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HELGE KLEIVAN

THE ESKIMOS OF NORTHEAST LABRADOR

A HISTORY OF ESKIMO-WHITE RELATIONS 1771—1955

NORSK POLARINSTITUTT
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"It is too late for me to come and live amongst the Christians, but perhaps my children, who frequently speak of these things, may in time to come be converted. Your doctrines are not strange to me, but here in the North we have been trained to certain customs and practices which we should be very reluctant to give up."

(The Eskimo KAVANGA, Ramah, Labrador, 1883,
P. A., December 1883, p. 589.)

Contents

Preface

The work behind this account of the history of Eskimo–White relations in Northeast Labrador began nearly ten years ago. Most of the data utilized have been extracted from documentary sources, especially the reports of the Moravian Mission (Periodical Accounts 1790–). They have been supplemented by data gathered during a short field reconnaissance in the late summer of 1955. The work was concluded in 1958, and in 1959 the manuscript was accepted as part of the requirements for the degree of magister artium in ethnography at the University of Oslo.

From the viewpoint of an author, a long delay between the finishing and the printing of a manuscript is always regrettable. New experiences and – one may hope – increasing professional insight may well incline him toward a certain amount of revision. When I wrote this account in the early period of my anthropological training, my background was one of human geography and ethnography.

The sources utilized in the present study did not supply much information on social life. I am glad to learn, however, that in these years social anthropological investigations are being done among the Labrador Eskimos by a number of scholars, some of whom are attached to the Memorial University of Newfoundland, St. John's. This research is highly welcome, as the knowledge of the social organization of these Eskimos is very limited.

The publication of this book was made possible by a grant from the Norwegian Research Council for Science and the Humanities. The costs connected with the translation of the manuscript have been covered by Norsk Polarinstitutt, on the initiative of its director, Dr. TORE GJELSVIK. For this I want to express my sincere thanks.

The translation has been done by Mrs. PATRICIA SHAW IVERSEN, except for a few pages undertaken by myself. In some instances professional considerations have led to some alterations in the original English translation, for which reason I must be held responsible for mistakes in the final English version of the manuscript.

I owe sincere thanks to TRINE, my dear mother, who helped me in so many ways when I started out for Labrador.

I remember with gratitude the many friendly people I met in Labrador, both Eskimos, Settlers, Indians, representatives of the Newfoundland administration, and the Royal Canadian Mounted Police. I am also thankful to Dr. A. PADDON for information on health and diet, and to representatives of the Moravian Mis-

sion both in England and in Labrador, especially to the Rev. S. HETTASCH and Mrs. HETTASCH, to Miss KATE HETTASCH, and to the Mission superintendent, the Rev. W. A. PEACOCK, and Mrs. PEACOCK, whose kindness and generosity I will always remember. I also want to express my gratitude to Professor E. P. WHEELER, who out of his unrivalled knowledge of Labrador, kindly supplied me with ecological data. After this manuscript was finished these data have also been most useful for me in various articles, in which I have dealt with ecologic problems of the Labrador Eskimos in a more analytical framework than has been the case in this more descriptive book.

June 1964
HELGE KLEIVAN

Introduction

The Danish scolar and Greenland administrator, Dr. H. J. RINK (1819–1893), has with a good reason been called "the father of Eskimology". He combined interest in ethnographic and linguistic problems with a remarkable understanding of the impact of the contact with the Europeans in the life of the Greenlanders. After RINK's days Eskimo research was for a long period more restricted in its orientation. The question of the origin of Eskimo culture has been dominant, both among archaeologists and anthropologists working in the North. Because of this preoccupation with the "genuine" Eskimo, little interest was left for the study of the Eskimo's contact with representatives of European and American culture.

Without expressing themselves in the same extreme terms, a number of scholars have no doubt subscribed to the view voiced by Mr. R. UEBE (1909, p. 81) concerning the Eskimos within the Moravian Mission's area in Northeast Labrador: "So bietet denn dieser Mann in seiner Halbkultur wenig Interessantes. . .".

Of the inhabitants in the Eskimo area, those in Labrador and Greenland have been longest in continuous contact with the white man; this fact has probably served rather to discourage than to stimulate anthropological studies in these areas.

Since World War II there has been a marked change in this state of affairs. To-day Eskimo research, as a whole, seems to be more applied to studies of culture change and of social organization than to problems of origin. This concerns first and foremost the western and the central areas, though such studies have also been started in the eastern part of the Eskimo world during the last few years.

With regard to the study of culture change I agree in principle with Dr. PH. DRUCKER (1958, p. 153), who says: "The mere tabulating of elements of aboriginal culture that have persisted into modern times never really tells us much". Neither do bits of information referring merely to "contact" tell much. What matters, of course, is with whom the contact is, under what circumstances, and with what result. What is offerred in a situation of contact, and how it can, or cannot, be fitted into the existing socio-cultural framework, are questions of significance.

The Labrador literature dealing with the Eskimos on the Atlantic coast contains many notes on their contact with white men, but a documentary account covering the whole period of contact is still lacking. Within the limitations imposed by the character and the availability of source material, the present book is an attempt to give such an account.

Geographically the treatment is limited to the population living on the Atlantic coast between Cape Harrison in the south and Cape Chidley in the north. Historically it is limited to the period between the 1770s, when the first permanent Moravian Mission station was established in the area, and the 1950s. The Mission, the Settlers, the Newfoundland fishermen etc. are dealt with in separate chapters in order to throw in relief the relative importance of the Eskimos' contact with representatives of the various agencies of the outside world. Attention is paid to the interplay of these agencies, i.e. how they tend to modify the attitudes and practices of each other, both with respect to the Eskimos, and to one another. As an example, I can refer to the changes taking place in the relationship between Settlers and missionaries in the second half of the nineteenth century, and the ensuing modification in the Settlers' behaviour towards the Eskimos. This way of presenting the material has its weakness, which may be considered a greater disadvantage than can be justified with reference to the author's intention, as expressed above. A few repetitions have been unavoidable in instances where more than one contact agency have been influential in the same field.

Among the main items dealt with in this book are changes in the Eskimos' settlement patterns and dwelling arrangements, in technology and in economic activities. Attention is paid to the question of ecologic restrictions to technological and other changes, whenever the sources utilized supply adequate data on these problems. The thematic limitation, however, is due less to some kind of orthodoxy in the orientation of the author than to paucity of data in the main sources drawn on.

In an historically oriented study like the present, availability of documentary material is of prime importance. Although the eastern coast of the Labrador peninsula is one of the areas where Eskimos first came in contact with Europeans, it is not till 1771 that we can speak of a continuous contact. From this year we have documentary material in the form of diaries, letters, and reports of missionaries. Since 1790 the Moravian Mission[1], London, has printed in English the reports and excerpts of the private letters of their missionaries. The preceding period (1771–90) is covered in the works of D. CRANZ, who relies on the unprinted letters and reports from the Labrador missionaries. The mission history compiled by F. L. KÖLBING, is also based on a thorough study of the mission material mentioned, and covers the period till 1830.[2]

Utilizing a source like the Periodical Accounts . . . (P. A.)[3], it is important to keep in mind who are the authors, especially with regard to criticism of repre-

[1] Today the official name of the mission is The Moravian Mission. In the present work it is most often referred to as "the mission". In quotations the missionaries are often referred to as "the Brethren".

[2] D. CRANZ: Barby 1791, Barby 1804, Gnadau 1816. The three volumes cover the period from the commencement of the mission in Labrador up to the year 1801. – F. L. KÖLBING, 1831, covers the period from the commencement of the mission in Labrador up to 1830.

[3] *Periodical Accounts relating to the Mission of the Church of the United Brethren, Established among the Heathen.* London. The title has later been changed to: *Periodical Accounts relating to the work of the Moravian Missions.* All references to this series have been abbreviated to: P. A., with the year and the month of the respective booklet. In recent years the P. A. are published as annual reports, and for these the reference will be to the respective year only.

sentatives of other, often competing, contact agencies. Although much of the Labrador material has been printed in full in the P. A., part of it (especially letters, apparently) has been printed in extract. It would have been desirable to visit the library of the Moravian Mission in London, in order to consult the original handwritten letters and other documents, some of which have never been published. This, however, was beyond my means at the time when I was working on this account.

The mission reports contain, above all, information on conditions referring directly to the missionary activities. They provide, however, a greater store of information on situational changes than one would have expected. The missionaries of the past, naturally enough, inform us more often of easily observable phenomena, such as changes in technology, in livelihood etc., than of the less easily discernible social effects or implications of such changes. This fact, admittedly, imposes heavy restrictions on this work.

Statistical data are few altogether in the P. A., and those found are seldom of sufficient uniformity from year to year. This clearly reduces their applicability for comparative purposes. Nearly all the demographic data given in the chronological appendix (p. 145) are compiled from the P. A. They may give the reader some idea of the variety and relative importance of the factors at work in the sometimes catastrophic reduction of the population throughout a great part of the period of contact. Despite the deficiency of these data, I hold that they are considerably more reliable than most of the population figures which have found their way into the Labrador literature. Authors have often been unaware of the fact that the criteria of the figures given are changing, as for instance when the Settlers joined the Moravian congregations in the latter part of the nineteenth century.

Throughout the whole mission period – up to the Confederation with Canada in 1949[1] – the part of the coast dealt with here belonged to Newfoundland, except for the period 1774–1809, when it was under Quebec. Newfoundland did not show much serious concern for the population of Northeast Labrador till the beginning of the present century; consequently very little relevant Newfoundland material is found, and practically nothing of what exists was available when this account was written.

Besides the information contained in the P. A., there are few works in the Labrador literature which give documentary material of significance for the present study. Some of the more central works of the literature will be mentioned quite briefly:

CURTIS (1774) gives the first relatively reliable survey of the total population and its geographical distribution on the coast.

CARTWRIGHT (1792) informs us about the last phase of the Eskimos' predatory raids on and warlike relations with the Europeans. He also sheds light on the transition to peaceful conditions in the 1770s, with the frequent trading visit to the south by the Eskimos north of Hamilton Inlet, and on the incipient technological changes.

[1] Cf. [Newfoundland], 1950.

PACKARD (1891) is mostly interested in the natural conditions of the coast, and in its early history. He relates some interesting observations from his visit to Hopedale in 1864, especially on the type of dwelling used at the time.

GOSLING's work (1910) is the most important with regard to the early history of the coast. Many later authors have reproduced the rich material laboriously compiled by GOSLING. He is, to my knowledge, the only author who has systematically utilized some of the important material found in the P. A. My short description of conditions prior to 1771 are mainly based on the work of GOSLING.

GRENFELL (1910) gives some firsthand data on the activities of the Newfoundland fishermen on the east coast, but except for this his descriptions are of minor importance to the theme dealt with here.

Very few of the representatives of the Moravian Mission have contributed to the Labrador literature proper. HUTTON (1912), doctor and missionary, however, has written the most vivid description of everyday life in one of the mission villages. He has many thought-provoking reflections on culture change among the Labrador Eskimos, based on his own field experiences. Through the greater part of his Labrador years, HUTTON was attached to the hospital at Okak, i. e. north of what may be called the Settler area. This seems to explain why he gives a meagre and rather one-sided account of the Settler population.

HAWKES' book (1916) is a traditional ethnographic monograph. Except for TURNER (1894), who gives an ethnographic description from the Ungava area, HAWKES is the only one who has written a larger work dealing with the ethnography of the Labrador Eskimos. His study covers the whole Eskimo area of the peninsula. Whereas the texts to the illustrations of ethnographic specimens nearly always supply information as to locality, it is almost impossible in the description of the culture to understand from what particular locality he has gathered the various items of information. This makes his work less useful for comparative purposes, whether these have an ethnographic aim, or are dealing with problems of culture change. One ought to keep in mind that parts of the east coast had been a mission field for the Moravians for more than 140 years when HAWKES was travelling in Labrador. In other areas which he visited the population had been in contact with European missionaries or traders for only a few years.

TANNER (1944), through his two-volume-work, has created a reference book which is of great use to anyone studying the natural or cultural conditions of eastern Labrador. Many of the sources he has utilized, and which are included in his vast bibliography, are not available on this side of the Atlantic. His many quotations from the literature, therefore, are of great help to scholars in various fields. The author regards the colonists around Lake Melville and at Sandwich Bay as representative of the two main types of the livelihoods of the white colonists in Labrador. The Settlers in the districts around the Moravian mission stations, however, are dealt with in a rather summary fashion. In his description of the work of the Moravian Mission among the Eskimos, TANNER strongly emphasizes their great and devoted humanitarian effort, but a critical evaluation seems to be lacking.

Of the many articles on the Eskimos of Labrador found in various periodicals, I especially want to mention the detailed first-hand description by KOCH (1884)

from his long stay at Nain. LINDOW (1924) from his shorter visit to the coast, also supplies interesting information, for instance on the trading activities performed by the Moravian Mission until 1926.

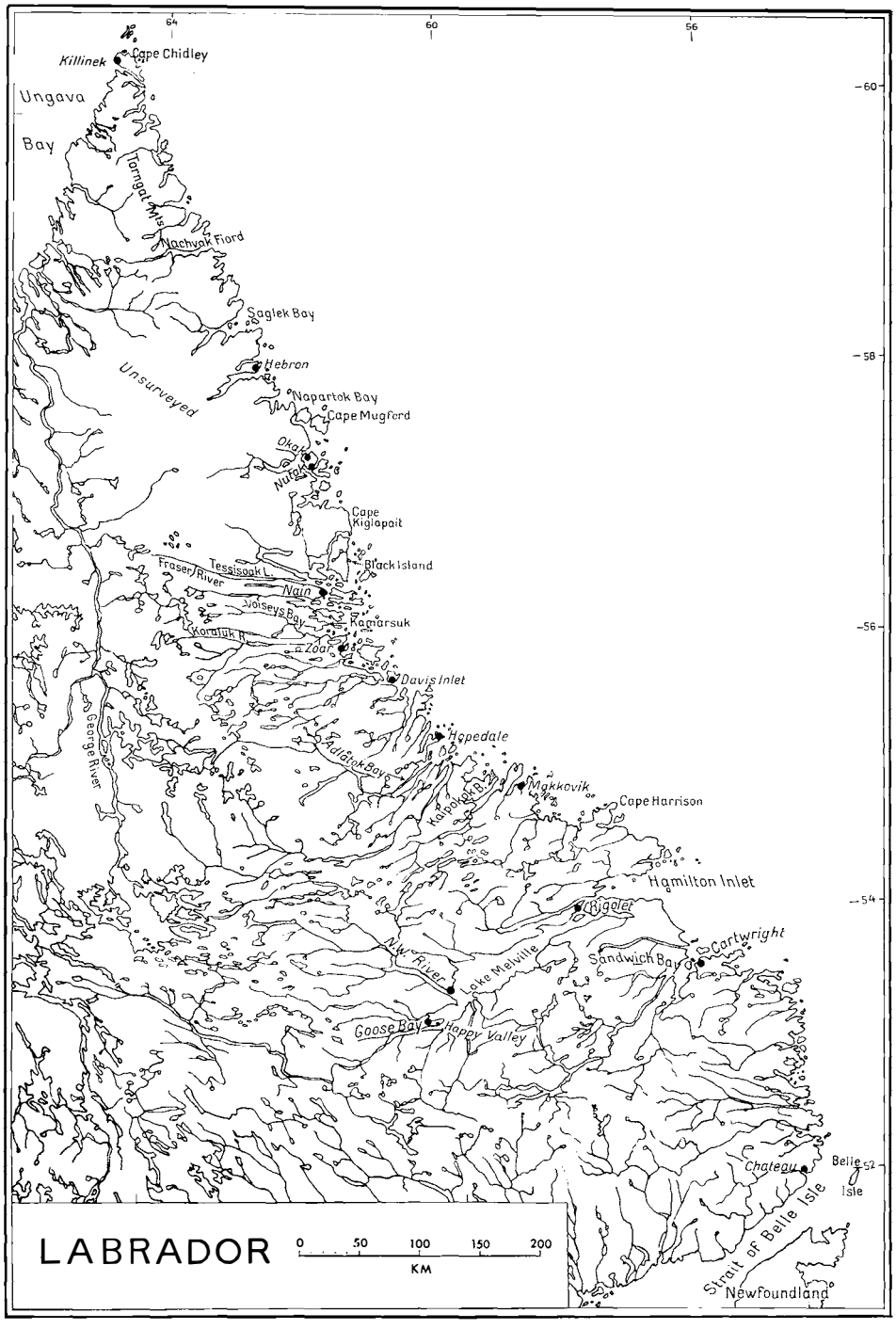

Fig. 1. *Map of Labrador. Almost all geographical names referred to in the text are included in the map.*

Northeast Labrador – the country

The eastern coast of the Labrador peninsula constitutes the highest part of the continental area of the vast Canadian shield. While the land around Makkovik and Hopedale seldom rises over 150 meters, the relief around Nain is already more pronounced, with peaks of from 700 to 1000 meters. On the way north we encounter the first major massif, Kiglapait, between Nain and Okak, with altitudes of around 1000 meters. Thereafter follow the even higher Kaumajet Mountains which plunge several hundred meters straight into the sea at Cape Mugford, between Okak and Hebron. North of Hebron the entire land becomes higher, and, in the ragged Torngak chain, acquires an especially wild and grandiose character, with a number of peaks from 1,100 to over 1,800 meters high.

Most of the Eskimo population in historical times have been situated within the central part of the northeastern coast, i.e. the Nain and Okak area, and I would therefore like to describe this part of the country in some detail.[1]

Even though the landscape forms of Labrador, as we see them today, are a result of glacial erosion, the nature of the underlying bedrock has been the main factor in the question of determining these forms. Mountain complexes consisting of volcanic rock have a tendency to relatively great heights, and several of the peaks on the coast and out on the islands are, accordingly, higher than the tops at the watershed in the interior, which is chiefly composed of gneiss.

The coast at Nain and Okak has been deeply indented through glacial erosion, and later partly flooded by the sea. Farthest out lies a belt of islands, and then follows a zone of narrow inlets, which cut their way up to 50 kilometers into the land. They generally end in pronounced U-shaped valleys, which are connected to the inland plateau by steep, small valleys.

Apart from the open stretch of ocean off Cape Kiglapait, the coast from Hopedale to Mugford Tickle is protected from the Atlantic Ocean by countless islands, which vary in size from small skerries to islands 40 kilometers in length. No part of the coast has as vast an archipelago as the Nain district, with nearly 500 islands and skerries. Along the island-studded part of the coast are to be found countless sunken rocks which often force the regular steamer to set a course outside the skerries, where it can encounter ice and fog in midsummer. The local traffic, with small boats sailing in among the islands, on the other hand, can proceed comparatively unimpeded from the latter part of June to the middle or latter part of November.

[1] These two areas in particular have been objects of longstanding and thorough geological and geographical examinations by Professor E. P. WHEELER. To a large extent I have made use of his findings as they are described in his articles (1930 and 1935).

The inlets, for the most part, have steep and rather high sides, but the declivity of the shorelines has often become somewhat modified by glacial deposits. In some places the sides of the valleys are cut through by transverse valleys that run from north to south. Many of these have been cut so deeply down in the landscape that, before the last upheaval, they were sounds which cut off parts of the present mainland. Such a low-lying valley lies west of the Kiglapait Mountains, and runs from Webb Bay to Tessiujak Bay. In earlier days it was used by the kayak mail, which the mission maintained between the stations; a series of small lakes, connected by rivers, made it possible to avoid the weather-beaten stretch around Cape Kiglapait on the route from Nain to Okak and Hebron. In the winter this valley is an important short cut for the sledge traffic.

The average length of the main valleys is around 30 kilometers, but a few are much longer. Farthest to the west they branch out in a number of smaller, fairly narrow valleys which rise up steeply towards the interior. West of Okak the inland plateau attains a height of over 800 meters, but sinks down to 5–600 meters southwest of Nain.

The surface of Labrador reveals many traces of the last glaciation. Old marine shorelines are to be seen everywhere on the coast, and in the Nain–Okak area the highest lie at approximately 100 meters. There are not many terminal moraines of greater dimensions.

During the winter the atmospheric pressure over the interior of Canada is high, and westerly winds prevail. While the westerly wind produces a temperature, in February, of down to –24.8°C (Nain), the northerly wind produces only –14°C, and a northeasterly wind – which seldom occurs during the winter – can even raise the temperature to 0°C.

The cold westerly wind is dry and produces clear weather. As this wind prevails for two thirds of the winter, the precipitation is relatively low at this time of year. From May the westerly wind becomes warmer than wind from north and east, but it soon abates in frequency towards summer. The winds from the sea result in cloudy weather at all times of the year, with snow and rising temperatures during the winter, and rain and dank weather in the summer. Fog does not occur as frequently in Labrador as one is given to believe from popular accounts. July has the highest frequency of fog, 6 days of a yearly average of 16 for Nain.[1]

The coast of Labrador has, consequently, a cold winter and a chilly summer. The average temperature in January lies between –20°C and –22°C, and in July between 8.9°C and 11.6°C. In Nain it has been recorded as low as –40°C in January and as high as approx. 27°C in July.

The July isotherm for 10°C intersects the coast in the southern part of the Nain area and proceeds in a southeasterly direction. For that reason a large part of the stretch of coast, where the Eskimos have been living in the mission period, falls within an Arctic climate, if we follow the general definition.

In September the first snow falls, but there is seldom enough snow for extensive sledding before December; and from then until March the winter storms are often so violent that they make travelling difficult or impossible. Greater

[1] The climatological data are based on L. Döll (1937).

masses of snow do not come before March, but there is seldom use for snow-snoes as the winter storms pack the snow down hard.

In the latter half of November a heavy coating of ice from sea spray soon forms on the sides of the boats, and the surface of the sea turns into sludge. By Christmas the sea ice will almost always bear dog teams in the Nain area, except in places with a strong current. But the old mission reports can tell of many instances in which people have risked their lives because, after the fatiguing autumn sealing, they were so eager to come home by Christmas that they looked more at the calendar than at the thickness of the ice. The sea ice grows both in thickness and extent well into the winter. The settler J. FORD related that the edge of the ice can extend 25–30 kilometers from his dwelling on Black Island out towards the Atlantic Ocean. The distance from Nain out to open sea, as the crow flies, can be 50 kilometers or more.

In the latter half of June the ice breaks up in the inlets south of Kiglapait, and by the turn of the month the local traffic is generally in full operation. The mail steamer from Newfoundland makes its first trip in the middle of July. Farthest to the north it freezes over somewhat earlier than mentioned above, and there it can often go well into July before the fjords are navigable.

The quantity of drift-ice during the summer has a strong influence on both the terrestrial and marine climates. During the years when there are great quantities of drift-ice, the ecological conditions are markedly affected: both trout and cod are then said to occur in smaller numbers than normal. Those years in which the ice breaks up and disappears extra early, on the other hand, are unfavorable for the spring sealing. The icebergs in the Labrador current not only represent danger to the shipping; they also have a considerable influence on the temperature of the air. Concerning an enormous iceberg which ran aground near Okak, the mission's journal relates: "It brought with it a wintry atmosphere; the grass was blighted, and the snow no longer melted on the surrounding heights". (P.A., September 1846, p. 464.)

A considerable percentage of the largest icebergs seem to run aground and melt in the extensive belt of islands outside Nain. (WYATT 1933, p. 63.)

Just as the winter on that ice-bound coast meant isolation, so was the summer the time for intense contact with the outside world. Then came the missionary ship on its annual voyage from Europe, and the trading schooners from the south – not to forget the thousands of fishermen from Newfoundland, who carried on their operations along the coast throughout the entire summer.[1] It is only with the post-war military bases in the country, and the transition, in recent years, to postal and ambulance planes that the winter's isolation has also been broken – for better of for worse.

The flora of the islands is limited to heather, grass and various flowers. The few trees which are to be found at especially sheltered spots on the outer islands are stunted and distorted. The outermost stretch of coast, with good reason, can be characterized as a coastal tundra.

[1] The mission maintained an annual connection between England and the mission stations in Labrador, with its own vessel, continuously from 1771 till the summer of 1926, when the Hudson's Bay Company took over the trade at the stations.

The northern limit of the Canadian coniferous forest belt extends to the Atlantic coast at Voisey's Bay, south of Nain. A little farther north the deep valleys on the mainland are also forest-clad up to a height of a good 300 meters, while the adjoining plateau is completely bare of trees. The absolute timber line is to be found at Napartok Bay, where, from 1830 to today, the population in Hebron has supplied itself with wooden materials for implements, and for nearly a century also with fuel.

The greater part of the forest is made up of coniferous trees, with black spruce and tamarack on moist soil, and white spruce in sheltered spots having a dry, sandy soil. In the deeper main valleys some balsam fir is to be found. Trees having a diameter of 90 cm or more are seldom to be seen. Some few birches grow on steep sides of valleys, and dwarf-birch extends far above the timberline. Willow bushes and alder are also to be found at great heights.

From the end of the eighteenth century down to the latter part of the nineteenth century, the concentration of the population, and, in particular, the Europeanizing of the house type rapidly led to a marked deforestation around the mission villages. Scarcely 50 years after Hopedale was founded, it was written in the mission report: "Woods, containing timber fit for building, are at a greater distance than when we first settled here . . .". (P. A., November 1831). This early deforestation is certainly due, first and foremost, to the enormous need of fuel, owing to the love of the Moravians for large frame buildings. Before 1830 the Eskimos at Hopedale had only begun going over to wooden houses on a small scale. In the 1860s, the prevailing complaint was that the Hopedale Eskimos destroy many fine trees by peeling off the bark in order to use it for tiling. But what has contributed most to the deforestation near the villages during the missionary period as a whole, is the strongly increased need of fuel in the, most often, poorly insulated frame houses of the Eskimos. These houses also have a greater cubic content per individual than the old type of house. It has also been maintained that the Newfoundland fishermen, who visited the coast during the summer, had their share of the blame in clearing the area near Hopedale bare of trees. (KOCH 1884, p. 156.)

In the villages of Nain and Hopedale it has been possible, nonetheless, to save a quite large forest through severe preservation regulations on the part of the mission. "The Park", as it is called in Nain, has undoubtedly considerable importance as a protection against the biting westerly winter wind, as it grows all the way up to the houses.

Today, in many places, it is necessary to go up to 15–20 kilometers from the stations in order to obtain fuel. From Hebron to Napartok Bay the distance is over 30 kilometers. The supplying of fuel is an exhausting and time-consuming job. Now, as before, the missionaries complain that the Eskimos do not bring home enough fuel while weather and sledding conditions are fine. Reports to the police from the mission, about people who sneaked out into "The Park", and chopped down some small trees for themselves under cover of darkness, were (1955) among the most frequent cases occurring in Nain, judging from the police records.

In many places along the coast there is an abundant growth of berries – blue-

berries, large, juicy cloudberries, and many others – which are picked by both the Eskimos and the Settlers.

Among the fauna the reindeer has been of great importance, but the stock has decreased considerably in our century. Hare, ptarmigan and sea-fowl still play a part in the food supply. An occasional black bear has been shot, particularly in the inlets around Nain.

Through the Eskimos' contact with the Europeans, fur-bearing animals acquired a far greater importance than previously. In addition to marten, mink and weasel, both black, blue, red, cross and white foxes are to be found. Most of the fur-bearing animals have an area of distribution which is essentially limited to the forest-clad part of the country. Most widespread is the white fox, which is also to be encountered on the ocean ice by the outermost islands. Of less importance are lynx, wolverine, and wolf. It happens that the wolf, driven by hunger, ventures all the way into the villages and tears dogs to pieces.

Even though the fauna on land comprises many species, it is the sea with its mammals and fish which has been the most decisive factor for the Eskimo settlement.

Trout and salmon are of great economic importance. The salmon, however, is seldom to be found north of Hopedale. The most important fish is the cod. In great shoals it makes for coastal waters each summer, and provides a basis for a seasonal fishery which has been of great economic significance for a whole century.

No part of the fauna has been of such great importance as the seal. The ring seal, which is to be found in most of the inlets and fjords, is the most sought after as food for man. Previously its hide was the most important material for the clothing. Pied seal are to be found both in the inlets and in several of the larger lakes which are connected with the sea. The great seal is taken particularly at the edge of the ice out towards the Atlantic Ocean. In addition to these three varieties of seal, which remain by the coast throughout the year, great herds of Greenland seal come along the east coast on the way to and from the Newfoundland grounds. They are captured in great numbers, especially in nets, when they make their way into the fjords in the autumn. In the spring they are captured out at the edge of the ice, which they follow on their way north. The Greenland seal is indispensable in that it provides both food for the dogs and hides for boots. Previously the hide was also used for tents and for covering *umiaks* and *kayaks*.

The hooded seal is essentially a pelagic seal, and is captured only rarely on the east coast. Walrus may be found farthest to the north, but previously it was common along the entire coast. The white whale was sometimes pursued by several kayak hunters together, but it is not taken very often nowadays. Polar bears are captured, from time to time, all the way down to Nain and Hopedale, but must be characterized as being very scarce.

Many traces of prehistoric settlements in Labrador are to be found, but few archaeological investigations have been made. In comparison with Alaska and the central Eskimo area proper, Labrador must be regarded as a blind alley for the Eskimo migrations. It has thus had less of a stimulating effect upon Eskimo archaeologists than other parts of Arctic North America.

Both the Dorset and the Thule cultures have been represented in Labrador – the Dorset all the way down to Newfoundland. It is also evident that the Eskimo culture, which existed on the coast when the Europeans came, has carried on many features of the Thule culture.

The onrush of the Indians out to the east coast, north of Hamilton Inlet, did not begin before the last century, and can be attributed to the Europeans in two different ways: First, the Catholic missions among the Indians, and the Moravian among the Eskimos, have gradually removed the fear which the two peoples entertained for one another. Secondly, the mission trading stations along the coast were the goal of the Indians' visits.

Eskimo–European contact before 1771

It has long been accepted as a historical fact that the Norsemen encountered people in the New World during the expeditions to Vinland almost a thousand years ago. The great controversial issue today is, first and foremost, with whom and where this contact took place. If we accept the frequently advanced claim that they came across bearers of an Eskimo culture, we must then presume, on the basis of the findings of Eskimo archaeology, that these were representatives of the Dorset people. If that is the case, our basis is more than flimsy when it is a question of judging to what extent those traditions, which were the result of a possible contact, were continued and left their mark on the attitude to the white man among those Eskimos encountered by European seafarers in Labrador half a millennium later. I am here referring, among other things, to the question of the relations between respectively Dorset, Thule, and Eskimos of historic times proper, in the area we are treating of here.

Leaving out of account the possible early contact of the Eskimos with the Norsemen during the Vineland expeditions, and later in Greenland, then they made their first acquaintance with the Europeans on the southeastern part of the coast of Labrador, probably around the year 1500. Thus it was seventy-five years before FROBISHER's well-known encounter with the Eskimos on Baffin Island. JOHN CABOT, who is officially regarded as the discoverer of Newfoundland and/or Labrador through his voyage in 1497, admittedly does not appear to have met any of the inhabitants, although he did see them. But his controversial son, SEBASTIAN, is said to have brought home three men who were exhibited to King HENRY VII in 1501, or one of the following years. Judging from a scanty description, these men may have been Eskimos. Taking some of "those wild savages" prisoner, and exhibiting them among curious fellow countrymen, was clearly a widespread custom among those who visited the coasts of northeastern America. CORTE REAL thus brought home, all in all, 57 persons from his voyage in 1501 – to all appearances Beothuk Indians from Newfoundland. Nothing, in the meantime, came of the projected Portuguese traffic in slaves from this part of the world. On the other hand, they soon started an important fishery in the waters around the southern part of Labrador and Newfoundland.

The French too joined in the fisheries from the very beginning. In 1547 mention is made of the fact that at least 100 French crafts were engaged in fishing over there. The English, on the other hand, surprisingly late saw the importance of the great wealth of fish, especially when their early contribution to the exploration of these waters is taken into account. As a matter of fact, it was not before the middle of the eighteenth century that they took up the fishery competition in

earnest with the French and forced them to limit their operations to the west coast of Newfoundland.

That neither CARTER, in 1534, nor one or two contemporaneous expeditions saw any Eskimos at the straits of Belle Isle is interpretated by GOSLING (1910, p. 18) as a sign that the Eskimos "did not frequent that locality until the latter part of the sixteenth century, and that it was the desire to obtain European goods, boats, and iron implements which first drew them so far south". To the first of the conjectures HAWKES (1916, p. 4) raises the objection: "It might have been an off year for Eskimo migration, due to disease or some religious taboo, as often happens, or CARTER might have simply missed the wandering bands". An on-shore wind, with extra large quantities of drift-ice can naturally also have delayed eventual Eskimo summer journeys. GOSLING's objections, in the meantime, correspond well with BIRD's conclusions after the excavations at Hopedale, namely that the Eskimos of historic times only began to settle as far south as Hopedale towards the time of discovery. The supposition that European wares were an important incitement to the Eskimos' journeys southward is completely valid for the conditions during the 1700s such as they stand out through the more copious historical sources of that time. (BIRD 1945.)

Some few scattered remarks in works from the sixteenth century appear to indicate that some of the many European seafarers have seen Eskimos on the southeastern coast.

From the seventeenth century we have reports that the Eskimos were beginning to visit the coast towards the Gulf of St. Lawrence. In the 1650s CHARLEVOIX reports "that the Indian tribes nearest the Gulf were continually at war with the Eskimos, and often took them prisoner . . .". (GOSLING 1910, p. 166.) As early as 1632 SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN refers to fights between the Eskimos and French fishermen. (BIRKET-SMITH 1959, p. 19.)

In the seventeenth century French Canadians began to push forward from the west along the northern coast of the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Through the French the Indians early obtained firearms, and this gave them a tremendous advantage over the Eskimos, who soon found themselves in an almost endless struggle, not only against the Indians and the French, but against all foreigners in general.

When DE COURTEMANCHE, on the basis of a concession of 1702, established his fishing and trading station on the southern coast, he heard through the Indians that Basque whalers had previously carried on extensive activity in the Straits of Belle Isle, but had been forced to give up because of frequent attacks and plundering by the Eskimos. DE COURTEMANCHE tried to get on good terms with the Eskimos when they visited him, but it is clear that peaceful trading occurred only at short intervals in an almost unceasing struggle. In 1716, one of his men writes, among other things, in a letter to Mrs. DE COURTEMANCHE: ". . . the savage Eskimos have visited your coasts. They came first to Forteau, where the people of Sieur de la Rue had commerce with them the first Sunday after your departure . . .". Later in the letter he says that the Eskimos ("these savage beasts") have stolen many boats along the coast. (GOSLING 1910, pp. 147–48.)

We also hear constantly about the Eskimos' raids from DE COURTEMANCHE's successor, DE BROUAGUE. "On several occasions small sealing posts, where three

or four men only were employed, were attacked and the fishermen slain. Reprisals were naturally of frequent occurrence, and the Eskimos were shot with little compunction by the enraged fishermen". (GOSLING 1910, pp. 150–51.)

An anonymous author, who perhaps had stayed at DE COURTEMANCHE's station at the Straits of Belle Isle around 1715, has left a document with a great deal of information about the state of affairs on the coast, and with a number of suggestions for an improvement of the conditions. He says, among other things: "The Eskimos are considered extremely savage and intractable, ferocious and cruel; they flee at the sight of Europeans, and kill them whenever they are able; but I believe they fly from Europeans because they have been maltreated, fired on, and killed, and if they attack and kill Europeans it is only by way of reprisal. I think that in the beginning of their intercourse with Europeans on their coasts they stole some trifling articles and then fled, but this did not warrant that they should be fired at and killed". The author adds that DE COURTEMANCHE, in 1713, had told him that the Eskimos were "good, civil, mild, gay and warm-hearted . . . They are more timid than savage or cruel". (GOSLING 1910, pp. 139–40.)

In 1742 sailors on a French vessel had traded peaceably with the Eskimos in Chateau Bay. This information appears as an out and out exception to the general situation. It is probable, however, that French traders around the middle of the eighteenth century had a comparatively regular contact with Eskimos in the region up to Hamilton Inlet, where CARTWRIGHT, in 1779, found the ruins of what he described as "three French settlements". JEFFREY reveals that the Eskimos, in 1752, sold whalebone and oil to French traders at the same spot. GRENFELL (1910, p. 19) concludes from this that French Canadians visited the coast north of the Straits of Belle Isle more frequently than reference is made to it in the sources.

The first encounter of the Moravian missionaries with the Eskimos on the southern part of the east coast indicates that in this area there must have been more than a chance contact with French traders. HAVEN reports from 1764, that Eskimos were astounded at hearing a European speak their own language, and one of them replied in broken French. According to the mission historian CRANZ, the Eskimos had "adopted several French words into their conversation, which they repeat without knowing their meaning; and the French have collected a score or two of words which they use in trading with the savages, consisting partly of corrupt French, partly of corrupt Esquimaux, and partly of unknown terms, probably borrowed from the Canadian savages; e.g. *kutta*, a knife (from couteau), *memek*, to drink (from *imek*, water), *makagua*, peace, probably of Canadian origin". (CRANZ, 1820 vol. II, appendix, p. 289, p. 293.)

The east coast north of Hamilton Inlet remained little explored till the end of the seventeenth century. This is even more remarkable, as this part of the land was visited by Europeans at a very early date. Seafarers, such as FROBISHER, DAVIS, WEYMOUTH, KNIGHT, GIBBONS, and several others, in their attempts to locate a northwest passage, happened to navigate larger or smaller areas of Labrador's northeast coast. In those few instances where any of the inhabitants of the land were encountered, it was usually in clashes equally as bloody as those we have heard of farther to the south. JOHN KNIGHT was in fact killed, along with

his brother and two members of the crew, during a fight with Eskimos in the summer of 1606. If the stated latitude is correct, the fight took place outside of what is now Nain.

Then followed a long period almost without visits to this stretch of coast. Those who were searching for the Northwest Passage began sailing directly through Hudson Strait without touching the coast of Labrador. The great quantities of ice in the Labrador Current, and the foul waters along part of the east coast were undoubtedly deterrent. That DAVIS's supposed passage (of 1586) right through Labrador at approx. 56°N. was still to be found on the maps around the year 1700, clearly reflects the slow development of the knowledge of the coast north of Hamilton Inlet.

A number of Eskimos to the north, nonetheless, came in contact with the Europeans through summer journeys to the southeastern coast. If the intercommunication on the east coast was previously as great as when CARTWRIGHT came to the land in 1770, it must be presumed than European articles were quickly spread through local trading from settlement to settlement.

No attempt at a characterization of the Eskimos' contact with the Europeans, before the time of the mission, can give us a better idea of how deeply traces of the bloody experiences had entrenched themselves than one or two examples:

During the earliest years of the mission in Nain, one of the candidates for baptism wanted to know whether a special treatment which had been performed on him in his heathen childhood, could mean an obstacle to his baptism. Shortly after his birth, his entire body had been stroked with a new-born puppy in order to make him invulnerable to the rifles of the Europeans. An amulet to make him swift during danger, and another to bring him good fortune, had also been hung around his neck. (CRANZ 1804, pp. 78–79.)

E. CHAPPELL (1817, pp. 44–45) mentions an account from the beginning of the mission: An English frigate went into a little inlet on the Labrador coast to take on board wood and water. Some Eskimos who saw the vessel fled terrified to the mission station, and told the missionary about the unknown vessel which was the cause of their anxiety.

The first attempt to start a mission in Labrador was made during the summer of 1752. Under the leadership of J. C. ERHARDT, a house was built near what later became Hopedale. During a trading expedition to the north, ERHARDT disappeared, along with the captain and five members of the crew of the vessel which had brought them to Labrador – apparently killed by Eskimos. After this tragedy the remaining members of the expedition gave up and went home.

JENS HAVEN decided to continue the work which ERHARDT had initiated. After spending two years as a missionary in Greenland, where he acquired a knowledge of the language, he went to Labrador in 1764. At Chateau Bay he came in contact with many Eskimos, and made a great impression on them, among other reasons, because he was the first foreigner they had met who could speak their own language. The following summer HAVEN set out again, and along with his colleague, DRACHART, he encountered some 300 Eskimos. The missionaries were

received with great friendliness, and what they had to say was listened to with interest.

After this many years passed before HAVEN could proceed with the plans for establishing a permanent mission in the land. In the meantime events of the greatest significance had occurred. Newfoundland's new governor, HUGH PALLISER, regarded it as his most important task to put an end to the lawless conditions at the Straits of Belle Isle. Even though he characterized the Eskimos as "the most savage people in the world", it was clear to him that their warlike behavior, in many instances, was a result of the brutal treatment to which they had been exposed.

PALLISER greeted the plans for the mission with enthusiasm, perhaps not least because HAVEN had had political intuition enough to emphasize the fact that the mission would "both unite this folk with the English nation", and acquaint it

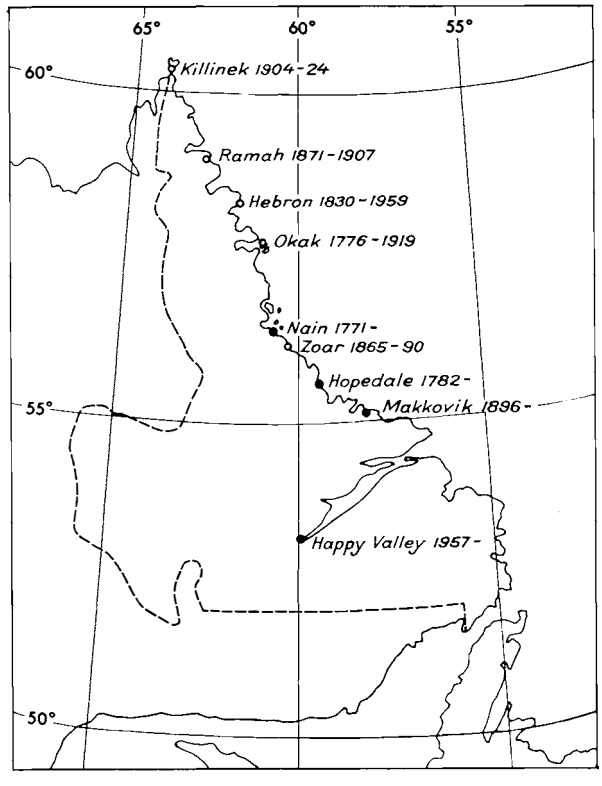

Fig. 2. *Former and present stations of the Moravian Mission on the coast of Labrador. The establishment of a station at Happy Valley outside the traditional field of work of the Moravians, is the result of building activities at Goose Bay (airport) during and after World War II. Since the work started about 1943, some of the Eskimos and a great number of the Settlers, particularly from the Makkovik district, have been working in the Goose Bay area. Some returned to their homes on the east-coast after a period of work, while others settled permanently in the village of Happy Valley, near Goose Bay. They formed a Moravian congregation, and in 1957 the superintendent of the Moravian Mission moved his headquarters from Nain to Happy Valley, which reduced Nain to the status of an ordinary mission station.*

with Christianity. (GOSLING 1910, p. 254.) In 1765 PALLISER issued his epoch-making "Order for Establishing Communication and Trade with the Esquimaux Savages on the Coast of Labrador". Here he forbade all attacks against the Eskimos, both because they were in conflict with His Majesty's humane feelings, as the saying goes, and because they were also in conflict with the efforts of His Majesty to persuade the Eskimos to trade with his subject. It should indeed be presumed that the latter motive was of no less importance than the former. Whoever broke the decrees of the proclamation was threatened with the strongest punishment of the law. In order to launch the new policy, the governor himself went to Labrador, and during friendly negotiations he established peace with from 400 to 500 Eskimos.

The year 1765 marks the beginning of a new era in Labrador, even though still another bloody clash between the Eskimos and some English traders took place shortly after. Nearly 20 Eskimos were killed, and 9 were taken prisoner. Two of the prisoners, the Eskimo woman MIKAK, and a young boy KARPIK, were sent to England where they came under HAVEN's instruction. KARPIK died of smallpox, but MIKAK returned to Labrador where she became a good support to the missionaries when they opened a permanent mission in the land.

In 1769 the application of the Mission of the Brethren for an area of land where they could build a station was finally granted. After an exploratory journey in the summer of 1770, the first mission station, which was given the name of Nain, was opened under the leadership of JENS HAVEN in 1771. This was the beginning of an activity which has continued without interruption for almost 200 years, and which has intervened decisively in the existence of the Eskimos – partly as a conserving and partly as a modifying factor as far as their culture is concerned.

Changes in Eskimo settlement patterns and type of dwelling

The Eskimo population which was to be found in Labrador at the beginning of the mission period has a relatively short settlement history in the land. After his excavations around Hopedale in 1934, J. BIRD arrived at the conclusion that it can hardly be a question of more than approx. 400 years, among other reasons because iron objects of European manufacture are to be found in the oldest known house ruins. The almost complete lack of archaeological investigations on the stretch of coast from Nain to Cape Chidley makes it difficult, for the time being, to say with any accuracy for how long a period Eskimo settlements existed to the north before the expansion to the south began.

BIRD's material is rather limited because of poor preservation conditions. It appears, however, that the culture here has undergone few changes from the time of the first settlement up to the mission period. Most important is the change in the dwelling, in ground plan as well as in size, possibly as a result of a more plentiful access to good timber for the construction of the roof. Small, round, one-family houses were replaced by larger, square or rectangular, two-family houses. The transition to an even larger house, in which several families lived together, occurred, according to BIRD, in the latter half of the eighteenth century "when white contacts frequently were dangerous and perhaps provided a motive for banding more closely together". This development of the type of dwelling corresponds, to a certain extent, to what has been established in West and East Greenland. However, no genetic connection between the plural family houses in Labrador and Greenland has been demonstrated. (BIRD 1945, p. 179.)

In 1773 the first missionaries also describe a plural family house from the Nain area. On the island of Niutak, a five-hour journey by sledge southeast of Nain, two large houses with about 20 persons in each were seen. The sleeping platform was divided up by family, with partitions of skins. Three widows shared one of the family sections. (KÖLBING 1831, p. 59.) After the founding of Okak, plural family houses are also reported from this area. In one instance mention is made of 104 persons distributed over five houses. Most information about the old plural family houses puts the number of individuals at about 20 per house.

No aspect of the activity of the Moravian Mission in West Greenland and Labrador has been critized so often and so strongly as the concentration of the population in villages around the mission stations. H. J. RINK maintained that

the Moravians in Greenland deserved a degree if indulgence if their treatment of the population was more severe than that of the Danes. If he does not completely excuse the concentration of the population, he tries, at any rate, to explain it. Among other things, the Moravian Mission lacked the support which the connection with the royal commerce gave the Danish mission. If the Moravians had not kept the congregation strictly separated from the neighbouring Danish community, their presence in Greenland, in time would perhaps turn out to be completely superfluous, maintained RINK (1877, p. 150).

In Labrador there was no competing mission to be feared, if we do not take into account a French Canadian Catholic named MAKKO, who, from the end of the 1780s, had a trading station on the coast, probably somewhere between Hamilton Inlet and Hopedale. It has been maintained that, in addition to his trading activity, he officiated as a priest, and had a church where he held services for visiting Eskimos. (CRANZ 1816, p. 419–20.) He never managed to gather any congregation of Catholic Eskimos around him. Those missionary societies, which started working in the Ungava Bay area and among the Eskimos at Rigolet (Karwalla) in the nineteenth century, made no attempt to force their way into the Moravians' territory. The same can be said of a present-day Catholic Indian mission at Davis Inlet, which has never attempted to influence the Eskimos. The only known instance of religious competition, within the area we are treating here, is the Pentecostal Movement, which, around 1940, acquired a congregation at Kippokak Bay. It appears to have had a certain amount of success as far as arousing the interest of the Settlers to the south was concerned. On the other hand, the Pentecostal Movement has not represented any competition with regard to the Eskimos.

From its very first day in Labrador the Moravian Mission had exceedingly dangerous competition from European and Canadian traders, first to the south and later along most of the coast, a competition which not only impaired the missions' trade, but which, in many respects, represented completely different goals and ideals from those which the Moravians were struggling for among the Eskimos. Thus, if we take into account the fact that Labrador, as opposed to Greenland, has never had the protection of the political authorities through a commercial monopoly or any form of navigational control, some of the missions' most important motives for a population concentration have been mentioned. The desire on the part of the missionaries to safeguard the converts against "sin and defection" – which resulted in meddling in highly private affairs – also became a motive for having the Eskimos within sight for the greatest possible part of the year. All in all, it appears as though the mission's concentration of the population was carried out more consciously in Labrador than in West Greenland. Now and then it sounds in the reports as though the missionaries, in earlier days, have confused aims with means, and set the population concentration as a goal in itself. Nonetheless, that Okak missionary was an exception who, in 1843, commented upon the question as follows: ". . . it is certain that we might hope for more abundant spiritual fruit of our labour, if it were possible to keep the Esquimaux under our care, chiefly employed in agriculture, and thus to afford them the opportunity of remaining within reach of instruction the greater part of the

year." (P. A., March 1844.) As a rule the missionaries have viewed the matter more realistically and sought to arrive at a compromise between 1) the desire to influence the population as permanently as possible, and 2) the demands made by their occupations for seasonal moves to the various hunting and fishing places. In the discussion of livelihood, I will deal more fully with the possible consequence of the mission-inspired change of the settlement pattern of the Eskimos. I would like to emphasize here, however, that the concentration of the population did not necessarily imply – as certain critics assume – in a literal sense, a permanent concentration of the Eskimos at the mission stations the year round. Concerning the seasonal dispersal, one missionary, in 1835, also says: "Much as we regret this circumstance, we cannot alter it; for the mode of life which the Esquimaux are compelled to adopt is incompatible with a constant residence at any one place". (P. A., December 1835.)

Before the establishment of Nain, the mission secured for itself legal rights to an area of land surrounding the mission. (Similar areas were also secured in connection with the opening of later stations.) Even though royal approval had been obtained, the mission wanted to have it formally settled with the Eskimos too. Both from Nain and Okak it is reported in the journals how the "purchase" of the land was arranged. In Nain it occurred like this: all the Eskimos present received gifts in the form of fish-hooks, needles, etc. Each of the older men then had to place an X on a paper beside his name, by means of which the Eskimos, in the view of the missionaries, had let it be known that the piece of land in question was the property of the mission. That the Eskimos have interpreted this "sale" in the same manner appears to be highly doubtful, according to KÖLBING's presentation of the proceedings from the mission journals:

To the missionaries' question about a place where they could build a meeting house, the Eskimos replied that they could choose one of the good sites by the salmon river. If, on the other hand, someone wished to live on one of the islands, then the best island could be selected. "Ihr könnt in unserem Lande bauen, wohnen und machen, was Ihr wollt. Ihr mögt zu Lande oder zur See sein, so habt Ihr dieselbe Freiheit wie wir," remarked one of the old men. (KÖLBING 1831, p. 49.) The idea of proprietary rights to territory was totally unknown to the Eskimos. That in the future there should even be a question of the mission having the right to decide which of the Eskimos was to be permitted to live on a specific area of land cannot have occurred to them.[1]

When the missionaries selected the spot for their first station, Nain, they were well satisfied with the site, among other reasons because several hundred Eskimos were staying there. It had not been foreseen that this was a typical summer place, which did not provide the Eskimos with sufficient hunting possibilities during the winter. The mission thus achieved extremely modest results in the first years. In the Nain area the Eskimo winter houses lay scattered about on the

[1] The mission demands of the Eskimos, as well as others, an inconsiderable, but annual fee for the ground on which they have built their houses, in order to thereby mark, purely symbolically, their ancient privileges. Even the representative of the provincial government had to obtain the permission of the missionaries in Nain (1955) in order to use a piece of ground for the construction of a new store.

islands east of the station, and at a considerable distance from it. Until 1779, there was no winter settlement, either in Nain itself or in the immediate vicinity.

However, the Moravians wished that those Eskimos who had shown themselves to be susceptible to the new teaching in the summer should also reside near them during the winter. In order to achieve that goal, a building was fitted up where, during the summer, the Eskimos could lay aside a supply of food for the winter. However, the population had no desire to take advantage of this proposition. In order not to starve during the winter they preferred, as before, to reside at places where also at this time of year they could obtain food for themselves. "Und hiezu schien die Lage von Nain nicht bequem", admits CRANZ. It was this circumstance that resulted in the decision to build two new stations, Okak and Hopedale, respectively north and south of Nain, "dessen Lage die Sammlung einer beständig daselbst wohnenden Gemeine aus der Eskimoischen Nation verstattete". (CRANZ 1791, p. 134–35.)

Finally, in 1779, about 30 persons decided to settle down for the winter with the missionaries at Nain. In the next few years the number of winter residents increased to between 70 and 80, but decreased in the 1780s to approximately 50. It is maintained that the Eskimos, from experience, have now learned that during the winter too they can find food at Nain. A few years later the mission had to admit, however, that even though Nain had a smaller number of residents than both Okak and Hopedale, articles of food were scarcer here more often, so that the missionaries had to help them with food.

In order to protect the faithful against the pressure from the heathens, the missionaries, in 1783, themselves started building dwellings for the Eskimos, both in Nain and in Hopedale. These houses were erected in accordance with the Eskimo style of building, and only those who had promised to allow themselves to be christianized were permitted to live in them. It was emphasized that no one else was allowed to live so close to the mission.

At the mission's inception the Okak district had a winter population of about 250 people, and was regarded as having perhaps the best subsistence possibilities on the coast. This explains why the mission here managed to concentrate the Eskimo population far more quickly than at Nain. Already by 1788 – only two years after the founding – ten Eskimos were baptized, and most of these resided in winter dwellings at the mission site. Here the mission also kept a check on who settled on the station's ground. And yet, reports CRANZ, it was not always possible to prevent heathens, who had no intentions of allowing themselves to be converted, from building on what he calls "dem Lande der Brüder". (CRANZ 1804, p. 66.)

All the traditional ideas which normally determined patterns of co-residence and social solidarity were herewith grossly neglected. All control on this point went over to the mission. An incipient dissolution of the economic cooperation was hardly to be avoided when the individual was no longer free to select whom he wanted as a neighbor and as a partner in economic activities.

During the first decades the missionaries were one-sidely occupied in consolidating the results which had been attained, first and foremost by reducing the contact between Christians and heathens to the minimum through the concen-

tration of the population. As an example of how far one went to hinder the contact with the heathens, I shall mention that shortly after the work in the land had begun the Nain missionaries journeyed far into the interior with the Eskimos to hunt reindeer in the winter. It is admitted, however, that such journeys are far to strenuous during the winter, so on this point is was necessary to retreat.

On the other hand, no direct attempt was made during the first period to change the Eskimo's dwelling types and customs. On the contrary, we have heard that the missionaries built houses for the population "according to the Eskimo style of building".

Before I go over to a more specific treatment of the change in the dwelling in the villages throughout the nineteenth century, I would like to give a summary account of the mission's expansion to the north. This movement extended over a period of three-quarters of a century, from the founding of Hebron in 1830, to 1904, when Killinek was established as the mission's northernmost outpost near 60°N.

Until Hebron was founded, Okak was the outpost to the north, and had a constant inflow of heathens from the north. But even after Hebron had taken over this function, it was characteristic of this development that heathens still continued to move directly to Okak, without any temporary residence in Hebron. Okak's site, relatively close to good stretches of forest, has probably been the decisive factor for many of the heathens.

Thus the population increased fairly steadily in Okak until 1853, when it reached 411 persons, thereby making it the largest village in the mission area. None of the villages has ever later reached as high a number of inhabitants.

Because of the development mentioned above, it is clear that places like Nain and Hopedale early acquired a resident population of a more permanent character than the stations to the north. After the 1830s, moving from Hebron (and farther north) and Okak to Nain and Hopedale has been a very rare occurrence. I am here referring to permanent migrations, and not to temporary journeys of a few families from one station to another for a season or two because of rumors of good hunting.

This difference in the population picture between the northern and southern part of the mission area was a conspicuous feature even in 1955. The effects of the not very large but continual inflow of Eskimos from the northern coast and from Ungava[1] to the Hebron and Okak areas, can be followed in the mission reports all the way down to recent years. The immigrants have represented an Eskimo culture which has been relatively well integrated and this is reflected in the missionary's allegation that they are more "sinful", "immoral", "superstitious", etc., than their compatriots at the stations south of Kiglapait. In the Hebron report for 1938 we read that May was a dark month for one of the families:

[1] P. A., June 1945, p. 52. The Hebron report for 1944 states that there has again been a considerable increase in the population of Hebron because of Eskimos who have arrived from the north, all in all 30 persons in the course of the year. One group came from the district around George's River (Ungava Bay), and another from the area near the former mission station of Killinek. As far as I have been able to ascertain, no larger group of "northerners" has arrived at any of the mission villages after 1944.

> It was visited by *Torngak* . . . The people affected in May were a mother, her two daughters and a son. Their names were K... J..., H... O..., R... T... and J... J..., all of whom were baptized when adults some twelve or fourteen years ago. R... went temporarily insane with post-partum fever, and was supposed to be under the influence of *Torngak* through her mother, his *Angakok*. H... then made known she was an *Angakok* and told her brother J... that she was making his son sick. This upset J... The son was sick but only with liver trouble and was not long getting well. H... and J... were put under restraint, and R... also later on. Others of the family were not affected at all. We are glad to say that they are all well now, and are sorry to have been so foolish".

Manifestations of this nature have caused the missionary to write in the same report:

> In Hebron we are working among a people, many of whom are little removed from their natural state and were only baptized when adults. There is a vast difference between the Hebron and Southern Eskimos. They are made up of Ramah, Nachvak, Killinek and Aulatsivik people, and there are no original Hebron people here to act as a foundation on which to work. We have four distinct types of Eskimos, and it is very difficult to get them to pull together. (P. A., June 1939, p. 121, pp. 124–25.)

Other data also make it justifiable to say that from a sociological standpoint there are less grounds for speaking of the Hebron Eskimos as a unit, than is the case with the Eskimos in Nain and Hopedale, who have a more homogeneous background.

I have mentioned Okak's substantial population growth in the middle of the last century. Despite the fact that this district, judging from the mission reports, had better hunting and fishing possibilities than Nain and Hopedale, and despite the fact that the population had decreased from 411 (1853) to 349 (1876), the missionary REICHEL points out, after his visitation in the summer of 1876, that the population here is too large "in proportion to the means for gaining a living. ." (P. A., March 1877, p. 154.) Despite the desire to concentrate the population, the mission was not interested in assembling too many people in one place.

Impoverishment because of a poorer hunting yield per family meant, in due course, an increased economic burden on the mission. Thus, a while later, a number of Eskimos also moved from Okak to Hebron on the initiative of the mission.

A certain decentralization of the Eskimo population was also carried out in the Nain area when the station of Zoar was established north of Davis Inlet in 1865. The Settlers in this area had a relatively long way to go to a mission station, no matter whether they wanted to visit Nain or Hopedale, and it was first and foremost because of them that Zoar was established. At the request of the mission, fifty Nain Eskimos moved to Zoar. However, it turned out that the place lay in a district which gave poor hunting results in most years. Apart from their flagrant miscalculation when they picked out the locality for their first station, the missionaries have, as a rule, before establishing a station, taken into account whether

the district in question was suitable for a larger population. If there was no population there at the time, an investigation was made to determine, among other things, whether archaeological evidence of an earlier Eskimo settlement was to be found. The latter was the case when Ramah was to be established in 1871. That the hunting possibilities were not all that they were thought to be, was due to the fact that the village population in Ramah, as at most of the other stations, gradually became much larger than the prehistoric population in the area could have been. As far as the scenically beautiful Zoar was concerned, the esthetic considerations of the missionaries appear to have carried far too much weight when the decision to build was made.

The mission's expansion to the north from Hebron occurred in several stages. The first large task of the Hebron Mission, after influence over the Eskimos in the immediate vicinity of the station had been guaranteed, was to win the sizeable population which stayed at Saglek Bay, a few hours' journey north of Hebron. A tight rein was kept on these Eskimos, however, by the local *angakok*, and when he grew old and weak his son took over. But in 1848, the opposition had virtually broken down in Saglek. The Eskimos (with the exception of two families), 71 persons in all, moved down to Hebron this year. "Saeglek is now a fishing-place for our people, nor are any heathen allowed to reside there. Two families who did not share the desire of their countrymen to be made wise into salvation, and did not properly belong to Saeglek, have removed to Nachvak", it is reported in 1848. (P. A., June 1849, p. 130.) As far as I know, Saglek lay far outside the station area for which the mission had received a royal guarantee, and thus no judicial basis existed for the mission to forbid the heathens to live there.

In the 1860s, the mission erected a house in Saglek Bay. This was to prevent the district from becoming a haunt of representatives of the growing Settler population to the south, and of the Newfoundland fishermen, who, at this time, summer after summer were expanding the fisheries to the north. In part, it was desired to use the place as an advanced contact point for the remaining heathens on the northeastern coast. I have elsewhere discussed in more detail the quite aggressive competition from the Hudson's Bay Company, which forced the mission to abandon the outpost in Saglek. This was repeated when the mission erected a building at Nachvak Fjord. Finally, in 1871, the mission's centenary was marked by taking a long step to the north. The station of Ramah was founded not very far from the Hudson's Bay Company store in Nachvak, the manager of which, according to the Eskimos' statements to the missionary, had at one time refused to allow them to move to Ramah.

The final step in the direction of obtaining control over the heathens on the northeast coast was taken in 1904, with the establishment of the mission station of Killinek. But, for a long time, mention is still made of Eskimos farthest to the north who held their ground against the missionaries' attempts at conversion – more often because of pressure from the local *angakok* or head of the family than from actual personal opposition. In many instances the missionaries expressed the regret that a number of the Eskimos moved to the stations in hope of deriving material advantages thereby. As a characteristic example, I can quote the words of the Eskimo SEMIGAK to the missionary in Ramah (1902): "Yes, if you

will do as I bid you do last year, and will give me flour and bread to eat – it need not be very much – then I will come to your station straight away and become a Christian, but not otherwise". (P. A., December 1902, p. 168.) Still others refused to move to the villages because, as they maintained, the reindeer hunt where they were now living gave a much better yield.

At Killinek, in connection with the transition to wooden houses which was directly inspired by the local missionary, the concentration of the population was attended with especially serious consequences. This will be treated later in a discussion of the far-reaching ecological implications of the fuel problem in relation to the change in house type.

Okak was closed down in 1919 after most of the population there had succumbed to the ravages of "Spanish" influenza. The 59 survivors moved to Nain and Hopedale. Throughout the 1920s a number of Eskimos again moved to the Okak district, especially from Hebron, but also a few former Okak Eskimos. During the cod fishery people from Hebron have regularly visited the district. The possibilities for fishing cod appear to be far better here than at Hebron. Administratively the population here fell under the Hebron mission after Okak ceased to exist. On the the other hand, trading in the district has taken place over a period of 30 years at the Hudson's Bay Company store (later the provincial governments' store) at the little trading centre of Nutak, which grew up at the end of the 1920s. In 1956, the authorities closed the store in Nutak, and the population in the district was more or less forced to move away – most of them to Nain. If we disregard four Settler families and a few Eskimos, the majority of the population – up to 1956 – had their homes scattered about in the area, and the contact with the mission in Hebron consisted of irregular visits by the missionaries.

Another important result of the Eskimos' contact with the missionaries as well as with the Settlers was the change in the type of dwelling and dwelling habits.

Through archaeological investigations J. BIRD has pointed out that the Eskimos at the settlement of Avertok (who remained heathens for a considerable number of years after Hopedale was established in 1782, despite the fact that it lies only a few hundred metres away), abandoned the use of the characteristic low, tunnel-formed entrance after the start of the mission. (BIRD 1945, p. 134.) It is probable that this change was a result of the missionaries' often expressed aversion to crawling into the houses. From the Nain area, for example, we have a description by the missionary HAVEN of a visit to an Eskimo winter house in 1773. He makes a great fuss over the unpleasantness of having to crawl through the long entrance passage. One must be happy if one avoided being bitten by their dogs, smearing one's hands with their excrement or, at best, being licked in the face, says HAVEN. (KÖLBING 1831, pp. 61–62.)

Even though Eskimo building customs were still continued in the villages without particular changes for some time to come, the low entrance passage quickly had to give way to a windscreen, sometimes open, sometimes with a door. During poor weather conditions it was also the haunt of the dogs. In most cases it was quite low, but, at any rate, one was spared from having to crawl on all fours in order to come in. To the north, in Hebron at least, they continued

building a tunnel-shaped entry-way of snow during the winter, as a continuation of the permanent windscreen.

An excerpt from a journal in 1790 reveals that there was still no question of any transition to one-family houses at the stations. In Nain 49 Eskimos lived in four houses, and in Okak 77 Eskimos lived in six houses. (CRANZ 1816, pp. 418–19.) Apparently from two to three families have lived in each of these houses. It was not until much later, after conversion was more or less completed at the three southernmost stations and the heathens were no longer regarded as a constant danger to the converts, that interest focused upon those aspects of the Eskimos' way of life which appeared to hinder the grasping of the Christian moral concepts in a wider sense. The plural family house with its many inhabitants early attracted the attention of the missionaries. With the comparatively free sexual behavior of the Eskimos it was natural to regard it as a possible hotbed of temptation and sin.

Even though, in the missionaries' accounts of the transition to one-family houses and the gradual Europeanization of the house type down through the nineteenth century, no mention is made of a direct impulse on the part of the mission, satisfaction is clearly expressed that families desire to live separately. "That every family should have a house to itself, would, in many respects, be a great improvement on the present system" says a missionary letter from the middle of the last century. (P. A., June 1847, p. 123.)

In 1840 we read for the first time in the journal for Hopedale that the Eskimos here have started building ". . . European houses, which are coming more and more into fashion with them". (P. A., June 1841, journal for Hopedale, 1840.) In a contemporaneous report from Hopedale, the expression "European houses" has been modified in that it is revealed that a considerable number of the Eskimos ". . . have built themselves houses somewhat after the European fashion". As we soon will see, the latter expression is more consistent with the factual conditions, because the change in type of house took place gradually. Even houses of timber continued to retain several characteristic features of the ancient Eskimo type of house for a long time.

In 1846 it is reported from Nain that an Eskimo has built for himself

> a half-European house, after the pattern of the Southern traders settled in our neighborhood. It is more and more the wish of the Esquimaux to have each a separate dwelling of his own, but, not having the means of procuring substantial timber, they are obliged to use slighter materials, whence arises a necessity for yearly repairs, which is not the case with the winter-houses of the old construction. We must, however, remark that the Esquimaux houses are distinguished by greater order and cleanliness than formerly, some have even floors, which they keep clean, and others are decorated with pictures and shelves of crockery. (P. A., September, 1848, journal for Nain, November 1846.)

The observation that it is the Settlers' house type that is being imitated requires some attention. One could otherwise be easily tempted to assume that the Eskimos, at places like Nain and Hopedale, who for over 60–70 years had seen

the missionaries living in wooden houses, had copied these. But, as these dwellings have not served as models, it can probably be due to the fact that the mission houses were quite often constructed of such large logs (often built in Europe and sent to Labrador in sections), and were of such extraordinarily strong and detailed construction, that they were beyond the realm of possibility for each and every Eskimo. The small Settler houses, constructed of timber which was to be found locally, were dwellings of a construction and a size which most Eskimos would be capable of building, with the proficiency in craftmanship which they early acquired from the missionaries.

In the reports from the missionary REICHEL's two journeys of visitation in 1861 and 1876, we have important material for an understanding of the trend in the change in dwelling, geographically (i.e. the difference between the stations to the south and to the north) as well as in time (i.e. during the 15 years between the two visits).

Summer 1861

Hopedale	35 houses, with	46 families, and	248 individuals
Nain	32 » »	55 » »	275 »
Okak	36 » »	75 » »	327 »
Hebron	25 » »	68 » »	313 »
Total	128 houses, with	244 families, and	1,163 individuals

(P. A., June 1862, p. 277.)

On the basis of these figures we are able to compute the average number of individuals per house and per family at each of the four stations:

	Average per house	No. of individuals per family
Hopedale	approx. 7.0	approx. 5.4
Nain	» 8.6	» 5.0
Okak	» 9.0	» 4.4
Hebron	» 12.5	» 4.6
Average number of individuals per house at all stations in 1861:	approx. 9.1	

The most striking feature is that the number of one-family houses increases fairly steadily from north to south. Let us first briefly appraise the obvious difference between Hebron on one side, and the three "old" stations on the other. The explanation is both the constant inflow of heathens into Hebron, for whom the plural family house is the customary dwelling, and the marked lack of wooden materials for house construction up here. In addition comes the equally great lack of fuel, to which I will soon return. That is to say both cultural and ecological factors are involved.

From Hopedale in the south via Nain to Okak in the north the number of one-

family houses decreases steadily. While the immigration factor, in common with what I have mentioned concerning Hebron, also has a degree of validity for Okak, it is quite immaterial as far as the conditions in Nain and Hopedale at this time are concerned. Even though the distance to the forest was somewhat greater for the Okak residents than was the case for people in Nain and Hopedale, this factor has not played any decisive role for the speed of the change in dwelling, as compared with Hebron. There can be no great doubt that the essential reason why the Eskimos in Nain, and especially in Hopedale, started going over to one-family houses first is due to the impact of the larger number of Settlers here to the south. There is an obvious correlation between the intensity of contact with the Settler population, and the tendency of the Eskimos go to over to one-family houses in the district in question.

From REICHEL's visitation report of 1876 wee se that the development which has just been discussed continued and even increased in tempo in the course of the 15 years since the first visitation. Unfortunately, the figures for 1876 are not specified according to station. Information has only been given to the effect that, while in 1861 there were 128 Eskimo houses, there are now 189, "showing that the natives are ceasing to live together under one roof in such numbers as in former times". While the population in 1861 was given at 1,163 individuals, divided over 4 stations, in 1776 it was given at 1,272 individuals, divided over six stations. Of these, 127 are said to be Settlers, as this population has now begun to turn to the Church. The number of Eskimos at the stations should then be 1,145. That two new stations have come into existence since the first visitation (Zoar, 1865, and Ramah, 1871), does not mean any greater source of error in the evaluation of REICHEL's figures, as Zoar is populated in part by Settlers and in part by Eskimos who have immigrated from Nain. Only Ramah represents a new population, though no more than 28 persons. Both figures of the number of houses refer solely to the Eskimos. In the summer of 1876 there were 189 houses, containing 1,145 individuals. (P. A., March 1877, p. 156.)

Thus the average number of individuals per house for all the stations was approximately just above 6.0 as opposed to approximately 9.1 fifteen years earlier. Information from later times reveals that houses containing several families have continued as a very characteristic feature of Hebron's population all the way up to the last decades. Thus there is every reason to assume that the marked tendency in the direction of one-family houses in the period 1861–76 for the most part occurs in Hopedale, Nain and Okak – mostly at Hopedale. The fact that Settler houses, 7 in number, are mentioned for the first time in 1876 in two of the villages (Hopedale and Zoar) can serve to emphasize what I have previously said concerning the strong influence of the Settlers on the change in the type of dwelling. The immigration of the Settlers to the villages, which has increased in later times, is treated in detail in the chapter about the Settlers. The same is true of the settlement history of the Settlers in general.

It is important to point out that simultaneously with the change in dwelling, which REICHEL mentions in 1876, there occurred a great transition to codfishery among the Eskimos. Here, too, this change was most marked in Hopedale.

Concerning the house type in Hebron in 1876, REICHEL goes on to say: "Euro-

pean houses there are none here, nor would their introduction be desirable, as it is no easy matter to procure wood for building purposes from Napartok Bay". (P. A., March 1877, p. 153.)

It is not until the journal for 1860–61 that I have been able to find information about the transition of wooden houses in Okak:

> The erection of log houses is becoming increasingly general here. These habitations, though they at first require more labour, are also more durable, and drier than the huts which are made of sods. They have, however, the disadvantage of being less warm, and consequently requiring the consumption of more fuel. (P. A., March 1862, p. 214.)

It is difficult to follow the gradual change in the construction and interior arrangements of the houses at the different stations, as the information in the mission reports and in the literature, in general, is very scanty and scattered. REICHEL's information from 1861 reveals that in those houses which were inhabited by several families (Hopedale), the division of the space "in separate compartments" had been retained. Whether it is the sleeping platform which has been divided, as was the custom in the old houses, he does not expressly say. Quite a few of the houses, at any rate, had "a bed, a table and some chairs", etc., reveals REICHEL. (P. A., June 1862, pp. 265–66.)

Stoves were in full use in Hopedale around 1840. In the beginning of the 1860s it was reported that stoves were to be found in most of the houses at the three southernmost stations. The blubber lamp had fallen almost completely out of use at this time, except in Hebron and to the north. (REICHEL 1863, p. 126.) For heating it was inadequate in the wooden houses. It appears as though it has been in use considerably later among the Okak hunters, but then only as a source of light and warmth in the snowhouse during the winter reindeer hunt in the interior.

Even in the old type of house stoves came into use early. Indeed, the turf house – in the form it was to be found in the villages throughout the nineteenth century – was often a step on the way to the wooden house of European construction. But even though it was built entirely of wood (covered with turf on both walls and roof), it long retained essential features of the Eskimo type of house.

Until wooden houses with purlin roofs were built the window was placed in a frame in the ceiling. Even after well-to-do Eskimos in Hopedale had replaced seal intestines with glass as window material around 1860, the window was placed in the ceiling just above the wind screen (previously over the tunnel-shaped entrance). Plank floors are frequently mentioned in descriptions from Hopedale and Nain already before 1870, but evidently were not common in Okak until several decades later.

Leaving Hebron out of account, the Eskimo houses today, with regard to construction and furnishing, reveal few features of the ancient Eskimo house type. The sleeping platform has long since been replaced by beds. By and large, the platform appears to have been replaced by bed-like arrangements relatively early. I have not been able to determine whether this is due to missionary influences. The missionaries very likely entertained moral reflections in connection with the

crowded sleeping platform. Nor shall I venture to say whether the abandoning of the sleeping platform can be the explanation of the fact that – as far as I have been able to ascertain – suffocation of babies caused by their sleeping mothers, has never been mentioned among the causes of infant mortality in Labrador. In Greenland, where the platform has continued to exist up to our times, this cause of death was, and in some places still seems to be, a regular, though small, entry in the statistics for the mortality rate.[1]

The best of the Eskimo houses in Nain today (1955) represent a standard which is not inferior to the Settler houses there. But many houses are made of inferior materials. The insulation is often very poor, and the temperature quickly drops to freezing-point when the stove goes out at night.

Even though actual sleeping platforms disappeared, the beds in many homes still continued to serve as seats and working places for the women when it came to sewing and needlework. This is indeed also bound up with the fact that not until recent times have several rooms become more customary. To be sure, houses with several rooms have been mentioned in Nain already around 1880, but this applied only to those of the Eskimos who were extraordinarily well-to-do. In the Nain report for 1952, mention is made of "a distinct movement towards building bedrooms on to the houses and a movement away from the one-roomed shacks. There has also been improvement of the interiors of houses." (P. A. 1953, p. 9.) In Hopedale the transition to houses with several rooms has progressed much farther, and the dwelling standard there, in all respects, has obviously improved after people started working at the radar station in the 1950s.

A characteristic difference between the buildings of the Settlers out in the districts and of the Eskimos in the villages is that the Eskimos very seldom build boathouses or storerooms for themselves. That this has not happened is partly due to the fact that during the winter they have had an opportunity of storing some of their hunting and fishing equipment in the store's large storage room. But, as a rule, both the windscreen of the house and the space under the ridge of the roof are used for storage of equipment, dry fish and other things. During the summer the dog sledges lie quite casually around the houses and the same is often the case with the boats during the winter.

One aspect of the change in the dwelling, which has had particularly far-reaching consequences, is the great and timeconsuming need for fuel in the wooden houses which are poorly insulated, and, as a rule, have a greater volume per individual than the ancient houses.[2] Of course the fuel problem became especially difficult

[1] A. BERTELSEN 1935, p. 56. The author points out how difficult it is to register overlying, because, of course, it cannot directly be observed. "There is no doubt, however, that overlying is a comparatively frequent manner of death in Greenland, where special beds for the children are not to be found, and where the space indoors is highly limited. I would assume that in Greenland approx. 1% of those children born alive during the year die annually because of overlying . . ." In his work, A. BERTELSEN 1937, pp. 170–171, he points out another consequence of lack of beds: ". . . even more fatal, however, is certainly the general risk of contact- and droplet infection of the infants, bound up with the proximity of the various persons."

[2] These problems have been dealt with in an ecological analysis after the present manuscript was finished. (KLEIVAN 1962 and 1964.)

for those of the stations which lay outside fairly accessible forest areas. But the difference between the northerly and southerly stations, as far as this problem is concerned, is more of a quantitative than a qualitative nature. I will first mention some effects of the fuel problem from Killinek and Hebron, the former completely outside the forest area, the latter at a considerable distance from a forest (Napartok Bay).

At Killinek a few families lived in earthen houses when the mission started in 1904. Others used only snowhouses for winter dwellings and tents in summer and throughout the fall until enough snow fell to build with. For heating only blubber lamps were used. From the period just after 1900 S. K. HUTTON tells how Eskimos from Killinek reacted when they visited their compatriots in stove-heated houses at the mission stations to the south: "They pant and perspire with the heat, and are glad to get out of doors again. One woman who came to live at Okak complained bitterly of the warmth". According to Hutton (1912, pp. 35–36, p. 38) a very few Eskimos had built wooden houses in Killinek in his time (prior to 1912).

The Killinek report for 1922–23, from which I find reason to give an exhaustive extract, tells about the further development of the dwelling question:

> Five families from our little flock here contemplate moving southwards to Hebron. In fact, two families of these have already gone by *komatic* [dog sledge] in the spring; the other three are intending to proceed by boat in the summer. The reasons for the removal are: 1) the usual shortage of fuel here, and 2) considerably higher prices of goods in the store here, occasioned by the high Canadian duty on all imported goods.[1] It seems to us that it was probably a mistake on our part to sell to the people here material for building small wooden houses. They soon got used to the greater comfort which a roomy, well-heated house affords; but it has a least three disadvantages: a) They soon get so accustomed to these comforts that they consider it too great a hardship to live in a snowhouse again with their families in winter. For this reason they are tied down to the spot where their house stands, and they cannot move about as the often changing conditions of the hunting-grounds require. b) In a poor winter they can hardly afford to buy the expensive fuel here, and they then feel more miserable in their houses than they would be in a snowhut. This tends to dissatisfaction and grumbling about the storekeeper, who cannot give them enough "on debt", as also about the Missionary, who, they consider, ought to give out more "Poor-relief". c) In a good fur-year, when nearly everyone can buy the fuel they require to keep themselves warm, the stocks of wood and coal here run short in the store ere the winter is past, and they feel indignant then that they cannot get the "necessaries" even for payment. But our ship cannot well bring a

[1] In that I refer to the well-known and long-standing conflict between Newfoundland and the Canadian province of Quebec over the boundary conditions on the Labrador Peninsula, I shall mention that the Canadian authorities insisted that Killinek (as the only one of the Moravians' stations) lay within the boundary of Quebec. The duty which Canada demanded of the mission for those commodities which were sold on the spot, the mission has openly arranged for to be covered by an increase in the prices in the store.

> greater amount of fuel, as she has not got room for it. This last mentioned point has, during the last two years especially, annoyed two of our best hunters, and they now want to move to sunnier regions, where fuel is more easily obtainable than here. Their departure from here is to be lamented, but it has to be traced back to the fact that we tried to "raise" them by selling them material for housebuilding. (P. A., December 1923, pp. 229–30.)

Heating with stoves in the houses soon led to the result that the Eskimos required higher temperatures indoors than in the old houses, which were warmed up by blubber lamps. This, of course first made itself felt at the stations to the south. Already in 1860 we hear, for example, of a family from Nain which was visiting Hebron, but which constantly complained that it was not warm enough in the houses. The missionary adds that only a very few of the Hebron Eskimos have installed stoves, because of the lack of fuel. (P. A., March 1862, pp. 218–19.)

But stoves were gradually acquired in Hebron too, and in 1904 it is reported that about 20 persons are prepared to leave the spot and go to places where they can obtain more fuel: "This is a marked feature in the life and experience of present-day Eskimos. Civilization has had the effect of making them less hardy than they used to be, and more susceptible, for instance, of cold". (P. A., December 1904, p. 619.)

The increasing need for warmth is certainly also bound up with a gradual change in the diet, with less use of meat and blubber, and a corresponding increase in the consumption of shop goods (flour, tea, sugar, etc.). The thick protective layer of fat of the Eskimos disappears and is replaced by the warmth of the stove, says Dr. HUTTON.

As I have mentioned before, the Hebron Eskimos started late to build themselves wooden houses of a European type because of the lack of wooden materials. Many contented themselves with planks from crates and bits of scrap wood when they were going to build. This did not make the fuel problem any easier.

Even by 1947 there were no real wooden houses in Hebron, with the exception of a few houses which the mission erected for the population many years ago, as well as two or three houses which the Hudson's Bay Company built before the last war. The remainder of the Eskimo houses consisted of a wooden interior construction covered with turf on the outside. In the winter a wall of snow blocks was piled up outside the turf in order to keep out the cold. (P. A., June 1948, p. 51.)

That plural family houses remained a necessity in Hebron, even in the eyes of the missionaries, is explained in the station's report for 1953, where the fuel problem is placed in a larger ecological perspective:

> Hebron is a good hunting place for the number of people that are here, that is for the foods that they need. But they are unable to go for any long hunting trips unless there are more than two men living in one house. It is necessary that two men go together on a long hunting trip, and owing to the lack of fuel that is near at hand it is one man's work to keep one house supplied from day to day. (P. A. 1954, p. 4.)

Thus it potentially meant an aggravation of the fuel problem and a reduction of the number of men in productive activity (hunting and eventually paid work) in proportion to the total population, that the Hebron Eskimos, in 1953, had easier access to wooden materials by the construction of a radar station in Saglek Bay, and were therefore able to build 7 new wooden houses in the village. "Whilst these buildings are not very substantial or warm, there are now not so many living in one house", writes the Hebron missionary. Because of large amounts of waste timber from the military building activities, the fuel problem is solved for the time being. But it will soon make itself felt again, says the author of the report. (P. A. 1954, p. 4.)

Every increase in size and number of dwellings would mean an increasing need of fuel. Simultaneously the increased burdens incurred in meeting these requirements now fell upon individual families, while in the plural family house several families cooperated to solve the problem. Thus it is not surprising that both from the mission and from the public authorities a movement of the population from Hebron to other areas with easier access to forests has been called for with increasing urgency.[1]

The objection can now be made that the fuel problem, as exemplified by the conditions at places like Killinek and Hebron, can scarcely have general validity. Of course the effects of a technical (wooden house) and social (one-family household) change in dwelling are more extensive in a poorly wooded vicinity than in districts with relatively easy access to forests. But we should not forget that nearly a couple of hundred years of deforestation in the areas surrounding Hopedale and Nain have constantly increased the distance from the villages to local forests that can be exploited for fuel, etc. And by the fact that the transition from a plural to a one-family dwelling began early in the south, the fuel supply here also meant a competition for the time and labor of adult men, which has undoubtedly had the effect of reducing productivity in purely economic pursuits.

The obligation of the Eskimos to keep the church supplied with fuel also meant a certain burden. It was an obligation from which no one could be excused, because it was associated with congregational solidarity, which in the Labrador mission villages is equivalent to village solidarity. The mission has always emphasized that the church was the property of the congregation.

In many respects the attitude of the mission to the question of housing has been paradoxical. On the one hand, it was regarded, both from a moral and hygienic point of view, as an advantage that the Eskimo families lived alone. The mission's trade section also encouraged building new houses, or enlarging the old ones by sometimes selling wooden materials at a reduced price. (P. A., December 1912, the Nain report for 1911–12, p. 399.) On the other hand, judging from the reports,

[1] Hebron was shut down on the 9th of October 1959, and the population moved to the south. Six families settled down in Nain, where the government built new houses for them. The remainder, approx. 50 families, were temporarily divided between Hopedale and Makkovik, where, by the end of 1959, respectively 3 and 11 new houses were built for them. When the goverment's housebuilding program, which is now in progress, has been completed, it is estimated that close to 75% of the Hebron Eskimos (43 families) will live in Makkovik. (P. A. 1960, pp. 8–22.)

the missionaries were aware of the fact that the fetching of wood was becoming an increasingly greater burden to the population. The mission had, as a matter of fact, an enormous need for fuel for heating its own large dwellings, and it was unable to provide it all without assistance. But throughout the present century, frequent mention is made of the fact that the Eskimos had to waive the extra income they used to receive from transport of fuel to the mission. "They had enough to do to provide their own houses with the needful", according to a report from Hopedale. (P. A., December 1913, p. 631.) When in 1950 the missionary in Nain suggested installing oil-heating in the school building, his argument was that people were no longer in a position to procure enough wood for heating, both because the forest had been depleted, and because the fishing season was so long. (P. A. 1951, p. 28.)

I will return to the significance of the marked change in the Eskimos' settlement pattern through the establishment and growth of the mission villages, in connection with a discussion of changes in livelihood. I will here only quite briefly refer to a few background facts pertaining to the changes in dwelling, especially on the social level.

The Europeanization of the house type, in a purely technical sense, can of course occur as an ordinary imitation, without any previous or simultaneous reorganization of the socio-economic system. In Labrador, however, we see an incipient Europeanization of the type of dwelling almost at the same time as the tendency to abandon the plural family house is beginning to take effect.

This occurs around the middle of the nineteenth century. At this time the number of Settlers is greatly increasing, and the effects of an intensified contact with foreign traders become manifest in a constant expansion of the Eskimos' consumption of European goods. The process accelerates throughout the 1860s and '70s in an epoch when the contact from outside is expanding through the mass invasion of the Newfoundland fishermen each summer. All this has the effect of breaking down the subsistence economy, and with it the economic cooperation with dwelling and village associates. As soon as an individual begins to sell his products to a trader, he must unavoidably break with traditional socio-economic obligations, first and foremost as regards the members of the families with whom the house is shared, and, to a certain extent, as regards the neighbours. (See RINK 1862 and 1877.)

All this led to an economic individualization which must have been highly problematic to maintain in a plural family house. It is part of the empirical picture that participation in the cod fishery increased greatly in the same period. It provided only a modest contribution to a subsistence economy, as the fish was nearly wholly converted into European wares. As H. J. RINK has already pointed out in his investigations of the Greenlanders' contact with European culture, selling one's labor to the Europeans (as a servant in a mission store, mission house, etc.) will have the same effect on social relations with one's house companions or neighbours, as if one converted the products from hunting and fishing into money or its equivalents.

Previously, however, there were few men of a hunting-productive age hired as

helpers to the mission. Many women, however, have been employed in domestic work in the mission households. We should not underestimate the significance of these Eskimo women in their influence on many aspects of Eskimo home life, hygiene, food and eating customs. Those Eskimo girls who married Settlers, but maintained contact with their parental homes, also influenced Eskimo home life in similar ways.

Livelihood: From subsistence to market production

In this chapter I shall give an account of the technological changes which may be presumed to have had the most far-reaching implications for the economic life of the Labrador Eskimos. I shall then discuss the changes within the various occupations and their relative significance to livelihoods as a whole. The interest is focused here on the consequences of the fact that the economic autonomy of the Eskimos is giving way to an economy which is dependent upon market conditions outside of Labrador. Finally, I shall try to outline some social implications of this modified economic orientation.

We have no detailed knowledge of which particular articles the Eskimos, prior to the mission period, acquired for themselves during their plundering and trading expedition to the south. But, as we have seen, European boats were highly valued. The information in several of the historical sources suggests that the summer voyages were strongly intensified after European fishermen and traders began to call at the coasts near the straits of Belle Isle. It seems as if the Eskimos at the southernmost settlements, to a certain degree, were intermediaries in the trade with the population on the northernmost part of the east coast.

From the Hopedale mission's first decade it is told how groups of Eskimos returned from trading expeditions to the south with two-masted wooden boats. Now they wanted to go north and obtain products to exchange for European wares. Among their countrymen at the stations the sight of the new boats aroused the desire to journey south to the Europeans "in order to gain the same advantages". (CRANZ 1816, p. 419.)

It is probable that the presence of Europeans in the country in the first, mainly turbulent period, resulted in greater social mobility in Eskimo society. While formerly only the really well-off, "the big hunters", had been able to obtain the large skin boats, plundering of European fishing vessels and land stations to the south was now a new source of prosperity. Even though the summer expeditions, judging from earlier sources, often took place as joint enterprises by larger groups under the leadership of men with great prestige and authority, it must now have been possible for less capable hunters to acquire boats for themselves through plundering.

Like the *umiak*[1] the European wooden boats also required female rowers. The first missionaries often complain of the fact that the Eskimos take for themselves

[1] H. P. STEENSBY 1916, p. 83, maintains, concerning the *umiak* in Labrador, that it "has not become a woman's boat to so great an extent as it has in Greenland". An examination of the oldest misson sources reveals, however, that in many instances the *umiak* is described as having female rowers on board, at times 6, at times 8.

several wives, even after they have been baptized. "I need them for my boats, and therefore cannot send them away", said one of the Eskimos in reply to the adminitions of the missionaries. (CRANZ 1816, p. 433.) Elsewhere it is told that polygamy is quite frequent among the heathen Eskimos. ". . .nur derjenige gilt für einen grossen Mann, der zwey, drey Weiber hat; und so bald einer ein europäisches Boot besitzt, so erfordert es, nach ihrer Meynung, gleichsam der Wohlstand, dass er mehrere Weiber habe". (CRANZ 1804, p. 71.) It is probable that these conditions, among other things, intensified the competition for women. Thus, when the missionaries frequently maintain that this or that Eskimo, mentioned by name, has been guilty of the murder of one or several of his countrymen, these contentions are perhaps not as exaggerated as one would otherwise suspect.

No one is in a position to envisage what consequences it could have had for the social life among the Eskimos of the east coast, if the contact with the Europeans to the south had continued along the same lines as in the years before the mission began – essentially limited to a combination of plundering and trading. But the arrival of the mission, however, soon put a stop to this state of affairs.

After the Eskimos' visits to the traders in the south decreased in the decade after 1800, there was, nonetheless, no difficulty in obtaining wooden boats inside the mission area. Concerning the first missionaries in Nain, CRANZ reports that they brought with them to the country

> die nöthigen Gebäude, Haus- Küchen- Garten- auch Fischer- und Jagdgeräthe, nebst mancherley Werkzeuge zu Zimmer- Schreiner- und Schmiede-Arbeit. . . Die Brüder fanden auch bald Gelegenheit, den Eskimos auf verschiedene Weise zu dienen, indem sie ihnen Boote baueten oder ausbesserten, und andere Werkzeuge und Geräthschaften für sie verfertigten. Die Bezahlung, welche sie dafür erhielten, erleichterte zugleich die Kosten der Unterhaltung dieser Mission. (CRANZ 1791, p. 128, pp. 129–30.)

The Eskimos soon learned to build their own boats. In the Hopedale report for 1841 it is said that in the winter, when it was impossible to hunt seals, the Eskimos were busy building boats:

> we have now a flotilla, of not fewer than 14 to 16 two-masted vessels, and several smaller ones, all of which, except two, are the work of their own hands. There are at present, four men busily engaged in the construction of a large boat for the service of the Mission. (P. A., March 1842, p. 96.)

While the *kayaks* appear to hold their own, numerically, down to 1860, in Hopedale, and considerably longer in Okak, the wooden boats had almost completely replaced the large *umiak* or "women's boat" at this time. (P. A., June 1862, p. 276.) After the cod fishery acquired a constantly increasing commercial significance throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century, the number of wooden boats increased greatly. The *kayak* was used to some extent for fishing cod to begin with, but it was little suited for fishery on a larger scale because of lack of space for storing the catch on board. It also became more difficult to obtain sealskins at this time, among other reasons, because the mission encouraged the Eskimos to make sealskin boots for sale, as there was a good market for these in

Newfoundland and on the southern part of the east coast. (P. A., December 1854, p. 228.) Finally, wooden boats turned out to be superior not only in drift-ice, but also in open waters in the autumn just before the ocean froze over. In the inner coastal waters of Labrador there is a surface layer of fresh water, and this makes the formation of thin, razor-sharp ice on the surface an almost perennial phenomenon in calm weather. The mission reports often tell how the *kayak* hunters in late autumn came into mortal danger because the *kayak* skins were on the verge of being cut to pieces by the first thin film of ice.

The visitation reports by the missionary REICHEL, from the years 1861 and 1876, give us an idea of the great increase in the cod fisheries after 1860. His lists of figures from 1861, furthermore, suggest how the change in technology and occupation first took place at the southernmost station:

Summer 1861. (P. A., June 1862, p. 277.)

	Hopedale	Nain	Okak	Hebron	Total
Sailing boats	9	10	12	2	33
Fishing boats	40	20	14	10	84
Wooden boats:					117
Skin boats (*Umiaks*)	–	4	4	6	14
Kayaks	49	58	61	46	214
Boats made of skin:					228

For the sake of comparison I shall point out that the population in 1861 was: Hopedale, 248; Nain, 275; Okak, 327; Hebron, 313. REICHEL, for the summer of 1876 (P. A., March 1877, p. 147, p. 156), puts the number of wooden boats in Hopedale at 56, of which 27 are larger fishing boats, and 29 smaller boats, representing an increase of 7 wooden boats in the course of the fifteen years since the previous visitation. The number of *kayaks* has decreased from 49 to 22.

The total number of wooden boats for all the stations is quoted at 237, both large and small, i. e. double the amount in relation to 1861 (117). Simultaneously the number of *umiaks* has decreased from 14 to 4, and the *kayaks* from 214 to 154. The fact that REICHEL emphasizes that the occupational change is most evident in Hopedale, makes it appear surprising that the number of wooden boats here has not increased more, compared with the striking total increase. The explanation is probably that this process was in full swing in Hopedale considerably earlier than at any of the other stations, and therefore had left its mark in the statistics for wooden boats already in 1861. As far as the *kayaks* are concerned, the change is indeed quite pronounced for Hopedale, with a reduction of over 50%.

The transition to sailing- and rowing-boats appears early to have resulted in female rowers becoming less common. In the course of examining the mission reports (P. A.) I have not seen any references to the use of female rowers after about 1850.

In addition to those boats which the Eskimos made themselves, they acquired

some wooden boats through barter with Newfoundland fishermen throughout the 1870s and '80s.

The first time the use of motorboats was mentioned was when the mission hospital in Okak, in 1908, received a motorboat as a gift. The Settler J. WEBB in Nain told me that an Eskimo was the first in Nain to install a motor in his boat. He had acquired it through barter from Newfoundland fishermen. Judging from his statement the Settlers at that time regarded the owner of the boat with a mixture of humor and scepticism, as he struggled for days before he got the motor going. This was around the time of the first World War. Today all the Settlers who live out in the districts have motorboats, and they regard them as absolutely indispensable. In 1955 close to half of the heads of the Eskimo families in Nain had their own motorboats. The Eskimos in Okak must have acquired the first motors around the same time as the people in Nain. In the last report, which was written from Okak (1918–19) when the station was closed down after the catastrophic ravages of the "Spanish" influenza, the missionaries complain that "the spirit of the times" has also filled the hearts of the Eskimos. "This was especially observable on Sundays during the last few years. Owing to the motorboats there was no quiet on Sundays. Backwards and forwards they went all through the day. . ." (P. A., December 1919, p. 378).

Even in 1925 there were still a few *kayaks* in use in Hopedale. The same was the case in Nain up to 1930–35, when the last *kayak* went out of use. It was the view of the missionaries that increasing difficulties in obtaining sealskins was the reason why the *kayak* was abandoned completely. Today no *kayaks* are to be found on the east coast, with the exception of a single *kayak* seen in use at Hebron in 1955.

It was not only boat building that the Eskimos learned from the missionaries. According to REICHEL (1861), the men at the mission stations were engaged in all kinds of crafts for their own needs. Among other things they revealed considerable skill as carpenters. "Einfache Kochgeschirre von Blech, Schlosserarbeit und dergleichen können sie selbst machen und zeigen viel Talent, wo es gilt sich selbst zu helfen. . ." (REICHEL 1863, p. 126.)

In one or two observations in historical sources, from the period prior to PALLISER's agreement with the Eskimos, it appears that Europeans had seen Eskimos who were in possession of rifles. But they obviously could not use them, among other reasons because they were unable to obtain ammunition. Because of the warlike nature of the early contact history, it was only to be expected that no white man, in trading with the Eskimos, dared equip them with rifles. G. CARTWRIGHT states emphatically, from 1771, that those Eskimos from the north who visited him did not have firearms. With his legendary confidence in the Eskimos, CARTWRIGHT lent them rifles during their stay at his trading station. ". . .Shuglawina then fired and killed it. It was really surprising, that he should kill a bird with a single ball, the first shot which he ever fired in his life, at the distance of a hundred yards at the least". (CARTWRIGHT 1792, vol. I, p. 143.)

The missionaries began trading with the Eskimos from the first day they were in the country. They did not sell rifles, however, and in 1783 it is pointed out that a large number of Eskimos from Nain went south with their products.

> Besonders anlochend für sie war es, dass sie dort Flinten, Pulver und Bley bekommen konnten, da sie hatten einsehen gelernt, wie weit mehr sie damit auf ihren Jagden ausrichten könnten, als mit ihren Pfeilen und Bogen. Die Brüder hatten bisher Bedenken getragen, sie mit diesen so schrecklich wirksamen Mitteln der Zerstörung zu versehen, welche die unter ihnen ohnehin nicht selten vorkommenden Mordthaten leicht noch häufiger machen, auch schon durch bloss unvorsichtigen Gebrauch ihnen sehr schädlich werden könnten. Doch da ihnen nun einmal diese Artikel nicht mehr vorzuenthalten waren, so wurden die Brüder von England aus in Stand gesetzt, ihnen auch damit zu helfen, um zu verhüten, dass sie die in anderer Rücksicht noch nachtheiligern Reisen nach Süden nicht unter diesem Vorwande machen dürften. (CRANZ 1804, pp. 62–64.)

Rifles were now quickly circulated among the Eskimos, and with the establishment of the new station to the north, Hebron (1830), it is mentioned that the heathen population in this district was also in possession of firearms. (P. A., November 1830.)

No complete information on the assortment of wares in the mission's stores is available. In a report from 1771, concerning the trade in Nain, it is mentioned that the Eskimos were sold, "verschiedene ihnen nützliche Europäische Waren. . .". (CRANZ 1791, p. 130.)

We know at any rate that fishhooks and lines, needles, and possibly knives too, were among these first wares. Later, in a special discussion of the principles and practice of the mission's trade, we will see that the choice of merchandise in the mission's shops, for easily understandable reasons, increased somewhat proportionately with the Eskimos' chances of obtaining wares from competing traders. When the first missionaries arrived the Eskimos were, in fact, in possession of a number of European fishing implements. To what extent they made use of them is not reported.

It is known that trout-nets were in use among the Eskimos in Alaska and Greenland in pre-European times. Several researchers have discussed whether the Eskimos in Labrador also had trout nets before the Europeans came to the country. When W. G. GOSLING, the historian, maintained that the missionaries were the ones who introduced trout fishing with nets, E. W. HAWKES expressed the opinion that the author probably "confuses civilized with native implements". (HAWKES 1916, p. 3.) But GOSLING based his claim on documentary evidence from the old mission journals, where it is related that the missionaries in Nain in the summer of 1772 "taught the natives to follow their example and catch salmon in nets, instead of spearing them".[1] The circumstances to which the missionary refers can hardly leave any doubt that the Eskimos did not use nets for the trout fishing. The most common method of fishing in pre-European times was with fishing-spears, often used in conjunction with fence-like obstructions made of

[1] P. A., March 1882, pp. 189–90, which quotes the journal from Nain for 1772. "Salmon" is probably mistakenly cited instead of "trout" as salmon is rare at Nain. The general impression from the mission reports is that salmon was no more numerous in the Nain area at the time in question than in our day.

stone, the Eskimos' "*saputit*", a name we find in many place names along the east coast.[1] CARTWRIGHT (1792, vol. III, p. 167) writes that in 1786 he sold nets to the Eskimos "to catch trouts with in small brooks".

As far as seal hunting with nets in open waters and in lanes in the ice is concerned, it has been assumed that the Eskimos were familiar with this method of hunting in Labrador before the Europeans came to the country. With respect to the Eskimos on the east coast, this view is undoubtedly erroneous. In my opinion, the following information (from Hopedale), which is based on such first-hand documentary sources as the original mission journals, has decidedly greater weight than any culture historic reconstruction:

> Was den Seehundfang mit Netzen betrifft, so hatten die Brüder längst eingesehen, dass es sowohl für die bey ihnen sich aufhaltenden Eskimos, die hauptsächlich von Seehundfleisch leben, bey ihrer Art aber, diese Thiere zu fangen, oft Mangel daran leiden müssen und in Hungersnoth gerathen, als auch zur Erleichterung der Unkosten, welche die Mission verursacht, sehr vortheilhaft seyn würde, wenn sie solchen treiben könnten; allein die in dieser Absicht gemachten Versuche waren nicht gelungen, weil sie damit nicht umzugehen wussten, und sie hatten es aufgegeben. (CRANZ 1816, pp. 443–44.)

The reports for the first decades after 1800 indicate, however, that this method of hunting rapidly gained ground among the Eskimos at the mission stations.

Hunting for foxes and other fur-bearing animals naturally acquired increasing significance with the colonization, but it is not until well into the nineteenth century that this activity makes really great strides within the mission area. But already in 1783 CARTWRIGHT relates that the Eskimos ". . . are now grown very desirous of traps and promise to attend diligently to them; in consequence of which, I lent them some." (CARTWRIGHT 1792, vol. III, p. 11.) Information in P. A. reveals that, shortly after the middle of the nineteenth century, the mission, at any rate, had a large supply of steel traps which were lent out to the hunters.

From a purely technical point of view no great changes have occurred in the equipment for the cod fishery – even if this gradually acquired great economic significance – except for the transition to large wooden boats, which has already been mentioned. Most of the cod fished by the Eskimos is caught today, as it was 180 years ago, with a handline and a double hook (English: "jigger" or "gigger") of exactly the same type as has already been described by CARTWRIGHT in his Journal: "A pair of large hooks fixed back to back with some lead run upon the shanks, in the shape of a fish. The Gigger being let down to the bottom, is played by sharp jerks. . ." (CARTWRIGHT 1792, vol. I, p. 11.)

In connection with the expansion of the Newfoundland fishery along the Labrador coast in the latter half of the nineteenth century, the Eskimos became acquainted with more modern implements. But it is not till well into the present century that a few of the Eskimos have been able to afford the purchase of the "cod-trap", which was the most common implement in the Newfoundlanders'

[1] E. P. WHEELER 1953, pp. 76–77, No. 395. The name is also used at some other places, according to information I received from Eskimos in Nain.

cod fishery on the coast. This is an implement consisting of four sides made of net and a net bottom. On one side is an opening which can be closed from above before the trap is hauled up. From the opening a chain of nets leads in toward land, the so-called "leader", which is to guide the fish in through the opening. Five to six men are required to operate a "cod-trap", and the purchase price is so high that, as has been mentioned, it has never attained great significance in the cod-fishery of the Eskimos. This is, in fact, a decidedly passive type of implement, and if the fish do not appear in fairly great shoals, the trap-fishermen will more often have a bad fishing day than the ones who fish with a handline.

In examining the changes in the traditional livelihoods which have occurred during the period of contact with representatives of European-American culture, it is highly relevant to discuss to what extent natural conditions in the area imposed restrictions on occupational change.

Viewing these problems in a wider perspective, let me first refer to the question of occupational change in West Greenland during the colonization period, as it has been summed up by BIRKET-SMITH (1959, p. 228–29):

> In Arctic West Greenland properly so called, the country about and north of Disko Bay, production will still be partly based, in the near future at any rate, on the hunting of aquatic mammals, augmented in varying degree by fishing.

The problem presents itself differently in the transitional zones, and in the subarctic area:

> The chances of maintaining a purely Eskimo life in these areas dwindle, whereas fishing is increasingly remunerative. There is no doubt that the importance of fishing on the southern west coast will increase, especially if waters farther away from the shore are fished intensively. . .[1]

Despite the fact that the Eskimos of Labrador inhabit an area which in its entirety lies south of the southern tip of Greenland (approx. 60°N), the natural conditions here did not provide a basis for a subarctic type of culture such as that found in the southern part of West Greenland before colonization. The fact that Labrador coastal waters are completely frozen over for 6 to 7 months of the year, makes a typical feature of "arctic culture" like the dog sledge absolutely indispensable. This necessitates a continual hunt for sea mammals (first and foremost for dog food). The long period of winter ice in Labrador makes the development of a year-round fishery impossible, whereas nowadays fishery is rapidly expanding on the southern part of the west coast of Greenland.

Although the relation between the various occupations is different today from what it was 100–150 years ago, the tendency to occupational specialization has been kept within narrow limits. During the summer practically everyone is a fisherman. And despite the fact that some men were more interested than others in hunting fur-bearing animals, they were not in a position to give up sealing.

[1] Regarding occupational change in West Greenland, see: KLEIVAN 1964.

The dogs had to have seal meat, and particularly blubber, if they were to be fit for the long hunting trips to the interior. The reindeer meat, which might be obtained in the trapping country, was, because of its lack of fat, only useful as dog-food for shorter periods. Finally, the dogs were, and still are, necessary for the transport of fuel during the winter.

The Eskimos in Labrador have no completely adequate alternative to the seal meat, as far as nourishing food for the dogs is concerned, as opposed to the northern part of West Greenland, where the seal meat to a large extent can be reserved for human consumption because of an abundant supply of dog food from the Greenland shark which is inedible for humans.[1] Because the transportation needs in Labrador represent a permament competition for the seal meat, any intensification of, for example, fur-trapping will easily result in an increasing dependence upon food-stuffs from the store. The transition to dwellings with a high fuel-consumption has, of course, also increased the transport requirement, thereby reducing man's share of the available seal meat.

KÖLBING (1831, pp. 7–11) gives an interesting description of Eskimo whaling, at the time the mission began. He also relates that the Eskimos of Nachvak still used whalebone for household objects, while the Eskimos farther to the south, through frequent contact with the Europeans, had evidently acquired a considerable number of articles of European manufacture. According to the descriptions of CRANZ and KÖLBING, based on the old mission journals, whalebone was obviously one of the most important products of exchange for the Eskimos in the trade with the Europeans to the south. The same has also been stated by CARTWRIGHT and others who traded on the southeast coast. It appears that the Eskimos, at what are now Hopedale and Nain, obtained whalebone more often through the contact with the northernmost Eskimos than from their own whaling, at any rate at the time when the mission came to the country. Okak, on the other hand, is described by one of the first missionaries as a good district for whaling. But the occurrence of whale has apparently not been especially great. When the Eskimos at Okak in 1790–91 captured two whales, and their neighbors to the north captured four, the missionaries stated that this was the first time in four years that any whales had been caught in this area. It is noted that whaling is otherwise customary at Okak. (CRANZ 1816, p. 420, p. 423.) In the year 1800 the missionaries reveal that five people perished while whaling, "eben so viele, als sie von jenen ungeheuern Seethieren erlegten, deren eines die Länge von 70 Fuss hatte". (CRANZ 1816, p. 444.)

For the period after 1800, I have not found any mention of hunting for larger whales at any of the mission stations, whereas hunting for white whale continued throughout the century. Capture of white whale seldom occurs today, and for a long time has not played any essential economic role.

It is difficult to find any other reason why the capture of larger species of

[1] PH. ROSENDAHL 1958, p. 102. The author strongly advocates to use the meat of the Greenland shark for dog food, so that seal meat can be reserved for human consumption. I understand that the arrangement for which the author is agitating is practiced by the hunters – at any rate in the Umanak district – to a great extent.

whales ceased completely other than that the animals became increasingly scarce on the coast. Whether this had any connection with a decrease in the total numbers of whales or with changes in oceanographic conditions is difficult so say. I can add that the mission reports down through the nineteenth century comparatively often tell of dead whales which were washed ashore on the coast, and provided a welcome contribution to the diet of people and dogs.

If we compare the annual subsistence cycle, which can be inferred from the mission reports at the end of the 1700s, with economic life as it is described in the sources after the middle of the nineteenth century, it is the reorganization of activities in the summer season which is most conspicuous. Previously the Eskimos went to the interior twice a year in order to hunt reindeer – in February, and thereafter in August–September. (CRANZ 1791, p. 325.) But after the middle of the nineteenth century the cod fishery became an increasingly tempting alternative to the summer reindeer hunt. It is in August–September that the reindeer skin is best for clothing, bedding, tents, etc., i. e. at the very time when the cod fishing is most profitable.

The fishery expanded to become the most important and most reliable source of income. It provided, first and foremost, a product which could easily be converted into highly valued shop goods. The reindeer hunt, on the other hand, gave products of little commercial value. It is true that the missionaries purchased some meat for their own use, as we shall soon see, but not in such great amounts as to give a sufficient commercial yield for more than a handful of Eskimo families. Furthermore, the utilization of reindeer hides in the household was decreasing because of a slow but sure transition to European textiles. The gradually declining summer reindeer hunt meant that the Eskimos were deprived of a highly valued and wholesome article of food which had to be replaced by shop fare.

When, at the end of the nineteenth century, we read in the mission reports from time to time, that the Eskimos from the southern stations are out hunting reindeer at the end of the summer, it is not a question of the long journey of earlier times into the interior, but hunting of reindeer herds which happen to come out to the coast near the stations. Previously this had often occurred both at Nain and Zoar. Farthest to the north, on the other hand, we still hear for a long period, of large-scale reindeer hunting at the end of the summer according to the traditional pattern. This was partly connected with the fact that the northern Eskimos quite late began to overcome their more or less openly expressed reluctance for fishing cod. The slower commercialization of the economy here in the north led to the result that it took longer than at the older stations before the reindeer hides were replaced by textiles for bedding, etc.

As far as the winter hunting for reindeer was concerned, the changes in economy, on the other hand, did not entail any alternatives. Most of the Eskimos spent the period from Christmas to Easter in the villages, and between Easter and the beginning of the spring sealing, in April or May, food was often scarce. While the winter hunting, according to older sources, took place already in February, it gradually became a fixed custom at the stations that it should begin when Easter was over. This is certainly due both to the desire of the missionaries to have the people under their influence in the villages as long as possible (see: S. K. HUTTON

1912, p. 232), and to the increasing unwillingness of the Eskimos to journey into the extremely exposed inland plateau in the worst part of the winter.

There is no doubt that a heavy reduction of the population of reindeer in Labrador has taken place in modern times. To explain the causal complex, however, is quite difficult. One of the foremost experts on mammalian fauna in the northeastern part of Canada, Dr. A. W. CAMERON, has told me that knowledge of this problem is extremely vague even among zoologists. I shall therefore warn against the following information being interpreted as a claim that the introduction of firearms among the Eskimos was the sole or decisive factor in the reduction.

In the early mission period, the summer reindeer hunt was often carried out according to a technique well-known in many parts of the Eskimo area: the herds were chased into the lakes and stabbed from *kayaks*. (CRANZ 1791, p. 325.) In this manner, undoubtedly, many animals could be killed. On the other hand, it was seldom that anything was wasted, as usually entire families came along, and they lived on the meat as long as there was enough to spare. Whatever was left was brought back to the settlement on their backs and with the dog pack. The winter reindeer hunt was more difficult as long as only the bow and arrow were available, because it was necessary to come very close to the animals if the arrow was to have a sufficient effect. It also happened in midwinter that the hunters took their families along during the hunt, but not to so large an extent as in the summer. It was easier, on the other hand, to bring a great load of meat home on the snow in the winter.

Shortly after the Eskimos in Nain had come into possession of rifles, it is reported that the Nain hunters, during one hunt felled close to 300 animals. (CRANZ 1816, pp. 443–44.) In a Hebron report from 1881 it is stated that the hunters "in a few weeks" killed around 600 reindeer. In 1898, "an average result" from the winter reindeer hunt is reported from the same station, i. e. 500 animals. (P. A., December 1881, p. 117; P. A., March 1899, p. 12.) I assume that in olden times, at any rate, during the winter hunt, it was impossible for an equal number of hunters with bows and arrows to slay nearly as many animals.

The missionaries often complain in the reports that the reindeer hunters kill far more animals than they can bring home and utilize. I shall here give only a few examples from different periods:

In the journal for Okak, 1844, it is mentioned that the hunters had felled 140 animals during a month in the summer hunt:

> It is a great pity, especially in a time of scarcity like the present, that the greater part of the flesh has to be wasted, as two quarters of a deer are a sufficient load for a dog, and even this can seldom be brought home while fresh. (P. A., September 1846, p. 464. Journal for Okak, Sept. 1844.)

The journal for Hebron, 1859–60 reports:

> When circumstances are favourable for hunting, the Esquimaux, like some other nations who follow the chase, destroy everything they meet with, whether they can make use of it or not, – the man who kills the most being proportionately highly esteemed. (P. A., March 1861, p. 569.)

The conditions which are discussed 45 years later in a Nain report (1906) are no less drastic:

> Many of our people looked upon the lack of reindeer herds in the year under review as a just punishment for the indiscriminate slaughter of the animals on the part of some of their number during the previous year. As is well known, the sinews of the back of the reindeer are used by the Eskimoes as thread in the manufacture of sealskin boots and other clothing. For the sake of these sinews many animals were shot at the time in question – the skins were possibly also taken – but the flesh was left lying on the ground. A great deal has already been said to the people about this pernicious custom; but now and again we still hear of its having been done. (P. A., December 1906, p. 500.)

It was undoubtedly reports on these circumstances which resulted in the Newfoundland authorities, at the time of the first World War, passing a new game law which prohibited the hunting of reindeer after Easter. The authorities obviously were not convinced that the Eskimos, as a rule, chased the young calves away in order not to shoot them, as Hutton had understood from an Okak hunter. (HUTTON 1912, p. 240.) The regulations, however, were somewhat modified after a number of protests had been sent, in which it was pointed out that the reindeer were the only source of food for the population in the period before the spring sealing took place. The game regulations indeed have not had as adverse an effect upon the life of the Labrador Eskimos as BIRKET-SMITH (1959, p. 103) seems to believe. On the contrary, it may be said that this is one of the few matters in which the Newfoundland authorities have shown a real interest and sense of responsibility for the inhabitants on the coast until, in the mid-1930s a marked increase took place in Newfoundland's interest in the population of Labrador.

The question of a possible over-taxation of the reindeer population through an intensification of the trapping of small fur-bearing animals in our century, resulting in a prolonged stay by the hunters in the interior, is dealt with in the discussion of the Hudson's Bay Company. The winter reindeer, as a whole, has strongly diminished in later years. Both Eskimos and Settlers in the Nain area complained in 1955, of the fact that very few reindeer were seen nowadays. The Settler J. WEBB reported that in four years not a single reindeer had been shot around Webb Bay, where, in his youth, considerable flocks used to come out to the coast.

I have already mentioned, in various connections, the enormous expansion of the Eskimos' cod fishery in the nineteenth century. I will here discuss only a few fundamental features of the change to cod fishing, and indicate its place in the new economy.

Even though the reindeer hunt was the most popular summer occupation in the period before the Europeans came to the country, the cod was in no way without significance for the traditional subsistence economy. A winter supply of unsalted dried cod was customary in most of the households. The same was true

of trout.[1] Sometimes the cod remained at the coast for such a long period that it was possible to secure a supply after the reindeer hunt had ended. Even though it is correct to say that fishing was regarded by most Eskimos as a woman's occupation, the division of labor was not completely rigid in this field.

The missionaries soon saw the possibilities offered by the rich occurrence of cod: it meant a direct saving for the mission that the Eskimos, to the greatest possible extent, could help themselves through the winter without charity. "We never cease to admonish them to attend to the fishery; cod and salmon-trout being in great plenty in all the bays. But fishing is not their favourite employ", says an Okak report from 1828. We are also reminded of the Eskimos' increasing dependency upon trade by a comment to the effect that they would be in less danger of becoming indebted to the store if they were always industrious at hunting and fishing. (P. A., November 1828, Okak.) In the succeeding period it runs all through the reports that the missionaries carried out intensive propaganda in order to make the population more interested in fishing cod. Cod, however, is still referred to only as a subsistence product. In a missionary's letter from Okak (1832) it is emphasized that not all the Eskimos are skilled sealers, "but the simplest among them is clever enough to be a fisherman". (P. A., March 1833, p. 311.) That fishing had a certain stamp of inferiority, makes it easy to understand the many reports about men who were too proud to fish. Even families are mentioned in which the men were poor seal hunters, but, nonetheless, were "too proud to fish", and thus came to be short of food in the course of the winter. (P. A., December 1865, Okak, 14th Aug. 1865.)

After the middle of the nineteenth century the cod is also mentioned as a market product. But if people had shown an aversion to the modest fishing which was needed to cover their subsistence requirements, it was even more difficult to interest them in the extended fishing season which a commercial fishery necessitated. "But the Esquimaux are too little accustomed to steady, regular labour, to like to devote a few months to continuous fishing." (P. A., March 1859, private letter, Okak, 1858.)

No information has been found as to when the mission's trade section began the regular purchase of fish for export. Even in 1859 it cannot have been an important article in the mission trade, as it is reported that two foreign fishing vessels, in this year, called at Hopedale: "This afforded the Esquimaux an opportunity for disposing of the fish they had salted." (P. A., March 1861, p. 557. Journal for Hopedale 1859–60.) The moderate quantity of fish which the mission had purchased up to now was clearly unsalted fish, dried in the traditional Eskimo manner. Often it remained in the country as the mission kept it in readiness for hard times, and then sold it back to the Eskimos without estimating any profit, or else handed it out gratis to them. Thus, the missionaries also hoped to some extent to prevent the Eskimos from becoming too accustomed to European provisions. It was, at least in the early period, one of the most important principles

[1] G. CARTWRIGHT 1792, vol. I, p. 138, mentions, in 1771, the Eskimos' unsalted dried fish, which was made in 1955 in exactly the same way for personal consumption in Nain. As far as the cod which the Eskimos fished for the international market was concerned, they learned to process it the way it was done in Europe.

of the mission trade that the Eskimos should be protected against far-reaching changes in the traditional diet.

Throughout the 1860s–70s an almost explosive expansion of the Eskimos' cod fishery took place, especially at the three oldest stations. During the previous 20–30 years an increasing number of travelling traders had visited the coast, and created an apparently insatiable demand for European wares, especially articles of food. Any socially conditioned unwillingness to fish had to give way when the Eskimos suddenly witnessed that cod and trout (at Hopedale also salmon) could be easily converted into highly valued wares. In a report from Hopedale, in 1861, the missionary expresses his astonishment at the fact that the Eskimos are not more industrious at fishing,

> as a very short time suffices to obtain a supply of fish adequate to the support of a large family during the winter. Those who engage in the salmon and troutfishing during the summer, often earn enough to procure two or three barrels of flour, several hundredweight of biscuit, molasses, tea, butter, pork and the like. This stock is often consumed by New Year. Then they have to suffer hunger, and, if seals are lacking, experience the greatest distress. . .

In the same report it is said:

> The demand for dried cod fish has been of great advantage to the Esquimaux. Their prosperity depends more than ever on their diligence, as they can now earn quite sufficient to prevent them from suffering want. (P. A., March 1862, p. 203, p. 219.)

I have previously mentioned REICHEL's reports from his visitation journeys in 1861 and 1876, where the development of the fishery in the course of 15 years manifests itself, among other things, in a substantial transition to wooden boats. In Nain and Hopedale the mission, in the same period, has undertaken extensive expansions of their store-houses, but at the latter place the buildings are already on the verge of being too small because of the increasing trade in fish. In 1876 REICHEL emphasized the change that has taken place in every field, especially in Hopedale, since his first visit to the country. An increasing number of the Eskimo families are changing to wooden houses of European type, and simultaneously they wish to live separately. He saw small gardens with carrots and cabbage plants on some of the roof-tops, out of reach of the dogs. The interior of the houses, as a whole, reveals the same tendency. Most of the houses have iron stoves and glass windows. Blankets replace reindeer skins as bedding. Pictures hang on the walls, and each home has its clock, oil lamp and mirror. The dress has also become more Europeanized, says REICHEL. It is only during the church festivals that people put on clothing of the traditional pattern. These changes are a result of the new mode of living which we find today in this part of Labrador, he continues. In his interpretation of these changes, the author points out that the Eskimos' new demands, created by the contact with traders from the south, can no longer be satisfied by the yield of the hunt. At the same time the population sees that the hitherto disregarded wealth in the sea "entices an increasing number of fishing

schooners from Newfoundland to their shores. Hence they have become fishermen. Here at Hopedale this change is most apparent. . .". (P. A., March 1877, pp. 146–47, p. 156.) While most of the economic activities of the Eskimos – the fur-trapping in particular – had the nature of a lottery, the cod fishery was a source of income which could be relied on in most years, even if it seldom provided a basis for direct wealth. The mission reports of course mention poor years, but they are far more rare for cod than for the fur-bearing animals. Nor were fluctuations in prices on the world market as sudden and violent as in the fur trade. A comment in the Nain report for 1908 gives a brief but fairly apt summary of the place of the cod fishery in the new economy: "In August and September they must make enough money to clear their debts, in order to open the possibility of living more or less on credit till the following July." (P. A., March 1909, p. 251.) Therefore, if the fish failed a year or two in succession, it at once manifested itself in increased expenses for the mission's provident fund, the so-called "Poor's Fund". At the same time, the debt in the store increased drastically.

Thus it was no exaggeration when, in 1913, a missionary wrote that the Eskimos nowadays were hardly able to exist without the incomes from the cod fishery. Therefore, when the fish prices fell in the first half of the 1930s, it inevitably meant that the Eskimos were in for hard times.

According to an annual report from Hopedale in 1934 (P. A., June 1935, p. 75.):

> That was formerly the industry on which the Eskimos depended to provide the necessaries of life, or to be more correct, to pay for the necessaries of life, food, clothing, nets, rifles, ammunition, etc. etc. they had used during the preceding year. And the diligent Eskimos were well fitted out with all the gear they needed in summer and winter. To-day the cod fishery is a lot of hard work with little pay attached to it.

Newfoundland's increasing difficulties in disposing of salted fish on the world market after World War II, were bound to affect the Eskimos seriously. A decline in prices of between 30 and 40% for cod in the autumn of 1953, accompanied by a significant increase in the overhead expenses, led to the result that many of the Eskimos found it completely unprofitable to go out to the fishing grounds. As I have previously mentioned, practically none of the Nain Eskimos went fishing in the summer of 1955. Despite the fact that the federal government paid subsidies of 50% for salt, the Eskimos found that they had increased their debts by about 50 cents for every cwt. (approx. 50 kg) of fish they had delivered, because of the high costs of salt, gasoline, oilskins, etc. (P. A. 1956, p. 38.) It is only very substantial economic support from the outside after the war, in the form of insurances and direct relief made possible by the union of Newfoundland with Canada, which has given the population possibilities of existence.

A problem of great importance, in connection with the introduction of new and more effective technical aids in a hunting society, is the question of whether the new technology, new hunting methods, or solely a more intensified hunt with the traditional implements, lead to the destruction of, or a dangerous reduction of the object of the hunt. As far as the intensification of the Eskimos' cod fishery is

concerned, it occurred without any really revolutionary improvement of the implements, if we overlook those few Eskimos who were in a position to acquire cod-traps for themselves. The Eskimo fishery must also be assumed to have been a relatively modest factor in this connection, as compared with the tremendous Newfoundland fishery which has been going on on the northeast coast or almost a century. Nonetheless, there is nothing to suggest that the supply of fish should be reduced as compared with former times. To be sure, it is maintained in a report from Nain for 1917–18: "The days seem to have gone by when it was possible to catch fish in the immediate vicinity of the station. Only near the outlying islands has the catch of fish proved remunerative of late years". (P. A., December 1918, p. 259.) There is reason to assume that the movement to new fishing grounds was more a result of a growing desire for larger catches, than an actual lack of fish. For household use, today as before, a sufficient quantity of fish is obtained by merely rowing out half an hour from the village.

On the other hand, I am inclined to assume that the transition to net-fishing for trout must have reduced the supply considerably, especially in the latter half of the nineteenth century. However, we should bear in mind that a comparison of troutfishing with nets today and at a particular time in the last century involves a possibility of making erroneous interpretations. Now the nets are set only in the sea, while before it was permitted to block the rivers or place the nets at the mouths of the rivers. Numbers of trout taken in nets in the mission's first period appear, at any rate, to be astronomical in comparison with today's conditions. In May 1798, the missionaries in Nain had caught nearly 5,000 trout in the course of 6 days, and the following year 1,800 fish in a single haul. (CRANZ 1816, pp. 443–44.) The Settlers at Voisey's Bay told me that, at the end of the last century, 60–70 barrels of trout could be obtained in a few weeks, while one man today must consider himself fortunate if he takes a mere 40 barrels during the entire season, even if he uses several nets.

I have mentioned before that the mission maintained an annual connection with Europe by means of its own vessel, continuously from 1771 to 1926, when the trade at the stations was handed over to the Hudson's Bay Company. In most years the ship arrived in Labrador during the month of July. Through an examination of P. A. many observations are to be found to the effect that the Eskimos are attacked by various epidemics just after the ship calls at the station. In the latter part of the nineteenth century the mass visits of Newfoundland fishing vessels were also an important factor in the spread of epidemics at the end of the summer and in the autumn. Since the illness occurred in the best part of the fishing season, it frequently resulted in people being partly incapacitated for work or, at worst, having to go to bed in the tents near the fishing grounds, which resulted in a loss of earnings.

If we consider the coast as a whole, the transition to cod fishing occurred somewhat earlier at Hopedale than at Nain and Okak. Some of the cultural and social effects of this occupational change therefore appeared later at these northern stations than at Hopedale. This was probably also connected with the fact that the numbers of both Settlers and Newfoundland fishermen at Hopedale resulted in an especially intense contact. North of Okak, i. e. first and foremost in Hebron,

the aversion to fishing cod until recently has been more pronounced than to the south, according to the missionaries, because fishing was looked upon as "a degrading occupation". Even in years when the fish occur in great numbers, it is deplored that few families in Hebron catch fish for sale. (P. A., June 1926, p. 14.) Even though the cod fishery also gradually acquired an increasing significance in the north, it was never pursued with such intensity, nor was its contribution to the annual economic output so considerable as that reported from the southern districts. Activities with more emphasis only on the subsistence side of the economy, particularly sealing, retained an important place in the annual cycle, and the transition to a money economy was less violent on the northernmost part of the coast. Among the results of this state of affairs, a much more moderate use of European articles of food ought to be mentioned. In later times the trout fishery, a typical market production, however, made great progress at Hebron, with a utilization of fishing places all the way north to Nachvak.

I have already made several references to the trout fishing. As we have seen in an excerpt from a Hopedale report, this, too, gradually became a significant factor in the new economy. The so-called "pickled trout" (lightly salted) is a product which, through long periods, appears to have been less exposed to great fluctuation in prices than any of the other products exported from Labrador. The fact that, nonetheless, few Eskimos took up trout fishing was connected with the scarcity of good places for trout-fishing. We shall take into account the fact that the settlement pattern of the Settlers – which will be described later – resulted in their occupying many of the best places for trout fishing, especially in the Makkovik and Hopedale areas, but, to a certain extent, also at Nain.

Just as the cod fishery early came to compete with, and gradually supersede a typical subsistence activity such as the summer reindeer hunt, in the annual cycle of the Eskimos, so trout fishing represented a certain competition with the spring sealing. Thus, commercial trout fishing led to a reduction of the Eskimos' meat supply, which also had social implications, as will be discussed at the close of this chapter.

In the summer of 1771, GEORGE CARTWRIGHT writes in his journal about some Eskimos who were on a visit from what he describes as "the three southernmost settlements" on the coast: ". . . they do not trouble themselves much to catch furs, not being furnished with traps". After a thought-provoking reflection concerning the obviousness of the Eskimo's opinion that the seal is a more important object of the hunt than the fox, because the seal provides them with both food and clothing, the author makes this prognosis for the future:

> Yet I have no doubt but commerce will, in progress of time, have the same effect on these people, that it ever has had on other nations: it will introduce luxury, which will increase their wants, and urge them to much more industry than they at present possess. They will then purchase traps, learn to build deathfalls, and contrive other devices to kill furs, at such times as a successful seal-chase shall give them leisure to pay proper attention to that branch of trade.[1]

[1] G. CARTWRIGHT 1792, vol. I, p. 143. It is naturally a misunderstanding on the part of the author when he believes that the Eskimos were not familiar with any kind of fox traps in the pre-European period.

Essentially the author was right in his prophecy. As we have heard, the Eskimos who visited him a couple of years later had already become so eager to acquire modern traps that he lent them some of his.

Several decades elapse, however, before fur-trapping is described in the mission reports as an activity of any particular commercial significance. The Eskimos at the stations to the south, however, have known more about furs as articles of trade than their countrymen at Hebron, where, in 1833, we hear of a poor widow who received four fox skins for clothing, as she was poorly equipped. (P. A., September 1834, Journal for Hebron, 19. November 1833.) In the summer of 1860, from Nain, fox hunting is mentioned, "the produce of which afforded the means of obtaining provisions from the store". (P. A., December 1860, Nain, 14. August 1860.) Despite the increasing significance of fur-trapping, it is mentioned by K. R. KOCH (1884, p. 159), from his stay at Nain in 1882–83, as being less important than fishing, reindeer hunting and sealing.

I have previously mentioned the great fluctuations which are characteristic of fur-trapping. From a record of the furs purchased by the mission within the Nain district in the period 1901–26, we receive a strong impression of these fluctuations. The population's annual average income from furs was $ 3,300 for the entire period, while the lowest and highest incomes occurred at an interval of only two years, in the seasons 1919–20, and 1921–22, with $ 335 and $ 17,000 respectively. It should be emphasized that the record year which has been mentioned was a marked exception, and the next best year falls considerably lower.[1]

Even though we hear that many hunters used the meat of the fur-bearing animals in the household, it is clear that this did not contribute in any appreciable degree to the total diet of the households. On the contrary, trapping meant a direct competition for the seal meat, because it necessitated much transportation in winter, i.e. the need for dog food. Thus, if sealing were especially poor one year, it turned out to be necessary for the hunters to keep the dogs alive with various kinds of soups. These did not provide the dogs with much strength, "but quickly made a big hole in their master's purses". (P. A., December 1913, p. 631 (Hopedale).) Circumstances of this kind sometimes resulted, when the account in the store was closed, in a great reduction of the gross income from trapping.

It is emphasized in the mission reports that even in the best fur-years there are, most often, only a few men who receive the largest share of the profits, and these "for the most part do not spend their great gains economically", as the missionaries frequently express it. A sudden drop in fur prices often seems to be a great strain on those families who, for many years, have had tidy incomes from this occupation, as they have readily used the money to create "a somewhat expensive mode of living". (P. A., March 1916, p. 406 (Nain).)

In the nineteenth century the fox traps had to be set only about an hour's distance or a little more from the station, among other reasons, in order to prevent good sledge dogs from finding their way to the bait and thereby getting a foot cut off. The great expansion of trapping in the 1920s (especially after the Hudson's

[1] Extract from: Pelzwarenbuch, Nain, 1901–26. To be found in the mission archive in Nain. The material for Fig. 2 is taken from the same source.

Bay Co. took over the trade in 1926), however, led to a great increase in winter travelling.

While the period from Christmas to Easter used to be the most quiet part of the year, the hunters now usually set out with the traps on long hunting trips already in January and February. And just at that time there is a great demand for fire-wood, and thereby also for dog-food needed in connection with the transport of the wood.

The question of whether the supply of fur-bearing animals was overtaxed because of the intensified trapping is just as difficult to answer definitively, as in the case of the other objects of the hunt. The strong annual fluctuations in the number of fur-bearing animals, and the frequently occurring "mouse years", which made it almost impossible to get the fox to take the bait, are factors which make a comparison of trapping results for individual years problematic. But with the marked increase of the trapping in the present century, it was soon apparent that it was impossible to continue hunting with traps relatively near the villages. It was only by extending the trapping grounds to unexploited new areas, especially in the interior, that it was possible to maintain intensive trapping.

As I have previously mentioned, the mission stimulated the Eskimos to go over to sealing with nets. From the mission reports it is clear that this method of hunting strongly gained ground already in the first decades after 1800. The seal nets were expensive, however, and most Eskimos had to be content with relatively small nets.

It comes out clearly in the mission reports that the nets gave an increased yield from the sealing, particularly in comparison with the *kayak* hunting. An excerpt from a report like the following is quite representative: "Those who have only what they can take by pursuing these animals in the kayak were, as usual, just able to obtain the necessary supply of meat, & c., while those who could afford to use nets did well", it is reported in 1879 from Ramah. (P. A., December 1880, p. 349.) From the early part of the present century HUTTON, too, says of a poor and sick Okak Eskimo: "He could not even hire his net out as some men do, because he was too poor to own one: he was one of the kajak men, and was wont to depend altogether upon his skill with the harpoon". (HUTTON 1912, p. 227.) We have here an example of poverty as a restriction to an otherwise desired transition to a new technology. There was clearly no question of any "resistance to acculturation" in this connection.

There is no indication that the Eskimos regarded the *kayak* with a particularly romantic attitude. Nor was there less prestige in capturing their seal with nets than by the old hunting methods. What was of greatest social importance, was to obtain a large catch and to allocate it with generosity. In order to build up a reputation of being a great hunter, the generous giving of meat gifts was just as important as the demonstration of technical skills and success in sealing.

With the development of a market economy throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century through the expansion of the cod fishery more and more of the Eskimos abandoned the *kayak*. This is not to be interpreted as a direct expression of a corresponding decline in the sealing. (Cf. KLEIVAN 1964.) The incomes from the fishing, in many ways, also benefited the partly subsistence-oriented

hunting activities, by investments in boats, seal nets and other equipment, and, in later years, also to cover expenses in connection with the use of motorboats.

When, elsewhere in this paper, I suggest a decline in the total amount of meat, and with that a reduced frequency in the exchange of meat gifts, it can appear as a contradiction if one considers that the effectivity of the net-hunting was greater than of the *kayak* hunting (and also presupposes that the total number of seals did not decrease substantially). But at the time when a larger number of Eskimos, through fishing incomes, had easier access to purchase nets, quite a substantial expansion of the transportation requirements had taken place. The new type of dwelling required larger amounts of fuel, resulting in an increasing demand for seal meat for dog food. Furthermore, there was an additional increase in the demand for dog food through the intensification of the fur-trapping.

Of great importance to the sealing were those stations for net-hunting which were opened by the mission in the 1820s, and were operated all the way down to the middle of the 1920s. The hunting took place with the assistance of Eskimo crews, who had permission to eat the seal meat they needed as long as the work was in progress. In addition, they received every third seal they captured in the nets, as a remuneration for their work. These stations were operated in connection with the autumn sealing, which has always been the most important source of meat, blubber, and skins, because it is at that time the Harp or Greenland seal make for the fjords in large numbers on their way south to the Newfoundland grounds. When the seal go north in the spring, it is necessary to travel a long way out in order to catch them, because they then follow the edge of the ice northwards.

The mission also employed many Eskimos in transporting the seals to the village after the ice had frozen at Christmas time. Furthermore, it was the tradition to let the widows in the villages work with the cleansing of the skins and rendering the seal blubber to oil. Both these so-called "blubber women" and the men who transported the seals to the village were, like the crews, paid only in kind, first and foremost meat, but also a little blubber. The seal skins, on the other hand, were exported by the mission for sale in Europe.

From an article written by a Nain missionary in 1836, we understand that the mission's sealing stations at this time contributed considerably more to the Eskimos' meat supply than was the case later in the century. At that time all the seals from the mission's nets were stored in a little house built by the mission. Then, each week in the course of the winter, "einer, zwei, drei oder mehrer nach Maasgabe des Vorrathes an jeder Hausfamilie verteilt. . ." The skins and blubber from those animals which were received as gifts had to be returned to the mission stores. (Anonymous 1838, p. 373.)

A characteristic aspect of the later 50–60 years is that few Eskimos saw their way to purchasing their own seal nets, and had to hunt from boats with a rifle in the autumn, if they did not participate as crews at the mission's hunting stations. Only some few of the richest Eskimos in Okak and Nain are said in the reports to have owned large seal nets, which were operated by hired crews in the same manner as at the mission's stations. The individual hunting from boats ordinarily was not very profitable. The overhead expenses (gasolene, ammunition, etc.) were

so considerable that it is doubtful whether the operation was profitable from a financial viewpoint, except in the best hunting years.

Since the mission sold its hunting station at Black Island, Nain (one of the best places on the coast for the autumn sealing) to a Settler family, the Eskimo population's access to seal products has been further reduced in this district.

The mission set up the rules for the division of the catch when large nets, which had to be operated by crews were used. It has never interferred, however, with the rules for division of the seals with respect to seal hunting on an individual basis. At Nain the men's meetings (of all adult men) have settled disputes between the hunters throughout the mission period. Since the mission organized a village council ("the village elders"), this, in consultation with the men's meetings, has decided all doubtful questions, and, to a certain degree, has also codified the regulations for division in cases when several men have shot at or participated in the killing of one and the same animal.

As far as I have been able to ascertain, during my short stay in Nain in the summer of 1955, these regulations seem to rest, to a large extent, upon traditional rules from the time before the money economy was introduced. But even if these rules have been little modified, we shall not, from this fact, draw too hard and fast conclusions as to the maintenance of traditional social relations. The division of the animal between two men during the hunt must, in my opinion, be considered more as a technical than a social question. In the literature on the Eskimos one is sometimes given the impression that even the rules for division of the captured animals between the hunters is an expression of the extensive economic fellowship or "communism" in Eskimo society. I would like to maintain, on the other hand, that these rules have little social significance. What is most decisive, from a sociological viewpoint is what happens to his share of the catch, large or small, when the hunter returns home to the settlement. I will return to this question later.

From the founding of Nain in 1771 to the present the missionaries have cultivated vegetables for their own needs at all the stations on the coast, even as far north as Hebron. It has been customary to make use of Eskimo labor, especially widows, to help in the gardens. From Okak it is reported in 1861 that those Eskimos who have participated in the work "have also laid out gardens, in which they are raising turnips and a few potatoes. Some of them have no fences to their gardens, and, consequently, all their efforts are rendered nugatory by the ravages of the dogs." (P. A., March 1862, p. 222.)

In recent times attempts have also been made to get the Eskimos to do a little gardening, but every attempt in this direction has failed. When one has seen the strenuous and time-consuming labor which the missionaries devote to saving their plants through a short and hazardous summer, it does not seem at all astonishing that the Eskimos have never had any profound interest in this kind of activity. Despite the fact that those who worked in the mission's gardens received their remuneration in the form of vegetables, these have clearly not been of great importance in the diet of the Eskimos.

If we regard economic life as a whole, it is apparent that the cod fishery has become the backbone of the new economy. The income from cod fishing covered

most of the debt to the store each year, i.e. paid for the European foodstuffs, clothing, implements, ammunition, etc., which were used in the course of the year. Even though the sealing supplied skins and some blubber for sale, this amounted only to an insignificant part of the money necessary to maintain the new standard of consumption. It was, and is, as a source of indispensable subsistence products that the sealing has its significance. "The seal is still the most vital need for our people, and without seals much poverty and even sickness seems to hinder life," writes a missionary in Nain in 1954. Despite the changes which the diet has undergone, seal meat, dried trout and cod are products which constantly stand high on the bill of fare of every Eskimo family.

The effects of the great expansion of consumption which accompanied the economic re-orientation made possible by the cod fishery have been recorded in many different contexts in the mission reports. After 1860 the missionaries frequently complain that the Eskimos are less willing to work for them because they do not think that the payment is good enough. From Hopedale we read in the journal for 1863:

> At present there is not a family that is content to live as their ancestors did. They profess to be unable to subsist any longer on fish, seal's flesh, and other products of the country. We do not for a moment object to their enjoying, in addition to their ordinary fare, such articles of diet as flour, biscuit, molasses, and the like, if they would only do so moderately and frugally, and not consume more than they are able to obtain in an honest manner.

In a missionary's letter from the station the same year, it is deplored that the number of traders who visit the district is increasing, and that the Eskimos thus have an opportunity of running into debt in several places. "The consequence is, that dishonesty and deception are on the increase among them, so that we sometimes scarcely know what course to take. . .". (P. A., December 1863. Journal for Hopedale, July 1863, and P. A., March 1864, p. 85 (Hopedale).)

The last 50 years in which the mission was engaged in trading, the Eskimos increased their debt to the stores almost continually. A continuous increase in the consumption of European goods occurred, apparently without a porportionate growth in production. This was, at least partly, made possible through the fact that the mission found it necessary to give extensive credit in the course of the year, due to the seasonal fluctuations in the earning possibilities of the Eskimos. Furthermore, those products which the Eskimos, because of their debt, were under obligation to deliver to the mission stores, often found their way to traders from the south, in exchange for luxury-tinged wares of the type which the mission did not wish to carry. The annual reports during the last 50–60 years contain repeated assertions that the Eskimos are becoming "poorer and poorer". The debt in the stores is increasing, and an occupation so lucrative, at times, as fur-trapping could not halt this development. The incomes from the furs were the only ones which were paid in cash at the mission stores, and this enabled the Eskimos to buy wherever they wished. If a hunter was dissatisfied, because the wares selected by the mission were mostly utilitarian articles, he could be certain of finding more luxury-tinged wares at the travelling traders. In this manner, the large and sudden

incomes from the fur-trapping were, paradoxically enough, those which perhaps had the most unfortunate effects. Numerous examples are mentioned in the mission reports of the poor hunter who, through the acquisition of a single fox in top class, became rich overnight, and proved to be unable to use the large sums of money in (what the missionaries considered to be) a rational manner. What the missionaries criticized in this connection was, in reality, the attempt on the part of individuals to assert themselves in a society where old and new values struggled for first place. Here the poor man saw an opportunity of strengthening his prestige by inviting half, or all of the village to a feast. After a few months, or even weeks, he was just as poor again as before. The great hunter, who was enterprising and managed better than the average, both within market and subsistence economic activities could, without danger of social degradation, use his money for reinvestment in boats, equipment and other things. He could always find opportunities to demonstrate his generosity by giving meat to widows and others. All in all, those who could be described as well-to-do were, as a rule, the only ones who had an opportunity of becoming even richer. At any rate, the new economy hardly provided a basis for a greatly increased social mobility.

While in olden days it was mostly the women who fished, the transition to an extensive fishery led to the result that, as a rule, it became the job mainly of the men and the larger boys to fish. The most important duty of the women was to gut and clean the fish, and to join in the salting, washing and drying. These processes had to be carried out painstakingly, as it was a prerequisite to obtaining a good price for the product. If the social position of the women was strengthened through this change in the division of labor, is hard to say.

In conclusion I would like to discuss to what extent the Eskimos have continued the traditional exchange of foodstuffs, first and foremost of what I have previously described as gifts of meat. A few excerpts from reports at different periods in the present century, and from different stations, may contribute to the understanding of this subject:

Nain, 1907

> The "poor" we have always with us; but the better-off people are very good in the matter of sending joints of meat around to their poorer neighbours, and in calling them in to have a good feed when dinner or supper is ready. A native Poor's Fund we have not, but the natives certainly do a great deal among themselves in the way of providing the poor with food. (P. A., June 1908, p. 110.)

Okak, shortly after 1900. An Eskimo's statement to Dr. HUTTON (1912, p. 72):

> Among the people, no poor man will lack for a meal as long as there is food. It is a custom of the people.

Nain, 1911

> Here is the answer I received from one the other day when I was advising him to be as careful as possible with his seals. "Yes, if I eked them out they would no doubt last me a good part of the winter; but I can't be greedy and

> keep them for myself, when I know my neighbours have nothing. I have known hard times myself, and have been thankful when my neighbours have helped me out; now that I have a little I am only too glad to be able to repay their kindness." So you see, if one starves all starve. They share the last crust with a hungry neighbour. (P. A., December 1912, p. 422.)

Hopedale, 1938

> Several times some of the families have been without food of any kind in the house and had to rely on the generosity of others for their meals. It is a very inspiring thing to see how they can help each other along. . . (P. A., June 1939, p. 126.)

It is worth emphasizing that this generosity is practically limited to meat and fish, and scarcely includes shop wares. Nor is it to be expected as a matter of course that one neighbor will share his fuel with another, unless the latter's lack of fuel is due to illness. The Eskimo seldom sets out to fetch new fuel before he has used up the last bit of wood. The missionaries account for this by the fact that the Eskimo allows himself to be annoyed at having to give away something which he knows will never be repaid. There is much information in support of this assumption. In my view it is therefore justified to conclude that the new kind of fuel (wood) in distinction to the fuel of former days (blubber), is not part of the Eskimos' system of gift exchange.

If we are to understand the continued generosity with regard to traditional foodstuffs (especially seal meat), it is important to note that seal meat has never become a market product of real significance. This can best be explained with reference to the lack of occupational specialization despite the transition to a market economy among the Labrador Eskimos. There did not come into being any numerous group of Eskimos permanently employed in paid labor in the stores or in other activities under the mission. Nor has there been any specialization between fishermen and seal-hunters, as in West Greenland. There have been, however, some sales to the missionaries, especially of reindeer meat, ptarmigan, hares and the like. Even if this has not provided the majority of the hunters with the possibility of exchanging meat for shop wares, it has of necessity reduced the village population's available amount of meat, and with that, if not the generosity, at any rate the possibility of giving away meat to the neighbors.

Hopedale is the only mission village where a considerable part of the population, after World War II has temporarily collected its incomes from paid work. At least for a period in the 1950s this led to a practically total abandonment of the summer's cod fishery, and also to a great reduction in the sealing. Whether this has resulted in the salaried Eskimos purchasing meat from their countrymen to any extent, I have not had an opportunity of investigating.

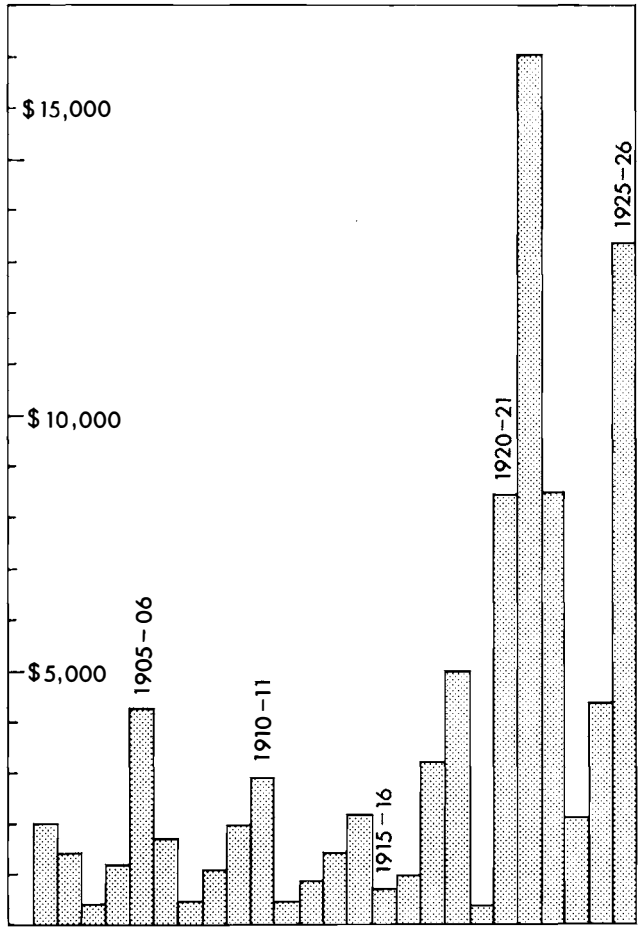

Fig. 3. *A survey of incomes from the hunting of fur-bearing animals in the Nain area, for the period 1901–26*

The survey is based on figures from the mission trade's annual payments for skins purchased by the store in Nain. Practically all payments fall on fox skins. The statements revealed that white foxes made up 54.3% of the total number of fur-bearing animals sold to the store, while silver foxes only made up 3.1%. The economic yield from a silver fox could, however, in some years be 10 to 20 times greater than for a white fox.

Preaching and trade: The Moravian Mission

With the great influence the Moravian Mission has had on the course of events in Northeast Labrador through nearly two centuries, it has repeatedly been necessary in the previous pages to call attention to implications of the mission's various endeavors. In the discussion of the other contact agencies in the succeeding chapters I shall also touch on particular aspects of the mission's activities.

It is not the purpose here to give an account of the mission's history in Labrador, but rather to treat certain aspects of the mission's work with special emphasis upon social and economic implications which are not specifically mentioned in connection with the discussion of settlement patterns and livelihood.

Without attempting formulations of a religious-psychological nature, I shall point to the fact that the Eskimos – in what may be described as the period of conversion[1] – do not appear to have comprehended the new religion as fundamentally different from the traditional conceptions, at any rate not in every respect. The mission rapidly did its best to undermine this view, as we shall later see. The Eskimo expected to obtain the same from Jesus as from *Torngak* or other spirits. Some heathen Eskimos who visited Hebron (1864) declared to the missionary that they were "believers", and one of them said that when his rifle would not shoot during the hunt, he always prayed for help from above, and he had received it too. (P. A., March 1865 (Hebron).) This view emerges even more clearly in the account of an old *angakok* (shaman) called SAPPA, from the Kangiva district, reported by the missionary in Ramah in 1881:

> . . . he preaches vigorously to his people, exhorting them to abstain from a variety of gross sins, which are commonly practised by them, such as adultery, theft etc. He states that he receives revelations from Jesus, with whom his spirit has intercourse in heaven, while his body on earth remains in a kind of trance-like condition, the limbs rigid as in the corpse. He tells his followers that Jesus is mightier than the devil [*Torngak*], but that, as the latter gives him more assistance in some things, he finds it advisable to apply to one or the other, according to the nature of the thing desired. (P. A., December 1881, p. 118.)[2]

[1] By "the period of conversion" I mean the same as "early contact period", which I use later in the chapter. In both instances it is a question of the earliest contact between the Eskimos and the mission, and includes no evaluation whatsoever of how rapidly or to what extent the Eskimos took up the Christian dogma. That this initial contact occurred much earlier on the central part of the east coast than it did farthest to the north, explains why the material from this phase in the events may be ascribed to widely different periods of time.

[2] I have inserted [*Torngak*] into the quotation myself, as this is undoubtedly the word which is used in the account heard by the missionary. Quite some time before this notation, the missionaries began referring to *Torngak* as the Eskimos "devil", for reasons which I have explained later in this chapter.

Many things point to the assumption that, as advocates of the new religion, the missionaries, in many spheres, came to take the place of the *angakut* in the minds of the Eskimos, as H. J. RINK (1877, p. 140) has maintained in the discussion of the advance of Christianity into Greenland. Many of the tasks which were formerly performed by the *angakok*, were, at any rate, taken over by the missionary. As early as 1776, in Nain, a doctor, or medically competent missionary, was secured, who undertook "verschiedene glückliche Curen unter den Eskimos". (CRANZ 1791, p. 315.) Even though it was not until the end of the nineteenth century that the mission again employed a man with a partial medical training (and shortly after, in 1900, a fully qualified doctor who was in charge of the newly established hospital in Okak), the Eskimos could always approach the missionary and receive medicine and treatment when they were sick. This very likely gave the missionary a unique position in their appraisal.

E. C. PARSON has maintained that "a foreign complex" is established in its entirety only when it can be fitted into an old form of behaviour and is compatible with existing emotional attitudes." (PARSON, quoted by HERSKOVITS 1938, p. 40.) Christianity's demand for confession of the sins corresponded closely to such an "old form of behaviour", and none of the dogmas of the new teaching were taken up so completely by the Eskimos as this.

Concerning the Eskimo society, THALBITZER (1926, p. 50) says: "Nothing is as dangerous to the society as the concealed transgression". However, the dangerous consequences could be avoided by the person, who had broken the taboo, openly confessing his transgression to the *angakok*, or others of his fellow villagers. In special instances, the keeping of certain taboo regulations for a period after the confession could also be imposed.

With the new morality followed many new taboo regulations, not least with respect to sexual behaviour. None the less, it is the sphere of sex which, to this very day, is, perhaps, least in accordance with the new teaching. One of the most characteristic features of the Eskimo's relation to the missionary is his firm conviction that every violation of the new commandments must be confessed, and that it will be atoned for by the very act of the open confession to the missionary. The "Church discipline", i.e. a temporary expulsion from the congregation, which is being imposed upon the offender in more serious instances, also corresponds surprisingly with those taboo regulations after confession, which are mentioned above. "Adultery, carnal sins of a gross kind, continued drunkenness, gross theft, laying violent hands on parents, etc., are punished by exclusion", according to the Church regulations of the mission. (Moravian Mission 1926, p. 48.) When the exclusion period was concluded, there was no doubt to the Eskimo that the offense was atoned for and settled once and for all. It runs as a continuous thread through the mission's reports, both in the previous and in our own century, that the Eskimos are particularly willing to confess their sins. In a report from Nain for 1905, we read:

> Frequent confession of sins of the flesh was made. It is worthy of notice that an Eskimo cannot long conceal these sins. He soon feels impelled to make confession of them to the missionary. Unfortunately, however, many

> of them think that if confession has been made, and this has been followed by the exercise of Church discipline on the part of the missionary, then all that is required has been done. (P. A., December 1905, p. 215.)

Precisely the same attitude is manifest today (Hopedale, 1946):

> . . . it seems difficult to persuade that by being under church discipline they do not receive forgiveness of sins. They seem to have it quite firmly in their heads that if they come to their missionary to confess their sins and put themselves under church discipline, their sins are forgiven them. I would not like it to be thought that all have this view, but it is here, and is a difficulty to be overcome. (P. A., June 1947, p. 51.)

The Eskimos' view of the one who is under discipline, if not always, at any rate in definite situations, shows unmistakable signs of an older pattern of behavior in relation to a person under taboo. When the centenary of the mission was to be celebrated in 1871, for example, under no circumstances would the members of the congregation in Zoar permit excluded members, indeed, not even their sledge dogs, to come along when they were going out to the woods to fetch spruce twigs to decorate the church with. (P. A., March 1872, p. 177.)

As *Tornarsuk*, in Greenland, gradually was made identical with Christianity's devil, so the *Torngak* of the Eskimos was also represented by the missionaries in Labrador as the devil. In that way an undermining of the obvious tendency by the Eskimos to create a hybrid religious system, without any really sharp distinction between Christianity and the ancient religious conceptions, is precisely what was aimed at. In their endeavors to counteract these tendencies, the missionaries hotly took up arms against everything they characterized as superstition. To the Eskimos' superstition, according to *Cranz*' account of the first period of the mission in Labrador,

> gehören auch lächerliche Märchen, die unter ihnen erzählt und geglaubt werden. . . . . Wenn übrigens der heidnische Aberglaube der Ausbreitung des Christenthums dadurch hinderlich wird, dass er sich demselben gerade entgegen stellt, und seine Anhänger von der Annahme einer besseren Erkenntnis, zurückhält: so schadet er öfters auch dadurch, dass er sich mit der letzteren zu vermengen, oder auch manches von ihr zu entlehnen und sich zu eigen zu machen sucht. (CRANZ 1804, pp. 79–80.)

The latter part of the quotation corroborates what I have said above, that in their first encounter with the Christian teaching, the Eskimos did not regard it as essentially different from the ancient beliefs. We cannot ignore the fact that this circumstance can have instilled in many of the Eskimos a degree of positive interest for the new.

The narratives of the Eskimos were not only driven undergroud by the mission, but, for the most part, were lost because it was impossible to maintain a broad and living tradition in this respect. Nonetheless, a few have continued to relate narratives in concealment, but up to our time such individuals were looked upon with some suspicion.

The mission also turned against all forms of games and dance, "which originally added spice to the peoples' lives and gatherings", as H. OSTERMANN (1921, p. 85) writes of the corresponding attitude of the Moravians in Greenland: "The consequence of this, naturally, was that not only 'heathenish abuses', but also national characteristics of value, which could be assimilated without harm in a Christian society, were destroyed or have been obliterated". Exactly the same can be said of the mission's policy in Labrador.

Owing to the intolerance of the missionaries in this sphere, Christianity often came to represent to the Eskimos the direct opposite of happiness and self-expression. This opinion was already expressed in the first period of the mission. The words to the missionaries of one of the first Okak Eskimos to be baptized (as rendered by CRANZ) are characteristic: "Er höre nun auf, an Jesum zu glauben, und wolle spielen". (CRANZ 1816, p. 425.)

The Eskimos early made a strong impression on the missionaries by their pronounced musicality. But here too one was on guard – in the literal sense – against every note which did not directly serve the mission's cause.

> As long as they continue in their present simplicity, and neither know nor desire any use of 'stringed instruments and organs', than that which has an immediate reference to the 'praise and glory of God', we cannot but feel disposed to encourage their attention to the study and practice of music,

writes a missionary in 1830, occasioned by the great interest shown by the Eskimos in playing the organ. (P. A., November 1830.)

In the Church regulations which were printed in 1926, and which are based on the general practice over a long period of time, it says that: "Worldy pleasures which excite people to sensuality and love of gain, such as dancing or playing at cards, and every game for money and gain, should not be allowed among us.". (Moravian Mission 1926, p. 78.) Around the year 1900, the missionaries in Hebron found out that dancing often occured in the houses, and that people made use of tobacco as well: ". . . temptation and sin being in several cases the result of young and old indulging in this pastime". The enforcement of an absolute prohibition against dancing, and a simultaneous condemnation of the use of tobacco, was surprisingly rejected, however, by the population, "for they wished to be merry, nor were they willing to be deprived of their tobacco, for it was good for the eyes, they said". (P. A., December 1900, p. 419.)

Another sphere in which the missionaries have shown great severity has been where the sexual behavior of the Eskimos has been concerned. Infringements in this area have led again and again to the exercise of Church discipline and exclusion. In the reports from all of the stations, frequent reference is made to the fact that up to one-third of the congregation at one and the same time have been excluded because of "sins of the flesh". It is said that most of them do not regard this as anything particularly deplorable, but on the contrary, look at it as a necessary evil about which nothing can be done, says the Hebron missionary, and adds that there are scarcely 2–3 people to be found in the entire congregation who have not been excluded at one time or another. (P. A., December 1909, p. 450.) After similar regrets, a missionary in Nain says that "gentle warning or earnest reproof are alike

held to be unnecessary – in fact, are almost looked upon as unwarranted interference with and encroachment on the private life and walk of the individual concerned". (P. A., December 1907, p. 733.) In this connection, comments as to the missionaries' respect for the private life of the Eskimos should be superfluous.

By an appraisal of those conditions which furthered or restricted the contact between the Eskimos and the representatives of the mission, a thorough knowledge of the social organization of the Labrador Eskimos, at the beginning of the mission period, would be of great importance. We do not have detailed data of this kind, but through information in the printed extracts of the mission journals we can envisage how social control made itself felt on the family – as well as on the settlement level, and, according to the conditions, appear to limit or stimulate the connection with the mission in the early contact period.

Most accounts of the history of the mission in Labrador give a rather one-sided view of the Eskimos' reaction to the activity of the mission. One is given the impression of a steady development from heathenism to Christianity, and those setbacks which are mentioned appear to be no more than small ripples on a river which flows quietly and steadily ahead. By studying the primary sources, the missionaries' own journals, on the other hand, we learn about episodes which also reflect conflict and opposition, but which the mission historians have either not known of, or have not considered significant.

The mission station Hopedale was established in 1782, and the missionaries made great efforts to attract the heathen population from the nearby settlement of Arvertok. In the spring of 1786 an incident occurred of which I shall here give an account, according to CRANZ, who builds on the original reports:

> In the spring of 1786, the heathens of Arvertok held "a so called council meeting with their believing compatriots. . ." It aimed at ensuring heathenism and bringing the believers back to the fold. Similar gatherings are traditionally held by the Eskimos on special occasions. – All adult males from Arvertok and Hopedale met in the open for three hours. The weather was still, and the missionaries could hear a good deal of what was discussed. . . . All of the participants in the meeting were forced to reveal whatever they had told The Brethren, in the course of the past winter, about the superstitions and sinful happenings which had been participated in. Thereafter an absolute ban was placed on disclosing such things. To this some people remarked that it was unimportant how the Eskimos lived as long as The Brethren didn't know about it. These events had a damaging effect upon the baptized as well as the candidates for baptism.

The mission naturally regarded with extreme gravity this drastic attempt on the part of the Eskimos to hinder deviation. Three years passed, however, before an actual counter-offensive was made. Then the leader of the mission came to Hopedale and spoke with each and every adult Eskimo alone. Thereafter he held a meeting with everyone who had been baptized and the candidates for baptism, and here, according to CRANZ,

> the following points were agreed upon: (1) that the mutual feasts with their heathenish neighbors in Arvertok should cease. When the heathens lacked

> food, some should be sent over to them instead. (2) The agreement, which was made with the people of Arvertok during a meeting some years ago, should be null and void. That is to say, the agreement that the believers should live by their former heathenish customs, and that they were not to tell The Brethren anything about it under the threat that anyone who revealed anything would be in the greatest danger. In connection with this point, each and every one of those present promised that he would not regard it as an evil act if anyone were to call the attention of The Brethren to deviations which might occur among them. (3) Furthermore, that they would free themselves of Kapik's sway. Kapik was a resident of Arvertok who appeared to have made himself greatly respected by his compatriots in this area, and who had given them to understand that, with *Torngak*'s help, he would kill the one who did not follow him completely. . . Shortly afterwards Kapik himself came to Hopedale, and the missionaries then had a serious conversation with him, and finally extorted the promise from him that he would give up his sway over the believers. (CRANZ 1804, pp. 66–70.)

For the one who took the initiative, KAPIK – who, according to information in old mission sources, acted as an *angakok* – it was naturally of particular importance to prevent the solidarity of the settlement, and with that his own authority, from breaking up.

The most important feature in the episode, which has been reported above, is that the social control of individuals who deviated has been exercised far more rigidly than we usually gather from descriptions of Eskimo society. Furthermore, the almost institutional nature of the men's meeting stands out conspicuously. An examination of the printed excerpts of the mission reports enables us to follow the men's meetings, notwithstanding all control by the mission, all through the entire mission period down to the present. As we shall later see, it assembled on the initiative of leading men in the villages, particularly each time an extraordinary situation arose, and especially during conflicts between the missionaries and the Eskimo population.

The missionaries have seen, quite early, the importance of gaining the sympathy of persons having great prestige and authority, as these could easily bring with them relatives and companions from their settlement. KINGMINGUSE, the *angakok*, was the first Eskimo to be baptized by the Moravians in Labrador, on the 19th of February 1776, and he was given the name of PETRUS. Several Eskimos were present during the baptism, and the news of this spread and acted as an example for others: "they became eager for the Word, and asked what they had to do in order that they too could be baptized", writes CRANZ (1791, pp. 313–14). Another *angakok,* TUGLAUVINA, got into touch with the very first missionaries, and worked as a pilot for them on the coast. It is said that he was held in high esteem by his countrymen, and through the friendship with him the missionaries were able to establish contact with the population more easily. TUGLAUVINA, however, was not converted at first. As he grew older and weaker, peoples' respect for him waned, and the missionaries indicate that he began to be afraid of revenge from relatives of persons he had killed when he was in his prime. It is obviously

anxiety which is the reason why, in 1790, he earnestly requests to be allowed to move to Nain with his wife and children. After having been baptized, he began to agitate for Christianity in order to get more people to move into the village.

Those *angakoks* and other Eskimos, who had earlier concerned themselves with the treatment of the sick, and who had gone over to the mission in the early contact period, were often put under tremendous pressure – especially if they lived out in a settlement with heathens alone. If such a person refused to come to a sickbed, it was soon said that he was not fond of the one who was sick, and wished his death, writes CRANZ. With such a refusal one easily made enemies, and if the patient died, the one who had refused to help would receive all the blame. It was especially to safeguard the converts against such difficulties that the mission, in 1783, began to build houses in the villages, where only believing Eskimos were allowed to move in. (CRANZ 1804, pp. 65–66.)

As I have already mentioned, the *angakok* was the one who most strongly saw the activity of the mission as a potential danger to his position in the society. Thus, many examples are to be found of *angakoks* who brought pressure to bear on companions in the settlement who showed an interest in the mission. In the Hebron report for 1844, a visit of heathens from the north is mentioned. The missionaries had not been talking long before the leaders of the group, JOAS and his son KANIGAKTANAK, began raising objections and soon went out. One of the Eskimos then said that he was going to move to Hebron the following year, "but then the *angakok* came in and tried to make him change his mind". (P. A., June 1845, p. 218.)

Just as *angakoks* and other leading personalities at the settlements delayed or accelerated the contact with the mission, according to their personal attitudes, so too the internal control within the family had an effect with respect to the early contact. Describing the conditions around the year 1800, a mission report says that some wish to live in the mission villages because their relatives are there, or because they expect to have great material advantages from the change. (P. A., September 1844, p. 68.) In many instances the economic motive for moving to the mission has played its part. In the village no one would starve to death, even if the sealing failed. This was obviously also true with regard to the migration of heathens to Okak from the north, particularly in the period down to 1830, when Hebron was founded as the mission's outpost to the north.

A report from a missionary's visit to what later became Hebron shows clearly how the individual's freedom of action was restricted at the family level. Three boats with 40–50 heathens visited the missionaries, and many wanted to hear the Gospel. But they could not make up their minds to settle down at the mission, as they would thereby be separated from their relatives. "If", it goes on to say, "the father of a family is desirous to be converted, the members of his household have no alternative but to follow him, and in this way many a soul has been brought under the sound of the gospel, and eventually won for our Saviour". (P. A., November 1830.) This remark must be considered in connection with the fact that to be converted in the early days, was equivalent to moving to the mission village. For the small economic units which these Eskimo households were, the loss of an adult man would have far-reaching consequences. For this reason, too,

everyone had to follow, or – if the one who wished to join the mission was a younger member – put him in his place.

A final example will show how strongly an individual could feel the pressure from relatives or companions in the settlement. In the spring of 1904, a heathen Eskimo from the north came all the way down to Nain on a visit. He told the missionaries that he later wanted to settle down among them and become a Christian. He participated diligently in the services, and in the report the hope is expressed that he will follow his intentions, and move to Nain along with his mother. "He wants to settle as far South as he can, in order to be out of reach of his heathen relations and companions who would do all they could to induce him to return to his former life and beliefs". (P. A., December 1904, p. 616.)

No more than two years after the founding of Nain, the mission reports state that: "einige, an denen man mehrern Eindruck vom Worte Gottes verspürte, wurden als Lehrlinge oder Katechumenen zu nähere Pflege angenommen". (CRANZ 1791, p. 132.) As the congregations grew, these helpers (also called "native assistants" and "chapel servants") became a permanent feature of the organization of the church. They were selected by the missionaries from among male as well as female members of the congregation. They became the most important links between the missionaries and the population, and through them the missionaries, at any time, could get an idea of the feeling for or against those measures which were put into effect. In the beginning the duties of the helpers lay first and foremost within the church. But, as congregation and village in all essentials developed into synonymous entities, the male helpers were often given secular tasks, among other things acting as mediators in conflicts among the inhabitants of the village.

It is worth noting that, in recruiting helpers, the mission attached particular importance to finding personalities with qualities which marked them out as natural leaders in the community. A few excerpts from reports will reveal which qualities were in question.

In the Nain Journal, 1853, mention is made of the helper W. who had just died, 75 years old. "Even last spring he caught more seals than any one else, and was able to provide by this means for himself and family". (P. A., June 1855, pp. 363–64.) In a Nain report for 1876 the helper J. is referred to: "His house is one of the best in the place, and is provided with a store-room under the roof, he is not only entirely free from debt, but has a stock of provisions ready against the coming winter, and a small sum standing to his credit at the store". (P. A., March 1876, p. 150.) Concerning a helper in Hebron and another in Okak, it is reported the same year: "He is said to be the best man at the station as regards his external possessions and prosperity". – ". .he has generally orphans or poor dependents in his large house, for whom he cares: during the summer he fishes, in order to have a supply of food, when the time of scarcity comes on in May". (P. A., March 1876, p. 153, p. 154.) Finally, we read in a report from 1891: "The native-helper we want", says the missionary RINDERKNECHT, "must not only have a record of good conduct, but must also be a skilful hunter and fisherman, and a faithful and thrifty householder, as an example to his countrymen". (P. A., December 1891, p. 411.)

The views of the population as to what qualifies for leadership have not altered

essentially throughout the mission period. We are given a clear idea of this from an episode from the Nain area in 1926, which was reported to me by the American geologist Professor E. P. WHEELER. During a winter in Nain he went on a reindeer hunt to the interior with a large number of Eskimos. (WHEELER 1930.) During a halt on the trip a sharp exchange of views took place between the leading man of the village, the middle-aged I. R., and a younger man, M. M., who was also an independent and dominating personality. The controversial question was in which direction one ought to go to find the reindeer herds. Most of the men chose to follow I. R., while my informant and a few of the Eskimos followed M. M. in the direction he proposed. These latter quickly came in contact with the reindeer herds, and were soon back in the village with the sledges heavily loaded with reindeer meat. I. R., and the ones who followed him remained in the interior for 2–3 weeks without finding a trace of the animals, and at last returned home, starved and frozen, with empty sledges. I. R. lost face so completely over the affair that he became a broken man, and it was a matter of course that M. M. quickly emerged as the undisputed leader of the village, and is (1955) the leading helper despite the fact that he has been antagonistic to the missionaries several times.

Because of the basis for recruiting of the helpers, they never appeared to their countrymen as tools of the mission, as has been maintained by many authors about the helpers who were installed by the Moravians in their congregations in Western Greenland. These latter have often been described as decided errandboys and spies for the missionaries.[1]

In Labrador the position of the helpers has not had that character. They stood on a traditional social foundation as the first among equals, whether they dealt with the secular affairs of the village or in church matters. While they vigorously attacked the brewing of beer, and other phenomena which had a direct reference to the new moral commandments, and which were laid down in Church regulations which everyone in the congregation was under obligation to follow, they took good care not to interfere in conflict situations which referred to the Eskimos' traditional conception of rights and duties, for example within the domestic life.

A missionary in Hebron (1907) criticises the helpers precisely for giving too little assistance "to stir up our members. . . But they are for the most part hampered by the fear of man and by other considerations, with the result that they have not the courage to speak up for us before their fellow-countrymen". (P. A., December 1907, p. 743.)

Several episodes which occurred at Okak in the autumn of 1906 present a particularly convincing picture of the fact that the helpers follow a traditional pattern of behavior. The two Eskimos, ADOLPHUS and SOLOMON, had got drunk on home brewed beer, and each had separately caused a disturbance in the village. About A. it is said:

[1] We shall bear in mind, however, that many of the publications about the Moravians in Greenland have been written by men of the Church of Denmark. With that antagonism-filled competition which long prevailed between the two ecclesiastical trends, one is sometimes under the impression that some authors sin against the most elementary rules of impartiality when it comes to pointing out negative aspects of the Moravians' work.

> Surrounded by a number of spectators, both men and women, he struck his wife in public and threw large stones at her, in consequence of which she was badly wounded about the head and had to be surgically treated several times. After that A. went to the house of an old man against whom he had a grudge on account of an insignificant dispute they had had many years ago, broke several windows in his house, and wounded the old man. . . . In the meantime, S. went to the Mission Store in his drunken state. As it was beginning to get dark he lighted several matches in the Store, but Br. HILBIG, the Storekeeper, extinguished them at once, for there was some powder close by. This annoyed S. so much that he sprang across the counter and attacked Br. H. Happily another Eskimo who was present intervened. . .

The following day the missionaries had a meeting with the helpers about the matter:

> In reply to Br. SIMON's enquiry how it was possible for A. to treat his wife so brutally in the presence of so many witnesses (among whom were many men, and some of the Committeemen), they replied: *"Erksidlarpogut"*, i.e., "we are very much afraid". Explaining their meaning more fully, they stated that they would never interfere when one man was quarreling with another – least of all when a man was beating his wife. At the time he would doubtless be overpowered, but afterwards he would take vengeance on them. They did not mind protecting us, the missionaries, but, for the rest, they would never think of either attacking or interferring, but would only act in self-defence, when personally molested. (P. A., December 1907, pp. 737–38.)

If a more serious question were on the program, of such a nature that it could lay the helpers open to wounding a man's pride, and thereby bringing themselves into difficulties, they always chose to call a man's meeting. Judging from the mission reports, this was the regular procedure when a complaint had been made against a man for molesting his wife. The helpers safely carried into effect decisions which were made on the level of the men's meeting, as they were then in conformity with social tradition.

It was of course an advantage from the mission's point of view that the helpers were the ones who called together, and presided over the men's meetings. But is must be emphasized that this was more a result of the basis for recruitment to the helper positions than an outcome of mission control over the men's meetings. In most instances these avoided every influence from the mission, where a conflict between the population and the missionaries was concerned. The characterization, which I have given here, of the social position of the helpers, is emphasized, in conflict situations, in countless notes in the mission reports. The missionaries express their regrets that the helpers were the ones who led the opposition, and used the strongest arguments against them. When it came to dramatic differences between the Eskimos and the missionaries in Nain and Zoar, in the 1870s and 1880s respectively, the helpers were the very ones who set the tone. In Zoar

they convened a meeting of the men where a violent attack against the mission's trade was made. Further reference to the above-mentioned episodes will be made later in this chapter, in the discussion of the mission's commercial activities.

The mission has aimed at, and, in part, effectuated many changes in the social life of the Labrador Eskimos. But we should not exaggerate its impact. On the village level it appears to be true that the men's meetings as well as general leadership still exhibit some of the features which appear most characteristic in historic accounts of the mission's first period in the country.

In 1901 the mission put into effect an administrative change, which probably must have been inspired by the idea of a gradual development of a higher degree of autonomy for the congregations. Committees, or village councils, were formed, consisting of the helpers appointed by the mission, supplemented by a number of men who were elected by the congregation. For every 100 members or less, one man is elected, for 100 to 200 members, two men are elected, and for congregations of 200 to 300 members, three men are elected. While the helpers remain as members of the committee for as long as they hold their positions, elected members shall have a term of office of three years. They can be re-elected, however. Considered as a whole, these committees have not meant any fundamental expansion of those spheres of action which the Eskimos themselves take care of, compared to the time when the helpers alone were spokesmen for the Eskimos.

In the meantime, the psychological importance of the congregation itself having a partial influence on the composition of the committee should not be overlooked. The continous endeavors on the part of the mission to create the attitude that every task for church and congregation, from an economic point of view, rested entirely upon the members themselves, cannot be emphasized strongly enough. They are to provide man-power for building the church, they are to keep it in repair and keep it clean, and they are to provide the fuel necessary for keeping it warm. That the extension of the struggle to obtain fuel for one's own use include the obligatory supply of fuel for the church, was accepted without any noticeable opposition, is perhaps attributable to a general feeling of solidarity. Village fellowship and congregational fellowship gradually merged into and covered one another. And when the missionaries in the church regulations lay down the Christian demand for helping the sick, the poor, widows, and others in difficulty, it was, in a way, of secondary importance that they thereby appealed to the congregational fellowship. It was as members of a village community that the Eskimos carried the appeal into action, and it may to some extent have contributed to the maintenance of traditional socio-economic relations (cp. the giving of meat gifts), despite the increasing commercialization of the economy during the past hundred years.

One factor of greatest importance to the mission was the knowledge which the Moravians had reaped from their experiences in Greenland, where they had operated a mission since 1733, i.e. nearly 40 years before the activity began on the coast of Labrador.

In the first place, several of the Labrador missionaries were so familiar with Greenlandic that, despite the dialect differences, misunderstandings were avoided

both in conversation with the Eskimos, and in the first translations of religious works.[1]

The negative experiences from Greenland were of no less importance. Many of those measures which have been most strongly criticized with regard to the Moravian mission in western Greenland, were never transferred to Labrador. Thus, some aspects of social life was less violently interferred with. I am thinking here, among other things, of one scheme from Greenland such as the three "establishments" for, respectively, the widows, young men and young women – a kind of training institutions where membership was not even a matter of volunteering. The two for young people were dissolved in 1770, because of the lack of morality, it is maintained. (OSTERMANN 1921, p. 87.)

From approximately 1865 to 1872 the mission operated a home for orphaned children in Okak. The reaction of the Eskimos to this enterprise reflects the conflict between traditional social values and Christianity's ideas. One of the most important reasons for establishing this institution was that the Eskimos in the opinion of the missionaries did not treat those orphans which they took into their houses with the appropriate attention and care. In one report it is maintained that: ". . .if there is not parental affection to soften the heart, there is a strong tendency to convert authority into mere tyrannical power, and to exercise it sharply". (P. A., December 1872 (Okak), p. 350.) Several notes in the mission journals refer to bad treatment of orphans, even in families where one of the married couple was a close relative of the child. Not least, great burdens of labor were imposed upon the children. The Eskimos thus regarded the establishment of the orphanage as an encroachment upon their traditional rights, "as they are thereby deprived of the services of those whom they formerly employed without giving them the proper returns". (P. A., December 1855, p. 99.)

An important feature of the mission's activity in Labrador is its language policy. Whereas the struggle of the missionaries against everything they characterized as superstition and heathenism came to appear culturally destructive, it has undoubtedly been a culture preserving factor that Eskimo was the principal language in the activity of the mission, in church as well as in school. All the way down to our day it has been an absolute requirement of all missionaries that they should make an effort to learn the language, and new missionaries were not allowed to preach in the church before they had acquired a degree of fluency of speech. It was not until around 1870, after the Settler population in earnest began to join the church, that the missionaries also held services in English. This occurred, however, only at the larger church festivals.

Immediately after the mission stations of Nain and Okak were established, the mission started a school for Eskimo children, All instruction, then as later, aimed at the mission's primary goal: to Christianize the Eskimos. That implies not only the absorbing of Christian doctrines and morality, in a more restricted sense, but also, if necessary, an alteration of social and cultural conditions which might appear to be an obstacle to achieving the crucial goal. "Much is gained, when

[1] The Passion is cited as having been the first work which was translated into Labrador-Eskimo (1800). – Most of the missionaries' translations are of a religious content – some few school books excepted.

children get an early value and regard for spiritual enjoyments; heathenish propensities, which now and then are apparent in the old, are thus, by degrees, exterminated in the rising generation", writes a missionary in 1831 about the school in Okak. (P. A., November 1831.)

After a number of heathens had moved to Ramah in the 1870s, it is told that the parents urged their children to be industrious in the school, because they regarded the art of reading and writing "as a supernatural acquirement". (P. A., December 1876, p. 103.) I cannot tell whether the Eskimos at the stations to the south in the early mission period, had the same point of view. But in every instance, the mission reports bear witness to the fact that the children are particularly glad to go to school. The strongest punishment which can be imposed upon a child is to keep it away from the school, says a missionary in 1824 about the work with the school in Nain and Hopedale. At this time it appears that the mission has also started a more formal instruction for the adults, most often from November or December to April, i.e. in the quietest period with regard to the occupational cycle of the Eskimos. (P. A., December 1824, p. 235.) Otherwise the schoolchildren have indeed been important diffusers of the mission's ideas, when they came home and were questioned by the adults about what they had been told in the school – a fact often referred to in the mission reports.

In addition to the missionaries, Eskimo teachers were also employed, especially for the youngest children, which, among other things, could serve to facilitate the understanding of the many new categories of ideas which the school gradually was to lead the children into. Space does not permit me to examine in detail the development within the mission's school system. I shall only call attention to the fact that all instruction had a religious aim, and during more than half a century the schedule was drawn up, with utmost one-sidedness, with these subjects: "singing, scripture, learning hymns by heart" etc. Already around 1840 the mission could report that illiteracy was practically wiped out, at any rate among the young Eskimos. The Moravians in Labrador have always placed great emphasis upon the fact that people ought to be able to read. In the event of baptism of an adult, something which had to occur often as long as the mission had an opportunity for expanding towards the north, the candidate, according to the church regulations, should "be able to read, or should, at least, have taken pains to learn to read". (Moravian Mission 1926, p. 34.)

Bible reading and learning of hymn stanzas by heart have, as has been mentioned, always occupied a prominent position, although the conditions towards the end of the nineteenth century did not show as narrow an attitude as that of the first 60–70 years, and which can be examplified through an excerpt from the Nain report for 1835: ". . .many have made good progress in learning to read and write, besides storing their memories with a number of precious portions of Holy Writ. . . Even infants of three years are often able to repeat a number of verses". (P. A., December 1835 (Nain).) Nor was it surprising then, that the missionaries gradually discovered a serious drawback to the instruction they conducted, namely that the Eskimos "trusted more to mere memory than to their understanding", as one of the missionaries writes. (P. A., December 1870, p. 425.)

After 1840 we hear of a number of subjects of a nonreligious character too, such

as arithmetic and geography – the latter a subject of which the children are particularly fond. Later, in the nineteenth century history, with emphasis upon biblical history, is among the new subjects. In 1830 a geography text-book was printed in Eskimo, and around the turn of the century a reader was obtained which contained material from "General Church History, the History of Missions, Profane History, Nature, and Geography". (P. A., December 1880, p. 339, and P. A., December 1901, p. 588.)

All the way up to the beginning of the 1950s, when the effects of the confederation with Canada began to make themselves felt, the Eskimo children, with few exceptions, have received all of their instruction in Eskimo. With the increasing contact with strangers, particularly fishermen from Newfoundland, the necessity for learning English gradually became greater. In the beginning of our century the mission reports mention the first instruction in English for young people and adults at the different stations. But these attempts did not exercise a particularly great influence upon the general knowledge of English among the Eskimos.

It has been maintained that the language can serve as a thermometer for culture change. "Language seems to be especially a sensitive instrument for observation of cultural change induced by the clash of two cultural systems, differing greatly from each other in technology and values. Such a clash is reflected in the change of symbols of communication in language itself". (GROSS 1951, p. 10.) That the Eskimos right up to the last post-war period took up only some few loan-words from those Europeans with whom they stood in continual contact (among others, German numbers and names of days of the week) can in no way be taken as a demonstration that the contact has been on a modest scale. It is the contact of the Eskimos with the *language* of the Europeans (but not with their ideology) which has been on a modest scale, because the mission tried to carry out all communication with the population in Eskimo, and to render new concepts in Eskimo without using loan-words. Linguistic preservation has been adopted as an important principle during the whole period of contact (1771–1950).

In a number of other spheres the mission has also been, or tried to be, a preserver of culture. A constantly emphasized attitude has been that "the Eskimo must remain an Eskimo". In connection with this attitude the missionaries have tried to curb both the change in the diet and the transition to European dress. It is the same attitude which explains why no attempts was ever made to realize that goal which is expressed in the church regulations, namely to permit the congregation, in time, to acquire its own Eskimo priests. Admittedly, the helpers received some instruction from the missionaries in special courses which were to qualify them for the work within the church, but no one of them was ever sent out to obtain a higher education. ". . .an attempt shall not be made to advance single individuals farther than the rest, one shall work to raise the niveau of the entire population," is H. LINDOW's rendering of a missionary's statement to him, in 1921, concerning the question. (LINDOW 1924, p. 43.) It was feared that Eskimos who were temporarily removed from the domestic milieu, or merely from the daily occupational activity, would be unfit to fend for themselves in the land where they belonged. Already in 1846 this point of view was expressed:

> You express a wish, that it were possible to do something in this country also, for the training of qualified assistants. I confess I do not see, as yet, how this could be made practicable. If we educate the Esquimaux youth after our fashion, we are sure to deprive them of the ability to procure their livelihood, in the only way that seems appointed for the dwellers on this coast. (P. A., June 1847, p. 123. (Letter from Hebron).)

By carrying on trade, in addition to the mission work itself, the mission had an important instrument for carrying its principles of culture preservation on the material level into effect.

Through a more thorough study of the mission's commercial activities, we soon discover that the practice which was followed, was in many instances in conflict with the declaration of principles. This fact can only be understood and judged in an objective manner, if we have first acquired some knowledge of the entire economic foundation of the mission. This also proves, in the study of culture contact, the importance of not being content to study merely the contact sequence itself, but also of trying to form a picture of the internal rela ions of the various contact agencies.

Countless journal notations throughout the mission period reveal unequivocally that the mission desired to limit the choice of wares in their stores so as not to include luxury-tinged articles. In the meantime, the trade was to cover all expenses for the mission activity as well as the annual shipping expenses, etc., and it was therefore necessary to try to obtain as large a profit from the commercial activities as possible. I have previously pointed out how this resulted in repeated compromises on the part of the mission's trade. In the consideration of mission economy versus culture-preserving principles, the latter often had to give way. In short, the problem was such that it was necessary to obtain those wares demanded by the Eskimos, because they would otherwise let the greater part of their products go to foreign traders.

When the main explanation of the flagrant deviations from principle is mentioned, it must also be added that the mission, in its purchasing practice, by no means followed culture-preserving lines. I am here referring to the fact that no limit was put on the purchasing of blubber, sealskin, and sealskin boots. No information in the mission annals indicates that restrictive measures were ever set up in this field, such as has for a long period been the case with the trade in Eastern Greenland. (MIKKELSEN 1934.)

The missionaries also sought to reduce their private housekeeping expences, to a large extent, by obtaining their provisions from the population, essentially reindeer meat, small game, eggs, berries, etc. Without reflecting on the undesirability of the population exchanging subsistence products for shop goods, the Zoar missionary reports that the hunters sold him so much reindeer meat that it lasted the entire winter: – "the price received by our people for the flesh and skins of these reindeer, enabled them to purchase various articles at the store". (P. A., March 1887, p. 25.) With the greatly increased operating expences, and from the fact that the mission is solely financed by voluntary contributions in the home congregations, it is regarded in our day as a virtue that the missionary to

the greatest possible extent avoids paying for the Eskimos' services in cash. The Eskimos are sooner given clothing, which the mission receives as gifts from congregations in Europe and the United States. This naturally does not have the effect of hindering the transition to European clothing.

I have previously discussed the Eskimos' expanding consumption of European goods, particularly after the middle of the last century. It resulted in a constantly increasing debt to the mission shops, and to frequent disagreements between the mission and the Eskimos, because people sold their products to foreign traders. Because of the debt the Eskimos were virtually under obligation to deliver these products to the mission shops.

In 1866 the mission undertook a reorganization of the trade, and the most important feature of this was a tightening of credit facilities. (P. A., December 1879, pp. 214–15.) The next years were some of the most conflict-filled in the long history of the mission in Labrador. Nowhere did the clash of interests take such dramatic forms as in Nain. Those events which ensued here, at the turn of the year 1873–74, present traits reminding of the "revivalistic" movements to which anthropologists to an increasing extent have directed their attention in the past decades. I will therefore quote an extensive excerpt from the mission reports of the background and the course of the incident itself.

In the autumn of 1873 the ice formed so early in December that the Greenland seal did not arrive in the coastal waters of Labrador before all possibilities for a successful autumn sealing were past. At all stations there was a failure of the hunting. In addition, in Nain, the population was hit by a persistent influenza.

> The work of the Eskimos by land and sea during the autumn produced very little, and there was a scarcity of foxes during the winter. . . . The success or non-success of the Eskimos in outward things, especially their debts to the stores, exercise a great influence on their relation to the mission generally, and to us personally, as is evident from the events of the past year,

it says in the Nain report for 1873–74.

The first phase in the events opened when the person in charge of the trade in Nain closed the store, after several thefts of wares had occurred. He told the Eskimos that the shop would not be opened again before the wares had been brought back:

> In ordinary circumstances this would have had the desired effect, and pressure would have been brought to bear on the culprits by their countrymen. Instead of this being the case, great excitement was shown among the people, and at their request we convened a meeting on the 22nd of December, in order to hear what they had to say. The meeting lasted about three hours, and was noisy and tumultuous beyond all previous experience in Labrador. All attempts to reason with the excited men in reply to charges brought forward against the storekeeper and the missionaries were futile, and we were heartily thankful to be able at length to arrive at a comparatively peaceful conclusion. It was particularly painful to see that all the native helpers took part in this action against the missionaries, the chief spokesman

being one of this class. . . . During the course of the next few days some of the Eskimos, sorry for what had occurred, called upon us, and expressed a wish to come to a pleasant understanding with us, and a general meeting was held for this purpose. . . . On the 17th of January the Communion was celebrated, and it certainly felt like a season of loving reconciliation. The storm had passed away, as far as appearances went at any rate, remarkably quickly, although the effects were still felt in the hearts of many of us.

Something very different, but no less exciting, occurred a few days later. A general spiritual awakening appeared to be taking place in the congregation, the first impulse to which was given by meetings held in the house of one of the native assistants. The Spirit of God seemed to be at work in a remarkable manner. This revival showed itself in numbers flocking to the missionaries anxious to confess old and new sins, of which they now felt the burden in the sight of God. From morning to evening the passage in our house was full of persons waiting for an interview. Although much encouraged by what was beyond doubt a work of the Holy Spirit, the peculiar behavior of one or two individuals caused us much anxiety. This proved only too well founded, for in a very short time there was an outburst of religious fanaticism such as we should have considered impossible among Eskimos. A certain helper, who appears to have been seriously impressed, was sadly led astray by his spiritual pride, and with him the man alluded to above as ringleader at the meeting in December. In the evening and during the night of the 21st and 22nd of January, a meeting was held at the former's house, at which this deplorable fanaticism attainted its culminating point. It was a great pity that the assistants took part in these proceedings, but they were induced to do so by the threat, that if they did not comply they would be murdered. After the two leaders had described the anger and friendliness of God, all manner of performances seem to have been gone through. Those present held their hands over their heads, in imitation of the descent of the Spirit on the day of Pentecost. A post in the house was worshipped as the cross of Christ, and the Eskimos were fetched from the neighbouring houses in order that they might kneel before it. The leaders then breathed upon their hands folded on their breasts, thus imparting to them the Holy Spirit. The celebration of the Lord's Supper was also travestied. A noise heard in the entrance of the house was immediately declared by the excited people to proceed from Satan, and one of the leaders, having seized an axe, rushed out and wounded this supposed Satan in the back, i.e. one of his own dogs, that happened to be in the entrance. The poor animal ran howling away, and the people after it. Word was sent to all the houses that the devil was being destroyed. The people flocked together, and with much noise pursued the dog to the ice where it was killed and buried. The next morning an exciting scene took place in our house. A number of natives rushed in with a great noise, and foremost of them a man pursuing his wife, whom he declared to be possessed with a devil, and therefore worthy of death. After a little conversation, we persuaded them to return home more quietly than they came. In a short time some of the assi-

> stants made their appearance to express repentance for their foolish conduct; then some men who had not taken part in the late proceedings. At noon they openly declared to their countrymen that they would only be guided by the word of God and the missionaries, and the ringleaders saw themselves completely deserted. Their influence, which up to that time had acted like a charm on the people, had suddenly vanished. One of them afterwards became truly penitent, and after long seeking for pardon with many bitter tears, obtained forgiveness, and continues to show a very proper spirit. (P. A., December 1874, pp. 197–200.)

Even though the significance of the events which I have rendered here is obvious to everyone, it is difficult to characterize them in a simple formulation, among other reasons, because the interpretation of the individual features in the course of the incident is problematic. What appears to be beyond all discussion, however, is the fact that the entire movement emanates from a situation of pronounced disillusionment. At longer sight, the background is the fact that the gulf between the growing material aspirations and the possibilities for satisfying them clearly becomes greater.

The tightening of credit facilities, among other things, has made it increasingly more difficult to obtain highly valued wares by selling the hunting products to foreign traders, in that the mission had reserved the right to refuse credit completely to those who did this. One could thereby come in the predicament of being denied wares of absolute necessity. From Zoar examples are reported that the mission took advantage of this right, and refused to deliver both ammunition and provisions to people who had sold their products to foreigners, despite a large debt to the mission. The immediate circumstances, as we have seen, were also very difficult – failure of hunting and illness. The provocative closing of the mission store by the manager, in this situation, was the last straw.

The "ceremonial" details, which are reported to us second hand through the missionaries, are rather scanty as a foundation for the supposition that it here was the germ of a religious-hysterical movement, which created "a fantasy situation" for consolation and relief in the immediate situation. The permanent presence of representatives of the Europeans in the area excluded, in any case, any continuation.

An important feature, both of the first phase, and in the later development, is that the helpers – as I have also generally indicated previously – are the leaders in the opposition. With respect to the man who is characterized as the ringleader, it is stated later in the report that he "was thought by some to be scarcely responsible for his actions, as he suffers in his head". (P. A., December 1874, p. 200.) Whether this is a rationalization on the part of the population, in order to later minimize the events to the missionaries, or whether a pathological condition influenced his actions is also an open question.

The tightening of credit facilities on the part of the mission also gave rise to violent opposition at the other stations on the coast, both in the 1870s and 1880s. In Okak, in the spring of 1873, an Eskimo came to blows with the manager of the shop. From Hopedale it is reported in 1877: ". . .owing to difficulties in the store,

where the injurious credit system is being materially limited, twelve families had resolved to have no more transactions with this establishment, but to take their goods elsewhere.» Concerning the reaction to the more severe credit system in Zoar, it is reported the same year: "Instantly the spirit of discontent broke out, very unbecoming speeches were heard, and men's meetings were held, at which strong words were used with little consideration". (P. A., December 1877, p. 331–32.) In Zoar throughout the 1880s there was constant friction between the Eskimos and the mission with regard to trading, and shortly before the station was shut down, the shop premises were shot at under cover of darkness with a rifle.

Around the turn of the century an attempt was made to improve the conditions in the trade relations by cancelling practically all old debts. This step was considered necessary not least because of continually falling prices on several of the Eskimos' products. At this time the leader of the mission declared that the Eskimos now had to work three times as hard to survive than a generation earlier. It is also maintained that the cancelling of the debt gave the Eskimos more courage and energy in their economic activities. Nevertheless, it is frequently mentioned, in the years down to 1926, when the mission gave up the commercial activities, that the Eskimos were increasingly more weighed down by debt.

In a mission report from 1904, it is maintained that the Eskimos are systematically encouraged not to change what is good in their own mode of life, and, thus, in principle not seek to further the sale of clothing, provisions, or of many other articles "which may be necessities of European life but are luxuries to our Eskimos". (P. A., September 1904, p. 544.) The Eskimos' expanding consumption of shop goods continued, however, into our century as well. In a survey of the missions trade history, it is said that the trade had doubled in volume in the course of the past five years, "the Eskimos were year by year coming more in touch with European civilization, and thus there was an increasing demand on the coast for home produce".

In the same survey, concerning the mission's trade with the Eskimos during the first 100 years, it is said that it not only provided funds for maintaining the work in Labrador, but also made possible generous grants "to the General Mission Fund, to the funds of the British Province, to the Diaspora work on the Continent, and to various other causes connected with our Unity". (Unity Conference 1906, p. 25, pp. 37–38.)

In the same period it has been the policy of the mission a) not to give the Eskimos high prices for their products, but b), on the other hand, to hold the prices of the general consumer goods at a reasonable level. When the mission's trade, up to about 1875, gave so great a profit that it not only covered the mission's expenses in Labrador, but also supported mission enterprices elsewhere in the world, it places the mission's commercial policy in a peculiar light that no reason was found to put aside funds with a view to hard times. Therefore, no buffer existed between the world market and the "market" where the Eskimos disposed of their products, namely the local store in the village. With the increasing readjustment from a subsistence to a money economy, the Eskimos were thus hit with full force as soon as the prices sank in the world outside. A rise in prices, on the other hand, benefited the mission to a greater extent than the Eskimos.

In the period of the commercial monopoly in Western Greenland funds were put aside, in the good years, to cushion the prices in hard times. For that reason the Greenlander never received very high prices for his products, but, on the other hand, was ensured against tremendous declines in prices. The trade, which was conducted by the mission in Labrador, on the other hand, represented a system which only gave the Eskimo limited prices for a sale when times were good, but no security against a decline in prices.

Apart from sporadic measures of little significance, the Newfoundland authorities, all the way up to the mid-1930s, showed little active interest in the problems of the population on the coast of Labrador. Until then, comfort had been taken in the thought that the mission did what was to be done. The opening of a regular shipping connection between Newfoundland and the mission stations on the northeastern coast of Labrador after 1878, for example, was solely dictated out of consideration for the increasing transport requirements for the Newfoundland fishing population which, each summer by the thousands, made a living on the coast.

As discussed in a separate chapter, the Hudson's Bay Company pledged itself to distribute relief to the Eskimos (to replace the "Poor's fund" which the mission had previously distributed to the needy from its own funds), when the Company took over the trade at the mission stations in 1926. The system left much to be desired in practice, however. Newfoundland's initiative must be viewed against this background when, around 1935, it sent a number of policemen to the stations. In addition to usual police duties, they were to be responsible for the distribution of public relief to families in difficulty.

That the trade after 1926 was administered by white men who had no connection with the mission, and particularly the arrival of the official representatives from Newfoundland, must in a large measure have had the effect of impairing the hitherto all-encompassing authority of the missionaries in relation to the population.

The reaction of the mission can be read in a report from Nain for the year 1937–38:

> In years past the authority in, and administration of, the Eskimo settlements was in the hands of the missionaries, and with the passing of authority and administration into the hands of Government officials, an entirely new situation has been created. . . .here on the Coast we have to realize and understand the new position. We can no longer count on the momentum of an old tradition, for much of the old authority vested in the missionary is gone, and we are faced with people who are openly indifferent or even hostile to our work. This is no exaggeration – we face it constantly. (P. A., June 1939, p. 132, p. 134.)

This development continued when the Newfoundland authorities in 1942 took over the trade on the coast from the Hudson's Bay Company. The new trade manager at each station now possessed considerable authority in that he was also to administer the public relief. A number of those tasks, which formerly were ascribed to the missionary, were thereby automatically transferred to the official

representatives from Newfoundland. Newfoundland's confederation with Canada in 1949 represented an important step in the same direction. Despite the fact that Newfoundland on this occasion reserved the right to continue to be in charge of the administration of the Eskimo and Indian populations in Labrador, the economic subsidies of the federal government have made it possible to put into effect a number of measures of the greatest significance, first and foremost, a great improvement of the health service, which has especially concentrated its efforts on a large-scale campaign against tuberculosis. Simultaneously, as the economic profit from hunting and fishing in the post-war period has been so low that the majority were unable to support themselves on it, an extensive relief action, in the form of social insurance for the aged and the handicapped, and considerable family allowances was put into effect. During the past years (1950s), it was estimated that the majority of the population in Nain had lived on public relief, in one form or another for 7 months out of the year, as the fishery, despite subsidies, had not been sufficiently profitable.

A particularly important feature in the picture is the labour migration during and particularly after World War II, made possible by the construction of a large airdrome at Goose Bay, Lake Melville, in the years following 1943, and, from 1950, by the building of a military radar station at Hopedale. Some of the Eskimos who went south, and a considerable number of Settlers in particular, obtained more or less permanent employment and settled down for good near Goose Bay, where, in the course of a few years, there grew up a large settlement of migrants in Happy Valley. (Cp. Fig. 1, p. 00). At Hopedale the radar station has provided regular employment for many, both Eskimos and Settlers, a fact which is reflected among other things in a substantial improvement in the village housing standards in recent years.

Those Eskimos who went home after working for a while at Goose Bay Airport, or (in the case of the Nain-Eskimos) at the station in Hopedale, have undoubtedly provided a considerable stimulus to changes in many of the conditions at home. Through the encounter with American and Canadian military personnel and special workers, they had become acquainted with a standard of living which lay far above everything they had known before. And they had observed informal gatherings of a kind which lay far beyond the narrow framework which characterized the life in the mission villages.

Confronted by such a situation, the mission in postwar Labrador had no alternative. If – on a strongly restricted level to be sure – it were to continue to exert an influence upon the population, the only practical way would be to throw overboard a number of those prohibitions which had previously curtailed individual freedom of action. The sceptical attitude to dancing and other pleasures was put aside. More than that, the mission has also given the population full support when it concerned the building of a community house in Nain and Hopedale. Here, each week, there is dancing and showing of modern, full length movies. In addition, the mission, along with representatives for the public authorities, has taken the initiative in the formation of troops of boy scouts and girl guides.

Besides these new developments there is nothing in the change after the war which has had a more far-reaching cultural perspective than the adoption of a

completely new school system. As a stipulation for the economic support to the school system, the federal government, since 1950, requires that all instruction (with the exception of religion) shall take place in English. During my stay in Nain, in the summer of 1955, I was already able to ascertain a marked aptitude among Eskimo school children for communicating in English. There can be no doubt that bilingualism, in the course of some years, will be the rule among the Eskimos. Whether Eskimo at long sight can hold its place as the principal language in the homes against the attack to which it is daily exposed from school, film, and radio appears to be doubtful.

Among that part of the population of the east coast, which settled down in Happy Valley, there gradually formed a Moravian congregation which, up to 1957, had to content itself with visits of the missionaries from the mission stations to the north. The superintendent of the Labrador mission, who to a greater extent than the remainder of the missionaries appears to have gone in for a complete modification of the mission's policy, has personally taken the standpoint that the Eskimos must be given new economic possibilites, if necessary by a transfer of the population to the south. He has personally influenced both Eskimos and Settlers to move down to Happy Valley. In 1957 he managed to accomplish the radical step of moving the headquarters of the mission from Nain to Happy Valley. This initiative appears all the more remarkable, as the majority of the Eskimos (as well as Settlers) continue to live along the stretch of coast north of Cape Harrison. It may be interpreted as an attempt to encourage a general transfer of the population away from the old mission area. Whether this will be achieved appears to be uncertain today. In a mission report from Nain it is stated that in the autumn of 1957 "quite a few families" left Nain to seek employment in Happy Valley. However, it is appended that of late it is becoming increasingly more difficult to obtain work there in the south. (P. A., 1958, p. 24.) Happy Valley has grown up entirely out of the need for manpower of Goose Bay Airport. Any curtailment there will be strongly perceptible to the migrants, and will put an end to a continued movement from the east coast.

The Settlers

The east coast of Labrador early acquired a comparatively sizeable population of true colonists, who, in contradistinction to missionaries, traders and administrators, lived of the resources of the land. A colonization of this type is otherwise practically unknown in the entire central and eastern Eskimo region except for the medieval Norse settlements in West Greenland. These colonists, who are here referred to by their own designation of Settlers, have played an important part in the modern contact history of Labrador. Thus I will discuss this element of the population in detail.

If we say that a Settler is a person who has English as the principal language, we have adopted a definition which embraces most of the people in northeast Labrador who call themselves Settlers. Even though the English language stands as the most important cultural and social idiom to the Settlers, a definition based on language is not completely satisfactory. An investigation of the conditions in bilingual Settler families in the Nain area revealed that even though English was the principal language of the father, in his contact with other Settlers and with the missionaries, in some families Eskimo decidedly predominated inside the home. In most instances this was due to the fact that the mother had grown up in an Eskimo milieu, and she therefore wanted to speak Eskimo with the children. As a rule, these would learn both languages, but, nonetheless, several examples of the father addressing his children in Eskimo are known.

All Settlers, whatever their ethnic background, identify themselves with the white man and his culture. Hardly any other definition can better isolate that population which is called "the Settlers", and about which it turns out to be so difficult to generalize in other fields. The colonization in Labrador so far corresponds closely to JOHN J. TEAL's general characteristic of the white man's colonization in arctic and sub-arctic regions: "In very few instances did the immigrant populations cease to identify themselves with a southern group". (KIMBLE and GOOD 1955, p. 163.)

In the mission reports the term "Settler" is sometimes used in combinations which allude to the mixture of races which has gradually taken place: "white Settler", "European Settler" on the one hand, and "mixed Settler", "half-caste Settler" and "half-breed" on the other. It is impossible to say precisely which criteria are used in distinguishing between Settler and Eskimo in the population lists in the mission sources which are utilized below. It is clear, at any rate, that it is never a language reference *alone* which is decisive. Nor is it the view of the head of the individual families. It has been my experience, in some instances, that

when the missionaries were in doubt as to whether they should classify a person as Settler or Eskimo, they decided the question more often from their knowledge of the genealogy of the person in question than by taking into account whether the one language or the other predominated inside the home.

The Eskimo term for Settler is *kablunangajok* (pl. *kablunangajut*), a compound of *kablunak* (white man) and *-ngajok* (one who resembles), i.e. one who resembles a white man. The expression has not been included in ERDMANN's "Eskimoisches Wörterbuch" (1864 and 1866), nor, as far as I have been able to see, has it been mentioned in any mission report prior to 1908. Then it was used in a lecture, which was delivered by the leader of the mission, Bishop MARTIN, during a missionary conference in Nain, in April 1908:

> According to the Statistics for 1907 there are 1,304 souls in the care of our Church along a coast-line of, roughly, 600 English Miles. Of these, so far as can be ascertained accurately, 994 are *Innuit*, or native Eskimos, and 310 are *Kablunangajut*, or Half-breeds, and *Kablunat*, or pure Whites. (P. A., December 1908, p. 196.)

We see here that, in the discussion of what we would call the Settlers, the bishop distinguishes between "Half-breeds" and "pure Whites". I am inclined to assume that the *kablunangajok* designation was originally also used among the Eskimos solely about persons of mixed extraction. In discussions with a Settler wife, who had grown up with her Eskimo mother until she was 10 years old, she translated *kablunangajok* as "half-breed". It is my impression that the term earlier was less a cultural than a biological designation, and that it did not only include individuals who grew up within the Settler population, but was perhaps also used about an illegitimate child of an Eskimo woman and a white man.

The Settler who came directly from Europe was naturally described as a *kablunak* (white man). It is likely that *kablunangajok* went over fairly late to be the general designation of the Eskimos for Settler. It is probably closely connected with the fact, of which every Eskimo is fully aware, that practically all the Settlers on the northeastern coast have gradually acquired Eskimo blood in their veins.

What qualities are associated by the Eskimos with the term *kablunangajok* today, it is difficult to comment upon in general after a short summer visit to the country. But it is certainly not the physical resemblance to the white man alone which is thought of. Cultural considerations decidedly count too. But despite the fact that the Eskimo, in general, respects and has a certain degree of admiration for the white man, his wealth and technical skill, this attitude does not appear to extend to the Settler population of today. It must be assumed that the Eskimo regard the not particularly rich Settler as a poor imitation of the white man as far as culture is concerned. And as hunter in his own land, the Eskimo will hardly accept the Settler as his equal.

I have already mentioned the Eskimos' frequent trading journeys to the southern part of the coast during the first decades after the beginning of the mission. That these journeys became less frequent from the beginning of the nineteenth century by no means signified any substantial decline in the quantity of European wares which came into the hands of the Eskimos outside the mission stores. As early as

the autumn of 1790 the Eskimos in Hopedale could tell the missionaries there that three Europeans had settled down a day's journey to the south, near what is now Makkovik, where they had built a house in order to hunt seal and fish for salmon. In the same report the colonists are referred to, in addition, as traders, and it is told that the Eskimos from Hopedale and nearby frequently visited them, attracted by the usual promises of great advantages. (CRANZ 1816, pp. 422–23.)

After 1790 several Canadians and Englishmen settled down on the coast south of Hopedale, and the old mission reports express great concern over the fact that the colonists are advancing increasingly closer. In September 1799 an attempt was made by visiting Europeans to start a seasonal seal hunt with nets inside the mission territory, only half an hour from Hopedale. The mission reacted spontaneously, and the strangers left the spot at once. Later similar attempts at seasonal seal hunting within the mission area by people who did not live there themselves have clearly not occurred. (CRANZ 1816, pp. 441–42.)

After 1800 it appears for a while that relatively few traders and colonists came northward. But from 1830 on we read increasingly often in the mission annals that traders from the south visited the Eskimos. It is a question of schooners which sailed from place to place bartering, and which left the coast when fall was approaching, and, in some cases, it is a question of people who spent the winter and gradually settled down on the coast.

That many of the Settlers actually came to the country as traders is apparent from the terms applied to them by the missionaries in their annual reports. In 1839 it is mentioned that the Eskimos from Hopedale and Nain continued to suffer "from the proximity of unprincipled European traders. . ." (P. A., June 1840, p. 244.) The following year it is reported from Nain that "the influence of the Southland traffickers continues to be peculiarly hurtful to the poor Esquimaux". (P. A., December 1841.) In the Nain journal for November 1846, reference is made to "the southern traders settled in our neighbourhood". (P. A., September 1848.)

The Settler population has a rather composite national background, but the English-speaking element, already from the beginning, was in the majority. In a mission report from Makkovik in 1906 it is stated that the district's 122 Settlers are of Norwegian, French-Canadian, Scottish, English, Irish, and Welsh origin. (P. A., December 1906, pp. 495–496.) Down to the middle of the last century a number of people, who had earlier lived for a while around or south of Hamilton Inlet, came north. In some instances these were children of European-Eskimo marriages, which occurred considerably earlier down there than within the mission area.

The Hudson's Bay Company early established a principal station for the coast of Labrador in Rigolett. Later in the nineteenth century several stations were opened along the coast, among others Davis Inlet and Nachvak. Many of the colonists first came to the coast as employees of the Hudson's Bay Company, married Eskimo women, and became resident fishermen and trappers.

In 1830, after having praised the spiritual state in the three mission villages, a missionary from Nain writes: "The only outward annoyance arises from the near neighbourhood of some Europeans, who have settled or make visits within

a short distance of Hopedale". (P. A., November 1830.) It appears that no colonists had yet begun to settle down in the Nain district. But, in 1846, it is said in a report that there were also resident Settlers near Nain. Even though those Nain Settlers, whose ancestors have lived on the coast for the longest period of time, can supply evidence that their great grandfathers (among others AMOS VOISEY, JOHN FORD, ROBERT MITCHELL and J. LANE) came to Labrador in the period 1830–40, it does not mean that they came directly to that inlet or island where the family lives today. On the contrary, many of them lived in various places before they found a spot where they settled down for good. The following statement about the English Settler ROBERT MITCHELL gives an indication which is apparently typical: ". . .after living near different bays, he established himself permanently at Allaktok Bay. ." (P. A., March 1873, p. 399.) The son, EDWARD MITCHELL, on the other hand, who died in 1914, appears to have lived at Allaktok Bay all of his life.

Another first generation Settler, AMOS VOISEY, also stopped to the south, near Hopedale, then came to Kamarsuk south of Nain, outside that bay which was later given the name "Voisey's Bay". Finally he moved a little farther to the west, to that place on the south side of the bay where we still find his descendants. The same is true of the Settler WEBB. He came from Rigolett to Ford's Harbour east of Nain, where he worked for the Settler FORD, who was engaged in trading on a considerable scale. After marrying FORD's daughter, he moved up to that bay north of Nain, which is now called Webb Bay, and where the family still lives.

The number of colonists continued to increase, especially on the stretch of coast from Hopedale and to the south. In 1849 a letter from Hopedale says: "The accession of colonists from the south is on the increase to the injury and ruin of many of the poor Esquimaux. . ." (P. A., March 1850, p. 292.) The first numerical data as to the immigration from the south are found in the settlement map which the missionary REICHEL prepared under the title "Labrador, Aivektok od. Eskimo Bay 1873". (This has been reproduced by A. S. PACKARD, 1891, p. 194.) On the stretch covered by the map, i.e. from Davis Inlet in the north to Sandwich Bay in the south, are enumerated 44 "Wohnplätze der weissen Ansiedler und Eskimo", with a list of names of all the families. The ethnic background is indicated by the use of different types of script, but without information as to which criteria are employed. The map gives the following division:

Nos. 1–3	Between Davis Inlet and Hopedale: 3 Settler families.
Nos. 4–22	Between Hopedale and Cape Harrison: 16 Settler families and 3 Eskimo families.
Nos. 23–33	Between Cape Harrison and Black Island (by the entrance to Hamilton Inlet): 8 Settler families and 3 Eskimo families.
Nos. 34–38	Cover Settler families to the south, and
Nos. 39–44	cover 7–8 Eskimo families in the Rigolett area and at Sandwich Bay.

If we consider the conditions north of Hamilton Inlet, we find only 6 Eskimo families as opposed to 20 Settler families on the stretch from Davis Inlet down to Allijok Bight, approx. 54°30'N. The immediate impression then is that the

Eskimos comprise a vanishing minority south of Hopedale. As has been said, we do not know what criteria have been used by REICHEL in the ethnic classification. At this time the racial mixing had been in progress for some decades within the mission area. We must therefore assume that a number of the above-mentioned 20 families are second generation Settlers with a considerable Eskimo strain. Furthermore, we must realize that REICHEL's map only shows that 6 Eskimo families have their real home in various places along the stretch of coast from Davis Inlet down towards Hamilton Inlet. This means that the approximately 180 Eskimos, who at this time have their homes in Hopedale – but exploit the animal resources on land and sea both north and south of the village – have not been taken into account here at all.

The Hopedale congregation at the end of 1875 is given at 283 people. Of these 187 were Eskimos, most of whom resided in the village, and 96 Settlers, who lived out in the district – most of them at the many inlets towards the south. (P. A., December 1876, p. 95.) In a survey for the year 1879–80, we finally obtain a complete list of the number of Settlers who now belong to the three southernmost congregations:

Nain	14	
Zoar	26	
Hopedale	127	
Total	167	(P. A., December 1880.)

We are unable to determine whether the number of Settlers for Hopedale actually increased by 31 persons in 4–5 years from an excess of births and/or immigration. But as these records are a question of the number of members in the congregations, and not actual population statistics, the increase can, in part, be the result of a continual integration into the Church of the existing Settler population. It is, of course, also of importance how far south the author of the report in question puts the boundary of the mission's area.[1]

In August 1880 a real increase in the number is unequivocally reported, "not only by births, but by newcomers from elsewhere". (P. A., December 1880, p. 341.)

KOCH (1884, p. 160) writes, after his stay in the land from 1882–83, that the Eskimo marriages are often childless, and that the infant mortality rate is high. He describes most of the Settler families as strong, – "die Kinder gesund und kräftig, die Sterblichkeit gering; die Zahl der Settler nimmt deshalb von Jahr zu Jahr zu und dieselben rücken dabei immer weiter nach Norden vor".

The allegation that the birth rate is especially low in Eskimo families does not appear to be valid. I have met Eskimo women who had given birth to from 5 to 6 children, but had not experienced seeing more than 1 or 2 of them grow up. The table by STEWART, covering a period of seven years (1901–07) indicates, on the contrary, a slightly higher birth rate among the Eskimos than among the Settlers. The mortality rate, on the other hand, was lower among the Settlers, so that they had a real increase in the population for six of the seven years, while for

[1] After 1870, the mission unofficially regards Cape Harrison as the southern border for its area of activity.

the Eskimos there was a decrease in the population for six years, and a slight increase in a single year. (STEWART 1939.)

The tremendous decline in the Eskimo population as a result of epidemic illnesses, and because of a high infant mortality rate, is treated in the chronological survey (Appendix, p. 145), I shall merely emphasize here that the Settlers almost always came through the epidemics far more easily than the Eskimos. In an examination of the station reports for more than a century, only once, as an out-and-out exception, is an influenza epidemic (Hopedale) reported which attacked the Settlers harder than the Eskimos. (P. A., June 1926, p. 11.)

The following statistics from Hopedale may indicate the trend in the population development of the two groups:

August 1880: Of 146 Settlers in the district, 50 are children under 13 years of age. (P. A., December 1880, p. 342.)

July 1881: Of 175 persons residing at the station – i.e. at this time only Eskimos – 43 were designated as children. (P. A., December 1881, p. 112.)

The comparative proportion between the two population groups for the entire coast in 1883 was: 1/6 Settlers and 5/6 Eskimos. But ten years later the Settlers comprised 1/5 and the Eskimos only 4/5 of the entire population. Almost all of these Settlers were to be found within a radius of 100 miles from Hopedale. (P. A., March 1894, p. 245.)

In a report from 1899 it is said that Hopedale, more than any other station on the coast, feels the weakening influence of civilization and everything connected with it. The infant mortality rate among "the genuine Eskimos" is again deplored, and it is pointed out, on the other hand, that those families in which only one of the married couple is Eskimo increase. It is added: "...the missionaries do all they can to encourage marriages of this latter description". (P. A., March 1900, p. 238.) Endeavors of the above-mentioned nature are otherwise never mentioned in the mission's annals, and can decidedly not be regarded as a permanent feature of the mission's policy towards the population.

In an annual report for 1902 it is said that the Settler population increases most rapidly to the south, on that part of the coast which, after 1896, is included under the new Makkovik congregation, where only a few Eskimos lived. But also to the north – in the Nain congregation – there is now a considerable number of Settlers. (Ann. Rep. Mor. Miss. for 1902, publ. in 1903, p. 10.)

By the end of 1907 the mission declares that 1.304 persons reside within its area of activity, of whom 994 are Eskimos and 310 Settlers. (P. A., December 1908, p. 196.)

The Settler population continued to increase down through our century, even though the number of immigrants has been quite small during this period. The catastrophic reductions from epidemics, to which the Eskimos had been exposed, passed without a greater repercussion for the Settler population. The "Spanish" influenza in 1918–19, for example, which ravaged solely two villages where only Eskimos resided (Okak and Hebron), brought, in all, 340 Eskimos to the grave, and only a single Settler who lived in or near Okak. (P. A., December 1919, p. 382.)

If we come down to 1952–53, the population, according to the records of the provincial government, was as follows:

Approx. 700 Eskimos, and
» 430 Settlers.[1]

If, from the above statistics, we pick out three years for which data are available for both groups, the Settlers' share per cent of the total population shows a constant increase:

1893	1907	1952–53
approx. 20%	approx. 24%	approx. 38%

As far as the figures for 1952–53 are concerned, we should keep in mind the wartime and postwar movement of the population from the east coast to the Goose Bay area, as a result of the large construction works at Goose Bay Airport. A few Eskimos also moved down there, but most of those who moved were Settlers. Before the migration took place, the Settlers' proportion of the entire population was higher than has been mentioned here.

As I have already pointed out, the majority of the Settler population came to rest on the southern part of the coast, with the northernmost offshoots in the Nain area. In 1880 nearly 1/4 of the Settlers already fell under what we now characterize as the Nain area – at that time Nain and Zoar. Today (1955), too, about 1/4 of the Settlers live in this district.

There are many reasons why there has never been any Settler population of significance north of Kiglapait. Ecologic conditions seem highly relevant. First and foremost, the lack of forests has certainly played a large role, both through the problem of fuel, and through the Settlers' great interest in fur trapping. A number of the most highly prized fur-bearing animals are not to be found a little north of the timber-line. The only occupation which has been able to lure the Settlers up to this most weatherbeaten part of the coast has been salaried employment as interpreters and assistants at trading and mission stations.

In 1876 it is reported for the first time that a Settler is living at Napartok Bay, where he is said to be in the employ of a Captain NORMAN – probably a trader. (P. A., March 1877, p. 153.) It is characteristic that this is the only place in the north where in early days there was a small, permanent Settler population, as we here find the northernmost isolated forest area on the east coast. In 1905 we again hear of Settlers in Napartok Bay, and, in 1912, mention is made of "the little settlement of Napartok, where the two Englishspeaking households were delighted to have a special meeting in their own language. . ." (P. A., June 1906, p. 348, and P. A., December 1912, p. 418.) As has been mentioned, a single Settler was living in Okak with his Eskimo wife when the "Spanish" influenza broke out in 1918. They both died.

In 1955 a Settler and his family lived in Hebron. He made a living chiefly by

[1] In a letter from a public official in the Labrador administration of the provincial government, Director W. ROCKWOOD, these figures are described as "unofficial". As far as I have been able to understand, the classification here, in most instances, has been made in agreement with the statement of the head of the family as to which group they identify themselves with.

working for the administration of the provincial government there, especially as an interpreter in the store. Furthermore, four Settler families were living at the trading center of Nutak, all more or less connected with the local administration and trade.

When in the literature (e.g. V. TANNER 1944, p. 467, according to MAC GREGOR), mention is made of Settlers farthest to the north (Killinek and Ramah), there is no question here of any permanent settlement based on hunting and fishing. Around the turn of the century a second generation Settler from the Hopedale area, JULIUS LANE, journeyed with his wife and children to Killinek where for a while he was manager of a trading station, in the mission reports described as "Captain Blandford's station". (P. A., December 1900, p. 416.) In addition, a Settler family (VOISEY) went from the Nain area up to Killinek, as assistents to the first missionary, when it became the seat of a new mission station in 1907. The four Settlers listed by TANNER under Ramah (TANNER 1944, p. 467) probably refer to the manager of the Hudson's Bay Company station in Nachvak, and his family, who all acquired membership in the Ramah congregation, despite the trading conflict which prevailed between his firm and the mission. Finally, the mission reports once or twice mention bilingual Settlers who lived at Saglek Bay for a shorter period, where they were connected with private trading activities. None of the last mentioned families settled permanently in the north.

Regarded from an ecological point of view, the Settlers have always comprised an insignificant minority on this northernmost stretch of coast, and they earned their living mostly as paid labor. Therefore, they have not competed with the Eskimos with regard to utilization of the natural resources in this area.

From the beginning, as we have already seen, the Settlers lived scattered about in countless bays and inlets along the coast, more seldom out on the islands, and never in the mission villages. This pattern of settlement – which, in some places, has undergone considerable changes in later times – had several causes, including the desire to live by good fishing places (especially for salmon and trout), and in good hunting country, preferably located in such a way that it could be exploited without competition from the Eskimos. Access to a good forest, which I have just mentioned, was also a very important factor. Thus, practically every Settler dwelling was located in what I have characterized, in the geographical description, as the inner coastal area.

It can seem strange that not even those Settlers who came up to the coast to carry on trade with the Eskimos settled down in the villages or especially close to them. However, from several mission journal excerpts from the 1830s and '40s, we have seen that the mission was quite negatively disposed towards anyone who at this time came under the designation of "southlanders". And, indeed, it was precisely to protect the Eskimos against influences of the sort which these white men represented that the mission had secured for itself authority over extensive territories surrounding the stations. One thereby had the means of hindering the strangers from settling down in the midst of the Eskimos.

The Eskimos, on the other hand, could not be prohibited from travelling to the Settlers' dwelling places, and exchanging their products for European articles of food, clothing and other items. As we have already seen, almost all of the more

serious instances of Eskimo opposition to the mission had their roots in economic conditions. The anxiety of the missionaries over the consequences of the fact that the Eskimos could now run into debt at different places has also been mentioned before. The Settler-traders (in common with the Newfoundland fishermen and traders) thus came to act as a bone of contention in the relations between Eskimo and missionary. And they gave stimulus to an expansion in the consumption of European trade goods which has since continued with accelerating speed.

The missionaries reacted especially violently when they discovered that the Eskimos had come into possession of alcohol. "The attempt of some of the settlers in the neighbourhood of Nain to corrupt the morals of the Esquimaux, by the introduction of ardent spirits among them, cannot be regarded without disgust. . . our Missionaries have adopted strong measures, for the purpose of warding off so great an evil from their simpleminded flock", we read in 1839. In Nain it was promptly announced that everyone who made use of alcohol had to move from the village at once. In August of the same year the missionaries excluded ten persons from the congregation, ostensibly because of sin and immorality as a result of contacts with the Settlers. It is added that those who were expelled moved south. (P. A., December 1839, p. 101, p. 112.)

The development in the succeeding years does not imply that the mission's severe admonitions and punitive measures – such as exclusion from the congregation and, at worst, expulsion from the village – have had a curbing effect on the contact with the strangers.

When in 1847 the Nain missionaries discovered that the Eskimos sat up playing cards until far in the night, the Eskimos excused themselves by saying that the Settlers had told them that in Europe card-playing was "a universal practice with all persons of quality". Most of them looked on silently while the missionaries burned their cards, but one of the Eskimos openly told them that he liked his cards better than the books of the missionaries. (P. A., June 1848, private letter, Nain.)

But it was clearly seldom that anyone dared show his opposition so demonstratively. It was more common that the connections with the Settlers were cultivated in hiding. People often left the villages in greatest secrecy in order to avoid having to account for their plans. We even hear of Eskimos who moved to the Settler places for shorter or longer periods. In the summer of 1837 it is told of a Hopedale Eskimo who tried to conceal his plans for moving to the Settlers south of the village. (P. A., December 1839, private letter, Hebron.) And from Nain, mention is made of some Eskimos who had spent the summer and autumn of 1845 with the traders, thus completely neglecting the cod fishery. When winter came they were without supplies, and in January they had to go to the trout lakes in the interior in order to obtain something to eat for themselves. Several of them starved to death, it is added laconically. (P. A., December 1846, p. 15.)

Concerning those few Eskimos who lived scattered about in the district south of Hopedale, a report from 1849 says that they were all employed by the Europeans. Some of these Eskimos were heathens. Others had been members of the church, but had been excluded because of provocative conduct. Or else they had left the village of their own free will. (P. A., March 1850.) Even as late as 1864

an Eskimo left Hopedale with his family without mentioning anything to the missionaries in advance. He also went south to start working for a Settler, "away from the restraints of Christian discipline", as the missionary – certainly with reason – assumes. (P. A., March 1866, p. 537.)

When, in a Nain report for 1861, there is talk of "fresh proof of the pernicious and disturbing influence exerted on our congregation by the increasing number of European and half-caste settlers in our vicinity", particular reference here is to the consequences of the fact that the Eskimos often settle down with the strangers. It is said that the motive for these journeys was apparently nothing more than "the supposed prospect of increased temporal prosperity. . .there are numerous settlers near us, who are glad of the aid of the Esquimaux. It is true that comparatively few of the latter remain with the settlers for any length of time, and that the facilities for returning to us are as great as for leaving our settlement". (P. A., March 1862, p. 206.)

The type of contact here referred to, provided the Eskimos with a better opportunity of becoming acquainted with European habits than the very earliest, more simple trade contact with the visitors. Through these sojourns, at close quarters with the strangers, and in a working fellowship with them, the Eskimo to some degree was influenced by a European way of life. As one example I quote from the journal for Nain, November 1846: "In the course of this month, one of our inhabitants built himself a half-European house, after the pattern of the Southern traders settled in our neighbourhood". (P. A., September 1848, journal for Nain, Aug. 1846–Jan. 1847.) As I have mentioned in another connection, this was clearly the first time that any Nain Eskimo had constructed for himself a European-type frame house. In Hopedale the change in house type had, indeed, started somewhat earlier, certainly as one of the many results of the greater intensity of contact here to the south.

There should be no doubt, however, that the exchange of experiences and influences also went in the other direction. Particularly those colonists who came to the coast directly from Europe must have lacked much of the knowledge of the local conditions, which was a prerequisite to the hunting and fishing existence which, to an increasing extent, became the basis of their economy. They have drawn in full measure from the Eskimos' knowledge of the animal life, the hunting and fishing places, and the geographic conditions as a whole. Sufficient knowledge of the local current conditions, for example, is absolutely necessary for the one who is out travelling on the sea ice with a dog team. It can, at times, be a question of life or death if one has this knowledge or not. Examples of this kind could be multiplied.

Judging from the mission reports, the activity of the Eskimos at the Settlers' homesteads is a phenomenon which belongs to the first 2–3 decades of the new colonization. One of the reasons why there was less use for the Eskimos' man-power was, indeed, the fact that the Settlers gradually abandoned the trade. Gradually they also obtained the necessary knowledge about the local conditions. When their own children grew up, they acquired an expert knowledge of the environment, which made them independent of the Eskimos' experiences. We have devoted ourselves here solely to that side of the existence which is the domain

of the men. For the Settler girls the situation was generally plain enough, as many of them had Eskimo mothers. Inside the four walls of the house they could acquire all the necessary insight into those tasks performed by the Eskimo women which were of use in a Settler home, first and foremost the treatment of skins, and the manufacture of sealskin boots.

From the mission journals it appears that most of the white men who first settled down on the coast took Eskimo wives. There were no other women to be found in the land at this time. Mrs. PEACOCK has informed me that through one of the Settler families near Nain she has had an opportunity of studying a collection of old letters from the family in England to one of the Settlers who came to Labrador in the 1830s. In one letter after the other he is asked whom he has married, what kind of a person it is, etc. Clearly in his replies he has completely evaded the delicate subject, well aware of what social degradation he had undergone in their eyes. Some of the colonists, who themselves were married to Eskimos, have made every effort to keep their own children from marrying "natives". Among three families in the Nain area, through three generations, there has thus been a practically unbroken tendency towards Settler endogamy. That this set in in the second generation, i.e. the first to be born in the country, may seem surprising since it is known that every child in a mixed marriage becomes bilingual, often with the Eskimo language dominating. They should have far better qualifications for successful alliances with the Eskimos than their fathers had had. However, a strong consciousness of the European background was clearly preserved. And it was, of course, not until the second generation that it was possible to practice endogamy.

Thus it is interesting to observe that the Settlers' strengthening of the ethnic solidarity, as we shall at once see, manifested itself precisely at a point of time when the many Settlers who came to Labrador in the years after 1830 saw their children grow up and become eligible for marriage. I would like to emphasize, however, that endogamy has not been a dominant feature if we regard the Settler population as a whole. The difference in attitude has been considerable from family to family. The mission reports contain a number of items about second generation Settlers' boys who have married Eskimo girls themselves. However, I am not in possession of sufficient genealogical data to be able to make any definitive statement about this problem in its entirety.

The Eskimo women who were married to Settlers formed an important link between the two populations. That they maintained the connection with their relatives in the village is beyond question. It is reported from Nain, for example, about an Eskimo who, in his time, had belonged to the congregation, but left the village, and for many years stayed at a Settlers homestead where his daughter was married to a "Southlander". (P. A., March 1849, p. 75.) However, we know little about how far children of mixed marriages maintained the connections with their Eskimo relations. A Nain report from 1861 indicates that some of the "mixed settlers", at any rate, had contact with their relatives among the Eskimos. It is reported that an Eskimo, who had previously shown a good character, has now begun to behave badly: "Frequent intercourse with his half-caste relatives tended to deepen the spiritual darkness in which he was involved". (P. A., March 1862, p. 210.)

E. P. WHEELER, who for many decades has conducted geological investigations in northeast Labrador, has acquired a very intimate knowledge of the population. He told me that he is convinced that none of the "old" Settler families at Nain today would be in a position to point out their relatives among the Eskimos. This is not strange in the light of the inclination on the part of many Settlers to emphasize only their European background. I have not had an opportunity of investigating whether traditions about kinship relations with the early Settlers are to be found among Eskimo families in Nain or Hopedale today.

We have already seen many examples of the fact that the missionaries long regarded the Settlers as the greatest danger to the Eskimos. The effects of the presence of the colonists was a danger, both to the mission's ideas of preservation of Eskimo culture, and to its moral attitude. In their relations to the original population of the land, the two categories of white men, with their strongly conflicting motives, were competitive contact agencies. In an historical comment in 1866, it is categorically maintained that the Settlers were previously hostile to the mission. (P. A., March 1867, p. 161.)

The Settlers' Eskimo wives, however, wished to resume their former connection with the congregations. From a number of notations in the mission reports, we understand that the men, as they become older and see the children grow up, also feel a need for contact with the church. In 1853, from Hopedale, we hear of two Europeans who were married to Eskimo women:

> . . .His wife, L. formerly a communicant sister at Nain, has implored us with tears to have pity upon them, and to allow her to enjoy with our people the rites of the church. Another, named A. V., who lives to the north of our settlement, and is married to C., likewise of the Nain congregation, very earnestly requests us to take them under our care. He says, that he cannot bear the idea of leaving this world, with his children growing up in heathenism. (P. A., December 1853, p. 16.)

In the ensuing years the Settlers constantly exerted pressure to be admitted into the congregations. While the Eskimos ever since the mission came to the land had been able to benefit from teaching in the villages, it was a completely different situation for the rising generation of Settlers. None but the missionaries could help them here. But the settlement pattern was a great obstacle. Another difficulty was the fact that most of the missionaries spoke German. Up to the 1860s it appears that practically none of them could speak English.[1] As a matter of fact, the strange circumstance must be imagined that Settler and missionary have sometimes only been able to communicate by means of the Eskimo language. After his visitation to Labrador in the summer of 1861, the missionary RECIHEL writes, concerning two of the English Settlers he met, that they were both happy after so many years again to hear their mother tongue. (P. A., June 1862, pp. 266–67.)

[1] I am here leaving out of account the fact that there were a number of English missionaries in the land immediately after the mission activity in Labrador started, in that it was a long time before the colonists came to the country in larger numbers.

One of the main points in REICHEL's discussions with the missionaries during this visitation was precisely

> the importance of entering upon a new sphere of labour among the "southlanders", or settlers. . . For some time previous to the visitation [1861], the relation existing between the missionaries and the southlanders had materially improved. Of the latter some made friendly advances, requesting the missionaries to baptize their children, and visiting at the stations, when the congregations assembled for the celebration of the great festivals of the Christian Church,

according to a retrospective survey in 1871. When the missionaries in 1861 no longer felt it necessary to behave reservedly with the Settlers, the reason was that "the dangerous influence of the settlers over the natives was no longer, or only to a small extent, exercised", it is said. (P. A., September 1871, pp. 67–68.)

If we go ten years ahead in time to 1871, the change from reservation to friendly interest had become a fact. From Hopedale it is reported that the work among the Eskimos there is constantly becoming more difficult because of increasing contact with fishermen and people from the trading vessels visiting the coast. It is said that the missionaries, however, have the satisfaction of seeing their work among the Settlers more appreciated. (P. A., December 1871, pp. 159–60.)

If we analyse the reasons why the Settlers are no longer regarded as a danger to the Eskimos, we will see that a number of factors enter the picture. The Settler who carried on trade, and, at worst, made use of liquor in order to entice customers, was, in the eyes of the missionaries, a greater danger, indeed, than Settlers of later periods who were engaged in hunting and fishing. For the trading Settler who wanted to earn money, and the Eskimo who wanted to acquire highly valued wares for himself, the trade formed the basis of a contact which was satisfactory to both parties. In the face of this relationship the mission stood as an outsider, and, in part, a disturbing element. The coolness of attitude on its part perhaps had the effect of strengthening the relation between Eskimo and Settler.

The transition of the Settlers to an economy based solely on hunting and fishing was an important condition for the improvement of their relations with the mission. But as the trade ceased, a fundamental basis for common interests, which had hitherto united the colonists and the Eskimos, was also gone. The desire for a strengthening of the ethnic solidarity among the Settlers manifested itself in an emphasis of dividing lines between them and the Eskimos. The tendency towards a Settler endogamy has already been mentioned. We will further see it in connection with the pattern of settlement in the village of Nain. Even if the contact between the two populations continues in spite of this gradual change in the economic orientation of the Settlers, it is quite clear that it changes character. The contrasts stand out as group tensions, while the individual relationships could often continue to be excellent, which some of my informants among the Settlers strongly emphasized.

In 1857 we find, in the journal for Hopedale, the first report that some of the Settlers now belong to the congregation. (P. A., December 1857, journal for Hopedale, 31/7–1857.) In 1865 the mission was requested to employ an English

missionary specifically to take care of the spiritual welfare of the Settlers, and to teach their children. (P. A., December 1865, p. 489.) In the next years the incorporation of the new population into the church progresses rapidly.

> The diaspore work among the settlers has been continued; of this class eight families have connected themselves with our Church. . .
> . . .At Easter, in spite of unfavourable weather, 75 persons came hither to enjoy the Passion season with us, and 6 became communicant members; 9 adult persons were baptized,

reports Hopedale in 1871. (P. A., December 1871, pp. 112–113.) From Nain too we hear of the same development. In 1873 10 of the Settlers in the district had become members of the congregation. (P. A., December 1874, pp. 197–98.)

The increasing tendency among the Settlers to accentuate their identity as distinct from the Eskimos, stands out especially clearly in the description in the mission report of the opening of a new church (1873) in Zoar:

> The English settlers residing here were not a little gratified that, in the providence of God, the first infant baptized in the new church was the child of people of their own class. They also do not forget that the first baptism which took place after the commencement of this station was that of the wife of the Settler M., which circumstance, in the hand of the Lord, was the instrument of her husband's conversion. They recognized in this fact, and did not hesitate to state it, that this station had been commenced specially on their behalf, in order that it might be a means of gathering them together, who before that time had been as sheep having no Shepherd. (P. A., March 1874, p. 59.)

Even though practically the entire population, Eskimo as well as Settler, met at the ritual center during the church festivals, these served more to consolidate the solidarity among the Settlers than between them and the Eskimos. The Settlers stressed their identity as a more or less separate group within the congregations as well. After the mission acquired English-speaking missionaries, it became customary, for example, to hold special services in English for the Settlers. These events in the Settlers' otherwise so isolated existence were the only social manifestations within the group, while the Eskimos, in addition to the church festivals, had frequent opportunities for gatherings of a purely group nature through their more concentrated settlement pattern.

This separation within the church gradually led to the result that special Settler representatives were elected to attend to the relations with the mission. Hopedale received its first "chapel servant" for the Settlers as early as 1882, and Nain in 1907. (P. A., December 1882, p. 361, and P. A., December 1907, p. 735.)

The participation in the church festivals led to a beginning reorganization of the Settlers' settlement pattern. They soon felt the need of having their own sleeping quarters in the villages. Most of them lived so far away, often 20–25 miles, that even a shopping trip to the mission store could not be carried out without spending the night in the village. REICHEL mentions three Settler houses in Hopedale, and four in Zoar in the summer of 1876. (P. A., March 1877, pp. 146–47,

p. 156.) Not until 1911–12, in the journal for Nain, do we hear that a Settler has built a house there, and ten years later we read the names of three Settler families who have houses in the village. (P. A., December 1912, p. 397, and P. A., December 1922, p. 152.)

It did not mean any decisive change in the old settlement pattern that some of the Settlers built houses in the villages. Most of the year they lived scattered around in the districts, often at a distance of several hours by sledge to the closest neighbour. ". . .the missionary is usually the only foreigner to arrive from one year's end to another," it says in a report from Nain. (P. A., March 1909, p. 249.)

The most important problem in connection with the scattered population, as has been mentioned, was the fact that the Settler children did not receive any schooling. The first modest attempts at providing lessons for the English-speaking population were made in the winter of 1879. After 1880 many attempts were made to provide a few weeks of school during the year in both Hopedale and Makkovik. The poorest of the Settlers found it difficult, however, to pay for the participation in an improvised boarding school, and, up to 1920, the majority of the Settler children did not receive any regular schooling. (P. A., December 1879, p. 245; P. A., December 1881, pp. 119–20; P. A., March 1894, p. 247; P. A., December 1902, p. 162.)

In a missionary's letter from 1909 we are given a vivid impression of the need for instruction among the Nain Settlers too, as well as of those economic problems which stood in the way:

> Some of the parents can read and write a little, and these do what they can for the children, but there are several lads and lasses who have reached 16 or 17 years of age who can hardly distinguish "b" from a bull's foot. This winter I have persuaded the parents to bring or send the children ranging from 7 to 14 years of age to Nain for a few weeks. . . The parents are bearing all expenses connected with the school themselves, but they are so poor. . . (P. A., September 1909, Nain, letter of 9/3–1909.)

It was a great step forward when in the winter of 1919–20 the mission opened a boarding school in Makkovik, which the Settlers to the north were also urged to use. The constantly repeated theme in the mission reports is the little headway in the Settler school. This was partly due to the fact that many families did not bring their children to the school at the right time, and partly that they did not receive any kind of assistance with the school work from the parents when they came home. The Eskimo children received more of an incentive at home to learn something, than was the case among the Settlers, who by and large had little understanding of the importance of the school for the children's future, it is maintained. (P. A., March 1916, p. 408; P. A., December 1917, p. 123; P. A., December 1920, p. 500.) Thus it is no surprise that to this very day, among middle-aged Settlers, individuals can be encountered who are almost illiterate, a phenomenon which is unknown among the Eskimos who have grown up in the mission villages. It is against this milieu background that an evaluation must be made of the allegation, in a report from 1944 (Nain), that it is extremely difficult to teach in the Settler

class "since most of the settler children in this district are not very bright". (P. A., June 1945, p. 57.)

The ordinary practice has been to teach children from the two populations each in his own language, and in separate classes. It is true that scattered attempts at giving the Eskimos instruction in English have been mentioned, but it appears as something quite extraordinary when, in a Hopedale report from 1912, it is said that in the next season those Eskimo children who are going to start school will receive instruction along with the Settler children, so that they will learn English more quickly. (P. A., December 1912, p. 407.) In the Makkovik district however, there were so few Eskimos that it was found to be impossible to have a separate class for their children, and so in 1920 we hear that among the 45 pupils in all at the boarding school, there are 9 Eskimos. Later, some Eskimo children also came down to the boarding school from Hopedale, but the mission nonetheless went on continually with instruction in the Eskimo language in Hopedale, as well as at the stations to the north.

From the journal for 1928–29 (Hopedale) we are given the mission's view of the language problem, expressed as follows:

> But we are glad if the Eskimo children can learn to read and write in their own language, for after all there is nothing like the mother tongue. The children attending Makkovik school learn English, and the eager ones will make progress if they continue their studies at home. But it will take a long time before they discard their own language for English. (P. A., June 1930, p. 410.)

It is difficult to say to what extent the attitude of the Settler children to the Eskimos was influenced by the fact that they had a small number of Eskimos in the classes with them at the boarding school. KATE HETTASCH, who at one time was a teacher in Makkovik, told me that in one instance a newly arrived Settler boy refused to live with what he contemptously called "them dirty huskies". It was not until the teacher had severely reprimanded him, and had tried to convince him on religious grounds of the Eskimos' equal worthiness, that he was persuaded. The mission's always firm rejection of every attempt at discrimination against the Eskimos can scarcely have failed to leave its traces.

Nonetheless, most of the Eskimo children on the coast received all training in separate classes, and in the Eskimo language, all the time until the effects of Newfoundland's confederation with Canada began to produce practical results after 1950. In the Nain report for 1951, it is stated: "In our school this year all teaching, except scripture, is given in English and the children have made excellent strides forward." (P. A., 1952, p. 32.)

Already in 1955, the young bilingual Settler, BEATRICE FORD, a teacher at the school in Nain, emphasized that the former, quite pronounced antagonism between Eskimo and Settler children was far less, now that they were being educated in joint classes, than was the case in her childhood. The Eskimos' rapidly increasing knowledge of English will probably also contribute to this development.

In his extensive work on Labrador, V. TANNER (1944, Vol. II, p. 727, pp. 701ff.) does not devote himself, to any great extent, to a description of the livelihood of

the Settler population north of Hamilton Inlet. He is content to refer to his description of the occupational life of the population of Dove Brook (Sandwich Bay), and maintains, somewhat summarily, that the circumstances roughly speaking are the same "for the white population north from Lake Melville, as well as the half-breeds in the country round Makkovik, Hopedale, Davis Inlet, Voicey's Bay, Nain, Nutak and Hebron". In his description of the resident English-speaking population around Lake Melville and at Sandwich Bay, he sets up two main types, "trappers" and "liveyeres". If I were to attempt to give a general characterization of the way of life of the Settler population within the area of the Moravian mission, I would compare it with TANNER's coast-adapted "liveyeres". But, if we examine a particular district more closely, the Nain area for example, to which I shall refer below, then we see that the pattern of exploitation of the natural resources varies from place to place. On Black Island in the outer coastal zone, for example, two Settler families hunt seal with nets in the autumn on a grand scale, often with a catch which is twice as big as that obtained by the entire population of Nain from its autumn sealing. On the other hand, the Settlers in Webb's Bay, a few hours' journey by motorboat west of Black Island, are happy if they can catch 12 to 15 seals in the nets in the course of the entire autumn.

To what extent have the colonists from the south "taken the food out of the mouths of the Eskimos", as one writer expresses it? In an evaluation of this question, we must take into account, among other things, the widely different conceptions of the Eskimos and the Europeans as far as the rights to hunting areas and fishing places are concerned.

As early as 1839 we read in the mission's journal for Hopedale (P. A., June 1841, 23/10–1839):

> Several families repaired to the West Bay, in quest of seals, their former station of Tikkerarsuk, being now frequented by Europeans, whose company they wish to avoid. This will involve the building of new houses and the giving up of the old ones at Tikkerarsuk, while at the same time, there is an inferior prospect of fishing.

This appears to be an out and out exception. Neither in the mission reports nor in the rest of the literature have I seen a single additional item of information which could indicate that the Settlers directly drove the Eskimos out of their old hunting places. But there is reason to assume that the Eskimos here, as reported from other parts of the Eskimo area, would rather withdraw than engage in any dispute with strangers who did not respect the unwritten laws of the land.

HEDWIG RITCH, an Eskimo woman almost 80 years old, told me (1955) that the Eskimos were never afraid that the Settlers would appropriate their old hunting and fishing places. The Settlers stayed at their own places, and on the whole, relations between the two groups were good, she maintained. But, concerning the attitude of the Eskimos, she added: "Generally speaking the land was considered free to everyone. We were not like the white man, who want to own everything."

The Settler JULIUS FORD of Black Island, east of Nain, emphasized that there had never been any division into individual trapping grounds for the fur trappers here to the north, as is known to a marked degree at Lake Melville. (Cp. TANNER

1944, vol. II, pp. 701 ff.) However, it seems that this idea of private trapping grounds, with far more intensive fur trapping than we encounter to the north, has penetrated among the Settlers around Makkovik. Down here, as a matter of fact, the remaining number of Eskimos during most of the mission period has been so small that this, to the Eskimo, so strange a principle, has scarcely given rise to major conflicts.[1]

J. FORD further emphasized that there was a considerable difference in the attitude of the individual Settler to the fact that the Eskimos set fox traps in the vicinity of their places. For example, one Settler, who earlier lived at Ford's Harbour east of Nain, would not put up with the Eskimos trapping furs in the neighbourhood. He conceived of it as his private hunting area, and had stated "that he wouldn't stand for an Eskimo going over his grounds and spitting tobacco!" The Eskimos knew of the man's attitude and kept away from the area, thus avoiding all clashes. FORD himself hunts fox during the winter on a number of the many islands which lie east of Black Island, often quite far out towards open sea. He related that if the Eskimos in Nain heard rumours that there were plenty of fox out there, they generally went out and set traps on the islands. "It happens that the newcomers set their traps right beside mine, perhaps on a very small island. I can't say anything about that, as no one can claim that he owns the land around here," was his view.

The Settler JIM WEBB, of Webb's Bay, told me that when his father settled in the bay, in the latter part of the nineteenth century, five or six Eskimo families used to come up from Nain in order to catch trout and hunt reindeer. J. W. took great pains to emphasize that his father made it clear to the Eskimos, from the very beginning, that he would not place any obstacles in their way. He added that the Eskimos stopped coming up to Webb's Bay for the seasonal hunting "after the caribou stopped to come out".

In the journal for Hopedale in 1863 it is deplored that the Eskimos no longer feel that they can get along with fish, seal meat and other products of the land only. The missionary adds that he has nothing against their using different European articles of food, in addition to the usual diet, if they would only show moderation, and not use more than they can obtain for themselves in an honorable manner. The missionary says he is afraid that the conditions will not be any better, "so long as the Eskimos do not learn, like all the foreign settlers, to make fish their chief article of subsistence. . ." (P. A., December 1863, journal for Hopedale, July 1863.)

In a nutshell we are given the basic aspects of the economy of the Settlers as expressed in a report from Hopedale (P. A., December 1869, pp. 235–236), where it is said that a family south of Hopedale "like all these settlers earn their livelihood by fishing in summer, and fox-trapping in winter. . .".

In Nain old HEDWIG RITCH pointed out a decided exception from the Eskimo's conception of free access for all to the hunting areas, namely when it was a question

[1] "Trapping-grounds" are mentioned in a Settler-will from Makkovik in 1899, on a par with other transferable property: ". . . so that, should he die, those left behind might know to whom he wished to bequeath his settlement, i.e., his buildings, trapping-grounds, etc., and other belongings". P. A., March 1900, p. 241; P. A., December 1903, p. 365.

of the trout fishery. There is little good trout fishing around Nain, and those families who used to fish at a definite spot regarded it as their areas, she related. From West Greenland DALAGER (1915, p. 12) in the latter part of the eighteenth century, describes similar attitudes among families who had constructed dams (*saputit*) in which to capture the trout. Even though saputitfishing had fallen into disuse at Nain at the time in question here, I see more grounds for assuming that the idea of exclusive fishing rights was connected with this ancient way of fishing than with European influence. As a consequence of the fact that the Settlers for the most part settled down around the inlets on the mainland, they actually came to control many of the best trout rivers. There is no sphere in which it can so clearly be said that the Settlers have ousted the Eskimos than in the case of the trout fishery. In early times there was no prohibition against closing the rivers, and many of the Settlers pointed out that "in olden days" the trout provided a considerable summer income.

It is more difficult to find examples as glaring as the above, as far as the exploitation of other resources are concerned. There is no doubt, however, that the Settlers in areas like Makkovik and Hopedale, where they settled down in great numbers, must have reduced the Eskimos' hunting yield. I should think that this is especially true of the fur trapping, and of small game such as hare, ptarmigan, and sea fowl.

If, for a moment, we disregard the large-scale sealing with nets by the Black Island Settlers, the conditions for the remainder of the Settlers in the Nain district were such that the seal played a comparatively modest role in the economy. Nevertheless, it represented products upon which every resident in Labrador, Eskimo as well as Settler, was and is dependent. First and foremost it is important as a source of dogfood, and, in addition, it supplies sealskin for boots and gloves, and harness for the dogs, etc. As an article of food, seal meat is placed on the lowest rung of the ladder by most of the Settlers. "We don't eat seal meat if we have other meat," said an old Nain Settler, while a young Settler expressed himself thus: "When we have reindeer meat, we turn up our noses at the seal meat".

The leader of the health service on the coast, Dr. A. PADDON, comments on the question in a letter. He maintains that the Eskimo is better nourished and better developed physically than the Settler. ". . .the reason being the obstinacy and the extreme conservatism of the settler; their tendency towards close in-breeding and their comparative snobbishness towards Eskimos. Mixed marriages work out fine but false pride keeps the settler from eating seal meat when he is hungry so he is apt to fill up on white flour and tea".[1]

Nor does it appear as though the Settlers make use of specific "Eskimo" hunting methods for the modest sealing in which they are engaged as a whole. To a question of whether he, himself, or any other Settlers ever hunted at blowholes which are kept open in the ice by the stationary species of seals, ROBERT VOISEY answered in the negative, and he motivated it, among other reasons, by

[1] Letter of 2/4 1956 from A. PADDON, M. D., North West River, Labrador. What the letter-writer implies by the expression: "their tendency towards close in-breeding", I am unable to say. From the Settler-population in the Nain-area I have been able to establish only one instance of marriage between cousins.

the fact that "no settler would have patience enough to wait".[1] Besides, the ice conditions at the middle and southernmost part of the coast are not very favourable for such hunting.

The "freezing in" of Greenland seal, which has been mentioned above, appears to attract the Eskimo to a greater extent than the Settler. As a rule one must go across very thin ice in order to come to the openings where the seal come up in order to breathe. The Eskimos go over the ice after a single night's frost, it is maintained. "We would never dream of walking on that kind of ice", said one of my Settler informants.

Most of the Settlers take the seal in nets, especially in the autumn. In Voisey's Bay a few seal were taken during the autumn from a rowboat: one lay quietly out on the bay and waited until a seal came up close enough so that one could get a good shot at it. In the spring seal were also shot in the openings in the ice which formed along the shore. An iron harpoon, purchased in the store, was used to secure those animals which had already been shot from sinking. Sealing from the edge of the ice (*sinâ*) is not particularly customary either, among other reasons because most of the Settlers' homes are so situated that the distances to open water in the winter are too great. Thus, in the Nain area, only those of the Settlers who lived at the mouths of fjords or out on the islands sometimes went out to the ice edge.

I have mentioned that the Settlers on Black Island east of Nain engage in sealing with nets on a large scale in the autumn. However, it is a comparatively recent phenomenon. One of the families early in our century took over, by purchase, a sealing station which the mission had operated out here earlier.

As a result, two Settler families here control one of the best hunting places on the coast. Here, in all, 600–700 seal on an average are taken in a good autumn, and most of these are Greenland seal. Catches of 1,000 animals or more are no rarity.

[1] I am not convinced that the colonists farther to the south engage in actual blowhole hunting, as M. LANTIS (1955, p. 317) maintains: "Hamilton Inlet in Labrador is the only place where a white community (in contrast to occasional missionaries, traders, or travellers) has taken up the Eskimo system of seal hunting at blow holes, . . ."

She does not state any source for her assumption. As she, in the remaining references to Labrador, bases her article on V. TANNER alone, I find it highly probable that she has collected her information from the following passage from TANNER (1944, Vol. II, p. 716): "North West River trappers have also caught seal at the blowholes near the ice edge outside Hamilton Inlet, but this is difficult and dangerous, for an old Greenland seal could easily drag the hunter into the depths if he were not on the alert". – TANNER's wording ("have also caught") suggests, in the first place, a more once-for-all phenomenon, or something occurring seldom, than anything traditional, which in this connection is a decisive difference. In addition, the question is complicated by the remark about the Greenland seal. As a typical pelagic seal it does not generally make real blowholes in the ice, the way the more stationary species of seal do. I am thus leaving out of account those holes which the Greenland seal sometimes makes at the breeding grounds, and which have nothing to do with blowholes. (Cp. SIVERTSEN 1941, pp. 79–86.) Finally, there is a question what TANNER has placed in the expression "blow-holes". If it is in reference to those holes kept open by the tide in newly frozen ice, then it can make sense in connection with the Greenland seal. (Cp. my comments elsewhere in this paper concerning "freezing in" of Greenland seal on the Labrador coast.) But this has nothing to do with "the Eskimo system of seal hunting", if by this M. LANTIS is thinking about the blowhole hunting which takes place, in its most specialized form, among the Netsilik and Copper Eskimos.

According to J. FORD the seal nets are put out in two different ways. Either a net, 60 fathoms long and 4.5 fathoms wide is used, which is set out between two islands. In this the seal get entangled in the meshes and drown. Or a little bay is closed off with a net approximately 120 fathoms long, connected to another net which runs obliquely in to the shore. A closed area is thus formed into which the seal come through a door arrangement. A number of seal also get entangled in the net here and drown, but many swim into the enclosure and are shot from the shore when they surface.

I have intentionally presented so detailed an explanation of the technique of sealing with nets out on Black Island, in that considerable interest is attached to the social aspect of this activity. As a rule a crew of five men is employed. A third of the seal which are caught in the meshes fall to the owner of the net, and the rest are divided among the entire crew. On the other hand, there is open competition among the individual crew members for the seal which swim around within the enclosure, and each man provides his own ammunition. It occurs to me that, in all likelihood, it is the Eskimos' traditional interpretation of the equal rights of everyone to the hunting possibilities which has left its mark on the regulations. This comes out even more clearly in J. FORD's report that also "strangers", i.e. people who do not belong to the sealing crew, can come to the nets and shoot seal within the enclosure. A poor Eskimo from Nain has often taken advantage of this, and he is given both food and lodging along with the crew during his stay. But not all the Settlers would put up with such "intruders".

We should be careful, at any rate, not to arrive at too presumptuous conclusions about the social relations between Eskimo and Settler from these examples. If we raise the question of which sanctions the Eskimos eventually possessed to ensure respect for their views and customs, a part of the answer lies in the presence of the mission. As far as the economic interests of the Eskimos were concerned, the missionaries acceded without fail demands which were considered reasonable. And the Settlers did not want to come into conflict with the mission and thus risk sanctions of one kind or another.

The largest part of the catch on Black Island falls to the Settlers, as only a few Eskimos are needed as crews. It frequently happens, nonetheless, that Eskimos from Nain come out to ask for seal meat. According to a Settler informant, the Eskimos always promised to pay for the meat when he visited their village, but he had "never seen any payment". To demand payment for meat would be highly unpopular among the Eskimos to this very day, so they have certainly not regarded such a "meat debt" to a Settler as particularly real.

Among a few Settlers it happens that the husband helps with the manufacture of sealskin boots, while this is solely a woman's job among the Eskimos. A Settler woman told me that in her family the edge of the skin is chewed before sewing in the same manner as the Eskimos do it, but she knew that some of the Settlers found it objectionable to chew the skin, and so they soften the edge in water.

The Settlers everywhere use the same type of dog-team, and make sledges of the same construction as the Eskimos. ROBERT VOISEY could report, moreover, that at his place, in addition to the usual sledge (with runners approx. 2″ wide) they also used a sledge with broader runners (from 2¼″ to 2½″ wide). Voisey's

Bay lies at the northern border of the continuous growth of forest, and provides good enough wood so that a little sawmill has been in operation down through a couple of generations. The timber is brought out by dog-team, and broader runners have turned out to be practical on the loose snow in the forest. In connection with the forestry the Settlers early started building boats here. Mostly small boats were made, but in the nineteenth century two schooners were also built for sale. In the WINTER's family at Kamarsuk, boat-building has also had a long tradition, and a few are sold.

A canvas tent, a thinly plated iron stove, and a sealskin sleeping bag are the Settler's standard equipment while hunting reindeer in the interior. It was reported that a few of the Settlers were acquainted with the technique of snow house building, but it was not usually practiced.

Of the Eskimo dress only the sealskin boots have been adopted by the Settler population. But this footwear is valued so highly that the Nain Settlers appear to be even less prone than the Eskimos to replace it with rubber boots.

A characteristic aspect of the economic activities of the Settlers, as compared to those of the Eskimos, is that they are usually pursued in the immediate vicinity of the place where they live. And to a far greater extent than the Eskimos the Settlers have depended on a subsistence economy. Fish and small game appear to have played a large role in the diet, in addition to bread and the indispensable tea. Shop goods have never exercised as irresistible an attraction for them as for the Eskimos. They did not raise the consumption to the skies after one good season, only to find themselves deep in debt to the store in the next, as so often happened with the Eskimos.

We are here touching upon a fundamental difference in the socio-economic system of the two groups. The Eskimo had many relatives in the village, and his social obligations as a matter of fact, extended far out. He had to distribute part of the meat he brought home, and thus it was far more difficult for him to store food. But through this system, on the other hand, he was insured against suffering direct need. He could at least count on keeping starvation from the door. At worst he also knew that the missionaries never allowed anyone to starve to death if the entire village were hit by illness, or the hunting failed. But this feeling of security, in connection with the access to credit in the store, could also be a temptation to increase the consumption of shop goods (especially foodstuffs) beyond the limit of his actual income.

The Settler was in quite another situation out at his isolated dwelling place. In the good years he could indeed obtain a small profit as a reserve, or for investing in new equipment, etc. On the other hand, there was no neighbour around the corner who came with a gift of meat for dinner when starvation was knocking at the door. Living as far as he did from the village, he also had less access to charity from the mission. Thus, when we read in the mission reports of suffering and misery among the Settlers, the conditions which are unfolded are sometimes appalling. "All the Settlers are very poor, poorer even than the Eskimos, and in a very low state morally", writes a missionary after a journey among the Settlers between Hopedale and Nain in 1879. (P. A., June 1900, pp. 336–37; P. A., March 1900, p. 237.)

The caution of the Settlers in economic matters has certainly influenced their relationship with the Eskimos. Because he was not hopelessly in debt to the store, the Settler felt no reason for protesting when the mission intensified the credit regulations. Thus the Eskimos could never count on support in their more or less violent reactions against the mission. In the mission reports a Settler's name is never mentioned in connection with disorders concerning the trade. On the contrary, it is emphasized in the journal for Nain (1924–25) that the Settlers do not unite with the Eskimos in their dissatisfaction with the store. (P. A., June 1926, p. 13.) Indeed, this should certainly not have the effect of strengthening the bonds between the two population groups. Moreover, it appears that some of the Settlers, around the turn of the century at any rate, have had little contact with the mission's trade. Reports from Nain and Hopedale in 1899 mention that the Settlers are trading with the Hudson's Bay Company, which had a station at Davis Inlet. Furs are particularly mentioned among the products supplied by the Settlers to the Hudson's Bay Company. (P. A., March 1900, p. 237, p. 239.)

The great military construction works, which were begun at Hopedale in the course of 1952, had profound effects upon the Settlers in this district. They were attracted as strongly as the Eskimos by the prospects of well-paid employment. In the Hopedale report for 1952 it says among other things:

> . . . .many of our Settlers belonging to this station left their Bays and fishing places and came here and built houses and worked at the camp. . . . The Settler families of course decided not to send their children as usual to the boarding-school at Makkovik but desired to have them come to our day-school. This all caused a sudden change in the number of the population, and the number of children attending school. . . (P. A., 1953, p. 11.)

The Nain Settlers have been affected far less than the Settlers at Makkovik and Hopedale by the great construction works during and after the war, at respectively Goose Bay and Hopedale, and for that reason their pattern of settlement has not been radically altered.

The Settlers in the village of Nain in more recent times

In conclusion to this survey I would like to attempt to give some aspects of the relations between Settler and Eskimo in the village of Nain as they appear in our day.

According to the mission's records, in the summer of 1955, in all 308 persons were listed as members of the Nain congregation. Of these more than a third, approximately 110 persons, were unofficially designated as Settlers. I have previously commented on the criterion of the missionaries in the classification of Settler and Eskimo. I shall only add here that the number of Settlers in Nain would have been slightly higher than stated if the heads of the households had been questioned as to which population group they identified themselves with. At any rate, in one bilingual family, which is here counted among the Eskimos, I know that the head of

the household counts himself as a Settler even though his mother was an Eskimo, and Eskimo is the dominant language in the home. Another household, where the background and the present-day conditions appear to be identical has however been registered by the missionaries as Settlers.

Approximately half of these Settlers, divided over 11 families, had their homes out in the district at these places in 1955: Black Island (3), Webb's Bay (3), Kamarsuk (3), and Voisey's Bay (2). Apart from the Kamarsuk Settlers the remainder also had houses in the village at their disposal. For some of them the visits to Nain lasted only a few days at a time. Others had started spending somewhat more time there. One of the Black Island Settlers said that he now remained in Nain a greater part of the winter because the prices for furs were so poor that he did not find it worth the trouble to set out traps to the same extent as before.

The other half of the Settler population, which has its dwelling in Nain all year round, makes its living from hunting and fishing like the Eskimos. A few are more or less permanently employed as assistants in the provincial government's trade. This part of the Settler population is of relatively recent origin, and must

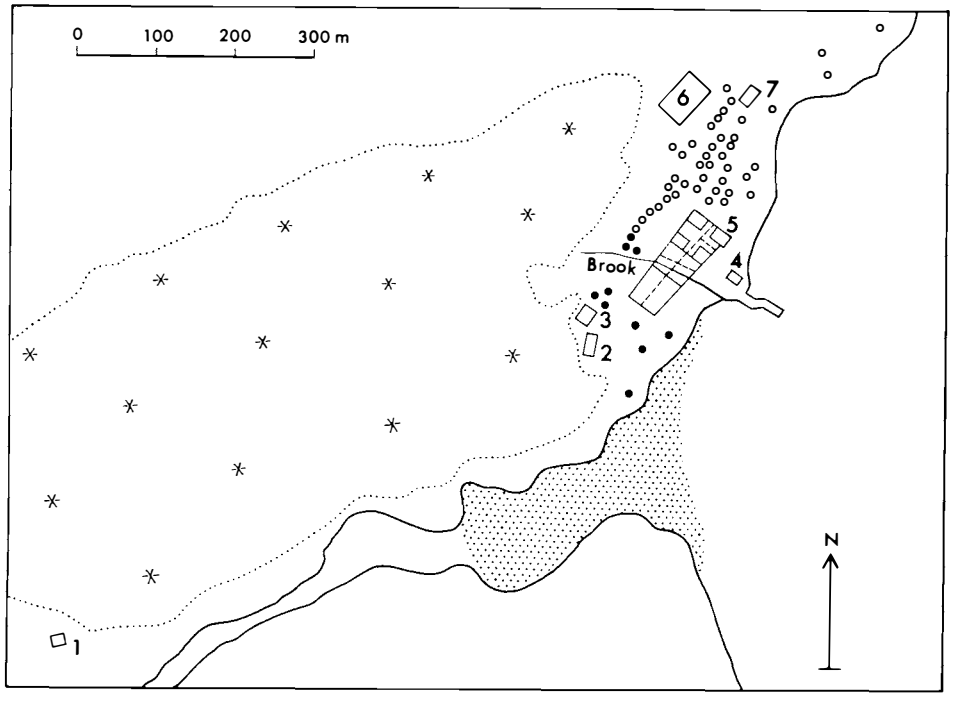

Fig. 4. *The village of Nain. Sketch map 1955, drawn from aerial photograph.*

1. Police (RCMP), 2. The School, 3. Office and Residence of the Trade Manager (the Representative of the Provincial Government), 4. The Store, 5. The Church, 6. The Cemetery, 7. The Village Hall.

The houses of the Eskimos are marked with ○, and the houses of the Settlers with ●. The number and placing of the symbols are approximate. The fenced-in area, to the left, is the missions garden; to the right, the dwelling of the missionaries, close to the church. The broken line indicates paths through the mission's area with free passage. The large area within the dotted lines indicate the forest area which has been preserved on the initiative of the mission.

have settled in the village in the course of several decades. As far as I have been able to see, it has not given rise to a single comment in the mission reports, which otherwise appear to be fairly reliable recorders of all changes of this kind.

The center of the built-over area in Nain, the church, the missionary dwelling and a couple of other mission buildings, lie close together in a cluster within a rectangular area, which is fenced-in because of the omnivorous sledge-dogs of the village. North and east of the mission, then, lie the Eskimo houses in rows running east to west, parallel to the shoreline. A conspicuous aspect with regard to the Settler houses in Nain, is that with only a single exception they are located in the western part of the village. A little brook, which runs from the north straight through the settled area, was interpreted by the Eskimos as a boundary which they must not cross when they wanted to build. One of the Eskimos said that "the Settlers wouldn't like it" if an Eskimo put up his house west of the brook. The oldest of the missionaries on the coast, who has previously resided in Nain for many years, was not aware of the existence of any conception concerning such a boundary. But he came to the conclusion that if it were so, it had to be a Settler idea to which the Eskimos had tacitly adapted themselves. The mission, at any rate, had never given any orders that the Eskimos must not build in the western part of Nain.

Inside the area, farthest to the west, near the border of the Nain Park, which has been preserved, are to be found the building of the provincial administration (the commercial manager and his assistant) and, even farther west, the police building – i.e. all the representatives of the public authorities proper. I have been informed that the Hudson's Bay Company (1926–42) also had a dwelling for the manager in this western area. The first Settler buildings (the houses where the nights may be spent) in the village, however, are older than the buildings of the representatives of the trade and administration. Thus, the tendency of the Settlers to build apart from the Eskimos is an older feature which has continued down to the present.

This tendency to isolate themselves from the Eskimos can be registered in the attitude of the Settlers to a number of social phenomena in the village. It is most conspicuous with respect to the men's meetings, which are summoned from time to time by the village council. All adult males in the village are informed in advance when there is to be a meeting. The Settlers, however, show very little interest, and seldom attend. Some of them apparently never show up, and, if they come to the meeting, they take hardly any part in the discussions.

I asked one of the bilingual Settlers – a man who personally go along well with the Eskimos – why he almost never take part in the meetings. "You know, the Eskimos talk so much!" was the reply. I was given the impression that the Eskimos completely dominate the meetings. The participation of the Eskimos in the work inside the church has certainly given them considerably more practice in what we would call meeting technique than the Settlers have had an opportunity of acquiring. With their relatively passive attitude to the church life, too, the Settlers here have a decided handicap.

But a factor of even greater significance is the language. As a result of the language policy waged by the mission, it is taken for granted that the proceedings

shall take place in Eskimo. The majority of the participants in the meeting at a place like Nain are, of course, Eskimos. Even those Settlers who know more than enough Eskimo to manage well in the daily contact with the individual Eskimos, seem to entertain a direct fear of being held up to ridicule in front of the Eskimos if they try to take the floor. From experience they know that the slightest mistake in pronunciation is met with a mighty outburst of laughter from the Eskimos. Settler utterances like the following are quite common: "You know they understand me well enough when I speak Eskimo, but they laugh when I make an error. . ." "The Eskimo use to laugh at me". "Why?" "You know there are some words in Eskimo which are very difficult to pronounce, and so they laugh at me."

I have previously pointed out that the individual relationships between Eskimo and Settler could be cordial enough. It was in the group relations that the tension was reflected in various ways. The Settler R. V. gave pertinent expression to this: "The Eskimo is O.K. when you go to visit him in his house. But when a single white man is alone with a group of Eskimos, they always like to make fun of him."

In children's play the tension was also present, and with the straightforwardness which is characteristic of children, it often resulted in heavy-handedness. The Settler J. F. related, with a mixture of bitterness and humor, how as a child he always received a drubbing from the Eskimo boys. Irrespective of what they played, it usually ended with their joining forces against the Settler, he maintained.

The dividing line between Settlers and Eskimos was stressed in many different ways; the Settlers usually were excluded, for example, from the celebration among the Eskimos of "first events", e.g. the occasion of a young man's first seal.

In other instances the Eskimo felt obliged to invite the Settler in order not to offend against the missionaries' outlook on life, that is to say when the gathering had the character of relief to individuals in difficult circumstances. When the Eskimo hunter returned home to the village after hunting reindeer, he invited all the widows to his home for a good meal of meat. But, as a rule, the Settler widows would not participate, nor did they often come to those festivities for the widows which the mission arranged.

Even though the Settlers in a village community like Nain, with the Eskimos in a great majority, must often have felt strongly aware of their numerical inferiority, they have not failed to make their influence felt through a critical attitude to specific features of the Eskimo's way of life. The Settler B. F. thus related that the Eskimos always hasten to remove typically Eskimo fare from the table when they see a strange white man approach the house. Nor do the women dare smoke pipes when strangers come inside. She maintained that the Eskimos think that "the white man will laugh at us when he sees that we eat dried fish, and dried meat and the like." It is difficult to state categorically what or who is responsible for such an attitude. With regard to the persons with whom the Eskimos have daily dealings in the village, there is no doubt that the missionaries at all times have sought to stimulate the population into using the various items of the traditional diet to the greatest possible extent. Scarcely anyone has more systematically been able to influence attitudes and habits in this field than the Settlers with their explicitly stated disparagement of seal meat and other aspects of the Eskimo diet. The Settler practically never dries fish and meat in the wind the way the Eskimos

do. Instead of drying the trout, the Settlers living in the bays or on the islands have small smokehouses, or else they eat the fish lightly salted.

There is hardly any doubt that HUTTON was right when he viewed the presence of the Settlers in the land as one of the most important factors in the change in the Eskimos' way of life – even though he over-simplifies a complex subject and takes too little account of the flood of European wares and influences which have reached the coast through missionaries, traders, and fishermen:

> At the southern stations they are more in contact with the outside world, and, especially, there are English-speaking settlers living among them, cod-fishing and fur-trapping. The Eskimos are born imitators; they do what they see others do; and when they have settler folks living among them in little wooden shacks like their own, and passing in and out among them, it is small wonder that they fall into the settler habits of food and clothing.
>
> They take to garments of cloth instead of the sealskin that Nature has given them; and they eat less of their raw meat and blubber and more of the bread and tea and cooked meats of the settlers. . . . (HUTTON 1912, p.216).

The fact that the Settlers have never tried to assert themselves within the village council has led to the result that they remained apart from many measures of a communal nature. For example, it was purely on the initiative of the Eskimos, in consultation with the mission, and with economic support from the provincial authorities in Newfoundland in 1954–55, that a community house was erected in Nain.

It has been emphasized above that the instruction in joint classes, and solely in English, will undoubtedly mean a considerable improvement in the relations between Eskimo and Settler. Despite the fact that the Settlers did not actively participate in the construction of the community house, it has turned out that the activity of which it has already become the center is making for the same result. Children from both groups gather there for meetings in a newly-initiated scout movement. And the dance evening each week brings young people from both groups closer together. Finally, practically the entire village population, young and old, meet for a common experience at the weekly films.

As I have mentioned several times, the information concerning the relations between Settler and Eskimo, as they are developing today, is based almost entirely on material from the village of Nain and the surrounding district (1955). This part of my description is not to be interpreted as absolutely representative of the conditions in the other district on the coast where there is a population of Eskimos as well as Settlers, namely Hopedale.

Newfoundland fishermen and traders

The political factors behind the settlement in Newfoundland, and those circumstances which resulted in Newfoundland fishermen beginning operation of a summer fishery off the coast of Labrador toward the end of the eighteenth century, are discussed at length by the historian GOSLING (1910). We are here interested in the gradual expansion of this fishery northward into the area of the Eskimos, and the extent and nature of the ensuing contact between Newfoundlander and Eskimo.

According to Chappell (1818, p. 98), the northern boundary of the activities of the Newfoundland fishermen lay at Sandwich Bay in 1818. Concerning his journey in 1864 PACKARD writes that fishermen have visited the coast north of Nain for the past three years. Elsewhere in his book the author maintains that not until later years did the fishermen go up past Hopedale. "When we visited the coast in 1864 scarcely any fishermen went beyond Hamilton Inlet". (PACKARD 1891, p. 184, p. 240.) With reference to Delabarre, TANNER (1944, vol. II, p. 466) maintains that even around 1900 there were few fishermen who went past Nain or Port Manvers. We shall soon see that the expansion to the north had been in progress much earlier than mentioned here.

In fact, trading schooners from Newfoundland and other countries started sailing up the coast to trade with the Eskimos several decades before a large fishing fleet became a permanent feature of the summer life on the coast. Some of these trading schooners were also engaged in fishing and, in addition, a large number of fishing skippers availed themselves of every opportunity to barter with the Eskimos. It therefore appears to be reasonable not to regard these two categories of Newfoundlanders as distinct contact agencies in relation to the Eskimos.

As early as 1831 mention is made from Hopedale of a visit of a merchant vessel which wanted to go northward to the Hebron area. In the cargo were rum and brandy, and many useless articles with which they wanted to cheat the Eskimos, maintains the missionary. (P. A., November 1831.) No information as to the nationality of the vessel is given. In a letter from Hopedale in 1849 an account is given of a visit by a schooner from St. John's, Newfoundland. In addition to sweets, raisins, etc., alcohol was also sold "of which some partook so freely as to become intoxicated. . ." (P. A., March 1850, p. 292.) In September 1859 the journal for Hopedale reported the visit of two schooners which were on the way home after having engaged in fishing to the north. (P. A., 1861, p. 557.) From Nain, too, visits by a considerable number of fishing and trading vessels are

reported at this time (1860). The Nain missionary writes that some of the crews made every effort to get the Eskimos to drink liquor, in some instances with far too good results. (P. A., December 1860, p. 489.) In another report it is maintained that the traders distribute free drinks to the Eskimos "in order to secure the custom of the natives, and perhaps, too to facilitate the work of bartering and increase their own gains". (P. A., March 1865, p. 313.)

To a question of why the Eskimos did not capture the fish before the strangers arrive, a Nain missionary replies that the fishermen come to the north even before the fish appear. While the inlets are still full of ice, the Newfoundland schooners cruise about in open waters and wait for the first opportunity to come in. (P. A., March 1862, p. 221.)

The above data clearly reveal that visits by Newfoundland trading and fishing schooners were of frequent occurrence prior to 1860 also within the stretch of coastline which fell under the mission.[1] These summer visits have undoubtedly also been a contact factor of importance, also before the foreign fishermen began going northward by the hundreds in the latter half of the 1860s. But it was influences from these annual large-scale visitations that made an indelible mark on the Eskimos despite the protective measures of the mission.

The numbers of vessels and men which took part in the summer fishery on the coast of Labrador have been estimated very differently by various writers. The following particulars give us an idea of the extent of this summer traffic:

In the summer of 1869 the mission in Hopedale reported that the number of fishing schooners there was greater that year than ever before; 145 vessels had been counted in one day, and it was estimated that at least 400 had been in the vicinity, even though they did not all call at Hopedale. (P. A., December 1869, p. 238.) Up to 1879 almost 2,200 vessels in all had called at Hopedale, with 500 to 600 in some years. In the summer of 1879 the traffic had increased so tremendously that, at Hopedale alone, 800 boats had called in the course of the season. (PACKARD 1891, p. 198, recording DEWITZ.) Many of these sailed up to the waters around Okak, and even farther north. (P. A., December 1877, p. 335; P. A., December 1882.) In 1878 the Hebron mission reports that from the middle of July a large fishing fleet had been fishing there, and the same summer a visit of fishing schooners from Newfoundland was reported as far north as Ramah, for the first time in the station's short history. (P. A., December 1878, pp. 27–28.)

PACKARD estimated the number of fishermen who annually visited the entire east coast in the period from the end of June to the first half of October, at approximately 30,000 persons distributed over from 1,000 to 1,200 vessels, but GRENFELL maintained, in 1893, that at least 1,500 vessels were engaged in fishing on the stretch north of Hopedale alone. (PACKARD 1891, p. 240; P. A., December 1893, pp. 182–83.) In 1921 COLEMAN (p. 20, p. 47) writes that practically every sheltered anchor place on the coast was occupied by schooners, from the latter half of July, the entire month of August, and a week or two in September. He maintains that more than 800 Newfoundland boats, with a crew of from 8,000 to

[1] Early in the nineteenth century a considerable fishery took place on the southern part of the east coast by vessels from the New England states. After 1840 the American fishery here fell off greatly and stopped in 1869.

10,000 men, were engaged in fishing along the coast in this period. More than a thousand of these men fished on the stretch north of Cape Mugford alone, maintains COLEMAN after his journey along the northeastern coast.

In connection with the presence of Newfoundlanders on the coast we shall note that it was precisely around the middle of the nineteenth century that the missionaries' admonitions to the Eskimos concerning increased efforts in the summer cod fishery had begun to show noticeable results. That the local population as well as the visitors sought the same quarry, and that both parties – despite the use of different types of gear – had to seek the fish in relatively shallow waters, led to the result that the arrival of the Eskimos at the fishing grounds coincided with the invasion of the strangers.

A circumstance which encouraged intimate contact was the many tempting articles of merchandise offered by the Newfoundlanders. They themselves purchased sealskin boots for their own use from the Eskimos. In addition, they purchased fish, particularly in periods when it proved to be difficult for them to obtain a profitable catch with the "cod-trap". This is a so-called passive implement which, under unfavorable conditions, may fail completely. Fishing with hook and line, on the other hand, seldom fails, and it is this tackle which most of the Eskimos have used up to our time. In the mission annals several years are mentioned in which the Eskimos had good results at the end of the season, while the schooners had to sail home with less than half a cargo. From the standpoint of the mission's trade administration, this sale of fish was wrong, because the mission had often given the Eskimos their entire summer equipment on credit. But it was tempting, among other reasons, because the fishermen were often able to pay with articles of food and other wares which the mission, with its view to preserve and protect Eskimo culture, did not carry in the stores.

The Eskimos do not appear to have regarded the contact with the fishermen as harmful to themselves in any sphere. A Nain Eskimo emphasized several times "how much he had received" from the fishermen, partly without offering anything in return. Among those examples he mentioned from his own experience was one to the effect that, when the fishermen had their traps so full of fish that they were unable to gut and clean all of them, they sometimes permitted the Eskimos to take the rest of the catch. Once in a while both he himself and others had received ropes and other things which they could use during the fishing.

As early as 1818 CHAPPELL (p. 35) reveals that "the fine harbours along the coast became the property of those who first entered them in the spring of the year. . ." According to an Eskimo informant the Newfoundlanders practiced the right of the first arrival all the way up to the postwar period (at which time the fishery to the north was discontinued because of Newfoundland's difficulties in disposing of salted fish in the world market.[1] It could be expected that the contact with the fishermen would on this account be marked by strong clashes of interest. The comparative harmony can be explained at least partly by the fact that the two parties, because of differences in fishing tackle and techniques, did not make

[1] According to Polar Records (Nos. 35–36, p. 159) there were only 4,000 foreign fishermen at the coast in 1945. In the summer of 1955 I did not see a single fishing vessel from Newfoundland on the stretch of coast from Hamilton Inlet to Saglek Bay.

quite the same demands upon the locality. Even though both groups by preference had to fish in shallow waters, the use of a "cod-trap" requires especially good bottom conditions, while the one who fishes with a hand line ("jigg") has a wider choice of fishing grounds.

Newfoundlanders by the hundreds often risked life and vessel in order to force their way to the north and lie ready outside what were known to be "the best berths", already long before profitable fishing could take place. This was more to steal a march on their countrymen than out of the fear that the Eskimos would prohibit them from entering the fishing grounds. The Eskimos, as a matter of fact, were busy with the spring sealing at the time when the fishermen, like pirates, crossed back and forth waiting for the breaking up of the ice. They neither could nor would participate in any race to the fishing grounds before the shoals of fish came in to the shore. (P. A., March 1862, p. 221.)

It is clear, however, that in some places the fishermen arrived in such great numbers that they more or less openly forced the Eskimos away from the most favorable fishing grounds. In the summer of 1881 the missionary in Okak writes: "These visitors injure the Eskimos by net-fishing on a large scale just at the mouth of bays, which our people occupy. . ." (P. A., December 1882, p. 366.) From Hopedale in 1883, a direct clash over the fishing grounds is described: "Some Eskimoes were fishing in the neighborhood of the Newfoundlanders, and one of the former finding his situation unfavorable moved nearer to them; he was roughly ordered back again, and as he did not obey, a man began to throw stones at his boat. Happily they did not reach, or they would have soon destroyed the thin framework covered with skins. The Eskimo took his gun and threatened to shoot, which had the effect of quieting the other." (P. A., December 1884, p. 190.)

Episodes of this kind appear to have occurred very seldom. A Hopedale missionary complained that the Eskimos had again been deprived of the best fishing possibilities, adding that the Newfoundlanders had furthermore had the worst possible moral influence. (P. A., March 1900, p. 238.) This indicates that the contact had indeed been of quite a jovial nature. It is typical, as a whole, that it was the missionary and not the Eskimo who regarded the intrusion of the fishermen as a threat to the economic possibilities of the local population. It was particularly feared that the Newfoundland fishermen would also begin to fish from land stations to the north. It was in order to keep away all categories of strangers that the mission at the beginning of the 1860s, built a house in Napartok, and, in 1866, in Saglek.

Almost all of the Newfoundlanders who visited the coast north of Makkovik were so-called "floaters", i.e. they brought all their supplies with them, salted the fish on the vessel, and lived on board independent of any land-station. The supplies could be obtained in the course of the season from trading schooners. These "floaters" were characterized by the fact that they followed the fish and changed fishing ground as soon as the yield appeared to diminish. It turns out, however, that many of them did not lead such a vagabond existence as the name could suggest. TANNER says that the largest number of the schooners went directly to the spot which had been decided upon, and most of the men thus came back so unfailingly to the same fishing grounds that the individual "floaters" were

almost regularly found where one of his friends had marked them down on his map. (TANNER 1944, vol. II, p. 760.) Since, in addition, the same crews were employed year after year, it is clear that favorable conditions for personal contacts between Eskimo and fisherman were present.

It is inconceivable that fishermen who became thoroughly acquainted with the population in a definite area would be the cause of episodes of the kind we have heard of from Hopedale. Such behavior could only be ascribed to a specific category of "floaters" who raised anchor as soon as the fishing diminished, in hopes of finding other places where they could obtain a full cargo as quickly as possible. The same is certainly true of those thefts of Eskimo property which have been mentioned some few times in the mission reports. In August 1877 the complaint is made from Okak that in Labrador protection by judges and police is lacking. In quite a few instances Newfoundlanders have stolen wooden poles which were used by the Eskimos to hang fish on. The theft of a boat from a poor woman is also mentioned, – "there is good reason to believe that it has been burnt by some of these marauders, who profess to be Christians, and are civil enough when they visit at our stations". (P. A., December 1877, p. 335.) The following year new thefts are mentioned in the Okak area. At the same time the missionary in Hebron writes that they have been visited by many fishermen: "Several of them seemed very decent people. . . Others behaved disgracefully, and tried to make off with articles belonging to the Eskimoes". (P. A., December 1878, p. 25, p. 27.)

A complaint from the mission to the authorities in Newfoundland about these conditions resulted in no other reaction than a proclamation which was sent up to the various stations. It was to be made known to the fishermen, and it was hoped that the warnings in this document would be a sufficient means of putting a stop to the encroachments. In any case, such episodes are not mentioned in the mission annals for the following years.

We need not necessarily assume that the Eskimos felt themselves inferior to the fishermen. It must have been of some significance, for example, that quite a large number of the Newfoundlanders were illiterate, while most of the Eskimos on the east coast, already in the nineteenth century, were able to read and write their own language. An annual report from Makkovik (1900) relates that it is surprising to discover how many of the fishermen cannot read. (P. A., December 1900, p. 408.) GRENFELL (1910, p. 175.) writes that a Newfoundland fisherman once had to consult an Eskimo and ask him to read a letter for him.

As devoted church-goers it must also have made an impression upon the Eskimos that their own church found it necessary to missionize among the fishermen by holding meetings for them and distributing religious tracts to them when they lay in port at the stations. That the missionaries frequently warned the Eskimos against having too intimate a contact with the fishermen, could only serve to emphasize the impression that the Newfoundlanders, both from a religious and a moral point of view, were on a lower plane. An episode from one of the fishing places outside of Nain reflects the attitude of the Eskimos to the strangers. In the summer of 1899 the Nain Eskimo, SIMON, who was the village musician, fell out with the fishermen. The reason was that, as a result of religious scruples, he no longer wanted to play for them while they danced. From that time on SIMON

began handing out religious tracts among the fishermen, and he related that they were very grateful for what he had to give them. (P. A., March 1900, p. 237.)

Most of the Newfoundland fishermen were extremely poor, and were often systematically exploited by the merchants who fitted them out for the season[1].

On board the small vessels, where the fishermen were crowded together for months, the hygienic conditions were such that they must have had a thought-provoking effect upon the Eskimos. PACKARD thus describes the interior of a schooner which he saw in Labrador in 1864: "Everything about the interior was forlorn, dirty, greasy, and not a soul aboard had apparently washed for weeks." (PACKARD 1891, pp. 156–57.) The difference in mode of living and economic level between Eskimo and Newfoundlander was, on the whole, small.

Apart from an occasional Sunday visit by the missionary, the Eskimos, during the summer tent life at the fishing places, were free from many of the orders which, as a matter of course, had to be adopted in the village if conflict was to be avoided. The dancing evenings out on the islands were always well attended by the crews from all the schooners which were to be found in the vicinity. While it was essentially the men who, during the day's fishing, came in contact with the fishermen, the women, on the other hand, came in a more than close contact with the foreigners in the evening. Even though some of the schooners brought women from home to take part in the processing of the fish, there was, as a rule, a great surplus of men.

As soon as the Eskimos were out of sight of the station there was no one to emphasize those prohibitions and admonitions which the missionaries impressed on the Eskimos before they went out to the summer places. This applied both to the prohibition against dancing, and the prohibition against going on board foreign vessels – which, of course, pertained to the women in particular. (CHIMMO 1868, p. 272.) "Church-elders", or committee members, were careful not to meddle in the private lives of their fellow villagers, as long as this did not represent any danger or harm to others.

Not even in the villages were the missionaries able to hinder intimate connections with the Newfoundlanders. In 1914 it is thus reported from Okak:

> Sometimes a few of the fishermen stayed the night with the Eskimoes in their houses. On the whole this visiting and mixing with our people here and elsewhere, ashore and on the schooners, does not exert a beneficial influence upon our Eskimoes, and experience has led the missionaries to earnestly, pray and work for, its decrease in Okak and elsewhere; consequently, in the course of conversation, Eskimos and Newfoundlanders have been advised to avoid too free an intercourse with each other for their bodies', souls', and Saviour's sake. (P. A., December 1915, p. 359.)

TANNER writes, referring to MCGREGOR, that the missionaries maintain that the fishermen often meddled in the family affairs of the Eskimos. There are, in fact,

[1] W. CHIMMO 1868, p. 277, writes, after his journey to Labrador in 1867, about this: "Three merchants in Newfoundland the other day, partners, dissolved. They had £ 49,000 each, besides the standing poperty. They had been agents for supplying the fisheries for fifteen years. This will give a small idea of the profits".

good reasons for TANNER to refer to the visiting fishermen as a factor in the racial mixture of the Labrador coast, according to information which I received from missionaries. (TANNER 1944, vol. II, p. 466.) Marriage between Eskimo women and Newfoundlanders of the "floater" category appear almost never to have taken place. South of Hamilton Inlet, where many Newfoundlanders (the so-called "planters") fished from land stations, marriage to Eskimo women is reported to have occurred to a certain extent in the nineteenth century. A number of these Newfoundlanders settled on the coast and have contributed to the growth of the Settler population.

That the mission's concern over the contact with the fishermen had moral motives has been mentioned several times in the above description. But it was also connected with the mission's basic view on culture preservation, which, empirically speaking, aimed only at a selective preservation of Labrador Eskimo culture. In a report from 1869 both aspects of its anxiety are expressed in few words: "There is opportunity abundantly afforded to the Eskimoes to learn to indulge in gambling, intoxicating liquors, dancing, and other objectionable amusements, as well as articles of luxury of various kinds". (P. A., December 1869, p. 227.)

While CURTIS (1774, p. 384) after his journey to Labrador in 1773, relates that the Eskimos "are not as yet fond of spirituous liquors, and there are but few that will taste of any", the Eskimos, down through the nineteenth century through the first Settler-traders and through the Newfoundland fishermen and traders, were afforded ample opportunities of becoming acquainted with alcohol. It was no wonder that the missionaries were especially disturbed by the development in this sphere, as not only were morals involved, but also health and other factors. In 1878 the missionary in Hopedale writes: "...we mourn over the increasing drunkenness among them; some appear unable to resist the temptation to indulge in strong drink, whenever they can get possession of it". (P. A., December 1878, p. 21.) Even worse sounds the report two years later from the same station: "In three families both parents were drunkards; in one the grown-up daughter as well". (P. A., December 1880, p. 327.) In the above-mentioned report from 1878 a remark is added to the effect that the Eskimos were previously dependent upon visits of traders in order to be able to obtain beverages, but that they now make it themselves "by mixing bread, treacle and water, and letting fermentation take place". It is not clear whether it is the Settlers or Newfoundland fishermen who have taught the Eskimos the brewing of beer. But there is no doubt that the mass visits of the fishermen on the coast had the effect of increasing the consumption of alcohol among Eskimos. Those Eskimos who were sometimes taken on board the fishing schooners as pilots on the coast were particularly exposed to influences of this kind. In the annual report for 1875–76 (Hopedale) it is told of a man who was often a pilot for the fishermen, and thus had developed a strong propensity to drink. He drowned after having partaken of brandy which he had taken ashore after a pilot job. (P. A., December 1876, p. 106.)

To begin with, the mission was directly condemnatory, or at least unfriendly, in its attitude to the fishermen. Gradually a more positive policy evolved, with an influencing of the fishermen through religious meetings, and, from the turn

of the century, also through aid at the stations to sick fishermen. All this has undoubtedly created a degree of good will and respect for the mission among the visitors, and, in the end, has had an influence upon the fishermen's treatment of the Eskimos. It appears, among other things, that the earlier, widespread sale or distribution of alcohol occurs more seldom when we come into the present century.

At the same time as the mission was getting on friendlier terms with the fishermen, the relations between the mission and the Eskimos were deteriorating because of the latters' trade with the Newfoundlanders – a trade which was directly injurious to the mission's own trade. It deprived the mission of those products which could give a profit and it was also in direct conflict with the mission's fundamental principles, namely to protect the Eskimos against transition to a mode of living which was incompatible with their continued existence "as Eskimos", i.e. at least partly dependent on the seal and its products.

It is evident that the contact with the Newfoundland fishermen and traders was an especially important factor in the modification of the diet of the Eskimo, which took place in the latter half of the nineteenth century. In this field there were no barriers to the contact. In the course of the summer months the Eskimos had ample opportunity of seeing how the fishermen lived. They were able to taste their foods, and there was often an opportunity of purchasing them if so desired.

As contact agencies the mission and the Newfoundlanders, with their conflicting interests, thus competed with one another in many areas. The Eskimos could not fulfil simultaneously the expectations of both sides, and this brought the Eskimos into an almost permanent conflict situation. As has been previously mentioned, the Eskimos were often not at all free to dispose of the products they sold to the fishermen in order to be able to satisfy the new consumption habits. Most of them owed great amounts to the store for the supplies they had obtained on credit the previous winter. The "illegal" sale to the schooners, therefore, brought them into constant disputes with the manager of the stores in their home villages. That some of the private traders even settled on the coast did not improve the situation. The fear that the transactions occurring in the summer would be exposed on the return to the station weighed heavily upon the minds of the Eskimos. This, of course, did not become any better as the gulf between the economic ability and the new standard of consumption became greater. And apparently the European articles of food bought from the traders and fishermen scarcely provided any advantage whatsoever from a nutritional point of view. While the mission traders at times abstained from buying up the entire stock on hand of those products which, from experience, they knew that the Eskimos themselves would need for food during the winter, the private traders had no such inhibitions to their inclination to buy.

For several reasons the Newfoundlanders exerted little influence of an intellectual nature. The language problem must have been a considerable barrier to the exchange of ideas, especially farthest to the north where no native spoke English. Concerning the first visit of Newfoundland fishermen in Ramah in 1876 it is said: "The language of signs was successfully practised by natives and visitors, and many a bargain made". (P. A., December 1878, p. 31.) Among the

Eskimos farther to the south there have, already in the middle of the ninetenth century, been a number of individuals who knew English so well that they were able to carry on a general conversation with the fishermen. That the communication, to some extent, must have been of a verbal nature comes out in a Nain report from the summer of 1880: "Fishermen from the schooners fill the heads of our people with all kinds of incorrect notions, partly no doubt from ignorance; but they are eagerly caught up and brought forward in times of excitement and seasons of want". (P. A., December 1880, p. 343.) Even though the fishermen made no systematic attempt to undermine the reputation of the missionaries among the Eskimos, the increasing opposition to the mission at the end of the 1860s and in the first half of the 1870s (which made its influence felt in particular in Nain, but can also be traced in the mission reports from Zoar and Okak) can hardly be explained solely with a reference to the increasing economic problems. We shall not leave out of account the possibility that criticism of the mission on the part of the fishermen may, in a conflict situation, have had the effect of inciting the Eskimos.

If we compare the educational level of the two groups, the evaluation will decidedly be in the Eskimos' favor. As has been mentioned, many of the Newfoundlanders were illiterate. The schooling which was given in Newfoundland has up to recent times undoubtedly rested on a lower level than the schooling which the mission has been able to offer the Eskimos of Labrador. Thus it can hardly be conceived that this poor, and modestly educated population of fishermen, even if it came into an especially close contact with the Eskimos, can have provided them with significant intellectual impulses.

If we consider the field of technology, little of the fishermen's equipment was unknown to the Eskimos. It is very likely, however, that it was the Newfoundlanders' use of modern fishing equipment which served as a model when some of the economically well-to-do Eskimos, in later times, acquired "cod-traps". Likewise, some impulse must be attributed to the fishermen when, in the latter half of the nineteenth century, the Eskimos to a large extent complied with the agitation of the missionaries for more diligent efforts in the cod fishery. Comparisons between the information in REICHEL's visitation reports from 1861 and 1876 respectively – which show a particularly substantial transition to cod fishing in the course of this 15-year period, especially with regard to the Eskimos in Hopedale – appear to reflect to some extent the fact that the number of summer fishermen was especially large here to the south. (P. A., June 1862, p. 277, and P. A., March 1877, p. 147, p. 156.)

We should remember, however, that contact in itself does not always mean very much. The sheer number of fishermen with whom the Labrador Eskimos came into relatively close contact, likewise, does not contribute substantially to an explanation of the possible effects on the life of the Eskimo, of the Newfoundland fishery in Northeast Labrador. What matters, of course, is what the specific contact implies. In my opinion, the fact that the Newfoundlanders to a high degree brought with them for sale many wares which the Eskimos could not buy elsewhere (and partly did not know earlier), was undoubtedly one of the aspects of the contact which had the most far-reaching consequences.

As the Eskimos' own summer fishery gradually increased in significance, and created a demand for larger vessels, they purchased a number of boats from the Newfoundlanders, which KOCH, among others, mentioned in the record of his stay in Labrador in 1882–83. (KOCH 1884, p. 161.) As far as I have been able to ascertain, the first motorboat in Nain was acquired by an Eskimo through barter with the fishermen, shortly before the first World War. LINDOW (1924, p. 31) reports that the mission was forced to sell motorboats because the Eskimos would otherwise purchase junk from the fishermen, and perhaps also sell their products to them. In the mission's annual reports it is maintained frequently that the wares the Eskimos purchased from the Newfoundlanders, were "poor and useless".

In conclusion I shall point out that it was the large scale Newfoundland fishery on the coast, more than consideration for the resident population which, in the summer of 1878, led to the opening of the first steamship connection between St. John's and Mannok Island near Hopedale. In 1883 the connection was extended to Nain, with a couple of calls per month at the time the fishery was in operation. Today (1955) all the stations on the coast are visited by the coastal steamers from Newfoundland, from the middle of July to the end of October.

The Hudson's Bay Company

The activity of the Hudson's Bay Company on the east coast of Labrador began around 1831 and still continues in a few places along the coast. It seems logical to divide this activity into two periods. First, the long period up to 1926, when the trading stations of the Company (with one or two important exceptions) lay outside the settlement area of the so-called "Mission Eskimos" in northeast Labrador. The second, and from a contact standpoint most significant period, is the time from 1926 to 1942. In this period the Company controlled practically all trade at the mission stations. After the government of Newfoundland took over the trade in all of the mission villages and at Davis Inlet, in 1942, none of the stations of the Hudson's Bay Company lie within the Eskimos' hunting and settlement area on the east coast.

The commercial monopoly acquired by the Hudson's Bay Company in 1670 also embraced those areas of the Labrador Peninsula which drained into Hudson Bay and Hudson Strait. But it was decidedly at variance with the facts when a plan of 1752, from some London merchants, to carry on trade between 52° and 60°N on the east coast of Labrador, was upset by the Company with the argument that this area was also under its jurisdiction. Leaving out of account a place like Cartwright, which the Hudson's Bay Company acquired by purchase, those trading stations which it opened on the east coast in the nineteenth century were based not on juridical but on "squatters' rights only", as GOSLING (1910, p. 130, p. 407) expresses it.

Nearly all the Hudson's Bay Company stations, which were established in Labrador in the nineteenth century lay outside the mission area proper. Compared with the contact of the Eskimos with the Settlers, and with travelling traders and fishermen, the contact with agents of the Hudson's Bay Company appears, in this first period, to have played a subordinate role. The Company obtained by far the most of its furs from neighboring Settlers, and, at Davis Inlet, also from Indians. The Settlers were not under obligation to the mission to the same degree as the Eskimos with regard to where they wanted to trade.

In mission reports from Nain it is mentioned several times, in the middle of the nineteenth century, that Eskimos visited the trader at Ukkusiksalik (Davis Inlet) for longer or shorter periods of time. It is very likely that the man in question was the representative of the Hudson's Bay Company, as the Company had a station here at this time.

In a report from Zoar (1872) it is mentioned that the existence of a station of

the Hudson's Bay Company, within a reasonable range, had an influence upon the Eskimos' attitude to the mission in conflicts about the trade. An Eskimo who was refused additional credit in the mission store, because it was known that he was well-off economically, left Zoar in a rage with his family and went to the nearest station of the Hudson's Bay Company (Davis Inlet). (P. A., December 1872, p. 347.) In a report from Hopedale in 1877 the mission deplores the Eskimos' "frequent opportunities of indulgence in strong drink, which are afforded by the agents of the Hudson's Bay Company in winter, and some passing schooners in summer". (P. A., December 1877, p. 330.)

In this first period the activities of the Hudson's Bay Company on the coast had a relatively modest influence upon the Eskimos, though there were one or two important exceptions. Thus, at the end of the 1860s the Hebron mission undertook an offensive to the north in order to establish contact with more of the heathen Eskimos. A house was built at Saglek Bay for both carrying on trade and operating a mission. But after a short time the Company took up a highly importunate competition for the trade by sending an agent to Saglek. This was a Settler of mixed extraction, who spoke Eskimo well, and his wife was an Eskimo. Thus he had good qualifications for gaining ground among the population. Under these circumstances the mission chose to move farther to the north, and built a house at the outer part of the Nachvak Fjord. Again the Company made a countermove by opening a trading post at Nachvak. Here, too, the manager was an Eskimo-speaking Settler. It ended, once again, with the withdrawal of the mission.

It was partly because of these bitter experiences that the Moravians in 1871 opened the so-called "jubilee station" at Ramah near Nachvak.

In the beginning, it made slow progress in persuading the Eskimos to settle down in Ramah. One of the reasons was the strong social pressure exerted by *angakoks* and other dominating individuals against everyone who wanted to join the mission. But there was another and more palpable reason. The agent of the Hudson's Bay Company in Nachvak as a representative of a purely profit-making concern, was not at all happy to see his customers and deliverers of furs leave the place and settle down with the competitors. Thus it is also related in the journal for Ramah (1872–73) about the heathens' excuses for not being able to move to the mission: "But all of them say that the Nachvak trader will not allow them to go and live at Ramah". (P. A., March 1874, p. 67.)

The most important aspect of the Hudson's Bay Company's trading here to the north was that it took place among those Eskimos of the east coast, who, until now, had been least affected by European contacts.

In the discussion of the colonization history of the Settlers mention has already been made of an indirect effect of the Company's activity in Labrador, namely that it contributed to the growth of the Settler population in the latter half of the nineteenth century, as some of the employees married Eskimo women and, after a while, settled permanently in the country.

Because of increasing difficulties with its trade activities, the mission in 1926 allowed the Hudson's Bay Company to take over its stores for a period of 21 years. This arrangement, as has been mentioned, came to last only 16 years

because the Newfoundland government took over the trade at all the mission stations in 1942.

The prominent feature of the economic life during these 16 years was that fur trapping – which provided an extremely modest contribution to the subsistence of the Eskimos in the form of meat – was given a one-sided stimulation to a degree that had never been experienced during the mission's trade.

I shall make an attempt below to throw light upon the policy of the Hudson's Bay Company as it came to affect the Eskimos in the Nain area. I have reason to assume that the development in this period, on the whole, had the same trend at the other mission stations, with a slight deviation from place to place, among other reasons determined by the extent to which individual attitudes of the trade manager could make themselves felt within the framework of the official policy of the Hudson's Bay Company.

M. B., who was employed by the Company at the stores in the Nain area (Nain and Voisey's Bay) in the years 1937–39, stated that the Hudson's Bay Company had an agreement with the Newfoundland authorities which, in brief, worked like this: The Company had the right to import all wares duty free to the stations in Labrador. In return, it was to assume the responsibility for those who needed help, i.e. give a kind of public relief.

The aid, which was given when the mission carried on the trade had, first and foremost, a humanitarian aim. Irrespective of how one's economic relations with the store might be, it would never occur that a family which needed help asked for it in vain. When the trade was transferred to the Hudson's Bay Company, this was one of the problems which concerned the missionaries most. In the annual report for Hopedale for 1926–27 we read:

> The year under review has brought about one of the biggest changes that has ever taken place in the history of the Labrador Mission, viz., the handing over of the trade to the Hudson's Bay Company. Since the commencement of the Mission in the year 1771 the Mission, or perhaps more correctly, the Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel, has carried on trade with the Eskimos, not so much for the sake of gain as for the help and protection of the Eskimos. Through the stores the Mission has carried on Philanthropical and industrial work, providing markets for products of the country brought in by the Eskimos, supplying them with the necessaries of life and of their calling, and attending to the wants of the needy. . . Through the transfer of the trade to other hands the Mission relinquishes the responsibility for the bodily welfare of its members and confines itself to the spiritual oversight of the flock. (P. A., June 1928, pp. 239–40.)

Under the Hudson's Bay Company considerable pressure was put upon anyone seeking assistance by the fact that the administrator of the semi-official aid was, at the same time, the representative of a private business company. The skilled hunter – which to the Hudson's Bay Company meant the skilled fur-trapper – held a more favorable position than others when he sought help in an emergency, or asked for ordinary credit. From a commercial standpoint, he represented "a better investment" than the man who only seldom brought in a fox skin.

M.B. emphasized that the latter would soon feel himself compelled to set out to hunt fur-bearing animals if he wanted to avoid starving.

In a mission report for 1926–27, it is reported from Nain:

> While on the surface all has gone smoothly, in the minds of the majority of our people there has been a great deal of dissatisfaction with the new order of things. All would welcome the Mission-trade back, yet there are very few who would willingly fulfil their obligations towards the store. . . . (P. A., June 1928, pp. 245–46.)

According to M.B. the relief agreement operated with so little satisfaction in practice that it was revoked about 1934. After this time the obligation was taken over by the Newfoundland authorities, which allowed the distribution to be made by on the spot representatives, "The Rangers". These were in charge of the police service at the stations until the Royal Canadian Mounted Police took over, upon the confederation of Newfoundland with Canada in 1948.

I have found no available statistics of the Hudson's Bay Company's trade in Labrador. M.B. revealed that, even though both trout and cod were purchased by the Company, there was little interest in the fisheries. In Nain only a few Eskimos were equipped for fishing trout. The general impression, however, is that the economic life of the summer season was influenced relatively little by the presence of the Hudson's Bay Company. This is probably due to the fact that the fishing did not represent a competition for time and labor with the main interest of the trade: the trapping of fur-bearing animals – which was naturally bound up with the late autumn and the winter.

In connection with the high priority of fur-trapping, the Company in practice even operated with a division of the hunters of the village (Nain) into two categories:

a) A group which it was considered completely justifiable to equip for "long-distance fur hunting", essentially in the weather-beaten country west of Tessi-soak Lake. Scarcely more than 15–20 of the hunters came under this category. These were often inland a month, in some instances up to six weeks, and could return to the station with as many as 20 fox skins each. In order to guarantee the future recruiting of fur trappers, each unit consisted of an experienced man and young boy who was to be trained.

b) A second group, i.e. the remainder of the hunters, only received supplies for trapping near the station. And from this area one seldom returned with more than one or two fox skins per trip.

It has been pointed out earlier that the tightening of credit facilities in the years immediately before the mission gave up the trade led to a degree of change in the annual cycle of the Eskimos in that whole families, even in midwinter, went away from the village in order to try their luck at trapping. This dispersal of the population in the course of the winter became even more marked after 1926, both because of the Company's uncompromising credit regulations, and because furs, as we have seen, involved advantages in excess of their money value. In the Hopedale report for 1926–27, it is pointed out that the congregation is small at times, "because our people spend more time at their various hunting

and trapping places than formerly. A man needs a large area for his fox traps; so families are widely scattered to avoid encroaching on each other's trapping ground". (P. A., June 1928, p. 243.) The report for the following year again confirms this development in Hopedale. Among other things, it is mentioned how difficult it is to procure fuel near the village at the same time as one has to look after the traps "on which they must depend for a living". Many thus remained out in the trapping territory. Fur prices are quoted in the report as having been quite high the previous winter, which of course stimulated the interest in trapping. But on the other hand, the prices of wares in the stores were also quite high. (P. A., June 1929, p. 325.)

The increasing importance of trapping during this period can best be understood from the annual report from Nain 1939–40, where it is reported that once again – as in the previous years – the celebration of the Moravians' special feast days, "the young men's day" and "the married folks' day", was postponed until the fox hunting was at an end:

> Our Eskimos themselves have learned to understand the necessity of doing their utmost while they are permitted to hunt for furs, and have of their own consent suggested the change. They are much averse, however, to postponing the Church anniversary, February 19th, being the day when the first Eskimo convert was baptized. In time no doubt this day also will have to be postponed to some more suitable time, and all energy may then be concentrated upon fox hunting. (P. A., June 1941, p. 49.)

That such a change had become necessary indicates, moreover, that the trappers went a long way off, and were away for longer periods than before. This is also corroborated by contemporaneous mission reports from Makkovik as well as from Hebron. From Hebron it is reported in 1938 that "some of the more venturesome spirits among our men went into the country to parts they had never seen before, and stayed there hunting foxes. . ." (P. A., June 1939, p. 121.)

In winter all forms of hunting in Labrador are dependent upon the sledge dog as a means of transportation. Therefore the supply of blubber and seal meat was a restriction on the fur-trapper's journeys and stay in the interior. Firstly, it was a question of what the yield of the autumn sealing had been. Then there was a limit to the amount of dog food that could be carried on the dog sledge – seldom more than a supply for barely two weeks. For that reason the intensification of the fur trapping also happened to have dietary consequences. We may be justified in saying that it turned into a competition between man and dog over the seal meat. Under extreme hardships in the interior the sledge dogs could not manage without proper food. The hunter and his family, who in large measure also valued and needed seal meat, if necessary, had to live almost solely upon shop fare – flour, crackers, sugar, tea, etc.

If in the course of a few days no game was killed in the interior (reindeer were most sought after), one soon had to turn one's back on the windswept inland plateau. The Hebron report for the year 1939–40 is not exceptional when it relates that some of the trappers had to return on foot from the hunting area to

the coast, because the dogs were so weak that they had to be left behind. (P. A., June 1941, p. 50.)

The Nain hunters were able to remain in the interior up to six weeks at a time solely on the condition that there was access to game. As opposed to the earlier, purely temporary, visits to the interior during the reindeer hunting, Eskimos were now found here a great part of the winter. Thus it is reasonable to ask if the many fur trappers decisively contributed to the severe reduction of the supply of reindeer in the period between the world wars. That this has played its part is beyond question, if not as drastically as was the case when the Copper Eskimos came under the influence of the Hudson's Bay Company. J. F. BERNARD reported to JENNESS, from his stay in the country in 1919–20, that the manager of the Hudson's BayCompany at Kent Peninsula stored up a large supply of seal blubber so that the Eskimos could devote all their time to the fur trapping. They also abandoned the seal hunt two months earlier than before. For that reason, caribou meat became the most important article of food, and the supply was thus overtaxed so heavily that, in BERNARD's opinion, it would be wiped out in the course of a decade. (JENNESS 1922, Appendix, pp. 248–49.)

The Labrador trapper needed well-fed sledge dogs, and even the most hard-boiled fur trader could not maintain that it was possible to neglect the sealing completely. Examples from Nain, however, indicate that the representatives of the Company voiced a more positive attitude to the question in 1928 than they did ten years later.

In the autumn of 1928 the sealing at Nain was unprecedented, no less than 2,500 animals having been captured. The mission report for 1928–29 states that the Hudson's Bay Company manager had arranged for the Company to furnish nets at the old sealing places. This was the cause of the good hunting result. (P. A., June 1930, p. 415.)

From the Nain report for 1937–38 we see that the situation has changed. After a reference to the economic difficulties of the population, it goes on:

> Then again the fact that the sealing-places have been given up has added to the general distress. . . . Formerly, when the mission had the trade the importance of sealing was recognized, but this has passed away and a new set of ideas holds sway. It may be said: "Surely the Eskimos can maintain the sealing-places themselves." The answer is that they cannot do so. In order to do so they must have nets; nets cost money, and the Eskimos have no resources to fall back upon. The Company will not, in Nain, provide nets or fit out sealing-teams, although they have done so on other stations. And so the Eskimo sinks deeper into poverty year by year, accumulating debts that he can never hope to repay; and there is no doubt that shortsighted policy lies at the root of the evil. (P. A., June 1939, p. 133.)

In order to remedy these conditions a collection was started on the initiative of the Labrador missionaries in the Moravian congregations in Europe for the acquisition of sealing nets. In the autumn of 1939 the Eskimos in both Nain and

Hopedale had some of these nets at their disposal, to the benefit of many families.

If we wish to understand the effects of the presence of various contact agencies, it is not sufficient to study these agencies as groups or organizations. In those instances where existing data make it possible the way an organization's policy is practised, at a particular place by those individuals who represent it, should be examined. It is this practice which, in the judgment of the local population, is the organization's policy, and which provoke specific reactions.

Shortly after the Company took over the mission stores, the mission emphasized that the manager in Nain showed great understanding of the goal of the church with respect to its work among the population of the coast. "His firm yet friendly way with the natives, and perhaps more than anything else his straightforwardness went a long way towards reassuring the people that after all the intentions of the Hudson's Bay Company are bound up with their own welfare", it says. (P. A., June 1930, p. 414.) An observation such as this attributes to the Hudson's Bay Company, as an organization, motives which essentially stem from impressions of the personal behavior, and understanding of the local conditions on the part of one Hudson's Bay Company representative.

The mission teacher, Miss K.H., emphasized that the way the Eskimos were treated in business matters always depended upon the personality of the local Hudson's Bay Company manager. Her impression, from the end of the 1920s, was that "most of the managers were very helpful to the population in Nain". Among other things, new boats were brought in on the initiative of the manager in the late 1920s, and these were turned over to the Eskimos on easy terms.[1]

From the previously quoted Nain report for 1937–38 we have seen that the practice of the Hudson's Bay Company at this time was quite different from that followed when the trade was taken over. It is difficult to determine whether these conditions are attributable to new lines of policy from the Company's management, or lack of understanding on the part of the manager at that time. Personal information from one of the missionaries, however, appears to exclude the latter possibility. The more rigid principles were probably the Company's reaction to the population's increasing indebtedness to the store.

M.B. maintained that the increase in debt was the main reason why the trade manager brought pressure to bear upon the Eskimos in order to get them off to the fox hunting as quickly as possible after the church feasts. Often he asked the missionary to influence people to go out trapping as soon as possible, which resulted in considerable differences between the traders and the missionaries.

While the seal, most of all, meant wholesome food to people and sledge dogs, as well as skin for boots, it yielded a modest cash return. Furs, on the other hand, meant money. It enabled the Eskimos to increase their consumption of European articles and particularly foodstuffs. A relatively small part of the earnings went to the purchase of articles for everyday use. The mission often reports that sudden earnings from furs were partly frittered on out-and-out luxury items.

The transition from subsistence to market economy, which set in long before

[1] In Hebron tree dwellings were erected, between the World Wars, on the initiative of the Hudson's Bay Company. I do not know on what terms the Eskimos were able to take them over.

the Hudson's Bay Company took over the trade, accelerated considerably in the 1930s and onward.

Wealth acquired by means of trapping did not necessarily mean that a man's prestige and influence increased in the village. It was more difficult to be generous with money than with meat. But the reputation of a great hunter was not acquired by means of riches alone. Perhaps most important was the ability to give and pride in giving gifts of meat to fellow members of the community. In the mission annals a few examples are to be found of trappers, who had been especially fortunate, giving some dollar bills to needy widows. But this did not create any tradition to compensate for the decline in the giving of meat, which has been a characteristic aspect of the transition in Labrador to a market economy, mainly based on an occupation like trapping.

Through decades of scientific work in the country E. P. WHEELER, the American geologist, has acquired an especially intimate knowledge of the Eskimos in Labrador. He had an opportunity of observing conditions as they were at the beginning of the Hudson's Bay Company period in 1926, and he could later follow the changes, year by year, at close quarters without being personally committed to the administration or to the mission. He travelled about in the country, in winter as well as in summer, often with Eskimo companions, and learned the language better than any non-missionary. On this background he characterized the policy of the Hudson's Bay Company as more than a continuation of developments which had started a long way back. In his opinion it was a truly decisive break with the past: "The Hudson's Bay Company simply meant disaster to the Eskimo". (Personal communication.)

After his expeditions to Labrador, V. TANNER viewed the Company's trade with the Eskimos very critically, and he felt that the authorities ought to intervene in the relations between seller and buyer. TANNER places great emphasis on the question of cash: "It is said that cash is an almost unknown commodity on the coast, and the price for the Eskimoes' products is given him in trade equivalents only!" (TANNER 1944, vol. II, pp. 537–38, p. 573.) As I have mentioned before, money was used as a means of payment only to quite a small extent in the mission store, mostly when fox skins were sold. So debit and credit entries were no new experience for the Eskimos, as TANNER seems to assume. The decisive difference between the two commercial systems was that the Company calculated a full profit with equal rates on all groups of wares, so that the prices of necessaries according to report, increased considerably after the Hudson's Bay Company took over. The mission, on the other hand, to some extent, reduced the prices on the necessary consumer goods, and, in return, calculated a considerable increase on what were regarded as luxury items.

The Hudson's Bay Company also had a far stronger monopoly than the mission trade in its time, as the former visits of travelling traders (trading schooners) had almost ceased completely when the Company took over the stores at the stations of the Moravian Mission. Thus the Eskimos seldom had any alternative trader to go to with their own products, if they found that the Company paid too poorly. Being on good terms with the Hudson's Bay Company manager, from a personal as well as a business point of view, was almost a prerequisite to obtaining aid

when starvation threatened. When the mission operated the trade and administered the relief, even the Eskimo who was on the worst terms with the missionaries would receive a helping hand if there were a shortage of food.

All in all, it is no exaggeration to suggest that the economic dependency of the Eskimos upon the Company increased in step with the poverty in the 1930s and onwards. TANNER speaks, with a clear reference to the Hudson's Bay Company, of "economic serfdom". (TANNER 1944, vol. II, p. 538.)

A brief account on Eskimo–Indian relations

Various explanations of the conflict between Eskimos and Indians in Labrador, and elsewhere in Arctic North America, have been advanced.[1] I shall not deal more fully with this question here, and shall only attempt to give the main features of the relations between the two peoples after the European influence began to make itself felt in northeast Labrador.

The alliance of the Indians with the French (who supplied them with firearms) led at first to an intensification and a brutalization of the Indian-Eskimo antagonism. The presence of European missionaries on the east coast from the end of the eighteenth century, on the other hand, led to a gradual improvement of the relations between the two peoples.

The earliest accounts from the mission stations report that the Eskimos were often panic-stricken when they thought they had seen traces of Indians in the vicinity. (CRANZ 1816, pp. 448–52.) But by the autumn of 1790 the Eskimos in Hopedale had already become more accustomed to the Indians after they had met some of them with a European trader in Kippokak Bay. The first time a mission station on the east coast was visited by Indians was in April 1799, when a man with his young son came to Hopedale to purchase tobacco. The Eskimos crowded around and regarded the strangers with extreme curiosity. The Indians were offered shelter for the night, but the offer was refused on the grounds that they could not stand the Eskimos' uncleanliness. The main reason for the refusal, however, appeared to be a poorly concealed fear of the former arch-enemies.

Both the enmity and the fear decreased strongly when the Eskimos, during summer journeys southward to the Hamilton Inlet area in the 1790s, frequently encountered Indians at the European trading stations. With the Europeans as intermediaries both parties felt secure.

The most important result of this pacification process was that the Eskimos now began to go further inland during the reindeer hunting. In the summer of 1800, for example, six families from Hopedale went hunting in an area which no

[1] H. Y. HIND 1863, p. 204, believed that the seal had been the main cause of the battles between the Montagnais Indians and the Eskimos, and maintained that most of the conflicts had taken place at the mouths of rivers which were known to be especially good places for sealing.

H. P. STEENSBY 1916, p. 82, on the other hand, explained the enmity as a desire of both parties for mastery of the reindeer hunting in the coastal areas. I would like to believe that the background for the conflict between the two peoples was considerably more complex than the two scholars imply.

one hitherto had dared visit. As early as 1814 the missionaries report that the Nain and Okak Eskimos often push so far to the west that they pass the watershed.[1]

Throughout the nineteenth century quite a number of notes about relations with the Indians are to be found in the mission reports. Some of these refer to chance encounters during the Eskimos' hunting trips inland, and some to the Indians' trading visits to the stations. In periods of famine they also came out to the coast to seek help. Space does not permit me to go into detail here. I shall only mention that for a time Hopedale, in particular, was visited, and later Zoar and Nain. These places lie close to some of the most important routes of the Indians between the interior and the coast. Mention is often made of the fact that the Eskimos gave the Indians shelter during the visits. In 1833 it is reported that Eskimo reindeer hunters who had run short of provisions received help when they found their way to an Indian camp. (P. A., December 1883, p. 582.) In April 1885 it is reported that 34 Indians came out to Zoar, greatly worn out from scarlet fever. "These were kindly cared for, fed and nursed, and after 12 days were sufficiently restored to go on their way". They left behind two children who continued to live with Eskimo families until they were called for five months later. (P. A., December 1886, p. 618; P. A., March 1887, pp. 24–25.) These examples indicate a mutual trust which was quite out of the question 100 years earlier.

The Eskimos at the southernmost stations, through the humane ideas of the missionaries and through the contact which they had from time to time with the Indians, became accustomed to treating them with a certain degree of friendly curiosity. But to this very day the old fear and suspicion have not completely disappeared. A hunter from Nain did not deny the fact that he felt ill at ease when, alone in the interior a few years ago, he was visited by a group of Indians after it had become dark. His attitude corresponded with the characterization of the relationship between Eskimos and Indians made by an Englishman after a visit to the coast around 1930: "No love is lost between them!"

Farthest to the north the Indians never visited the villages. Here the ancient hostile attitude long persisted, and at times it was given new sustenance. The missionary in Ramah reported in 1877 that Indian footprints had been seen fairly close to the place, but the Indians were not seen: ". . .this sneaking about will not tend to remove the ancient enmity between the Eskimos and Indians", writes the missionary. At the same time, it was reported that several reindeer carcasses had been stolen from an Eskimo near Ramah, while he lay sleeping out in the open after the hunt. After an examination on the spot he was convinced that Indians had removed the animals under cover of darkness. (P. A., December 1877, p. 377.) HUTTON's reminiscences from his experiences as a doctor in Okak at the beginning of our century tell a similar tale: ". . .even in my time I have seen Eskimos scared at the mention of "Indian" and when I travelled southward my drivers once asked me in awestruck voices. "Shall we see the *Allat* (Indians)?" (HUTTON 1912, pp. 110–111.)

ROSIE FORD (Nain) related from her childhood years in Okak (around 1915)

[1] A. S. PACKARD 1891, p. 15, from the missionaries KOHLMEISTER's and KMOCH's Journal of a Voyage from Okak on the coast of Labrador to Ungava Bay, westward of Cape Chidley . . . . . London 1814.

that some Eskimos in Okak Bay had heard strange noises which they thought came from Indians in the neighborhood. After they had shouted in the direction from which the sound came without receiving an answer, they started shooting haphazardly in their excitement. "As a child I even believed that the Indians were a kind of animal, and I was completely astonished the first time I saw for myself that they were real human beings", she added.

The more regular trading with the Indians on the northeastern coast has taken place, ever since the last century, at the station of the Hudson's Bay Company in Davis Inlet. At the beginning of the present century, it became customary for some of the Indians to come out to the coast also at Voisey's Bay, where they traded with the Settler VOISEY, who for a while operated a business on a commission basis for the mission. A considerable number of Indians continued to come out and trade there after the Hudson's Bay Company took over the trading in 1926. Since 1942 Indians north of Hamilton Inlet trade almost exclusively at Davis Inlet, where approximately 125 of them (1955) remain around the Catholic mission station for a large part of the year.

In 1920 a letter from a missionary relates that Indians from Voisey's Bay no longer go especially far inland, and that some were constantly to be found at the coast. The following year it is reported that a number of these Indians have been in contact with people from Nain, who have persuaded them to move there to live with the Eskimos. One or two of these Naskapi families, about whom the report tells, moved to the village and remained there for a while. But they did not settle permanently at Nain. (P. A., December 1920, p. 524, P. A., December 1921, p. 87.)

Long after this episode Indians have visited Nain from time to time – in some instances people who were in difficulty: widows, orphans and cripples. They generally pitched their tents in the Park at Nain, and went from house to house begging for old sealskin boots and discarded clothing. They also took jobs, both for the mission and the Eskimos, during their stay. These included chopping wood, carrying water, and cleaning in and around the houses.

From a language point of view, this contact was very limited. Some of the Indians could speak a little English, but very seldom any Eskimo. And not many of the Eskimos knew more than a few Indian words. Even if the Eskimo in many instances could play the role of benefactor, there was never a question of any linguistic domination of the character of the Eskimos' connection with the Chipewy Indians at Churchill, described by BIRKET-SMITH (1930, p. 9).

That the verbal communication was so limited certainly had a reassuring effect upon the Moravian missionaries, who could otherwise fear that the Indians would pass on Catholic ideas to the Eskimos. This, along with the fact that the Indians never brought with them European wares or alcohol to sell among the Eskimos, is indeed the explanation of why they, of all the groups with which the Eskimos came in contact during nearly 200 years of mission influence, are never referred to in the mission reports as a potential danger in one way or another.

Taking the historical conditions into account, it is no wonder that marriage between Eskimo and Indian is practically unknown. It is true that in a letter from Nain in 1864, mention is made of "an unbaptized couple, residing at some distance

to the north of Hopedale, the man an Indian, his wife an Esquimaux". (P. A., March 1865, p. 309.) Later reports indicate, however, that the man in this instance was a child of an Indian-European relationship, and probably identified himself as a Settler. A bilingual family in present-day Nain is said to have "an Indian background". Here, too, there is no question of a direct Eskimo-Indian marriage. A son of an Indian-French marriage, in his time, married an Eskimo woman, and the descendants today identify themselves as Settlers.[1]

In a considerable number of mission reports from the nineteenth century the Indians are referred to as "poor", "miserable", "ignorant", "degraded", etc. The Eskimo of today appraises the Indians in much the same terms. All statements from informants concerning Indian visits to Nain in the past decades were to the effect that the Eskimo regarded the Indians as a pariah group. The usual designation among the Nain Eskimos, when they tell today of the Indians who used to visit the village earlier, is, characteristically enough, *allakuluk,* "wretched Indian" (from *alla*, pl. *allat:* Indian, and *-kuluk:* wretched, pitiable).

While the Montagnais Indians to the south came under European influence very early, the Naskapi Indians – who comprise the majority of those who visited the Nain area – on the other hand, came under European influence much later, and to a lesser degree. They would stand completely spellbound, staring ingenuously at a sewing machine in the mission house. Their shabby dress and strongly limited knowledge of the luxuries of this world were, to the Eskimo, in pleasing contrast to the high level of civilization attained – in his own opinion – by himself. It was maybe in this spirit that the Nain Eskimos, during a visit by Indians in 1905, had the pride of the village, the brass band, give an outdoor concert for the guests. (P. A., December 1905, p. 219.)

The present semi-permanent residence of the Indians at Davis Inlet and their earlier sojourn around Voisey's Bay do not appear to have caused any hostile competition with the Eskimos over the utilization of the land and its resources. The Indians in the vicinity of the northeast coast, for example, have not made any attempt to divide the hunting areas among the individual families. Some of the Eskimos in Nain voiced a little criticism concerning the hunting by the Indians in the district. One of them maintained that, in the period between the wars, the Indians destroyed many fox's earths west of Voisey's Bay by putting sticks inside them. One of the oldest of the Nain men maintained that the Indians sometimes sneaked down to the shore and stole fish out of the trout nets. His experiences were not corroborated by anyone else.[2]

[1] Joe Ritch, who characterized himself as "chief" of the Indians around the Catholic mission station at Davis Inlet, told me that his grandmother was an Eskimo woman from Ungava Bay. F. G. Speck 1935, p. 156, describes the Indian Petabanu as "reputed to be a mixed Eskimo–Naskapi".

[2] A statement like the above can also be due to an older tradition about the Indians. A number of such traditions are still to be found among the Eskimos on the east coast, even though the bloody clashes are now 200 years or more back in time. The Eskimos in Nain, for example, relate that Rhodes Island, just north of the village, was once the scene of a tragedy. While the men were hunting reindeer, a group of Indians came out to the island in a canoe and killed women and children.

According to M. B. the so-dalled "Voisey's Bay Indians" hunted for reindeer in the summer around Anaktalik Lake, and the steep slope down towards Tessisoak Lake was probably the northern boundary of their summer journeys. In the winter they hunted fur-bearing animals, for the most part around Koraluk River and Cabot Lake in the southwestern outskirts of the Nain area. It was extremely seldom that any of the Eskimos went inland by this route. On the other hand, a number of Eskimos went in to Anaktalik Lake to hunt during the winter, but they seldom encountered Indians because of the difference in the seasonal cycle of the two groups.

From motives of which the local representatives of the provincial government had no desire to inform me, the Davis Inlet Indians were moved northward in 1949, to Nutak, where they were employed in chopping wood which was to be sold to the Eskimos at Hebron. This project, however, turned out to be unremunerative. (P. A., 1950, p. 60.) And the Eskimos regarded it as a great injustice that the government moved the Indians to a district which the Eskimos alone had made use of previously. Nor did the Indians feel at home in the new environment, and after a while they quietly wandered the long way through the interior back to Davis Inlet.

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Appendix

A chronological survey of the period of contact, with special reference to demography, concentration of the Eskimos at the mission stations, health and epidemics, changes in diet, clothing and dwellings, contact with people from the outside, improving medical facilities etc.

[The data utilized in the Appendix are in all essentials extracted from the P.A. In a few instances where other data have been included, their source are indicated.

The population figures given as the annual "total" are compiled at the end of the year, whereas the figures for the separate stations usually refer to the "ship's year", i,e. from one summer to the next. Therefore, the "total" most often will not correspond exactly to the sum of the station figures.]

Year	Nain (1771)	Okak (1776)	Hopedale (1782)
1773			
1788	21.	31.	11.
1800			
1810			
1811			
1819	175.	225.	167.
1823	192. (32 immigrants.)	328. (43 immigrants.)	185, (of these 83 children).
1824	207.	338. (23 immigrants. 6 emigrated to Nain.) Epidemic 14/4–1/7–24. 10 adults and 4 children died.	192.
1827	Autumn: Epidemic of measles. 21 deaths. Illness prevented gathering of winter supplies.		Aug.–Sept.: Epidemic of measles. 5 adults and 6 children died.
1828	232. (11 heathens immigrate.)	394. Approx. 30 immigrated from the north. Okak is described as "over-populated".	
1829	237. Epidemic. Few deaths.	388. Approx. 100 heathens visiting from the north. 4 of these settled down.	181. Epidemic, much illness. 1 dead.
1830	245. Epidemic shortly after "Harmony" called at the port. Few deaths, but 50 ill.	388. Epidemic. 11 dead. Hindered the cod fishing. Mostly elderly people and children died.	Epidemic. A few died. Hindered the fishing.
1831	1/7. 246. 15 births and 11 deaths in the course of the year.		1/7. 192. 2 adults and 5 children died. 31/12. 170. 31 persons journeyed south in 1831.
1832	18 emigrated to Hebron. 2 » » Hopedale. 3 immigrated. 17 births. 3 adults and 1 child died.	326, of these 126 baptized children. 72 emigrated to Hebron. Heathens on a visit from the north to trade.	
1835	273. 13 births, 5 deaths.	337. 13 births and 5 deaths.	172. No adults died last year.

Hebron (1830)	Total	Comments
	1,625	Estimated total population for the whole of the East-Coast. (CURTIS 1774.)
	63	baptized. April 1788, 12 heathens found dead of an epidemic(?) illness at a dwelling place between Nain and Okak.
	228	at the stations, of these 110 baptized.
	457	at the stations.
		Epidemic with paralysis, 13 dead, according to CRANZ 1820.
	567	CRANZ 1820.
	705	
Approx. 20 (heathens) at what later became Hebron.	737	at the stations. Heathens are constantly moving to Okak. Nain and Hopedale are described as "Christian villages".
		Hopedale mission: After the long-drawnout weakness from an epidemic of measles, the Eskimos could not manage to eat their customary food: seal meat. "We were therefore obliged to assist them with bread and flour from the store."
	802	
	806	
Hebron is established. Several families from Saglek move to the station.		
82.		Nain, 1831: "It seldom happens that an Esquimaux wants his tooth drawn . . .they in general preserve a good set of teeth till an advanced age."
104. 22 heathens immigrated from the north. 18 immigrated from Nain in 1832. Approx. 80 immigrated from Okak in the years 1831–33. See Comments.		Hebron: In 1832, the congregation consists of 16 married couples, 3 widows, 7 bachelors and 26 children.

Year	Nain (1771)	Okak (1776)	Hopedale (1782)
1838	282.	358.	197.
1839	296 of these 141 children. 1838–39 14 births, and 2 adults and 5 children died. 10 excluded because of "immorality", and moved south.	344, of these 134 baptized children.	189. 2 persons died in the course of the year.
1840 1/7	298. Family of 8 immigrated. 4 persons emigrated to Okak.	352, of these 139 children. Only 3 persons died in the past 12 months, of these a 2-day old infant.	193. A number of Eskimos travelled south.
31/12 1840	334.	360.	207. Several Eskimos have returned from the south.
1841	311. 8 emigrated to Hopedale. Much epidemic illness, fatal for those attacked. 15 births. 16 adults and 6 children died. 327, of these 177 children by the end of 1841. Epidemic during the autumn. Many deaths. Breathing difficulties, and pains in chest and muscles.	1840–41: 8 persons died and 16 were born.	Autumn 1841 after "Harmony's" departure epidemic like influenza in Europe. Eskimos continued to feel the effect, and around Easter (1842) it broke out anew, and the entire population lay sick. Many died of it in 1841. In the spring of 1842, the old were hardest hit, and many of them as well as small children died.
1842	In the report of the influenza epidemic it is said: «By the numerous deaths that have taken place, the number of widows and orphans has been greatly increased."	363. ". . .nor was the epidemic which prevailed at the southern stations permitted to enter our borders."	4 heathens from the south moved to Hopedale. They are without implements for hunting on ice and sea. "In the south they lived among the Europeans, and became habituated more or less to their manner of life. . ." 220 by the end of 1842.
1843	318, of these 145 children. 3 adults and 1 child died.	394. Influenza. Several died.	

Hebron (1830)	Total	Comments
	982	
145.		
165.		
179. 10 immigrated from the north. 5 births; 2 persons died.		
178. See Comments	1,065	Hebron deplores the fact that the coast north of Hebron is being "depopulated". 15 years ago there were approx. 300 Eskimos at Nachvak. In 1839 only 1 winter house at Nachvak. Some have moved to Ungava where European traders have arrived. The development threatens "one main object of our establishing ourselves at this place." The Hebron mission doubts that there are more than 100 Eskimos between Hebron and Cape Chidley. Saglek is the central place with approx. 60 persons.
1840–41, 8 persons immigrated from heathens and 2 emigrated to Okak.		
		Poor hunting year. ". . .many of the poor people had in consequence to suffer hunger, though famine was . . .averted." It is stated that heathens who live at a distance from the mission stations starved to death.
202. 7 births. 4 immigrate from the north, and 1 person returns to the heathens.		
213.	1,093	The total applies to the end of 1843, and is from a later date than the three separate reports. Hopedale must therefore not be computed from the total minus the sum of the three stations, as that clearly gives too low a figure.

Year	Nain (1771)	Okak (1776)	Hopedale (1782)
1844	5/8–44. 317. Past 12 months: 16 births. 3 adults and a considerable no. of children died. 31/12: 320. Dangerous epidemic spread in November. Attacked head and chest. 4 persons died within a few days.	Okak journal: ". . .only 150 seals for nearly 400 people, and one of these animals is consumed at a meal by a family of 6 or 7 persons."	26/7–44. 232 inclusive of new people. 4 children and 7 adults died.
1845	322. 15 births. 5 adults and 2 children died. Poor autumn sealing, famine in Nain during the winter of 1845–46. Some of those who went into the interior to fish for trout... "having actually perished for the want of the necessaries of life."	30/7–45: ". . .we are sometimes anxious about the possibility of so many Esquimaux living together, and finding a sufficiency of food for their support, at the same place."	Serious illness from Sept. 1844 to May 1845. 15 persons died in the course of the year.
1846	313. Autumn 1846 ". . .a catarral fever was prevalent... among the children, by which 5 were carried off." In one year 16 births, and at the same time 13 persons died.	389.	225.
1847		5/6–47: Okak's population reached 400.	
1848	31/12: 306. Considerable illness among the Eskimos. Among the dead were "several persons in the prime of life. . . .complaints from which they were formerly exempt, are now more or less prevalent among the Esquimaux, – the result in all probability, of their increasing intercourse with Europeans and their indulgence in European articles of food." See also Comments about a letter from Nain.		31/12: 234. See Comments. Concerning Eskimos south of Hopedale: ". . .the number of Esquimaux is very small... all of them are in the service of Europeans, with whom they go, during the summer months, to Sandwich Bay to sell their goods... Others have been members of our congregations, whom we have been obliged to dismiss on account of their disorderly and offensive conduct, or who have left us on their own accord. . ."
1852			31/12: 247 incl. 9 immigrants. It is reported that 100 are "baptized children under 13 years of age".

Hebron (1830)	Total	Comments
31/12: 233, of these 26 immigrants.		The journal for Hebron states: approx. 53 heathens at Killinek, and 64 distributed over 3 houses in Saglek.
236. 1 heathen immigrates.		The journal for Okak, March 1845, mentions greatly varying temperatures. ". . .many of our people were attacked by rheumatism, a malady which is gradually becoming more prevalent among them. . . it often gives us no small concern to see, that, while the climate remains the same as ever, the constitutions of our Esquimaux are growing more tender, and few of our young men are as hardy as the old."
240. 26/8–46: Population reduced by 19 persons last year. Several of these moved to Saglek.	1,167	
347. Of these 96 are immigrants. Among these are 81 from Saglek, where the opposition against the mission has now been broken. Hereafter the mission refuses to allow heathens to remain in Saglek, which they regard as a sealing place solely for Eskimos residing in Hebron.		Nain, excerpt from a private letter: "Several diseases have, of late, been more or less prevalent, which were hitherto unknown among the Esquimaux, but the number of departures has been comparatively small." Hopedale, excerpt from a private letter in 1848: ". . .the number of widows and orphans is distressingly large, considering the smallness of our flock, owing to the number of young men who have been taken from us in the course of the last ten years."

Year	Nain (1771)	Okak (1776)	Hopedale (1782)
1853	31/12: 301. "Already in autumn, (i.e. autumn 1853) a period of sickness commenced, more severe than we can ever remember. The disease was hitherto unknown here. It was a description of fever, which attacked in succession the half of our congregation, 150 persons in number."	8/9: 411.	31/12: 254.
1854	Illness continued. 26/6: "In the tradestore at Nain there was a total want of the common necessaries of life – meal, seabiscuit, and dried peas; without which the Eskimo now find it difficult to subsist."	Okak hardest hit by the illness this time. 1 Jan. to summer 1854, 50 persons died.	Concerning the epidemic, see Comments.
1856	14 persons died in the course of 1856.		
1857		1 man perished in a *kayak*.	Private letter: "It would seem, too, as if they became more and more dissatisfied with the means of sustenance providentially assigned to them, and acquired a greater taste for European articles of diet, such as flour, pork, tea, sugar etc. We often protest against this, but the poor people think we do so because we begrudge them these things."
1859	277.	314. By the end of 1859 there are 25 widows in the congregation.	241.
1860	283, of these 80 pupils at the school. "Several fishing and trading vessels are now on our coast, the crews of some of which make every effort, both directly and by craft, to induce our people to drink spirits, and in some cases too successfully."	308, of these 87 pupils at the school.	253, of these 75 pupils at the school. Concerning the burial of a little boy: ". . .the father stated, that this was the seventh child he had followed to the grave, and that only one who still survived was a girl of seven years old." 1 man drowned in a *kayak* during a storm.

Hebron (1830)	Total	Comments
23/9: "At the end of march, seven sledges arrived here from the north, bringing fifty persons, many of whom had never seen a European before. . ." Only a question of a trading visit. 31/12: 346.		
"The disease carried off 17 persons. . . although sickness and mortality is, in general, of much less frequent occurrence at H. than at our other stations." ". . .Sickness has carried off many fathers of families. We have no fewer than 30 widows, most of whom are left without any means of subsistence. The increase of poverty is a matter for very serious consideration."		"The epidemic, which, some thought, resembled the cholera in more than one of its symptoms, was rife at all the four stations, but was particularly fatal at Okak, where many of all ages were carried off by it."
		Hebron, 20/8, mentions a visit by heathens from Nachvak and from the Ungava area. They will not hear of moving to Hebron "because they will not leave their homes, where they meet with reindeer in abundance, and, appear, on the whole, to suffer from want of provisions less frequently than the Esquimaux in this neighbourhood."
306. From summer '59 to summer '60, 14 were born, and 7 persons died.	approx. 1,138	
311. Of these 60 pupils at the school. Mention of an "inflammatory disease" especially among children. Two little boys died shortly after being attacked by it. October: mention of "the still-prevailing malady: In the course of November several deaths occurred."	1,155	Contemporaneous reports from all of the stations. The figures apply only to Eskimos. The Settlers do not yet count in statistics in P. A.

Year	Nain (1771)	Okak (1776)	Hopedale (1782)
1861	A Nain missionary mentions "...the pernicious and disturbing influence ...by the increasing number of European and half-caste settlers in our vicinity". Eskimos often journey for a while to the settlers "who are glad of the aid of the Esq." July 1861: 275.	July: 327.	July: 248.
	December: 272.	322.	248.
1862 and 1863	31/12: 277. Serious lack of food, hardly any seal. Illness a large part of the winter 1862–63, esp. "...inflammation of the lungs. In some houses containing as many as ten persons, scarcely one was strong enough to fetch wood or medicines for the sick."	31/12: 324. Epidemic illness. "Our lettercarriers returned from Nain in... Feb. ill of a pulmonary complaint, which spread so rapidly and with such virulence, that in a very few days" 6 persons died, who were buried 3/3, and on 6/3, 4 more were buried. At least 18 adults died from the epidemic.	31/12: 246. 1863, journal: "some of the traders who visited us about this time had a cask of brandy with them: of this they do not sell anything... but they give it gratis, in order to secure the custom of the natives, and perhaps too to facilitate the work of bartering and increase their own gains."
1863	The same epidemic which hit Hebron so hard, "caused much mortality at Nain and Okak".	← See column for Nain.	
	End of 1863: 262, of these 82 were children. In the course of 1 month 21 persons died, and 7 of them were children.	End of 1863: 314, 26 persons died of the epidemic which was brought from Nain. Half of these were children, and 10 of these were infants a few weeks old.	
1864	End of 1864: 245, 13 births and 31 deaths. Of the congregation, 21 persons are under church discipline for the time being.	10/6: 26 persons are buried almost all of whom died of "the prevailing disease". End of 1864: 312, of these 106 are children.	23 persons died, mainly children and elderly people. PACKARD 1891, p. 271, conc. visit to H. 1864: "We do not remember seeing any babies, and there seemed to be few children compared to the adults; here as in the arctic regions the Esk. having small families."

Hebron (1830)	Total	Comments
		Missionary REICHEL's summer visitation: "The number of the Esq. dwelling along the coast . . .is computed at about 1,500, of whom 1,163 belong to our Mission. There are about 200 heathen living to the north of Hebron." Moreover some individuals have left the mission station, and there are yet to be found scattered along the coast some few unbaptized, some living alone and some in the employ of European traders.
July: 313. 307, incl. 27 "new people". Which probably does not mean immigrants, but heathens who have arrived earlier, but do not yet belong to the congregation.	1,163 1,149	
31/12: 309. ". . . the men from Okak brought. . . a dangerous epidemic disorder of a pulmonary character, which spread with alarming rapidity . . .and soon carried off many active men, some of whom had families dependent on them for support." 27/2, 6 persons died within 24 hrs. and in the course of 14 days 23 adults and 3 children died. The mortality rate continued into summer, so that there were 50 deaths in the first half of 1863. A considerable no. of them were young men. Of the 6 who died in one night, 5 were men.		Hopedale, July 1863: "At present there is not a family that is content to live as their ancestors did. They profess to be unable to subsist any longer on fish, seal's flesh, and other products of the country. We do not for a moment object to their enjoying, in addition to their ordinary fare, such articles of diet as flour, biscuit, molasses and the like, if they would only do so moderately and frugally, and not consume more than they are able to obtain in an honest manner".
End of 1863: 264. More illness is mentioned, "the same illness which killed so many of the congregation the year before." 18 persons died this time. End of 1864: 256.	1,156	Survey at the end of 1863.
		Survey of all stations in the summer of 1864: "An epidemic, similar to that of the previous year, proved fatal to many whose constitutions were already enfeebled by sickness. Upwards of 90 deaths are reported. . ."

Year	Nain (1771)	Okak (1776)	Hopedale (1782)
1865	By the end of 1865, it is reported: "our congregation includes 16 more than last year."		"One girl became, for a time, affected in her mind; a boy and a young married woman had epileptic seizures. . ." 8 children and 3 adults died.
1866	July: a considerable no. of Eskimos move from Nain to Zoar.		
1867			
1868	Mission ship left us 4/9–68. ". . .a malignant catarrh was again very prevalent, and carried off several persons, both children and adults."	12/9–68: "At this time a malignant catarrh prevailed among our Esk., and carried off several persons." Missionaries also attacked. End of 1868: 314.	End of 1868: 239.
1869	Summer 1869, Nain reports excellent health.	8/6–69: Recrudescence of the illness which has been mentioned in the past years, "I mean the influenza in a severe form, accompanied by violent fever. The epidemic appeared in summer and autumn of last year, and several adult members fell victims. . . .This epidemic had scarcely left us, when another . . .among the children. . . proved fatal in several cases." Of the survivors "not a few remained partially lamed in the lower extremities;" Some continually unable to stand or walk, and little hope of recovery.	10/8–69: "We have been spared all epidemic illnesses, – 7 persons died last year, of these 6 were children and infants."

Hebron (1830)	Zoar (1865)	Total	Comments
28/8: Terrible attack of influenza, ". . .and in addition the epidemic pulmonary disease, which prevailed here for the last 3 years, again carried off several victims. Some persons who had never fully recovered from similar attacks in 1863, became a prey to this disorder; and others were also attacked, and died after a short illness." 9 adults, most young people, died in the course of the year.	*The formal establishment of Zoar.*	990 1,027	Survey for 1865 quotes a total of 1,024, but it turns out that 34 "Missionary Agents" have been included here, net: 990 Eskimos. Another survey for 1865 quotes 1,059, but of these 32 "Missionary Agents", i.e. 1,027 Eskimos. Hebron, 1/2–65 mentions a visit of heathens from Koksoak (34 persons) and 6/2 from Kangiva and Ungava (105 persons).
"In order to retain firm footing at Saglek, on account both of its importance to our people as a fishing-ground, and . . .as a point of contact with the yet remaining heathen in the north, we sent . . .a small house. . ."	In April 1866, many Eskimos accompanied 2 missionaries from Nain to Zoar, "so that the congregation soon numbered 50 souls."		
End of 1868: 216. In Aug. and Sept. ". . .an epidemic catarrh prevailed. . . Many . . .seriously ill, and 2 persons in the very prime of life were after. . . short sickness, called into eternity." One of these was a married woman, mother of 3 children. The other a young man.	End of 1868: 78.	1,087	In a survey for the decade from 1857 to 1867, it is said that the number of Eskimos has decreased from 1,172 to 1,087. "This results mainly from the mortality arising frequently-recurring malignant epidemics. It seems clear that the people's powers of endurance, under the hardships of their daily life, are diminishing. This may be attributed to their becoming habituated to the use of foreign articles of diet instead of the flesh and fat of seals." Several trading stations and an increasing number of trading and fishing vessels are mentioned.

Year	Nain (1771)	Okak (1776)	Hopedale (1782)
1870		Less church attendance than usual in the winter of 1870–71 because of "the general spread among the people of the mumps, a disease hitherto unknown on the coast". Few died in the course of the year.	22/8–70: "The general state of health of the Esk. has been tolerably good, except among the children", and 14 of them died in the last 12 months.
1871	In Feb.–March "a good many cases of inflammation of the lungs occurred, but none . . .fatal." Only 2 children died here in the past 12 months.	"In the beginning of March several serious attacks of sickness occurred." 1871–72: A young man drowned when the ice broke beneath him. A boy was killed when his rifle suddenly went off.	Particularly in Dec. 1870 and Jan. 1871, considerable illness. 4 persons died. Easter 1871, 75 persons (settlers) came to H. to participate in the celebration of the festival.
1872	In Aug.–Sept. "the epidemic catarrh . . .proved fatal to many at . . .Okak and Hebron; most of our members here in Nain had a more or less severe attack of it, but there were no deaths."	"Epidemic catarrh" shortly after Harmony's departure. 10 persons, 5 children and 5 adults, died of it. In Oct. the illness abated. In all 22 persons died from the summer of 1872 to the summer of 1873.	July 1872: Good health, no dangerous epidemic. Several children departed this life, and . . .in their case the fatal disease was brought on by the use of improper food, and the want of careful attention when the first symptoms showed themselves." Autumn 1872: Shortly after Harmony's departure ". . .a malignant catarrh broke out . . .which attacked both adults and children; it prevailed along the whole coast and some children died of it."
1873	Autumn 1873: an infectious and severe influenza, accompanied with. . . fever, spread. . . especially among the young people, two of whom it carried off." "A widower, after passing through a violent attack, lost his reason." He recovered again. In 1873, 13 persons died and 11 were born. Total: 271, of these 10 "English settlers." (See Comments about Nain)	1873–74: "The health. . . has on the whole been satisfactory. Many suffered from severe attacks of influenza, and several children died and 3 adult females."	Spring 1873 ". . .several children under ten years of age were removed by death. Some were carried off by consumption, after having endured suffering for some time." 1 man was drowned when his *kayak* capsized.

Hebron (1830)	Zoar (1865)	Total	Comments
For 2 months in the autumn of 1870, a very large no. of our Eskimos were attacked by "the mumps, which assumed in some cases a very bad type, preventing at one time almost all the men from attending to their usual avocations."	Dec. 1870: A young man lost his life when he went through the ice.	1,079	Total for 1870 given at 1,124, but 45 missionaries are included here which gives a number of Eskimos which appears to be correct as compared with the total for 1876, which expressly includes only Eskimos. No mention is made of whether settlers are beginning to be included, but they are being counted more and more in the reports down toward the end of the 1870s.
	1871–72: Good health, "only one adult person and three children died."		In 1871 REICHEL reports (mission pamphlet) that the number of Eskimos is less than ordinarily assumed: "scarcely 1,500. . .of which 1,124 live at the six mission stations." But there is every indication that the latter figure is too high by 45, as R. does not appear to be aware of the fact that missionaries and their families are at least included in some of the statistical data.
Epidemic influenza in March, in a milder form than previously, "though none died of it, several were brought very low, and recovered slowly, indeed some seem never quite to recover from the effects of this complaint."	"As soon as the Harmony had sailed . . .most of our people left us for the outposts. One family had		1871: *The formal establishment of the new station Ramah.*
10 persons died of the serious influenza epidemic which broke out at the time when Harmony paid us a visit.	unfortunately brought the infectious influenza from the South", many became so ill that they were unable to journey from the station.		
1873–74: ". . .a good deal of sickness. . . many cases of the influenza which has now become common here during the winter, none. . . terminated fatally."			Conc. Nain: "It is an interesting circumstance, that the male sex here predominates in number over the female by fifteen. This condition of things not only places those who are desirous of marrying at a disadvantage, but also renders it almost impossible to procure nurses for our children, or to obtain assistance in the cultivation of our gardens. . ."
5 children and 2 adults died in the course of these 12 months.	1873–74: "Three young people died."		

Year	Nain (1771)	Okak (1776)	Hopedale (1782)
1874			1873–74: "The number of deaths among the children was again painfully striking: we. . . ascribe this mortality to the effect of the changed mode of life, especially. . . European articles of food, & c. on the mothers, of whom not a few fail to supply sufficient nourishment for their infants." 2 adults died.
1875 and the Spring of 1876	Around Christmas 1875 ". . .the various epidemic complaints, of whose ravages at Hopedale and Zoar. . . rumours had reached us. . . spread so rapidly, that in a few days the place was like a general hospital." 3 missionary children, also became ill and died in Jan.–Feb. 1876. "Some Esk. families suffered worse than we. . . Almost daily some deaths occurred, until we had buried 32 persons, of whom 23 were children." An elderly woman who was murdered by her brother, who had become insane, was probably not included among the 32. He committed suicide.	1876: "In the middle of Feb. erysipelas in various forms, but mostly very severe, frequently ending in mortification, broke out and proved fatal in many cases; in March whooping-cough made its appearance, and deaths among the children followed in quick succession."	End of 1875: 283 in the congregation. 187 live in the village, 96 out in the district (most of these 96 are settlers.) After the mission ship departed 29/9 ". . .erysipelas in various forms broke out, accompanied by influenza and whooping-cough. . . scarcely a house. . . which had not several patients." Many died, especially children. Spring 1876, the books showed that 40 persons died in the last 12 months. 1 Eskimo froze to death when he was carried away by the ice (on the way to a sealing net).

Hebron (1830)	Zoar (1865)	Total	Comments
		1,151	From a footnote it is seen that all are characterized as "Eskimoes", but from detailed information from Nain we know that 10 Settlers have been included here, and close to 100 settlers now belong to the Hopedale congregation, and count in the statistics. It is impossible to determine whether 47 persons, i. e. missionary families, have been included, but probably, the number of Eskimos would be less than 1,000 if these well-founded assumptions hold. We shall note that the population statistics from now on become more of *a survey of the size of the congregations* than of the number of persons who identify themselves with the ethnic groups on the coast.
End of 1875: 214, ". . .being an increase of 20" (probably immigrants, but not mentioned). In Feb. 1876 "the same epidemic complaints broke out here, which had proved so fatal elsewhere." In a short time 8 adults and 16 children died. Summer 1876: One Eskimo was killed by an accidental shot.	1875–76: "We have buried the fifth part of this congregation in consequence of the prevalence of dysentery and whooping-cough. Most of those who died were children."		Ramah (1871). End of 1875: 28 members in our congregation. In Jan. 1876 ". . .an epidemic cough broke out". . . ". . .whooping cough in. . . the beginning of May". Both those who were out sealing and those who were in the interior hunting reindeer became ill. A "dying child" is mentioned.

Year	Nain (1771)	Okak (1776)	Hopedale (1782)
1876 to 1877	1876–77: The survey mentions "several adults who died", but "excellent health in general".	August 1877: ". . .the epidemic, which has frequently visited us of late years with more or less severity, made its appearance here for a few days, then left us. . . but only to return with increased virulence." 22/8 an elderly woman died of the illness. In all, 8 persons died of the illness.	1876–77: The health was very good. ". . .very few deaths of adult persons having taken place." In Sept. 1876 a missionary's child died "of a complaint which is new in Labrador as far as we know; it appears to be a form of scurvy." In Aug. a child died of the same illness that raged in Okak.
1878 to 1879	Esk. "with the exception of a few who suffered from organic disease, enjoyed good health. No adult died, but several infants. . ." An Esk. family, who had lived in the south, in the employ of Hudson's Bay Company, moved here.	No epidemics, and few instances of serious illness. 3 adults and "some children" died.	Several accidents: 10-year-old boy fell in the sea and drowned. Boy, 18 years old, disappeared in a *kayak*. A man froze to death Dec. 1877, on the ice, while sealing with nets, after first having fallen through the thin new ice. 1878–79, 6 children and 4 adults died, of these, 2 men who drowned in the autumn of 1878. No epidemics, but a considerable no. of cases of serious illness. End of 1878: Total 305, "more than one hundred. . . belong to the Settler families, residing at a distance from the station."
1880	1879–80: 282, of these 103 children (incl. 14 Settlers) 29/12–80: A 33-year-old Eskimo set out with dog team to fetch fuel. Froze to death during a storm.	1879–80: 329, of these 146 children. Spring 1880: ". . .many children died after suffering for several months. Adult persons, too, were more or less affected by rheumatism and other disorders, but none. . . for any length of time."	1879–80: 315, of these 103 children (incl. 127 Settlers). Aug. 1880: "The number of settlers increase, not only by births, but by newcomers from elsewhere." Aug. 1880, a sickness is mentioned "which appeared . . .for the first time in Labrador. On July 8th 2 men were brought here from the place where they were fishing ina condition of great prostration, although the attack was of . . . recent occurrence." One of them died on the 9th, the other 10/7 Several attacked, some recovered quickly, others were on the brink of the grave. 2 more died by 15/8.
1881	From 6/9–81 to 4/10, 20 persons died, of these 15 adults, of measles. In the course of the entire autumn, 32 persons died in all (20 adults and 12 children). "Zoar and Hebron were also visited by the epidemic, but neither Okak nor Ramah. . ."		Summer 1881: 10 Esk. died of measles. (*See Comments for further details.*) (1880): "In three families both parents were drunkards; in one the grownup daughter as well."

Hebron (1830)	Zoar (1865)	Ramah (1871)	Total	Comments
1876–77: "we had little serious illness... and few cases of death. A woman, who had had "consumption" for two years, died." Another also died of the same cause after having been ill for a while.	The same illness, which in Aug. 1877 had the nature of an epidemic in Okak, made its appearance in both Zoar and Hopedale, but not as violently as in Okak.	Aug. 1877: one boy died, "consumption set in..."	1,176 1,272	characterized as "Esk". according to REICHEL's visitation reports in the summer of 1876. Of these 127 are characterized as Settlers, who now belong to the congregations in Hopedale and Nain. There should then be 1,145 Eskimos, but it is still uncertain whether the missionaries (42 persons with their families) have been included. I will nonetheless presume that so well-informed a person as R. was aware of this when he compiled his figures. That the number of Eskimos appears to be high can de due both to the fact that there have been heathen immigrants, and that the mission has classified as Eskimo, individuals of mixed marriages, who identify themselves as "Settlers".
1878–79: "...an epidemic complaint... symptoms were mainly those of erysipelas." Many died in a short time.	1878–79: The health conditions good as a whole, but 9 persons died.	Feb. 1879: Our mail carriers to Hebron "...as usual... brought back with them severe influenza, which attacked everybody, yet not so malignant as on former occasions." Autumn 1879: Shortly after Harmony's departure, many became sick "by the prevailing catarrhal fever; in some cases we had almost abandoned the hope of ...recovery, but ...all were restored to health."	 1,145	 characterized as "Esk." in a survey for 1877.
1879–80: 202, of these 63 children.	1879–80: 130, of these 40 children, (incl. 26 Settlers).	1879–80: 42, of these 14 children.		Survey 1879–80: "...no outbreak of epidemic disease, but some persons perished at sea."
1880–81: The health was "exceptionally good in spite of great poverty." 7 died, of these 5 who perished in an avalanche at Saglek.			1,300	according to a survey 1879–80, of these 167 are named as Settlers.
				Hopedale, summer 1881: "While the Harmony was at Hopedale a case of measles occurred, which could be traced to the intercourse of the Esk. with the crew of a fishing schooner; the disease has spread rapidly... almost all the inhabitants of that station have been ill of this complaint, which has left many in a state of great weakness."
From the time of the mission ship's departure in Sept. 1881, to 31/12–81, 28 persons died (17 adults and 11 children). Total, end of 1881: 180. The first attack of measles went well. But at the end of Oct. a more serious attack, and some died. "Those who recov-	End of 1881: 120. We hear of measles in Hopedale and Nain, and early in Oct. the epidemic came here, probably with Esk. who had been in Nain. "The epidemic spread with great rapidity... scarcely a single individual escaping an attack.	Sept. 1881: Mail carriers from Hebron brought "...an epidemic catarrh of very troublesome... character." Everyone became ill, illness did not disappear before October. End of 1881: 58.	1,220	"In 1881 the six congregations numbered 1,220, of whom almost 200 are persons of mixed race or European origin."

Year	Nain (1771)	Okak (1776)	Hopedale (1782)
1881	End of 1881: 239, "34 less than last year". Epidemic of measles Sept.–Oct. hindered Esk. from fishing; moreover, the autumn sealing and all other hunting very poor. "At all stations except Ramah, the Esk. have had . . .a season of scarcity worse than any since we came to the coast . . . more provident habits would prevent much of the suffering which our people have to pass through, but the hope that their careless easy-going disposition will ever be changed, is, I think, no longer entertained by those who know them best."	End of 1881: 321.	Supplement concerning measles, autumn 1881: ". . .it was very serious that the epidemic came just when the fishing-season had set in: they were even prevented from curing what they had caught. . . .Some settler-children also fell victims to the epidemic." End of 1881: 310, and of these 139 are settlers. 1881–82: 15 births and 27 deaths (15 adults and 12 children).
1882	End of 1882: 235. "4 less than last year."	Autumn 1882: "Many of our people were prevented from taking part in the fishing by colds, which had been very prevalent before the arrival of the Harmony, and which subsequently assumed a very violent form. This epidemic would probably have spread to an alarming extent if the members had all been . . .at the station at the time." End of 1882: 312.	End of 1882: 314, of these 141 are Settlers.
1883	4 married women and 1 child died, 18/9–83, of poisoning after eating mussels. 30/11 a married man went through thin new ice and drowned. Autumn 1883: "The general health . . .was not satisfactory. Many were attacked with complaints of the chest and lungs . . .in some cases. . . fatal." End of 1883: 233.	End of 1883: 311.	
1884		"Epidemic diseases of an eruptive character attacked many of the Esk., but proved fatal in very few cases except at Okak, where several children died." End of 1884: 317.	
1885		11 births and 20 deaths. End of 1885: 308. 1 immigrated here, and 2 moved away. *Distribution on Age Brackets, end of* 1885: see Comments:	

Hebron (1830)	Zoar (1865)	Ramah (1871)	Total	Comments
ered from the measles were not unfrequently more severely prostrated by subsequent complaints, which carried off several. In spite of our instructions the Esk. would persist in going into the open air, as soon as they felt a little better ...the result was retarded recovery, or a further illness."	Severe weather and want of suitable accommodation and needful attention... increased the mortality among the patients..." (The missionary children also became sick.) "We observed that in the case of almost all those persons who were first attacked, the disease developed in more favourable form than later on, when it generally affected internal organs."			Survey for 1881: "The number of Esk. at our stations has decreased by 71 persons, while that of the settlers has remained unaltered." Addition, Nain, concerning the epidemic of measles: 20 adults died, and "...soon 13 children had become complete orphans, while 12 others had lost one parent "
March 1882, 1 Eskimo died "..apparently in consequence of the attack of measles which had prostrated him last autumn. He never seemed fully to throw off its effects. This man was one of the most skilful hunters, and still in his best years." In March 2 families immigrated from Okak and 1 family from Nain. End of 1882: 191.	End of 1882: 123. Little girl fell through the ice and drowned.	Our letter carriers to Hebron returned 22. Jan. (1882), "The great mortality among the Esk. there and at the other stations in the south had so impressed them that their first exclamation was: "In the south, people are coming to an end!" End of 1882: 66.	1,298	Survey of the great epidemic of measles: "In the case of not a few survivors there are indications of permanent serious injury to the constitution, which in all human probability will debar them from active pursuits, and end in early death..." according to a survey July 1882.
In Aug. 1883, a man was drowned when out in his *kayak*. End of 1883: 207.	End of 1883: 124.	End of 1883: 69. Heathen Kavanga ("chieftain") while visiting Ramah was "attacked ...by violent bleedings of the lungs".	1,250	Survey 1883–84: "Since the abatement of the measles... the general health of the Esk. has been good, although at Ramah several persons have suffered from a severe attack of influenza." "Our Missionaries have 1,250 persons under their immediate charge. These include 53 "native helpers", of whom 16 are sufficiently advanced in Christian knowledge to assist in the services..."
		End of 1885: 79.	1,263	Survey for 1885. Okak, age – distribution, etc.: Married ..... 138 Young men ..... 23 » women ..... 20 Small boys ..... 59 » girls ..... 58 Widows ..... 10 Total: 308

Year	Nain (1771)	Okak (1776)	Hopedale (1782)
1886		Summer 1886: "Coughs and colds and other ailments, favoured by the very unsettled weather, are now rife among our people. . . this is a partial or total hindrance to many who long to be out fishing."	
1888			
1889			
1890	1890/91: ". . .the recent epidemic of influenza at Hopedale, and the unusual number of deaths of older people at Nain. . ."		1890–91: For the influenza epidemic, see column on Nain.
1892			Medical help: In 1892, Hopedale was visited by Dr. W. T. GRENFELL. In August 1893, he also visited Zoar, Nain and Okak, and treated many patients at the two latter places.
1893			
1894 to 1895	From autumn 1894 to March 1895, 76 persons died. "A virulent typhoid fever . . .at the beginning of the year" ('95). Lack of food because of failure of hunting autumn '94. Also lack of fuel, as no one could fetch wood. The missionaries cooked food and carried it out to the sick. Also gathered a little fuel for them. By July, '95, in all 90 died in Nain. Some settlers also died, and there was a "terrible mortality" among the Eskimos. On the appeal of the missionaries, the population scattered in	1894–95: Mission forbid visits among the stations because of the epidemic in Nain, but Esk. from Hebron and Okak journeyed to Nain all the same and spread the infection. 20 persons died in Okak. Worst in Nov. when 2–3 died per week. ". . .pains in the body and swellings of the limbs. . . Some were ill the whole winter and never will be as strong again."	1894–95: "Hopedale and Hebron have fared better, [than Nain] though the epidemic . . .has not spared Hebron, and was assuming a serious aspect at Hopedale. . ."

Hebron (1830)	Zoar (1865)	Ramah (1871)	Total	Comments
"With the exception of an influenza, which carried off 3 adults and a child in one week at Hebron, the general health has been good."	1888–89: "Some of the Zoar Esk. have removed to Nain and Hopedale". "... There has been deep poverty at Zoar owing to the failure of ... hunting and fishing. ... the conduct and spirit of the people there have presented a marked contrast to the disposi ion and behaviour which last year led to the suspension of the store at that station."		1,251 1,283	Survey as of 31/12–1887. » 31/12–1888.
	End of 1889: 39. "The rest having moved to other stations or to the neighbourhood of Hudson's Bay Company posts." Note: *Zoar abandoned as mission station in 1890.*		1 309	Survey as of 31/12–1889. (The increase must be due mainly to the continued integration of the Settlers into the congregations.)
			1,320	Survey as of 31/12–1890.
	Despite the fact that Zoar has been abandoned as a mission station, it is stated in 1893: "The congregation resident at the station has dwindled down to 17 *persons constituting 5 families.* ... The outlying members of the Zoar congregation, mostly settlers, number 50."		1,329 1,329	Survey as of 31/12–1892. Survey as of 31/12–1893.
Se column on Hopedale Autumn '95: 3 perished ... (2 men drowned when they went through the ice, and a boy was bitten to death by dogs).		Autumn and winter 1894–95 famine in Ramah is referred to. "North of Ramah there are also heathen, who trade at the Hudson's Bay Compåny's at Nachvak. The trader has 48 upon his list."	1,369	"On the books of these six churches there stood at the beginning of 1894, 1369 names of adults and children... Of these, 1084 were Esk. dwelling at the stations, being 26 more than the previous year; 275 were settlers or Esk. living at some distance from the stations. [Settlers are in an absolute majority in this category.] There was an increase of 4 persons in this section... This total of 1369 includes nearly the whole of the sparse population of this part of the coast. From Cape Harrison to Cape Chidley there are probably not 1500 persons... Majority of... settlers belong to Hopedale."

Year	Nain (1771)	Okak (1776)	Hopedale (1782)
1895	the spring . . . to their hunting and fishing places, and under the healthier circumstances . . .recovered more rapidly." Only 15 adults escaped the infection, and children were less exposed than the adults. "A year previously there were ninety married couples at Nain; in 38 cases either the husband or the wife has died, in 8 neither husband nor wife is left. . .there are many orphaned children to be cared for." ". . .Had it not been for their missionaries the double number would have died."		
1896	"The health of the Esk. was good on the whole. . ." Autumn '96 "whooping-cough" from Hopedale spread as far as Nain."		"Typhus fever was prevalent. . . but not so extensively as was the case. . . at Nain the year before. A good many deaths occurred in consequence of it." Autumn '96: "Whooping-cough broke out. . ."
1897			1896–97: ". . .for one and a half years, no adult Esk. died. . . Those who have been interred. . . were little children of less than one year. Carelessness or imprudence in feeding them was, in most instances, the cause of their death."
1898		The health was good until the end of Feb. 1898, ". . .nearly everyone was attacked with a severe cold and violent cough." Autumn 1898, an Eskimo perished when the ice broke during sealing.	
1899		Aug. '99, 8–year old boy drowned while playing by the shore. 1898–'99: No epidemic, but "several persons showed signs of a disturbed mind . . .a chapel servant, resigned his post as schoolmaster because he considered himself (groundlessly) unworthy. . . and one woman who had. . . given birth to a child, but did not seem to regain her strength "became so melancholy over it that she committed suicide (by hanging). Another woman tried to commit suicide, but was unsuccessful. . . had a heavy burden on her mind. . . had confessed to having been party to the murder of her own husband many years before."	

Hebron (1830)	Makkovik (1896)	Ramah (1871)	Total	Comments
			1,314	Survey 1/1–95: for "our 5 stations, Hopedale, Nain, Okak, Hebron and Ramah. Of these 1034 were dwellers at the stations, nearly all Eskimos. The remaining 280 were settlers, and a few Esk. living in remote bays. The majority of these scattered members are to be found south of Hopedale, and for years they have been visited by one or other of the missionaries resident at that station."
	1896: *Makkovik is established.*			Dr. ROBINSON from Deep-sea Mission "has given advice and help at all our stations. . ." He went by dog sledge the entire distance from Rigolet to Nachvak.
				In Sept. 1898, the missionary Rev. P. HETTASCH came to Labrador. He has had some medical education and is going to attend to health problems in particular.
Aug. 1899: beginning of illness at Napartok, "the sickness, – typhoid fever – raged for months and carried off 23 persons in all, whilst 102 were ill at various times. Scarcely a household remained unaffected. . ."	Aug. 1899: "The apparently inevitable influenza-cold, which seems to be brought on the coast every year by the Newfoundland fishermen, was. . . already prevalent in Makkovik, and before many days had passed we were all prostrate with it. It renders one quite unfit for work, either mental or physical." One settler was so ill that "he thought at one time he would hardly recover."	1899–1900: "During the spring 1900 there was much sickness among the people . . . typhoid fever brought. . . from Hebron." Many children sick, only 1 died.		

Year	Nain (1771)	Okak (1776)	Hopedale (1782)
1900 to 1901		*Supplement, Hopedale*, 1901: "Cases of drunkenness still occur at this station. . . Molasses is used in the pre-preparation of the intoxicant of which they partake, and the supply of this commodity, which the Esk. use largely in place of sugar, is at once reduced in case of anyone who in this way misuses it."	1900–01: Despite "exceedingly poor catch of fish in the summer of 1900, and an epidemic of influenza. . .at the very time the men ought to have been out fishing" . . .no one starved in the course of the winter. May 1901, 3 persons died from "hemlock poisoning. . ."
	1901–02: "No serious illness occurred during the year. . . One adult and several children died." "Nain already has a considerable number of settlers in its membership. . . the English-speaking race is pressing northwards. . ."		1901–02: As a whole the health was good "with the exception of a few cases of influenza. . . not of a serious nature". In all 5 persons died at the station. "It is a remarkable fact, that the Eskimo part of the congregation is rapidly decreasing, whilst the outside members, consisting chiefly of half-castes and a few English families, are steadily increasing."
1902	Nov. 1902: 3 Esk. drowned when their boat was forced under in a storm, on the way home to N. from the hunting place.	1902–03: 15 births and 22 deaths. "Among those who departed this life were quite a number of young children. . . Influenza was responsible for some of the deaths, especially among the little ones."	
1903	1902–03: "The children especially suffered, in consequence of a malignant throat trouble that caused a good deal of anxiety. . . and carried off several of the little ones." Girl killed by dogs.	Dec. 1903: A large group on the way home for Christmas went through the new ice, 2 little girls froze to death after immersion in the sea.	
1904	1903–04: "A tedious and malignant skin disease gave much trouble, and rheumatism, which, it appears, is always more or less prevalent at this station, attacked several, especially during the winter months. The death-rate from all causes was. . . low."	1903–04: "At the beginning of the winter Okak was threatened with an epidemic of. . . severe influenzal disease among the young people. Towards the end of December the disease arose in several homes; and. . . the people were made aware of the danger, and advised not to visit those houses where sick ones lay. No spreading took place; and though new cases arose from time to time, nearly all were among the families already attacked». 19 were attacked. All survived. Among adults suffering "depending on the diet, and diseases of the eye most common."	1903–04: little illness in winter, "still we have been called. . . to bury 3 Esk. children. The mortality among the children here is appalling. . . Children of mixed blood seem to thrive much better than children of pureblooded parents. . . In the Esk. school we have 9 children, of whom 2 must be classed as of mixed blood, leaving 7 pure-blooded Esk. school children. . . in the English school we have 15. . ."
1905		Summer 1904, a serious influenza epidemic began. The old people suffered most. The illness began out in the district. Se Comments. In all, 43 died of the illness, and approx. 300 were attacked.	July 1904, 2 Eskimos died – a woman and a little girl – poisoned "by eating rotten seal's flippers". (See Comments.) 1904–05: ". . .serious illness during the. . . year. . . Especially the epidemic of Pneumonia . ."

Hebron (1830)	Ramah (1871)	Makkovik (1896)	Total	Comments
	1900–01: "...much sickness during the year. A kind of typhoid such as visited Hebron the year before, prevailed with strong hæmorrhage ...Boils also gave much trouble to some of our people... Several members departed this life."	Sept. 1900, a serious influenza epidemic broke out at the station and in the district, and "put a stop for weeks to all outdoor work for most of the dwellers..." See Comments.		Supplement, Makkovik: "...nor was influenza the only one that gave trouble during the year... 1900–01 will be remembered for the "grippe", and for a malignant skin affection... Two years previously there was an epidemic of measles; the year before that diphtheria... and before that again scarlet fever. All or nearly all, of these diseases seem to have been brought to the coast by the Newfoundlanders who come... in hundreds..."
"A serious ...cold, the socalled "Labrador catarrh", attacked many ...during... May to July, and two men and a woman died."		Survey for 1902: "The membership at Makkovik, our southern congregation, includes very few Eskimoes."		
		1903–04: "...we have had the pleasure of receiving into our Church 7 persons – two Esk. and five settlers."		1903: The mission opens a hospital in Okak with Dr. HUTTON as leader. (Cf. S. K. HUTTON 1912.)
1903–04: Esk. "were greatly troubled with some form of skin disease				
Autumn 1904: Hebron hard hit by "influenzal epidemic ...happily of mild nature; and was in March 1905, the scene of a short but virulent outbreak of Typhus fever." 4 of those attacked by typhus died.				See Okak 1903–04, concerning the successful attempt at isolation during an epidemic. This was a result of Dr. HUTTON's presence. Note: *Killinek established in 1904.*
1904–05: "No less than 28 persons left the station and migrated southward." In another Hebron report the fuel problem is mentioned as a reason for moving.				Supplement, Hopedale, July 1904. Such poisonings, with fatal results, are mentioned in both the previous and in our century. The last time in 1956, when 6 persons died at Nain. In most instances, it is reported that seal flippers have stood on the stove and fermented in an iron pot.
"This is a marked feature in the life and experience of presentday Eskimoes. Civilization has had the effect of making them less hardy than they used to be, and more susceptible, for instance, of cold."	Concerning the heathens north of Ramah: 1905: "In consequence of a serious epidemic of influenza which broke out among them last winter 10 have died, including SEMIGAK, the chief, and his wife. Three others have migrated to the distant South, and six have gone to live at Ramah. This leaves only thirty heathen, who all live in the neighbourhood of Nachvak..."			Supplement, Okak, concerning the epidemic in the summer of 1904: "It was...exceedingly infectious from person to person. The disease... resembled the most fatal form of our "influenza", attacking the finer tubes of the lungs from the onset, and in many cases attended with heart disease as a complication". The illness abated in Jan. 1905, and up to that time 47 died in Okak. (Cont. next page: Okak column.)

Year	Nain (1771)	Okak (1776)	Hopedale (1782)	Hebron (1830)
1905 to 1906	1905–06: Aug. 1905 "we had influenza . . ., not epidemic amongst us, but a few individual cases occurred. . . and several adults succumbed to it". At the same time there ravaged "a very painful kind of skin disease, which affected the children more especially, but also obliged several adults to keep their beds during the greater part of the winter. In the later winter months. . . various persons suffered from a severe type of inflammation of the lungs. In consequence of all this sickness we last year had a larger number of deaths. . . than . . . since the year of the typhus fever epidemic."	Concerning the influenza epidemic 1904–05: At the final count it is reported: "In all 65 persons died, of whom 19 were children". . . "Some families were particularly hard hit – e.g., such where father, sons, and son-in-law were taken, and only the wife and daughters were left". Autumn 1905: ". . .an epidemic skin disease. . . practically all suffered, only 2 or 3 houses escaping. . ." 1905–06: March '05: "most of the stations were visited by an epidemic of Rubella – "Rotheln"; taking a severe course with some, as mild diseases are apt to do in such countries as this. . ."		
1907	1906–07: Health in general was good. "Several cases of severe illness occurred", and 5 adults and "a large percentage of children" died. Much of the illness is attributed to a lack of fresh meat. 2 young, skilled men drowned during a storm in Oct. 1906.	Dr HUTTON mentions those Esk. who have been away from the coast [at exhibitions both in U.S.A. and Europe] and alludes to illnesses they have brought home with them [possibly syphilis, acc. to HUTTON 1912, and SUK 1927.]	1906–07: 6 adults died, 3 of these were old women, one of them 79.	1906–07: ". . . no severe epidemic of sickness, but a few cases of severe illnes and accident occurred. Once more we have to record more deaths than births, so that the number of this congregation have been reduced, in all by 13." A widow of over 80 died in June 1907. "She reached an exceptionally great age for Labrador. During the last few years . . .could not leave her bed. . . .her mind was active up to the end."
to	Dec. 1907: 3 died in the autumn, 2 infants and a 7-year-old girl, daughter of J. A. "We were sorry to hear of his loss,as this is the last of 13 children his wife has borne. (She has been married twice.)"	1906–07: A characteristic year as far as the health is concerned, writes Dr. HUTTON. "Epidemics have arisen . . . at scattered times and places, as happens year by year, for but little is needed to awake the influenza, which seems to be a constant influenza in the Labrador climate. . .		
	The hospital in Okak mentions "a young man from Nain, with tuberculosis of the skin, making good progress".	The first victim, a fine strong old Esk. woman, died after a few hours' illness." Two others died, – an old man and a boy.	1907–08: In Jan. '08, there was a sudden change in temperature. "This maybe, had something to do with the terrible. . . Influenza which visited our station. Many of the houses were no better than hospitals. . . all. . . recovered, with the exception of one young married woman. Several men, who ventured out of doors too soon, were very seriously ill indeed, as inflammation of the lungs supervened. . ." Settlers in the interior were also attacked.	
1908	1907–08: ". . .owing to the small number of children . . .have only two classes instead of three as formerly." – "Our poor Esk. have again this winter been much afflicted with sickness. Early in Feb. we hear of "Influenza and pneumonia in and about Hopedale, and we think that in consequence of frequent visits the illness has been brought here. . ." 5 children and 5 adults died in little more than a week. In all, 16 died of influenza, of these 5 infants. (See Comments.)	In March there broke out an "influenzal bronchitis" and the entire population suffered from coughing. A young mother died. 1907–08: March '08. Influenza spread with Esk. from Nain, and broke out here in March, spread quickly and whole families lay ill simultaneously. 2 men died. "In several cases the influenza was accompanied by inflammation of the lungs. . ."		

Ramah (1871)	Makkovik (1896)	Killinek (1904)	Total	Comments
1906 it is said: "Between Killinek and Ramah there are scarcely any heathen left. Their old chief, SEMIGAK, has died... Now most of his people are moving southward."		See Comments (concerning the birth-rate). 1905–06: Much illness the entire winter. By 23/3–06, two married men and a little boy died, "who all lived in the same house".		In 1905, for the first time in history, Northeastern Labrador was visited by a governor from Newfoundland (MACGREGOR). In his report he points out the combating of epidemics as the most important question. The population can be stabilized, he says, "and then begin a new growth. This is not hopeless, because, as we found at Killinek by actual observation, and as is demonstrated by the survival of so many of the race after the recurrent ravages of epidemic disease, the birth-rate is high." P.A.-report about accidents: "The number of fatal accidents occurring in Labrador would probably show a good percentage over similar occurrences among an equal number ...in any European country."
Note: *Ramah abandoned as mission station in 1907.* However, some Eskimos continued to live here, and these were classed under the Hebron congregation.	1906–07: "In the summer of 1906 the measles were imported... in our district, by Newfoundland fishermen. 8 families belonging to Makkovik, suffered from... the disease: 2 of the families lost a member each, and the others a portion of the fishing-season... in November the measles epidemic came to an end..."	See comments →	1,300	End of 1907: showed 20 less than at the beginning of the year. "The decrease by deaths was seventy, and the increase by births and baptisms only forty-nine. There is no doubt of the sad fact that the Eskimo race is dying out in Labrador. ...Including 74 candidates and "new people", mostly at Killinek, there are now about 1300 persons under the care of our missionaries in Labrador. A thousand of these are Eskimoes, the three hundred belong to white settler families or are of mixed descent."
	Summer 1907: 148. 1 adult and 2 children died. 1907–08: "The summer and autumn of 1907 were sickly seasons... catarrhal pneumonia and mumps being very prevalent." 1 adult and 1 child died in July. "In Aug. and Sept. we had... many sufferers from mumps and complications." 7 persons moved away this year, 7 immigrated from Nain, and 2 former members returned from Hopedale. 10 persons died (8 children and 2 adults). Total: 147.			In 1908 Dr. HUTTON went back to Europe because of illness. This is regretted, not least because "his influence has begun to tell upon the lives and health of the people." [He later came back for a shorter period.] April 1908, Bishop MARTIN's words during a mission conference in Nain: "...the wish of all of us is that the work of our Church here may be maintained until the dying hour of the Eskimo race has arrived, or until the last remnants of the race are absorbed by the Settler population." 1908, "influenza": "The malady seems to have been brought from Gross Water Bay [Hamilton Inlet] to Makkovik by the driver of the mail komatic at Christmas, whence it travelled northward."

Year	Nain (1771)	Okak (1776)	Hopedale (1782)
1909	1908–09: Sept. '08, it is reported that the health as a whole is good. A 68-year-old woman "died rather suddenly of haemorrhage of the lungs, and 3 little children have died since the beginning of August. . . I am afraid we shall have a considerable decrease when we make up the statistics at the end of the year". – By the end of 1908: "Our total dropped during the year from 271 to 247. But in the new year our hopes have risen again, for since Jan. 1st 10 boys and 3 girls have been born. . . At the time of writing [summer 1909] all these are living, with the exception of one baby boy, who was very weakly from his birth. . . we fear this year, 1909, will again show us a decrease. Death has removed six. . . and 12 persons have removed to other stations. These removals are not really losses, as they will be numbered in the returns of the Mission province. . ." [N.B. The above-mentioned decrease from 271 to 247 has not been specified, and is decidedly not due to deaths alone, but to moving as well.]	1909–10: Especially good health this winter, only in Feb. 1910 "have we been visited by the dreaded "nuvak" (influenza), which has so often decimated our people. . . The epidemic, although general, was very mild throughout, and passed without anyone having been laid on the sick-bed. There have been quite a number of deaths to be recorded during this winter. While in most cases infants, weakly and badly fed, had to be mourned for, several adults were carried off suddenly. 3 persons lost their lives accidentally last Fall." (2 young boys froze to death during a snowstorm while they were out with a dog sledge to fetch fuel. 1 man was killed by an avalanche at the sealing ground near Cape Mugford.) 1909–10, the "Erysipelas epidemic" mentioned in the column for Hebron. The same illness also reached Okak, but everyone recovered. Spring 1910, many were ill of "rheumatic fever. . . Some patients who were taken ill with it in March and April did not recover until July and August. . . the rapid melting of the snow, and the prevailing moisture in some of the houses as a result of the former, would account for some of these cases". No one developed heart disease afterwards, ". . .as is so often the case with rheum. fever."	
1910	1909–10: The health as a whole is good. After Easter 1910 "we had mumps. . . but I think all has passed off now. I have had 3 or 4 cases of rheumatic fever to deal with. . . But all the patients begin to get about again now." Summer 1910: The crew on the mission ship lay ill from influenza during the visit to Nain: "The infection spread from the ship to the shore, . . .the majority of the missionaries and the people at all the stations were affected." Autumn 1910: 18-year-old Eskimo drowned on the way to net sealing. In addition, two deaths are mentioned: a 69-year-old Esk. woman, and a married settler woman. "Another	Supplement Okak, summer 1909, see Comments. 1910, it is regretted in the Okak report that 60 persons out of a total of 328, were on the "exclusion list", i.e. under church discipline. "With so many seals I could pay all my debts and buy many things that were needful. The missionary says that we ought to prepare for the winter, so I get a whole barrel of	

Hebron (1830)	Makkovik (1896)	Killinek (1904)	Total	Comments
1909–10: At the end of Dec. 1909, there began an epidemic of "Erysipelas migrans", it was very persistant... two cases were reported from Hebron in which complications have caused the death of the patients ... Jan. 1910 "quite a number of people still afflicted with this disease".	End of 1909: "The Eskimo membership of M. has been increased by nine from Hopedale and twelve from Nain." 1909: 165. "Our numbers are increasing, but chiefly through the influx of... Eskimo... from stations to the north of M. In Sept. 1909, 2 Esk.families – 8 persons, removed from Hopedale into our district." Dec. 1909, a young Eskimo, who lived in the south of the Makkovik district, succumbed when he went through the ice. "The accident was rendered doubly sad in that he was the seal-hunter and mainstay of the family."		approx. 1,400	Survey of the decreasing number of Eskimos from 1877, 1887, 1897, and to 1907: "All told, there are not many more than 1,400 souls. Of these only 50 to 70 are still heathen; the remainder are Christians some of them in the fourth or fifth generation. Less than 1,000 of these are Eskimoes, and about 300 are Settlers of European or American descent. While the number of Settlers is increasing, the Esk. are decidedly on the decrease. Exclusive of Killinek, this process is sadly evident in a comparison of the inhabitants of our older stations at the close of the last 4 . . .decades. In 1877 there were 1,092 Esk. at these stations. In 1887 there were 1,077. In 1897 the number was reduced to 1,021, and in 1907 it had dwindled to only 894." [Criteria for the classification have not been given.]
	1909–10: The health has been good. 4 adults and 3 children died.	1909–10: "The health of our people was moderate. There were no dangerous illnesses, but the people were sorely tried with boils. Only two deaths occurred; both little children."	1,219	→"Esk. and settl. members at our 6 stations, as compared with 1,188 in 1908", it is reported at the end of 1909. 1909: 15 Esk. still live at the abandoned mission station, Ramah. See Nain, summer 1910: Influenza, which was spread from the mission ship Harmony attacked Eskimos at all of the stations. Supplement, Okak, summer 1909: "The Harmony . . . came, and with her the apparently unavoidable influenza epidemic. . . Only two days after the arrival of our good ship quite a number. . . had already got it, and after a few more days practically the whole congregation – certainly all the adults, without exception – were infected. . . Nearly 50 of the. . . patients developed broncho-pneumonia. 4 aged people died after a few days. The rest improved, but very slowly. . . The worst side of the epidemic was that it came just. . . when the people should have been out fishing. The fish was fairly plentiful then, but hardly one boat could go out. . . When the people recovered, the best fishing time was over." The same was true of the trout fishermen, who went to Okak to fetch more salt, but were infected, and lay ill at the fishing places in the inlets.
	1910–11: "During the ...year the health of our people has been good. Last year several persons suffered from a mild form of scarlet fever and many from the severe influenza epidemic, but our numbers were not reduced by death." Last year 3 persons moved to Hopedale and 7 persons to Nain, all Eskimos. Total: 155.			

Year	Nain(1771)	Okak (1776)	Hopedale (1782)
1910	baby has also died since the Harmony left; so our numbers are considerably reduced. We have again to record a decrease of 18. The congregation has not been so small since 1868."	flour and sack a of ship's biscuits, and we shall always have bread or biscuit to eat with the seal meat. There is plenty of seal meat, but ship's biscuit makes it taste better, and I like it and the children like it too. . ." (The Eskimo JOHN, Okak, quoted by Dr S. K. HUTTON: 1912, pp. 68–69.)	
1911	D c. 1911, mention is made of "a woman who is in an advanced stage of consumption".		1911–12: Summer 1911 "whooping-cough was very prevalent, and severe, among our people at the station. Not only children but also grown-ups were attacked by it. . . In a short time nearly all the infants in arms were carried off by it, in spite of the remedies given. . . by Dr GRENFELL and the doctors of the mail steamers." 10 children died. "No wonder. . . that our numbers have gone down from 211 to 200 during the past year."
1912 to 1913	1912–13: 3 married women and 6 children died. 16 persons moved to other stations, and 14 moved here from other stations. 8 children were born.	1912–13: Of 11 children born since 1/1–13, "only 4 are alive still. Lack of the natural food of the Esk. is the reason for this". In the course of the whole ship's year, 1912–13, 17 persons died, adults and children. "Several families have gone south in order to try to do better there." Of 1 of the adults who died, it is said "Coming of a healthy family, there is little doubt that she caught consumption during her devoted nursing of her late husband". Okak Hospital's report 1912–13: ". . .the question of the increasing scarcity of native foods . . .makes the maintenance of a good health standard a difficult thing. This is particularly the case with the children, for the Eskimo women can no longer feed their babies as they used. The children have not suffered want: the Hospital has kept the poor supplied with needful milk; but it is a deplorable thing	1912–13: Good health the entire winter. No epidemic illness. "The death rate among the natives was. . . lower than in the previous years, especially in the case of the children."

Hebron (1830)	Makkovik (1896)	Killinek (1904)	Total	Comments
1912–13: No illness of significance this year. A newly married young man lost his life on the Saturday before Easter. "He had gone to Napartok to fetch wood, and on the return journey the storm came on with terrific force..."	1912–13: "Another sad case of ptomaine poisoning occurred last spring in one of our Esk. families, residing 70 miles south of Makkovik. Seal flippers, especially when they are in a half-decayed condition, are a favourite sish with the Esk. In order to make them tender the flippers were put in an iron pot, and the latter was placed, ...at the back of a warm stove for a week. After that the flippers were boiled. Only 3 persons partook of them, viz., the father and a grownup son and daughter;... The same night symptoms of poisoning showed themselves, and within ...two days all three died as a result of eating the meat..."			

Year	Nain (1771)	Okak (1771)	Hopdeale (1782)
1912 to 1913		that the Esk. mother has nowadays to rely more and more on the feeding bottle. It means that these little Esk.babies, so often puny from birth, have less chance of gaining strength than in the days when natural feeding was the rule. . . The most disappointing thing about this year's influenza . . .was that nearly all the Esk.babies born during the winter arrived in the midst of the epidemic and died as a result."	
1914 to 1915		1914–15: No serious epidemics in Okak. "Nevertheless, 9 children have passed from this life, also 2 adults, one from senile decay and the other, one of our female helpers, from tuberculosis. . ." June 1915, a 30-year-old Esk. lost his life when he went through the ice in one of the inlets where he was staying to fish trout. Note: Okak column (for 1916–17) is continued in column: Comments.	1914–15: "2 fresh cases of typhoid fever were notified, besides a severe cold which spread among the few people residing at the station. Br. HETTASCH has done all he possibly could to prevent it spreading. Absolute isolation is, however, practically impossible among the Esk., who have so little knowledge of hygiene and infectious germs, and who are so strongly grounded in fatalism."
1916 to 1917	1916–17: No serious epidemic. ". . .but a severe form of rheumatism was widespread among our people, and many heads of families were so affected thereby during the whole of the winter that they were unable to do anything towards the support of their families."		1916–17: A Hopedale Eskimo had an opportunity of obtaining chirurgical treatment at a hospital in Indian Harbour, where he was infected with measles. "To isolate an infectious case among the Esk. is almost an impossibility. Impelled by sympathy or inquisitiveness, or, maybe, by a little of both, friends and acquaintances visit the sick and will not obey the rules of isolation. They are saturated with fatalism, too, and this tends largely to make them very careless. As a consequence of this lack of understanding and care infection was rapidly carried from house to house, and before the summer ended practically every Esk. family had one or more member sick." 13 died, directly or indirectly, because of the epidemic.

Hebron (1830)	Makkovik (1896)	Killinek (1904)	Total	Comments
1914–15: Autumn 1914 a woman died of "consumption". "...Many came complaining for rheumatism. Several were diagnosed for consumption – and among these a small boy, 6 years of age..."	1914–15: "Speaking generally, the health of our people was good. In addition to the cases of typhus, of which mention was made in our last year's report. [Has not been accessible. H.K.] 3 more occurred during the summer months, and during the Spring of the present year there were again 2 cases of this insidious disease. Strange to say, it does not spread, all the same it has been pronounced to be typhus by several doctors."	1914–15: In December 1914 it is reported: "...a man died of consumption. In the autumn of 1913 he came here... from Hebron, and has been ill nearly all the time since then." "On November 1st... I had the pleasure of baptising 3 babies. In Okak, which is a large congregation, such a thing as this seldom happens – how much less frequently here!"		Note: Reports for the ship's year 1915–16 are lacking in the Table, as P. A. for the year in question has not been available during the work. Supplement, Okak: 1916–17: "On Sept. 27th 1916 the first cases of measles occurred." An attempt at isolation was tried in vain, and the illness spread rapidly. "Some of the older folk, too, made fun of our precautionary measures and maintained that there was no escaping from anything which God had sent us... We nursed 40 to 50 patients for about 4 weeks in the church, besides visiting the sick in their homes... In... October, from the 9th... onwards, 29 adults and children died... A large number... only recovered very slowly, and were compelled to stay at home during the autumn. Many, too, were unable, owing to their sickness, to dry their fish, and this meant of course a loss to them. Those few who were able to go out seal hunting did well... Since New Year, too, several have died. In the case of some their sinful lives were the cause of their early death. [Again an allusion to V. D. as mentioned in the column for Okak for the year 1905–06.] Tuberculosis too, is making rapid progress among our people." This illness gains ground because of moisture and cold during the fishing and sealing. The statistics for the year 1916–17: 4 births, while 44 persons died, "chiefly due to measles".
1916–17: In Sept.–Oct. 1916, "everybody who had not had the measles in the "eighties" of the last century was attacked ...The people had taken the infection from some schooner-folk at Saglek, and thus brought it here. A few had only a slight attack of it, and recovered... Others were brought to the verge of the grave and were in great fear of death... Most of them did recover too... one woman and 2 children died as a result of the measles; and at Saglek, one woman and one child... One young man and one woman died of consumption"... Many men lay a large part of the winter because of rheumatism.	1916–17: "...from the end of July to the end of September, we had an epidemic of measles here, which attacked all those who had not had the sickness before... In many homes from 4 to 6 persons were down with it at one time. ...but few fatal cases. Only one old man, 78 years... died from the direct effects... while 2 other men succumbed to inflammation of the lungs after measles."	1916–17: Good health the entire winter. No Epidemics of measles here. Only 1 child died during the winter. By the end of 1916: 124 belonged to the congregation, and in the district 31 heathens, total 155.		

Year	Nain (1771)	Okak (1776)	Hopedale (1782)
1917 to 1918	The winter was extraordinarily mild, and in Jan. it was directly dangerous to journey on the sea ice. Feb. and March, were very cold, and it remained cold throughout the spring. The mission suggests that it might have been the abnormal weather conditions which were the reason why "all kinds of sicknesses made their appearance, not only here at Nain. . . but	1917–18: Good health and enough food for everyone this year. "If the supply of European foodstuffs into this country were to utterly fail, the Esk. would not be among those who would suffer most, as they are still meat-eaters and there is still an abundance of fresh meat for those who are energetic enough to go out hunting and do not remain at home simply living on "credit". . .from the store.	1917–18: 11 deaths, all children and young people, with one exception, but not all were pure-blooded Esk. In Feb. 1918, a young man froze to death during a storm. He had gone far into the interior to fetch some marten traps, but despite a first class physique he succumbed.
1919	also at all the out-stations. Rheumatism in the joints and muscles of the body troubled a good many. . . and one blooming girl of 13 years of age fell a victim to the first-named complaint." ". . .Our people are dying out. 10 births only to balance 11 deaths, and notwithstanding the fact that, in 1917, we were preserved from severe epidemics of a general nature."	Sometimes we are tempted to say that a real shortage of European food would be advantageous for the Eskimo race, and would compel them to make greater use of their native foods; for all around, north and south of us, we see them suffering and the health-standard declining. Year by year it is becoming more difficult for the Esk. mothers to rear their babies, and it has become quite a common saying now, when a child is born, "The child will probably die"."	1918–19: For the year 1918 there is a decrease of 20 persons. "The natives cannot stand the white Man's disease, and as importations of this kind seem to increase, things begin to look bad." From the summer of 1918 to the summer of 1919, 11 deaths are registered. "One cannot help wondering . . .sometimes whether the Esk. are hastening to extinction. Looking round the congregation, and taking notice of the records, one finds there are at present 8 or 9 married couples where more or less healthy offspring may be expected; and to say at least, this is very meagre."
	At the beginning of 1918, the total is: 243. "Slowly, but irrestistibly, things are going downhill in this respect with the Eskimo race, and human wisdom seeks in vain by some means or other to stay the downward course of events."	"As in previous years, the babies and many ill-nourished older children have been supplied with tins of milk. The demand has been greater this year, owing to the fact that several babies . . .were dependent upon the condensed milk for their happy, or unhappy existence."	
	Nov. 1918, it is reported that there has been an epidemic of measles. "The disease has wrought awful havoc in our congregation. 13 children and 10 adults have died. . .Among the adults the majority are married women of middle age", – in addition, one of the male settlers died. Furthermore, there has been the same suffering as described under Hopedale ("small-pox") but which the missionaries in Nain describe as "chickenpox". . . has been very light in the case of the children and middle-aged people, but. . . our . . .old people are being carried off by it." Two men and three women have died up to now. The women were	Summer 1918: Total 263. 1918-19: "The Spanish flu": (See Comments for further details about the epidemic in Okak and Hebron.) "The total deaths from the epidemic number 207, out of a congregation of 263; the total deaths for the whole year amount to 215. The entire male population has been wiped out, and they were the ones who suffered most. . ." ". . .the greatest catastrophe in the history of this Mission field. . ." Note: *The mission station Okak was abandoned in march 1919.*	Dec. 1918, it is reported that "the epidemic of modified smallpox, or whatever it may be, has continued to spread, and has practically gone through the congregation. . . In some cases it has passed off lightly, particularly amongst those of mixed blood, but the pure-blooded Esk. have suffered rather badly. . . it has caused us to pay several visits to the graveyard. . ."

Hebron (1830)	Makkovik (1896)	Killinek (1904)	Total	Comments
1918–19: "The Spanish flu": See further details about the epidemic in Hebron and Okak under Comments. "Out of a population of 220 at Hebron only 70 remain . . . in the course of about nine days nearly two thirds of the Hebron congregation were corpses. Indeed, if one reckons the people who were in Hebron itself, the percentage is nearly ninetenths, for out of 100 people at the station only 14 survived. That so many names are still on the Hebron books is only attributable to the fact that the Ramah and Napartok (out-stations) people had no connection with the ship or with their afflicted fellow-countrymen."	1918–19: "The severe epidemics, such as Spanish influenza, measles, and small-pox, which have been prevalent on the Coast... have troubled us but little. . . . smallpox only reached us during the second half of the winter and was, especially among the settlers, of a very mild type. The fullblooded Esk. were more seriously affected by it, more particularly the older folk; but so far no one has died. . . As the people here live very scattered, the disease spreads but slowly; but in time it attacks each household and every person who is liable to it. . . " 19 Jan. 1919 it is reported: "The 'Spanish Flu' has been working sad havoc in the south. We hear that around Cartwrigth and Rigolet about 70 have died of it. . . "	1917–18: In Feb. the old Eskimo Tobias died during a sledge journey, – fell dead from the sledge, probably from a heart attack. While hunting eider duck, in the autumn of 1917, a young Eskimo slipped on the icy knolls, and fell to his death. 1918–19: Up to April 1919 no epidemics. "In April, 1919, we had another epidemic of coughs and colds. It began in Passion Week after the mailmen from the south had left, and lasted several weeks. . . " 3 are dead, – a young man of tuberculosis after a long illness, and two children, one of blood poisoning, the other of "weakness".		Supplement: Okak and Hebron concerning the "Spanish flu" 1918–19: Autumn 1918: "Immediately after the departure of the Harmony from Hebron – in fact, before the Harmony left – the natives showed signs of having contracted the Spanish Influenza from a sick sailor. Captain Jackson had forbidden the natives to visit the crew's quarters, warning them of the infectious nature of the sickness, but they paid no heed to him. . ." The dead were buried by sinking them down in the sea through holes in the ice, as no one was able to dig in the frozen earth. Okak: ". . .But meanwhile the Harmony had gone to Okak, and there the Esk. immediately opened intercourse with the sailors, with results as at Hebron. When the Harmony left Okak people were beginning to fall sick, and the sickness spread like wildfire. Crews went off to their sealing places only to fall sick and die. Some tried to get back to Okak and failed, portions of the boats' crew dying on the way. In some settlements a small remnant survived to tell the story, but at some places all died. . . In Okak and at several of the sealingplaces the dogs played havoc with the corpses. At Sillutalik (Cut Throat) 36 persons died, but only 18 remained to be buried. The only visible remains of the others were a few bare skulls and a few shankbones lying around in the houses. . ." It was in the months of November and December 1918, and in January 1919, that the epidemic raged at its worst in Okak and Hebron. The 56 persons who survived in Okak, were – after it had been decided in March 1919 to close down the station – distributed over Nain and Hopedale. "I had. . . inquired in Hopedale and Nain who would be willing to adopt children or offer homes to the adults, and was furnished with a list that would have given accommodation to about double the number in need of homes. . ." It is reported that more than a third of the entire Eskimo population within the Mission area died in three months.

Year	Nain (1771)	Hopedale (1782)	Hebron (1830)
1919 to 1920	weakened before they were attacked. "Nearly all who have safely got through the measles are afterwards attacked by the other disease." A later report reveals that approx. 40 persons died in Nain "from smallpox and measles".	1919–20: 4 births, and 6 deaths (2 adults and 4 children). "At the close of the year our Statistics for 1919 showed an increase of 25 souls over the previous year, but this is chiefly accounted for by additions from abandoned Okak."	1919–20: After the epidemic of influenza, those of the Eskimos under the Hebron congregation who have lived in Saglek moved to Hebron. Some few Esk. moved from Killinek to Hebron. "We on our part made no preparations to encourage people from the South to come to us, for we knew only too well how hard it oftentimes s for the Southerners, who are accustomed to quite a different manner of life, to settle here at Hebron, where there is an entire lack of firewood. However, 2 fam. from Nain have. . . come to Hebron, so that now again we have a small colony of about 50 souls, to whom may be added as outside members the people living at Ramah, Napartok and Okak." Total as of 1/7–1920: nearly 100. The health was good. 2 infants died, and a married woman was killed by an accidental shot.
1921		1920–21: Excellent health. Nonetheless 10 persons died, and there were 10 births in the same period. 16 persons have moved from Hopedale in the first half of 1921. 10 of these (formerly Okak Eskimos) went to the Okak area in order to fish and hunt there.	
1922	1921–22: 7 died (4 children and 3 adults), while 8 were born. "Through the usual moving of the Esk. from one station to another, at the end of 1921 we were a few less in number than at the end of 1920." No more serious cases of illness. One Esk. succumbed in Feb. 1922, during a violent snowstorm, far into the interior, and was never found.		1921–22: "No cases of sickness. No accidents." No adults died, but 3 children died in the autumn of 1921.
1923	1922–23: The state of the health is quite good. "A slight epidemic of sore throat, developing in the more severe cases into quinsy, caused us some anxiety in the case of the children; but all went well. 3 adults have passed away. . . They were, however, such as had been ailing for years. . ."		1922–23: 5 persons died (2 children and 3 adults). One was a 72–year-old man who had been ill for a long time, in addition, 2 unmarried persons – a woman and a man (24 yrs.). "As this congregation is increasing numerically from various sources, and now numbers 124. . ."
1924 to 1925	Because of the tightening of credit facilities in the mission store, the Eskimos live more widely scattered throughout the district than previously during the winter. The end of 1924 "showed an increase of 37, and though this is largely due to newcomers from other stations, it is partly accounted for by the births outnumbering deaths by 12."	1924–25: "During the winter we had very little sickness in the congregation, but at Easter an epidemic of influenza broke out among us, and some of our settler friends carried it home with them. Strange to say, the settlers and Europeans suffered more from this epidemic than the Esk. It is usually the other way round."	1924–25: Many were ill in November–December 1924. 14-year-old boy froze to death during a snowstorm in February. The storm was so violent that the dogs refused to pull the sledge any farther, "the boy lay down on the sledge, unable to go another step. The man piled up snow round and over him to shelter him from the freezing cold, and set off. . . to find his house. . . When daylight came, he went out to look for the boy and found him dead. . ."

Makkovik (1896)	Killinek (1904)	Total	Comments
1920–21: 3 children died in this ship's year. "Two Esk. succumbed to consumption." The third child died of dysentery.	Concerning the change in dwelling, the problem of fuel, and the migration to the south, described in the Killinek report for 1922–23, see "Changes in Eskimo settlement. . .", p. 39.		
	Note: *Killinek was abandoned as a misssion-station in 1924.*		Supplement Hebron (1925) concerning nutrition: A large number of foxes were taken, but the people are poor nonetheless, especially because of large debts to the store. It is maintained that Eskimos are inconsiderate and squanderers: "The ordinary ship's biscuits, which they formerly used to eat almost exclusively, are not good enough for them to-day – they think they must have boxes of sweet biscuits instead!"

Year	Nain (1771)	Hopedale (1782)	Hebron (1830)
1926	1925–26: Two influenza epidemics are mentioned which have hit almost everyone, but all recovered again. "Far worse, however, have been a number of cases of typhoid. . ." 20 certain cases occurred, but only 1 died. (See comments about Nain.) End of 1925: 11 births and 3 deaths.		1926: As of 1/7–26, 236 persons including those who live a distance from the station.
1927		1926–27: No deaths among the Eskimos this year, but among the settlers there were 3 deaths, of these 2 in one family, a 14-year-old girl, a 20-year-old man. 11 births, "thus showing a good excess of births over deaths". For the first time the station has had the visit of a dentist, who expressed his pride at being the first dentist who had ever made a complete set of false teeth for an Eskimo woman in Labrador.	
1928	1927–28: The health as a whole was good throughout the year. ". . . only just when we had passed the greatest gathering of people on the station, at Passion week and Easter, we were visited by an epidemic of influenza, when very few . . . escaped . . . While nearly all, even all patients with pneumonia recovered, one aged member . . . the old schoolmaster NATHANAEL was taken home, 79 years old . . ." "Our flock has been gradually increasing during the latter years . . ."	1928–29: "For the first time for 3 years we have had to record deaths among our resident Esk. population here in Hopedale . . . During that time several nonresident settl. members have passed on, but no case of death occurred in the village. Within the last 3 months, however, we have had . . . 3 funerals, 2 of children, and the third of our oldest Eskimo . . . For an Esk. he was an old man, being in his 80th year". "Numerically our congregation has increased during the year . . ., as we have recorded 14 baptisms of children and only 3 deaths. This is cheering, as it shows infant mortality is not very great." No dangerous epidemics. "A heavy cold visited us . . . but it was not of the fatal influenza type we have experienced in years gone by."	1927–28: (After Okak was abandoned as a separate station, those Esk. who have settled down in the Okak district are included in the Hebron congregation.) "The health . . . has remained good. 1 grown-up person died at Okak. Since the autumn 9 babies were born and baptized, of whom 2 died, one in Okak and one here."
1929	1928–29: "We have been kept from any deadly epidemics. Several epidemics of lighter types . . . Especially a light but very tenacious influenza during the fishing season last August and September prostrated everybody for a while . . . it was not to severe that it kept people very long from their fishing . . ."		1928–29: Of Hebron Esk., 6 families live at what earlier was Ramah, and 8 families in Saglek, but journey to Hebron during the Church festivals. The health was good apart from influenza in Sept. 1928. "It laid everybody low, and some were between life and death . . . Only one died, an old woman . . . 5 children . . . died," - one shortly after having eaten poisonous seaweed or sea grass. 11 births.

Makkovik (1896)	Total	Comments
1926–27: "It may be partly due to. . .lack of fresh food that there was an unusual run of. . .colds and severe sickness." Quite a large number died. Settl. girl, 21 years old, died because of "consumption". A 17-year-old settler boy was killed while hunting birds, when the motorboat was crushed against a rock. Among the dead, is mentioned a 76-year-old settler, Thomas Evans, and his wife died 3 weeks later. "He had immigrated from Liverpool about 1865 as a stowaway on a vessel bound for Canada, and later on driftet to and settled. . . near Makkovik." The wife was born in Labrador and "never had a day of schooling in her life – her spelling-book had been her mother's Bible – yet she had acquired manners and a certain knowledge rarely found on our coast. . ." 1928–29: 2 persons drowned in the autumn of 1928.		Supplement Nain (1926) concerning illness: At the sealing place of Ivilik, four families lay sick the entire autumn 1925. "It soon became clear that they had been suffering from a mild kind of typhoid fever. All the Ivilik people having come in to the station with the dying man, who lived only shrot time after his arrival, there was no hope of confining the disease to the one place. News came that thə infection had spread to other places already. I have done all I can to isolate the infected houses, but unfortunately the convalescents do not always obey orders. By this mail I am warning the southern stations not to permit anybody to visit Nain. . . We can do no more than ask the people to observe the necessary precautions. If they choose not to obey, we have no power to make them do so."

Year	Nain (1771)	Hopedale (1782)	Hebron (1830)
1929 (See comments) 1934	Two Eskimos were injured while working with the mission's circular saw. One of them had a finger cut off: "Typical again of the Eskimo's unlimited trust in the white Man's capabilities it was that on the afternoon of the day after the accident, a saw-mill hand having found the finger among sawdust and snow, brought it to be stitched on to the hand. Perhaps he was thinking on Malchus's ear." The occupational conditions have been such that most Eskimos remained at the station during the winter, as opposed to the past few years, when there was a marked spreading throughout the district.		"The Nain people who have been living in Hebron for a number of years in the hope of making an easier living have left and have returned to Nain."
1938		A missionary engages in dental treatment: "I have been able to fix up 6 of our people with artificial teeth which they badly needed, besides doing quite a number of fillings and extractions. I am... indebted to A.F.... of Boston for instruction and dental outfit. He came to Nain some 8 years ago and instructed me in dental work...in the time... since his visit I have made and repaired over one hundred sets, and filled several hundred teeth besides..."	1938: "There are over 280 men, women and children connected with Hebron and Okak, and to visit them one has to travel many miles, as they are living in bays some of which are 30 to 40 miles long." 15-year-old girl killed by an accidental shot; her sister played with a rifle.
1939 to 1940	A married Eskimo broke through the ice and drowned, while he was on the way over the ice to an island where he had fox traps.	Refers to poor economy: "...you will understand that it has not been an easy winter and spring for our people. We have had quite a number of cases of scurvy and beri-beri, but we hope that now the open water has come, seals may be more abundant, and give our people a chance of getting strong again to meet the heavy strain of fishing. The fishing season brings them long hours and much hard work."	2 boys, brothers, set out in a flat-bottomed boat with a barrel in which they were going to fetch water. The boat turned over, and one of them drowned. Artificial respiration attempted without any result.
1941	1940–41: "The great number of deaths among our people during the past year were undoubtedly due to lack of bodily resistance to disease, caused by the lack of nourishing food and unhygienic home conditions." "There were a number of partridges for a short while, but these did not last long; so that once again our people existed on a diet of bread and tea, sweetened with molasses."		Autumn 1941: A young married man drowned when his boat turned over in heavy seas. He had rowed out to bring ashore a seal which he had shot from land.

Makkovik (1896)	Total	Comments
	1,051	according to a survey for 1934. Total population.
	1,183	Survey 1938. Total population
	1,193	Survey 1940. Total population.
	1,227	Survey 1941. Total population.

Year	Nain (1771)	Hopedale (1782)	Hebron (1830)
1944	"There have been no serious epidemics during the past year, but we have had a number of pneumonia cases and an epidemic of whooping cough in the fall. Fortunately the latter, although distressing, was not very serious. The usual coughs and colds have affected our people and a number of weakly babes died, but on the whole the health of our people has been good."	"We had a very serious epidemic of whooping-cough in September and October. It was very annoying, but we got over it." In July, one child was devoured by dogs: "One of our village children was missing and a search party was sent out. Br. Harp was called to a certain spot. Here he saw one lower leg, the head, and part of the chest of the missing child. He gave orders for all dogs on the station to be shot..."	
1945	"During the past year our people have been singularly free of illness and colds, and there were only 3 deaths among the adults, but 50 per cent of the children born during the year died."	Dec. 1945: "...one family lost their only son and child, a young man of 24. The parents were stricken with grief... He was a pitiful sight, just skin and bone, the result of consumption..."	"The year 1945 had a sad beginning. We suffered many losses amongst our children from whooping cough. As several of very badly needed remedies for whooping cough did not arrive with our medical order the previous summer it was very hard to treat some of the cases. But we were glad for the kind help we soon received, after sending a message to the medical officer of the American base at Goose Bay."
1946	2 settler boys froze to death at the beginning of the year. They were on their way from their dwelling in the southern part of the district, but were surprised by a snowstorm before they reached Nain. They were found near the dog sledge, one of them partly devoured by the dogs. Autumn 1946: "After school opened...a number of children became ill with Vincent's Angina (Trench mouth) and it was necessary to use the smaller schoolhouse as a hospital... In the village 3 children died with this complaint."	"The seal fishery, both in spring and fall of this year, was very poor. Without the fresh meat our people's health suffered. ...in the middle of the Easter festival, we were besieged with influenza, and in every house we had patients with temperatures of 103 F., and 104 F., but with the help of Sulphathiazole, the temperatures were reduced to near normal in 24 hours. During the fortnight that the epidemic lasted we had no deaths..."	Summer 1946: "...a whole epidemic began with dysentery. The disease spread chiefly in the Hebron and Napartok codfishing settlements and lasted until the late fall, taking from us a good number of children. Most deaths were suffered in the month of October." "...one thing we regret, is that this northern station apparently cannot receive any medical attention. Only with difficulty we manage to get permission to send severe cases to hospital." The IGA ship with a doctor on board did not reach north because of difficult ice conditions. (I.G.A. = International Grenfell Association.)

Makkovik (1896)	Total	Comments
	1,245	Survey 1944. Total population.
"The past year was a trying one . . . an epidemic of 'flu visited us twice, once in summer and again in November and December. Some are only now beginning to recover . . . but . . . lives were spared. . . . The children have had more than their share of ailments this winter so far, beginning with colic, then mild 'flu, and now kallak (a kind of impetigo) often found among undernourished children, and appears often among the children of all stations."	1,266	Survey 1945. Total population.
	1,243	Survey at the end of 1946. Total population.

Year	Nain (1771)	Hopedale (1782)	Hebron (1830)
1947	"During the past year our medical work has become more effective because of the use of penicillin. Our pneumonia cases show 100% recoveries as against 40% a few years ago. Every child in the district has been immunized against diphtheria and we hope to immunized against diphtheria and we hope to immunize against typhoid early in the New Year."	"Last winter our people suffered from an epidemic of Vincent's Angina which caused the death of several children, and aggravated the disease of tuberculosis, which is ever present in most of the people. This caused the death of several people..."	
1948	"We had one or two cases of beermaking in the Fall, and after admonishing the offenders and throwing out the beer, we had no more trouble on that score. But it seems a habit with some in the Summertime at the outside fishing places, where they meet the Newfoundland fishermen, to make beer almost continually."		
1949			"During Easter time all the people here were sick with influenza... Some days over a hundred were down with it... and had to be... treated with penicillin... Some still suffer from the effects of their illness." A missionary writes that the housing conditions are miserable, and says that it is a wonder that 100 persons scattered around in 15 "such hovels" could be well again. People were unable to fetch the necessary fuel...
1950		"During the fishing season, just after the second mail steamer had left, diphtheria took hold of our community. In all we had 14 cases of diphtheria... we lost only one little boy. ...great and immediate help we received from the hospital at Goose Bay together with a good supply of urgently needed medicine to cope with the situation."	"In the Spring of last year several families who had been for some years contemplating moving to the old Okak district, made up their minds and went to try their fortunes there, and to be nearer plenty of fuel for the cold weather... as soon as the winter ice had gone... others followed in their boats to spend the fishing season there, and look the place over, and trade with the store in Nunatak. I am glad to say that all succeeded well with the Fishery there, far better than they could have done here." (See Comments.)

Makkovik (1896)	Total	Comments
	1,243	Survey at the end of 1947. Total population.
	1,218	Survey at the end of 1948. Total population.
"We were muched troubled with "Flu" during the winter, and at one time, all the school children were in bed... Penicillin and Sulphathiazole came to our aid..."		1948: The Tuberculosis Campaign: "During the summer Dr. PADDON ...of the I.G.A. made his usual medical tour of our stations. He has now an X-ray apparatus installed in his Mission vessel, and he took X-ray photos of all the people. We hope to receive his full report when he visits us again in March. But he has already a good idea of the state of the health of our people, before all plates had been fully studied. It is a sad fact that a large percentage have, or have had, T. B. lesions. Some are old scars, but when the epidemics of 'Flu or heavy cold attack them, then many of these old lesions are liable to start afresh and cause the death of the sufferer. Not a high percentage is thought to be in the active and dangerous class, but more definite conclusions can be arrived at when all the plates have been studied, and reported upon."
	1,246	Survey at the end of 1949. Total population.
	1,237	Survey at the end of 1950. Total population.
		Supplement, Hebron, concerning moving to the Okak-Nutak district: The missionary went to Nutak "to see the Okak folk, (who comprise more than half of the Hebron congregation), and found them recovering from a bout of scabies".

Year	Nain (1771)	Hopedale (1782)	Hebron (1830)
1951			"The hardships encourage tuberculosis... the disease seems to be on the increase, although efforts are being made by the government to combat it. A person is taken to hospital and given treatment, and often sent back healed; but to the same unhealthy house etc.; and so the first heavy cold or attack of 'flu and the case begins again, and the end is not then far away."
1952	"...much sickness in the Nain area... We have had 4 major epidemics, measles, 'flu, German measles and finally whooping-cough. 7 deaths occurred in the first epidemic, 3 of them being premature babies...the RCAF made four air drops of medicines and anti-measles serum. ...in early October Nurse D. J. arrived to take over the medical work... J. has organized pre-natal, children's and dental clinics..."		"In the early spring the 'flu made its annual appearance, and practically everyone in the village and the surrounding district had it. There were no deaths as a direct result of this sickness but as is always the case several old tuberculosis cases were reactivated. This is the curse of Hebron that, owing to the lack of fuel our people are unable to keep their so-called houses clean or warm. As a direct result of this the health of the people here is never good."
1953	"There were 20 births this year, including one set of twins which were still-born. Five of them were born at the height of the influenza epidemic which caused the premature births. The death rate in Nain numbered 6, although more died away from the place. 5 of them were babies under a year, and one man. – The difference in health of the children in boarding school and those living at home was very noticeable; in school they had good food and plenty of rest and fresh air and healthy exercise for body and mind, consequently, except for one child, there were no serious illnesses in the school and they got over the 'flu much quicker." "...small babies and children are supplied with milk by the Government, as also with vitamins and orange juice for the winter. An adequate stock of medicines is on hand through the Mission, and it seems that		"Two diseases which are rare in these parts of the world and which we have not come across before have reared their heads in our midst, namely Trichiasis and Poliomyelitis." 2 children were attacked by the first mentioned illness. They were flown to Montreal, where one, a little boy, died; his sister was cured, but had to remain at the hospital because it was discovered that she was suffering from "pulmonary tuberculosis". Only 1 case of polio, and that was quite mild. In addition there was "the almost inevitable epidemic of influenza, with all its complications..." In Nutak 4 adults and 1 child died of the epidemic. "But the inevitable followed, in the shape of an increase of tuberculosis. Several newly-born babies have died as the result of T.B. contracted from their mothers." "There is a total of 18 deaths for Hebron this year and

Makkovik (1896)	Total	Comments
	1,253	Survey at the end of 1951. Total population.
1952: "At the beginning of February we had a serious outbreak of the 'flu in this area, indeed the epidemic spread all along the coast." Many had pneumonia.	1,276	Survey at the end of 1952. Total population.
"There was a mild epidemic of polio during the latter part of August and early September, causing the death of one young man. Another victim had to be flown out from Kipokak for treatment. In Makkovik village there were a few cases of the disease but they were not of a serious nature."	1,275	Survey 1953. Total population. Supplement, Hebron 1953: "In previous years it was no mean feat to get agreement from a child's family for it to go into hospital; they often preferred that it should stay at home even if it should die, rather than have it go to hospital and be cured. This no longer holds. And we are glad to see smiles appear when it is suggested that it would be better for the patient to go outside for better care."

Year	Nain (1771)	Hopedale (1782)	Hebron (1830)
1953	the teaching of the children about hygiene and health is, very slowly, beginning to show results." 1 man succumbed during the sealing. He went hunting alone on new ice, and was surprised by a snowstorm; he was found dead on the ice, probably after having first fallen in the ice cold water.		over half of them were claimed by the whooping-cough in children under 3 months." Larger children had been vaccinated in advance, and thus no children over 3 months were attacked by the illness. (See Comments.)
1954	"...we have been troubled with mumps, though now in the late fall and around Christmas it struck very hard, especially with some of the older folks who developed complications."		
1955	"The all-out campaign against tuberculosis put into operation in 1954 is bearing fruit and our people who went out to hospital have either returned cured or are making good progress."	"...in April one case of measles contact came back from hospital, and although we did all we could to isolate the family several more contacts came along from other places so that by the beginning of May the epidemic was on with about 20 to 30 cases..." But no one died of the illness. "Many of our people have been evacuated to hospital this...spring and summer for surgical treatment for T.B. Some have already returned, but many are still in hospital... some will be away 2 years. We hope that the... disease will be curbed, by the treatment of carriers, and the better housing conditions, also the better sanitary conditions now prevailing here in the past year or so."	"...with the returning patients, new troubles are brought along, such as this spring in April measles were brought along to this northern settlement and all the people took sick. The death-rate was quite heavy between the two northern settlements of Nutak and Hebron, but the deaths occurred there mostly where people lived isolated and could not get the due medical attention."
			Hebron was abandoned in the autumn of 1959, and the inhabitants moved south, some to Nain, others to Makkovik and Hopedale.

Makkovik (1896)	Total	Comments
	1,414	Survey 1954. Total population.
"The year 1955 began badly. We had . . . an epidemic of mumps in the last week of 1954, and afterwards came the measles . . . We closed the school for nearly 3 weeks. . . . We lost 3 babies." "Nobody is able to live only on fish, bread, margarine and tea for a long time. Potatoes are very expensive. They can get vitamin tablets, cod liver oil and so on from the Government without payment, but hardly anyone would take it . . ." "During the summer 3 families moved down south to Happy Valley . . . Our outside-place, Tessijualuk, is nearly empty, except for one family. 3 families from there also moved to Happy Valley . . ." "8 babies were baptized during the year, and 4 children died."		

SKRIFTER

Skrifter Nr. 1—110, see cover of previous numbers of Skrifter.

Nr.

111. SVERDRUP, H. U.: *The Stress of the Wind on the Ice of the Polar Sea.* 1957. Kr. 2.00.
112. ORVIN, ANDERS K.: *Supplement I to the Place-names of Svalbard. Dealing with new Names 1935—55.* 1958. Kr. 13.00.
113. SOOT-RYEN, TRON: *Pelecypods from East-Greenland.* 1958. Kr. 4.00.
114. HOEL, ADOLF and WERNER WERENSKIOLD: *Glaciers and Snowfields in Norway.* 1962. Kr. 40.00.
115. GROOM, G. E. and M. M. SWEETING: *Valleys and Raised Beaches in Bünsow Land, Central Vestspitsbergen.* 1958. Kr. 3.00.
116. SVENDSEN, PER: *The Algal Vegetation of Spitsbergen.* 1959. Kr. 7.00.
117. HEINTZ, NATASCHA: *The Downtonian and Devonian Vertebrates of Spitsbergen. X. Two new Species of the Genus Pteraspis from the Wood Bay Series in Spitsbergen.* 1960. Kr. 3.00.
118. RODAHL, KÅRE: *Nutritional Requirements under Arctic Conditions.* 1960. Kr. 8.00.
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