

### The story of Margrete Kreutz

-an exhibition by Tromsø University Museum

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#### **Events in the Life of Margrete Kreutz:**

- 1863, November: Baptised in Meråker, Norway
- 1878, January: Receives the rite of confirmation in Undersåker, Sweden
- 1878, July: Verifies the rite of confirmation in Meråker, Norway
- 1885, July: Marries Anders Persson Kreutz. Moves to Svensk-Strådalen, Sweden
- 1885, September: Daughter Kristina born in Kallfiell, Sweden
- 1887, September: Daughter Märta Maria born in Kallfjell, Sweden
- 1888, December: Travels to Paris, France
- 1889, January: Daughter Margrete (Margareta) Sofie (Sofia) Parisienne born in Paris, France
- 1890, October: Son Olof (Ola) born in Kallfjell, Sweden
- 1892, October: Daughter Anna Lisa born in Verdal, Norway
- 1893, April: Travels to Chicago, USA
- 1894, September: Son (Tomas) Paulus born at Selbusjøen, Norway
- 1896, September: Daughter Sigrid Valborg born in Kjerringvoll in Hessdalen, Norway
- 1897: Anders Persson Kreutz emigrates to America
- 1901, July: Anna Lisa (9 years old) dies from tuberculosis
- 1901, August: Margrete Sofie Parisienne (11 years old) dies from tuberculosis
- 1903, February: Märta Maria (16 years old) dies from tuberculosis
- 1903, May: Sigrid Valborg (6 years old) dies from tuberculosis
- 1908, June: Daughter Kristina (22 years old) marries Matias Alexander Mortensson, Røros, Norway
- 1912, September: Son Olof (21 years old) emigrates to Vancouver, Canada
- 1912 or 1915: Moves to Valdres/Borgund, Norway with Paulus (20 or 23 years old)
- 1922, September: Margrete Kreutz dies in Gol, Norway, five days before her  $59^{\rm th}$  birthday
- 1922, September: Margrete Kreutz is buried at Borgund kirke in Lærdal, Norway

### Introduction

This exhibition is based on the doctoral dissertation "På ville veger? Levende utstillinger av samer i Europa og Amerika" ["Agents Abroad. Live Exhibitions of Sámi in Europe and America"] (Baglo, University of Tromsø 2011). The doctoral dissertation focuses on the "live exhibitions" that became hugely popular across the western world during the 19th and the early 20th century. The exhibitions displayed representatives of foreign and supposedly primitive peoples in zoos and amusement parks, but also in museums and world fairs. In such diverse venues, the Sámi performed their daily activities in reconstructed houses. During the years 1822-1934 (1950), more than 400 Sámi – most recruited from Sámi reindeer herding communities – travelled to the great cities of Europe and America.

The "live exhibitions" have often been seen as a purely negative phenomenon. Through the present exhibition we wish to challenge this perception and contribute towards a more nuanced understanding of the live exhibitions and how they were organised. Even more important has been the endeavour to create an understanding of the historical foundations and the motives of the participants themselves.

The exhibition is therefore based on a single exhibition participant's life, Southern Sámi Margrete Olsdatter Bull Kreutz (1863-1922) from

the mountain border between Meråker/Verdal and Åre. Kreutz' background and history is in so many ways representative in this regard, including how the Southern Sámi dominated the live exhibition market in the late 1800s.

In addition to recreating a sense of closeness to her life, we have wished to focus on the expertise and skills that the exhibition participants possessed. Although this expertise probably came at a price, it also helped that the Southern Sámi were able to transform an unequal political power situation into something that has served their interests.

Last, but not least, we wanted to share some of the things that have touched me in my work on the dissertation; astonishment, partly also offense, in regards to the "live exhibitions". Shame in the face of their own and other people's prejudice. Surprise at the outcome of events. Grief over a time period that claimed lives in a completely different way than in our own present day. Anger towards injustice and abuse. Most of all, however: admiration. Admiration for the stamina, the adaptability, the sheer will to uphold what they believed in, and to create a life and a livelihood for themselves and their own people when the surrounding circumstances were far from favourable.

Tromsø (Verdal), September 2012 *Cathrine Baglo* 

# "Lapp Maiden Margrete Olsdatter Bull"

Margrete Olsdatter Bull was born in 1863 in Enkroken, in Undersåker, Sweden, just across the border from Meråker in Nord-Trøndelag, Norway. She was the second of at least ten siblings. Her parents were "Lapp Gentleman" Ole Olsen Bull and Maren Maria Thomasdatter. This family was one of several Southern Sámi families that tried to maintain themselves through reindeer husbandry in the border mountains between Verdal/Meråker in Nord-Trøndelag, Norway and Åre in Jämtland, Sweden. The Southern Sámi name for this region is Gaaskelaante – The Between Land.

#### Difficult to Trace

We do not know much about Margrete's (or Margreta, as she is named in Swedish) childhood. The Sámi in Gaaskelaante went to church on both the Norwegian and the Swedish side of the border. This fact makes it very difficult to trace the Sámi families in written source material. From one and the same family, names can be found in church registers in Undersåker, Offerdal, Kall, Meråker, Verdal, Stod, Sparbu, as well as other places.







## **Rough Conditions**

The scanty notes in the church registers of events in the Olsen Bull family are a witness to rough circumstances. At least three of Margrete's brothers and sisters died young, the youngest only 13 weeks old. Life in the reindeer mountains could fluctuate between wealth and poverty. In years of want, many Southern Sámi moved down to the outskirts of villages where they made their living in various ways. This appears to have been the situation for Margrete's family also. In 1875, the Olsen Bull family is listed as lodgers at the farm Graftåsmo in Meråker, a place Margrete would return to near the end of her life. Her father supported the family by crafting and selling spoons made from reindeer antlers.

### Peaceful Co-Existence

The contact between the village Sámi and the reindeer-herding Sámi was close, both through kinship, marriage, and economically. In the villages, the Sámi lived adjacent to the villagers without the occurrence of large-scale conflicts. Margrete's baptism bears witness to this fact. All her godparents were farmers and people of humble means from Meråker.

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## The Label "Lapp Maiden"

Yet, Margrete's position was outside the village society. This is evident from the overview of youths that received the rite of confirmation in Meråker in the summer of 1879. Margrete's name is written at the bottom of the page of the church register, as was the common practice for Sámi youths receiving the rite of confirmation, while the label "Lapp Maiden" has been added in front of her name. It appears that her family made it back into reindeer husbandry, or perhaps Margrete lived with some other family. In any case, it is obvious that she had already received the rite of confirmation in the Undersåker lappförsamling (i.e. Lapp Congregation) and was currently residing in Sweden.

# Marriage and Family Life

In the summer of 1885, Margrete married "fjellmannsven" (= "mountain man apprentice") (herdsman) Anders Persson Kreutz from the northern part of Gaaskelaante. We find the name Kreutz, moreover, spelled in many different ways (Krøytz, Krøyts, Krøits, Krøis, Kreys, Kryss, etc.). The wedding took place on the Swedish side of the border, probably in the Kall chapel. Just like Margrete, Anders had grown up in a reindeer herding family that from time to time made a living for themselves as village Sámi. In the "husforhørsbok" (house enquiry register) of the Kall and Offerdal mountain parish for the 1880s, both his parents are listed as "poor".

### To Svensk-Strådalen

After their wedding, Margrete and Anders Kreutz settled in Svensk-Strådalen, just on the Swedish side of the border from Verdal and the newly settled mountain village Vera. The area had been purchased as reindeer grazing pastures by the Swedish government in the 1860s. In Svensk-Strådalen, Anders' elder brother, and probably Anders as well, had recently made a colossal effort to clear the farm Heggøya by the river Strådøla. At Heggøya, they built a farmhouse,

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a shed and an earth cellar dug into the ground. Margrete and Anders, however, moved into the houses on the farm Østpåmoen on the other side of the river, only a few meters from the Norwegian border and the two farms in Norsk-Strådalen. At Østpåmoen there was already a two-storey log farmhouse and a shed for livestock. During the 1880s, Østpåmoen, Heggøya and the other settlements along the river Strådøla became important junctions for the Kreutz family and the Sámi in Strådalen. At this time a system appears to have developed, probably in combination with livestock farming, where the Strådal Sámi had their all-year-round settlements in Strådalen and the vicinity, utilising the winter grazing pastures west towards Verdal, Steinkjer and Snåsa.

### The First Children

In the autumn 1885, Anders and Margrete had a daughter, Kristina. Two years later, during midwinter 1887, Märta Maria was born and was named after Margrete's younger sister who died at the age of 2 from scarlet fever. The circumstances surrounding the birth must have been dramatic. Märta Maria received an emergency baptism before the church ceremony, probably by her uncle who was permitted to perform church rites under special circumstances.

## The Lapp Chapel at Kolåsen

A different important meeting place for the Sámi in Svensk-Strådalen was the Lapp Chapel at Kolåsen in Kall. The Kolås Mass, which was held twice every summer, attracted Sámi from far and near. Usually they would spend the weekend there. The church services at Kolåsen and all the Sámi dressed in their festively coloured traditional garments also attracted people outside the membership of the congregation.

#### Cultourism

When the railroad connection was established between Trondheim and Ånge in 1882, Kolåsen became a popular tourist destination. Tourists would cross the Kallsjøen lake in boats. At other destinations, such as Enafors near Enkroken (Margrete's birthplace), the local Sámi had tourists transported to their goahti doorsteps. The phenomenon became so widespread that the Swedish Tourist Association in 1891 issued a set of guidelines "for tourists who encounter Lapps".

## A Preferential Right for Agriculture

In parallel with the development of the border regions in Trøndelag (Norway) and Jämtland (Sweden), reindeer herding became increas-





ingly challenging. In 1883, Norway and Sweden voted that agricultural farming had the statutory preferential right before reindeer herding and other Sámi activities. In this "Felleslappeloven" – the Joint Lapp Legislation – strict regulations for the compensation of damages caused by reindeer on farmland were introduced for the first time. The Sámi would still have the right to roam in areas they had used according to custom. Now, however, these areas were separated into districts. Gaaskelaante became the Færen reindeer grazing district, but limited to the Norwegian side of the border only, and far smaller in extent than previously. The legislation also authorised the cancellation of Sámi grazing rights in areas where the reindeer herding practice was a particular impediment to agriculture and other industrial interests, provided the Government did allocate new land as grazing pastures.

### An Attractive Offer

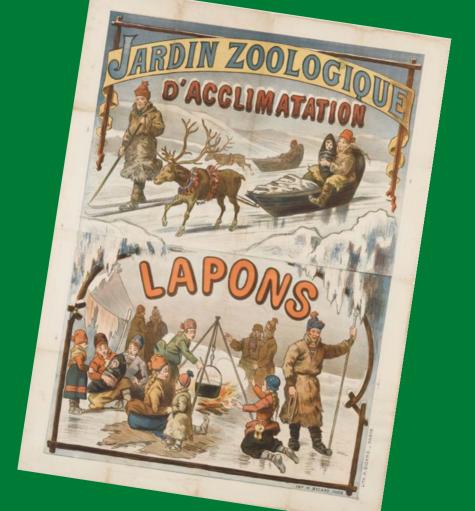
The regulations had particular consequences for reindeer herders in the Southern Sámi area, where the conflicts of interest culminated towards the end of the 1880s. At this time, probably during the summer or autumn of 1888, Margrete and Anders Kreutz received an offer they found highly attractive; displaying the reindeer herding Sámi's lifestyle and way of life for money – in Paris.

### To Paris

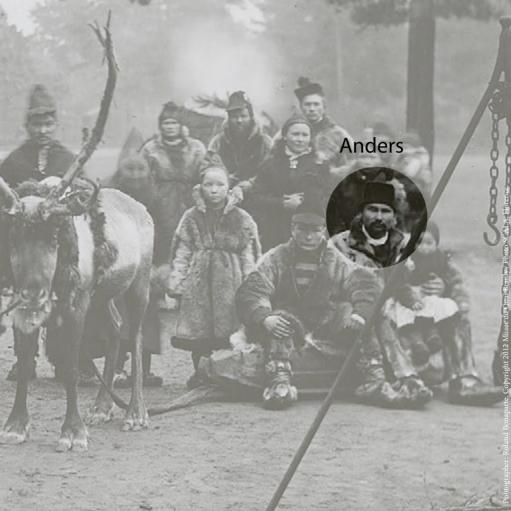
During December 1888, the due-any-day-pregnant Margrete, Anders and their two little girls crossed the mountain to the nearest railway station. On New Year's Day 1889, the family arrived by steam liner in the French port of Le Havre. On the same ship, 23 other Southern Sámi involved in reindeer herding followed, most of them Norwegian. Among them was Margrete's eleven year old sister, Anna Lisa, an impresario whose name is no longer known, 20 reindeer and "One and All of the Necessary Objects for the Illustration of their Way of Life".

### The Sámi in the Jardin d'Acclimatation

Their destination was Paris and the zoo Jardin d'Acclimatation in the Boulogne Forest. Like several other "particularly exotic peoples", the Southern Sámi had been employed to present their culture and way of life to an audience in the period leading up to the Paris World Exhibition in 1889. About 10 years previously, Sámi from Karasjok and Kautokeino had pitched their tents and set up camp with their reindeer and equipment in the very same zoo.







## Popular Exhibition Practice

Performances of this kind, in which representatives of foreign peoples put their everyday life on display in reproductions of their dwellings, inside locations such as amusement parks, zoos, world exhibitions and other places, were wildly popular. This exhibition practice was widespread across the entire Western world in the late 19th century and early 20th century.

## "As Resounding a Success as the Hottentots"

The Southern Sámi in Paris in 1889 also attracted large crowds of visitors. "These natives from Norway [and Sweden] have beyond any doubt been as resounding a success as the Hottentots", a famous French scientist wrote, referring to a past exhibition. The "live exhibitions", as they were called, not only attracted the regular crowds of onlookers. For a while, they also functioned as field laboratories for ethnological and (physical) anthropological examinations. In a time when it was still uncommon for scientists to do field work, the exhibitions were regarded as a welcome opportunity to study foreign peoples at close hand.







Cynghalais,

Hottentots.

Lapons.

Au Jardin d'Acclimatation. — Le champ où fraternisent avec les Parisiens les peuples les plus divers.



### A Newborn Attraction

The birth of Margrete Sofie Parisienne Andersdatter Kreutz, three weeks after their arrival in Paris, attracted particularly intense attention. Among the many foreign reporters covering the preparations for the Paris World Exhibition, we find Marius Wold from Levanger. He reported from a visit to "the Norwegian Lapp Colony" in the Boulogne Forest in the newspaper Nordenfjeldsk Tidende in April 1889:

"[T]his is the last Sunday in Paris for the Lapp Colony, and we wish [..] to bid them Farewell [..] Soon we are conversing with them: they are joyfully anticipating their return home. The Colony, numbering 28 People, has expanded by the Birth of a Girl, who has been given the apt Name "Parisienne". The many Frenchmen standing around are very curious about the Conversation we are holding – and believed us to be civilised Finns and that we spoke their Language. They became however soon aware of the Situation and there accordingly erupted many Questions regarding the Lapps' Age, the Value of a Reindeer, etc.".

### A Familiar Encounter

It soon became evident that Wold and one of the women in the group had mutual acquaintances. It is quite likely that Margrete Kreutz was the woman in question. She had spent much of her youth in the regions towards Levanger and Skogn, where her family had grazing pastures. Wold continues:

"The most amusing thing was, though, when one of the Lapp Women heard that a person from Levanger was present. The Woman immediately started to inquire many a thing, particularly about Persons, and she asked: "do you know one Court Master Dorff, Bratsbærg, how about Bambærg, or that District Sheriff Lynan". Answers and Information were naturally provided. Then she went inside for a Photograph, which she wanted to give one of the above, and which a Friend took into his care. Although they were well-treated in many ways, they still declared that they had never witnessed such Constraint. The Area they had was enclosed by a 2 Meter tall fence, and they were not allowed outside it".





The recordbreaking S/S Arizona, which carried Margrete and her children from Liverpool to Queenstown, New York, and in 1879 got severely damaged after hitting an iceberg.

# To Chicago

Safely returned from Paris, their life continued in Strådalen, only now with greater means than before. Perhaps is it now that Anders and Margrete Kreutz manage to acquire their reindeer, if they did not have any prior to the journey to France?

#### Increased Status

There is much to indicate that the family's status, too, has increased, and that the event has attracted attention beyond their regular social circle. When their fourth child, Olof, was baptised on New Year's Day 1891, the godparents were no longer relatives and people from the same reindeer herding region as before. "Mr and Mrs School Teacher Nylander" also added prestige to the event. And when Anna Lisa was baptised in the Stiklestad church in Verdal in February two years later, all her godparents were local farmers and notables, including District Sheriff Wessel from Holmsveet søndre.

#### Three Weeks of Travel

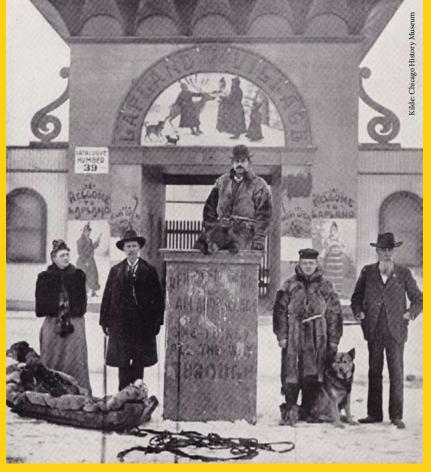
The stay in Paris undoubtedly whetted their appetite for travel. Four years later, parts of the family are on the move again, this time heading for Chicago. The journey took them by steam liner from Trondhjem on 26th April 1893 via Liverpool, arriving in New York almost three weeks later. From New York the journey continued by train to Chicago.

## Travelling Alone with Children

Anders Kreutz and the daughters, Kristina and Märta Maria, do not appear to have joined the journey to Chicago. Margrete went alone with the three youngest children and does indeed seem to be a woman not to avoid a challenge – Anna Lisa was only six months old at the time. Margrete's travelling companions included relatives and friends, however, among them Nils Thomassen Bull, who had been a member of the Paris exhibition and was a godparent to several of Margrete's children, as well as the later renowned Sámi rights activist Daniel Mortensson and his family. Mortensson was a teacher by vocation and had worked at Kolåsen for many years.

## Lapland Exhibit Company

The tour guide and primus motor was Emil Arner from Sweden, who had recently emigrated to Kansas. Here he had met Captain Patrick Henry Coney, an attorney and highly decorated soldier of the American Civil War. Together, the two men established the joint-stock



Lapland Village, Chicago World Exhibition 1893. The "manager" P. H. Coney and his wife Emma on the left. Source: Chicago History Museum.



Inside the Lapland Village. Source: Chicago History Museum.

company Lapland Exhibit Company. Their purpose was to recreate a Sámi settlement at the Chicago World Exhibition. Since the Paris World Exhibition in 1889 these recreations, or *villages indigénes* as they were called in this context, had become a self-evident and popular element at most major exhibitions in Europe as well as in America.

### Bring Your Own Reindeer and Equipment

"The Lapland Village" was among the smallest of the exhibitions at "The Midway", the Chicago World Exhibition place of entertainment. It consisted of approximately twenty Southern Sámi from both sides of the border, and four girls from Dalarna. In addition to tents, reindeer pelts and other equipment, 14 reindeer and 70 crates of reindeer moss had been supplied. Only one reindeer survived the six month stay.

# The Village

The village opened at the end of May and was open all days from eight o'clock in the morning until nine o'clock at night. The entrance fee was 25 cents. Photos of the village show that it was encircled by a tall, castle wall-like construction. A podium for the

locally hired barker was placed in front of the entrance. Inside the entrance, the exhibition consisted of several turf huts and tents. The exhibition programmes list demonstrations of sleigh riding, prayer, skiing and crafting objects from reindeers' antlers, bones and fur – probably also yoik. In addition, the Swedish girls offered song, dance and music performances at regular intervals.

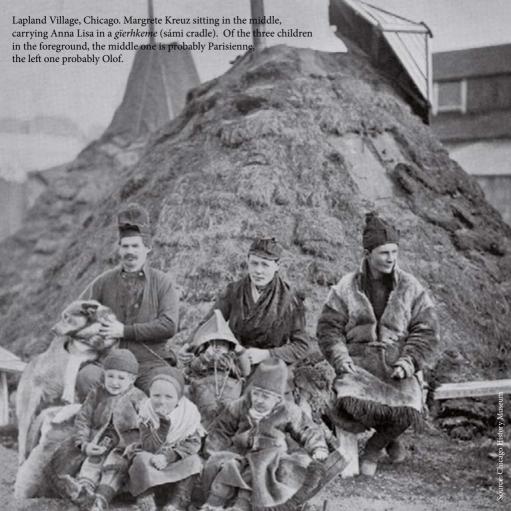
### Payment

We do not know how much Margrete Kreutz was paid for her and her children's participation. Where salary information is available, adult participants received from 14 to 28 kroner per week. Men were paid more than women. The exception is Nils Thomassen Bull who appears to have been the star of the troop, and who put forward a salary claim of 12 kroner per day (84 kroner per week) for himself and his family. The salary claim was "under consideration" when the contract was signed. In comparison, the disbursement from the Røros poorhouse at the time, which might have been the alternative for some, was 5 kroner per month for a widow.

### Professionalisation and Contract

At this time "the live exhibitions" were increasingly profession-

Nontraks. 39197-Ostersund d. 12 april 1893. Sasom af orderborande myndigheter i Chica, Ulinois, U.S.a. for Verld's utställningen terstades och det med densamma intro rade Bolaz till det harnedan antydda uppbray befullmaj ligad forpligtiger gaz 6 mil amer, bosatt i Salina, Kansas lo mig å deras Vagnar att för skaffa om tring funton Suppor of bada konen, deras national Kostym till anställen vid Utstallningen i derstades for della andamal sarskilds inredd lokal, has L'apland Village", denna anstalling as lya rum endast under de sex manader Motallingen Garas.



alised, both in terms of organisation and participants. The contract is a manifestation of this professionalisation. The contracts bear witness to an appreciation of mutual interest and the relative equalisation of the relationship between exhibitor and exhibition member. In Arner's contract with Thomassen Bull and the other exhibition members it becomes evident how the latter party has negotiated, at times even dictated, the terms for their exhibition participation. The contract demands included the condition that the Southern Sámi exhibition members should be escorted to church when required, and they should only stay at first class hotels during their journey. Upon arrival in Chicago, the group was given accommodation at the Hotel Dearborn, one of the city's many skyscrapers.

### Greater Recognition Away From Home

We do not know how Margrete and her children experienced the stay; besides the warm weather and the fact that Chicago must obviously have appeared a world apart from Strådalen. Presumably, the family became acquainted with novelties such as neon lights, hamburgers and the chewing gum Juicy Fruit. They were all exhibited to a greater audience at the Chicago World Exhibition. There is every indication that the exhibition members were treated well, and many

of them may have experienced greater recognition abroad than what had been the case at home. Nils Thomassen Bull, or "King Bull" as he was called, had been particularly popular in Chicago. The same goes for one of the little girls, perhaps Parisienne, who went by the moniker "Bi-Lo" after a popular American porcelain doll. Many of the participants have also emphasised the importance of communicating knowledge about their own culture, and expressing pride in their way of life.

## Norwegian Distance

The American audience's perhaps greater appreciation of the Sámi, compared with that of the contemporary Norwegian public, was expressed through the description given by a reporter from the Norwegian newspaper VG, detailing the re-encounter with one of the Southern Sámi in the Lapland Village. He had in fact met Parisienne in Paris, and had even been among her godparents when she was baptised. The four year old Parisienne had declared her joy at recognising her godparent and stretched her arms towards him. The joy of meeting again was not, however, mutual. "It is to be understood", writes the reporter, "that we thereupon disappeared rather swiftly".



Source: Chicago History Museum

### Life Thereafter

Following the stay in Chicago, much changed for the Kreutz family. Both the children born after the return home, (Thomas) Paulus and Sigrid Valborg, were baptised in the autumn of 1894 and 1896, respectively, in Ålen in Hallingdalen in Sør-Trøndelag, an area which belonged to the reindeer grazing district Gåebrie (Riast/Hylling). Paulus was born "at Selbusjøen", a fact that indicates reindeer nomadism, while Sigrid Valborg was born at Kjerring-vollen in Hessdalen. Among the godparents on both occasions we find Margrete's younger brother Thomas. The godparents for Paulus are in addition his elder sister Anna Lisa and the previously mentioned Nils Bull, who appears to move with the family.

## Left Behind by her Husband

In 1897, Anders Persson Kreutz emigrated to America. What had taken place in the meantime is only a matter of speculation. However, the viability of reindeer husbandry kept getting worse. The 1897 Tilleggslappeloven (= "Amended Lapp Legislation") prohibited reindeer herding outside the reindeer grazing districts without the land owner's permission. At the same time, it became possible for the authorities to introduce general bans on reindeer husbandry without providing the reindeer herding families with new areas as compensation. Once again, regulations hit the Southern Sámi hard.



#### Disaster Strikes

Following her husband's emigration, Margrete Kreutz was left with the responsibility for seven children between the ages of one to twelve years. Two years later, in April 1899, she gave notification that the three youngest children had moved to Strådalen. Shortly thereafter, death strikes the small community in Strådalen – hard. First, nine year old Anna Lisa dies from tuberculosis in July 1901. About a month later, eleven year old Parisienne is claimed by the same disease. In 1903, death strikes again. First sixteen year old Märta Maria, then her little sister Sigrid Valborg aged six. All four children are buried at the chapel in Vera, not far from Strådalen where Margrete, Paulus and Olof must have kept on living through loss and sorrow.

## An Upright Pose

Some years later, in 1908, the photographer Bjerkan took a picture of Margrete Kreutz back home in Verdal. Margrete, then at the age of 45, sits outside in a field on a straight chair, dressed in a *gapta* and the characteristic hat, the *rapte-tjohpe*, which was formerly in use in the central and northern parts of the Southern Sámi area. Kreutz sits in an upright, straight-backed pose. The wedding ring gleams on her left hand. 19 and 24 years have passed, respectively, after her stays in Paris and Chicago (see photo on last page).

1901 års Död- och Begrafnings-Bok De aflidnas Kön. name, stånd, ämbete, yrke, hemvist, nationalitet och trosbekännelse år månad. dag. Ej Gift an Dödsorsak. (om frammande), samt, for minderariga, föråldrarnas namn, barn vrke och hemvist. 18/ Sapum Madin Nilsson i Oviksfillen lappby Souper Homes Nilson Field. Lynn Johnney Joussens livister Mais Lord to Offer Augustis, dr. at Loppom, Judes Person Wross in Stra Lungset 92 Obt 61 1 Margreto Sofis Parisienne, 89 Jun. 21 00 d' of foregaend foroldion Appen Sofres Perryus cabo Moris Mascurt: i Offer. Alberton 10 Am 27

#### The Next Generation

After the deaths of her sisters, Kristina moved to Røros, where she married Matias Mortensson, the son of the previously mentioned Daniel Mortensson. While Kristina had been to Paris as a child, Matias had been to Chicago. Later, in 1926, Kristina and Matias would go with their own family on an exhibition tour of Germany, organised by the famous zoo owner Carl Hagenbeck.

In 1912, the son Olof followed in his father's footsteps. His father had perhaps relocated, for Olof emigrated not to America, but to Vancouver, Canada. Here, all traces of him come to an end. According to locals in Verdal, however, Olof would make a name for himself as a skier in his new homeland.

## United in Reindeer Husbandry in Valdres

After Olof's departure, Margrete Kreutz and Paulus went south, more precisely to Valdres and Borgund, like so many other Southern Sámi who had not abandoned reindeer husbandry. The reason why Paulus and Margrete moved here may be related to Daniel Mortensson and his sons becoming partners in a reindeer company in Borgund in 1912. Three years later, the Mortensson family sold

reindeer to Borgund. Margrete and Paulus may also have come to Valdres as reindeer herders and professionals when the herd was driven away from Røros. In Valdres, Paulus worked as a herdsman for various local reindeer companies. After a while, Margrete's daughter Kristina and her family arrived. They established themselves as reindeer herders in Borlaug.

### The Last Journey

In September 1922, Margrete Kreutz got on the coach in Borlaug in Lærdal to go "home to Myran" in Stjørdal. This probably indicates a location that, just like the farm Graftåsmo, was part of the larger farm Graftås – perhaps her parents or some of her brothers or sisters still lived there? On her journey home, Margrete Kreutz died in Gol, reportedly from diabetes. Her coffin was transported across the mountain to Borgund, where she was buried a week later. The church registers states that she was "supported by her relatives". "[R]eindeer owner Anders Peterson Krøis, in America 25 years" is listed as her next of kin.

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