A golden light

- the story of Saalamiit's remarkable life

by Erik Torm



Fig. 1: Saalamiit / Salamina From a photograph of Salamina on a sailing trip. Privately owned.

Preface

I have long been interested in the American visual artist, writer and explorer, Rockwell Kent (1882-1971) and the two periods he stayed in the settlement of Illorsuit on the Greenlandic west coast in the 1930s. This invariably brings up the name Salamina (a.k.a. Saalamiit) Fleischer Møller, née Therkelsen (1900-1936), who worked as kiffaq, a Greenlandic word meaning housekeeper, for Kent during both his trips to Illorsuit. Kent's book, *Salamina*, his account of her and his time in Illorsuit, intrigued me and made me want to know more about the story of her life.

Salamina's maiden name was Therkelsen, and her first marriage was to Frederik Fleischer¹, with whom she had three children before his death in 1927. She remarried in 1936, this time to a man called Gaba Møller², whose father, Samuel Møller, was the catechist in Illorsuit. In between her two marriages she had a child with the settler and carpenter, Jens Lange³.

I have sought out further information about her in various archives and been in contact with her descendants. I am especially grateful to the Greenland National Museum and Archives in Nuuk for finding the relevant material for me. I also owe a debt of gratitude to the descendants Frederik Arqaluk Møller in Sisimiut and Arnaq Fleischer Hansen who lives in Nuuk, who have contributed photographs and valuable information. I would also like to thank Helga Sigurdsen, from Ikerasak, for contributing photographs and information about

¹ Frederik Emil Rasmus Fleischer (1895-1927), son of Nikoline and Jens Fleischer, who managed the trading station in Ikerasak

² Gabriel Klaus Jens Severin Møller (1910-?), son of Sara and Samuel Møller, senior cathecist in Illorsuit

³ Jens Peter Pele Lange (1907-1977), son of Dorthe and Ole Lange, who managed the trading station in Upernavik Kujalleq

Salamina's parents, siblings, children and her connection to Ikerasak. I would also like to thank Johanne Fleischer from Uummannaq, who has contributed much information especially on the cause of Salamina's death. Finally, I would also like to thank Sørine Lange and Bo Nørreslet for constructive conversations.

Introduction

Rockwell Kent is the main reason why Salamina's name endures to this day. Although Greenlandic women were often significant factors in the success — or failure — of the ventures of outsiders in Greenland, whether the new arrivals stayed for short periods or settled permanently, it is rare for posterity to acknowledge their contribution or even remember them after their death.

I have no doubt that Salamina was a remarkable woman with a strong personality. She exuded "a golden light" Kent writes after his first encounter with Salamina. He is instantly bowled over and mesmerised by her light and radiance.

Salamina would go on to achieve global fame because she lent her name to one of Kent's most popular books, Salamina⁴, published in the USA in 1935, and in Denmark the following year in a translation by Estrid Bannister (1904-2000). Estrid Bannister is best known for having been the female inspiration for *Barbara*⁵, the novel by the Faroese author Jørgen-Frantz Jacobsen. However, while Kent, through his stories about Salamina, preserved her name for posterity, there is still considerable confusion about who she actually was. One

⁴ Rockwell Kent: *Salamina*, Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York, 1935 Berlingske Forlag published the Danish translation in Copenhagen in 1936.

⁵ Jørgen-Franz Jacobsen (1900-1938): *Barbara*, Gyldendal 1939

reason is that Kent in his book only includes indirect information about Salamina's age and in the introduction to his second book about his time in Illorsuit: *Greenland Journal*⁶ erroneously states that she is around twenty-six years old. This might explain why Salamina's year of birth is estimated to be 1907 in Dictionary of Artist Models⁷. Any books and articles where she is mentioned will often repeat this year, but neither the year nor his information about her early childhood in the reference book is correct. Kent's inaccurate information about Salamina's age has also crept into Inge Kleivan's article in Tidsskriftet Grønland issue no. 6/1987⁸.

Further confusion has been created by the Uummannaq parish register where her first name is not listed as Salamina, but Dorthe Ane <u>Saramine</u> Therkelsen.

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Fig. 2: Uummannaq parish register (in Danish only), 1899-1905, p.41, Greenland National Museum and Archives

Salamina was born on 27 November 1900 in the Qarajaq settlement at the bottom of Uummannaq fjord close to two glaciers, Little Qarajaq and Big Qarajaq. Her father was the catechist Jakob <u>Pele</u> Thomas Martin Therkelsen (1865-1921) and her mother Justine Dorthe Sara Johanne, née Frederiksen (1859-1921). Her father's sister was Nikoline, née Therkelsen

 $^{^{\}rm 6}$ Rockwell Kent: Greenland Journal, Ivan Obolensky, Inc, New York, 1962, p.ix of the introduction

⁷ Jill Berk Jiminez, Published by Taylor & Francis Inc, USA, 2001, pp.191-192 - "Born in Greenland, ca. 1907. Spent her early years in the Igdlorssuit settlement on Unbekend Ijland."

⁸ Inge Kleivan: *Rockwell Kent – en engageret amerikansk kunstner i Grønland i 30'erne*, Tidsskriftet Grønland issue no.6/1987, pp. 176-190

(1874-1947), who married Jens Fleischer (1847-1930), the manager of the trading station in Ikerasak.



Fig. 3: Pele Therkelsen, Salamina's father, in the middle flanked by his parents ca. 1880. Photographer: Unknown. Privately owned in Ikerasak

Salamina's family relationship to Jens Fleischer and Knud Rasmussen

The name of the polar explorer Knud Rasmussen (1879-1933) will already be familiar to some readers. Jens Fleischer was the brother of Knud Rasmussen's mother, thus making him Knud's beloved Uncle Jens. Jens Fleischer's wife, Nikoline, was Salamina's paternal aunt.

It is thanks to Kent that we know a little of Salamina's early years. In his book, *Salamina*, Kent includes a chapter on her family history and childhood. There can be no doubt that Kent built on what Salamina herself told him about her early years along with stories he heard from her family. As they are narratives from primary sources, I believe that what Kent wrote was to a large extent a repetition of what he had been told which effectively makes those stories Salamina's and her family's own accounts of her childhood.

Salamina grew up in comfortable surroundings, especially given general living conditions in small Greenlandic settlements at the start of the previous century. Her father was a skilled hunter and fisherman, and he was also the settlement's catechist. In other words, he was a pillar of the community and teaching the local children provided him with a regular income. There can be no doubt that the Therkelsen family's comparative wealth meant that Salamina – in addition to good literacy skills – enjoyed a caring and loving upbringing which taught her independence and strong social skills.

Like the other children in the settlement Salamina enjoyed an outdoor life where she acquired Greenlandic life skills through both playing with her peers and from time spent with grown-ups and their shared activities relating to everyday life. She became a fine dogsled driver. She hunted grouse and gulls

with her father's gun and shot seals on the ice. Wearing boy's clothes – seal skins trousers and an anorak – she would collect driftwood with her mother and in the autumn pick berries in the mountains. By the age of ten she was the first member of the family to get up on cold winter mornings to light the stove and she did so without complaining.

Salamina was very fond of her Aunt Nikoline and her husband in Ikerasak and would often visit this distinctive and cultured trading station home where music and storytelling were highly prized.

Aunt Nikoline and Uncle Jens helped bring up Salamina and they also spoiled her. There is a story that Salamina was given treats of chocolates which back then were a luxury for Greenlandic children. One day Uncle Jens had given her more chocolate than she could eat and she hid the surplus in one of her kamik boots when she went outside to play, but as it was a warm day, the chocolate soon melted. Aunt Nikoline didn't discover this until it was Salamina's bedtime, and the child revealed a chocolate-smeared leg.

Salamina had plenty of contact with her two male cousins,
Frederik and Johan, and her female cousin Arnaq, as well as
with Jens Fleischer's many children from his first marriage,
who would often visit Ikerasak. There is no doubt that Knud
Rasmussen on his frequent visits to his Uncle Jens also met
Salamina, and that the cousins had many adventures together
with Knud acting as their" big brother", as he was fifteen to
twenty years their senior.

Kent's book, *Salamina*, contains a chapter on her time with the Fleischer-family:

"Her visits to Ikerasak were always fun. Mostly they'd drive there, in the winter time, bowling silently along the smooth, snow-covered plain of the frozen fiord, westward down the dazzling pathway of the sun".

(...)

"And there: That rambling five-room wonder house of turf, with all the things it held.

(...)

So, as Salamina grew up, grew from childhood into maidenhood, she came to be at frequent and for longer periods, a member of that household. She helped with everything; their ways became her own. And Nikolena's skill and standards, her requirements of perfection in all the native household arts, was transmitted to child, to serve her all her life".

(...)

"Salamina was only twenty, when her father died; and the same year died her mother." ⁹

Salamina's parents died during a violent flu epidemic in August 1921¹⁰ a fortnight apart. This indirectly provided Kent with the correct information that she was thirty years old when they met for the first time in Uummannaq in August 1931.

Kent goes on to write:

"Salamina's brother had married and had moved to

Ikerasak, and Salamina herself now went to live with Uncle

Jens and Nikolena."

⁹ Rockwell Kent: *Salamina,* pp. 127-128, Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York,

¹⁰ In 1921 111 people in the Uummannaq district died from a severe flu epidemic which ravaged the settlement of Qarajaq. The survivors moved to Ikerasak.



Fig. 4: Photographer: Arnold Heim, Photographic Archive of the Arctic Institute, photo ID p07478

Confusion surrounding Salamina's name

As I mentioned earlier, according to the 1900 Uummannaq parish register Salamina was named and baptised: Dorthe Ane Saramine. However, in the 1911 census Saramine was listed as Dorthe Ane Salomine and being a member of the Therkelsen household in Qarajaq. But in the 1921 census Dorthe Ane Salomine Therkelsen was listed as a servant in the household of Jens Fleischer in Ikerasak. Whether it was Salamina who had chosen to call herself Salomine or whether the family had given her that name as a term of endearment, or whether it was simply the result of the Danish authorities' method of notation, remains unknown. A close Greenlandic friend has told me that she might "have been christened with the Danish name, Saramine, but in Greenland most women of that name will be called Saalamiit (in new official spelling). To the best of

my belief Saalamiit was then *re-Danified* to Saalamiina, Salamiina or *Salomine.*"¹¹

It is, however, a fact that her time in Ikerasak led to her marriage to her cousin Frederik (1895-1927) who was five years her senior. Kent mentions it in his book:

"And it was a fine thing all around when she took up with her cousin Frederick, their son, and married him, and so became in **fact** a daughter of the house."

They were married on 10 January 1922 in Ikerasak. An interesting amendment has been made to the parish register. It looks as if the first entry recorded her name as Salomine, but it was then corrected to Saramine. A possible explanation is that the vicar first wrote down the name by which she was known and subsequently realised that her baptised name was Saramine and later amended the parish register accordingly.

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Fig. 5: Uummannaq parish register (in Danish only), 1915-1921, p.156, Greenland National Museum and Archives

In the years that followed the couple had three children
Regine (b. 1922), Frederik (b. 1923) and Helene (b. 1926).
However, as early as 1927 Frederik senior died from
tuberculosis or more likely typhoid as stated in the parish
register. Following his death Salamina settled in Uummannaq
with her three children. When her father-in-law retired as

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 $^{^{11}}$ As spoken by Kunuunnguaq Fleischer, a descendant of Jens Fleischer, manager of the trading station in Ikerasak.

trading station manager, he too settled in Uummannaq where he would live out the rest of his life.

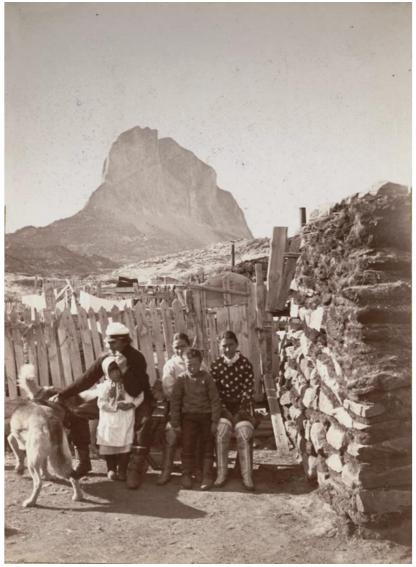


Fig. 6: The Fleischer family in 1909. From left: Jens Fleischer with Arnaq on his lap. In the centre an unknown girl with Johan, Salamina's cousin, on her lap. From right: Nikoline, Salamina's paternal aunt. Photographer: Arnold Heim, Photographic Archive of the Arctic Institute, photo ID p07480

Rockwell Kent meets Salamina

Rockwell Kent met Salamina for the first time in Uummannaq in August 1931. He describes their meeting in his book, *Salamina*, in his distinctively rhythmic and staccato narrative style:

"Of all the women of North Greenland, it had been told me, the most faithful, noble and most beautiful, most altogether captivating, was she named Salamina. Too much? Ah, no! Not for a housekeeper in a one-room house."

(...)

"The Danes of Umanak took an immediate and active interest in my domestic problem. A housekeeper? Of course. You've got to have one. There's Karen – but she's old and feeble; and Martha – well, I wouldn't have her. Yes, Dorthe is a beauty, but she's spoiled. And Antoinette's an "aftenblad"; you know – an evening paper, spreads the news, your news. Oh, Salamina? Yes, she's here. No use; she'd never go. There's...." I'll look at Salamina," I broke in.

I used to know a young fellow – a good fellow – of such low-down principles as to employ the telephone to make dates with girls he didn't know; and who would then at the rendezvous hide behind a pillar to first look them over. He played safe; a low-down, wise, abominable practice. I pursued it.

As I now look back upon my first meeting with Salamina, my thought is of light, of light so bright that I am dazzled by it. I know that the sunlight streamed in through the window, that its shaft cut sharp across a shadowy background and laid a gleaming patch on a scrubbed floor. I know that red geraniums stood on the window ledge and glowed against the sunlight like vermilion fire. I see a room suffused with light, its shadows, even, golden

with it. A golden light, and in it, of it, source of it – who knows! – a woman.

"But I have three children," said Salamina, for of course I blurted out my errand, "and I won't leave them." Of course she shouldn't! They must come.

It became very quiet in the kitchen. Salamina thought."

Well," she said, "then I will come. I'll stay with you a while

and try it. And if I like it I'll stay always"

12

In September 1931 Kent wrote a letter to his good friend the polar explorer and writer Peter Freuchen (1886-1957), telling him that he had employed Salamina as his kiffaq and was now living with her:

"I'm settled in Illorsuit. Built my house. Have again wife + 3 no 2 children. All live in one room. A bit messy, funny and grand. My wife - or kifak - is one Salomine Fleischer. Do you know her? Cousin by marriage, of Knud". 13

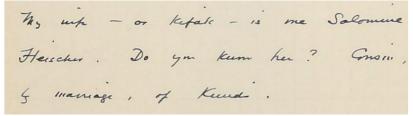


Fig. 7: Extract from Kent's letter to Freuchen dated September 1931 (Royal Danish Library ref: Tilg. 531, kapsel 46)

Kent was thus fully aware of Salamina's family situation when he hired her and together, they moved into Kent's newly built wooden house in Illorsuit. The letter also shows that Salamina was introduced as Salomine at their first meeting. So, it must

¹² Rockwell Kent: Salamina, pp. 49-50, Brace and Company, New York, 1935

¹³ Letter from Rockwell Kent to Peter Freuchen, (Royal Danish Library ref: Tilg. 531, kapsel 46)

have been Kent who changed the spelling of her name, possibly because he disliked the American pronunciation of the name Salomine.

Before she moved in, Salamina decided that her older daughter, Regine, would go live with her cousin and her late husband's sister, Arnaq, in Ikerasak. Approximately one month later her son, Frederik, was sent to the children's home in Uummannaq after falling ill with tuberculosis. That left only Helene to whom Kent became stepfather during both his stays in Illorsuit. Kent mentions Helene in positive terms, so it is likely that he was a good stepfather to her.

Kent had originally promised Salamina that he would add another room to the house, but soon after moving in she declared that she thought one room was enough for all of them. In his book, *Salamina*, Kent writes:

"So far one thing alone had troubled her: my sleeping on the floor. She was in all respects, I was to learn, a stickler for propriety; she cared what people said. The master's sleeping on the floor reflected, she contended, on her credit. She wept at my insistence. I told her that in America men always gave their seats to women – and offered them their beds.

So lived we four, for weeks; until Frederick, the elder child, aged maybe eight, was taken to the sanatorium in Umanak; incipient t.b. That left us three. Two I might almost say: that little mouse like, silent, five-year-old

Helena, one rarely heard a whisper from her lips, never a cry"."¹⁴



Fig. 8: Salamina in front of the door to Kent's house. Photographer: Rockwell Kent. Privately owned in Uummannaq

Salamina and Rockwell Kent in Illorsuit

Kent's book, *Salamina*, is a celebration of Salamina without being saccharine. His life with her as his kiffaq and wife had its ups and downs as far as they were both concerned. This was probably inevitable when your daily life was lived in a house with only one room, and when the inhabitants were a high-spirited and charismatic artistic soul and a strong, self-aware Greenlandic woman with a child.

At the same time, it was also a meeting of two independent human beings and a cultural confrontation of Greenlandic/Inuit and Western values. In his book Kent describes several quarrels during their life together whenever their expectations of each other clashed. I recommend the

¹⁴ Rockwell Kent: "Salamina", p.52, Brace and Company, New York, 1935

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book highly as quoting all the relevant incidents here would be excessive.

However, I would like to mention two incidents. In Archives of American Art is a letter written by Salamina dated 30 January 1932¹⁵. It is a letter written in despair after Kent has thrown her out following a quarrel about cooking for some guests he had invited for dinner. The quarrel is described in *Greenland Journal*¹⁶, but not mentioned in *Salamina*. Her letter opens with an introduction addressed to the person she would like to translate the letter into English. In this introduction she writes that Kent, who up until now has been devoted to her, has tired of her and wants her to leave. She can't bring herself to do so while Kent is still in the country and is hoping that he will change his mind. Perhaps, she writes, his changed attitude to me is the result of settlement gossip. They are reconciled quickly, and their life together continues.

Another quarrel which hurt Kent deeply was caused by his remuneration of Salamina for her work as kiffaq. From the start Kent had given her free access to his money box, also for her own private expenses, rather than pay her a salary every month. He thought that by doing so he was offering her far better financial terms and opportunities than a fixed monthly wage of 10 Danish kroner which at the time was the usual salary for a kiffaq working for Danes. In March 1932 when Salamina had worked for Kent for eight months she suddenly asked to be paid. When Kent tried to explain his thinking, she replied with contempt: *Yes, presents! But I have yet to be paid*.

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 $^{^{15}}$ Letter from Salamina to Rockwell Kent dated 30 January 1932, the letter has been translated into Danish and English - Archives of American Art, reel5220, frame227-232

¹⁶ Rockwell Kent: Greenland Journal, pp. 141-142

Kent grew angry, but Salamina stood her ground, was paid and then moved in with Kent's friends, Margrethe and Rudolf Qvist, because Kent needed peace and quiet. Besides he would be leaving shortly to pick up his wife, Frances, in Qeqertarsuaq, so Salamina would in any event need to move out soon. When Kent left, their quarrel had been resolved.

If anyone reading this thinks that this is yet another example of a white man exploiting a Greenlandic woman, then that is not the impression I get from reading Salamina's letters and Kent's book — or from speaking to some of her descendants. Despite their differences and conflicts, the stories of Salamina's and Kent's life together are sustained by genuine curiosity and mutual respect.

Kent was, as we all are of course, a product of his age and undoubtedly influenced by the view of women which prevailed at the time. This in turn makes it even more remarkable that he doesn't come across as more patriarchal in his authorship than he does.

Kent always strives to treat the Greenlandic/Inuit worldview as equally valid although he never learns to understand it completely. It is generally accepted when cultures meet that you will rarely understand in full the culture that didn't shape you.



Fig. 9: Knud Nielsen, Salamina and Rockwell Kent in his living room. Photographer: Unknown. Privately owned in Uummannaq

However, in order not to rely solely on the words of Kent and descendants, it is also entirely appropriate to let Salamina speak for herself. The Archive of American Art in the USA has the letters that Salamina wrote to Kent.

In Salamina's previously mentioned letter dated 30 January 1932, translated by Knud Oldendow (1892-1975) an inspector in Nuuk, she writes in his English translation:

" My dear Kent,

Many thanks for the 6 months I have been with you. You have been so kind to me and given me boards and lodgings. Every morning you have greeted me in the kindest manner and taken you coffee with me. Never shall I forget all we have had together, I love you as one loves one's husband, because you have treated me as your wife. Thanks for all your presents and your kindness to my little girl Helene, who I know you love.

If you would only sometimes think of me, if now I have to leave you, and not forget me, as a thing which has been

thrown away. You know, how I love my work here in the house and that I will leave with the same regret as one leaves one's mother. But if I have to leave you, I must greave as over the death.

I cannot bear to think of all the good things between us. I was to be with you all the time all the time till your wife arrived, you said yourself that you would keep me until the very moment that you would have to go.

I shall always miss you on every festival days. I trust that all the heavy things which I am now to go through must be lightened for me and I wish you all good in your work. My dear beloved Kent, May God take care of you and carry you safe home to your own country.

Yours affectionately Salamine". 17

In a later letter dated 10 September 1935, believed to be translated into English by Kent's friend, Pastor Svend Hertling (1905–1979), a short time after Kent had left Illorsuit for the last time, Salamina writes:

"Asassara (Dear) Kinte!

(...). Sometimes it is too hard for me never to see your face and hear your voice when I call to mind of your love to mee. Through your letter and your words, I am consoled to see your love to me even now when we cannot meet again."18

¹⁷ Letter from Salamina to Rockwell Kent dated 30 January 1932, the letter has been translated in Danish and English - Archives of American Art, reel5220, frame227-232

¹⁸ Letter from Salamina dated 10 September 1035 (translated into English), Archives of American Art, reel5187, frame578-580. Original letter reproduced in fig. 28

She also mentions in this letter his care for her and her children and writes that she will never forget him for as long as she lives.

This last letter in her hand to Kent has been reproduced at the end of this article (fig. 28).



Fig. 10: Salamina's daughter Helene. Watercolour by Rockwell Kent © Rockwell Kent Collection, Plattsburgh State Art Museum NY

Salamina's three children with Frederik Fleischer:



Fig 11: Regine as a young girl, ca. 1935



Fig 12: Frederik as an adult, ca. 1965 Privately owned family photographs

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Fig. 13: Helene as an adult, ca. 1970 Privately owned family photographs

Salamina lived with Kent during both his stays in Illorsuit.

When Kent's wife, Frances, visited him in the spring of 1932,

Salamina moved out, but she continued to have a familiar closeness to them both and joined in parties and trips with them. The married couple lived in a marriage where they allowed each other to have affairs on the side, so Frances was aware of her husband's extramarital activities and there was no apparent conflict or jealousy between Salamina and Frances.

Kent's description of Salamina's reaction to Frances' arrival in Illorsuit is interesting in many ways. Even after living with Salamina for almost one year, he retained – in my opinion – the ethnocentric attitude to the Inuit view of love and relationships typical of the 1930s.

"Enjoying as she did, until May 4, that almost unlimited authority at home which is the prerogative of Greenland women, one might have looked for some show of resentment at the prospect of being superseded by a

lawful and desired housewife. She showed none. And she was too emotionally uncontrolled to have concealed the slightest shade of jealousy. I believe that her own pride in those virtues of household management which had made her so indispensable to me let her to be confident without a passing fear that she would be as indispensable to both of us. That in good-fellowship we'd be alike, she had no doubt; she judged my unknown wife by me. She'd be **our** friend. But there was more than that. The indefatigable vigilance, that damned vigilance and energy with which she'd dogged my steps, I had not valued; Frances would. "Here", was her attitude, resigning me, "here, take him now. He has given me a lot of trouble, but I've done my best. We'll see now what we two can do." And, sure enough, up she'd come running with what tales she could: "Kinte is talking to Amalia on the beach" – and such". 19

Evidence that Frances wasn't jealous either, but adopted a slightly ironic distance towards Kent's affairs can be seen in a letter from her to Magda Freuchen in June 1933 where she mentions a letter from Salamina to Kent, which Kent had asked Freuchen to translate for him:

"Rockwell asks me to thank Peter for the fine translation of Salamina's letter..." and

"Rockwell loved the Greenland girls so much that he now has very little use for tall women with white skins." ²⁰

¹⁹ Rockwell Kent: Salamina, p.321, Brace and Company, New York, 1935

 $^{^{20}}$ Royal Danish Library, ref: Udtag 531, kapsel 46. Magda Freuchen (1887-1960) was Peter Freuchen's second wife



Fig 14: Frances Kent. Photograph scanned from the newspaper Dagens Nyheder 4 March 1932

Freuchen writes to Kent on 19 June 1933 with the contents of Salamina's letter. Salamina's letter was written before the Kents left Illorsuit where she, as already mentioned, had moved out of Kent's house. Freuchen's translation is as follows:

"My beloved Kente, When are you travelling back to your country? I hope it will be a pleasant job for God will take

care of you, so you will reach it safely. I love you.
Salamine." ²¹



Fig. 15: Frances, Rudolf, Salamina, Margrethe and Helene on a picnic in the mountains near Illorsuit. Photographer: Rockwell Kent Privately owned by Axel Skjold, manager of a trading station

Peter Freuchen's and Knud Rasmussen's relationship to Salamina

Salamina met Freuchen and his first wife, Navarana (d. 1921) and their children on many occasions. In a letter to Kent dated 1 September 1932, Freuchen specifically mentions Salamina who has been kind to his children and Navarana. He also thanks him for the greeting from Salamina²² he had received through Kent.

Through his relationship with Salamina, Kent had grown close to Knud Rasmussen's Greenlandic family and friends. Perhaps too close, in Rasmussen's opinion? We don't know when he first heard about the relationship between the two of them. It is possible that Freuchen was the messenger, but it could just

 $^{^{21}}$ Letter from Peter Freuchen to Rockwell Kent dated 19 June 1933. Archives of American Art, reel5187, frame538

²² Letter from Peter Freuchen to Rockwell Kent dated 1 September 1932. Archives of American Art, reel-5184-frames 460-461

as easily have been through Greenlandic family or friends that rumours reached Knud Rasmussen's ears. At any rate at some point in the autumn of 1931 Knud Rasmussen became aware. When he arrived at Uummannaq in July 1932 to assist a German film expedition²³, Salamina had, however, moved out of Kent's house because his wife Frances, as mentioned earlier, had arrived in Illorsuit at the beginning of May. For that reason, Salamina was now living with Kent's close friends, Margrethe and Rudolf Qvist, but was still helping out as kiffaq for Frances and Kent. Knud Rasmussen may have met Salamina on 6 July 1932 in the morning when he made a short stop in Illorsuit on his way to a settlement called Nuliarfik on the island of Karrat, at the time the headquarters for the German film crew, but there is no record of it.



Fig. 16: Navarana and Peter Freuchen with their two children ca. 1920, Royal Danish Library. Photographer: Holger Damgaard

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 $^{^{\}rm 23}$ The feature film SOS Eisberg starring Leni Riefenstahl directed by the German film director Arnold Fanck.

Who is the father of Jokum, Salamina's fourth child?

On 25 April 1932 on a recommendation from the colonial administrator in Uummannaq, Salamina was awarded a widow's pension of 40 Danish kroner for the financial year 1932/33²⁴. The following year from 17 February 1933, the local council in Illorsuit granted Salamina as a widow and the mother of three children under the age of fourteen, an income of a hundred Danish kroner for the financial year 1933/34²⁵, though at this point only her daughter, Helene, was living with her. After Kent left, she lived in his house. After the Second World War the house was moved to Uummannaq and in time became the home of Margrethe and Rudolf Qvist when they left Illorsuit. After their death their foster son, Adam, took over the house. This is evidenced by a letter from 1968 from Lene Østergård-Hansen, a doctor's wife, to Kent²⁶. The house was torn down around 1970.

In between Kent's two stays in Illorsuit, Salamina bore her son Jokum, also known as Juuku, on 1 June 1933. At that point she had returned to her family in Ikerasak in order to give birth. In the parish register he is listed as the illegitimate son of Jens Lange, a settler in Uummannaq, who worked as a cooper and carpenter for the colonial administration. Kent wrote that Jens Lange was the son of trading station manager Johan Lange, however, his name does not appear on the list of members of the Lange household in the 1921 census, so that must be a

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²⁴ Letter from Philip Rosendahl, governor of North Greenland, to the colonial administrator in Uummannaq (The Danish National Archives, the correspondence of the governor of North Greenland (1915-1950), ref: H83, Jour.nr. 186/32 løbenummer 9)

²⁵ Report no. 164, F.A. 1932/33 from the district of Umanak to the governor of North Greenland, Greenland National Museum and Archives

²⁶ Letter from Lene Østergård-Hansen to Rockwell Kent dated 7 March 1968, Archives of American Art, reel5230, frame1133:" I can tell you that your house in Igdlorsuit is moved to Umanak and the owner's name is Adam Quist".

misunderstanding. The census lists two men called Jens, but there can be no doubt that Jens Peter Pele Lange (b. 19 August 1907 in Sdr. Upernavik), son of trading station manager Ole Lange and his wife Dorthe, is Jokum's father.

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Fig. 17: The caption reads: 1 June 1933, Ikerasak trading station, Jens <u>Jokum</u> Vilhelm Therkelsen Møller, illegitimate son of the widow Dorte Ane Salomine Fleischer, aged 33 years of Ikerasak. The child's father settler Jens Lange of Uummannaq.

Excerpt from Uummannaq parish register (in Danish only), 1922-1934, p.32, Greenland National Museum and Archives

In September 1932 Kent went to Uummannaq to bring Jens
Lange back to Illorsuit with him so that he could help build the
dance and community hall which Kent had decided to fund as
a gift to the local people. There is no doubt that Jens was a
very skilled carpenter and had the overall responsibility for the
successful completion of the project. According to
descendants, Jens was also responsible for the building of
houses in the district of Uummannaq.

When Frances and Rockwell returned to Illorsuit with Jens, Salamina met them on the shore. What Frances and Kent did not know at the time was that during a three-week holiday in Uummannaq, Salamina had allowed herself to be charmed by Jens and had now returned to Illorsuit in order to be with him. The couple moved in with Kent's close friends, Margrethe and Rudolf Qvist.

Kent writes:

"From that time on – almost until we sailed for home – Margretha's house where she now lived was Jens's too. It was the only native house with window shades. They drew them: let them be".²⁷

All the available evidence thus suggests unequivocally that not only was Jens Lange named in the parish register as the child's father, he actually was Jokum's father! However, his relationship to Salamina ended before Jokum was born as on 3 March 1933 Jens Lange married Kathrine Pollas²⁸.



Fig. 18: Gordon and Rockwell Kent on their way to Greenland on 27 July 1934. Photographer: Holger Damgaard

 ²⁷ Rockwell Kent: "Salamina", p.322, Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York, 1935
 ²⁸ Uummannaq parish records, 1922-1934, p.156, Greenland National Museum and Archives

Rockwell Kent's second visit with his son Gordon

In late August 1934 Kent returned to the house in Illorsuit and Salamina moved in immediately to be his kiffaq. Her children, Helene and Jokum, came with her.

29

In June of that same year Kent had sent a telegram²⁹ to the governor of North Greenland, Philip Rosendahl, in which he tells him that he will sail on M/S Disko on his third trip to Illorsuit, and that Salamina should be told to get the house ready. In other words, she was informed in advance and would be there to welcome him on his arrival.

The remuneration of Salamina during Kent's second's stay would appear to have happened free of the conflicts which had strained their relationship during his first visit. Salamina was paid by way of cheques (fig. 19) which Kent created himself. Using them Salamina was then able to withdraw cash from Kent's account with the Danish colonial administration.

It was during his second visit from 1934 to 1935 that Kent wrote his book about Salamina. This time he was accompanied by his thirteen-year-old son, Gordon. While staying in Illorsuit, Gordon turned fourteen on October 1, 1934. Kent built a peat house for Gordon next to his wooden house but ended up spending his days in the peat house himself in order to be able to write undisturbed. Gordon got on well with Salamina and her children, and the locals in general. He soon learned to understand some Greenlandic and lived the life of a hunter and fisherman with the adult men in Illorsuit. This would prove to be an advantage when later during the Second World War he was called up by the U.S. Army and stationed in Greenland.

²⁹ Telegram to Governor Philip Rosendahl dated 7 July 1934 sent by Rockwell Kent, Greenland National Museum and Archives

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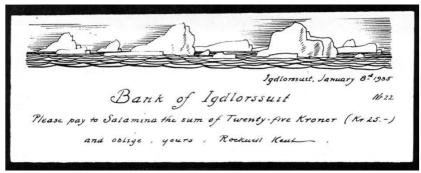


Fig. 19: Hand-drawn cheque by Rockwell Kent issued to Salamina. Privately owned in Denmark





Fig. 20: Salamina with Juuku (Jokum) in her arms. Photographer: Rockwell Kent

© Rockwell Kent Collection, Plattsburgh State Art Museum NY Fig. 21: Juuku (Jokum) as a young man, Family photo. Privately owned in Sisimiut

In May 1936 Salamina married again (Fig.22) this time to Gabriel Møller, son of the catechist in Illorsuit, Samuel Møller and his wife Sara. This event is mentioned in a letter from trading station manager Axel Skjold to Kent:

"...and other great newness is that Salomina has merry to Gabriel Møller the oldest son of the cateket Samuel, it was the month of May".³⁰

I have chosen here and the forthcoming quote to retain Skjold's linguistic expression in English despite its shortcomings.

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Fig.22: Excerpt from Uummannaq parish register (in Danish only), 1934-1942, p.140, Greenland National Museum and Archives

Salamina's all too early death

Sadly, the couple had but a short time together. Salamina died only a few months later, on 5 October 1936. Kent learned of this in a telegram from his friend Pastor Svend Hertling:

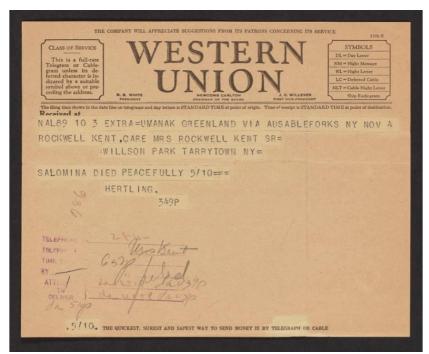


Fig. 23: "Salomina died peacefully on 5 October. Hertling"
Telegram from Svend Hertling to Rockwell Kent, 4 November 1936.
Archives of American Art, reel5187, frame682

 $^{^{30}}$ Letter from Axel Skjold dated 6 September 1936 to Rockwell Kent, Archive of American Art, reel5173, frame1336

The telegram was followed by a letter dated 7 April 1937 where Hertling writes:

"I am sorry to say that Salamina isn't now among your living friends. Salamina married in September Gâba Møller, Sâmus ernera (Samuel's son), but only a few weeks they lived as man and wife. During the terrible tempest on 26th of September she tumbled down and hurt herself and died a few days later". 31

However, as early as 11 February 1937 in a letter to Kent, Skjold had given Kent quite a different version of the cause of death:

"But Mr. Kent we are sorry that we must send you the sorrowful message that Salomine death 5. October. We cannot understand she is death. We like her so very much because she was a very good and clever women. The cause of her death was, that she should have a children but the children came to early and she got some gastritis and some pneumonia and death in the course of few days.

The little Helena and Joku lived by Samuel's house and a think in the summer Helena and Joku went back to Ikerasak". 32

Skjold's account ought to be the more credible because as the trading station manager in Illorsuit, he could witness local events for himself. But as English, as mentioned earlier, wasn't his strong suit as is evident from his letter, he may have struggled to articulate the actual events in English. And Hertling, for his part, didn't live in the district of Uummannaq, and he only learned of Salamina's death second-hand.

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 $^{^{31}}$ Letter from Svend Hertling dated 7 April 1937 to Rockwell Kent, Archive of American Art, reel5173, frame614-615

 $^{^{32}}$ Letter from Axel Skjold dated 11 February 1937 to Rockwell Kent, Archive of American Art, reel5173, frame616

However, the two accounts are not necessarily mutually exclusive as Salamina's miscarriage and subsequent death could well have been the result of an accident. Hertling may have heard only the rumours about her accident and subsequent death, but not been told that she was pregnant.

I have had the cause of Salamina's death confirmed by her descendants who have heard accounts from residents in Illorsuit who knew Salamina. They say that she died following an accident during a severe gale in late September 1936. Salamina was on her way to the community hall with a large and heavy wooden frame in which a sealskin was stretched out when a strong gust of wind caused her to lose control of it. While attempting to hold onto the frame she received a violent blow to her abdominal region that caused internal injuries and a subsequent miscarriage. She died on 5 October because of her injuries.

After Salamina's death, Helene and Jokum lived with Gaba's parents, the catechist Samuel Møller and his wife, Sara. The following summer Helene went to live with family in Ikerasak, while Jokum was adopted by Sara and Samuel Møller. Jokum, who had been given the surname Therkelsen (Salamina's maiden name), was later given permission by the administration of Greenland in November 1944 to change his surname to Møller. This can be seen in the Uummannaq parish register.

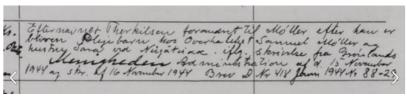


Fig. 24: Entry in the Uummannaq parish register (in Danish only), 1922-1934, p.32, Greenland National Museum and Archives

In the 1950s Jokum married Louise Grønvold with whom he had ten children. He died from a self-inflicted but accidental gunshot wound in 1965 at the age of 31 years³³.

Salamina's foundation

Kent was profoundly moved by Salamina's far too early death and wanted to commemorate her. He initially considered a memorial stone, but decided in the end to set up a foundation in her name created by Frances, Rockwell and Gordon Kent to aid" disadvantaged women and children in the district of Umanak".

In his letter to Pastor Svend Hertling dated July 1937, Rockwell writes about the process and the decision:

" Dear Pastor Hertling:

Since writing to you I have been in correspondence with friends in Denmark who have talked with Daugaard-Jensen and I have talked with Peter Freuchen. As a result of this I am establishing, for Frances, Gordon and me, a memorial fund to Salamina. The fund now amounts to about 4500 kroner. I shall hope to increase it from time to time. (...). Just what the terms of the endowment are to be I can't say, for I have left that in the hands of a Danish

³³ This information appears in a letter from Lene Østergård to Rockwell Kent dated 18 March 1968. Lene Østergård's husband was a doctor in Uummannaq in the 1960s and the couple adopted one of Jokum's daughters, Nikoline (b. 9 March 1961). Archives of American Art, reel5187, frame581

committee consisting of Peter Freuchen, Estrid Bannister and Janus Sørensen. It has to be for the needy women of Umanak District exclusive for the settlement of Umanak, for in that settlement there are so many Danes resident that the needy will always be well taken care of. It is particularly for mothers, married and unmarried, and its administration locally is to be in the hands of the Greenlanders themselves."³⁴

News of the foundation was published in" Reports and announcements concerning Greenlandic colonies" in June 1937, p. 1082 (fig. 25) and in AvangnâmioK, no. 9, dated 1 September 1937 (fig. 26).

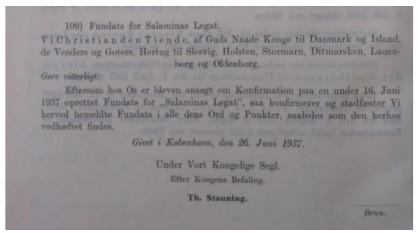


Fig 25: From "Reports and announcements concerning Greenlandic colonies", June 1937, p. 1082 (in Danish)

Salaminap Legatia.

aningaussat Mr. Rockwell Kent-ip túniússai Legatiliarinekarput tainekardlutik "Sålamînap Legatia"-nik. Legatip maleruagagssartai nålagarssuit nalunaerutaine "Beretninger og Kundgørelser"-ne пакіпека́sāput. tássane § 6 ima окаиsекагрок:

Fig. 26: From "AvangnâmioK", no. 9, dated 1 September 1937 (in Greenlandic)

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 $^{^{34}}$ Letter from Rockwell Kent dated 22 June 1937 to Svend Hertling, Archive of American Art, reel, frame

According to the foundation's articles of association, the original board consisted of four members with the magistrate Jørgen Berthelsen as its chairman, the translator Estrid Bannister, the naval officer Janus Sørensen and the author Peter Freuchen. Unsurprisingly the board changed over time and most recently the local council, Qaasuitsup Kommunia, administered the foundation.

The foundation existed as late as 2013. Its closure is mentioned in a news report on the homepage of KNR (Greenlandic Broadcasting Corporation) on 29 October 2013, which reads as follows:

"There is an opportunity, for the last time, to apply for two grants in the country's northern municipality. After this year's distribution, both grants will be closed. It concerns partly Karen Zimmer's grant and partly Salamina's grant. There are respectively DKK 34,722.21 and DKK 14,363.29 in the two grants".

Salamina's legacy

Rockwell Kent does indeed deserve credit for making Salamina known globally and with the Salamina Foundation, he left his mark on Greenland for more than forty years after his death. Over the years many women and children in the district of Uummannaq benefitted from his generosity. However, we must not forget that credit is also due to Salamina as it was her personality that contributed to making Kent's time in Illorsuit such a professional success and an important reason for his fame in the USA.

It is tempting today to describe Salamina as, yet another Greenlandic woman exploited by a white man. However, I think it is highly problematic to evaluate their relationship based on contemporary ideas of sex and equality.

Salamina deserves to be remembered as the strong and resourceful woman she was, also in her relationship with Rockwell Kent. And, in my opinion, that is indeed the portrait Kent presents of her in his book and in his paintings: she is an equal human being. Their attraction was mutual, but not without its problems as is always the case when strong personalities from different cultural backgrounds decide to join forces to take on the challenges of everyday life.

Pictures of Salamina

The few photographs that exist of Salamina convey the same spirit also found in Kent's artistic portraits of her. The photograph of Salamina (fig. 28) shows a strong and selfaware woman who sets her own agenda about what she wants. Please note her hands in the photograph. It is obvious that Kent's watercolour (fig. 27) and print (fig. 30) both wish to celebrate the hands that worked so hard for him. It is Kent's way of telling the spectator that making her hands stand out in the pictures was important to him. The watercolour and the print are, as I see them, both tributes to Salamina's spiritual and physical strength and the photograph confirms that Kent captured the essence of this charisma.



Fig. 27: Rockwell's watercolour of Salamina.
© Rockwell Kent Collection, Plattsburgh State Art Museum NY Note the picture's focus on her face and hands.

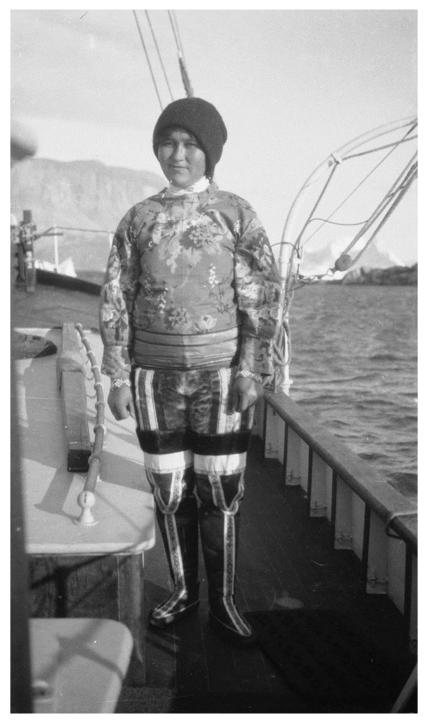


Fig. 28: Salamina on her way from Ikerasak to Illorsuit ca. 1932. Photographer: Janus Sørensen, Photo Archive of the Arctic Institute, photo ID 17582

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Fig. 29: Salamina's letter to Rockwell Kent dated 10 September 1935 Archives of American Art, reel5187, frame581

Translation of Salamina's letter to Rockwell Kent

The letter, the last known letter from Salamina to Kent, was written in Greenlandic (fig.29). Pastor Svend Hertling, who was a friend of Kent, translated the letter into English for him.

Asassara (Dear) Kinte!

I have received your letter and the gifts also you send to us. AgsupilugssuaK (thanks a lot).

Agsut (so much) I feel the want of you (both) especially now when the winter is coming on, and as often as I enter the little house I remember you. Sometimes it is too hard for me never to see your face and hear your voice when I call to mind your love to me. Through your letter and your words I am consoled to see your love to me, even now when we cannot meet again. Of necessity you leaved me — forget me not. I can't forget you too and the time you was here in igdlorssuit and my and my work for you in your house (home) though not as good as you deserved.

For all I thank you, and you know how I attached to you.

And I want to see your kind face when (whatever) you was going out or came back — and I have to thank you for your ever so many actions for me and my little children's sake.

While life remains I cannot forget you.

My children and I are well, (I hope) that you and your family were well too. And I hope that your many works may avail. I hope that your work for Greenland may bring a good result.

So help you God against all dangers.

We all unite in kindest regards to you, your wife and Gordon.

Separately to you the kindest regards from yours affectionately

Salomine Fleischer.35

³⁵ Letter from Salamina dated 10 September 1935 to Rockwell Kent, Archive of American Art, reel5187, frame578-579 (translated into English by Svend Hertling)

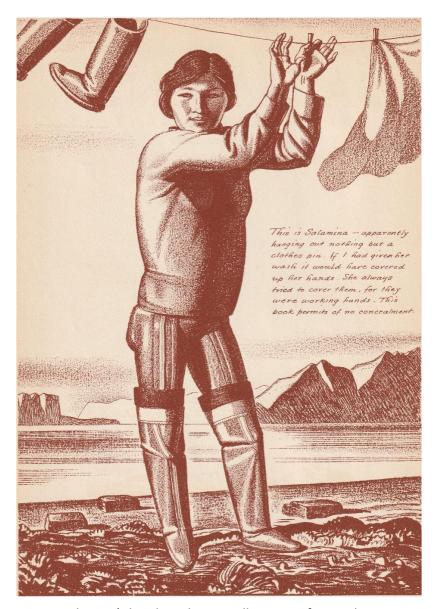


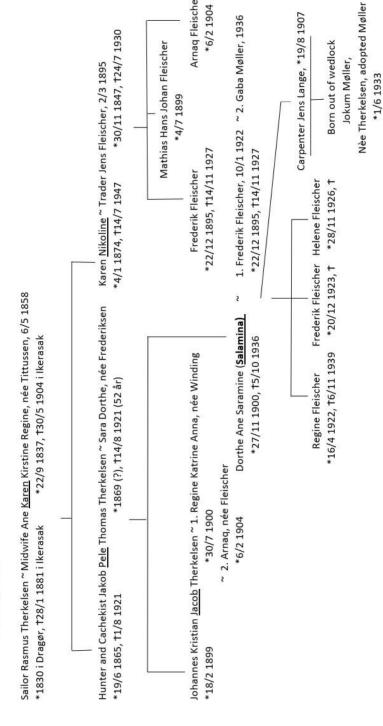
Fig. 30: Salamina's hands in close-up. Illustration from *Salamina,* Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York, 1935

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Fig. 31: The Salamina Fund 1938. Collection of the Editor

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Salamina's Family Tree



The names of Juuku's (Jokum) and Louise's children are:

Salomine, b.1953 - (Deceased, lived in Ilulissat)

Frederik/Arqaluk, b.1954 - (Sisimiut)

Rasmus/Rassi, b.1956 - (Denmark)

Karl, b.1957 - (Uummannaq)

Lars, b.1958 - (Uummannaq)

Marius, b. 1959 - (Ilulissat)

Nikoline, b.1961 - (Denmark, Adopted by Østergaard-Hansen)

Makkak/Margrethe, b. 1962 - (Denmark)

Jokum, b.1965 (Deceased, lived in Qaqortoq)

Erik Torm Biography (Born 1943)

Former head and school developer in Denmark. For many years he has been engaged with cultural projects on a voluntary basis in Denmark, Slovakia and Greenland.

In 1996 he received The Danish Confederation of Trade Union's cultural prize for his work with integrating refugee children from Bosnia in the Danish primary school in Fensmark, South Zealand, and in 1998 he was made an honorary citizen of Trenčianske Teplice in Slovakia for his work with developing democracy in the primary school of Trenčianske Teplice.

In 1998, he became associated with the Greenlandic Self-Government Department for School Development, Inerisavik. For 5 years, Torm traveled around all over in Greenland to advise teachers and school leaders on the reform. Then, for a few years, he was an advisor to schools in Sisimiut and the Uummannaq district.

Since 2006 Erik Torm has been a voluntary cultural worker at the Uummannaq Polar Institute. In 2013 he was appointed Research Fellow by Uummannaq Polar Institute. He has been responsible for several cultural projects among them: Greenland 100 years ago (based on historical hand colored photos from 1909 and 1912) and Rockwell Kent's Greenlandic art.