knew that he had to set priorities and thus make choices by which he clearly would lose but also gain.

Under the banner of the prevailing discussions at German universities, especially in Berlin, in geography (Carl Ritter, Theobald Fischer, Friedrich Ratzel, and Ferdinand Freiherr von Richthofen), zoology (Ernst Haeckel, who in 1869 introduced the concept of 'ecology' for describing the 'external physiology of animals'), ethnology (Adolf Bastian), and physical anthropology (Rudolf von Virchow), Franz Boas had identified as the program for his field research the investigation of the dependence of humankind on natural factors and the conditions of the natural environment (FB/MK, 27 April 1883; Kluckhohn and Pruffer 1959; Massin 1996). Even though Boas does not use the concept and term 'ecology' in his early writings, in retrospect his thematic and theoretical orientation may be described as 'rudiments of cultural ecology' (Wenzel 1984), since he was tackling the analysis of the involvement of people in their own social structure in relation to the natural environment.

In his early preparatory studies of the literature on the Inuit of the Arctic American archipelago, Boas addresses the hypothesis that population distribution, migratory movements, types of settlement, and resource use among the Inuit are influenced by fluctuations in the natural conditions, or, to cite Boas himself, that humankind is dependent on 'changes in the climate and ice conditions in those regions'; and 'above all ... the distribution of the living areas of the Eskimos is dependent

on the favourable nature (or otherwise) of hunting conditions' (Boas 1883a:121-2). It is important to note that Boas clearly pointed out the linkages between human activity and climatic and even global change. Later, as a result of his extensive fieldwork and by recording oral traditions by interviewing the Inuit, Boas confirmed these interpretations of the relationship between humankind and environment in the Arctic, which he had published even before his sojourn among the Inuit (Boas 1883a-c).

On the other hand, it should be stressed that before his field research, Boas approached this deterministic evaluation with a certain scepticism and emphasized 'that conclusions of this type cannot be adequately supported by the known facts' (Boas 1883a:119). Yet he later unequivocally established the direct connection between natural environmental conditions and human behaviour when he proposed that there was a relationship between ice conditions, seal populations, and distribution and hunting potential as far as the Inuit were concerned, this potential being in accordance with the Inuit's pattern of settlement, type of economy, and even social organization (Boas 1888:417; Smith 1984; Wenzel 1984).

During his sojourn on Baffin Island, Boas carried out an extremely multifaceted and, in the modern sense, interdisciplinary scientific program. He had to familiarize himself with the environment, the people, and the logistics of travelling on water, ice, and land in order to attain his ambitions as a young scientist in the border zone between geography and ethnology. His diary entries, which in many places contain reflections of this type, provide a clear impression of this process. At the beginning of his stay in the Arctic, physical-geographical observations, logistical preparations for travelling, and other technical and practical matters predominate.

Relations with the Inuit, the indigenous population, and the few Europeans, the Euro-Canadians and Euro-Americans at the two whaling stations on Kekerten and on a whaling ship at Nauyaseling, assumed an important role as Boas learned both English and Inuktitut, though by his own admission he never mastered the latter adequately. The constant travelling by boat, then later exclusively by dogsled and on foot, kept Boas fully occupied, leaving precious little time for the recording of data. It appears that his brief visits in solely Inuit settlements at Anarittung and Saunia between December 1883 and March 1884 and in the final weeks before his departure from Kivittung at Davis Strait in late August 1884 gave him the opportunity really to feel his way into Inuit society and language (as is revealed in his diary entries by his frequent use of Inuktitut).

In this regard, Wilhelm Weike seems to have had an easy social relationship with the Inuit, enjoying outings, hunting, and games despite the chores involved in looking after Boas's practical affairs.

The topographic surveys, which led to Boas's cartographic masterpiece, printed by the renowned Justus Perthes publishing house in Gotha (Boas 1885: plate 1, insert 1-6), and the documentation of place names from oral tradition (1885:90-5), which he began right from the beginning and carried out consistently and in detail with the Inuit, are the expression of his research initiative at grasping human environmental relations in the arctic habitat of the Inuit. This is one of the scientific contributions, surviving to the present, which Boas has given to the representation and analysis of environmental knowledge and geographical perception of the Inuit.

Hence, during his field research, Boas was particularly anxious to gather data both on the natural environmental conditions and on the Inuit's social, economic, and spatial organization. These topics represented a widely cast and extensive research program for one person, even though his servant Wilhelm Weike, the manager of the Scottish whaling station James Mutch, and numerous Inuit, both women and men, assisted him with the practical aspects. James Mutch became indispensable for his many helpful translations (from English to Inuktitut and vice versa) and for the interpretation of Inuit culture. Quite a few Inuit were conversant with the whaler's version of English, which was thus the lingua franca for all parties.

Boas collected data on the weather and the sun's position, on tidal fluctuations, and on ice conditions, as well as on topography. The latter took precedence; he travelled almost uninterruptedly around the southeastern coastal areas of Baffin Island to make observations of the terrain and carry out topographic surveys; these Boas augmented with maps drawn by the Inuit, some of which he published (1885, 1888). His surveys then took shape as the first map of this area that was based on exact geodetic measurements, and its validity endured well into the twentieth century.

In order to gain access to the human dimension of the natural environment, Boas began his field research by intensively and systematically recording the geographical knowledge of the Inuit; in return for payment in goods and food, he had them draw maps, and he recorded all the place names they knew, both on maps and on paper; this rapidly expanded his Inuktitut vocabulary. Boas had noted the importance of place names for the interpretation of human environmental relations when he was discussing the areas of utilization and patterns of settlement

of the Neitchillik [Netsilik] Inuit (1883b). On the basis of the map thus produced (1885: plate 1) and the associated list of place names (1885:90-5), he was able to extract, represent, and interpret the arctic environment from the point of view of the Inuit, the indigenous people of this area.

The place names and the additional information that Boas collected provided information on the Inuit's current and historical settlement patterns, migratory movements, distribution and utilization of resources (marine and terrestrial mammals), population distribution and density, and linguistic and social relationships. The approach via toponymy, as an expression of the close relationship between humankind and environment, and finally via the 'stories and songs' he recorded, provided Boas with unique access to the language and culture of the Inuit, which he used to produce an extensive ethnographical glossary, *The Central Eskimo* (1888), a work that is still considered a classic of Inuit anthropology. Using these methods, Boas was pursuing a clearly ecological initiative, which invariably saw humankind in relation to the natural environment.

The diversity and intensity of the ethnological-geographical works that Boas produced in his early years between 1883 and 1888 represent an expression of the research approach which he developed during his one-year sojourn in the Arctic among the Inuit but which he applied only conditionally in his later years among the indigenous peoples along the Canadian Northwest Coast (see Rohner 1969; Kasten 1992). In practice, Boas never again immersed himself as intensively in another culture through active participation as he did with 'his Eskimos' in the Arctic. Still, he continued his interest in the Inuit and the Arctic by maintaining an extensive correspondence not only with James Mutch, who kept him informed of changes in Cumberland Sound and on Baffin Island until the early 1920s (see Boas 1972) but with other arctic whaling captains, all of which resulted in further publications (Boas 1901-7).

Fieldwork Methods: 'I am now truly just like a typical Eskimo.'

The personal, social, linguistic, and economic situation relating to Franz Boas's first field research has been discussed at length elsewhere (Cole and Müller-Wille 1984; Knötsch 1992a). However, four types of working method need to be emphasized here, in that they were applied by Boas during his ethnological-geographical work and led both to extraordinary results, which were realized in numerous influential scientific publica-

tions (Andrews et al. 1943), and to a refinement of the ethnological research methods of his time.

- 1 *Participatory observation* as an ethnological research method, whereby Boas adapted to the living conditions of the Inuit, learned their language, and as far as possible participated in all activities, especially embracing the lifestyle in the arctic environment, in order to gain an insight into the culture of the Inuit. Boas did not later expand on this research method or develop it further in his research, but he transmitted it to his students. Thus, this early methodological contribution to anthropological field research was recognized only much later within the discipline, though ethnologists who have worked among the Inuit have referred to it variously (Wenzel 1984; Knötsch 1992b).
- 2 *Systematic and structured interviews* with experts among the Inuit in order to cover particular aspects of their culture (for example, toponymy, geographical knowledge, language structure and vocabulary, myths, stories, behaviour, etc.). Boas conducted these interviews at the whaling stations, in snow houses, and in tents, recording and copying the information and texts into his diaries or notebooks.
- 3 *Systematic mapping and surveys* (topographic surveys) of a quantitative nature covering population distribution, settlement patterns and migratory movements, hunting practices, and the spatial use of resources. On the basis of the maps and data compiled by Boas, historical analyses can be carried out today of the changes in land use among the Inuit during the last century. His database is extremely precise and thus represents a valuable source.
- 4 *Recording oral traditions*, which were then preserved and are used today by the Inuit as a historical source to enhance and develop their culture and language. Thus, to some degree Boas's book, *The Central Eskimo* (1888, see also 1901, 1907), has become the encyclopedia of the Inuit in Cumberland Sound and along the west shore of Davis Strait, for it illustrates how their ancestors lived and thought prior to the pervasive influence of Christian missions and Canadian government institutions (Angmaritlik 1984; Stevenson 1997). This is possible today only because Boas recorded this information in detail more than 115 years ago.

In general, as suggested above, Franz Boas's research among the Inuit became the key event in terms of his later scientific development (Stocking 1965). Quite apart from the rigorous methods of research in natural sciences in which he had been trained, Boas had to learn in the Arctic how to

familiarize himself with the society, culture, and language of the Inuit. In this undertaking he was following the example of Charles F. Hall (1865), whom he read extensively and who had adopted the motto 'Living as an Eskimo with the Eskimos' (Boas 1885:36). The Prague explorer Heinrich Klutschak (1881, 1987) was also an important model for Boas. Klutschak lived among the Inuit of the Central Arctic between 1878 and 1880 with the Schwatka expedition while searching for the Franklin expedition. Boas had read both his and Hall's books before setting out for the Arctic.

The expedition led by Frederick Schwatka adapted the Inuit lifestyle entirely and travelled extensively with the Inuit on the tundra in the Central Arctic without being dependent on supplies from outside (Barr, in Klutschak 1987:xxx). The title of Klutschak's book, *Als Eskimo unter Eskimos* (As an Inuk among the Inuit) (1881), can thus be seen to some degree as the leitmotif for Boas's research mode and lifestyle in the Arctic. Thus, Boas noted proudly and compellingly in the letter-journal he wrote for his fiancée Marie Krackowizer, who was then living in New York, 'As you see, my Marie, I am now truly just like an Eskimo; I live like them, hunt with them, and count myself among the men of Anarritung [an Inuit winter settlement]. Moreover I scarcely eat any European foodstuffs any longer but am living entirely on seal meat and coffee' (see text, FB/MK, 15 February 1884; see Cole 1983; Cole and Müller-Wille 1984:54). Boas viewed himself as being integrated and accepted as a 'participant observer' within Inuit society in order to learn to understand their cultural expressions and philosophy of life.

Although Boas stayed frequently at the Scottish whaling station at Kekerten (which he used as his operational base) between mid-September 1883 and early May 1884, he and Wilhelm Weike spent the bulk of the year living 'like an Inuk' with the Inuit in snow house and tent camps while travelling around Cumberland Sound and the west shore of Davis Strait. Franz Boas was very anxious to be accepted by the Inuit, even though he had trouble and difficulties with the language and logistics (for example, sledging, buying dogs, procuring caribou skins and seal meat) and even though, in the minds of the Inuit, he was linked to the whalers shortly before. His journals contain much proof of this connection. After some adaptation and a certain amount of effort, Boas came to respect the lifestyle of the Inuit, whom he saw personally as partners. As he noted, 'Eskimos are far from being uncivilized' (FB/parents, sisters, 3 October 1883), an early expression of his cultural relativism, which only later bore fruit in his publications and teachings. On the other hand, one

cannot deny that Boas achieved his access to people, services, and places, as well as obtaining dogs and data, through the incentive and even pressure tactics of offering and withholding payments and 'trade goods' such as rifles, ammunition, knives, tobacco, and foodstuffs, which he used extensively for this purpose. As a generous gesture after his return to Germany, Boas arranged through the Scottish whaling company that thirty pounds of tobacco be sent to James Mutch at Kekerten to be distributed to all his Inuit acquaintances so that they would not forget him (Crawford Noble/FB, 7 and 19 July 1885, Dundee/Minden, in Boas 1972).

Journals and Letters, 1882-1884: The Source Material

Franz Boas's journals, records, and letters, as well as excerpts from Wilhelm Weike's diary, written both before and during their one-year expedition (1883-4) among the Inuit of the Canadian Arctic, are published here in English translation as completely as was feasible, apart from passages of a purely private nature, which have been excluded. These documents represent a testimonial to Boas's developing research initiatives in geography and ethnology (anthropology) and are also a reflection of his working methods and his relations with the Inuit and other residents of southern Baffin Island. A few limited extracts from these records have been published earlier in English and German (Cole 1983; Müller-Wille 1992). This publication includes the records which Boas himself considered journals *sensu stricto*, as well as his personal letters, which were in fact an extension of his journals; they thus form the corpus of journals and letters' as described below.

Franz Boas's personal notes and publications on the Inuit of the Arctic are very extensive. During his stay in Baffin Island (for details, see Cole and Müller-Wille 1984; Knötsch 1992a, b, c; Müller-Wille 1983a, 1992, 1994), Boas kept a variety of journals and notebooks, field journals, itineraries, catalogues of ethnographic collections, and letter-journals, which he called his data books (FB/MK, 24 February 1884). In addition, he made numerous maps and sketches. He took a total of forty-eight photographs (glass plates) between 27 June 1883 and 30 April 1884, of which only one-third have survived, owing to poor developing techniques and to Boas's ineptitude in photographic matters. Seven of these plates are published in this volume.

In total, the manuscript material of Boas's 1883-4 writings housed in his professional and private bequest at the American Philosophical Soci-

ety embraces 200,000 words. Boas was obsessed with safeguarding journals, letters, and notes. He produced copies of almost everything wrote. Thus, the material in his bequest is as complete as it can be. Furthermore, his early correspondence concerning his stay with the Inuit Baffin Island is scattered in many places and has turned up in archives Germany, Denmark, and the United States.

Since, for reasons of safety, Boas copied most of his records during sojourn in the Arctic, one cannot always be sure when and where made the original entries. The conditions under which he wrote were often extreme; for example, he had to thaw his ink to be able to write. In his journal in his sleeping bag in an igloo or to note down long lists of numbers for topographical surveys and determinations of positions on the ice during his extended journeys in Cumberland Sound at temperatures that dropped to -48°C . The security and warmth of the Scottish whaling station at Kekerten with the affable James Mutch – a Scot who was married to an Inuit and was fluent in Inuktitut – represented a pleasant change and a welcome haven.

The texts edited here were taken either direct from the originals which I examined and transcribed in the archives I visited, or from microfilms or photocopies provided by the archives. The transcriptions were edited only when absolutely necessary, and this is always noted in the text. In this edition, the source of each text is precisely identified by a code brackets (see below) at the beginning of each item. This was deemed essential in order to distinguish the various layers of journal entries at their exact location in the complex of handwritten material that has survived in the Boas papers.

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The APS holds in its manuscript collections the Franz Boas Papers, including personal and professional material given to the APS by the heirs Franz Boas in the late 1940s. This collection contains a wealth of original material. The documents, photos, sketches, and maps are published here with the express permission of the American Philosophical Society granted in letters of 14 November 1983 and 21 February 1984 (Steph Cautlet) and 9 December 1993 and 12 January 1994 (Beth Carr Horrocks). The society's literary copyright to these texts will not be influenced by this publication.