Contagious Connections: Medicine, Race, and Commerce between Sumatra, New Guinea, and Frankfurt, 1879–1904

Monique Ligtenberg

ABSTRACTS

Dieser Artikel befasst sich mit der transimperialen Karriere des deutschen Arztes Dr. Bernhard Hagen (1853–1919). Hagen verbrachte zehn Jahre auf Sumatra, damals Teil des niederländischen Kolonialreichs, und zwei Jahre in Deutsch-Neuguinea, wo er für die medizinische Versorgung krankheitsanfälliger chinesischer und javanischer „Kulis" auf den lukrativen europäischen Tabakplantagen verantwortlich war. Er veröffentlichte zahlreiche Publikationen über die Physiognomie der verschiedenen „Rassen" des Malaiischen Archipels und wurde zu einer einflussreichen Figur im aufstrebenden Fachgebiet der physischen Anthropologie. Die wissenschaftliche Autorität und die Netzwerke, die er in den Kolonien aufbaute, ermöglichten ihm schließlich die Gründung des Völkerkundemuseums in Frankfurt.

Der Artikel verweist auf die zentrale Rolle von Ärzten in der Entwicklung der Rassenforschung im späten 19. Jahrhundert. Erstens beleuchtet er die Verbindung zwischen „Rassenforschung" und dem Kontakt von Ärzten mit indigenen Patient:innen im „kolonialen Feld". Zweitens wird anhand Hagens Biographie zwischen Sumatra, Neuguinea und Frankfurt argumentiert, dass das Reisen und Arbeiten zwischen den europäischen Kolonien einzigartige Möglichkeiten für (natur-)wissenschaftlich interessierte Ärzte mit begrenzten finanziellen Mitteln bot, die nach sozialem Aufstieg und Anerkennung strebten. Schließlich zeigt der Artikel, dass „Rassenwissen" im imperialen Deutschland von bürgerlichen Amateuren produziert und verbreitet wurde, die lange vor dem Eintritt des Deutschen Reichs in den „Scramble for Africa" mit fremden Kolonialmächten wie den Niederlanden kollaborierten. Basierend auf Hagens Privatnachlass, gedruckten Publikationen und offiziellen Berichten in deutschen und niederländischen Zeitungen zielt der Artikel darauf ab, die bisher getrennten Geschichten der Plantagenwirtschaft im Malaiischen Archipel, der kolonialen Medizin, der deutschen „Rassenforschung" und der imperialen Museologie miteinander zu verbinden.

Comparativ | Zeitschrift für Globalgeschichte und vergleichende Gesellschaftsforschung 31 (2021) Heft 5 / 6, S. 555–571.
DOI: 10.26014/j.comp.2021.05-06.03

This article focuses on the transimperial career of the German physician Dr. Bernhard Hagen (1853–1919). Hagen spent ten years in Dutch-ruled Sumatra and two years in German New Guinea, where he was responsible for the health of disease-infected Chinese and Javanese "coolies" on the lucrative European tobacco plantations. He published widely on the physiognomy of the different "races" of the Malay Archipelago and became an influential figure in the up-and-coming field of physical anthropology. The scientific authority and the networks he built in the colonies eventually enabled him to found the *Völkerkundemuseum* in Frankfurt.
The article points to the pivotal role of physicians in the making of late nineteenth-century race science. First, it illuminates the ways in which "race science" was closely tied to physicians' experiences with indigenous patients in the field. Second, by zooming in on Bernhard Hagen's life between Sumatra, New Guinea, and Frankfurt, it argues that moving and working between European colonies provided unique opportunities for "physician-scientists" with limited financial means who were striving for social upward mobility and recognition. Lastly, the article demonstrates that racial knowledge in Imperial Germany was produced and circulated through middle-class amateurs who, long before the German Empire entered the "Scramble for Africa", collaborated with foreign colonial powers such as the Dutch. Drawing from Hagen's private papers, printed publications, and official accounts in German and Dutch newspapers, the article aims at connecting the hitherto separated histories of plantation economy in the Malay Archipelago, colonial medicine, German "race science", and imperial museology.

1. Introduction

"It is as of today", announced the German physician, anthropologist, and *Hofrat* Bernhard Hagen at the inauguration of Frankfurt's first *Völkerkundemuseum* (Museum of Anthropology) in 1904, "that Frankfurt has finally worked its way out of lagging behind not only larger cities", such as Berlin, Hamburg or Munich, "but even much smaller ones", namely Braunschweig or Hildesheim. Indeed, until 1904, Frankfurt was one of the few major German cities without a museum dedicated to anthropology. This "lag" was surprising to Hagen, who would serve as the museum's founder and first director. To him, the vast body of donated ethnographic objects, on which the newly inaugurated museum's collection was built, proved that Frankfurt's residents had a long-standing interest in exploring and learning about the extra-European world.[1] Hagen himself, who spent almost two decades as a plantation doctor and aspiring anthropologist (or race scientist) in Dutch-ruled Sumatra and in German New Guinea, was among these "worldly provincials"[2] catering to a growing demand for human skulls and bones, ethnographic

1 B. Hagen, Rede, gehalten bei der Eröffnung des städtischen Völkerkundemuseums in dem Hause Münzgasse No. 1, Frankfurt am Main, 22 October 1904, Institut für Stadtgeschichte Frankfurt, ISG_S1-175_262. All translations from German and Dutch are by the author unless stated otherwise.

2 The concept "worldly provincials" has been introduced by historians of anthropology Matti Bunzl and Glenn Penny in order to account for the simultaneity of local rootedness and cosmopolitan appeal that guided German anthropologists at the turn of the twentieth century. See M. Bunzl/G. Penny, Introduction: Rethinking German Anthropology,

objects, animals, or plants from Africa, Asia, and Latin America in Germany, Britain, France, the USA, and beyond.[3]

The present study builds on published sources from Dutch and German archives as well as on Bernhard Hagen's private papers (letters, manuscripts) held in the *Institut für Stadtgeschichte* (ISG) in Frankfurt am Main. By closely analysing this hitherto largely unexplored body of archival material, it will illuminate the ways in which "physician-scientists" such as Bernhard Hagen, as a "petite science" variation of the "gentleman of science", shaped the co-articulation and circulation of Western conceptions of race (*Rasse*) in the late nineteenth century.[4] Following Hagen's career trajectory from plantation doctor on Sumatra to director of Frankfurt's first Museum of Anthropology, it points to the various "surfaces of emergence"[5] of late nineteenth-century racial discourse that not only transcended the boundaries of individual empires, but also exceeded the seemingly clear-cut dichotomies between applied/pure and amateur/professional science.[6]

Firstly, I demonstrate that nineteenth-century racial theory was closely tied to experiences "in the field". In studying the plantation hospitals' medical statistics, Hagen became increasingly convinced that susceptibility to disease and, relatedly, one's "fitness for labour" were linked to "race". Such medicalized "race-knowledge" was transferred between the Dutch and German colonial plantation regimes in the context of an increasingly globalized "coolie" labour market through figures such as Bernhard Hagen, who moved among and between different imperial settings. Secondly, I argue that moving and working between European colonies provided unique opportunities for educated middle-class men with limited financial means striving for upward social mobility and recognition.[7] After his return to Europe, Hagen was no longer a "mere" physician, but

Colonialism, and Race, in: M. Bunzl/G. Penny (eds.), Worldly Provincialism: German Anthropology in the Age of Empire, Ann Arbor 2003, pp. 1–30.

3 See, for example, G. W. Stocking, Victorian Anthropology, New York 1987; R. Darnell, Invisible Genealogies: A History of American Anthropology, Lincoln 2001; T. Trautmann, Aryans and British India, Berkeley 1997; C. Blanckaert, De la race à l'évolution: Paul Broca et l'anthropologie française (1850–1900), Paris 2009; A. Laukötter, Gefühle im Feld – Die "Sammelwut" der Anthropologen in Bezug auf Körperteile und das Konzept der "Rasse" um die Jahrhundertwende, in: H. Stoecker/T. Schnalke (eds.), Sammeln und Bewahren, Erforschen und Zurückgeben – Human Remains aus der Kolonialzeit in akademischen und musealen Sammlungen, Berlin 2013, pp. 24–44; Ghezzi, Agnese, The Handbook, the Field, and the Archive: Photographic Practices and the Rise of Anthropology in Italy (1861–1911), PhD thesis, IMT School for Advanced Studies Lucca, 2020.

4 For middle-class *petite science* see T. Scheidegger, "Petite Science": Ausseruniversitäre Naturforschung in der Schweiz um 1900, Göttingen 2017.

5 In his *Archaeology of Knowledge*, Michel Foucault introduces the analytical concept of "surfaces of emergence" in order to "map" the various fields in which an object of discourse appears. To Foucault, analysing the ways in which seemingly detached fields interlap is crucial in making visible *who* has the authority to delimitate an object of discourse such as "race", *how* and *why* it was defined and, ultimately, what power structures are at play in creating discursive differences. See M. Foucault, The Archaeology of Knowledge, London 2002, pp. 44–54.

6 For the loose boundaries between applied and professional science up until the early twentieth century see R. Porter, Gentlemen and Geology: The Emergence of a Scientific Career, 1660–1920, in: The Historical Journal 21 (1978) 4, pp. 809–836; D. Allen, Naturalists and Society. The Culture of Natural History in Britain, 1700–1900, Aldershot 2001; G. Dawson/B. Lightman (eds.), Victorian Scientific Naturalism. Community, Identity, Continuity, Chicago 2014.

7 For the Dutch Empire's labour market as being structured by "demands and opportunities" see B. Schär, Introduction: The Dutch East Indies and Europe, ca. 1800–1930. An Empire of Demands and Opportunities, in: BMGN – Low Countries Historical Review 134 (2019) 3, pp. 4–20.

was able to present himself as an expert on various subjects related to the Malay Archipelago's races. Thirdly, and relatedly, I investigate how racial knowledge was produced and circulated through middle-class "amateurs" such as Hagen who negotiated their way through various imperial and scientific contexts. For as has been convincingly demonstrated by historian Richard Drayton, the "middle class in every society is both 'middle' in status and 'middle' in terms of its capacity for engagement with social groups above and below, its capacity, in a word, for mediation".[8] Hagen, whose audiences ranged from fellow anthropologists to merchants, businessmen, and members of the educated middle class, mediated between armchair race science and broader publics interested in the peoples of the tropical world. Hagen's conception of race thus shaped and was shaped by a broad segment of Europe's bourgeoisies exceeding the sphere of an upper-class or academic milieu.

A large and growing body of literature has pointed out the crucial role of anthropological "amateurs" in the making of nineteenth-century anthropology (or "race science"). By travelling to, writing about, and measuring colonized populations, these ambitious, educated, middle-class men significantly contributed to the discipline's institutionalization and professionalization.[9] While acknowledging the international character of collecting practices as well as transnational competition between individual museums and collectors,[10] most of these studies however focus on scientific traditions, actors, and institutions within the borders of individual colonial metropoles and empires. What such nation- or empire-centred perspectives miss is that aspiring "gentleman scientists" even from countries with no or late formal colonies played a pivotal role in shaping nineteenth-century colonial science. In recent years, studies resorting to a transnational or transimperial perspective have demonstrated how such "colonial outsiders", relying on collaborations with foreign colonial governments, contributed to the circulation of anthropological knowledge beyond intra-imperial networks.[11]

German-born Bernhard Hagen, too, started his colonial career in the territory of a "foreign colony", namely the Dutch Empire, by taking up a post as a plantation physician on Sumatra in 1879. In at least two respects, however, his biography diverges from the life of an archetypical "gentlemanly scientist" as predominantly described in the existing literature on nineteenth-century amateur science.[12] First, as a member of the "educated

8 R. Drayton, Race, Culture, and Class. European Hegemony and Global Class Formation, Circa 1800–1950, in: C. Dejung/D. Motadel/J. Osterhammel (eds.), The Global Bourgeoisie. The Rise of the Middle Classes in the Age of Empire, Princeton 2019, pp. 339–358, at 343.

9 For an overview see H. Kuklick, A New History of Anthropology, Malden 2008.

10 See, for example, G. Penny, Objects of Culture. Ethnology and Ethnographic Museums in Imperial Germany, Chapel Hill 2002.

11 See B. Schär, From Batticaloa via Basel to Berlin: Transimperial Science in Ceylon and Beyond around 1900, in: The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History 48 (2019) 2, pp. 230–262; M. von Brescius, German Science in the Age of Empire. Enterprise, Opportunity and the Schlagintweit Brothers, Cambridge 2018.

12 For "gentlemanly science" in the British Empire see, for example, E. Beasley, Mid-Victorian Imperialists. British Gentlemen and the Empire of the Mind, London 2005; J. Waller, Gentlemanly Men of Science: Sir Francis Galton and the Professionalization of the British Life-Sciences, in: Journal of the History of Biology 34 (2001) 1, pp. 83–114.

middle class",[13] he could not resort to "substantial private means" in exploring the colonized world. His early overseas travels were, at least initially, financed by private tobacco companies, which in turn obliged him to control the bodies of their indentured work force. Second, in his early career, Hagen was neither well connected among European elites or academic institutions, nor did he receive large-scale government support in his scientific endeavours. Largely lacking the backing of authoritative figures for his expeditions and publications, Hagen needed to forge networks outside of institutionalized academia and colonial administrations. Despite these initial obstacles, and after returning to Europe for good, Hagen vastly increased his scientific authority and symbolic capital through publications and talks on the Malay Archipelago, and, more particularly, its populations. It was this type of capital that enabled him to found the *Frankfurter Anthropologische Gesellschaft* in 1900 and, only four years later, Frankfurt's first *Völkerkundemuseum*.[14] Lastly, the case of Bernhard Hagen reveals that German imperial culture and science were shaped by individuals who, long before the German Empire entered the "Scramble for Africa", collaborated with foreign colonial powers such as the Dutch. These collaborations were, as I will argue, central to the making of German colonies and metropoles alike – or, as in the case of Bernhard Hagen, of German New Guinea and "colonial Frankfurt".

2. Race, Medicine, and the Commodification of Coolies

Bernhard Hagen's decision to take up a post as a physician in Sumatra was – if we believe his own words – initially triggered by nothing more than a "happy coincidence". Hagen had just completed his medical degree when he met a certain "Dr. M." in a fraternity pub in Munich, who offered him a post as a plantation doctor in Sumatra. Only a few weeks later, on 10 June 1879, Hagen signed a contract binding him to three years' service on a tobacco plantation in Tandjong Morawa, located in the notorious "plantation belt" in Deli on the East Coast of Sumatra.[15]

In 1870, following decades of state monopoly on agricultural production and exports in the course of the so-called "cultivation system" (*cultuurstelsel*), the colonial government had opened up the Dutch East Indies' markets to foreign investors.[16] As a consequence,

13 For the internal stratification of the nineteenth century "global bourgeoisie", see C. Dejung / D. Motadel / J. Osterhammel, Worlds of the Bourgeoisie, in: Dejung / Motadel / Osterhammel, The Global Bourgeoisie, pp. 1–40.

14 For a more or less accurate overview over Bernhard Hagen's life see G. Buschan, Bernhard Hagen, in: Korrespondenz-Blatt der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte 50 (1919) 5, pp. 33–36. For physician's opportunities for social upward mobility in colonial contexts see P. Teichfischer, Transnational Entanglements in Colonial Medicine. German Medical Practitioners as Members of the Health Service in the Dutch East Indies (1816–1884), in: Histoire, Médecine et Santé 10 (2016), pp. 63–78; M. Frenz, To Be or Not To Be … a Global Citizen: Three Doctors, Three Empires, and one Subcontinent, in: Modern Asian Studies online (2020), pp. 1–42. For physicians' contributions to anthropological collections see F. Sysling, Racial Science and Human Diversity in Colonial Indonesia, Singapore 2016, pp. 25–46.

15 See B. Hagen, Neun Jahre auf der Ostküste Sumatras, unpublished manuscript, c. 1889, ISG_S1-175_272.

16 See A. Stoler, Capitalism and Confrontation in Sumatra's Plantation Belt, 1870–1979, Ann Arbor 1995, p. 16.

investment firms, merchants, and planters from all over Europe flocked to the east coast of Sumatra to get a share in the lucrative tobacco market. Bernhard Hagen's contract was initially with the German-Swiss tobacco company Näher & Grob[17], which was taken over by the Dutch conglomerate Senembah Maatschappij only shortly after his arrival in 1879.[18] In 1886, he was appointed head of the civil health service (*civiel geneeskundigen dienst*) and vaccination for the entire region of Deli by the Dutch colonial government.[19] Hagen's main responsibility on Sumatra was to control the bodies of the thousands of indentured labourers employed on the European tobacco plantations. Other than on Java, where plantation workers could be (forcefully) recruited among the local populations, the local Batak communities severely resisted employment on European plantations. Planters on Sumatra thus had to "import" their workforce with the help of "coolie brokers" operating through networks in Singapore, China, and the neighbouring island of Java. As a consequence, the East Coast of northern Sumatra, inhabited by indigenous Batak and Malay ethnicities as well as Javanese and Chinese immigrants, turned into one of the most multi-ethnic regions of the Dutch East Indies.[20] Hence, it was in his daily work on the plantations where Hagen gained his first impressions of Sumatra's ethnic diversity. He repeatedly took advantage of the access he had to his patients' bodies: during his stay on Sumatra, he measured the bodies of at least 1,000 Chinese and Javanese indentured labourers.[21] Besides, Hagen kept meticulous statistical records of the spread of diseases among the different "races" that he treated, which largely seemed to have been based on surveys with his "coolie" patients as they are (at least partially) written in Malay language.[22]

In the annual reports of the hospital in Tandjong Morawa, which Hagen compiled for the Dutch colonial government, he repeatedly stressed the desolate state of Sumatra's medical infrastructure and the high number of injuries inflicted on coolies by their European employers or Chinese supervisors, a concern he shared with several contemporary observers.[23] Even more strikingly, Hagen noted the high death rates caused by diseases such as dysentery, malaria, or syphilis, all of which were considered typical for tropical

17 For the strong presence of Swiss and German planters in Sumatra's plantation belt see A. Zangger, Koloniale Schweiz. Ein Stück Globalgeschichte zwischen Europa und Südostasien (1860–1930), Bielefeld 2011, pp. 245–251.

18 See C. W. Jansen, Senembah Maatschappij, 1889–1914, Amsterdam 1914, pp. 6–7. I owe to Andreas Zangger for pointing out this source.

19 See Benoemingen, in: Deli Courant, 25 August 1886, p. 2. For the establishment of the health care system in colonial Sumatra, see H. Pols, Quarantine in the Dutch East Indies, in: A. Bashford (ed.), Quarantine: Local and Global Histories, London 2016, pp. 85–102.

20 See J. Breman, Koelis, Planters en Koloniale Politiek: Het Arbeidsregime op de Grootlandbouwondernemingen aan Sumatra's Oostkust in het Begin van de Twintigste Eeuw, Leiden 1992; Stoler, Capitalism and Confrontation. For Java, see U. Bosma, The Sugar Plantation in India and Indonesia, Cambridge 2013.

21 See B. Hagen, Anthropologische Studien aus Insulinde, Amsterdam 1890, pp. 97–100.

22 See B. Hagen, Staat darie Orang Tjina jang Maninggal Doenja Kampoeng Laboean Deli di dalam Boelan Mei 1887, ISG_S1-175_245. In his patient files, Hagen not only recorded the name (*nama orang*), age (*oemoer*), gender (*lelaki*, *prampuan*) and disease (*penjakitnja*) but also the race or ethnicity (*bangsa*) of his Chinese (and to a lesser extent Malay) patients.

23 See H. Pols, European Physicians and Botanists, Indigenous Herbal Medicine in the Dutch East Indies, and Colo-

colonies.[24] "It was a true calamity, and the planters suffered great damage due to the people's inability to work",[25] Hagen later commented, following an economic reasoning that was typical for the liberal spirit of the 1870s plantation economy.

In the light of the wide spread of "tropical" diseases, a major cause of complaint to Hagen was the observation that many "natives" were not particularly convinced by the blessings of European medicine. After the outbreak of a beriberi "epidemic" in 1881/82 that cost more than 200 indentured labourers' lives, a group of Chinese coolies was at the verge of a riot, blaming Hagen for the high death rates and demanding the establishment of a Chinese hospital.[26] Ethnic Malays, on the other hand, allegedly refused treatment in the same rooms as Chinese coolies due to religious sentiments and preferred to recover at home, resorting to indigenous medical therapies.[27] In Hagen's view, Sumatra's "races" differed not only in terms of their "superstitious" medical preferences, but even more importantly in their susceptibility to diseases. While it is widely accepted today that beriberi is caused by vitamin B 1 deficiency, and thus related to dietary habits,[28] Hagen believed the disease to affect certain "races" more than others: "The Chinese and Javanese are the most likely to contract it […]; after them the immigrated Malays, at the most seldom the Indians (Tamils) and Europeans." He thought only the "native Delimalay" to be immune to beriberi.[29] It is due to such presumptions of inherent cultural and racial differences that, according to Hagen, the physician in the Malay Archipelago "must quite necessarily and as a matter of course study the ethnographic peculiarities of his patients".[30]

It was precisely his experiences on Sumatra and his knowledge of its population that made Hagen a valuable asset for German interests in New Guinea. After briefly returning to Europe in 1892 to recover from an outbreak of malaria and dysentery, Hagen would spend the next one and a half years on the east coast of New Guinea, working as a physician on the plantations of the German *Kolonialgesellschaft* Astrolabe Company. Situated at the periphery of the Dutch East Indies, New Guinea aroused little interest in the Dutch consolidation of empire for most of the nineteenth century. When the *Reichsflagge* was hoisted for the first time on the island's northeastern coast in 1884, the German colonisers met with little resistance by their imperial rivals. Until the introduc-

nial Networks of Mediation, in: East Asia Science, Technology and Society: An International Journal 3 (2009) 2–3, pp. 173–208, at 178–79.

24 B. Hagen, Erster Jahresbericht des Krankenhauses Tandjong-Morawa, 1879/80, ISG_S1-175_257.

25 B. Hagen, Vortrag über seine Tätigkeit als Arzt auf Sumatra, unknown location 1901, ISG_S1-175_272.

26 See Hagen, Erster Jahresbericht des Krankenhauses Tandjong-Morawa; B. Hagen, Unter den Papua's. Land & Leute, Thiere & Pflanzen in Deutsch-Neu-Guinea, Wiesbaden 1899, p. 50.

27 Ibid., p. 17.

28 For shifts in European perceptions of beriberi see D. Arnold, British India and the "Beriberi Problem", 1798–1942, in: Medical history 54 (2010) 39, pp. 295–314.

29 See Hagen, Unter den Papua's, p. 46–47. For the relation between "race-medicine" and "race-science" more broadly see M. Harrison, "The Tender Frame of Man": Disease, Climate, and Racial Difference in India and the West Indies, 1760–1860, in: Bulletin of the History of Medicine 70 (1996) 1, pp. 68–93; S. Seth, Difference and Disease. Medicine, Race, and the Eighteenth-Century British Empire, Cambridge 2018.

30 Hagen, Vortrag über seine Tätigkeit als Arzt auf Sumatra.

tion of the *Schutzbriefe* in 1895/96, which guaranteed the Reich's protection of German interests in the Pacific, German territories were administered by private investors from the New Guinea or the Astrolabe Companies.[31]

The Astrolabe Company was founded in 1891 with its primary goal being the cultivation and exportation of tobacco. The Company's administrator Curt von Hagen was, like Bernhard Hagen, a Deli veteran. According to Bernhard Hagen, von Hagen was "eager to transform the Compagnie's tobacco plantations according to the Deli pattern".[32] Furthermore, Hagen considered New Guinea to be similar to Sumatra in terms of diseases and climate.[33] Besides, like Sumatra, the sparsely populated island of New Guinea was in constant need of work force. In 1889, the New Guinea Company thus came to an agreement with the Dutch colonial government, which granted the Germans the right to "import" Javanese and Chinese "coolies" through broker networks in Batavia and Singapore.[34] The decision to bring over labourers from the Dutch East Indies was not only based on demographic, but also on racial considerations. As has been convincingly demonstrated by historian Ulrike Lindner, discussions on indentured labour recruitment increasingly circulated between the British, French, Dutch, and German imperial powers at the end of the nineteenth century. "Asians", who, other than "Africans", carried the racial stereotype of "hard workers", were particularly popular in this "global migration market".[35]

Hagen, however, also postulated differences *among* different "Asian races". Drawing from his observations made on Sumatra, he stated that "only the born gardener, the Chinese" understands to "properly handle the fine, expensive tobacco leaves". Native Malays and Javanese, on the other hand, were supposed to be particularly suited for construction work, a task he deemed the Chinese utterly unfit for. "This is how one thing depends on the other", Hagen concluded, "and you have to pay careful attention if you want to work economically and with good results". More importantly though,

> *of all the foreign peoples, the Javanese and Malays have performed best in terms of health.* […] *The Chinese, as far as they were healthy, sturdy, and habituated to working in the fields, also held up well.*[36]

Nevertheless, Hagen advised German planters to make sure that even coolies recruited from amongst these "healthy" races were not of "inferior quality", for the pathogenic conditions on the plantations followed the rules of "'natural selection' and the 'survival

31 See H. Hiery, Die deutsche Verwaltung Neuguineas 1884–1914, in: H. Hiery, Die Deutsche Südsee, 1884–1914. Ein Handbuch, Paderborn 2001, pp. 277–311.

32 Hagen, Unter den Papua's, p. 11.

33 Ibid., pp. 19–26; M. Davies, Public Health and Colonialism. The Case of German New Guinea 1884–1914, pp. 35–36.

34 See H. van den Doel, Nachbarn an der Peripherie. Die Beziehungen zwischen Niederländisch-Ostindien und den deutschen Südseekolonien, in: Hiery, Die Deutsche Südsee, pp. 777–783.

35 See U. Lindner, Indentured Labour in Sub-Saharan Africa (1870–1918): Circulation of Concepts between Imperial Powers, in: S. Damir-Geilsdorf et al. (eds.), Bonded Labour. Global and Comparative Perspectives (18th–21st Century), Bielefeld 2016, pp. 59–82.

36 Hagen, Unter den Papua's, pp. 37–38.

of the fittest'". He further endorsed the "import" of indentured labourers by arguing that the native Melanesians were particularly vulnerable to the island's natural threats and virtually "ravaged by influenza and dysentery".[37]

With his social Darwinist argument on selection and survival, Hagen followed widespread European views on the pathogenicity of New Guinea. The island was notorious for its high death rates, which gave it the reputation of a *Fieberkolonie* ("fever colony"). As has been pointed out by Margit Davies, the combination of high mortality rates and low population figures was a constant cause of concern to German colonists. A healthy population was considered crucial in securing the economic development and the prosperity of the young colony.[38] Hence, among presumed racial traits, Hagen considered susceptibility to disease to be the most distinctive. This comes as little surprise, considering that it was in the plantation hospital's medical statistics where he first thought to have identified patterns of racial difference. Furthermore, racialized presumptions on health and environment appeared to have been an important factor in the increasingly globalized indentured labour market of the late nineteenth century. As Hagen claimed, his recommendations regarding "coolie" recruitment and hygiene "always met with the most willing acceptance" "on the part of the [Astrolabe Company's] directors in Berlin". This, however, seems to not always have been the case for his exchanges with the Company's administration on New Guinea. Hagen strongly advocated that "the doctor in the colonies [should] be given […] a deciding voice in *all* sanitary measures".[39] To what extent this call was followed in practice does not become evident in the sources considered in this study.

Nevertheless, Hagen's accounts "from the field" point to the fact that figures such as Bernhard Hagen and his superior Curt von Hagen (who had acquired many years of experience in climatically similar environments before the German colonization of the South Pacific) played a crucial role in setting up the plantation economy in German New Guinea. From Sumatra, they brought with them not only knowledge of the peculiarities of tropical regions, but also racialized, medicalized notions of a presumed "fitness for labour" in pathogenic climates.

3. Becoming a "Physician-Scientist": Race Science from the Margins

Hagen held a rather low opinion of the European planters who employed him, considering them to be uneducated and lacking manners. "Out there", he commented, "the doctor is the sole representative of the intelligentsia. Everything that comes along and appears to be somewhat scholarly is dumped on him."[40] This aversion seemed to have

37 Ibid.

38 See M. Davies, Das Gesundheitswesen im Kaiser-Wilhelmsland und im Bismarckarchipel, in: Hiery, Die Deutsche Südsee, pp. 417–449, at 419.

39 Hagen, Unter den Papua's, p. 36 (emphasis added).

40 Hagen, Vortrag über seine Tätigkeit als Arzt auf Sumatra.

been mutual: The yearbook of the Senembah Maatschappij only briefly mentions Hagen as a former employee who "made a name for himself in the field of ethnography", while his successor Dr. Paster is praised for his excellent medical expertise.[41] Hagen himself claimed that he was never particularly interested in the medical practice and regarded his training as a physician more as a means to investigate the "races" of the Malay Archipelago. "Since there was no benign fairy who bestowed on me a talent in trading or haggling […] or a larger amount of gold", he would later comment, "I was compelled to obtain a diploma as a state-certified physician".[42] Thus, whenever he had the time to do so, Hagen organized scientific expeditions to remoter areas of Sumatra and New Guinea in order to study so-called *Naturvölker* ("natural peoples"). In this regard, both Sumatra and New Guinea were a late nineteenth-century anthropologist's paradise. Sumatra, one of the Dutch East Indies' "Outer Islands", and New Guinea, situated at the periphery of the Dutch, German, and British Empires, were believed to be still inhabited by such "natural peoples" yet untouched by modern culture and "racial mixing".[43]

As a foreigner in isolated Sumatra with limited financial means, Hagen relied on various forms of collaboration in organizing his expeditions. In 1881 and 1883, his journeys to Lake Toba in northern Sumatra were financed and supported by the Dutch colonial government.[44] Furthermore, as most anthropologists in remote regions, he strongly depended on European and local "go-betweens".[45] On Sumatra, he negotiated contracts with local "chiefs", who seemed to have had their very own motives in providing him with porters and guides. Hagen remembers one instance in which he woke up only to see two of his porters carrying "salt, opium, dried fish etc. which my guide wanted to trade in the highlands".[46] In German New Guinea, his prime informant was Albert Hoffmann (1865–1942), a member of the *Rheinische Missionsgesellschaft* who was stationed on New Guinea from 1892 to 1904 and was fluent in several local languages.[47] Moreover, Hagen's fieldwork always included a "process of negotiation and persuasion",[48] with medicine having been his most powerful "tool". In a letter to his former professor Dr. Rüdinger in Munich, he states that the Batak, who tended to be "highly suspicious" of Europeans, "put aside all reticence" in interacting with him as they were aware that he

41 Jansen, Senembah Maatschappij, p. 7.

42 Hagen, Unter den Papua's, p. 1.

43 For the anthropological "hunt" for "natural peoples" in the peripheries of the Dutch Empire see Sysling, Racial Science and Human Diversity. For New Guinea see R. Buschmann, Colonizing Anthropology. Albert Hahl and the Ethnographic Frontier in German New Guinea, in: Penny/Bunzl (eds.), Worldly Provincialism, pp. 230–255.

44 See Buschan, Bernhard Hagen, pp. 33–36. For anthropological research in the Dutch East Indies more broadly see Sysling, Racial Science and Human Diversity.

45 For the concept of "go-betweens" see K. Raj, Go-Betweens, Travelers, and Cultural Translators, in: B. Lightman (ed.), A Companion to the History of Science, Chichester 2016, pp. 39–57.

46 B. Hagen, untitled speech part 2, date unknown, ISG_S1-175_272. Also see B. Hagen, Letter to Prof. Dr. Rüdinger, Tandjong-Morawa, 26 January 1880, ISG_S1-175_32.

47 See Hagen, Unter den Papua's, pp. 1–2; Archivführer Deutsche Kolonialzeit, Albert Hoffmann (1864–1942), in: Archivführer deutsche Kolonialgeschichte, https://archivfuehrer-kolonialzeit.de/albert-hoffmann-1865-1942 (accessed 15 January 2021).

48 Sysling, Racial Science and Human Diversity, p. 56.

was "providing them with medical assistance".[49] To his friend Dr. Loew he writes how one of the most powerful Batak kings of Sumatra's central highlands allegedly personally invited him for the sole reason that he and "some other Battaks [sic!] […] would like to try my medicine".[50]

In his anthropological studies, Hagen was, as has been alluded to above, obsessed with identifying the "most primordial people" of the Malay Archipelago. As he states in his publication *Anthropologische Studien aus Insulinde*, the "coastal peoples", namely the Malay, Chinese, and Javanese ethnicities, to him represented "the more advanced form, belonging to a higher cultural level" due to the "racial mixing that is particularly prevalent in coastal regions". The "homogenous aboriginal peoples in the interior of the island", on the other hand "differ both physically and mentally from its coastal inhabitants".[51] More specifically, he considered the indigenous Batak to originate from "the anthropologically purest region" and thus constituting the "purest race".[52] Analogously, on New Guinea he regarded the "native Melanesians" to be largely untouched by modern culture.[53]

Hagen's "hunt" for "natural peoples" can be situated in broader transformations in anthropological discourse in the second half of the nineteenth century. Throughout Europe, anthropologically interested, educated, middle-class men were eager to further the discipline's institutionalization and scientification. German anthropology, most predominantly the "Berlin school" initiated by Rudolf Virchow (1821–1902), has received particular attention in historiography in recent years. Coined "Antihumanist Anthropology" by historian Andrew Zimmerman, Virchow, a radical anti-Darwinist, along with his fellow members of the German Anthropological Society, attempted to "emancipate" the discipline of anthropology from its roots in the humanities, more particularly from philological and orientalist studies. By standardizing the measurement of the bones, skulls, or living bodies of *Naturvölker* (as opposed to *Kulturvölker* or "cultural peoples"), the Berlin anthropologists hoped to produce comparable empirical data that followed the ideals of a "pure" natural science that refrained from subjective interpretation. Their goal was to achieve a "totalizing empiricism" in the study of the human that rested on nothing but the description and classification of "human nature".[54] Through their early institutionalization and standardization efforts, "German-language traditions" of anthropology came to be "internationally hegemonic" in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Europe.[55]

In his *Anthropologische Studien aus Insulinde* (1890), which were supported by the Dutch colonial government, Hagen, too, followed the measuring standards set by Virchow and collected dozens of human skulls during his expeditions, even though he did show some

49 B. Hagen, Letter to Prof. Dr. Rüdinger, Tandjong-Morawa, 19. January 1880, ISG_S1-175_32.
50 B. Hagen, Letter to Dr. Loew in Munich, Tandjong-Morawa, undated, ISG_S1-175_32.
51 Hagen, Anthropologische Studien aus Insulinde, p. 9.
52 Ibid., p. 22.
53 See Hagen, Unter den Papua's, pp. 145–146.
54 See A. Zimmerman, Anthropology and Antihumanism in Imperial Germany, Chicago 2001.
55 See H. Kuklick, Introduction, in: Kucklick, A New History of Anthropology, pp. 1–16, at 8.

reservations concerning the accuracy of craniological collections.[56] These early findings were published as well as widely received in the Netherlands.[57] In his later work, however, Hagen strongly distanced himself from the influential anthropological scene in Berlin. His later publication *Unter den Papua's* (1899), for instance, reads more like a handbook for merchants than "pure" science, supplementing anthropological data with ethnographic observations. In the preface, Hagen explicitly stated that he intended to avoid the "dry, scientific tone" of "such [anthropological] works". To be sure, his study still refers to craniological measurements in order to delimitate New Guinea's "aboriginal races".[58] Most of the book's section on New Guinea's indigenous populace, however, comprises of detailed descriptions of Melanesian customs and languages. When writing about trade and transportation systems, Hagen even goes as far as describing Melanesian culture as a "fossil" that allows its observers a glimpse into the "conditions of the very earliest forms of human coexistence" and proves that "trade and the market must be among the very oldest institutions of mankind".[59] Making such statements about "mankind" solely based on *cultural observations* vehemently contradicted the premises made by Virchow and his colleagues whose empiricism was based on the accumulation of *material evidence*. Hagen's departure from such a "radical empiricism" supports the findings made by historian Glenn Penny, who convincingly demonstrated that even though the "Berlin scene" was the most influential voice in German anthropology up to the early twentieth century, it did not remain unchallenged in the German Empire. Anthropological museums and societies were established in almost every major German city. These cities not only differed in their local cultures but also stood in competition with each other. The purpose and methods of anthropology thus shifted depending on local "configurations of scientists, patrons, officials, and visitors".[60]

To summarize, in his early life, Hagen was neither an authoritative voice in the anthropological community in Germanophone Europe, nor did he have the financial means to independently conduct large-scale expeditions. As a consequence, Hagen's anthropological research relied on various forms of collaboration with European and local "go-betweens", on "complicities" with plantation ventures in the Dutch and German Empires, as well as on the financial support by a "foreign" – namely the Dutch – colonial power. Hagen's peripheral position in anthropological discourse eventually even forced him to propose alternatives to the radical empiricism supported by Virchow and others. This largely has to do with the fact that, as I will demonstrate in the last section of this article, after his return to Europe, the primary audiences of Hagen's anthropological studies were not to be found in academic or government institutions, but rather among the German Empire's worldly, business-minded bourgeoisies.

56 See Hagen, Anthropologische Studien aus Insulinde, pp. 18–19.

57 On the reception of Hagen in the Netherlands, in particular by Dutch anthropologist J. P. Kleiweg de Zwaan, see Sysling, Racial Science and Human Diversity, pp. 123–146.

58 See Hagen, Unter den Papua's, pp. 145–146.

59 Ibid., p. 214.

60 Penny, Objects of Culture, p. 8.

4. Colonial Frankfurt: The Making of a Modern Metropole

Due to repeated illness, Hagen returned to Europe in 1895. Instead of moving back to his home in Homburg, he chose to relocate to Frankfurt am Main. Initially, he seemed to have trouble finding employment as he mentions in a letter to his sister Marie.[61] Nevertheless, Hagen did not seem to have any financial worries. On the one hand, he liquidated his house and furniture in Homburg. On the other hand, Hagen sold parts of his collections of bird specimens and ethnographic objects to collectors and museums scattered throughout Europe, among others in Dresden, Vienna, and Moscow.[62] His pieces from Sumatra and New Guinea were particularly high in demand as both islands were hard to reach and largely "unexplored" at the time.[63]

Unfortunately, the sources are silent as to why exactly Bernhard Hagen chose Frankfurt as the centre of his life after returning to Europe for good. What we do know, however, is that his ties to the city's residents date back to his early days in Southeast Asia. On his journeys to Sumatra and New Guinea, Hagen had several-day layovers in Singapore before transferring to another ship.[64] In Singapore, he became close friends with a German merchant called Hermann Katz, the owner of the Singapore-based trading company Katz Brothers. Apart from importing German goods to Singapore and distributing them among the European diaspora in Southeast Asia through outlets in Sumatra, Borneo, and Penang, Katz Brothers exported "exotic goods" such as pepper or coffee to Europe, with their most important branches being located in London and in Frankfurt am Main.[65] It was Katz who helped Hagen settle in Frankfurt after his return. In his early days in Frankfurt, Hagen was a frequent visitor in Katz' "Villa Singapore", where his friend acquainted him with the city's high society.[66] Hagen's friendship with Katz points to the crucial role of "colonial veteran networks" and "patronage politics" in the establishment and circulation of colonial science that historian Brett Bennett had demonstrated in the case of the British Empire.[67] Hagen, whose colonial career was closely entangled with commercial overseas interests, primarily forged such networks in the realm of business.

Another important site where Hagen built valuable connections were learned societies. Hagen was a corresponding member of various scientific associations, among others the *Nederlandsch Aardrijkskundig Genootschap*, the *Kaiserlich königliche zoologisch botanische Gesellschaft Wien*, the *Wiesbadener Verein für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte*,

61 B. Hagen, Letter to Sister Marie, Frankfurt am Main, 19 September 1996, ISG_S1-175_249.
62 See for example F. Heger, Letter to Bernhard Hagen, Vienna, 13 April 1886, ISG_S1-175_17.
63 See Buschmann, Colonizing Anthropology, pp. 233–235.
64 See Hagen, Neun Jahre auf der Ostküste Sumatras.
65 See E. von Hesse-Wartegg, Ein deutsches Geschäftshaus im fernen Osten, in: Illustrierte Zeitung 2843 (1897) 109, pp. 891–892. For the Swiss and German diaspora and trade companies in Singapore see Zangger, Koloniale Schweiz, pp. 41–168.
66 See B. Hagen, Letters to Sister Marie, Frankfurt am Main, 5 May 1896 and 8 May 1896, ISG_S1-175_249.
67 B. Bennett, The Consolidation and Reconfiguration of 'British' Networks of Science, 1800–1970, in: B. Bennett/J. Hodge (eds.), Science and Empire. Knowledge and Networks of Science across the British Empire, 1800–1970, pp. 30–44.

and Frankfurt's prestigious *Senckenbergische Naturforschende Gesellschaft*.[68] Learned societies enjoyed increasing importance in Germanophone Europe in the course of the popularization of science in the second half of the nineteenth century. On the one hand, they enabled lower middle-class mobility, as they were open to lay audiences consisting of merchants, physicians, or teachers, and "trained" scientists alike. On the other hand, such associations were spaces in which controversial ideas could be discussed outside of mainstream academic research.[69] According to Ayako Sakurai, civic volunteer associations (*Vereine*) played a particularly crucial role in public life in Frankfurt: As, a "Free City" ruled by wealthy merchants until 1866, Frankfurt had a historically grown tradition of civic patronage. Until the foundation of its first university in 1914, the city's cultural life, including its scientific institutions, was largely organized by private patrons. Volunteer associations such as the *Senckenbergische Naturforschende Gesellschaft*, which were financed solely through members and wealthy citizens, provided the main arenas in which science was presented and discussed.[70]

Thanks to his many years of experience "Far East", Hagen became not only an active member, but also a valued lecturer in Germanophone Europe's learned societies. During his "sick leaves" in Europe and after moving to Frankfurt for good, Hagen gave talks on the peoples of Sumatra and New Guinea in various cities in the German Empire as well as in Vienna.[71] Generally, he did not receive a salary, but only a reimbursement for travel and accommodation expenses, meaning Hagen was primarily concerned with increasing his symbolic capital when accepting such invitations. As is implied in an invitation from the Museum of Anthropology in Berlin, Hagen's audiences were "mixed across all […] parts of society". Officially, women were excluded from the events, yet there were always "a number of them sitting in the darker lodges". Due to the diverse composition of his audience, Hagen was kindly asked to mix "the popular with the scientific" in the way he presented his anthropological findings, as "one wished to be taught in a captivating way".[72] It appears plausible to assume that for many of Hagen's audiences such presentations were the first – and maybe only – insight into the lives of Batak and Melanesian societies. Moreover, Hagen seems to have mastered the art of "mixing the popular with the scientific" well, as the abundance of letters he received suggests. On the one hand, renowned anthropologists, among them the German social anthropologist Otto Ammon and the Austrian world traveller and ethnographic photographer Joachim von Brenner-Felsach, asked him to comment on their forthcoming publications.[73] On the other hand, Hagen's public talks aroused the interest of numerous anthropologically interested "ama-

68 See various member certificates in ISG_S1-175_208; Bericht der Senckenbergischen Naturforschenden Gesellschaft, Verzeichnis der Mitglieder, Frankfurt am Main 1906, p. 38.

69 See A. Daum, Wissenschaftspopularisierung im 19. Jahrhundert: bürgerliche Kultur, naturwissenschaftliche Bildung und die deutsche Öffentlichkeit, 1848–1914, München 2002; for Switzerland, see Scheidegger, "Petite Science".

70 See A. Sakurai, Science and Societies in Frankfurt am Main, London 2013.

71 For an overview of Hagen's presentations in learned societies, see Hagen's notes in ISG_S1-175_220.

72 P. von den Femen, Letter to Bernhard Hagen, Berlin, 16 April 1896, ISG_S1-175_17.

73 See correspondences in ISG_S1-175_14.

teurs". In 1890, for example, a French-German brewer, who had joined one of Hagen's presentations in Vienna, inquired about the Batak's fermenting techniques.[74]

Even though civic volunteer associations played a pivotal part in the city's public life, Frankfurt was one of few major German cities that did not yet have a learned society dedicated to anthropology. This lacuna was closed in 1900, when Hagen founded the Frankfurt Anthropological Society. Initially, according to the society's founding member Adam Hammeran, the newly established Anthropological Society caused a certain resentment on the part of the already existing associations, some of them fearing that "yet another association" might lead to further "dispersion" of their members.[75] When the Museum of Anthropology opened in 1904, largely funded by members of the Anthropological Society as well as "a number of generous residents",[76] Bernhard Hagen specifically addressed this concern. At the museum's inaugural address, he ensured his audience that even though the institution may have "some points of contact" with its "older sisters" such as the Senckenbergisches Museum, it would serve as a valuable addition rather than a competitor to Frankfurt's existing scientific arenas. Hagen went further by arguing that the museum was unique even on a national level. In the course of his speech, Hagen reminisced about a conversation he had with a German merchant concerning the prestigious Anthropological Museum in Berlin: "Oh, dear Sir", the merchant allegedly said, "I spent 2 hours wandering around the [Berlin] museum, and I was crushed by the mass of objects. I was so confused that I no longer know what I saw."[77] The museum in Berlin was indeed notorious for its "accumulative model of knowledge"; the displayed objects were presented with no additional information, and visitors were expected to draw conclusions from the mere presence of the ethnographica.[78] Even though Hagen shared the Berlin anthropologist's conviction that anthropological museums were crucial in serving German overseas interests, he did not agree with their methods of achieving such a goal. "Nowadays", Hagen stated, "as the entire globe has become the merchant's field of activity, anthropology has more and more turned into a commercial science." What Hagen meant by this was that "the natives" of even the remotest islands in the Pacific had not only become important trade partners, but also potential consumers of German products. In order to successfully enter those new sales markets, the merchant necessarily had to study "the taste, the peculiarities, the customs and rites of these peoples, and get acquainted with their cultural heritage and living conditions". The merchant, however, who tended to lead a busy life, needed to access this information in "brief, clear, practical descriptions without any scholarly garnish". Hagen concluded that in designing the museum, it was precisely such "practical, reality-based" and not "theoretical-scientific" considerations that had "guided" him.[79] Lastly, other than its counterpart in Berlin, the

74 A. Richard, Letter to Bernhard Hagen, Lutterbach, 25 August 1890, ISG_S1-175_14.

75 A. Hammeran, Letter to Bernhard Hagen, Frankfurt am Main, 12 December 1901, ISG_S1-175_17.

76 Hagen, Rede, gehalten bei der Eröffnung des städtischen Völkerkundemuseums.

77 Ibid.

78 See Zimmerman, Anthropology and Antihumanism, pp. 172–198.

79 Hagen, Rede, gehalten bei der Eröffnung des städtischen Völkerkundemuseums. Among his contemporaries, Hagen

Frankfurt Museum of Anthropology was not supported by the German central government. Rather, in the "mercantile republic" of Frankfurt, worldly merchants and businessmen such as Hermann Katz were the main patrons of cultural institutions such as museums until the early twentieth century. Hagen thus had to make very clear to what extent "his" museum served the interests of the city's elite – it produced useful knowledge that enhanced the success of overseas trade.

5. Conclusion

In many ways, the case of Bernhard Hagen illuminates the pivotal role of physicians in the scientification and circulation of racial knowledge in the late nineteenth century. The first, and probably most obvious, "surface" on which race "emerged" was the everyday work of a physician's medical practice in the field. In tracking and studying the medical statistics of the hospital in Tandjong Morawa on Sumatra, Hagen became increasingly convinced that susceptibility to disease was a racial trait that determined indentured labourers' "fitness for survival" in pathogenic climates. Furthermore, Hagen, along with fellow Deli veteran Curt von Hagen, became involved in establishing the German Astrolabe Company's newly founded tobacco plantations in northeastern New Guinea. Based on his observations on Sumatra, Hagen advised the German "newcomers" in the *Südsee* to recruit only the "fittest of races" and tried to transfer racialized and medicalized "coolie" labour regimes from the Dutch to the German colony. To what extent these attempts were successful is yet to be explored, but they do suggest that figures such as Hagen, von Hagen, and many others like them were crucial assets for early German colonial ambitions.

Hagen's life trajectory from Sumatra to New Guinea and eventually to Frankfurt secondly points to the unique opportunities that awaited middle-class men in the colonies, who, unlike the archetypical "gentlemen of science", could not depend on great private wealth to travel overseas. Hagen's employment with the Dutch and German tobacco companies enabled him to conduct expeditions to – from a European perspective – largely "unknown" territories. For two of these expeditions, he even secured funding from the Dutch colonial government. Through his colonial experiences, Hagen forged valuable patronage networks among Frankfurt's mundane business elites and eventually managed to present himself as an authoritative expert on the "races" of the Malay Archipelago by giving well-attended talks in various learned societies. The site of the colony hence served him – and most probably many other "physician-scientists" like him – as a valuable means to acquire symbolic capital and climb the social ladder of Germanophone Europe's growing bourgeoisie.

was not alone with this view. Albert Hahl, who served as Governor of German New Guinea from 1902–1917, was convinced that anthropological knowledge was useful to colonial rule, but seemed rather sceptical of descriptive or object-focused anthropological research. See Buschmann, Colonizing Anthropology, pp. 236–241.

His dependencies on Frankfurt's powerful merchant elites, who dominated the city's cultural life, thirdly also forced Hagen to propose methodological approaches that differed from the dominant, radical-empirical *Lehrmeinung* (school of thought) of the Berlin anthropologists. In the city of Frankfurt, Hagen introduced anthropology as a discipline that produced useful, applicable knowledge for German colonizers and overseas merchants. He seemed to have done so rather successfully: the prestige and connections Hagen gained in and beyond Frankfurt eventually allowed him to found his own institutions – the *Anthropologische Gesellschaft* and the *Völkerkundemuseum* – that served as public arenas for the discussion and presentation of "natural peoples". Through these institutions, hierarchical and colonial concepts of "race" reached audiences from all segments of the German bourgeoisie, with no or little affiliation to institutionalized anthropology. Bernhard Hagen and his patrons hence integrated late nineteenth-century colonial "race science" into Frankfurt's scientific and economic landscape, turning the city into a true "colonial metropole" – both *economically* through globally operating trading companies such as Katz Brothers and *culturally* through the bourgeoisie's racialized exoticisation of Pacific (as well as Asian and African) peoples.